Rowling Lixon
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A SHORT HISTORY OF MALAYA

by

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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to summarize in simple language the main events and trends in the history of Malaya as far as it is known at the present time. It is hoped that it may be useful for senior students and teachers in the English schools of that country and for those of the general public, both in Malaya and elsewhere, who wish to know more about the development of this important land.

A short text-book can give only a bare outline, but, by quotation and by the bibliography, I have tried to introduce the reader to those printed sources by which this can be filled in. I acknowledge gratefully my debt to these works. If they can be made more generally available through school libraries and an interest aroused in them among the teachers of history in Malaya, one of the main objects of this book will have been achieved.

G. P. D.

In this new edition a chapter has been added covering the events from February 1948 to the achievement of independence in the Federation of Malaya in August 1957.

G. P. D.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE STONE AGE AND THE FIRST MALAYANS

HISTORY really begins with written records. In Malaya the historical period for which extensive written records exist goes back less than five hundred years, but there is evidence that human beings lived in Malaya more than nine thousand years before the birth of Christ. For the earlier, or prehistoric, period, which accounts for more than ninety per cent of man's existence in Malaya we owe our knowledge to the archæologists who have excavated various places in the country where primitive man lived. A great deal of work remains to be done in this field, but, by piecing together the evidence, we can get a picture of the main stages in this long story.

It seems probable that the warm tropical countries of South-East Asia were one of the first parts of the world where beings who may be called human developed. This may have been because in these lands there is no winter and a supply of food was available all the year round. Primitive man was not able to accumulate large reserves of food or to preserve it. It was necessary for him to progress beyond this stage before he could migrate into colder climates. Shelter and clothing could also be simpler where a cold season did not have to be overcome.

In Java the skulls of some very primitive men have been found to whom the name of Pithecanthropus has been given. It is thought that they may have lived some 10,000 years before Christ during the latter part of what the geologists call the Pleistocene period. This was the great Ice Age, when the northern parts of North America, Europe and Asia were covered by great ice-sheets which made human life impossible except in the warmer tropical lands. No remains of the bones of Pithecanthropus have been found in Malaya so far, but a considerable number of crudely-flaked stone chopping-tools have been

collected belonging to this first stage of human development to which the archæologists have given the name of Palæolithic or Old Stone Age. It seems fairly certain that this race died out, but we do not know why.

About 8,000 years B.C. another type of culture arose at the stage called Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age. The first extensive and typical finds were made at a place in Tonkin, in Indo-China, called Hoabinh, and for this reason it has been called the Hoabinhian culture. In Malaya the Mesolithic men seem to have used caves or rock-shelters, where cliffs overhang the ground, as their dwelling-places. These are common in the northern half of Malaya among the limestone hills, and most of the remains of this culture in Malaya have been found in Perak, Kelantan and Pahang. The most typical tool which has been found is a " hand-axe " made by chipping the rounded pebbles from the beds of rivers until a cutting edge was formed on one side. The tool could then be held in the hand by the other side and used for scraping the skins of animals or chopping wood. Other stone implements were used to grind hæmatite to a powder, which could then be mixed with water or sap of trees to make a kind of paint called " ruddle ", which was used for daubing the face or body.

In the caves and rock-shelters the bones of animals such as oxen, bears, monkeys, goats, deer and pig have been found side by side with the bones of these Mesolithic men. This proves that they were hunters, although they probably also gathered shell-fish, wild fruits, vegetables and snails. Near to their dwelling-places large piles of snail-shells are commonly found with holes in them as if the contents had been sucked out. The use of fire was common. It was probably made by rotating a pointed stick in a hole in a block of wood. Although more advanced than Palæolithic man, the struggle for existence was still hard for Mesolithic man and took up so much of his time that he was not able to progress.

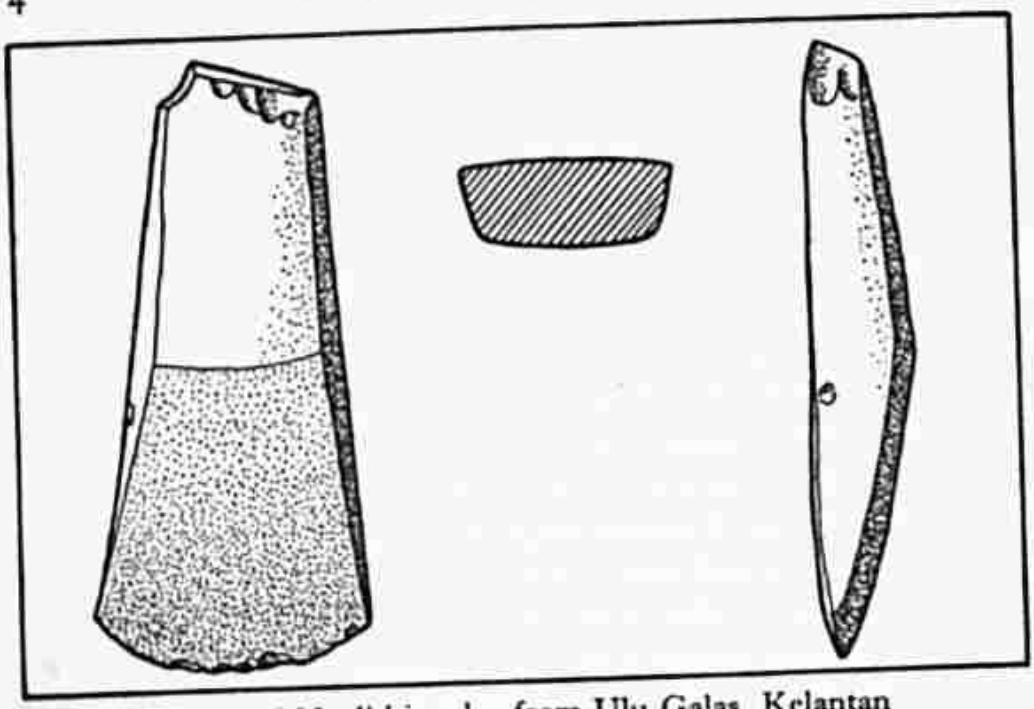
At present it is not possible to say what racial type the Mesolithic Cavemen belonged to, but the Malay Peninsula and the

East Indies islands form natural stepping-stones between the mainland of Asia and the large islands of New Guinea and Australia. It is reasonable to suppose that the ancestors of the Melanesian peoples of New Caledonia and Papua (New Guinea) used this route and that they may have passed through Malaya during the Mesolithic period, which lasted from about 8000 to 2000 B.C., carrying with them the Stone Age culture of that time. There are still living in Malaya today two types of Aborigines, the Senoi and the Semang (Negritos), who have certain racial characteristics similar to the Melanesians and the Australian Aborigines. It is probable that their ancestors also entered Malaya during the Mesolithic period.

From about 2000 B.C. another kind of people seem to have started to move into the Malay Peninsula from the north. They established another culture known to the archæologists as Neolithic or the New Stone Age. Their tools and implements were still made of stone, but they were able to shape and polish them much better than any of their predecessors. Many of their polished quadrangular adzes have been found, and are called by the Malays *batu lintar* or thunderbolts. They also made stone axes, some of which were tied to wooden handles, which must have made them much more effective.

Although the Neolithic men used the caves and rock-shelters of the Mesolithic men for various purposes, they seem to have lived most of the time in villages on the upper parts of the rivers near to the limestone hills. With their better stone tools they were able to cut down large trees, to become carpenters and to build wooden houses on stilts, thatched with leaves. They also probably made dug-out canoes. By pounding bark a kind of cloth was made for clothing. Many stone rings have been found which were made by twirling a bamboo on a flat round stone with sand sprinkled on it until a hole was drilled through the middle. The purpose of these rings was long in doubt, but a recent discovery seems to prove that they were worn as bangles on the forearm.

The Neolithic men had time to learn some crafts. They



Bevelled Neolithic adze from Ulu Galas, Kelantan

were able to make a wide variety of pots, often of artistic shape and rudely but effectively decorated. Caves were used for making this pottery, and the clay seems to have been brought in boats from coastal districts. Caves and rock-shelters were also used as burial places.

The higher standard of the Neolithic culture was possible because the New Stone Age men had learnt to supplement hunting and gathering food in the jungle by the cultivation of the land. In Malaya this step came much later than in the open plains of China, Mesopotamia and Egypt, but as in these places the introduction of farming made possible the gradual development of a more civilized life by assuring a steady food supply and making it possible for man to settle down in one place for long

Neolithic bowl from Gua Musang, Kelantan

enough to make a home and by giving him enough leisure in which to make things with his hands. It is probable that various types of yams were planted, and it is possible that rice was also grown, as stone implements have been found which could have been used as harvesting-knives.

It seems fairly certain that the Neolithic men were the first people of Malay race to enter the peninsula, gradually making their way southwards from their original home in Yunnan. The first wave, who arrived about four thousand years ago, are called the Proto-Malays, and are represented today by the Jakuns or Aboriginal Malays still to be found in the southern part of the country, where they have been pushed into remoter parts by later arrivals. A second wave of immigrants, known as the Deutro-Malays, followed closely on the first, and were the ancestors of the Peninsular Malays of today and of the coastal Malays of Indonesia. There must have been a good deal of intermingling of these two types, and in some cases the inhabitants of remote kampongs today, who are counted as ordinary Malays, are really Aboriginal Malays who have adopted the settled Malay way of life. It must also be remembered that many of the ancestors of Malays in the peninsula have entered the country much later in historical times from Java, Sumatra and other parts of Indonesia.

The Neolithic Age in Malaya came to an end about 300 B.C., when traders from China and India began to visit the country regularly. These traders brought with them the knowledge of the use of bronze and iron. With this development the long Stone Age in Malaya came to an end, and it is to these contacts with the outside world that we must turn next.

TIME CHART—PREHISTORIC

	CULTURES	CHARACTERISTICS
B.C. 10000 – 9000 – 8000	PALÆOLITHIC OR OLD STONE AGE	The Ice Age Pithecanthropus-Java Rough stone tools
7000 – 6000 – 5000 – 4000 – 3000	MESOLITHIC OR MIDDLE STONE AGE OR HOABINHIAN	Cavemen Hand axes Hunters, gatherers Ancestors of Melanesians and Australian Aborigines passed through Senoi and Semang (Negritos) may be descendants of men of this period
2000 – 1000	NEOLITHIC OR NEW STONE AGE	Proto-Malays and Deutro-Malays came Quadrangular adzes Carpentry, farming and pottery
300		Bronze and iron introduced
A.D. 1000 – 1400	PERIOD OF INDIAN INFLUENCE	Hindu religion Buddhist religion Growth of Kingdoms
	Islam and West	**The Historic Period**

Note how short the Historic Period is compared with the Prehistoric.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND INDIA

300 B.C.–A.D. 1400

PROGRESS in Malaya in Neolithic times was very slow for various reasons. The thick jungle isolated one settlement from another, and it was difficult to clear large areas for cultivation as long as the inhabitants had only stone tools to work with. The hot climate usually supplied the minimum needs without too much effort, and the absence of a winter made it unnecessary to look far ahead. Malaya did not begin to emerge from the Stone Age until about 300 B.C., when she first began to make contact with the more advanced civilizations of China and India.

In contrast to this slow advance, we find that China began to emerge from the Stone Age about 2000 B.C. On the Great Plain of the Hwang-Ho the cultivation of millet and wheat and the domestication of the ox, goat, sheep and horse came about during the Shang dynasty between 1523 and 1027 B.C. During the latter part of this period writing began, cities were founded and silk-culture was established. The next dynasty, the Chou, saw the further development of Chinese civilization between 1027 and 256 B.C. with such great figures as Confucius and Lao-Tze. In India the Hindu civilization began to develop about 1000 B.C., and in the sixth century B.C. Buddhism began to flourish there. In the Mediterranean region of Europe and the Middle East Moses was founding the Jewish religion about 1200 B.C., and Greek civilization, which began to be important about A.D. 1000 was spread over a large area of western Asia by the conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. This helped to open up communications between Mediterrannean Europe and India, where great kingdoms arose under Chandragupta and Asoka.

Malaya lay on the obvious route between the civilizations of

the Middle East and India to the west and of China to the east, and it was the desire for contact and trade between them which brought the first traders to her shores. Thus Malaya began very early to play the part of a link between east and west which she has continued to play ever since.

We know very little about the first contacts, but the use of metals, particularly bronze and iron, must have been brought to Malaya about 300 B.C. Those bronze relics which have been found were probably imported, for there is no copper in Malaya to have been used with tin to develop a real Bronze Age such as is found elsewhere. The most interesting finds have been a type of drum similar to those found in Indo-China at a place called Dong-Son, and these point to an early connection between the two countries, and ultimately with China to the north. During the last two centuries before Christ the Western Han dynasty extended Chinese rule and culture over the south coast of China and Hainan. The most notable of the emperors of this period, Wu-ti, who ruled from 140 to 87 B.C., sent expeditions to seek a sea-route from China to India instead of the difficult land-route through Yunnan and Burma which had been used hitherto. From this time it is probable that Chinese junks began to enter the Straits of Malacca, and the Chinese chroniclers begin to tell us something about Malaya. The Chinese used the North-East Monsoon to reach Malaya and returned with the South-West Monsoon.

Indian traders probably visited Malaya from about the same time as the Chinese, using the South-West Monsoon on the outward passage and the North-East Monsoon on the return. Both may have helped to introduce the use of iron to the Malay inhabitants. This enabled the people of Malaya to progress, although for a long time they continued to use stone implements side by side with the newer metal ones. The Indian traders sought gold and tin, and the Chinese brought pottery, for which there seems to have been a great demand, judging by the many fragments of china of the Han dynasty which have been found in Malaya.

There is evidence also that trade existed between Europe and China. Goods were passed from trader to trader along the long route across the Arabian Sea or through Persia to India, from India to Malaya and from Malaya to China. As everyone who handled the goods expected to make a profit, they must have been very costly when they arrived. It seems that the overland route across the north of the Malay Peninsula from Kedah and Perlis to Kelantan and Patani was preferred to the sea-route through the Straits, probably because of the pirates who infested the seas round southern Malaya even at this early period. Fragments of pottery were found in Perlis in 1951 by Major Williams-Hunt which have been recognized as parts of Greek vases of the fourth or fifth century B.C. Greek beads have also been found in various parts of Malaya and Indonesia.

Trade between east and west continued to grow in the first two centuries A.D. By this time the whole Mediterranean area had come under the rule of Rome, including the Middle Eastern countries of Syria and Egypt. Silk reached Rome by much-used caravan routes through Persia and Turkistan, but was believed by the Romans to grow on trees. Under the Emperor Augustus an attempt was made to open up a sea-route direct from Egypt to India. Later some Roman ships from a trading station established near modern Pondicherry went through the Straits of Malacca and reached China itself.

At Alexandria in Egypt, the terminus for much of this trade, information was collected about the Orient, especially by Ptolemy, a Greek who lived there about A.D. 150. Much more was added to his account in a later edition compiled in Byzantium in the tenth or eleventh century by another scholar. This contains a remarkable map showing Malaya under the name of the Golden Chersonese.

As trade with India increased Hindu trading posts were established. The first were probably round the Merbok estuary in Kedah, on the overland route across the neck of the peninsula.

Identify the modern ports on the overland routes.
Why were the Straits of Malacca not used?

The first important state was Langkasuka, which may have included parts of Malaya but had its main centre on the South China Sea in what is now southern Siam. Chinese records tell us that Langkasuka was founded about A.D. 200, and it seems to have survived until the thirteenth century. In what is now Cambodia, the Indianized state of Funan was established about A.D. 100. It was at the height of its power in the fifth century A.D., and at times may have had a kind of overlordship over the northern part of Malaya.

The Indian traders brought with them the Hindu and Buddhist religions. Temples were built, of which some of the foundations have been excavated in Malaya. It seems that the Malay chiefs accepted these religions as they had adopted many other things from the strangers who represented to them a higher civilization. There is little evidence of strife between the two religions, which flourished side by side among the people who came in contact with the traders. In more remote places the older animistic beliefs of the Malays were probably not much changed, and in fact persisted long after the introduction of Islam. The earliest written inscriptions which have been found in Malaya date from the sixth or seventh century, when large numbers of Pallava colonists from southern India brought their system of writing and have left us examples, usually in Sanskrit.

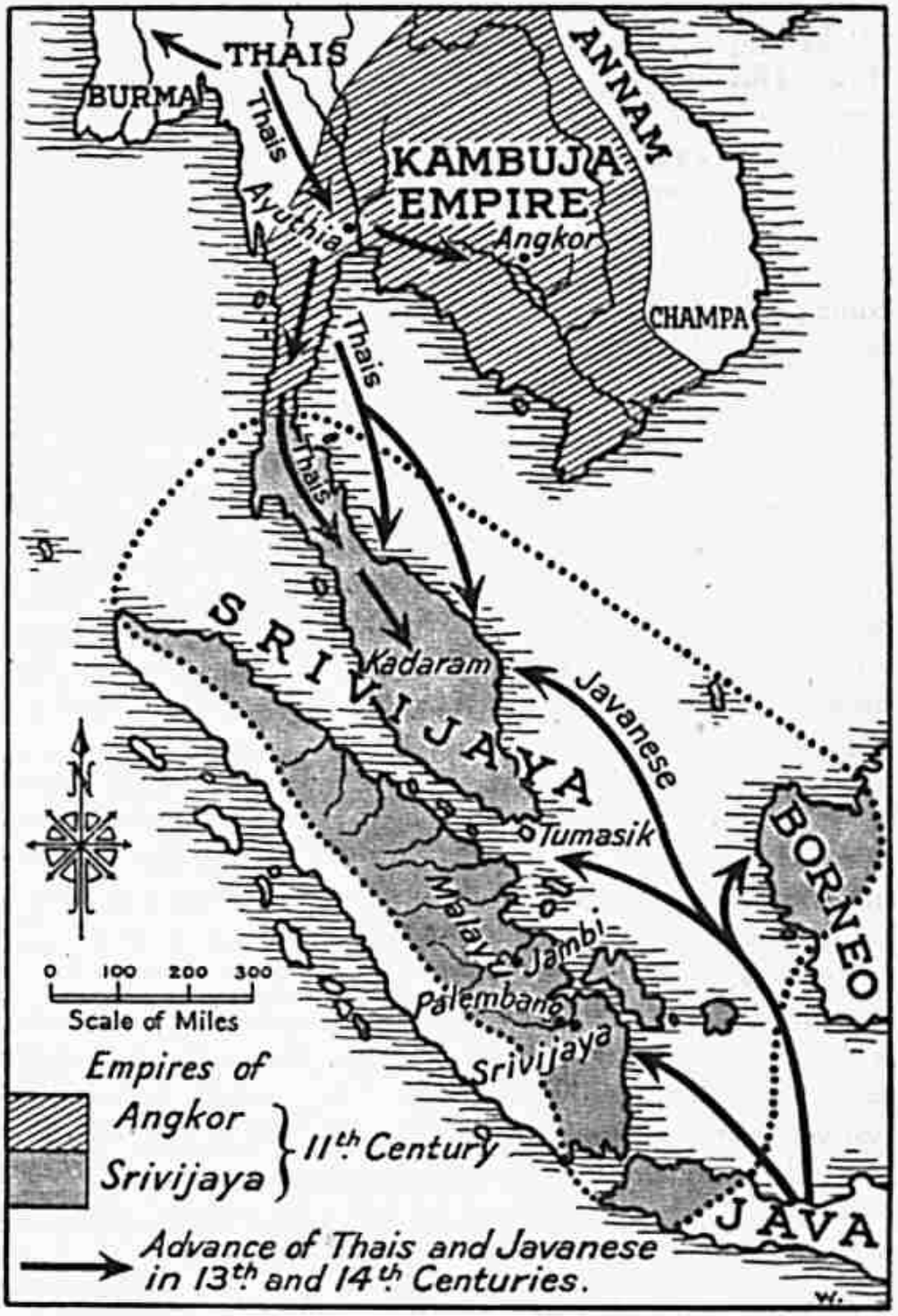
During the seventh century A.D. the sea-route through the Straits of Malacca came into greater use with the rise of the new kingdom of Srivijaya, based at Palembang in southern Sumatra. Chinese records tell us of an embassy from this state in A.D. 670. From India the rulers of this Malay kingdom adopted the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which they helped to spread eastwards to China. By the end of the seventh century Srivijaya had absorbed the state of Malayu centred on Jambi and was extending its control over the Malayan side of the Straits. It flourished on the extensive trade between East and West, just as Malacca did later, and in its ports the products of the Middle East and India were exchanged for the spices of

the East Indies and the pottery, bronze goods and silk of China.

About A.D. 750 another Buddhist state arose in central Java. The name Sailendra (King of the Mountain) adopted by its rulers is similar to that used by the ancient kings of Funan, and may point to some connection between the two. During the next half-century there were built in central Java those Buddhist temples whose ruins still remain, and of which the Borobodur, near Jogjakarta, is the most famous. The Sailendras also expanded their influence over a wide area by conquest. Cambodia came under their rule at the end of the eighth century, and they sent expeditions into Annam. About the middle of the ninth century the Sailendras secured by marriage the succession to the throne of Srivijaya, and with their rule came a revival and expansion of that kingdom. The seat of the Sailendra Government was transferred from Java to Sumatra, where Jambi became a rival to Palembang. Somewhere in north Malaya there was also an important centre called Kadaram in the period of Sailendra rule. Some authorities place this in the Kinta Valley. Meanwhile, after the Sailendras left, central Java seems to have reverted to Hinduism under the kingdom of Mataram, which sought unsuccessfully to wrest control of the Straits from Srivijaya. A more serious threat came in the eleventh century, when the Cholas of the Coromandel coast of India started to make large-scale attacks on Srivijaya, whose monopoly of the trade of the Straits they may have resented. The Cholas did not succeed in conquering Srivijaya, but the damage they did seems to have started a gradual decline of the Malay state during the next two centuries.

. . . . .

Sailendra influence in Cambodia did not last long, and about A.D. 800 invaders from the north liberated the Khmer kingdom under Jayavarman II. From this time there flourished for four centuries in Cambodia the dynasty which has left us the wonderful ruins of their capital at Angkor with its temples planned as a model of the Indian conception of the universe.



The downfall of Angkor and Srivijaya

The execution of the work and the kingdom itself were Khmer, but by this time there was a combining to a great extent of Hindu (Brahmin) and Buddhist ideas. At the height of its power the Angkor kingdom conquered the lower Menam basin on the west and Champa on the east, and was the dominant power to the north of Malaya before the coming of the Thais.

This last race had become a united people in Yunnan, and were beginning to move south under pressure from the Chinese. Some settled in Burma and became the ancestors of the Shans. Others moved into Laos and the northern parts of what is now Siam. Following the Menam River, they established a kingdom centred first at Chieng-mai and later at Sukhothai. From here at the end of the thirteenth century in the time of King Ramakamheng the Great the Siamese (as we may now call this branch of the Thai race) made expeditions far down the Malay Peninsula and forced many of its rulers to pay tribute to them instead of to Srivijaya. In 1350 a new Siamese capital was founded at Ayuthia on the lower Menam. The Khmers were driven out of this part, and about 1432 abandoned Angkor itself.

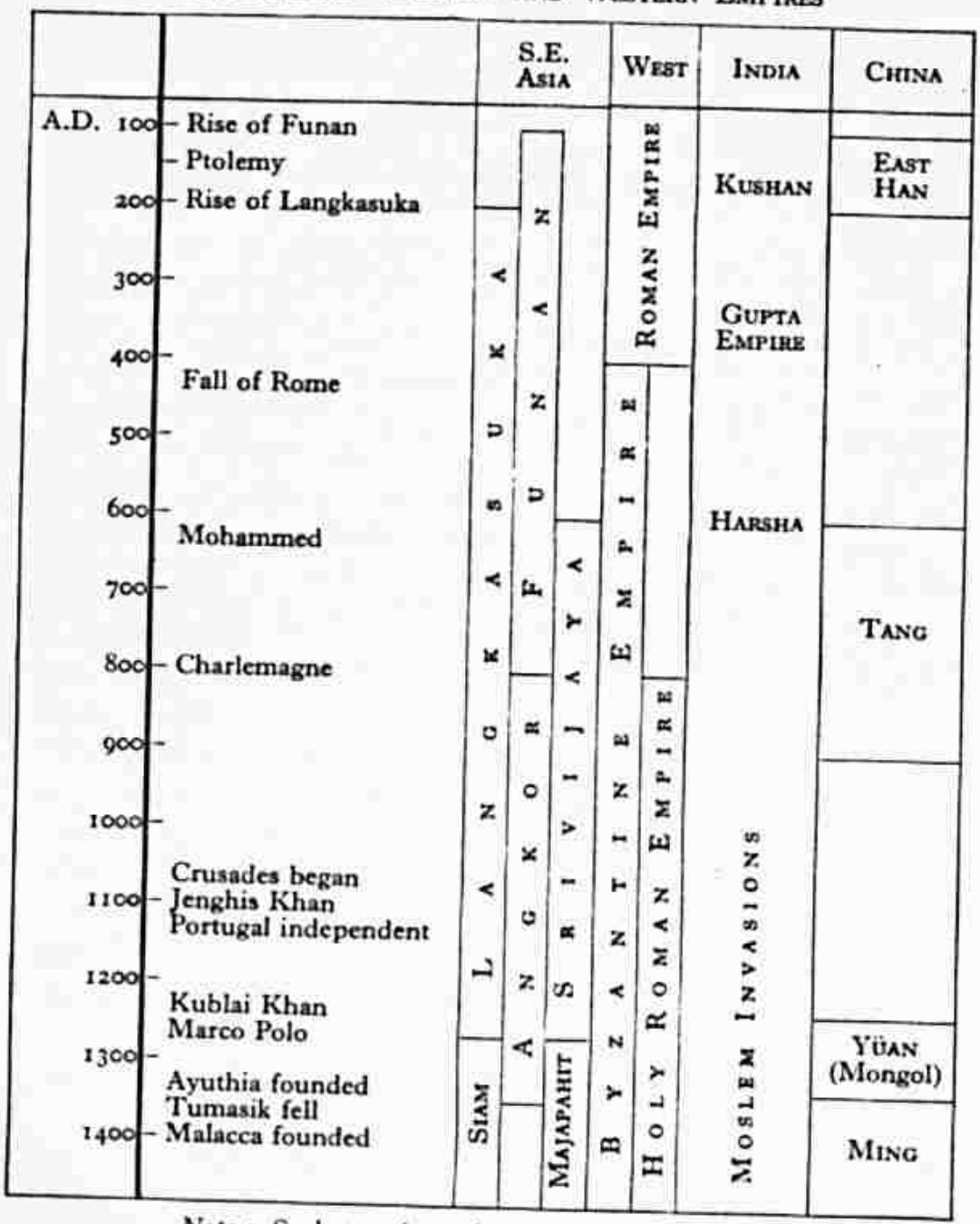
Srivijaya had survived the Chola attacks, but it finally broke up at the end of the thirteenth century. The control of the Malayan side of the Straits was lost to Siam, and the Sumatran side was subject to attacks from Java, where a powerful kingdom based on Singhasari in the east of the island had arisen. Kertanagara, King of Singhasari from about 1268 to 1292, led an expedition against Jambi in 1275, but any success he achieved seems to have been temporary. After the death of Kertanagara, his son-in-law Vijaya, with Chinese aid, founded the eastern Javanese empire of Majapahit, which may also have controlled areas in the other East Indies and possibly in Malaya.

Among the trading-posts which had been subject to Srivijaya was Tumasik, situated on the Straits where Singapore is today. Malay legend has built up a picture of a place of considerable importance with an imposing line of rulers, but actually it does not appear to have been much more than a fishing and pirate

centre of the *Orang Laut*, which because of its strategic position was struggled for by Javanese and Siamese as they disputed the succession to Srivijaya's former control of the Straits. Some early Portuguese accounts speak of the destruction of Tumasik by the Siamese, but the Malay version found in the *Sejarah Melayu* attributes it to an attack by Majapahit. Both agree in connecting the founding of Malacca with refugees from old Singapore.

With this event we enter a new phase in the history of Malaya. For a thousand years the Malays had been deriving most of their cultural and religious influences from India, and now they began to receive from the same source the new religion and culture of Islam. This was to lead to new groupings and fresh unity of ideas among the Malay states of the two sides of the Straits, paving the way for a Malay successor, the Malacca Sultanate, to the power of Srivijaya. Without this renaissance of the Malays their lands might have become permanently divided between the rival power of Siam in the north and Java in the south.

TIME CHART—EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES



Note : Scale ten times that of chart on page 6.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SULTANATE OF MALACCA

So far we have been able to build up only a very shadowy idea of Malaya and the Indianized states of South-East Asia during the Middle Ages. For what we do know we are indebted to the archæologists, and much more work will have to be done in excavation before it is possible to fill in the details of these early periods. With the foundation of Malacca about A.D. 1400 we arrive on firmer ground. In the *Sejarah Melayu* or Malay Annals we have an account of Malay history preserved by oral tradition until it was written down during the first half of the sixteenth century. Much of the earlier part consists of legends made up later to explain the origins of the ruling house, but the accounts of fifteenth-century Malacca give us a good idea of how this first important Malay centre grew up and tell a great deal about the way of life of the Malay chiefs who formed the governing class in this cosmopolitan city. When the Portuguese arrived in the sixteenth century they were anxious to find out the history of Malacca's origin and growth, and we can check the Malay account by the writings of Tomé Pires and other Portuguese chroniclers who tell us what they were able to find out about the previous century. The Chinese historians also give us occasional references to Malaya which help to piece the picture together. With these written records the real historical period in Malaya may be said to begin.

The earliest inhabitants of Malacca were a few *Orang Laut* or " Cellates " of Proto-Malay race who established a primitive village from which they carried on fishing and piracy. Some time about 1400 this village received an influx of Malay chiefs and their followers who had escaped from the destruction of old Singapore and had been living for some time on the banks of the Muar River. Malacca offered them a better site for a settlement. The mouth of the Malacca River provided a

harbour for small craft which could be defended by a fortified village built on the hill which overlooked it. It may be that they were attracted by the similarity of this site to that of Singapore, where a hill, now known as Fort Canning, looks down upon the river-mouth. At Malacca there was the added advantage that the hill was isolated on the land side by swamps.

The chief who was accepted by the Cellates and the other Malays as their first ruler is described in some accounts as Parameswara and in others as Iskandar Shah. According to legend, he was a Palembang Malay who had ruled for a time in Singapore until he was expelled by the Siamese. Parameswara is a Hindu name, while Iskandar Shah is a Moslem one. We cannot say for certain whether they refer to one and the same prince, who began as a Hindu and later became a Moslem, or whether Iskandar Shah was the son of Parameswara, as some accounts tell us.

In any case, the chief danger to the new settlement was from the Siamese, who were extending their influence southwards over most of the peninsula at this time. The ruler was, therefore, glad to welcome the envoys of the Ming Emperor of China, who might be able to give some protection and was remote enough to make interference unlikely. It is reported that in 1405 the Emperor of China appointed Parameswara king of the country of Malacca and marked the occasion by giving him a written commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella—the emblem of Malay royalty ever since. In 1409 the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho, known in Malacca legend as Ong Sam Po, visited the town and confirmed this grant of sovereignty. Chinese accounts tell us that the huts of the settlers on the hill were enclosed by a stockade and the river crossed by a bridge on which were a number of sheds where trade was carried on. Even at this early date tin is mentioned as the principal export, while Chinese porcelain, beads and silks were imported. Evidently the fishing village was changing into a centre of commerce.

Parameswara returned the visit of Cheng Ho in 1411, and

THE TRADE OF MALACCA IN THE 15TH CENTURY

(Imports to Malacca are named. What would be exported in exchange to each of these countries?)

was well received by the Chinese Emperor. His successors continued to maintain friendly relations with the Ming Emperors, receiving envoys, exchanging presents and visiting China in person to do homage from time to time. After 1430, however, the Mings gave up the expansionist policy of their Mongol predecessors and started to turn towards seclusion. Voyages by Chinese were discouraged, and the little foreign trade permitted was confined to the port of Canton, where it was subject to all kinds of restrictions. It seems, therefore, that the relations between Malacca and China after 1430 were formal and less important.

The rise of Malacca was closely connected with the coming of Islam to Malaya as a result of commercial contacts with India that had been going on continuously at the same time as these political relations with China. Islam began its rapid rise in the seventh century following the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in A.D. 622 and his triumphant return ten years later. By the end of the seventh century Egypt, Syria and Persia had passed into Moslem hands, and with them the control of the medieval trade routes between Europe and the East passing through the great marts of Alexandria and Damascus. From the coastal region of Baluchistan Moslem conquerors subdued Sind and extended their control southwards to Gujerat on the west coast of India. The Moslem merchants of the Gujerati port of Cambay, together with the Persians and Arabs, soon dominated the trade of the Arabian Sea and pushed their way round the south of India to Malaya and South-East Asia.

When the famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, passed through the Straits of Malacca in 1292 on his way home from China he noticed that there were many Moslems among the maritime population of " Felech " in Sumatra. " Felech " is almost certainly Perlak in the north of the island. Other early centres of Moslem influence were the neighbouring ports of Pasai and Pedir.

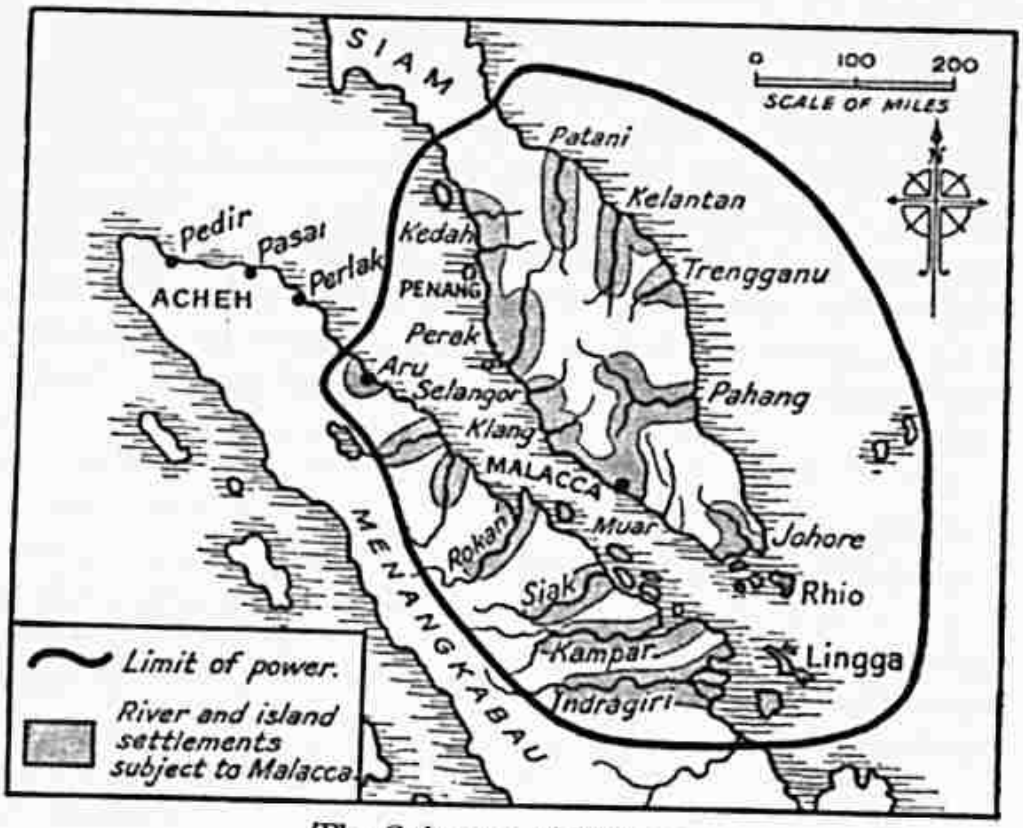
Malacca was brought into contact with these Sumatran ports by the need to import rice for the growing population

and by the trade in pepper. This led to an influx of Gujerati merchants, who brought with them their Moslem religion, which was readily accepted by the Malay chiefs, as they had previously accepted Hinduism and Buddhism from Indian sources. Marriages between the ruling houses of Malacca and Sumatra helped to give prestige to the new religion, while the growing importance of Malacca as a seaport attracted more Moslem merchants from south India, who attained to influential positions in Malacca and intermarried with the Malay chiefs.

Iskandar Shah died about 1424 and was succeeded by Sri Maharaja, whose name suggests that there may have been a return to Hinduism.[1] On his death about twenty years later there was a struggle for power between a Malay group which resented the favours given to foreign merchants by the late ruler and another party led by Tun Ali, the son of one of these merchants, a Tamil who had come to Malacca by way of Pasai. Sri Maharaja left two sons, the elder by a daughter of this same Tamil merchant and a younger by a princess of Rokan. The Malay group led by the Raja of Rokan at first succeeded in installing the younger son with the title Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah, but soon afterwards Tun Ali and the party of the foreigners had the young ruler and his guardian killed and put his elder brother on the throne under the name of Muzaffar Shah. This palace revolution firmly established the Moslem religion in Malacca. Muzaffar Shah ruled from about 1446 to 1456, and seems to have been the first to take the title of Sultan. The former Bendahara (Prime Minister) took poison, and Tun Ali was promoted in his place.

Muzaffar Shah felt strong enough to refuse to do homage to the King of Siam, whose suzerainty had up to now been formally acknowledged. This led to an attack on Malacca from Pahang, but Muzaffar Shah rallied the Malays and beat it off.

[1] The *Sejarah Melayu* give him the name of Muhammad Shah, but this was probably only used after his death when Islam had become firmly established.



The Sultanate of Malacca

In this fighting Tun Perak, son of the late Bendahara, distinguished himself. He was recalled from his exile at Klang and rose rapidly in the Sultan's favour. There must have still been opposition to the half-Tamil Bendahara, Tun Ali, who was finally persuaded to accept an office of lower rank while Tun Perak became Bendahara in his place. As compensation Tun Ali was given the sister of Tun Perak in marriage, and from these two the later Bendaharas of Malacca and Johore were descended. The Siamese now resumed their attack by sea, but Tun Perak defeated them near Batu Pahat and pursued their fleet as far as Singapore. After this peace was made and Malacca, having achieved its independence, was free to develop its trade and the influence of its ruler on both sides of the Straits.

Tun Perak remained the power behind the throne and secured the future influence of his family by marriages between ladies

of his house and the rulers. The last three Sultans of Malacca, Mansur Shah, Ala'u'ddin Shah and Mahmud were all sons of these ladies.

The reigns of these three Sultans, covering the last half of the fifteenth century, were the golden age of the Malacca Sultanate, when it reached the height of its prosperity as the commercial centre on the narrowest part of the Straits, where the deep-water channel ran close to the Malayan side. In those days vessels would only undertake one stage of the journey from the Middle East to China during one monsoon. Ships from the Red Sea ports of Egypt or from the Persian Gulf would sail with the South-West Monsoon to India, exchange their goods there and return with the North-East Monsoon. Indian merchants, such as the Gujeratis of Cambay, would carry these or Indian goods across the Bay of Bengal with the South-West Monsoon to Malacca, exchange them there for Malayan products such as gold or tin, or for the products of China or the East Indies, and return with the North-East Monsoon to India. Similarly, junks from China used the North-East Monsoon to come to Malacca and the South-West Monsoon to return. Ships from the East Indies would bring the spices and other products of the islands to Malacca also. In this way Malacca became the main point of exchange for goods from the West and India, on the one hand, and from China, the East Indies and Indo-China, on the other. The Portuguese writer Albuquerque [1] summed up her position as follows:

"This port of Malacca is very safe; there are no storms to injure it, and never was a ship lost there. It forms a point where some monsoons commence and others end, so that the inhabitants of Malacca call those of India people of the West, and the Javanese, Chinese and Gores,[2] and all others of those Islanders, people of the East; and Malacca is the middle of all this, a sure and speedy navigation, such as Singapore never had,

[1] Son of the great Afonso Albuquerque, who wrote a book of "Commentaries" on his famous father's exploits.

[2] People of the Liau Chiew islands.

for in the shoals of Capacia many a ship has been lost. And those who come from the east to the west find here western merchandize, and carry it away with them, leaving that which they bring of theirs here instead, and in like manner do they come from the west."

His fellow-countryman Duarte Barbosa was so impressed that he wrote :

" This city of Malacca is the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade that can be found in the whole world."

Albuquerque summed up his account with these words :

" I verily believe, if there were another world and a navigable route other than that we know, yet would all resort to Malacca for in her they would find every different sort of drugs and spices which can be mentioned in the world."

In Malacca there was set up a system of administration under officers of state which became the model for Malay kingdoms in the future. At the head of this was the Bendahara, combining the offices of Treasurer and Prime Minister. After Tun Perak's death this office became hereditary in the family of Tun Ali. The Temenggong was responsible for police matters and law and order. Naval affairs were under the Laksamana, an office held for many years by the legendary figure Hang Tuah. Four Shahbandars, or harbour-masters, looked after the shipping and commerce from Gujerat, Eastern India and Burma, Java and the Moluccas, and Indo-China and China respectively. These and other important chiefs, we are told by Barbosa, "live in large houses outside the city with many orchards, gardens and tanks, where they lead a pleasant life. They have separate houses for their trade within the city ; they possess many slaves with wives and children who live apart and obey all their orders. They are polished and well-bred, fond of music, and given to love."

Sultan Mansur Shah (1456–77) is said to have built a large

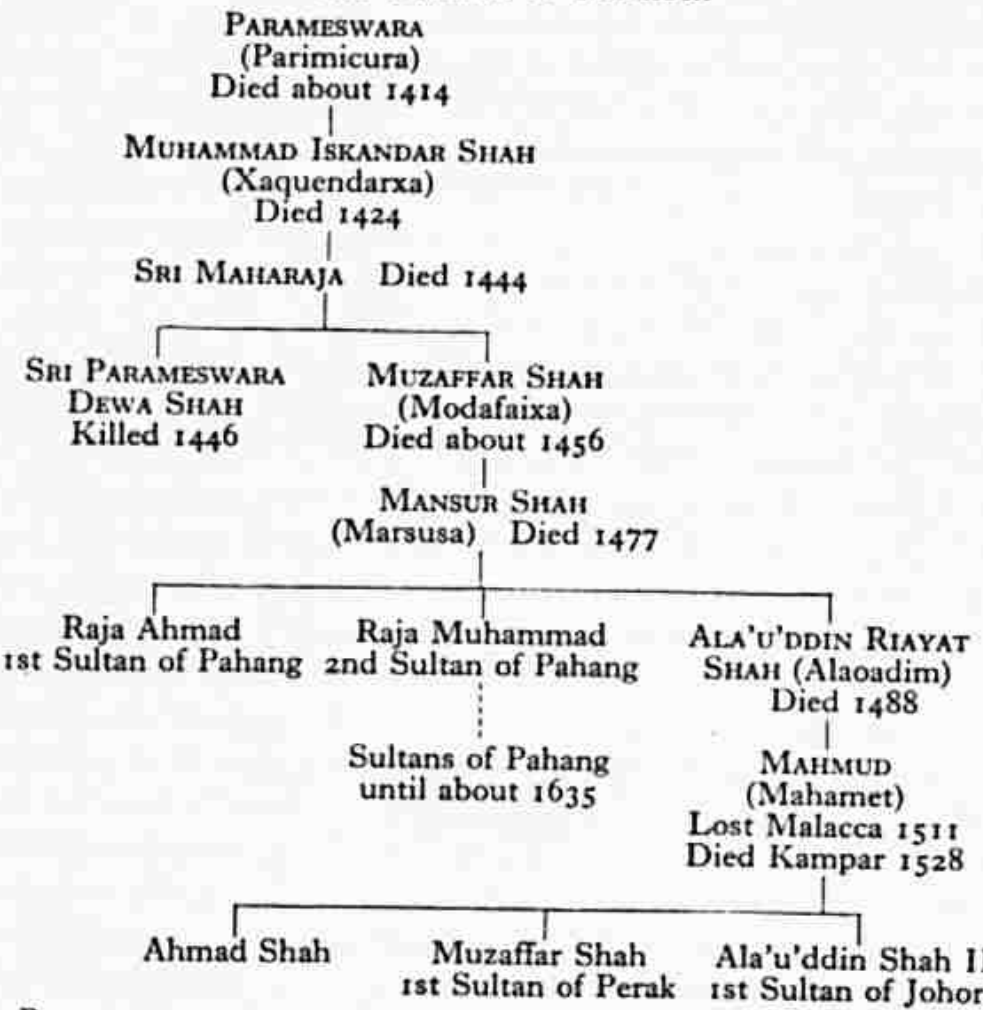
palace on Malacca hill with many-tiered roofs, pinnacles of coloured glass and painted and gilded walls. For its construction he was able to draw upon craftsmen from Johore, Sumatra and other parts subject to his rule, for the reputation of the Malacca Sultan had become so great that he was able to claim a kind of overlordship over all Malaya. Two of Mansur Shah's sons became, one after the other, Sultans of Pahang and founded a line which ruled in that state until 1635. When Tun Perak gained the office of Bendahara from his brother-in-law, the half-Tamil Tun Ali, Malacca began to subdue countries farther away. In Sumatra Siak was conquered, while Tun Ali's son became the vassal ruler of Kampar. Indragiri and Jambi also acknowledged Malacca's overlordship, which was thus extended along both sides of the Straits, except in the north, where Acheh remained a powerful rival.

On the death of Mansur Shah in 1477 the Bendahara Tun Perak was able to secure the succession of his own nephew, Ala'u'ddin Riayat Shah as Sultan. Ala'u'ddin had married a daughter of Tun Ali, and was connected with both the Malay and Tamil branches of the Bendahara family. It appears that he was an energetic ruler who was not afraid of his powerful relatives. The *Sejarah Melayu* tells how one night he went out personally to investigate the robberies which were taking place in the city and killed two thieves who were carrying off a chest. Next day he called his chief officers together and publicly rebuked the Temenggong Mutahir, his brother-in-law, for his failure to police the town. There is a strong suspicion that Ala'u'ddin died of poison in 1488. The Temenggong was able to put his nephew, Mahmud, on the throne in preference to several of Ala'u'ddin's elder sons and eventually to become Bendahara himself.

Sultan Mahmud was the last Malay ruler of Malacca and, though his nominal power was increased by the acknowledgement of his overlordship by the northern states of Kelantan, Patani and Kedah, he had many enemies. He was not in a good position to meet the new situation caused by the arrival of the

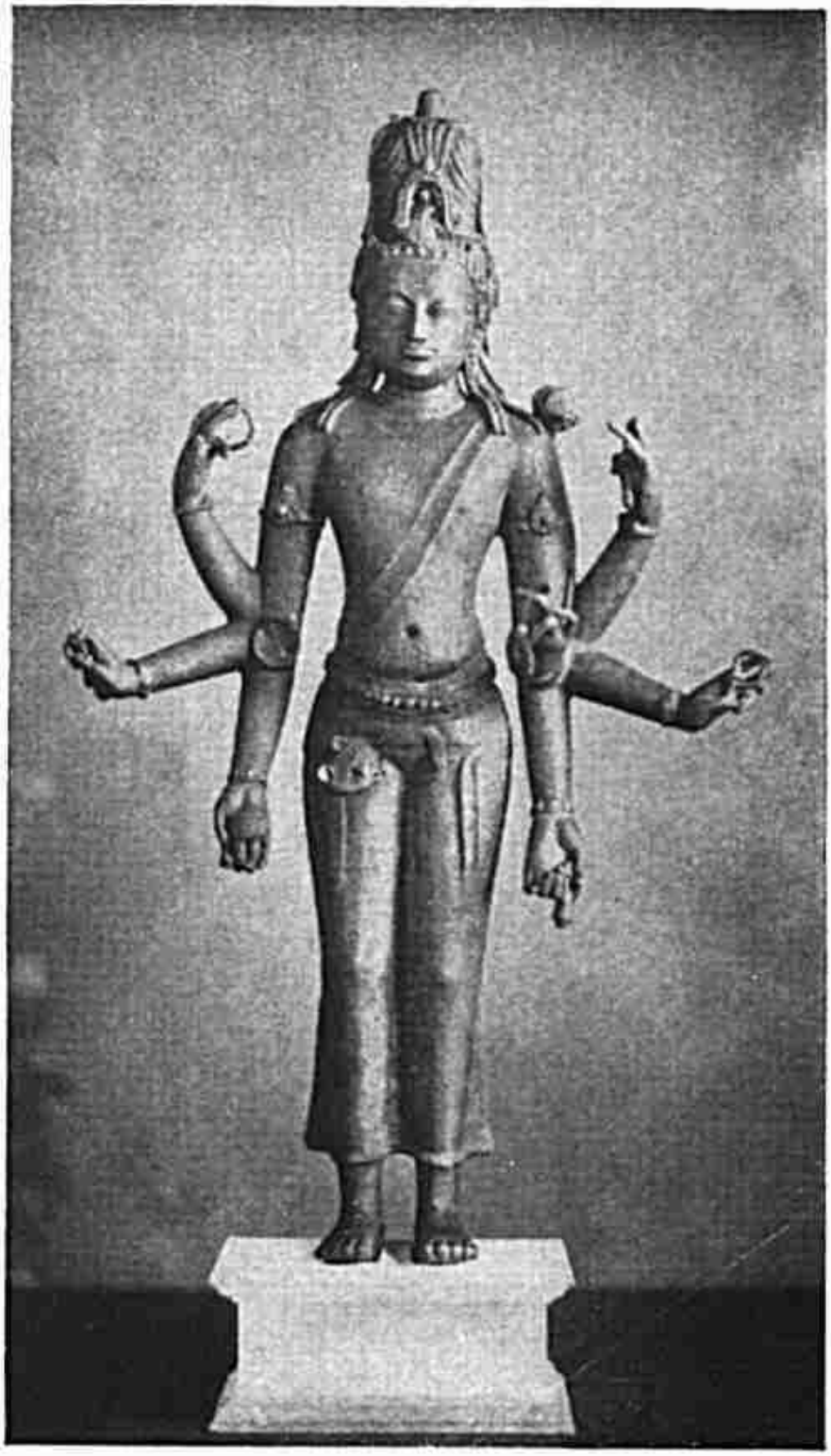
Portuguese in Malaya. Though he knew it not, his days of glory were numbered, for at the very same time that he succeeded to the throne, Bartholomew Diaz was rounding the Cape of Good Hope and opening the way to the East for Portugal.

THE SULTANS OF MALACCA



Portuguese names are given in brackets.

Some accounts speak of Muhammad Iskandar Shah as the first ruler. It is not clear if this is because both father and son bore the same title or if they were really one person instead of two.



Bronze Avalokitesvara from Bidor, Perak

Afonso de Albuquerque

TIME CHART 1400–1511

SULTANS OF MALACCA		IMPORTANT EVENTS		KINGS OF ENGLAND
			1399–	Henry IV
Parameswara	–1400	Malacca founded		
	–1409	Visit of Cheng Ho		
			1413–	Henry V
Iskandar	–1414			
			1422–	Henry VI
Sri Maharaja	–1424			
Muzaffar	–1446			
	–1453	Fall of Constantinople		
Mansur	–1456			
			1460–	Edward IV
Ala'u'ddin	–1477			
			1483–	Richard III
			1485–	Henry VII
Mahmud	–1488	Diaz rounded the Cape		
	–1498	Vasco da Gama reached India		
	–1509	Sequeira at Malacca	1509–	Henry VIII
	–1511	Fall of Malacca		

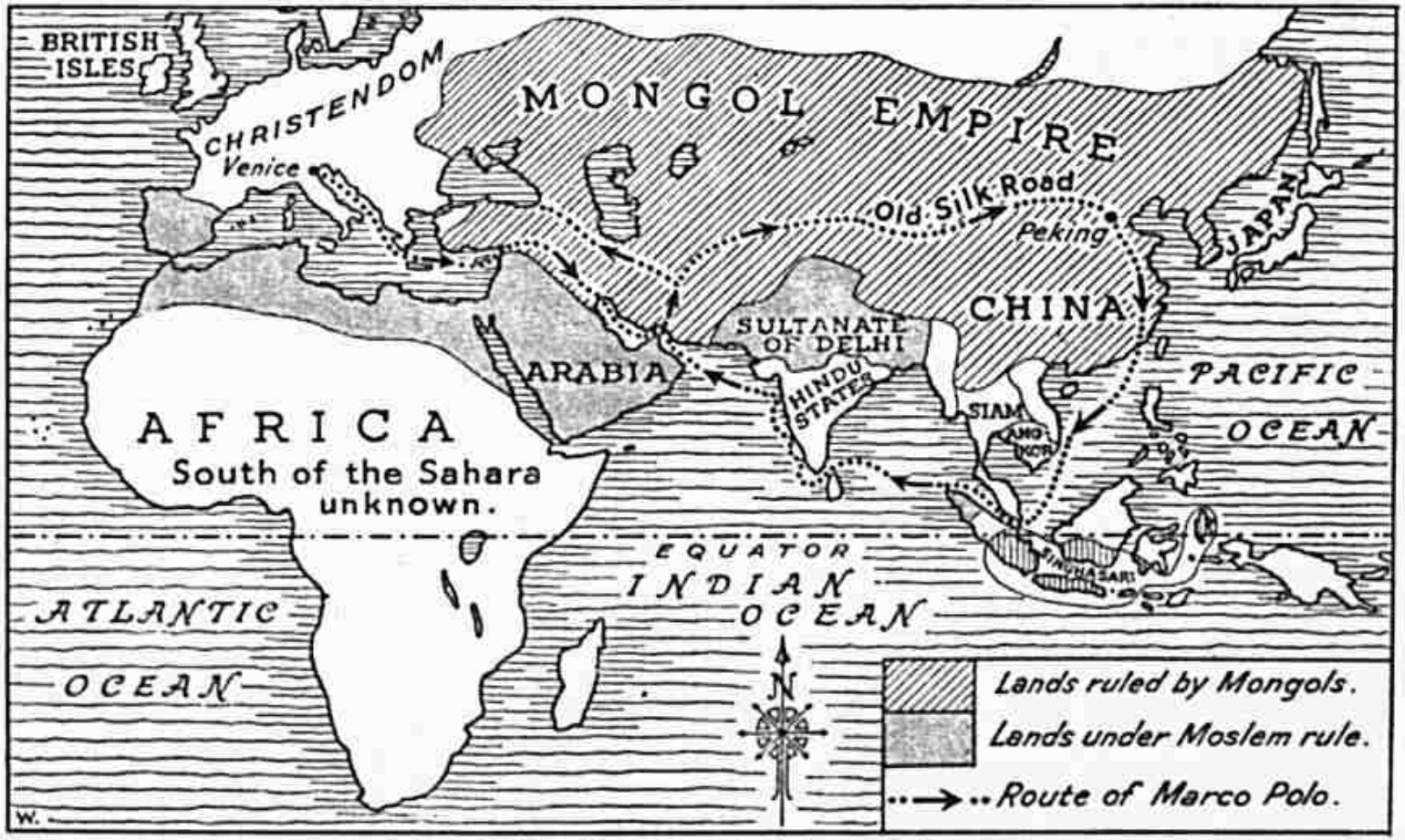
Note : Scale ten times that of chart on page 16.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

SINCE Roman times there had been caravan routes by which commerce between East and West had been carried by land through Persia and the steppes of Central Asia. During the last part of the twelfth century the tribesmen of the steppes were united under the rule of a great military genius, Jenghis Khan, who in his later life established an empire which extended from the shores of the Black Sea in what is now the south of Russia to the north of China. Kublai Khan, the grandson of Jenghis Khan, moved the capital to Peking and, after subduing the south of China, became Emperor of that country in 1260. Under Kublai's rule peaceful conditions existed over this vast tract from Europe to the Far East, and commerce was encouraged. Much was done by the Mongols to improve communications by building roads and post-houses, so that for a century from 1260 it was easier for travellers to move about than at any time before.

Taking advantage of the Mongol peace, two adventurous Venetian merchants, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, travelled through Persia to Bokhara and Samarkand, whence they followed the old Silk Road to China. Kublai Khan, who was interested in developing contacts with the West, welcomed the Polos, and after a year's stay they returned to Venice, in 1269. In 1271 they set out for China again, taking with them Nicolo's young son, Marco Polo. After a journey of three and a half years they reached Peking and lived there until 1292, when they returned by sea. Their voyage took them through the Straits of Malacca, where Marco was able to observe the states which had arisen in Sumatra after the decline of Srivijaya. The year after his return to Venice in 1295 Marco Polo was taken prisoner in a sea-fight between the Venetians and Genoese. While he was in captivity Marco dictated to a fellow-prisoner an account of



The Old World at the end of the 13th Century

The Wonders and Marvels of the World describing his eastern travels. Much of what he described seemed impossible to his contemporaries in Europe, but his book, which was widely read, awakened in the West a new interest in the Orient and a great desire to open up trade with countries apparently so rich. During the first half of the fourteenth century several travellers from Italy followed in the path of Marco Polo as traders and missionaries. Embassies were exchanged between the Pope and the Emperors of China, and Catholic missions were established in China.

In the second half of the fourteenth century these conditions were changed. In 1368 the Mongols were driven out of China, which became independent under the native Ming dynasty. The Mongols of Central Asia became Moslems hostile to Christianity. One branch, the Ottoman Turks, invaded Europe, conquered the Balkan Peninsula and in 1453 captured the last remnant of the Eastern Roman Empire at Constantinople. The land route to China was, therefore, closed once again to through traffic, and the eastern Mediterranean, for long the preserve of the Italian merchants, was threatened by the sea power of the Turks.

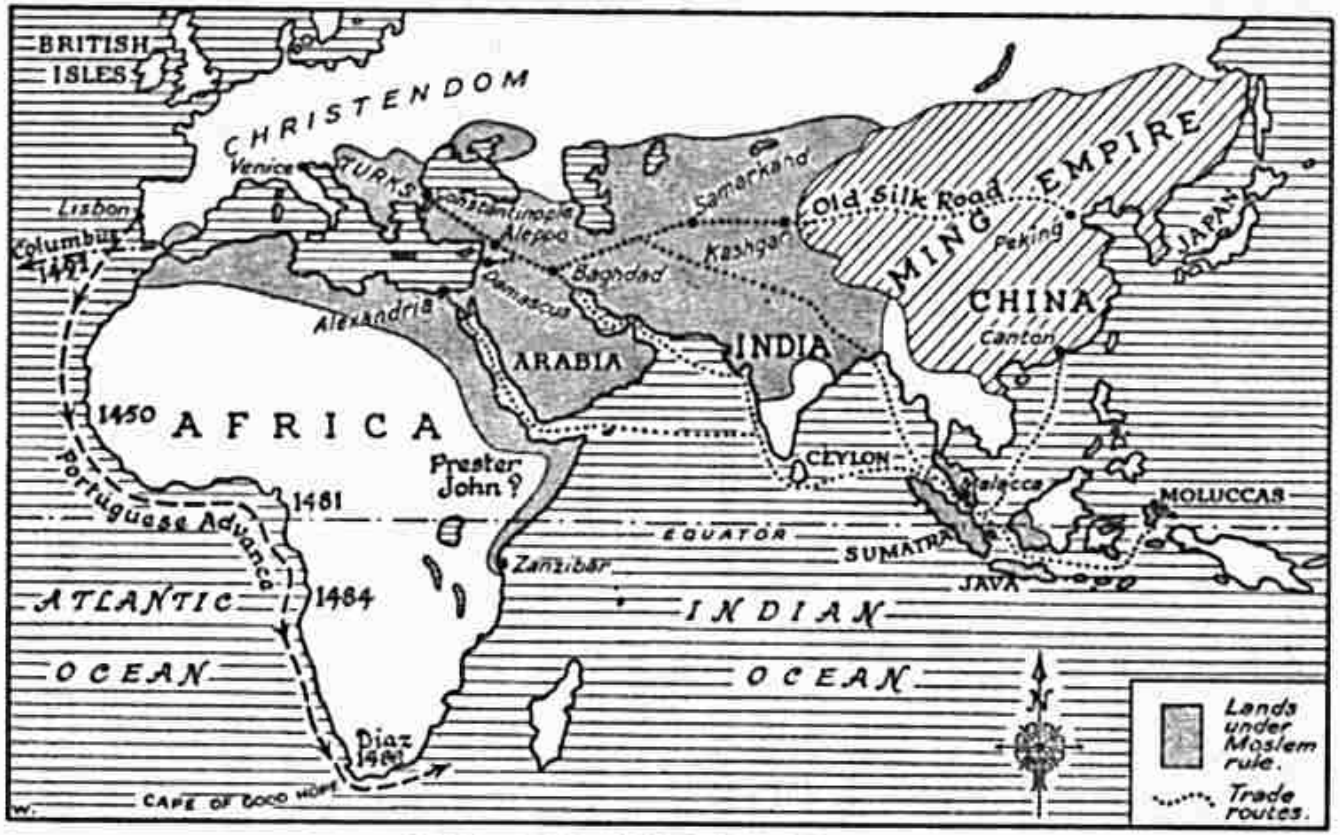
A new way to the East had to be found, and it fell not to Marco Polo's Venetian countrymen to discover it but to the people of Portugal, a small and poor land on the western edge of Europe. During the Middle Ages nearly all the Iberian Peninsula, which contains modern Spain and Portugal, had been overrun by the Moslem Moors from Africa. It took centuries of hard fighting for the Christian peoples of the peninsula, starting from their mountain strongholds in the north, to push the Moors south again and free their countries. Portugal started this struggle when the northern part of the country became independent in 1147. The long wars which followed, and by which the present boundaries were attained, were looked upon by the Portuguese and the Spaniards as a crusade, a part of the great struggle which was taking place between Christendom and Islam. Nor did this crusade cease when all Portugal

was freed, for the Portuguese, in their combination of religious zeal and national expansion, wished to pursue their adversaries into North Africa. Somewhere in eastern Africa it was believed that a great Christian state ruled by Prester John existed, and if they could make contact with this ally the Portuguese hoped to be able to overthrow the Moslem power in North Africa for ever.

With these ideas in view a Portuguese prince, Henry, known in history as " The Navigator ", established himself at Sagres at the extreme south-west of Portugal. Here he gathered round him all the most skilled navigators and geographers he could find to train the simple fishermen of Portugal and turn them into skilled seamen. Here, too, shipbuilding was studied and ships constructed capable of long voyages, fully decked and with three or four masts. Under the direction of Prince Henry, expeditions were sent out from Portugal to explore the west coast of Africa and seek a way round it to the East. At first progress was slow, for the sailors feared to go beyond the limits of the known world, but by the time of Prince Henry's death in 1460 they had passed the mouth of the Gambia River and were entering the Gulf of Guinea. In 1488 Bartholomew Diaz had rounded the Cape, which the King of Portugal named Good Hope, for the goal now seemed within sight. Finally, Vasco de Gama made the first voyage round Africa and reached Calicut in India in 1498.

When the Portuguese arrived in India they found the southern part of the country divided into a number of small Hindu states, frequently quarrelling among themselves, while the northern part was ruled by Moslem princes. Fortunately for them, these divisions prevented any combination being formed, and when their high-handed actions closed the port of Calicut to them they were able to continue operations from Cochin in a neighbouring state.

The Portuguese found that the trade of the Indian Ocean was carried by Arab and Indian craft to the head of the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, whence the goods were taken by caravan to the



THE OLD WORLD IN 1492

Note that the existing land and sea routes to the East are all controlled by Moslems. Only in Spain and Portugal has Christendom gained ground. These countries are about to open new routes westward and round Africa.

ports of the eastern Mediterranean. Here the Italian merchants picked them up and distributed them to all parts of Europe; but by the time these goods had passed through so many hands they were very expensive.

To the early Portuguese voyagers these Moslem traders were none other than the hated "Moors", and so it seemed right to fight against them in a continuation of the national crusade against the power of Islam. It was also obvious that if the rich trade of the East could be diverted round the Cape of Good Hope Portugal would win the prize of which every nation in Europe was dreaming. The struggle to attain this object was short and fierce. The Portuguese were never more than a handful, but their bravery was equalled only by their ruthlessness, and they had the advantage that their ships were easier to handle and better armed with cannon than the unwieldy native craft built for short voyages in fair weather. Thus in one engagement four Portuguese ships destroyed the greater part of a fleet of between two and three hundred vessels without the loss of a single Portuguese life. New expeditions were rapidly sent to the East to follow up these initial advantages, and the final victory was won in 1509 over an Egyptian fleet off Diu. After this the Portuguese were able to intercept the bulk of the trade bound for ports in the Middle East.

Francisco d'Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy in the East, under whom these victories were won, was in favour of a strictly naval policy, and was opposed to using the slender Portuguese resources in man-power in the acquisition and holding of posts on land. The opposite view was held by the greatest of the Portuguese leaders, Afonso d'Albuquerque, who arrived in the East at this time. Albuquerque captured the island of Socotra and the fortress of Ormuz, and by placing garrisons in these places was able to control the entrances of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Appointed as Viceroy, he now sought a safe base on the Indian coast, and in 1510 captured Goa, which ever since has been the Portuguese headquarters in India.

The Portuguese were quick to realize the importance of

Malacca as the great centre of eastern trade. As Barbosa wrote, " Whoever is Lord in Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice." Accordingly, King Manuel dispatched a fleet under Dom Diogo Lopez de Sequeira with presents and a letter to the Sultan of Malacca requesting permission to establish a trading-post at his port. Sequeira arrived in the Indian Ocean in time to help in the victory off Diu and then proceeded to Malacca to carry out his mission.

The arrival of these " Franks ", as the Malays called Europeans, caused great excitement. The *Sejarah Melayu* tells us :

" The people of Malacca for their part came crowding to see what the Franks looked like; and they were all astonished and said, ' These are white Bengalis '. Around each Frank there would be a crowd of Malays, some of them twisting his beard, some of them fingering his head, some taking off his hat, some grasping his hand."

The Portuguese admiral had an interview with Tun Mutahir, the Bendahara, which was polite but led to no satisfaction of the request of the King of Portugal for trading rights. It seems clear that the Gujerati merchants were quick to realize that if the Portuguese were allowed to establish themselves their own trade would be ruined. Mahmud Shah had handed over most of his powers to his son, Ahmad Shah. The Bendahara himself was deeply involved in trading with the Gujeratis, and was easily persuaded to adopt a hostile policy and to get it agreed to by the young prince. A plot was made to seize the Portuguese ships while de Sequeira and most of his men were on shore. It failed because a friendly Javanese woman swam to the ships by night and warned the Portuguese. Some of de Sequeira's men were seized and imprisoned, but the admiral escaped with all but two of his ships, which had to be burnt because there were not enough sailors left to man them. Some of the captives died, some escaped to Sumatra and the rest were prisoners for two years.

As soon as he had established his base at Goa, Afonso d'Albuquerque set out for Malacca with a considerable fleet. When he arrived in 1511 the situation in Malacca had changed. The weak Sultan Mahmud had been offended because Tun Mutahir had given his beautiful daughter, Tun Fatimah, in marriage to a relative instead of following the usual custom of marrying the Bendahara's daughter to the ruler. With the aid of other Malay chiefs who hated the half-Tamil Bendahara, Sultan Mahmud was able to put Tun Mutahir to death and to regain the power which he had lost to this domineering uncle. It seems, however, that Mahmud was little suited to rule in a crisis, and that the many feuds among the chiefs weakened Malacca and were one cause of the defeat which followed.

Albuquerque's fleet sailed into Malacca with flags flying and guns firing salutes. Probably he had every intention of taking the town. The Sultan sent a messenger to tell him that Tun Mutahir was dead and threw the blame for the anti-Portuguese policy on the late Bendahara. Long negotiations followed while both sides made preparations for war. No doubt Albuquerque hoped to save the lives of the Portuguese captives, who had nobly sent him advice to attack, while Mahmud may have thought that the Portuguese, like other seafarers, would sail away with the change of the monsoon. In the meanwhile the Malays were building stockades. Albuquerque burnt the Moslem craft in the harbour, but some Chinese junks were carefully protected, for their crews were hostile to the Sultan and willing to help the Portuguese.

The attack was started on St. James' Day and was concentrated on the bridge over the river so as to separate the Malays on the hill from those on the northern town side. After a fierce fight, in which the Sultan's son Ahmad, mounted on an elephant, led the Malays, the bridge and a small area round the mosque were captured, but the Portuguese did not have time to erect palisades before nightfall. Fearing that his exhausted men would not be able to withstand a night attack, Albuquerque withdrew them to the ships and decided to try again.

Albuquerque now accepted the offer of a Chinese junk which was fitted out as a floating fortress to give covering fire to those attacking the bridge, where the Malays were busy strengthening their defences. On 10 August the junk was taken on the high tide into the mouth of the river right up to the bridge. One party from the junk jumped on to the bridge and captured it, while others landed on the banks at either end. The stockades at both bridgeheads were stormed with the aid of gunfire from boats and the whole position fortified. An advance was then made into the city, which was taken with great slaughter. Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang. The rapid collapse of resistance was due to the indifference of the cosmopolitan population, of whom more than half were foreigners with little liking for the Malay chiefs and willing to accept the Portuguese as their new masters if they were allowed to carry on their trade. Albuquerque had been wise enough to assure these merchants that he wished to preserve Malacca as a great centre of commerce.

In this way the Sultan of Malacca lost the capital which had made the greatness of his house. He still claimed to rule over the rest of the country and had hopes of recovering Malacca, but, in practice, he and his successors became royal fugitives who were never able to find a satisfactory stronghold and whose real power continued to decline. The Portuguese had obtained as their prize the key point which enabled them to dominate the trade of the East for the rest of the century and to succeed the Sultans as the paramount power in the Straits.

CHAPTER FIVE

PORTUGUESE MALACCA AND THE MALAY STATES

BEFORE he captured Malacca Albuquerque had made up his mind to build a great fortress to secure this vital centre of the eastern trade. The picture opposite page 42, which was drawn by a Portuguese about 1515, gives a good idea of the result of his work. The site chosen for the castle was at the foot of the hill close to the river-mouth where the Malay mosque had stood and more or less where the Dutch Stadthuys is today. Here there was a water supply from two wells, and ships could come right up to the walls to bring supplies and reinforcements if the fortress were besieged. The disadvantage was that this position was dominated by the hill. To counteract this a tower was built, four stories high, from which the defenders could fire upon any attackers who tried to bombard the fort from the hill. The castle was rectangular in shape, with smaller towers at the corners and enclosed a courtyard. Stone for its construction was taken from the mosque and the Malay tombs near by. The building was done rapidly under the direction of Albuquerque and his soldiers. Labour was provided by conscripting any Malays who could be caught and by employing the slaves of the late ruler. When completed the name of A Famosa, " the Famous ", was given to the fort.

Outside the fort there was the large native town, which must have remained much as it was under the Sultans and consisted of wooden houses roofed with thatch. On the fort side of the river the houses appear to have been rather larger, and here the Portuguese lived. Across the river was the suburb of Upeh. A stockade of wood and earth was made all round, which was sufficient to give protection against casual marauders, but was too long a line to be defended by the small Portuguese garrison against a really strong attack. It will be observed that a single

bridge on the site of that built by the Malays provided communication between the two banks of the river. Albuquerque also ordered the building of a church dedicated to Our Lady of the Annunciation on the top of the hill, though it is unlikely that any of the ruins still to be seen date from this time. This was the first Christian church to be built in Malaya. Soon after, another church dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption was built next to the fort.

Albuquerque was anxious to restart the trade of Malacca as quickly as possible, and though he was merciless to the Malays and Gujeratis, he was careful to deal tactfully with traders of other races. The Chinese had been allowed to sail away unmolested in their junks, and the opportunity was taken to send with them an envoy to the King of Siam at Ayuthia, with the object of opening up trade with that country, which had for long disputed the supremacy of Malaya with the Malacca Sultans and might be expected to welcome their overthrow. The tactful treatment of the Chinese paid at once, for the messenger whom Sultan Mahmud sent to report the loss of Malacca to the Emperor of China was not able to get any help from that quarter. Hindu merchants from east of Cape Comorin and the Pegus from Burma were also treated kindly. The large Javanese community, whose submission had helped to bring about the fall of the city, were allowed to resume their trade under the control of a headman of their own race called Utimutiraja.

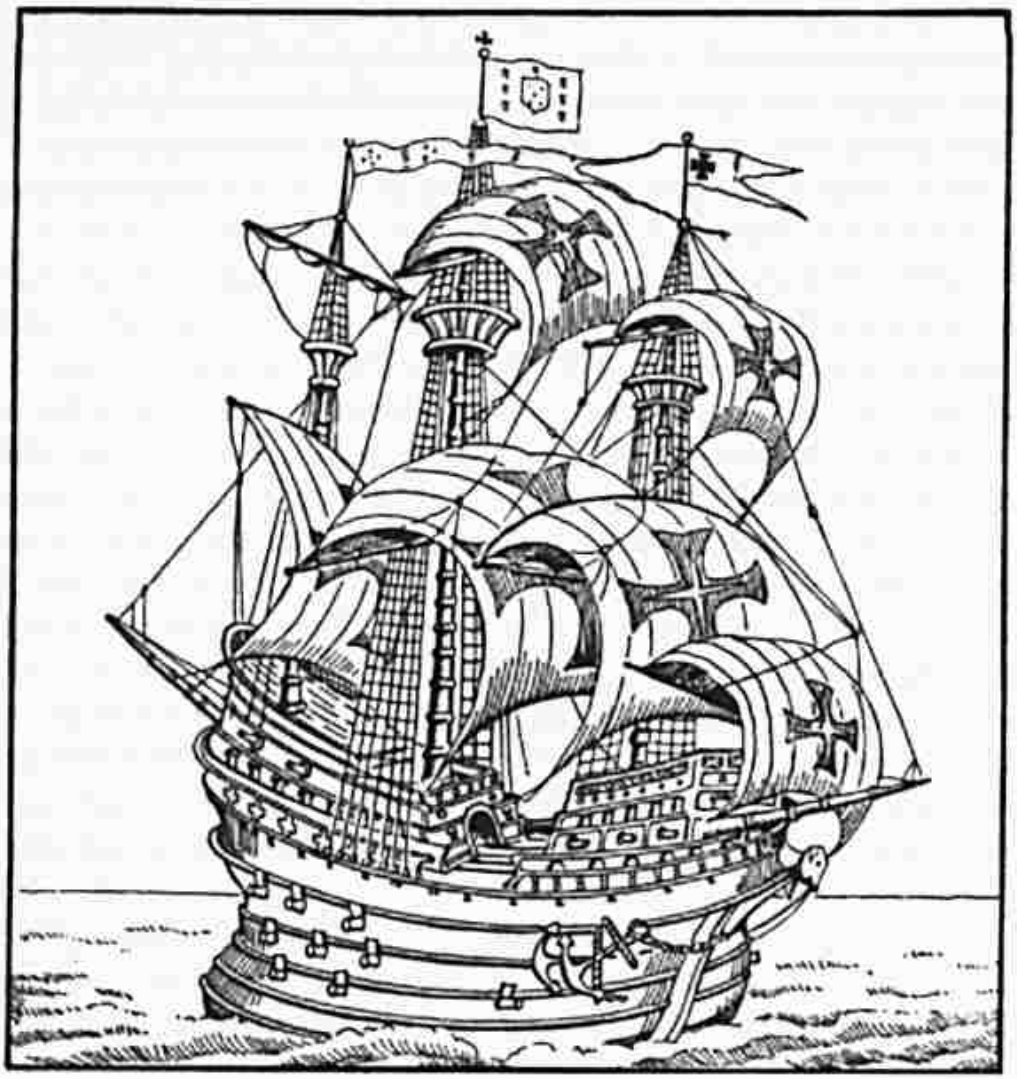
To facilitate commerce it was necessary to establish a new currency in place of the Malay tin coinage. A mint was set up and three values of tin coins, one of silver and one of gold issued. Utimutiraja, who tried to discourage the use of the new money and had been treacherously communicating with the Sultan, was arrested, and publicly executed as an example to those who had not yet realized that the Portuguese had come to stay. His followers attempted to attack the Hindus, whom they blamed for the fall of Utimutiraja, but their revolt was quickly defeated. After this, the King of Java sent an embassy to seek friendship

with the Portuguese, as also did the Sultan of Kampar, who had been the vassal of Malacca. Menangkabaus from Sumatra now began to bring their gold once more to Malacca in exchange for Indian textiles; and cargoes of captured merchandise were sent to Pasai in order to obtain the pepper which was so much desired both by the Chinese and the Europeans.

Albuquerque had accomplished much during his brief stay at Malacca, but he was all the time anxious for the safety and good government of Goa, and wished to return there as soon as he felt that his new conquest was secure. The merchants begged him to stay longer, but this he could not do. When the fort was finished he held a meeting with his chief captains to decide on the government and defence of the settlement. As supreme commander he appointed a "Captain of the Fort", or Governor, who would have a garrison of six hundred soldiers. Under his orders was the "Captain of the Sea", who commanded the fleet of well-armed vessels to be stationed at Malacca for the control of the Straits. Native headmen were chosen to rule over the various communities, Hindu, Moor and Javanese. There does not seem to have been a resident Chinese community at this time.

At the end of 1511 Albuquerque embarked on his ship, *Flor de la Mar* (Flower of the Sea), and sailed for India with two other ships and a captured junk laden with plunder, including six bronze lions intended for his tomb, sixty Javanese carpenters from the shipbuilding yards, whom he thought might be useful in Lisbon, skilled embroideresses, young girls and youths and a great store of precious stones as presents for his master, the King of Portugal. None of this loot was destined to reach Portugal, for off Aru on the north coast of Sumatra the *Flor de la Mar* ran aground and, being an old ship, immediately broke in two. Albuquerque managed to escape on a raft to another ship, but the *Flor de la Mar* and its cargo became a total loss.[1] The Viceroy arrived back in India to find Goa besieged

[1] Meanwhile in the confusion the Javanese crew of the junk mutinied, killed the Portuguese on board and escaped to Pasek.



Albuquerque's flagship *Flor de la Mar*

and the whole Portuguese position in danger. With his usual energy he restored the situation. After leading an unsuccessful attack on Aden he died at Goa in 1515.

From their new base at Malacca the Portuguese lost no time in pushing on their explorations to the Moluccas, the fabulous Spice Islands, which were the source of the most-prized trade of all. The Viceroy himself had already dispatched a fleet from Malacca under Antonio d'Abreu, who had distinguished himself as the commander of the junk at the attack on the bridge.

D'Abreu's squadron of three ships reached Amboyna safely, but were there scattered by storms in which one was wrecked. The captain of the lost ship, Francisco Serrao, was picked up by a local vessel, which carried him to Ternate in Halmahera. Serrao lived for nine years in Ternate and gained the friendship of the Sultan by helping him in his wars with the rival Sultan of Tidore, who ruled over the rest of the Moluccas.

The way was now open for Portuguese trade in the Spice Islands, but they soon had rivals. Among the crews of Sequeira's fleet was Ferdinand Magellan, who heard about the Moluccas from his friend Francisco Serrao. Rather unpatriotically he offered his services and information to the Spanish, who were seeking a western route to the Orient and had been rather disappointed to find America in the way. The Spanish authorities fitted out five small ships for Magellan, and with these he left Spain in 1519. Crossing the Atlantic, he followed the coast of South America until he reached the Straits now named after him. Passing through these into the Pacific, he arrived at the Islands now called the Philippines, where he lost his life in a petty war. Command of the two ships now remaining was taken over by Del Cano, who reached Tidore at the end of 1521. Commercial rivalry proved stronger than common religion, and the Spanish proceeded to intervene on the side of Tidore against the pro-Portuguese Sultan of Ternate. Del Cano went on to the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in his sole surviving ship, the *Vittoria*, and arrived back in Spain in 1522, having circumnavigated the world for the first time.

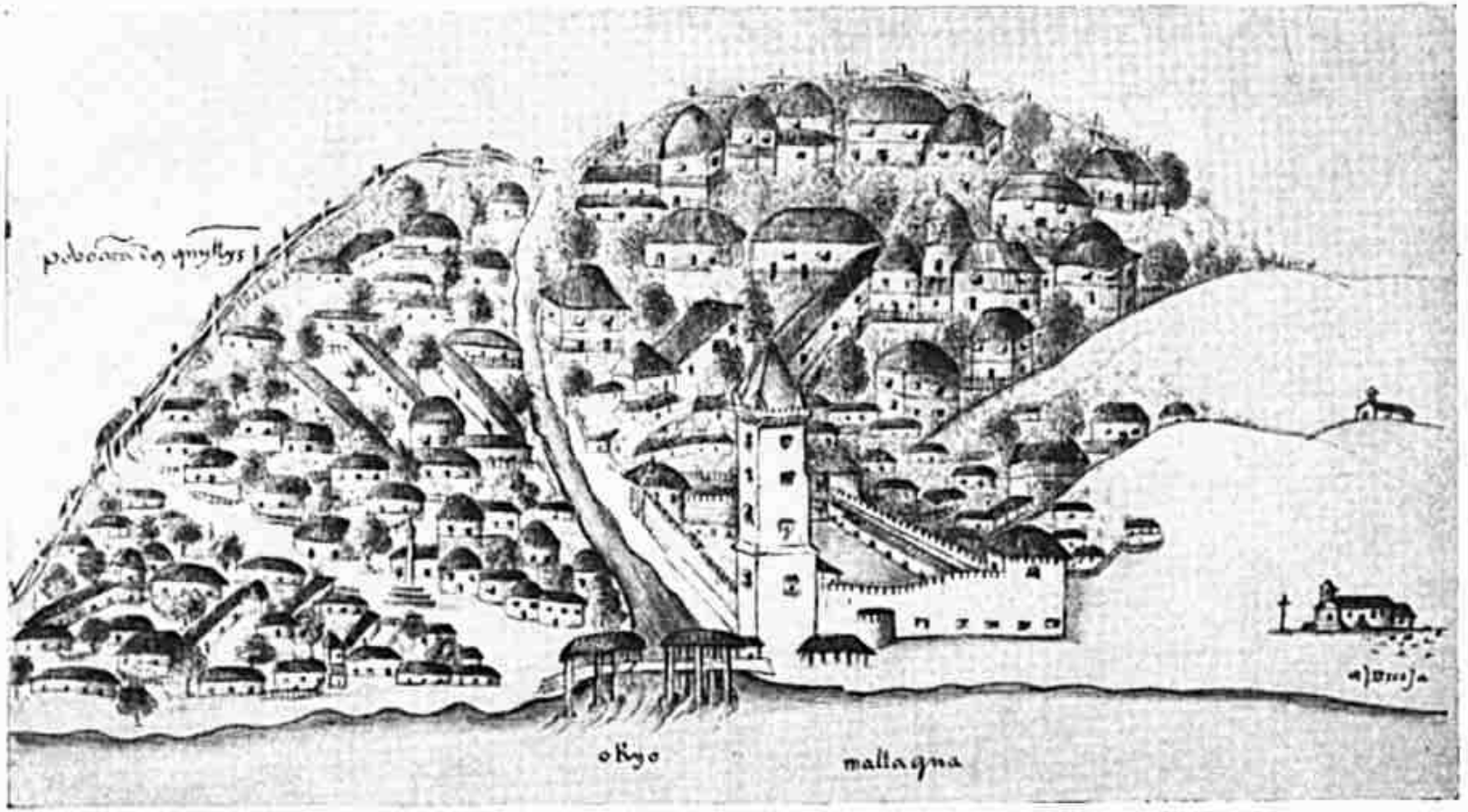
There followed some years of struggle between the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the Moluccas, which ended in a victory for Portugal, accepted by Spain in the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529. The Moluccas and Amboyna then came under Portuguese rule, and the source of the spices as well as their transport through Malacca was secured. Spain did not give up her attempt to gain a share of the eastern trade, and when the conquest of Mexico enabled her to open a short route across the American

continent instead of the long route by Cape Horn or the Magellan Straits, Spanish expeditions began to sail westwards across the Pacific. In 1571 they established at Manila a base in the islands named after their king, the Philippines. Meanwhile the Portuguese had obtained a trading station at Macao in southern China in 1557. The Spanish used Mexican silver to pay for eastern goods, and as a result the silver Mexican dollar became the standard currency of Far Eastern ports. Except for this Spanish trade, the Portuguese had no European competition for the century following Vasco da Gama's arrival in India, and the vast extent of their maritime empire and its trading posts can be seen from the map on page 49.

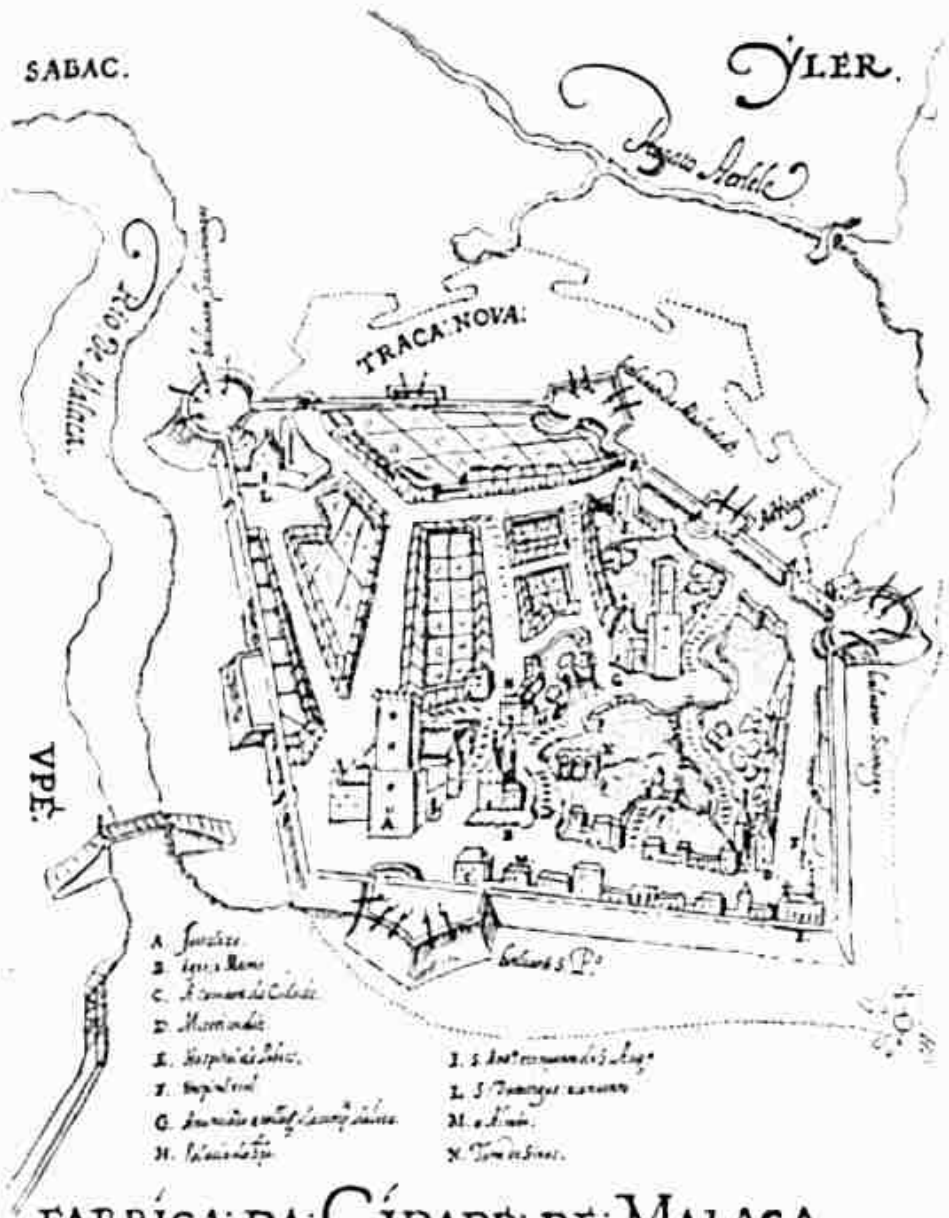
Sultan Mahmud hoped that he would soon recover Malacca, and had at first moved only to Batu Hampar, but when his son, Ahmad, was driven from Pagoh and then from Muar the Sultan and the prince withdrew overland to Pahang. There they quarrelled over the disaster that had overtaken them. The fleet which the Laksamana had gathered together at the mouth of the Muar River was defeated easily by the Portuguese. A more serious threat came from a Javanese fleet of a hundred ships and ten thousand men led by the Sultan of Demak, but the dozen Portuguese ships available were able to defeat this also in 1513.

Sultan Mahmud now moved to Bintang in the Rhio group of islands south of Singapore, where he reigned for twelve years, appointing officials with the old, high-sounding titles used in Malacca and receiving homage from rulers of states in Malaya and Sumatra. Hé launched two more unsuccessful attacks on Malacca in 1518 and 1523. Then the Portuguese attacked Bintang in 1525 and took Mahmud's stronghold there. The *Sejarah Melayu* gives a pathetic picture of the ageing ruler, a refugee once more, making his way painfully with bandaged feet through the jungle. Eventually he escaped to Kampar, where he died three years later.

Of Mahmud's sons the eldest, Ahmad, had fallen into disfavour and was killed by his father's orders. Muzaffar Shah,



Malacca in about 1515



FABRÍCA: DA: CÍDADE: DE: MALACA.
INTRA: MVROS: Anno. 1604.

Eredia's Plan of Malacca

who was next chosen as heir, was passed over in favour of Ala'u'ddin Shah, son of the favourite wife, Tun Fatimah, but he returned to Malaya and became the first Sultan of Perak. Ala'u'ddin left Kampar just before his father's death and was accepted as the first Sultan of Johore.

The hatred of the Malacca line for the Portuguese was natural and continuous, but more dangerous both commercially and militarily were the Sultanates of northern Sumatra, which produced pepper and enjoyed a good strategic position at the entrance of the Straits. These states had been tributary to Malacca and, though they were not sorry to see the downfall of the Malay Sultans, had little desire to find new masters in the Portuguese, who soon started to seek to control their trade. At Pasai the Portuguese built a fortified trading-post, but when they tried to interfere in Pedir they met with fierce opposition from the third state, Acheh. The Achinese proved themselves formidable fighters and not only repelled a Portuguese attack but expelled their opponents from Pedir and Pasai as well. The Portuguese were compelled to rely on a naval blockade of the Sumatran ports, which was only partly effective.

It was the policy of the Portuguese to control all shipping passing through the Straits and to make it call at Malacca, where tolls were paid on each vessel and customs duties collected on both exports and imports. In practice, they found that it was not possible to insist on this compulsory stop at Malacca in the case of the larger ships from India and China, but smaller local craft were forced to obey. Moslem shipping was often regarded by the crusading Portuguese as fair game for straightforward piracy. Such a policy was bound to cause hatred and, although it may have paid high profits for a while, defeated its purpose by discouraging traffic from using the Straits and keeping Portuguese Malacca in a state of almost perpetual war with its neighbours. This meant that naval supremacy in the Straits had to be maintained, but it was hard to retain the necessary ships when the Portuguese Government expected large shipments of eastern produce to be sent home every year during the

North-East Monsoon. At this season the Portuguese often did not have enough ships left at Malacca to enforce the blockade, or even to protect the fortress itself from attack, until the change of the monsoon brought the returning fleets from Goa and Europe. With resources so stretched, they could never defeat their enemies decisively, and it was only the strength of the castle itself that saved the situation.

In 1537 the Achinese made the first of a series of attacks on Malacca. Landing at night, they attempted to surprise the fortress, but were repulsed with heavy losses. Fortunately for the Portuguese, the two Moslem states of Acheh and Johore never combined against them and were frequently at war with each other. Thus in 1540 the Sultan Ala'u'ddin of Johore, with help from Siak and Perak, won a great sea-fight over Acheh, from which it took some time for that state to recover.

In spite of difficulties, it seems that Malacca retained in Portuguese times its great position as the key point of the Far Eastern trade. From their bases in India the Portuguese could control the export of cotton cloth which was brought to Malacca in exchange for the pepper of Sumatra, cloves, nutmeg and mace from the Spice Islands, tin from Perak and gold from Pahang and Menangkabau. Like other European nations later, the Portuguese found it hard to find suitable goods for export from Europe to the East. Some glass, metal goods, linens and woollens were exported to the Indies, but often silver was used to buy oriental goods. Much of the produce was bought with the profits of the local trade in the eastern seas.

The King of Portugal kept the commerce with Asia as a royal monopoly to be carried on by his servants, but it was understood that officials appointed to the Indies would make large sums by private trade in return for the great risks which they took. They were therefore paid small salaries. This led to a scramble for wealth by officials who neglected the King's interests and resorted to extortion and piracy to gain their ends. The religious ideals of the early crusaders were rapidly giving

way to baser commercial aims. The situation is well described by Tomé Pires :

" Great affairs cannot be managed with few people. Malacca should be well supplied with people, sending some and bringing back others. It should be provided with excellent officials, expert traders, lovers of peace, not arrogant, quick-tempered, undisciplined, dissolute, but sober and elderly, for Malacca has no white-haired official. Courteous youth and business life do not go together ; and since this cannot be had in any other way, at least let us have years, for the rest cannot be found. Men cannot estimate the worth of Malacca, on account of its greatness and profit. Malacca is a city which was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world ; the end of some monsoons and the beginning of others. Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca. Wherefore a thing of such great wealth, which never in the world could decline, if it were moderately governed and favoured, should be supplied, looked after, praised and favoured, and not neglected."

It was to this city that there came in the middle of the sixteenth century a man who stood for very different ideas from those of the rapacious officials and rough soldiers. St. Francis, " the Apostle of the Indies ", was the son of a Basque nobleman from whose castle in Navarre he received the surname of Xavier. As a young man he was athletic and fond of the pleasures of life, as well as a brilliant scholar. At the University of Paris, where he went in 1525 to study for the priesthood and remained as a teacher, he met an ex-soldier Ignatius Loyola, who after being badly wounded in battle had dedicated the rest of his life to the service of Christ in the spiritual battle for the minds and souls of his fellow men. This was the turning point for Francis, whom Loyola was anxious to win as a disciple. With difficulty he was persuaded, but from that time he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the work which was undertaken by Loyola

and six companions, who took vows of poverty and chastity as the original members of the order which was given the approval of the Pope in 1540 as the Society of Jesus, more commonly called the Jesuits. So great was the fame of their work in Italy that the King of Portugal asked the Pope for Jesuits to be sent to the Portuguese empire in the Indies. Francis Xavier was one of the two chosen. He took ship from Lisbon and arrived at Goa in 1542. There he spent five months trying to arouse the consciences of the Christians. Next he did two years of missionary work among the Pallava people of Cape Comorin.

In September 1545 he arrived for the first time in Malacca on his way to the Spice Islands. His fame had preceded him, and he was welcomed by those who had suffered from the corrupt officials. As was his custom, he took up his quarters in the hospital for the three months that he was in Malacca, spend- his time in visiting the sick, teaching the children, for whom he planned the first school attached to the Church of Our Lady on the hill, and trying to persuade the Portuguese to live more Christian lives. He also had a simple explanation of the Christian faith translated into Malay. In January 1546 he left for the Moluccas. He returned four times to Malacca; on his way back to Goa in 1547, when he urged the Governor to attack the Achinese Fleet and saw the victory in a vision; on his way to Japan, where he was the first Christian missionary of whom we have knowledge; briefly on his return from Japan, and finally, when he was on his last voyage to China. In 1552 he died on the island of Sancian near Canton within sight of the empire he longed to convert. His body was brought back to Malacca, was buried in the Church of Our Lady for a short time and later was removed to Goa, where it still lies in the cathedral.

The work of St. Francis Xavier and his fellow Jesuits had a deep influence on the development of the Portuguese empire, including Malacca, during the second half of the sixteenth century. The days of greatest achievement and adventure were over, but the worst abuses tended to decline, and the Portuguese

settlements became much more civilized places. When St. Francis came to Malacca there were only two churches and little missionary work. By the end of the century there were fourteen churches in the city and district and many thousands of Christians. The Jesuits had their College of St. Paul attached to the old church on the hill, and the three orders of Friars, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, had their convents. In 1557 Malacca became the seat of a bishop, and the church at the foot of the hill became the cathedral. So deeply did Catholic Christianity become rooted in Malacca that it survived the persecutions of the Dutch period, and the old town is still one of the main centres of that faith in Malaya.

The development of the town of Malacca is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the triangular struggle between the Portuguese, Acheh and Johore was still going on all through the second half of the sixteenth century. Ala'u'ddin, son of Sultan Mahmud, left Kampar before his father's death and went first to Pahang. Making his way overland, he reached the upper part of the Johore River. Later he moved his capital downstream to Johore Lama. Fear of Acheh made him, at times, inclined to seek the friendship of the Portuguese. Thus when the Achinese attacked Malacca in 1547 he remained neutral at Muar with a large fleet which he and his relations of Perak and Pahang had gathered together. A few years later he changed his mind, and in 1550 joined with Javanese allies in an attack on Malacca. The outer suburbs were taken, but the fortress resisted all attacks during a siege of three months. In 1564 Acheh attacked Johore Lama, sacked the place and carried Sultan Ala'u'ddin off into captivity in Sumatra, where he died.

Malacca had no long respite, and there were five more sieges during the remainder of the century; by Acheh in 1568, 1570 and 1573; by the forces of the Javanese state of Japara in 1574; and a final effort by Johore in 1586 with the aid of the Menangkabaus of Naning and Rembau. After this last attack the arrival of Paolo de Lima with a fleet from Goa enabled

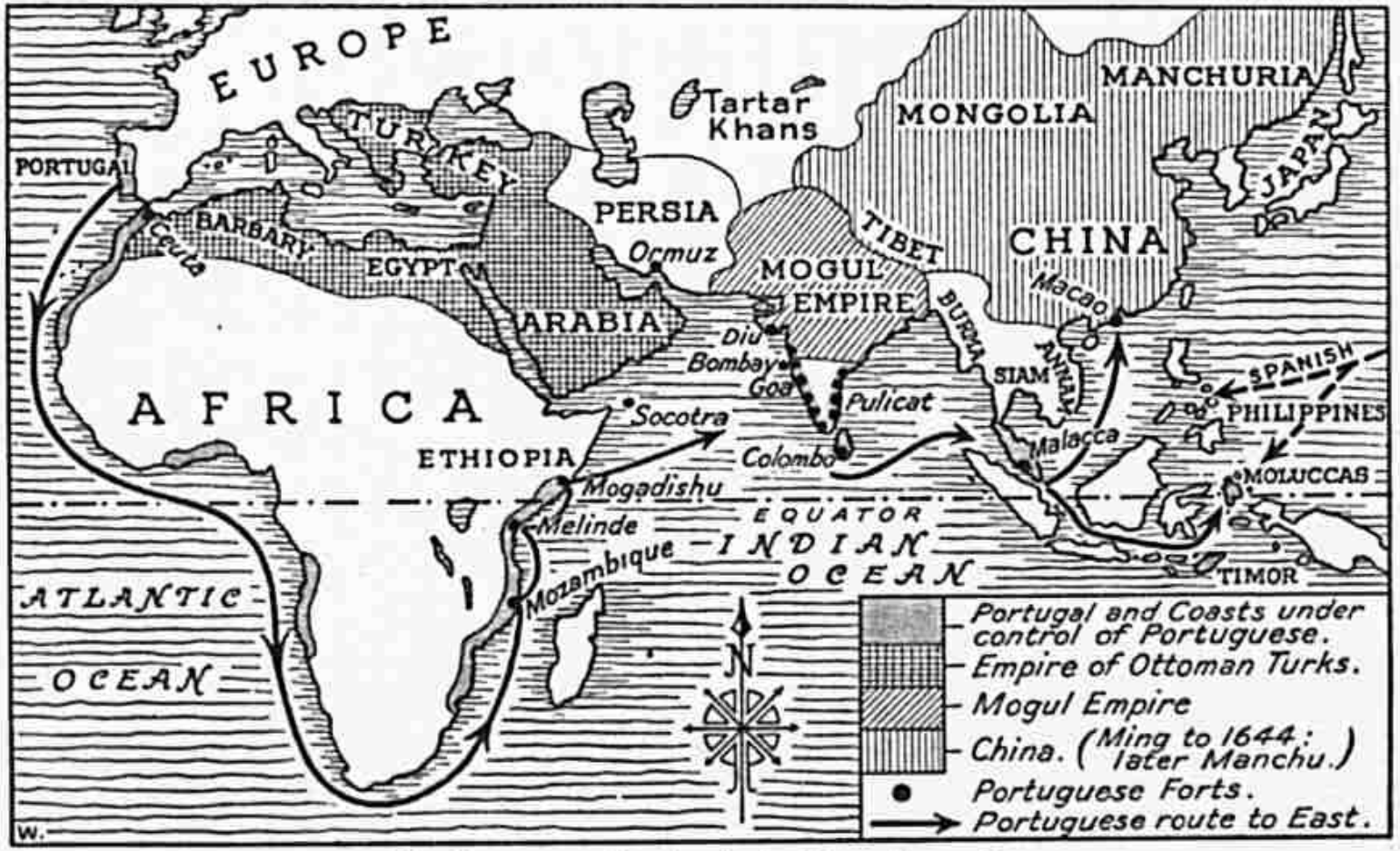
the Portuguese to storm Johore Lama, which had grown into a town of considerable size with a valuable trade. Much booty was taken, including 1,000 guns and 1,500 muskets of Indian manufacture.

The constant attacks made it necessary to extend the fortifications of Malacca beyond the original citadel of Albuquerque so as to give protection to the Portuguese town which had grown up on and round the hill. Fortunately we have a very full account and plans of the city made at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Emanuel Godinho de Eredia, the son of a Portuguese soldier who had married the daughter of a Bugis chief. Opposite page 43 is a reproduction of a plan which Eredia drew in 1604. It shows that the whole of the hill had been surrounded by a wall, which on the three sides facing the sea and the river was made of stone. In Eredia's time the land sides had earth ramparts, though they may have been faced with stone later. Bastions on which guns were mounted gave protection to each part of the walls. There were four land gates and a water gate.

" Within the circle of the walls were situated the Castle, the Palaces of the Governor of the State, the Palace of the Bishop, the Hall of the Council of the Republic, the Hall of the Brothers of Mercy, together with 5 Churches, namely the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption, with its chapter and episcopal see, the Church of Mercy of Our Lady of the Visitation, the Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation in the College of the Company of Jesus at the top of the hill, the Church of the S. Domingos in the Convent of the Dominicans, and the Church of S. Antonio in the Convent of S. Augustino : there were also two Hospitals."

Eredia goes on to tell us :

" Outside the walls lay 3 suburbs : the first called the suburb of Upe, on the other side of the river ; the second called the suburb of Yler on the same side of the river as the fortress ; the third called the suburb of Sabba, extending along the banks



The Portuguese Empire in the East, about 1600

of the river.[1] The most important of these suburbs is that called the suburb of Upe.

" It obtains its other name of ' Tranqueira ' from the rampart : there is a stone bastion constructed on the beach of the sea-shore, at a point 700 fathoms distant from the mouth of the river in a north-westerly direction ; from this point a wall of earth extends in a straight line towards the east for 60 fathoms, past the ordinary service gate of Tranqueira as far as the earth gun-platform : thence, at an obtuse angle, another wall of earth runs in a straight line in a south-easterly direction, through the marshy and swampy gardens lying inland, as far as the gate of Campon China which abuts on the river.

" So the suburb of Upe with its country houses and groves is encircled by a wall which protects it from the attacks of the Saletes ; nevertheless when war-time organisation prevails, it is entirely depopulated and abandoned, the whole population taking refuge within the walls of the fortress."

We are also told of the parishes into which the city and its suburbs were divided ; the busy Bazaar of the Javanese on the beach near the river-mouth in Upe, where " every variety of rice and edible grain is sold " ; of how the fishermen of Sabba built their houses right over the river and spread their nets to dry, just as they do today. Eredia estimates that there were 7,400 Christians in the city and many thousands of foreign merchants. Most of the Christians were of mixed Portuguese and native race, but there was no " colour bar ", and all those of their faith enjoyed the privileges of Portuguese citizenship. Three hundred of these " married Portuguese " formed the permanent garrison.

Such was the Portuguese city of Malacca in its heyday. But its glory was already threatened by other European nations, the Dutch and the English, who had by this time found their way round the Cape of Good Hope and were ready to challenge the supremacy which the Portuguese had enjoyed for a century.

[1] The modern names of these suburbs are Upeh or Tranquerah, Bandar Hilir, and Bunga Raya and Kampong Jawa.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DUTCH PERIOD

(i) *The Coming of the Dutch to the East*

At the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese empire was in too weak a condition to resist a determined attack successfully. Tomé Pires had pointed out the main reason for this weakness when he wrote, "Great affairs cannot be managed with few people." The population of Portugal in the sixteenth century was only about one million. She did not have the man-power to rule and hold an empire stretching from Brazil to Macao. Tropical diseases and the defence of distant fortresses took a heavy toll of her bravest sons, for on many voyages six out of seven who left the home country did not return. The very success of her brilliant efforts brought too much sudden wealth, and greed and corruption were undermining the whole fabric of Portuguese government in the East. Nor had the Portuguese kept pace with the improvements in naval construction, so that when they were faced by the larger and better-armed ships of other nations they lost the control of the sea on which their empire depended. Finally, in 1580 Portugal was united with Spain under the personal rule of Philip II, and her interests, at the most critical time, were subordinated to those of the Spanish in the war with the English and the Dutch.

The Netherlands had also been a part of the dominions of Philip II. They lay at the mouth of the Rhine, which provided one of the main highways of commerce in Europe, and it was the merchants of Antwerp, and later of the seaports of Holland, who distributed most of the eastern produce which the Portuguese brought to Lisbon. On this trade they grew wealthy and built up a large mercantile marine with a great carrying trade. Philip II foolishly attempted to interfere with

the liberties of the cities of the Netherlands and persecuted the Protestants when the Reformation spread to the northern provinces. The result was a great national revolt of these provinces, of which Holland was the most important, against the rule of the Catholic King. It began among the maritime population with the seizure of the port of Brill by the " Sea Beggars " in 1572. In William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the Dutch found a great leader in the long struggle which led to the independence of the northern part of the country under the name of the United Netherlands. The southern (Belgian) provinces remained Catholic and Spanish.

When Philip II became King of Portugal in 1580 he began to check the Dutch trade with Lisbon, and in 1594 closed that port completely to his rebellious subjects. The Dutch, therefore, determined to go to the East themselves and fetch its products. Any blow which they could strike there would help to undermine the power of their enemies, while the profits could be used to finance their struggle in Europe.

The Portuguese did not at first realize the threat. Dutch sailors and merchants were allowed to make voyages in Portuguese ships. One such traveller, van Linschoten, made an extensive tour, lived for nearly six years at Goa and visited many parts of the Far East. After his return to Holland in 1592 he published a guide to the navigation of the eastern seas and an account of his travels which gave for the first time to his countrymen and other European peoples much useful information. In 1595 de Houtman led the first Dutch expedition to the East Indies and during the next six years sixty-five ships made the voyage. These expeditions were organized by groups of merchants in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburg and other Dutch ports, and succeeded in gaining a base for the spice trade in the port of Bantam in Java. The Portuguese had neglected this island, and they now found, when it was too late, that their rivals were using it to by-pass Malacca.

The success of these ventures encouraged the Government of the Netherlands to make a determined effort to oust the

Portuguese altogether from the East Indies and to get a monopoly of the spice trade. With this object they combined the groups of merchants into the United East India Company, which was under the close control of the Government and backed by the whole power of the state.

(ii) *The Beginnings of the English East India Company*

The geographical position of England had not favoured the development of a large overseas trade in the Middle Ages. The main centres of sea-borne trade were in the Mediterranean, and imports, including those from the East, had been brought to her shores by Italian traders, especially the Venetians, or by the ships of the Hanseatic League, which had for long dominated the trade of northern Europe. The main exports from England had been wool and woollen cloth, and the efforts of the early Tudor sovereigns to increase overseas trade had been largely directed to the encouragement of this traffic by the opening up of new markets and the use of English instead of foreign ships.

The great discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in America and the East altered this situation, and England now found herself in a favourable position on the new ocean routes. At first the English did not feel themselves strong enough to challenge directly the monopoly which the Spanish and Portuguese claimed on the routes which they had discovered, and much effort was put into the search for a north-west passage to the East which would be England's own. Others tried to develop English trade with the eastern end of the Mediterranean, where the old trade routes from the Orient ended, and these efforts led to the foundation of the Levant Company, which received a charter from Queen Elizabeth I in 1592. The results of the voyages of Frobisher and Davis to the north-west were discouraging, and the products of the East which reached the Levant were more expensive than those which came by the new route round the Cape of Good Hope.

Meanwhile Francis Drake had awakened a new interest by his famous voyage round the world in 1577–80, during which he called at the Spice Islands themselves and found the Sultan of Ternate prepared to be friendly with anyone who would help him to free himself from the Portuguese. In 1586–88 Thomas Cavendish repeated Drake's exploit, and it became clear that the Spanish and Portuguese could not prevent the penetration of their preserves. At the same time, after " singeing the King of Spain's beard " by an attack on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, Drake captured in 1587 a Portuguese carrack, the *San Felippe*, off the Azores. The cargo proved to be worth over £108,000, and Hakluyt tells us that " the taking of this carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others that caraks were no such bugs but that they might be taken . . . and secondly, in acquainting the English nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies ". After the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 the English and their Dutch allies felt confident enough to attempt bolder measures everywhere and had more ships to spare for eastern ventures.

In 1591 there arrived back in London an Englishman named Ralph Fitch, who with some fellow merchants had travelled through Syria and Persia to India. Thence he went on alone to Burma, Siam and Malacca, where he stayed for seven weeks, the first Englishman to reach Malaya of whom we have knowledge. The account which he gave to his countrymen, like that of his contemporary van Linschoten, encouraged the merchants of London to fresh efforts. In the year 1591 the first English expedition of three ships set out to round the Cape. One ship was sent home with sick men and one was lost, but the third, commanded by James Lancaster, reached Penang. There he spent some time in piracy against the Portuguese shipping in the Straits of Malacca. On the homeward voyage Lancaster lost his ship in the West Indies after the crew had been so reduced that there were not enough to man her. However, Lancaster got back to England in a French ship in

1594, and although the voyage has been financially disastrous, the information and experience gained was valuable for the future.

The merchants of London interested in the eastern trade now realized some of the difficulties as well as the great prizes to be won and, combining their resources, asked Queen Elizabeth for a charter which would protect from competition the investment they were prepared to make. On 31 December 1600 this was granted under the name of the East India Company with a monopoly of all English trade with the regions east of the Cape of Good Hope. Unlike the Dutch Company, it was purely an association of merchants, and could count less on the power of the Government.

(iii) *The Anglo-Dutch Struggle in the East Indies*

The English and the Dutch were fellow-Protestants and allies in the war against Catholic Spain in Europe, but their friendship was not strong enough to prevent rivalry between their companies in the East. The object of the English merchants was to secure trade without heavy expense and, though they fought the Portuguese on occasions, they were anxious to gain facilities by peaceful means if it were possible. Large war fleets and forts on land were costly to build and maintain, and the London merchants were unwilling to invest large sums in such unproductive schemes. The Dutch, on the other hand, were resolved to wage outright war with the Portuguese until they had obtained the naval and political control which would give them the monopoly of the spice trade formerly enjoyed by their opponents. With the resources of the state behind them, they were able to do this, but were naturally unwilling that the English Company should share the results of victories which they had not helped to gain.

To begin with the English were quite successful. The command of the first expedition of the Company was entrusted to James Lancaster, who arrived in the East Indies in 1602.

He was well received at Acheh, and established at Bantam a factory alongside the Dutch. A large cargo of pepper was obtained which secured the success of the voyage.

In the same year, 1602, a Dutch fleet under Jacob van Heemskerck arrived at the mouth of the Johore River, where he captured a richly laden Portuguese carrack returning from China. Van Heemskerck was welcomed by Sultan Ala'u'ddin III of Johore at Batu Sawar, which had been the capital of that state since the destruction of Johore Lama. The Dutch won a victory over the Portuguese off Bantam in 1603, and during the next few years drove them out of Amboyna and the Moluccas. The second English fleet under Henry Middleton was present at this time, but as James I had made peace with Spain and Portugal, he was under orders not to fight unless attacked, and merely looked on.

In 1606 there arrived at Malacca under Admiral Cornelis Matelief de Jonge a strong Dutch fleet sent out to overthrow the Portuguese once and for all. Attacks were made on the fort to test its defences and a treaty made with Raja Bongsu of Johore, who arrived with a Malay force. It was agreed that the two parties should jointly besiege Malacca and that when it was taken the Dutch should have the fort, while Johore was to rule over all the surrounding land. The captured guns were to go to Johore as soon as the Dutch could replace them, and all other plunder was to be divided equally. The Dutch were to enjoy freedom of trade in all the dominions of the Sultan, and both promised not to make peace without the consent of the other.

A landing was then made and the northern suburbs of the town captured. This brought the Dutch face to face with the fortress, which was a much harder proposition. Matelief had noticed that whenever he asked for help from his allies it was always promised but never appeared. At length the Bendahara " told him plainly that the Malays intended to leave the whole business to us, under pretence that Terante and Ambon had also been taken by us without the assistance of the natives.

Upon hearing this, Mr. Matelief growled not a little at the Bendahara." [1]

At this point Matelief decided to raise the siege because a powerful fleet was about to arrive from Goa with orders to drive the Dutch out of the East. With this armada Matelief fought a drawn battle off Malacca, in which both sides lost two ships, but in later engagements in the Straits of Malacca he succeeded in capturing or destroying nine out of the eighteen Portuguese galleons. This defeat sealed the fate of the Portuguese in the East.

With trading facilities in Java and Sumatra and control of the Spice Islands, the Dutch could afford to leave Malacca alone for the present. They had discovered that it was easier to sail eastwards with the prevailing westerly winds from the Cape of Good Hope until they reached the longitude of Java and then work their way northwards through the Sunda Straits. Incidentally, this led to the discovery of the west coast of Australia, to which they gave the name of New Holland, but the important point at the time was that this new route, as well as being quicker, made it unnecessary to pass through the Straits of Malacca. This was a severe blow to the prosperity of Malacca, and it was not until the opening of the Suez Canal and the advent of the steamship that the main sea-route to the Far East from Europe was brought once more past the shores of Malaya.

Negotiations between the Dutch and the English in Europe failed to work out a satisfactory agreement as long as James I was determined to keep the peace with Portugal and the Dutch had the power to defeat her without assistance. The English managed to establish factories in the Banda Islands, but after an open conflict they were defeated in 1619. In this same year the great Dutch Governor-General Jan Pieterzsoon Coen established a new headquarters for his company at Jakarta which he renamed Batavia.

Peace was patched up once more, but the English trading-

[1] Valentyn's *Description of Malacca*, in "Oud en Niew Oost Indien," 1726.

posts in the East Indies were so hampered by the Dutch that they did not pay their way. Nor had the English the armed forces which they had at last promised to provide as the price of peace when the Dutch resumed the war with Portugal in 1621. Complete abandonment of the English factories had already been decided on when the final blow fell. In 1623 the Dutch seized the English factory at Amboyna and put to death twelve of the eighteen merchants there. After this " massacre of Amboyna ", as it was called, the English East India Company withdrew to India proper, except for the small post at Bantam, which continued a struggling existence until 1682. The Dutch were thus left in complete control of the external trade of the East Indies.

(iv) *The Fall of Malacca*

The Dutch control of the Moluccas and the naval power they exercised from Batavia seriously lessened the trade of Malacca. Barretto de Resende, an Italian in the Portuguese service who wrote a description of Malacca in the last days of Portuguese rule, tells us:

" All the southern tribes were wont to come here to buy in exchange for other merchandise so that the commerce was very extensive and profits no less; but now it is almost entirely extinct, for never or rarely do any natives come to Malacca to seek anything; having all they require from the Dutch. But nevertheless voyages are still undertaken from Malacca to many parts, China, Manila, and Cochin-China being the principal points of destination and the less important voyages being to Patane."

Even this limited trade to the eastwards was subject to attack for he goes on to tell how:

" The Straits of Singapore, before referred to, is the place where the Dutch lay in wait for the Portuguese ships coming from China, Manila, Macassar, and all the Malucco Archipelago."

In this piracy the *Orang Laut* of the Straits joined, and Resende complains:

"These Saletes are a wicked people and especially so to the Portuguese. They are evil-hearted and treacherous, and the best spies the Dutch possess. Whatever, of the many places in this vicinity, our ships may be, they immediately inform the Dutch and lead them there; so that most of our losses are due to them. This is because the Dutch give a share of all thus seized."

Malacca had formerly supplied "southern merchandise" to China, but "now nothing but a little pepper is exported and little, if any, cloves; our trade and the rest is in the hands of the Dutch, who are lords of the Isles of Banda". The Dutch blockade was obviously having its effect.

At this time all Malaya suffered from renewed attacks by the Achinese under the redoubtable warrior king, Mahkota 'Alam. In 1613 and again in 1615 he attacked Johore and carried off one Sultan to die in captivity and drove another out of his capital at Batu Sawar, which he destroyed utterly. In 1620 it was Perak's turn, and Resende reports:

"The king of this place was for many years a vassal of His Majesty (the King of Portugal) and paid in tribute a large quantity of tin. Three years ago he refused the tribute saying that only if His Majesty would deliver him from the King of Acheh he would be His Majesty's vassal and pay tribute."

As a result the Perak factory, which had once yielded more profit than any other, was now producing nothing, and was so ruinous that no one was willing to fill the post of captain there. In the same year, 1620, Pahang and Johore were overrun and the pepper plantations of Kedah ravaged by the Achinese. In 1629 Malacca itself was besieged by Mahkota 'Alam, but resisted successfully.

The King of Acheh spared Jambi and the other south Sumatran states because he was wise enough to recognize the power of

the Dutch, and did not wish to have a direct conflict with them. Jambi prospered as a kind of neutral free port where Dutch, Portuguese, Malays, Bugis and Javanese all traded in pepper.

The death of Mahkota 'Alam in 1636 must have been a relief for both the Portuguese and Johore, where Sultan Abdul Jalil III was attempting to rebuild his power at yet another capital on the Johore River. But the Dutch were closing in on Malacca, and the new Governor-General, Anthony van Diemen, appointed to Batavia in 1636, was determined to finish the long struggle by taking the fortress. In 1637 he renewed the old alliance with Johore. This gained him the aid of the Malays, but lost that of Acheh, which never would co-operate with her old enemy Johore.

The attack began in June 1640 with a bombardment from twelve Dutch men-of-war. In July ships arrived from Johore with about 1,500 Malay fighting men to reinforce the Dutch, who had about the same number of soldiers. A landing was made north of Tranquerah and the Portuguese driven out of the suburbs back to the fortress. The Portuguese garrison under the Governor, Manuel de Souza Coutinho, made a most gallant defence, though it is said that there were only 200 Portuguese and 400 Eurasian soldiers among them. The Dutch mounted batteries which systematically bombarded the river-side wall until a breach was made in the bastion of San Domingos and most of the buildings within the fort severely damaged. The Portuguese guns replied and demolished the houses in the northern suburb. Both the besiegers and the besieged suffered heavy casualties from the plague.

When the new year came, Captain Caartekoe, chosen as commander by the surviving Dutch officers, ordered the final assault. On 11 January 1641 the breached bastion of San Domingos was stormed and the attackers worked their way round, taking the other bastions in turn until only the old citadel of Albuquerque was left. Here the Portuguese made their last stand until on 14 January the two commanders arranged a capitulation by which the Portuguese were to be

spared their lives and repatriated by the victors. The Dutch carried out the terms faithfully, and when the Portuguese Governor died two days after the surrender he was buried with full military honours from his opponents. The European Portuguese troops and officials were transported to India, but the Eurasian " married men " for the most part remained and became the ancestors of the Portuguese community of Malacca, which remains to this day.

(v) *The Dutch Rule in Malacca*

The long siege of Malacca had done great damage to the town and the fort. As soon as they were in control, the Dutch repaired the defences. From the very full report which Governor Balthasar Bort wrote in 1678 for his successor we have a very good idea of Malacca in the seventeenth century. The walls had been repaired and the bastions renamed and put in good order. San Domingos was renamed Victoria, because it was there that the entry had been made by the victorious Dutch, and the others were henceforward known by the names of princes of the House of Orange and cities of Holland. The land faces were strengthened by the construction of outer breastworks of earth and, when the threat of war between the Netherlands and England and France [1] caused fear of attack, Bort had a moat dug from the river to the sea, so that the fortress became like an island. On the Bandar Hilir side he had a new gate-house built with a drawbridge over the moat. This gate, bearing the date 1670, and the small Dutch fort on St. John's Hill are the only surviving parts of the fortifications today.

On the bastions were mounted forty-nine brass and thirty-three iron cannon. The northern suburb was protected by an earth rampart, which is remembered in the name of Kubu Road today, and by a small wooden fort on the river with more small guns. This made the suburb reasonably secure against the attacks of local marauders, so that it became the section in

[1] Known in English History as the Third Dutch War, 1672–74.

which the richest inhabitants made their homes. The regular garrison of the fort in Bort's day numbered 277, and was distributed among the bastions and gate-houses, where guard-rooms were provided for the soldiers. Some fifty other soldiers were posted in outposts beyond the walls, and about thirty were employed on vessels in the Straits. In time of emergency the garrison was reinforced by arming the Company's Civil Servants, the Dutch burghers and the more reliable Portuguese, Chinese, Indian, Malay and Bugis inhabitants. In addition, the inhabitants were obliged to undertake " home guard " duties for the defence of their suburbs at night. Fourteen of the regular soldiers were trained as cavalry and patrolled the outskirts of the town daily to catch the Menangkabaus from Naning, who often kidnapped people from Malacca.

Before the siege of 1640 Bort estimated the total population as 20,000, of whom only 3,000 were left alive in the fort when it was taken. Some who fled during the attack may have returned later, but it seems that this must have been an exaggeration. In 1678, according to a census taken by Bort, the population, other than the garrison and Civil Servants of the Company, showed a total of 4,884, distributed as follows :

Dutch Burghers (Eurasians)	145
Portuguese	1,469
Chinese	426
Indians (" Moors and Gentoos ")	547
Malays	588
Bugis	102
Slaves of various races	1,607
	4,884

All races of the free population owned slaves who formed a large proportion of the total. They were employed mostly as domestic servants and in the cultivation of estates and gardens. The Company itself owned 185 slaves, who were housed in part of the old Portuguese citadel, now commonly called the Slavenburgh. They provided a labour force for the bakery, hospital, armoury, carpenter's shop, stables, etc., and performed

certain regular duties, such as fetching water from upstream for the garrison, cutting grass for the horses and cultivating the Company's garden. One gang of thirty-nine, together with the convicts (twenty-six), who were also confined in the Slavenburgh, were used on public works. Insolvent debtors could be committed to the Slavenburgh at the request of their creditors. In the same building there was also " a large blacksmith's shop and a convenient loft for a dormitory " for the craftsmen.

At the head of the administration was the Governor. He was assisted by a Supercargo (Chief Merchant) with general responsibility for all commercial matters, the Captain of the Garrison, the Shahbandar in charge of shipping and the customs, the Fiscal, or Attorney-General, the Equipage Master, who looked after public works and the Company's craftsmen and slaves, and the Paymaster. These formed the Council, which governed the settlement subject to the instructions of the Governor-General at Batavia. The Stadthuys, still used today as government offices in Malacca, was built in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch claimed jurisdiction over a territory roughly the same as that of Malacca today. Their rule seems to have been effective along the coast northwards as far as the mouth of the Linggi River and Cape Rochado and southwards as far as the Kesang River. For about six miles up the Malacca River there were plantations owned by the Company and by Dutch and Portuguese. Many Malay kampongs were in existence with the same names as today. The Dutch tried hard to encourage the production of foodstuffs in their territory in order to decrease the town's dependence on imports, but in this they were not very successful as the Malays did not produce more than about one-third of the rice needed above their own requirements. It was difficult to develop the plantations outside the town owing to the raids of the Menangkabaus of Naning.

This small state had been tributary to Malacca in Portuguese

days, and the Dutch tried at first to enforce the payment of one-tenth of the rice crop. After several punitive expeditions had failed to get satisfaction, the Dutch were content to accept a token payment and left their troublesome neighbour more or less alone.

The Dutch were Protestants of a rather Puritanical kind. The old church of Our Lady on the hill was converted for the use of their Reformed Church, and became known as St. Paul's. The Company were much concerned over the morals and good behaviour of their servants, who were ordered to attend church regularly every Sunday, and morning and evening prayers every week-day. Two preachers were paid by the Government to conduct these services. When the Dutch had been in Malacca for a hundred years they decided to commemorate the centenary of their occupation by building a new church. The result was the present Christchurch next to the Stadthuys, which was completed about 1753. The old church of St. Paul was then used as a burial ground and, by removing the roof and strengthening the eastern walls, positions were made in which guns could be mounted.

The Dutch were not crusaders like the Portuguese. They were first and foremost traders, and cared little for converting the people of Malaya to their faith. At the same time they had no strong prejudice against Islam or other eastern religions. Their strongest religious reaction was against the Roman Catholics, for their own national struggle had been against Catholic Spain. As a result, the Portuguese of Malacca suffered a good deal of persecution. Though private liberty of conscience was allowed, no public celebration of Catholic services was permitted. All Catholic churches were pulled down or converted to dwelling-houses. As a result, many of the Portuguese went elsewhere. Those who remained, though poor and illiterate, clung to their religion most tenaciously. They were served by brave priests from Goa and Macao who contrived to visit and live in Malacca, celebrating the Mass secretly in the jungle or in the houses of the Portuguese. All regulations made by the

Malaya and Sumatra—late 17th Century

Dutch failed to prevent this, and in the end a more tolerant spirit prevailed. About 1767 the Dutch seem to have permitted Catholic worship in public and the building of a Catholic Church.

The Dutch devoted themselves most earnestly to business, and every aspect of trade was provided for in the regulations of which Bort gives us an account. Yet Malacca was not a commercial success under their rule. They had taken the port because it was essential to them to control all the approaches to the East Indies, but they had no wish to make it a rival of Batavia. There is much evidence that the trade of Malacca never really recovered under the Dutch. This was partly because it no longer lay on the direct sailing route to the East Indies from Europe, but it also seems that the harbour had started to silt up, so that it became increasingly difficult for larger ships to anchor near to the river-mouth.

Certain main commercial policies can be distinguished. The Dutch tried to maintain a monopoly of the importing of cotton goods from India into Malaya and places further east and to secure for themselves the exporting of tin from the peninsula. They tried to gain these ends by making agreements with native states, by naval blockades of the coast and by compelling all ships passing through the Straits to call at Malacca, where they paid customs duties on imports and exports and tolls for passing when they did not want to discharge cargoes. In the case of English and Chinese ships it was felt wiser to use persuasion rather than force, but other vessels were made to comply by armed ships which patrolled the Straits from their base at Malacca. To secure the first two objects treaties were forced on the rulers of Kedah, Perak, the Selangor ports and Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon) by which they promised to send most of their tin to Malacca. In order to enforce these terms forts were for a time established on the Perak River, on Pangkor Island and at Ujong Salang, but these were constantly attacked and were seldom maintained for long. A factory at Indragiri in Sumatra was also under the charge of Malacca. In practice,

it proved impossible to prevent the Indian traders from bringing cloth to the ports north of Malacca, as they were able to supply it so much cheaper than the European companies. Nor was it possible to prevent tin from being sent to other ports, especially as the Dutch would only pay a price which was below that which could be obtained by direct trade with Indian and other traders.

The result was that Malacca seldom paid for the expense of its establishment and had to be subsidized from Batavia. It had retained its importance as a port of call, but it had ceased to be a mart for the exchange of goods. Bort tells us that Malacca was *visited* by ships from all the ports of eastern Asia, but he goes on to say, " This traffic of course occasions trade among the people in food, clothing and other necessaries, but little merchandise, since the Company's and most native ships come here only to provide themselves with necessaries and then *proceed to other places with their cargo* (without unloading it here)." Imports were mostly the Company's own stores and foodstuffs.

The Dutch were loath to spend money on a place which did not show a profit, and Valentyn, who wrote a description of Malacca in 1726, tells us that the fortifications on the land side were gone to ruin, as orders had been given to reduce the size of the fortress and the garrison. He estimated the population as not more than three hundred families.

Malacca under the Dutch was, therefore, a poorer place than it had been in former days, but it was much more peaceful. Her former enemies, Johore and Acheh, had declined in strength, and the Dutch were able to control the seas well enough to prevent most external attacks. During the Dutch regime there were occasional scares from the Menangkabaus, but no serious sieges until 1784, when the great Raja Haji brought the Bugis to the gates of the city. The Dutch rule in the city was orderly and on the whole just. It might well have continued had it not been for the general bankruptcy of the Company and the march of events far away in Europe.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MALAY STATES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BEFORE considering the history of the Malay States it is necessary to realize that a " state " did not in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mean what it does in Malaya today—an area with an organized government reaching to all the inhabited parts, definite boundaries and an established capital. All these things are the creation of the last century. Three hundred years ago the Aboriginal and Malay population was very small indeed, and it was spread thinly and unevenly over the country. The only easy means of communication were by water, along the coasts or by the rivers. Settlement by the Malays was confined almost entirely to the coast and the banks of the rivers. They had not yet penetrated into many remoter districts, now regarded as Malay, but then inhabited by Aborigines. The Malay villages were more or less self-contained and especially in the upper reaches of the rivers, isolated from each other.

In these circumstances political development began when a settlement of Malays accepted the leadership of a chief in return for some protection from external attack. Such a chief might rule over a village or a string of villages in a river valley. We have already seen how the acceptance of a chief led to the rise of Malacca into a kingdom in this way.

The next step came when a chief who enjoyed a larger following and a more strategic position claimed overlordship over areas under the direct rule of lesser chiefs and rose to the dignity of a Sultan or ruler of a " state ". Usually it was the chiefs who were established near the mouths of the principal rivers who attained this position, as they were able to raise tolls on the commerce of the whole river basin, in which lesser chiefs

controlled tributary valleys. It is no accident that most of the Malay States have the same name as their principal rivers.

The development of Malay monarchy was helped very much by two factors. One was the spread of Islam, which led to the Sultan being regarded as the official head of the faith in his state. The other was the fact that personal loyalty to a ruler was one of the strongest characteristics of the Malay people. This created a system which was not dependent on the actual power of government, or on its association with one place. Thus we have seen that the sovereignty which the Sultans of Malacca claimed over the whole of Malaya survived the loss of their capital and, such was the prestige of the princes of the royal house, that they were always able to find a group of subjects willing to accept their rule, even though they might be forced to abandon one capital after another.

Johore : The Malacca Line

Shortly before the death of Mahmud the ex-Sultan of Malacca at Kampar, his son and official heir, Ala'u'ddin II, is said to have left Sumatra for Pahang, then ruled by his cousin. From Pahang he made his way to the upper part of the Johore River at Sayong. The Malays of the villages on the river accepted him as Sultan, and about 1540 he moved downstream to a better site at Johore Lama. At first he was quite successful in attracting commerce to his palm-leaf capital, and his following grew sufficiently for him to wage war. In 1540, with the aid of Pahang and Perak, he was able to win a naval victory over Acheh which gave some respite and encouraged dreams of recovering Malacca, which he besieged unsuccessfully in 1550–51. Then in 1564 the tide turned; Sultan Ala'u'ddin's capital, Johore Lama, was sacked by the Achinese and he was carried off to die in captivity in Sumatra.

The second Sultan of Johore Muzaffar Shah, had to begin over again to rebuild the fortunes of his house. He seems to have lived at Seluyut on the upper Johore, but we know little about this period. It seems that Muzaffar Shah's heir died in

childhood and was succeeded about 1571 by Abdul Jalil Ri'ayat Shah who had married Muzaffar's sister. He was a Pahang chief who may have been descended through his mother from Sultan Mahmud. Johore Lama again became the capital until the Sultan made a rash attack on Malacca in 1586. This brought upon him the vengeance of the Portuguese.

In 1587 the Portuguese ships at the mouth of the Johore River were reinforced by a strong fleet under Dom Paolo de Lima. This made it possible to attack the Malay position at Johore Lama—a strong one on a hill overlooking a bend in the river, with wooden stockades and many cannon. Abdul Jalil had collected together all his allies and had a considerable force. After a hard fight the Portuguese stormed the stockades and cleared the town within. In underground hiding-places a great deal of plunder was found. The guns taken, which must have been small, are said to have numbered a thousand and the boats captured two thousand. Even after allowing for considerable exaggeration by the Portuguese chroniclers, it seems clear that Johore Lama was becoming a serious trade rival to Malacca. For this reason the Portuguese burnt and destroyed the town as completely as possible before withdrawing.

Abdul Jalil must have spent the last ten years of his reign as a fugitive in the upper reaches of the river. He left four sons, of whom the eldest, Ala'u'ddin III, was reigning at a new capital, Batu Sawar, when the first Dutch voyagers arrived early in the seventeenth century. The Dutch chronicler, Valentyn, gives us a picture of Ala'u'ddin as " a lazy and indolent prince sleeping almost the whole day, getting drunk, and amusing himself with his women, whilst he left the business of government to his brother, Radja Sabrang, or Radja Bongsoe, and to the high court dignitaries ". The two other brothers, the Raja of Siak and Raja Laut were also drunkards. The Raja Bongsu, who was the only exception, is described as an able young prince who steadily supported a policy of friendship with the Dutch. He was the patron of the author of the *Sejarah Melayu*, which were written at this time by the Bendahara of

Johore. Raja Bongsu, who got his name of Raja Sabrang because he lived in a fort across the river from Batu Sawar, was the chief intermediary between Admiral Matelief and Johore in 1606 when the treaty of alliance was signed against the Portuguese.

After the failure of the attack on Malacca in which Johore did not supply the expected forces, Matelief sailed away, leaving a few merchants to start a factory in Johore and advising Ala'u'ddin to strengthen the defences of his capital. The Sultan did not take this good advice and, making his peace with the Portuguese, plunged into petty quarrels with Patani and Pahang. In 1613 Mahkota 'Alam of Acheh descended with his fleet on Batu Sawar, sacked the place and carried off Ala'u'ddin III to die, like the second ruler of his name, as a captive in Sumatra.

Two years later Raja Bongsu, who had also been taken prisoner, was escorted back to Johore by the Achinese and installed there as Sultan Abdullah Ma'ayat Shah. The new Sultan was no doubt intended to be a puppet of Acheh, but, seeing no hope of independence except with outside aid, he entered into negotiations with Malacca. The reaction of Mahkota 'Alam to this was swift and terrible. An Achinese fleet sailed once more into the Johore River and razed Batu Sawar to the ground. The unfortunate Sultan Abdullah spent the rest of his life as a fugitive from the Achinese, first in Bintang, then in Lingga and finally on Great Tambelan Island, where he died.

The death of Mahkota 'Alam in 1636 and the subsequent decline in the power of Acheh gave the Malays a respite. In Pahang, which had been conquered by Acheh, the son of Ala'u'ddin III, named Abdul Jalil Shah, was able to find a following and to unite Pahang and Johore under his rule. In 1637 he renewed the treaty of alliance with the Dutch, and in 1640–41 helped them to capture Malacca. Now that his overlordship was recognized by both Dutch and Malays over all of Malaya outside Malacca, and with the renewal of homage by

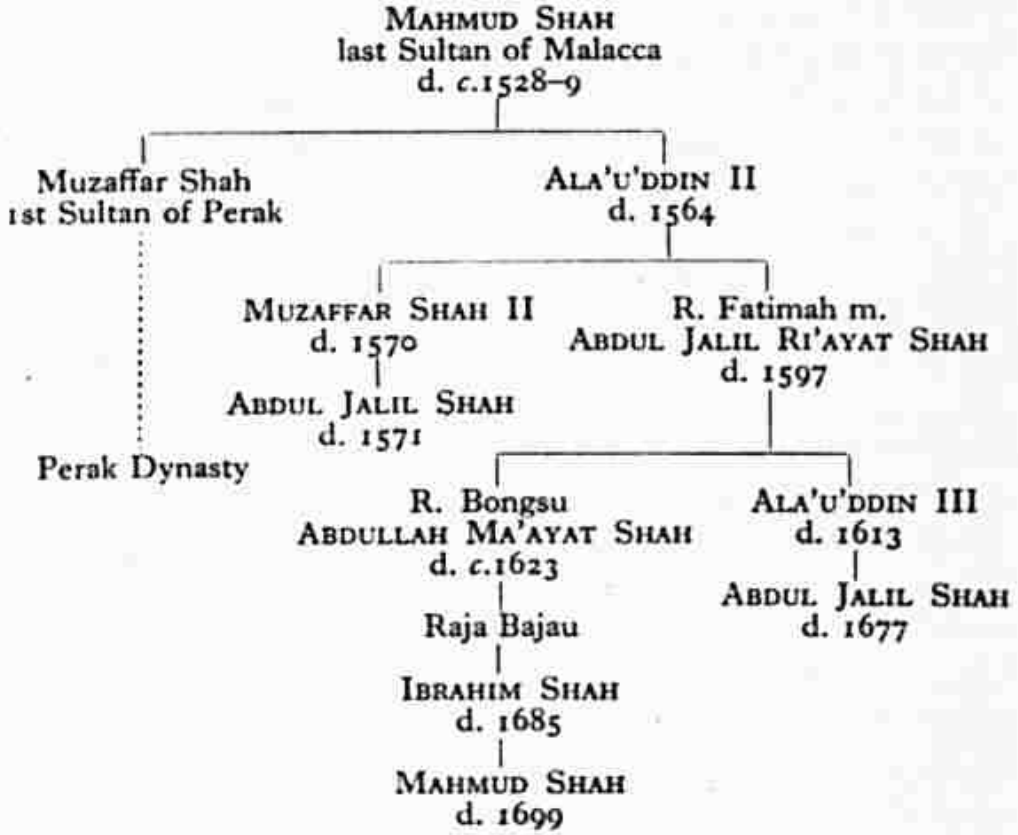
The capitals of Johore

the rulers of Bengkalis, Kampar, Siak and Rhio, it seemed that the fortunes of the Johore house were higher than ever before. The Dutch, as a matter of courtesy, allowed the Sultan and his nobles exemption from customs duties and tolls at Malacca, and the new capital Makam Tauhid, just outside Kota Tinggi, began to be an important place of commerce. Yet once again the weakness of the foundation on which these pretensions rested was shown when a foolish quarrel with Jambi led to the invasion of Johore by that Sumatran state in 1673. The capital was once more burnt, and Abdul Jalil fled back to Pahang, where he died about four years later.

From this defeat the Johore sultanate never really recovered. A cousin (the exact relationship is uncertain) who succeeded as Sultan Ibrahim lived at Rhio, the last of the many capitals of this unlucky line. In his time the Bugis began to play a part in the affairs of the Malays, and Ibrahim, who had called them in to help him regain the throne, found himself powerless to

control these mercenaries. He is thought to have been poisoned about 1685. His young son, Mahmud, was taken to Kota Tinggi by the Bendahara to escape from the Bugis influence. The Malay accounts describe the young Sultan when he grew up as a perverted tyrant. In 1699 he was murdered by one whose wife he had killed. It is, however, possible that his crimes may have been exaggerated in order to justify the Sultans of the Bendahara line, who obtained the throne as a result of this assassination.

SULTANS OF JOHORE: THE MALACCA LINE



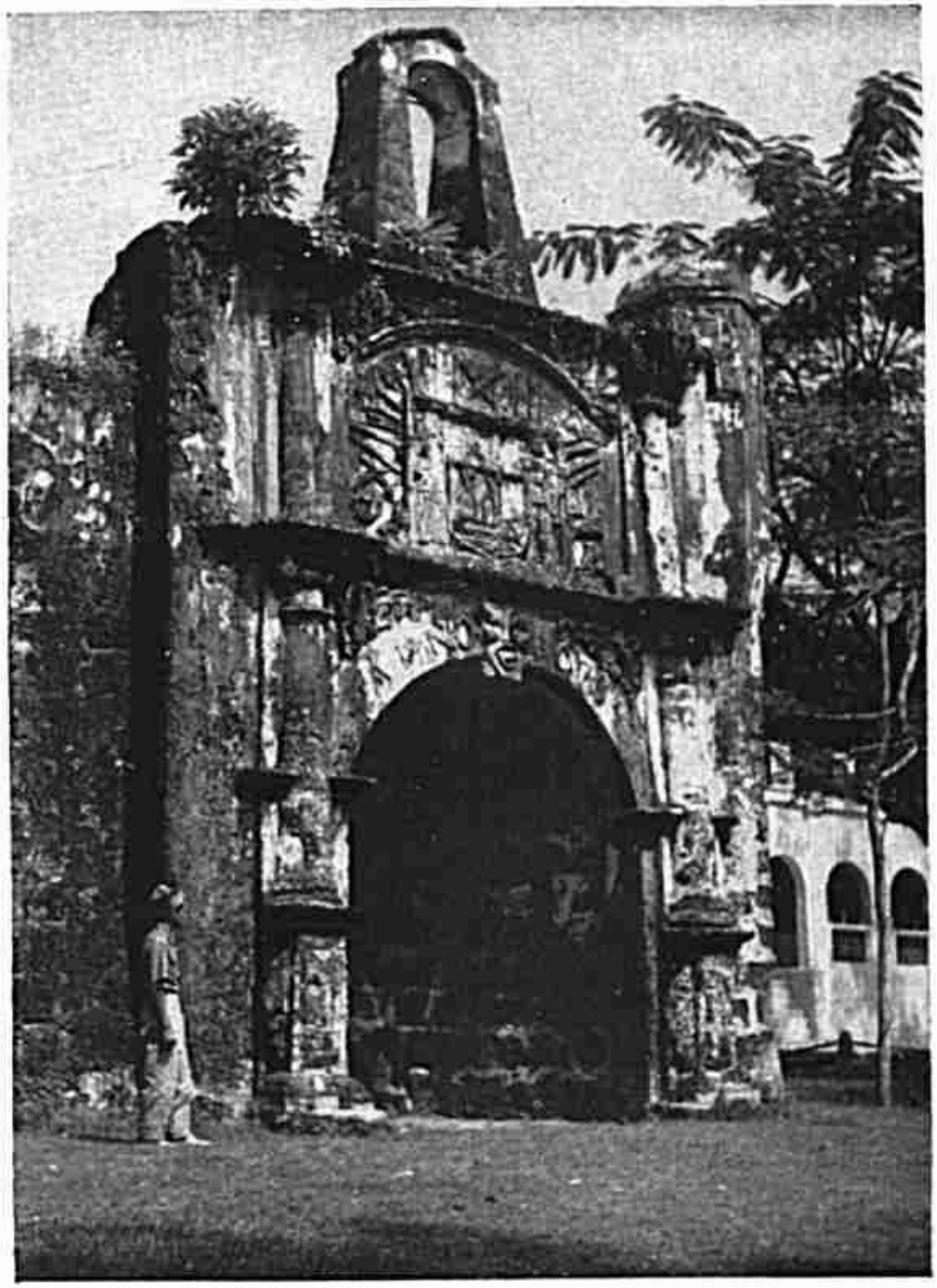
Johore : The Bendahara Line and the Bugis

The Bendahara who, in the absence of an heir of the Malacca line, became Sultan of Johore in 1699 took the title of Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah. His family had been closely connected with the Sultans of Malacca and Johore for nearly two centuries. Alexander Hamilton, an English adventurer who visited Johore

at this time, tells us he was " a Prince of great Moderation and Justice, and governed well for the eight or nine years that he held the Reins of Government in his own hands ". Given peaceful conditions, he might have been a success, but, noble though his descent was, he could never overcome the stigma of being a usurper. The other major chiefs were jealous and his own relations were troublesome. Then Raja Kechil of Siak, a Menangkabau who had become the ruler of this Sumatran state formerly subject to Johore, came forward as a pretender to the throne. Abdul Jalil was reduced once more to Bendahara, and then, after an unsuccessful intrigue with the Bugis, fled to Pahang, where he was assassinated while praying on his ship at the mouth of the river. This left Raja Kechil in control from 1718 to 1722, when the Bugis storm broke over his headquarters at Rhio.

The Bugis originated in the island of the Celebes. With Dutch aid they took Macassar which became an important entrepôt for the spice trade from the seventeenth century and the cradle of a remarkable race of seamen, traders and warriors. Portuguese, Malay, Javanese and Chinese ships called there at what was for long a free port. From the Portuguese the Bugis learnt much of the arts of war, including the use of chain mail and muskets. After the Dutch had occupied the Moluccas the Portuguese still managed to obtain some spices at Macassar and often chartered Bugis ships to carry trade for them through the Dutch blockade. From about 1603 the Bugis became Moslems, and so they later easily mingled with other Malaysian peoples in Malaya.

In South-East Asia the Bugis now began to play a part similar to that of the Norsemen in medieval Europe. They set out in well-armed bands under adventurous leaders to rove along the coasts of Java, Sumatra and Malaya as traders, pirates and settlers. Whenever a convenient river-mouth or island port could be seized they occupied it, and in Malaya settlements were made at the mouths of the Selangor and Klang Rivers in territory formerly subject to Johore.



Gateway: Malacca Fort: built 1670

The Stadthuys, Malacca

Like the Norsemen, the Bugis often gained their first foothold by taking sides in local disputes and, having won the victory, demanding rich rewards for their services. Thus the Bugis bands, led by the famous Daeng Parani and his four brothers, helped to drive Raja Kechil out of Rhio and to restore to the throne Sulaiman, the son of Abdul Jalil. The victory was celebrated by the marriages of the chief Bugis leaders to ladies of the royal family. One of the five brothers, Daeng Marewah, was appointed as Yam-tuan-Muda, or under-king, and his relationship with the Sultan was described as follows: "The Yang di-pertuan Besar (Sultan) is to occupy the position of a woman only; he is to be fed when we choose to feed him; but the Yam-tuan-Muda is to be in the position of a husband, his will is always to prevail."

From their bases at Rhio and Selangor the Bugis joined in a civil war in Kedah in which Raja Kechil aided the other side. After two years of war, which ruined Kedah, the Bugis won, though Daeng Parani was killed. Perak was then invaded and control of the tin trade secured. In Raja Kechil the Bugis had a brave opponent who defeated them on several occasions, though he was never able to regain Rhio. Until his death in 1746 he was regarded as the national leader of the Malays in the struggle with the Bugis. The Dutch did not wish to be involved in these wars, but it was their policy to support the weaker Malay side against the Bugis, who were harder to control and who were playing havoc with Dutch attempts to carry on trade.

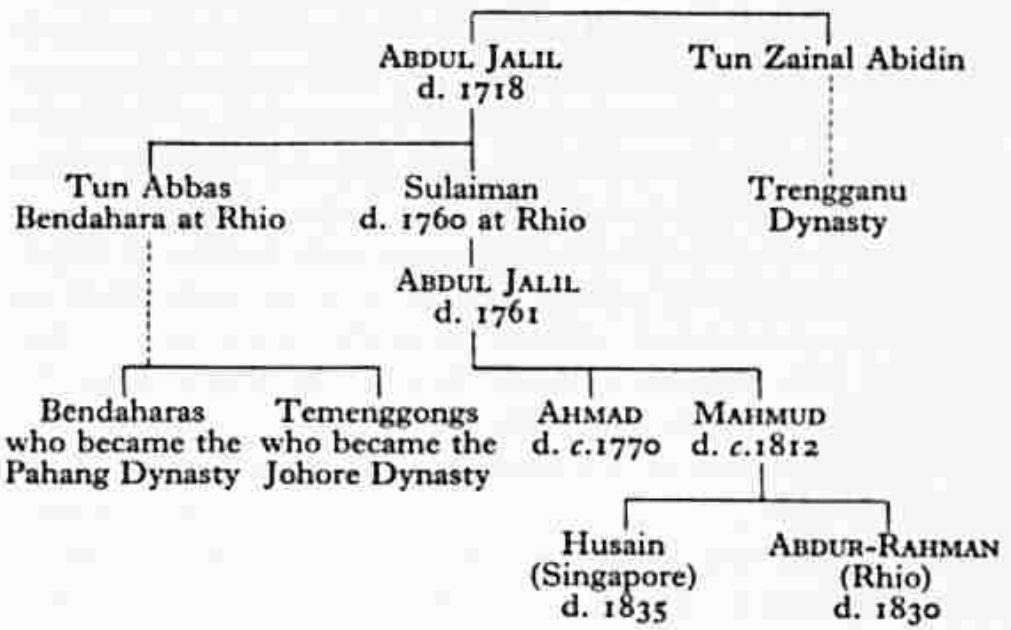
Daeng Chelak, the second Yam-tuan-Muda, died in 1745, leaving two famous sons. One, Raja Lumu, became the first Sultan of Selangor just before his father's death. The other, Raja Haji, was the most famous of all the Bugis warriors, and engaged in wars in Sumatra, Malaya and Borneo, wherever he could gain a good price for his services. At Rhio the Bugis were supreme, for when Sultan Sulaiman died in 1760 the Yam-tuan-Muda ruled as Regent during the reigns of his son and grandsons, who were minors.

In 1777 Raja Haji himself became Yam-tuan-Muda at Rhio.

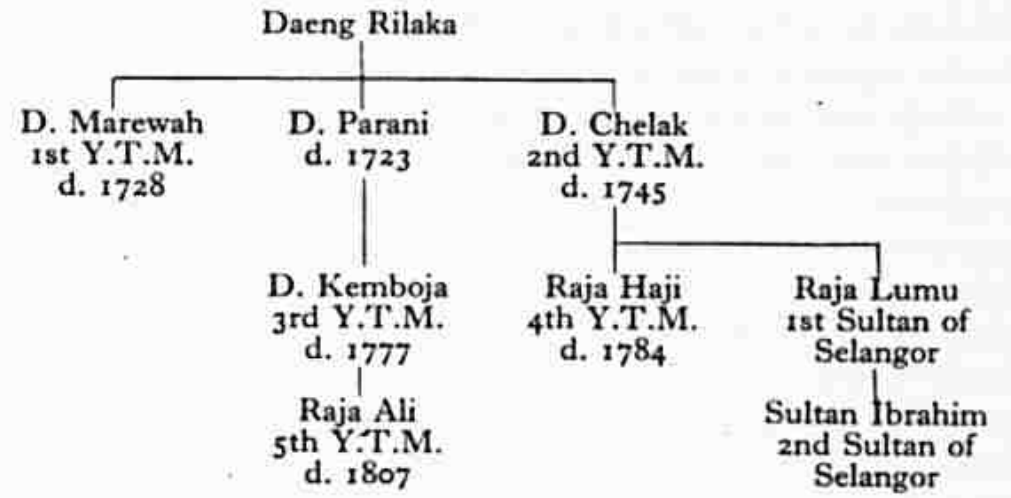
At this time the War of American Independence was going on, and the Netherlands became involved in the later stages of the struggle as allies of the Americans. On the whole, the Dutch gained little, for their Navy was defeated in European waters, but they did capture at Rhio a ship of the English East India Company with a valuable cargo of opium. It was more than Raja Haji could tolerate to see so rich a prize taken under his nose, and he demanded a share of the spoils. The Dutch refused, and war broke out. First the Dutch attempted an attack on Rhio, but this was mismanaged and repulsed. Raja Haji then called on all the Bugis to make a united attack on Malacca. While the Selangor Bugis under his nephew, Sultan Ibrahim, advanced to the northern outskirts, Raja Haji landed with a large force at Telok Ketapang, five miles to the south of the fortress. Malacca was prepared for a siege when a Dutch fleet of six ships arrived from Batavia with 2,130 men. Under cover of the fire of the ships' guns a landing was made at Telok Ketapang and battle joined. Raja Haji was hit by a lucky shot while encouraging his men, and after a hard fight the Bugis were defeated.

After this victory the Dutch fleet drove Sultan Ibrahim temporarily out of Selangor, and a naval victory off Rhio freed the Johore ruler from his overbearing friends. In return Sultan Mahmud made a treaty ceding his dominions to the Dutch, receiving them back as a dependent vassal and agreeing to accept a Dutch Resident and garrison. The Bugis were to be expelled. The Bendahara and the Temenggong, who were the actual rulers of Pahang and mainland Johore, also signed this treaty. Mahmud intrigued to free himself from the Dutch. The Bugis under-king tried hard to regain his position, but after Malacca had been surrendered to the English in 1795 both Sultan and Yam-tuan-Muda settled down peacefully at Rhio. After the war the British restored the East Indian possessions to the Dutch, and in 1818 the Sultan and Yam-tuan accepted their protection. After this the old Johore line ceased to exercise any real power in Malaya.

SULTANS OF JOHORE: THE BENDAHARA LINE AND CONNECTED DYNASTIES



BUGIS UNDER-KINGS AT RHIO AND SULTANS OF SELANGOR



Perak

Malay tradition points to Bruas as the chief centre of early settlement in Perak and, if the Dindings estuary was the former mouth of the Perak River this may well have been the case. During the period of the Malay Sultans at Malacca the ruler of Bruas paid homage to them, and it was, therefore, easy

for the son of the last Sultan, Muzaffar Shah, to gain a following in Perak and to become its first ruler about 1530.

We know little about Perak during the next century, when eight successors of Muzaffar Shah are said to have ruled there. Then in 1620 the state was overrun by Mahkota 'Alam and during the rest of the seventeenth century was regarded as tributary to Acheh.

When the Dutch took Malacca they recognized this dependence by negotiating with Acheh as well as with the Perak Sultan to gain as much as possible of the exports of tin from the state. In 1650 they built a fort on the Perak River, but this was captured by the Malays in the next year. Another fort was established on Pangkor Island in 1670 and garrisoned until 1690 and again briefly from 1745 to 1748. From Malacca and these forts the Dutch tried to maintain a blockade of the Perak coast and to compel all ships to call at Malacca by means of a squadron of small armed sloops. In 1748 the Perak fort was moved to Tanjong Putus on the Perak River, where it remained until the Dutch surrendered Malacca and its dependencies to the English in 1795.

Perak was larger than the other states, and the power of the Sultan was limited by that of great chiefs who controlled different parts of the Perak River or its tributaries. The powers and titles of these chiefs were defined about the middle of the eighteenth century. Next to the Sultan and his heir, the Raja Muda, were four great officers of state; the Bendahara or Chief Minister, latterly chosen from the royal house, who collected tolls at Kuala Kinta; the Orang Kaya Besar with his headquarters at Pachat; the Temenggong centrally placed at Kota Lama and the Mentri, who as yet had no special territory. Below these were eight chiefs, of whom the most important were the Laksamana and the Shahbandar in Lower Perak and the Sadika Raja, who controlled the upper part of the river. There were also two other groups of sixteen and thirty-two minor chiefs, whose titles and functions were less clearly defined. This system seems to have been a blend of the old

Malacca traditional officers and the Achinese practice of dividing the country between feudal chiefs or " hulubalangs "

Negri Sembilan

During the Malacca Sultanate the territories which now make up Negri Sembilan were mainly inhabited by aborigines and came to be regarded as fiefs of the Bendaharas, who appointed Malacca Malays as chiefs to govern them. The *Sejarah Melayu* tells us of the appointment of such an official in Sungei Ujong and mentions a certain Dato' Sekudai, a legendary figure who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century, and from whom the chiefs of some of the states later claimed descent.

Soon after the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511 a migration of Menangkabaus began from Sumatra to the hinterland of Malacca. When first mentioned by the Portuguese, they seem to have been Hindu in religion, but soon adopted Islam. Eredia mentions Menangkabaus in Naning and Rembau, but it does not seem to have been till after the Dutch conquest of Malacca that this colonization spread over the rest of the territory. Bort describes a certain Raja Ibrahim, who was trying to make himself king of all the Menangkabau settlements in his time. There may have been other such contenders for power, but it was not until a century later that the Negri Sembilan [1] were to find an accepted head.

During the first part of the eighteenth century the native chiefs of the various districts began to receive recognition as rulers by the granting of seals by the Sultan or Bendahara of Johore. Thus a number of small states came into existence such as Naning, Rembau, Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Johol, Inas, Sri Monanti, Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Jempul. As the Menangkabau settlements spread, so the custom of matriarchial succession or *adat perpateh* became established in a large part of the area.

[1] There does not seem to have been any accepted list of the nine States.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the growth of the Menangkabau population and the weakness of Johore led to the growth of independence, while the fear of the Bugis favoured some combination against the threat of conquest which had already displaced the Menangkabaus from Klang. During the long war between the Malays led by Raja Kechil and the Bugis, the people of Negri Sembilan supported the Sumatran leader. Finally, in 1773 a certain Raja Melewar was installed as the first Yang di-pertuan Besar [1] by the *undangs* or chiefs of the four principal states (except Naning, which was subject to the Dutch at Malacca). The title was honorary, and did not confer the rights and privileges usual for a Sultan. Raja Melewar settled at Sri Menanti, where he gathered under his patronage the lesser states on the Pahang side. He died about 1795 at the time when the Dutch rule at Malacca was coming to an end. The creation of the office of Yang di-pertuan Besar did not bring about a real confederacy, and there were many quarrels within the Negri Sembilan which were not finally ended until the state came under British protection a century later.

[1] This title is often contracted to Yam-tuan.

Time Chart 1500–1800

Events in West			Events in East
		1500	
Henry VIII King	1509		1511 Portuguese took Malacca
			1545 Francis Xavier at Malacca
		1550	
Elizabeth I Queen	1558		
Revolt of Dutch began	1572		1577 Drake's Voyage round World
Union of Spain and Portugal	1580		1587 Johore Lama destroyed
Defeat of Armada	1588		1592 Lancaster at Penang
English E. India Co Dutch E. India Co.	1602	1600	1619 Batavia founded
			1623 Massacre of Amboyna
			1641 Dutch took Malacca
			1644 Manchu Conquest of China
Anglo-Dutch War	1652	1650	
Anglo-Dutch War	1664		
Anglo-Dutch War	1672		
War against Louis XIV	1689		1690 Calcutta founded
			1699 End of Malacca Line in Johore
		1700	1707 Death of Aurangzib
Treaty of Utrecht	1713		
			1722 Bugis control at Rhio
		1750	
			1757 Battle of Plassey
			1773 1st Yam-tuan of N.S.
Declaration of Independence	1776		1784 Raja Haji attacked Malacca
French Revolution began	1789		1786 Penang acquired
Netherlands occupied	1795		1795 British at Malacca
		1800	

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FOUNDATION OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

(i) *Francis Light and Penang*

FRANCIS LIGHT, the founder of the first British settlement in Malaya, was born in the county of Suffolk, England, in 1740. After receiving a grammar-school education he joined the Navy when he was nineteen and served as a midshipman during the later stages of the Seven Years War. When peace was made in 1763 he was discharged and had to seek other employment. Two years later he sailed for India to seek his fortune in the East. He does not seem to have had any promise of employment by the East India Company, and we next hear of him as the captain of a " country ship " owned by the Madras firm of Jourdain, Sulivan and de Souza engaged in the local commerce of the eastern seas.

His employers were interested in opening up trade with Acheh, Kedah and southern Siam, and sent him to Malayan waters as an agent. He learnt to speak Siamese and Malay well, and became friendly with the Sultan of Kedah. This ruler was nominally the vassal of Siam, but at this time his overlord was busy with a long war with Burma, and he was much troubled by the Bugis, who had driven him out of his capital on the Kedah River to take refuge in Perlis. In the hope of gaining some security, the Sultan told Light that he was prepared to give the British a fortified station at the mouth of the Kedah River if they would send soldiers to protect him from his enemies. In 1771 Francis Light reported this offer to his employers and strongly advised them to persuade the East India Company to accept it. He also wrote to Warren Hastings, who in the next year was appointed Governor of Bengal, suggesting that Penang would be a " convenient magazine for the Eastern Trade ".

For various reasons the East India Company had for some time been considering the establishment of a factory near the Straits of Malacca. The only existing British post in the East Indian islands was Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, which was too far off the trade routes to be of much value. What was needed was a port on the route between India and Canton, where the East India Company had built up their most valuable trade by exchanging opium and silver for silk and tea. The East Indiamen engaged in this trade had to pay heavy tolls if they called at the Dutch ports to re-fit and to take on fresh provisions. The only alternatives were native ports, where they could not depend on a favourable reception or on getting the supplies they needed. Another factor was that the Coromandel coast of India was dangerous to sailing-ships during the North-East Monsoon from November to March, and ships were forced to make long and expensive voyages to Bombay to gain shelter during this season. A port in the lee of the Malay Peninsula would be a much more convenient place to re-fit, both for merchant shipping and men-of-war. Finally, the British had always resented the Dutch monopoly of the spice trade, and wished to gain a share in this traffic. As a base for his purpose Acheh was first suggested, but attempts to obtain a concession had so far been unsuccessful. Light's offer was therefore considered worth investigation.

In 1772 two missions were sent, one to Acheh and one to Kedah. The first was unsuccessful. The second was headed by a young official, the Hon. Edward Monckton, who was inexperienced and ignorant of local conditions. The Sultan may have been influenced in the meanwhile by the Moslem Indians against a European factory which would adversely affect their trade. When it became apparent that Monckton would not promise any offensive action against the Bugis of Selangor, he broke off the negotiations by remembering that his overlord the King of Siam had forbidden him to admit foreigners. Light seems to have been ignored by the envoy during these negotiations.

Bitterly disappointed, Light withdrew to the island of Junk Ceylon (Ujong Salang), two hundred miles north of Penang. Here he carried on trade from this headquarters for the next fourteen years in partnership with an old shipmate, James Scott. Junk Ceylon was the resort of merchants of many nations, English, Portuguese, Bugis, Malay and Danish, who brought cotton piece goods, opium and dollars to exchange for the tin produced in the area. The chief disadvantage was the uncertainty of Siamese rule, which led to sudden attacks on the settlers and the extortion of high tolls by local governors. In 1780, while on a trading visit to Calcutta, Light tried to persuade Warren Hastings, then Governor-General, to take Junk Ceylon under the Company's protection. Hastings was interested in the idea, but nothing could be done because Britain was now at war with France, Spain and Holland, who had come to the aid of the rebellious American colonists, and the Indian Government could not provide the necessary ships and troops.

In 1781 a French fleet commanded by Admiral Bailli de Suffren arrived off India, and from its base at Mauritius for the next three years disputed the command of the Indian Ocean with the British squadron under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. The fleets were evenly matched, and the battles fought off the Coromandel coast were indecisive. During the North-East Monsoon both had to leave the Bay of Bengal, the British for Bombay and the French for Mauritius, but in 1782 Suffren managed to shelter and re-fit at Acheh instead and so get back first to the Coromandel coast, where he was able to blockade the British ports. One of his victims was Light, who was sailing in his ship, the *Blake*, to Madras with a cargo of rice when he fell in with one of Suffren's frigates and was captured. Fortunately the *Blake* was retaken by the British, and when news of peace in Europe arrived in 1784 Light was able to resume his trade.

The lesson of this naval campaign was not lost on Light or on the Company, who realized more strongly than ever the need for a base near the Straits of Malacca. Warren Hastings

sent yet another mission to Acheh, but found the Sultan still hostile; another embassy arrived at Rhio just too late, for the Dutch had defeated Raja Haji and established a garrison there. Light, during his trading expeditions, had kept in close touch with Kedah, where a new Sultan had come to the throne. From this ruler he obtained the offer of the island of Penang in return for protection from his enemies and compensation for loss of trade. Light went at once to Calcutta to lay this proposal before John Macpherson, who was acting as Governor-General. As the Directors in London had given their consent in principle, it was decided to take action.

At last Francis Light had the opportunity for which he had waited so long. In May 1786 he was made a Captain in the Company's Marine and Superintendent of the new settlement. Sailing with three ships carrying 100 sepoys, 30 lascars, 15 artillerymen and 5 British officers, he arrived off Kedah and presented his authority with the usual gifts from the Governor-General to the Sultan. But the answers which the Company gave to the points most important to Kedah were vague and evasive. In place of the general promise of protection the Company only undertook to keep an armed vessel to guard Penang and the adjacent coast belonging to Kedah, and there was no sum fixed for compensation for loss of trade. The Sultan, who had hoped for more definite answers, hesitated, but finally he agreed to sign. Probably he realized that Light would start the settlement in any case, and he hoped, by agreeing, to gain what he wanted. Light, although he must have known that the Company was determined not to be mixed up with local wars, hoped that the Company would give the necessary support once the settlement was made.

The expedition then sailed to Penang, and a landing was made on the point of the peninsula on which the town stands today. In 1786 this site was covered with thick jungle, and there was only a handful of Malays living on the island. The work of clearing the jungle proved arduous, and the sepoys complained of the hardships of the task. To stimulate them

we are told that Light ingeniously fired a gun loaded with silver dollars into the forest. After four weeks enough ground had been cleared for the camp, and Light took the opportunity of the arrival of two East Indiamen to hold a formal ceremony to take possession of the island. The flag was raised on 11 August 1786 in the presence of the Captains and officers and saluted by the guns of the ships and volleys from the muskets of the troops. The name of Prince of Wales Island was given to the settlement, but this was soon forgotten. The new town was to be known as " Georgetown " in honour of King George III.

The security of the Company's rule immediately attracted settlers, both European and Asian. Ships from the East Indies, India, Burma, Siam and Acheh began to call to trade there, much to the annoyance of the Dutch. Roads were planned and drains dug, and within four years a town of wooden and atap buildings had arisen. Land estimated at 2,500 acres had been cleared and planted with rice, coconuts, pepper, gambier and sugar-cane. Unfortunately grants of land were given too freely to settlers, who sometimes did not develop them. This gave trouble in the future, but we can sympathize with Light, who had to act quickly with very little advice from the Company and to maintain the whole business of government over the mixed population single-handed and with no police force or established system of law.

Lord Cornwallis, who had become Governor-General just after the establishment of the settlement, was doubtful of the new venture and was considering alternative sites in the Andaman Islands. He was also bound by the terms of Pitt's new India Act to a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of native states. The Siamese were now threatening Kedah, and Light tried to impress the urgency of the question of protection on the Governor-General, but naturally he got only vague and unsatisfactory answers.

Meanwhile the Sultan was getting impatient, and was trying to obtain the help of other Europeans by offering Penang as a

reward for their aid. In 1791 he called to his assistance a fleet of Lanun pirates and gathered at Prai a force estimated at eight to ten thousand men. Fortunately Light's urgent reports had led to the reinforcement of the Penang garrison by two companies of infantry from Calcutta and, after trying to persuade the Sultan to disperse his forces, he took the offensive. Troops were landed at Prai, the Malays routed and the forts they had been constructing were burnt. At the same time gunboats attacked the Lanun ships and drove them away with considerable loss.

After this defeat the Sultan sued for peace, and a second treaty was signed by which the Company agreed to pay him $6,000 a year for the cession of Penang. There was no mention of protection, as this had been definitely refused by the Directors. In this matter the Company must share the blame with Light for allowing him to mislead the Sultan.

Light continued to rule over Penang for another three years. On the whole, his government was just and successful and he was personally popular with all races. The East India Company rather unreasonably expected the settlement to cover its own expenses, even in the pioneer days, and they compelled Light to impose certain taxes and customs duties. The latter brought in little, and were later abolished to bring Penang into line with Singapore as a free port. Light was paid only a very small salary, which he supplemented by carrying on private trade in partnership with James Scott, who was one of the earliest and most prominent settlers, but he did not make a fortune by using the advantages of his position unfairly, and would have given up his private trade entirely if the Company had agreed to pay him a reasonable salary.

Early in 1794, in a dispatch to the Governor-General, Light summed up the needs of the settlement for a " more regular form of government than that which exists at the present under the sole administration of one person ". He asked for three assistants to help in the functions of government, administrative, judicial and financial which he had discharged with

the aid of one "writer".[1] In order to bring out the difficulties he gave this interesting account of the inhabitants:

"The Chinese constitute the most valuable part of the inhabitants. They are men, women, and children, above 3,000; they possess the different trades of carpenters, masons and smiths, are traders, shopkeepers and planters. They employ small vessels and prows and send adventurers to the surrounding countries. They are the only people of the East from whom a revenue can be raised without expense and extraordinary efforts of Government. . . .

"The second class of our inhabitants consists of the Chulias, or people from the several ports on the Coast of Coromandel. The greater part of these have long been inhabitants of Quedah and some of them were born there. They are all shopkeepers and coolies. About one thousand are settled here, some with families. The vessels from the Coast bring over annually 1,500 or 2,000 men, who by traffic and various kinds of labour obtain a few dollars with which they return to their homes and are succeeded by others.

"The Siamese and Burmans, the same in religion and customs but differing in language, form another part of our inhabitants. They are about one hundred in number. Many of them are converts to the Roman Church. They are moderately industrious and chiefly employed in cultivation.

"Arabs, and descendants of Arabs, form another part of the community. There are but few families; they have a great number of dependents; they are strict Mahomedans, proud and unwilling to yield to any authority; they trade with all countries, and among the Malays with particular privileges. They are good friends and dangerous enemies.

"The Buggesses, though few inhabit here at present, yet as they come annually to trade and remain two or three months on shore to the number of one or two thousand, they are during their residence, a part of our society. They are Mahomedans,

[1] Civilian cadet.

a proud, warlike, independent people, easily irritated and prone to revenge. Their vessels are always well provided with arms, which they use with dexterity and vigour. They are the best merchants among the Eastern Islands. They are better governed by patient and mild exhortation than by force. If they commit a trespass they are easily made sensible, and may be persuaded to render satisfaction; but they reluctantly yield to stern authority. They require to be carefully watched, and cautiously ruled. The great value of their cargoes, either in bullion or goods, with quantities of opium and piece goods they export, make their arrival much wished for by all mercantile people.

"The Malays, comprehending a great variety of people from Quedah, through the Malay Peninsula, the Islands of Sumatra and Java, form another considerable part of our inhabitants. They are for the most part indigent, ignorant of arts, manufactures, or trade; they are employed in cutting down wood, at which they are both expert and laborious, and in cultivating paddy. They may be divided into two orders, the one husbandmen, who are quiet and inoffensive, and easily ruled. They are capable of no great exertions, but content themselves with planting paddy, sugar-cane and a few fruit trees, the cultivation of which does not require much labour. The other order is employed in navigating prows. They are, in general, almost without exception, a bad description of people, addicted to smoking opium, gaming and other vices; to rob and assassinate is only shameful when they fail of success. . . . The feudal government of the Malays encourages these pirates. Every chief is desirous of procuring many desperate fellows to bring him in plunder and execute his revengeful purposes.

"The remainder of our people are composed of the Honourable Company's Servants, and their servants, with a few European settlers, which, with the people from the shipping, constitutes an assembly of about twenty-five thousand souls who are always here."

Light had lived in the East for an unbroken period of nearly

thirty years and had been for long suffering from malaria. He died in October 1794, soon after these words were written. The evidence of his letters and of his friends shows him to have been an attractive personality, persevering in the objects which he had at heart and a capable administrator who, despite great difficulties, gave Penang a good start on the road to a prosperity which he did not live to enjoy. His own words, written just before his death, may be taken as a fitting epitaph: "History shows no Examples of the first Adventurers making fortunes, it is sufficient that hereafter they are spoke of."

Under Light's successors Major Macdonald (Superintendent 1795–99), Sir George Leith (Lieutenant-Governor 1799–1804) and Mr. R. T. Farquhar (Lieutenant-Governor 1804–5) Penang continued to make steady progress in trade and population. In 1800 negotiations with the Sultan of Kedah resulted in the cession of the coastal strip opposite the island in return for the increase of the annual payment from $6,000 to $10,000. The newly acquired territory was named Province Wellesley after the then Governor-General in India. This greatly strengthened the security of the island and its shipping from pirate attack or possible invasion.

The lack of proper courts or an established system of law had been mentioned by Light in his reports. It continued to give trouble to his successors. In 1801 a barrister, John Dickens,[1] was appointed as Magistrate, but there were disputes over the limits between the judicial and administrative powers of the Magistrate and the Lieutenant-Governor. It was not until 1808 that a Charter of Justice introducing English law with some modifications was granted and a judge, then called the Recorder, appointed.

It is interesting to note that Col. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington, spent some time in Penang in 1797 in command of troops which were being assembled there for an expedition against the Spanish in Manila. The

[1] It seems clear now that he was no relation of the novelist, Charles Dickens.

Malacca about 1700

Portrait of Sir Stamford Raffles

troops went no farther, but their commander was favourably impressed with the island, and sent his views on it in a long dispatch to his brother the Governor-General. The naval authorities also revived at this time their scheme for making Penang a naval base.

It may be that these favourable reports led to a sudden change in the policy of the Company towards the settlement. From being lukewarm and hesitant, it became wildly optimistic, and, in 1805 it was decided to make Penang a Presidency with a full Governor and Council, bringing it at one bound into the same class as Bombay, Madras and Bengal. At the end of the year Governor Philip Dundas, the brother of one of Pitt's Cabinet Ministers, arrived with three Councillors and twenty-two other officials. We may wonder what Light would have thought of this sudden change from his one-man rule of eleven years earlier! However, progress was satisfactory until the foundation of Singapore gave Penang a rival which rapidly outstripped her.

(ii) *Malacca* 1795–1824

Just after Francis Light founded Penang the French Revolution started in 1789. This upheaval soon involved all Europe in a series of wars which Britain entered in 1793. After a while the revolutionary armies of France took the offensive, and among the countries which they overran was the Netherlands. Here a Batavian Republic dependent on France was set up, and the former ruler, William V, Prince of Orange took refuge in England. The resources of the Dutch and their Navy came under French control, and it was feared that the Dutch colonies might be used as bases for attacks on Britain's trade and empire. It was therefore decided to occupy them as a precautionary measure. The Prince of Orange agreed with this policy and wrote letters to the Governors advising them to hand over control to the British, who had promised that the colonies would be returned when the war was over.

It was a difficult decision for these Dutch officials, but most

of them accepted it, and the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and Malacca were all occupied with varying degrees of reluctance. At Malacca, where Captain Newcombe arrived with a small British squadron in 1795, there was only formal resistance before the Governor surrendered the settlement to the British acting in the name of the Prince of Orange. A British Resident was put in charge of the settlement, but the Dutch officials continued to act under him, and the garrison were " to be considered and treated on all occasions as brother soldiers in one and the same allied service ". The most notable exception was Java, where the Government of the Netherlands East Indies still obeyed their republican masters at home, and acted as open allies of the French, although they were more or less cut off from direct contact with home by the British control of the sea.

The East India Company wished to deny the use of Malacca to their enemies, but they had no other interest in the place. It was certain that it would be given back to the Dutch after the war, and they were only concerned to see that it was of as little use to their rivals as possible. Accordingly, it was decided to destroy the fort and to transfer the trade and the population to Penang. The British Resident, Major Farquhar, protested in vain, but in 1807 the fortifications were blown up and dismantled, with the exception of the one gateway, which remains to this day. The rest of the policy of destruction would, no doubt, have been carried out if Stamford Raffles had not arrived in Malacca at this stage.

Raffles was the son of a sea-captain and had been born on his father's ship off Jamaica in 1781. His family was poor, and after very little schooling he became a clerk in the East India Company's office in London at the age of fourteen. There he worked so hard that he won the esteem of his employers and at the same time managed to continue his education during his leisure hours. His chance came in 1805, when Penang was made a Presidency and he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Government there. On the long voyage to the East Raffles set himself to learn all he could of the language and history of

the Malay people among whom he was to work. Soon after his arrival at Penang this knowledge led to his being employed as the official Malay translator, and in 1807 he was promoted to the post of Secretary to the Government. The climate of Penang was then very unhealthy, and overwork and sickness forced Raffles to take a holiday. Malacca interested him because of its historic importance, and he decided to go there to convalesce.

When Raffles saw at close quarters the effects of the Company's policy he was soon convinced of the mistake of destroying such an important and ancient settlement, and he drew up a report which the Penang Government forwarded to the Governor-General and the Directors. Raffles argued that it was impossible to persuade most of the inhabitants of Malacca to move to Penang because they had been established there for generations and would not be prepared to sacrifice their property. Secondly, the revenue was never in arrears and was collected without trouble to the Government—a point which he must have known would appeal to the Company. Thirdly, the British had taken these people under their protection, and it would be ignoble to abandon them. Fourthly, Malacca did not compete with Penang in trade, but if left in the hands of other nations it might be used as a base to cut off trade through the Straits and divert it southwards to such places as Rhio and Batavia. Finally, he hinted at what was already in his mind. Malacca in British hands was a starting point for a further advance towards Java. The Directors were so impressed by his views that they reversed their policy in Malacca and congratulated Raffles on the very able way in which he had presented his views.

At this time the French War was at its height. Napoleon Bonaparte had since 1799 been the ruler of France, and in 1804 became Emperor. The Netherlands were closely under his control in this world-wide struggle in which both Napoleon and Britain sought for any means to strike at each other. The Emperor had many schemes for attacking the commerce which

was at the root of Britain's power, and these included the use of the French bases in the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius and of the Dutch position in Java to threaten British shipping and trade in the East. For this purpose he had sent a French-trained soldier, Marshal Daendels, to strengthen the Dutch hold on Java and build up an army there.

The British had also been active. Their fleets still dominated the Indian Ocean, and expeditions from India took the Moluccas in 1808 and Bourbon and Mauritius in 1810. Java still remained as a challenge, and the Governor-General, Lord Minto, was already considering how it could be attacked. It was hard for him to get accurate information about the East Indies, which the Dutch had so long kept as their preserve, and he was therefore glad to welcome to Calcutta the author of the able report on Malacca when Raffles came there on leave in 1810. Minto had heard of Raffles from his friend John Leyden, a surgeon who had become one of the leading authorities on the Malay language and people, and he found that Raffles was able to answer many of the questions he put to him. Raffles himself had no doubt about his object. "From this time," he wrote, "all my views, all my plans, and all my mind were devoted to create such an interest regarding Java as should lead to its annexation to our Eastern Empire."

Raffles returned, not as Secretary at Penang, but as "Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States", and chose Malacca as his headquarters. During the next few months he collected a vast mass of information about the whole of the East Indies while the forces of the expedition assembled at Malacca in a great camp along the sea-shore from the northern suburb to Tanjong Kling. One problem which needed to be solved was the route to be taken to Java, for the British knew little of the navigation of these seas. Raffles sent a certain Captain Greigh to investigate the Karimata Channel between Borneo and the islands south of Singapore. This was found to be passable and saved the long voyage round Borneo and the Macassar Strait.

In 1811 Minto arrived to lead the expedition in person, and Raffles went with him as his Secretary when the great fleet of 100 ships carrying nearly 11,000 troops set sail. The voyage to Java was uneventful, and a landing was made without opposition. The occupation of Batavia followed, while the Dutch General Janssens (who had succeeded Daendels) withdrew to a prepared position at Cornelis seven miles inland. After only a week's fighting this stronghold was successfully stormed. With most of his army killed, wounded or captured Janssens was forced to capitulate on 11 September 1811.

Java now passed under British rule for nearly five years. Lord Minto returned to India, leaving Raffles as Lieutenant-Governor of Java and Sumatra. He shared Raffles's enthusiasm for reform and humanitarian government. "While we are in Java," he had said, "let us do all the good we can." During these years Raffles laboured to carry out this instruction and to reform the harsh and corrupt government of his predecessors. The details of his work do not concern us here, except for the influence which they had on future European rulers in the East, for whom they set a new example of government as a trusteeship as well as a source of profit from trade.

Raffles had hoped all the time that Java might be retained by Britain, but this was not possible. It was always one of the guiding principles of British policy to keep the Low Countries independent and strong so that this important part of Europe should not fall into the hands of a powerful and hostile state. Accordingly, the treaty provided for the restoration of the East Indies to the Netherlands, which depended so much on the eastern trade. In 1816 Raffles left for Britain and the Dutch returned to take over the government of Java and its dependencies. Malacca was included in these, but it was not until 1818 that this settlement was actually handed back, and then only for six years till a general agreement gave it to Britain.

(iii) *Raffles and the Foundation of Singapore*

Raffles had left Java in bitter disappointment when it was restored to the Dutch in 1816, but it must have been some satisfaction to him to find that he was a celebrity on his return to Britain, which he had left as an unknown official of the Company eleven years before. As the ex-Lieutenant-Governor he was eagerly received in the best society, and after the publication of his *History of Java* he was knighted by the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV. Especially pleasing were the contacts which he made with scientists such as Sir Joseph Banks and scholars like William Marsden, who had been interested in his collections of plants and animals and the Malay studies which he had always found time to pursue amid his busy official duties. His interest in the welfare of the peoples under British rule and his active opposition to the slave-trade led to a close friendship with William Wilberforce that was to last for the rest of his life.

It was only his employers, the East India Company, who were cool towards Raffles. Their interests were narrowly commercial, and they had called in question some of his acts as governor, where it seemed to them that profit had been lost by humanitarian policy. The new Governor-General, Lord Moira (soon to be created Marquess of Hastings), shared their doubts, and Raffles's hatred of the Dutch was regarded as unreasonable and dangerous by those who had no first-hand knowledge of their methods in the East. Raffles had no experience which would qualify him for a high post in India, and the best that the Directors could do was to confirm his appointment as head of the British Company's only factory in the East Indies islands, Fort Marlborough, at Bencoolen in Sumatra.[1] They did, however, allow him the title of Lieutenant-Governor, and before he left cleared his name of various charges which had been brought against him by his enemies.

[1] This post had been kept open for him by Lord Minto in the event of Java being returned to the Dutch.

Bencoolen had been established in 1685 after the Company had abandoned the factory at Bantam. Much had been spent on its fortification, and it had been hoped that large supplies of pepper would be procured. But Bencoolen had always been a disappointment and a loss to the Company, for its position on the western coast of Sumatra was far away from the trade routes, and the Dutch held the two approaches to the archipelago by the Straits of Sunda and Malacca. On his arrival in 1817 Raffles did his best to revive the post. With characteristic reforming zeal he immediately freed the two hundred African slaves belonging to the Company, did his best to stop slave-trading on the adjacent coast, liberated the inhabitants from the compulsory cultivation of pepper for sale at low cost to the Government and discontinued the licensing of cock-fighting and gambling-houses by which most of the revenue had been obtained. The boundaries of the British territory of Bencoolen were undefined, and Raffles tried his best to extend them wherever the Dutch had not staked a claim. In this he was not successful, and only roused the resentment of the Dutch and the censure of the East India Company.

The Dutch government in the East Indies had been taken over directly by the King of the Netherlands after their East India Company had gone bankrupt. By the treaty of peace all the Dutch had possessed in 1803 was restored to the Royal Government, and during the years immediately after Raffles left Java they were busy re-establishing their position even more strongly than before with considerable military and naval forces and a reorganized Civil Service directly responsible to the King. British ships were allowed to trade only at Batavia, where they were under close supervision, and native craft were forbidden to sail to ports where there was no Dutch settlement. The appointment of Raffles to Bencoolen was like a red rag to a bull. The Dutch knew that he had been one of the planners of the conquest of Java and that he still cherished the idea of bringing a great part of the Malayan world under British rule. It was small wonder that they were resolved to guard all the

more jealously the monopoly of the East Indian trade they had built up over the course of two centuries.

The heads of the East India Company in London and Calcutta were opposed to any adventures in the archipelago which might involve them in expense for political reasons, and which would certainly not be approved by the British Government if they led to quarrels with the friendly Netherlands Government in Europe. If Raffles had not forced their hands it seems fairly certain they would have done nothing to prevent the Dutch completing their control over Malaya (with the exception of Penang) as well as the whole of the East Indies islands. Raffles, on the other hand, was convinced of the necessity of breaking the Dutch monopoly, and before he left Britain he set out his ideas in a memorandum to the President of the Board of Control, George Canning. To a friend he wrote:

"To effect the objects contemplated, some convenient station within the Archipelago is necessary; both Bencoolen and Prince of Wales' Island are too far removed, and unless I succeed in obtaining a position in the straits of Sunda, we have no alternative but to fix it in the most advantageous situation we can find within the Archipelago; this would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bintang."

From their point of view the Dutch had good reason to be on their guard.

In October 1818 the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, invited Raffles to visit him in Calcutta. Raffles had written earlier in the same year:

"The question is not now, whether we are to give back to the Dutch the possessions they actually possessed in 1803, according to the late convention; but whether the British Government and British merchants will be content to be excluded from trade altogether, in the same manner as they were before the last century: nothing less will satisfy the Dutch authorities who are now at Batavia; they make no secret of it,

and openly avow the expulsion of the English, except from Batavia, as the first principal of their policy."

Hastings was not prepared to accept this expulsion, but he would not listen to Raffles's schemes in Sumatra. He was inclined to attempt to open the Straits of Malacca by arranging to exchange Bencoolen for Malacca and forming a new station at Rhio if this could be done without a quarrel with the Dutch. Raffles supported this plan with enthusiasm, and Hastings decided to let him carry it out. After Raffles had left, Hastings changed his mind and wrote that his agent was to " desist from every attempt to form a British establishment in the Eastern Archipelago ". Before this reached Raffles he had already carried out his original orders.

The small squadron carrying the expedition assembled at Penang, where the Governor, Colonel Bannerman, was hostile to the scheme and did all he could to hinder it. In the Straits Major Farquhar, the Resident of Malacca, who had just returned that town to the Dutch, joined Raffles as the officer chosen to take charge of the new settlement. He had recently visited Rhio and made a commercial treaty with the Sultan and Raja Muda there, but this had resulted in the Dutch occupying the island and forcing the Malay rulers to promise to exclude all other nations from their dominions. The orders which Hastings had given to Raffles were to visit Acheh first and try to obtain trading facilities there; then to go on to Rhio. It was obviously no good going to Rhio now, but Raffles had half-expected that he would be too late there, and he had got the Governor-General to add an instruction that, if Rhio were occupied, he might negotiate with the Sultan for a concession in Johore. There seems to be little doubt that Raffles already had in mind " the site of the ancient city of Singapore " as the chosen spot. If he were to get there before the Dutch there was not a moment to be lost; so postponing the visit to Acheh, Raffles sailed straight to Singapore, where he arrived on 28 January 1819.

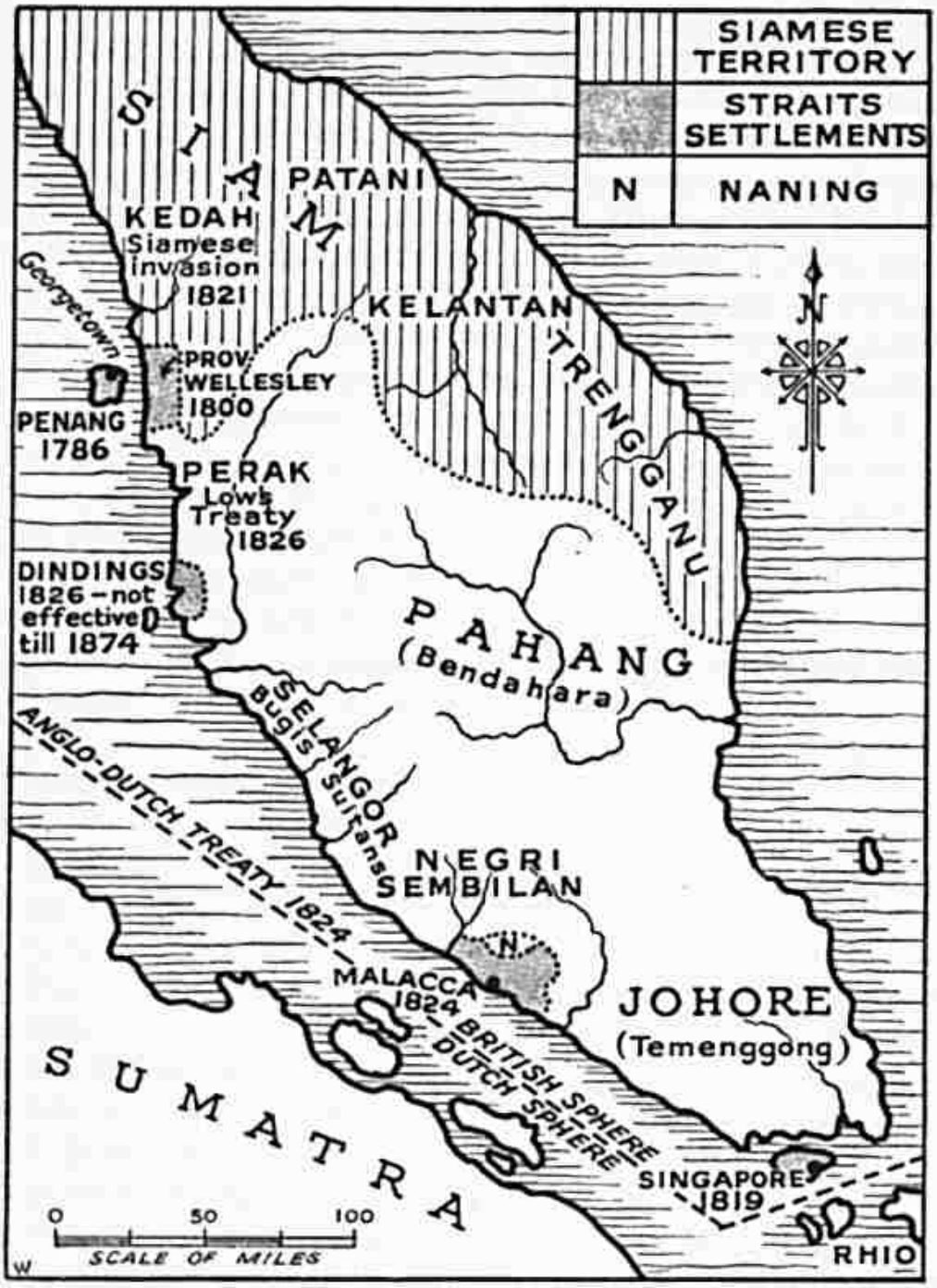
When Raffles came ashore at the mouth of the Singapore River he found a small village inhabited by about 150 Malays and *Orang Laut*, who lived by fishing and piracy under the leadership of the Temenggong of Johore, the actual ruler of that state, since the Sultan was a mere puppet of the Bugis Raja Muda and the Dutch in Rhio. Raffles made an agreement with the Temenggong for the establishment of a factory, but this needed confirmation by the Sultan. Major Farquhar was sent to try to get this, but as was to be expected, the Raja Muda and the Sultan were too much in the power of the Dutch to commit themselves. Then Raffles had another idea. When the late Sultan Mahmud died in 1810 his eldest son, Tengku Long, was away in Pahang, where he was marrying the Bendahara's sister. According to Malay custom, the heir to the throne must take part in the funeral of his predecessor before being installed. In the absence of Tengku Long, the Bugis Raja Muda had installed his younger brother, Abdur-Rahman, although there is some doubt whether this was legally done, because the regalia was still retained by the wife of the late ruler, who supported the elder brother's claims. In any case, Tengku Long was living as a penniless pretender in Rhio when two messengers sent by Raffles brought him to Singapore, where he was received and recognized as the rightful Sultan Hussein of Johore. A treaty was then made with the new Sultan and the Temenggong by which they agreed to the East India Company establishing a factory in return for payments of $5,000 a year for the former and $3,000 for the latter. Settlers were already attracted to the new town which was being planned, and by June 1819 the population numbered 5,000. By August 1820 it had doubled this figure. Raffles was not able to stay at Singapore. He left Farquhar in charge while he carried out his mission to Acheh and then returned to Bencoolen.

As was to be expected, the Dutch were furious. Raffles had in fact disobeyed his orders, which said that he could only make an agreement with Johore if the Sultan was not under the authority of the Dutch. In fact, the Dutch claimed that

he had been under their authority since the treaty of 1785,[1] and this had been renewed by the treaty they had made with Abdur-Rahman in 1818. There was a great danger that they might send military forces from Malacca or Batavia to seize Singapore. Farquhar, who had only a handful of troops, asked Bannerman to send reinforcements, but this he refused to do without direct orders from Calcutta. In Europe protests were made, but in the end the Directors agreed to wait for the opinion of the Governor-General before giving way to the Dutch. Everything now depended on the action of Hastings, who already had wavered; but when it came to the point he stood firm. He tried to conciliate the Dutch Governor-General by saying that Singapore would be given up if the Dutch proved their claim to it, but he pointed out that when Malacca was surrendered to the British in 1795 they had themselves said that Rhio was an independent state and that Johore and Pahang were not a part of it. It followed that when Rhio was restored to them, it was without such dependencies. At the same time he ordered Bannerman to send to Singapore the troops which Raffles had asked for.

In the meanwhile Singapore was growing in strength, and with its obvious success the British Government became the more reluctant to give it up. In 1822–23 Raffles paid a second visit to his "political child" as he called his settlement. During this he planned the town much as it stands today. He was dissatisfied with some of Farquhar's actions, especially with his allowing slaves to be imported and granting licences for gambling and cock-fighting houses. These evils were forbidden for the future, and Farquhar was persuaded to retire. His place was taken by John Crawfurd, a distinguished Malay scholar, who was Resident from 1823 to 1826. A code of laws was drawn up and twelve of the leading British merchants appointed as magistrates. This was a necessity, but Raffles was held later to have exceeded his powers, and there were the same difficulties over the lack of a proper legal system as there had been in

[1] See page 76.



Malaya in 1826

Penang, until with the unification of the three settlements the jurisdiction of the Recorder's Court was extended to Singapore. Raffles hoped to make Singapore a centre of learning as well as commerce, and laid the foundations of the " Institution " now named after him. This was originally intended to be the beginnings of a university where the languages of the Malayan peoples could be studied. Finally, in order to draw to Singapore all the trade he could, Raffles declared that the port was to be free and open to the ships of all nations, free of duty, equally and alike for all. This was the foundation upon which Singapore built up its great entrepôt trade.

Raffles then returned to Bencoolen to wind up his affairs there before retiring to Britain. By this time it was certain that Singapore would not be given up. Raffles had achieved his object, but at a terrible personal cost. His first wife had died in Java, and three of his four children perished in the unhealthy climate of Bencoolen. He returned to Britain old before his time and weakened in health if not in spirit. As a crowning misfortune, the ship in which he sailed was destroyed by fire, and most of the collection of natural specimens and Malay manuscripts which he had gathered together was lost. Even after he was in retirement, the East India Company treated him meanly in money matters and gave him scant thanks for his great work. In 1826 he died suddenly on the eve of his forty-sixth birthday.

In March 1824 the Governments of Great Britain and the Netherlands signed in London a treaty which was intended to settle all outstanding differences between the two nations in the East. By this Britain gave up Bencoolen and promised not to establish any other settlements in Sumatra. In return, the Dutch gave up their stations in India (which were of little importance) and Malacca. They also undertook not to interfere with any of the states of the Malay Peninsula. The result was to define clearly the sphere of influence of each power, and this did help to avoid conflict in the future. An attempt was also made to remove commercial causes of friction, and the

Dutch formally gave up their attempt to keep a monopoly of the trade of the East Indies except for the Moluccas, which were no longer the only source of spice production.

When it was clear that a settlement was likely in Europe the East India Company authorized Crawfurd to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan and Temenggong of Johore for the transfer of sovereignty of Singapore Island and the adjacent islets. This was signed in August 1824. Singapore then became British territory, and the Sultan and Temenggong received cash payments and increased pensions, but ceased to have any part in the government of the settlement.

CHAPTER NINE

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AS A DEPENDENCY OF INDIA, 1826–67

(i) *The Government of the Settlements*

WHEN the exchanges of territory under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 were carried out Singapore and Malacca were combined in 1826 with Penang as the Straits Settlements. The East India Company now began to regret the high hopes which had led to the creation of the fourth Presidency with its large establishment of officials. The Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, visited the Straits in 1829, when he made the famous remark that he could not see Penang for the number of cocked hats which obscured the view. In the following year the axe fell, and the Straits Settlements were reduced to a Residency under the Government of Bengal. During the next forty years the Governors were usually Civil Servants who had had long experience in Malaya, but two of the ablest, Colonel Butterworth (1843–55) and Colonel Cavenagh (1858–67), were officers of the Madras Army. Until 1832 the Governor continued to make his headquarters at Penang, but after that Singapore became the capital. The local administration of Penang and Malacca was left to a Resident Councillor in each Settlement.

The reductions in staff made in 1830 soon proved to be too drastic as the population and work of government increased, but, as until 1864–65 the Straits Settlements had a deficit in revenue which had to be made up by the Indian Treasury, it was difficult to get approval for the creation of new posts as they became necessary. As a result, the small number of officials had to perform many different duties, for instance the Governor and Resident Councillors for long sat as judges and acted as head of the police forces. For the most part, however,

the early officials of the Straits Settlements were able men who had had long experience in the Penang and Bencoolen services and were able to speak Malay and, in a few cases, Siamese and Chinese. As these reached retirement their places were taken by Civil Servants transferred from Bengal, but the lack of opportunities for promotion in the Straits Settlements caused them to seek to return to India when they had acquired enough local knowledge to be useful. As in the Company's service in India, some of the ablest officials started as officers in the Army and were later given administrative posts.

(ii) *Malacca*

Malacca differed in many ways from the other two Settlements. Penang and Singapore were new and rapidly growing ports depending mainly on commerce. Malacca was an ancient city whose trade had now shrunk to very modest proportions. Penang and Singapore soon had a large Chinese population many of whom were temporary residents only. Malacca had a smaller Chinese community, which had long lived in the territory, had married Malay women and were permanently domiciled there. These Babas, as they were called, spoke Malay, but otherwise had retained their Chinese characteristics. The territory of Malacca was more extensive than the islands of Singapore and Penang and, like Province Wellesley, had a large number of Malay peasants established in settled villages. From the administrative point of view the British could start in Penang and Singapore to build afresh, but in Malacca they were forced to accept the foundations laid by their Portuguese and Dutch predecessors.

One problem which the British inherited was the question of land tenure in Malacca. The Portuguese and Dutch had retained the traditional Malay system, though they had never defined it clearly. The basic principles were that the land belonged to the Government, which was entitled to one-tenth of the produce and some forced service from the peasants. The cultivator could not be ejected as long as he farmed the

land, paid his tithe and performed the services. The right to collect the dues was often granted to individuals, but this did not make them *owners* of the land. The Dutch had in fact made such grants to burghers, and these covered nearly all the developed land in the territory. The grantees did not collect tithes themselves, but sold the right to Chinese "farmers"[1] for a fixed sum. They were in much the same position as the *zamindars* in India, but when the British took over Malacca they pretended that they were "Proprietors" instead of tax-collectors.

Governor Robert Fullerton, the first ruler of the three settlements, was an able and energetic man. He wished to make Malacca, with its traditions and central position, the capital of the Straits, and as it possessed more fertile land than Singapore or Penang he hoped to encourage agriculture sufficiently to provide for the food shortage in the other two settlements. He saw clearly that the uncertainty of the peasants' tenure and the exactions of the Chinese tithe farmers discouraged production. After investigation he wisely refused to recognize the "Proprietors'" claim to ownership and persuaded the Company to buy back their right for a very reasonable sum to be paid annually as compensation. It was intended that the Government should now collect the tithe directly and the peasants be freed from extortion by the "farmers". It was also decided that after 1830 all new grants should be issued under English law. All this was reasonable in theory, but, as there was no survey of the land and many of the Dutch records had been destroyed or taken away, it was soon impossible to distinguish between old and new grants. To make confusion worse the Recorder (Judge) decided that Fullerton's Land Regulations were invalid. As time went on the muddle became more and more complicated; the Government could not

[1] A farmer in this sense means one who buys the right to collect a tax for a fixed sum. Before governments had large revenue-collecting departments to do this work it was customary to sell or "farm" the right to collect a tax to the highest bidder. All Malayan Governments did this until the end of the nineteenth century.

collect enough revenue from the land to pay the compensation to the " Proprietors " and for the costs of collection; and the Malay peasants refused to accept English titles to their land or to pay their dues in cash instead of produce. The problem remained insoluble until the 1880s, when Sir Frederick Weld introduced the Torrens system of registration of titles.

The other problem which troubled Malacca concerned the Menangkabau state of Naning, which had been a dependency of the Dutch. The chiefs had in 1643 promised, under the threat of war, to pay a tribute of one-tenth of their rice crop, but the Dutch had wisely decided that it was not worth while to enforce this payment, and had been content since 1765 to receive a mere 400 gantangs of rice as a token of submission. The Penghulu, or ruling chief, was confirmed in his office by the Dutch governor, but no attempt was made to interfere in the internal affairs of the state.

When Malacca came finally under British rule there was much argument over the exact status of Naning. Governor Fullerton and the Superintendent of Lands at Malacca, a certain Mr. Lewis, took the view that Naning was a mere district of Malacca and that the Penghulu and Sukus (four minor chiefs) should become government collectors of revenue with a small pension, as in other districts of the territory. Other experienced officials disagreed, but it was decided to try to get the Penghulu, Abdul Said, to collect the tenth. When Mr. Lewis tried to carry out this policy he met with a refusal. Fullerton first decided to invade Naning, but later referred the matter to the Supreme Government in Calcutta.

The Supreme Government took nearly two years to reply. Meanwhile Abdul Said, encouraged by what he thought was the weakness of the British Government, had seized some fruit belonging to a Malay proprietor within Malacca territory. Soon after this incident the Supreme Government replied that although Naning was not a sovereign state and therefore subject to the tithe, it was not worth while trying to enforce payment. The new Governor, Ibbetson, said that things had gone too far to

withdraw and, being left to act as he felt best, sent a force of 150 sepoys with two six-pounder guns to Naning in 1831. The expedition found that there were no roads along which the guns could be taken and had to choose between hacking a way through the jungle or pulling them through the swampy padi-fields. The Malays of Naning reinforced by their kinsmen of Rembau harassed the column and cut down trees to block their retreat. In the end the force retired ignominously to Malacca, having lost their guns and heavy baggage.

The Indian Government was furious at this ridiculous exploit, but realized that the war must be fought to a successful conclusion to restore the Company's prestige. A treaty was made with the ruler of Rembau, whose independence was fully recognized. In 1832 after the rainy season was over a stronger column advanced with extreme caution over the twenty-one miles from Malacca to Taboh, the capital of Naning. To secure communications from the tree-cutting tactics the commander, Colonel Herbert, cleared a road 600 feet wide for the last twelve miles. He met with no serious resistance, and with the aid of the Rembau Malays the stockades of Naning were captured and the chiefs fled. The campaign had cost £100,000, and the Company was so sick of Naning that they offered it to the ruler of Rembau. However, the offer was refused, and Naning became a district of Malacca under the charge of a Superintendent of Dutch descent, Mr. Westerhout. Tithes were now collected, but the revenue exceeded expenditure by only a few hundred dollars a year.

Penghulu Abdul Said surrendered when he was offered a pardon and a pension if he would live quietly in Malacca. He became a respected and prosperous citizen of the town, where he lived for the last fifteen years of his life. This generous treatment, it has been said, did more to raise the good name of the British with the Malays than the futile episode of the war.

(iii) *Relations with Siam and the Malay States*

It had been fear of Siam which had induced the Sultan of Kedah to cede Penang in the hope of obtaining British protection, but the treaties of 1791 and 1800 gave no promise of aid. Throughout the rest of the Company's existence the policy of non-intervention was strictly followed in Malaya, and such departures as there were from it arose from the initiative of the officials in the Straits Settlements and not from the Supreme Government, which usually regarded them as a breach of orders.

Meanwhile Siam was recovering from her wars with Burma and adopting a more aggressive attitude towards the Malay states. In 1818 Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin of Kedah was ordered to invade Perak and make that state send the *bunga mas*[1] to Bangkok. Obedience to this order did not, however, save him from further exactions and the suspicion that he was intriguing with Siam's enemy, Burma. Summoned to pay homage personally to the King of Siam, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin thought it wiser to refuse to go. In 1821 the blow fell and the Siamese overran Kedah, committing many barbarities on the Malays. The Sultan fled to Penang, where he appealed for help in recovering his country, but, although many of the local officials sympathized, the direct orders of the Supreme Government prevented anything being done. Many fugitives took refuge in Province Wellesley, which became a base from which several attempts to recover Kedah were launched by the Malays. British opinion was that a very small force would have been sufficient to recover Kedah, since the Siamese were unable to stand up to the disciplined European-trained sepoys.

Although the Company would not risk this small force, it was forced by closer contacts with Siam to attempt to reach agreement with the Government of that country on commercial matters. In 1822 John Crawfurd, afterwards Resident of Singapore, was sent on a mission to Bangkok, but failed completely to get any satisfaction for the requests for better trading

[1] An artificial plant with golden branches and leaves.

conditions or for the restoration of Kedah. In 1824 the Company was at war with Burma, and it was felt that this might make a favourable opening for renewed negotiations. The new envoy Captain Burney, who had served in the Straits and was familiar with the local problems, succeeded in 1826 in concluding a treaty. Some recognition was obtained of the independence of Perak and Selangor, but only at the price of acknowledging Siamese rule in Kedah and of promising not to aid the ex-Sultan or to allow him to live in Penang.

Governor Fullerton and the officials of the Penang Government were far more pro-Malay in their feelings, and they protested against the terms of Burney's treaty and took risks to help Perak to keep the freedom which she had won by expelling the Siamese with the aid of Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor. Fullerton had no authority to make war, but when he heard that the Siamese Raja of Ligor was preparing a fleet to invade Perak he sent the Penang gunboats to demonstrate off the Trang River. The bluff was successful, and the fleet never sailed. The Raja now sent small parties of his people to infiltrate into Perak on the excuse of helping the Sultan in his government. In 1826 Fullerton sent Captain James Low to Perak with fifty sepoys. This was enough to scare away the Siamese, but Low went farther than his instructions by overthrowing those chiefs who had helped them and concluding a treaty of alliance with the Sultan. The Supreme Government were very angry with Low and Fullerton, and do not seem to have ratified the treaty. However, at later times the Company usually acted as if the alliance was a fact, and their influence was sufficient to keep Perak free from any renewal of attacks from Siam. Under Low's treaty the islands of the Dindings (Pangkor, etc.) were to be ceded but no attempt was made to occupy them.

Later Governors were more scrupulous in relations with Siam after Burney's treaty had been accepted. Twice, in 1831 and 1838, Malays crossed into Kedah from Province Wellesley and drove the Siamese out. On both occasions the Penang Govern-

ment blockaded the coast to prevent aid from reaching the insurgents and the Raja of Ligor was able to reconquer the state. This policy was no doubt in accordance with the letter of the treaty, but it was most unpopular in Penang, where most of the inhabitants, European and Asian, sympathized with the Sultan in his troubles.

In 1841 the Sultan decided to try to recover by negotiation the throne which he despaired of regaining by force of arms. His eldest son was sent to the King of Siam bearing a letter of mediation from the Governor of the Straits Settlements. By this time the warlike Raja of Ligor was dead and the Siamese Government had gained little profit from their remote and troublesome province of Kedah. The King of Siam withdrew his forces from Kedah and allowed Ahmad Tajuddin to return as Sultan over a state which was reduced by the setting up of other dependent rajas in some of the northern districts. One of these was Perlis, which thus became a separate state. The others have since been incorporated in Siam. Kedah continued to send the *bunga mas* to Bangkok, but otherwise the Siamese did not interfere much with its internal affairs. Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin did not settle down very peacefully, for in 1843 he attempted to seize the Krian district from Perak, and was only persuaded to give it up five years later.

The east-coast states of Kelantan and Trengganu were also recognized as being dependencies of Siam by Burney's treaty, but being much more remote did not have any close contact with the Straits Settlements. Both sent the *bunga mas*. Kelantan was much more exposed to Siamese control than Trengganu, where it was merely nominal. Governor Cavenagh intervened in Trengganu in 1864 to prevent a Siamese attempt to put on the throne the ex-Sultan of Lingga, who had been deposed by the Dutch.

(iv) *Relations with Johore and Pahang*

Johore and Pahang were outside the Siamese sphere of influence. Formerly part of the dominions of the Sultans at

Rhio, they had, after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, been cut off from their overlord, who was in the Dutch area, and became practically independent, Johore under the Temenggongs and Pahang under the Bendaharas.

The Temenggong Abdur-Rahman, who had signed the treaty ceding Singapore, died in 1825. As he had enjoyed his pension for such a short time it was continued to his son, the Temenggong Ibrahim, who was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded his father. Sultan Hussein did not try, even at this time, to get any real control of the Government, though he often asked for a share of the revenues. He withdrew to Malacca just before his death in 1835. His son Tengku Ali was recognized as the heir to Hussein's property, but for long the Straits Settlements Government refused to acknowledge him as Sultan.

The new Temenggong, who lived in Singapore, soon proved himself to be an able and energetic man. He was on good terms with the European merchants of the town and respected by the Governors, not only because of the help he gave in the suppression of piracy and his friendly policy to the British, but also because he was not afraid to stand up to them when his rights were at stake. At his accession the total population of Johore was estimated at about 25,000 only, of which the majority were at Johore Lama and other villages on the Johore River or on the west coast. The interior was almost uninhabited and the east coast quite undeveloped. The foundation of Singapore encouraged the opening up of Johore and the production of commodities which could be sold there. When the spice plantations of Singapore failed many Chinese moved across to Johore, where pepper became a successful crop. Gutta percha proved even more profitable, and the Temenggong made a fortune trading in it. He now had a growing revenue from the farming of the taxes, and used it wisely to develop his territory, where he founded at Tanjong Putri a new town, later to become Johore Bahru.

Compared with this clever ruler, Tengku Ali seemed weak

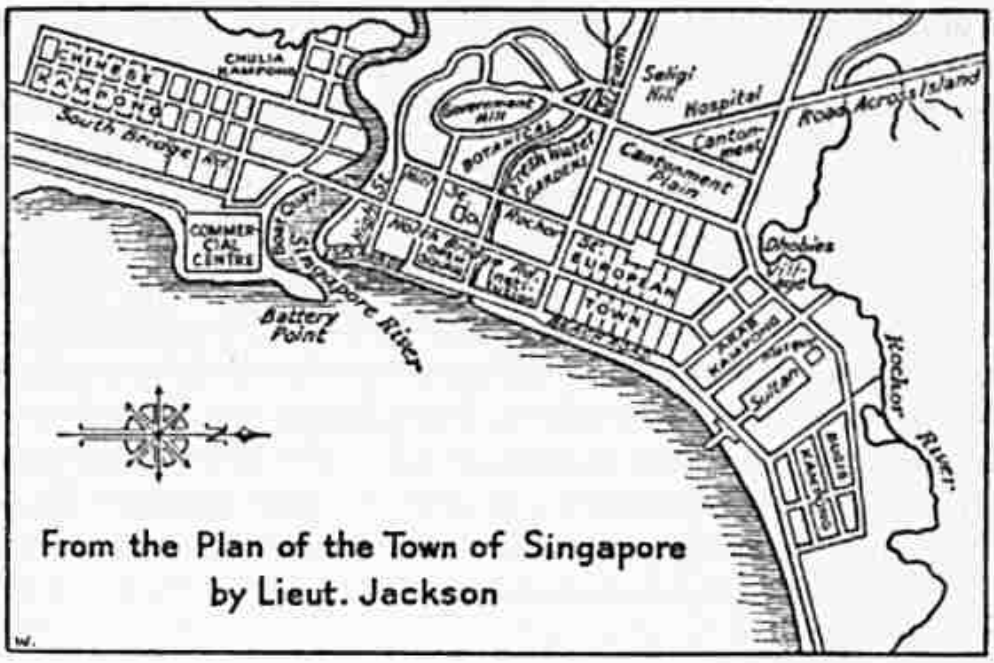
and unfitted for authority, but it could not be denied that he had a just claim for some compensation. At length in 1855 Governor Butterworth arranged a settlement by which Ali was formally installed as Sultan for his lifetime, but in return surrendered to the Temenggong the sovereignity over all Johore except the district between the Muar and the Kesang Rivers. The Temenggong was also to pay the Sultan compensation of $5,000 in cash and a pension of $500 a month. Ali did not organize any government in his miniature kingdom, but merely farmed the taxes for what he could get. He died in Malacca in 1877. A vote was then taken of the chiefs and headmen of Muar, who chose to join with the rest of Johore, under the rule of Temenggong Ibrahim's son, Abu Bakar, who had succeeded his father in 1862.

The Bendaharas of Pahang had never recognized Sultan Hussein or his son and regarded themselves as independent rulers. Pahang did not progress as well as Johore because of civil wars, which lasted for many years, between the Bendahara Tahir and his brother Wan Ahmad. In the end Wan Ahmad gained control in 1863, but Pahang continued to be in a very lawless condition until it came under British protection twenty-five years later.

(v) *Progress in the Settlement*

Internally the period from 1826 to 1867 was remarkable for the growth of the Settlements in trade and population, and especially for the development of Penang and Singapore into large modern towns such as Malaya had not known before.

By contrast Malacca and Province Wellesley had a predominantly rural and agricultural population which remained mainly Malay. The trade of Malacca had fallen to a low level at the end of the eighteenth century, and did not recover much, owing to the competition of Penang and Singapore and the silting up of the harbour. Such trade as remained was confined to the immediate hinterland, and to a large extent was the collection and distribution of goods which were carried by



The first plan of Singapore, 1823.

coastal shipping to and from Penang and Singapore for transhipment. The town did not grow much, but under more settled conditions the rural population increased, so that by 1860 there were 67,267 inhabitants in the settlement—more than treble the number in 1826. In Province Wellesley there was an influx of Malays after the Siamese conquest of Kedah in 1821. In the northern part the Malays planted padi, but in the south sugar-cane was introduced first by Chinese and later developed on large European-owned estates in the middle of the century.[1] By 1860 the population of the Province had reached 64,816, almost as much as that of Malacca.

The graph on page 117 shows how the trade of Penang increased steadily from its foundation until 1822. After that there was a temporary decline for a few years owing to competition from Singapore, but from 1830 Penang's trade grew quite rapidly, though it was overshadowed by the extraordinary progress of the southern settlement. Penang was too far

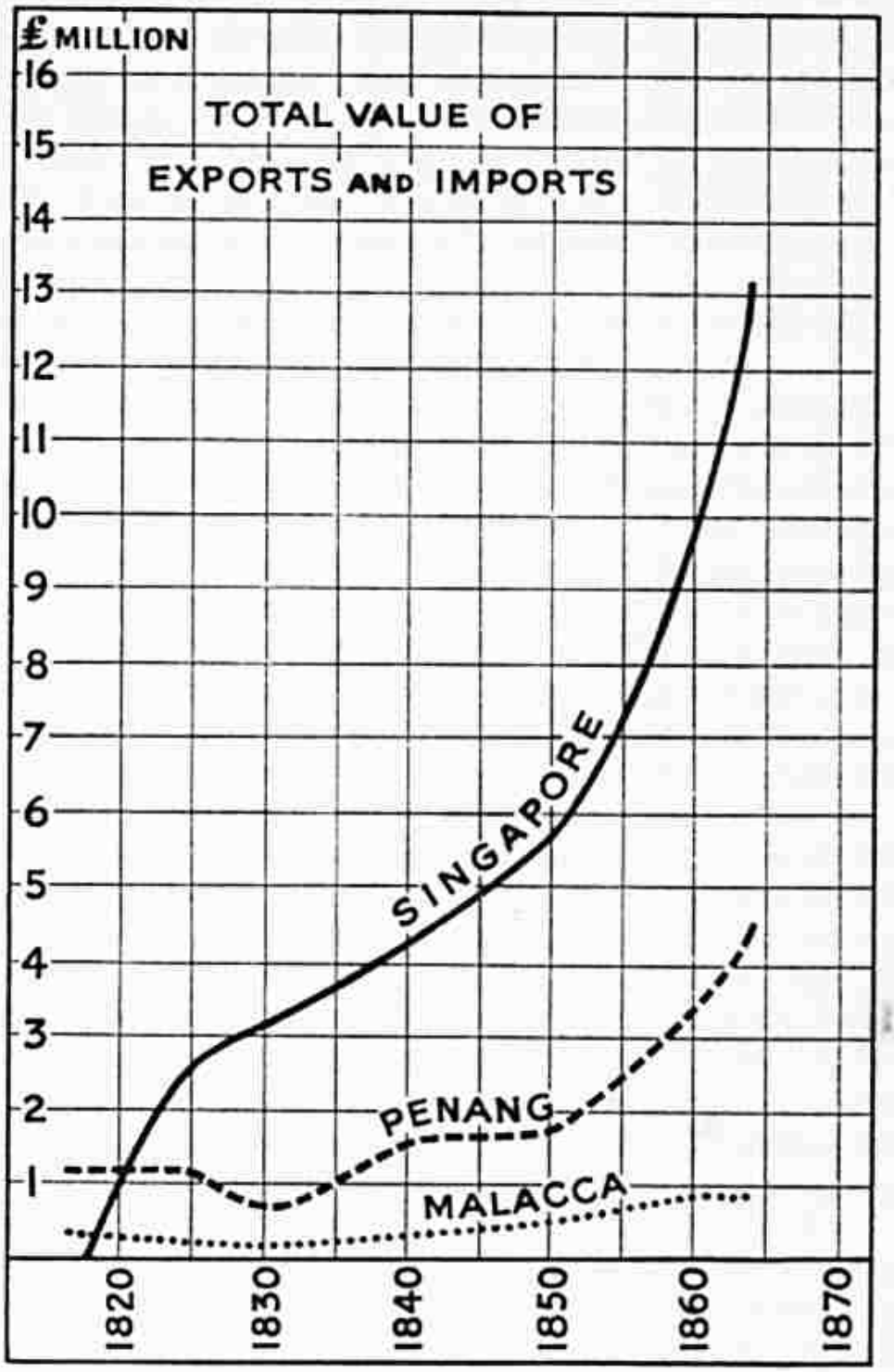
[1] Several of these estates later changed over to rubber, but still have names connected with the Crimean War of 1854–56.

from the East Indies to attract the island trade, and it became what it has been ever since, a collecting and distributing centre for north-west Malaya, southern Siam, northern Sumatra and Burma. For some time it also kept up a considerable direct trade with China, exchanging silk for Straits produce.

When Penang was founded the East India Company had hoped to develop there spice plantations which would make it independent of the Dutch-controlled Moluccas. The first attempts were unsuccessful, owing to ignorance of the methods of cultivating the spice plants, but Chinese settlers achieved good results later with pepper, and by 1810 Penang was producing annually four million pounds of a high quality. After that a decline in the price led to the abandonment of most of the plantations. Only one planter, a European named Brown, persisted with the cultivation of cloves and nutmeg, but his ultimate success led to intensive growing of these spices from the 1830s until 1860, when a blight killed most of the plants.

By 1860 the population of Penang Island had risen to nearly 60,000, the majority being immigrant peoples, of whom the largest group were Chinese. Indian merchants were also numerous in the town, and the Malays were established in villages on the coast. By contrast with Penang's solid progress, that of Singapore was phenomenal. By 1864 its population was over 80,000, including more than 50,000 Chinese, and its trade, at over £13,000,000, was worth three times as much as that of the northern settlement.

Merchants of many nations jostled in Singapore's growing streets. The East India Company did little trade itself, having lost its monopoly in 1813 except for the Chinese trade. English and Scottish merchants were able to establish private firms for both the European and local trade. Indians, both Moslem and Hindu, mingled with Arabs and the Bugis, who carried goods to and from every part of the East Indian archipelago. A small but important Armenian community was established, and their church, built in 1835, is one of the oldest buildings still standing in the town.

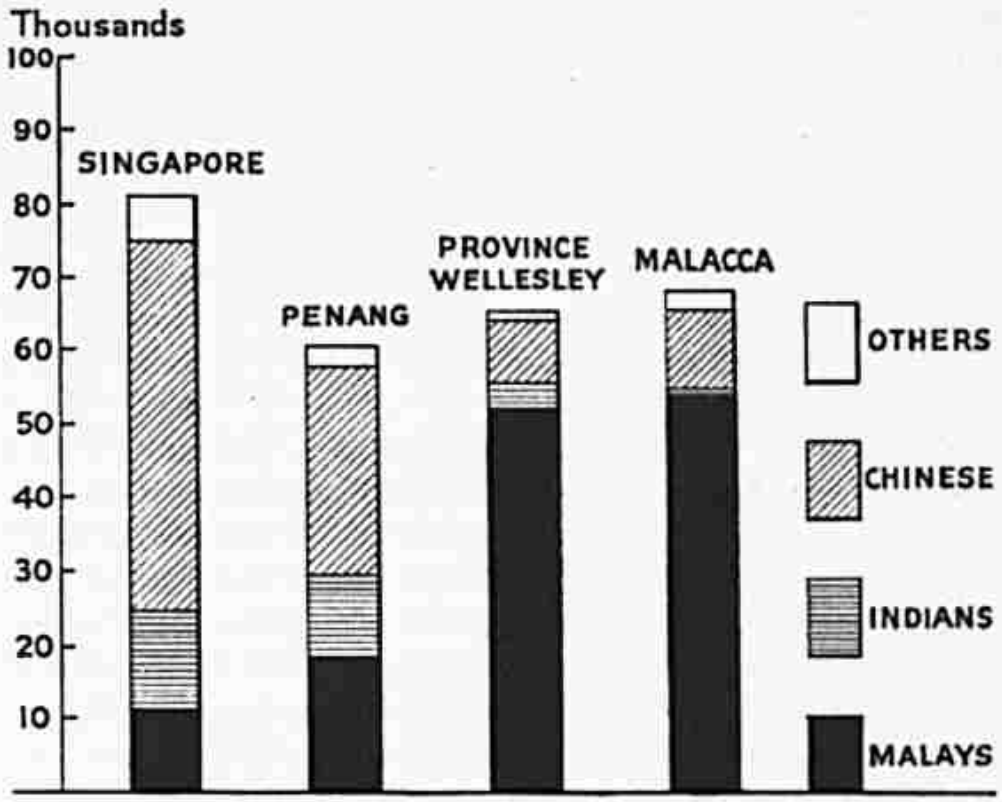


The trade of the Settlements

Most important of all were the Chinese. Some were wealthy merchants who transferred their businesses from Malacca and Rhio, but the majority were poor immigrants from the southern provinces of China itself. These borrowed the cost of their passages from the captains of junks, who sold their services to richer residents for a term of years till the debt was paid. The immigrants then hoped to make enough money in a few years to return to the homeland. There were few Chinese women, for the poor labourer could not afford to bring his wife, and the Chinese authorities forbade female emigration.

The labour of the Chinese and to a lesser degree the Indians built up the prosperity of the port under conditions provided by the European administrators. The early rulers of Singapore bear witness to the industry, energy and honest dealing of the Chinese in commercial matters. Engaged in every kind of occupation and craft, they were the most important element in the population. Many returned to China, but a proportion always remained; some fell victims to the vices of gambling and opium-smoking, but in a lifetime or a generation the penniless immigrant often became the rich " towkay ".

The early town settled down in the plan which Raffles had worked out for it. Each community had its own area. At the extreme east was the Kampong of the Bugis, who landed their goods at the mouth of the Rochore River. Next, grouped round the compound of the Sultan in Kampong Glam, were the Malays, Arabs and Moslem Indians near to the present Mosque. To the south of this Raffles planned the European town, with streets laid out at right-angles to the main thoroughfare of North Bridge Road. Beyond Bras Basah Road were the lands reserved for the " Institution ", and in the upper reaches of the " Fresh Water Stream " the washermen carried on their business, near what is still called Dhobi Ghaut. Fort Canning, then usually called Government Hill, was the site of the first residence of the Governor and of the Christian cemetery, where so many of the early Europeans lie buried. Between the hill and the sea and to the north of the river was an open space



The population of the Straits Settlements in 1860

reserved for the Esplanade and the government buildings. Here in the cool of the evening the European families took the air in their carriages or listened to the band of the Indian regiment from the barracks in Sepoy Lines. The south bank of the river was devoted to the godowns and offices of the principal merchants, European and Asian, and the commercial town was spreading over the filled-in swamp where Raffles Place is today. South and west of this was Chinatown and the Chulia Kampong. The Europeans have since moved their homes out of the centre of the town, but otherwise this old part has remained very much as planned.

The large Chinese community brought problems as well as prosperity, and these were troublesome to the Supreme Government, which had plenty of experience of the difficulties of governing India, but knew little of a people so different as the Chinese. Nor were the Straits officials much better fitted, for

though most of them could speak Malay, there were practically none who could speak Chinese dialects or who understood Chinese customs. The police force was quite inadequate, and mostly Indian in the rank and file. Some of the Chinese immigrants were of a criminal type, and consequently there was much lawlessness and violence. Robberies were carried out, sometimes in broad daylight, by gangs which had their hide-outs in the jungle-clad interior of the island. To combat this, the leading merchants subscribed to a fund to raise private police to guard their property.[1]

The mass of the Chinese consisted of single men or those who had left their wives in China and had not therefore the settling influence of home and family life. They tended to live as a race apart, much as they did in China, and had no close contacts with government officials or with other communities. As was the custom everywhere they went, the Chinese had a genius for forming combinations for all purposes good and bad. There were *kongsis* or associations of those from each province or district in the homeland, and they often brought with them to Malaya long-standing feuds. There were associations for the different clans and guilds for different occupations and crafts. Some of these *kongsis* were harmless and confined themselves to benevolent work among the needy and unfortunate and to regulating professional matters, but there were others more sinister in character, usually known as *hui*, which were secret societies which "might be described with fair accuracy as the Pirates and Robbers Co-operative Association".[2] The worst of these were the various branches of the Triad Society, drawing its members from all classes and all parts of China. These *hui* tried to place themselves above the law and to gain complete control over the whole Chinese community. When any member committed a crime all the other members were bound to help him to escape arrest and punishment. When a member was brought before the courts witnesses were

[1] The *jaga* or Sikh watchman is really a survival of this system.
[2] L. A. Mills, *British Malaya, 1824–1867*.

bribed, intimidated or even murdered to prevent conviction. Fresh immigrants from China were forced to join, and the secrets of the organization were protected by fear of punishment for giving evidence or by the murder of would-be informers. So successful was this secrecy that practically nothing was known of the working of the Triads until about 1860.

In the middle of the century the Straits Settlements suffered from a series of riots caused by these secret societies. In Singapore in 1851 the victims were the Chinese Roman Catholics, who were hated because they would not join the *hui*. There houses and plantations were plundered and over five hundred killed. In 1854 and in 1863 there were pitched battles in the streets of Singapore between rival societies, which lasted for a week on each occasion and in which hundreds of Chinese were killed. The riots were not directed against the Government, and Europeans were not molested. They were merely faction fights to secure control over their fellow countrymen. On the last occasion the Governor, Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, hit upon a clever and amusing way of stopping the bloodshed. He tells us in his memoirs:

"Upon the recommendation of the commissioner of police, to whom the heads of the societies, apparently respectable citizens, were well known, I directed that, in the event of any riot taking place, these gentlemen should be at once summoned and sworn in as special constables, and compelled to take an active part in quelling the disturbance. This arrangement did not at all suit their views, as, although willing to urge others to fight, they did not care about having their own heads broken; hence quarrels between the members of the several secret societies became comparatively rare, and no riot of sufficient importance to necessitate the employment of troops to quell it occurred at Singapore during my term of office."

Cavenagh was a little too optimistic, for his solution did not go to the root of the real causes of the trouble, and before he left there were serious riots in Penang in 1867, which arose

from the rivalry of two societies in the Larut tin-fields, of which we shall hear more later. It was not until many years later that the work of the Chinese Protectorate gave the necessary information about the societies that enabled the improved police force to deal with the situation.

(vi) *The Suppression of Piracy*

Piracy was a very ancient occupation of the seafaring peoples of South-East Asia. It was regarded as late as the nineteenth century as a quite reasonable one for a gentleman. Sultans, nobles and the humbler *Orang Laut* had all engaged in it for centuries in much the same way as the English adventurers of Elizabethan days. The geography of the area favoured the pirate, for there were innumerable islands, straits and harbours where they could take refuge, and through it passed important trade routes. The coming of Europeans probably led to an increase, because the old trades were upset by the attempts of the Portuguese and Dutch to monopolize commerce, thus causing many would-be traders to turn to piracy. Rulers found their revenues from trade reduced, and they recouped themselves by financing pirate ventures, even though they themselves did not take part in them.

In the early days of the Straits Settlements the problem was a very serious one. The pirate craft were usually small vessels using both oars and sail and armed with a few small swivel guns. They rarely attacked European ships, which were high out of the water, heavily armed and resolutely defended. The exceptions were when such a ship was becalmed near a pirate coast and a large force could be concentrated or when one was lying at anchor in a port and could be surprised by pirates disguised as merchants. It was the smaller native ships which suffered most, and pirates often attacked them just outside the harbours of Penang and Singapore, capturing much merchandise and enslaving the crews.

The Bugis seemed to have abandoned piracy in the nineteenth century, but others were active. Most important were

the Lanuns from Mindanao in the Philippines. They had several hundred vessels some of which were 100 feet long and manned by 150 men. These set out in fleets each year and systematically ravaged the commerce of the East Indies. The east coast of Malaya was open to their attacks, and from August to October "the pirate wind" brought them into the Straits of Malacca. Until 1835 they were found as far north as Penang and Kedah. After completing their voyages they returned to sell their plunder at a great mart at Sulu. Only less formidable were the Balanini from the islands of the Sulu Sea.

By comparison, the Malay pirates operated on a much smaller scale. Their main centre was in the islands south of Singapore—the Carimons, Rhio and Lingga—but almost every river-mouth round the coast of Malaya had a few, and rulers and petty rajas were all interested in getting a share of the proceeds of the plunder. In the days of sailing-ships it was very hard to catch the pirates. Men-of-war could not manœuvre near to the coasts, and were often becalmed while the shallow draught of the pirates' boats enabled them to escape easily into the maze of channels in the mangrove swamps where ships' boats could not follow or find them.

Until 1835 the problem grew steadily worse, as the Straits Settlements Government had no suitable naval forces to protect their commerce, and even if pirates were caught the courts had no jurisdiction to try them. Outside Singapore piracy had increased, for its commerce passed very close to the pirate strongholds. "There were pirates in fleets, and in single praus, pirates in big hundred-oared galleys, pirates in small galleys, pirates in row-boats, and solitary pirates in tiny skiffs."[1]

In 1836 the tide turned with the arrival of ships of the Royal Navy, and during the next few years the pirates suffered heavy losses. However, the factor which finally led to the suppression of piracy was the coming of the steamship which could move up-wind. The first was the *Diana*, which arrived in the Straits

[1] L. A. Mills, *British Malaya, 1824–1867*.

in 1837. Off the Trengganu coast she came upon six Lanun galleys plundering a Chinese junk. Seeing the smoke from her funnel, they thought she was on fire and left their prey to attack her. The shock they received when the *Diana* moved towards them against the wind can be imagined. The pirates lost four ships and many men. This defeat soon discouraged the Lanuns from visiting the Malayan coast. Between 1845 and 1846 Brooke, with the aid of the Navy, cleared the Lanuns out of their bases in North Borneo, and the Spanish captured Sulu and the Balanini Islands soon afterwards. There was a new danger from Chinese pirates in the Gulf of Siam between 1848 and 1855, but this was swept away by the efforts of the British China fleet. At the same time the Dutch had been taking very active measures against the pirates in their sphere, and the British Navy helped to clear Rhio and Lingga. There are still occasional cases of piracy, but after 1855 it was no longer a serious problem.

(vii) *Separation from India*

The dependence of the Straits Settlements on the Indian Government had never been popular with the mercantile community, especially of Singapore. To the officials in Calcutta burdened with the government of a sub-continent, the Settlements were distant and hard to administer, as their problems were different from those encountered in India itself. In addition, the revenue had never covered the expenditure. The merchants and officials in Singapore, on the other hand, had great faith in the destiny of their town, and complained that its progress was hampered by unsympathetic government and lack of understanding. Public opinion in the Straits had been against the pro-Siamese policy of the Company towards Kedah. The refusal of the Indian Government to intervene in the Malay States annoyed the merchants, who saw opportunities for increased trade disappearing in the prevailing anarchy of the interior. Other long-standing and oft-repeated complaints were that the Settlements were made a dumping

ground for convicts and for troops, for which the local Government had to pay, but in justice it must be pointed out that the convicts had done invaluable work on the roads and public buildings in the early days and that the usual garrison was very small considering the dangers of disturbances among the Chinese at this time. There was also some demand for a Legislative Council in which unofficial opinion could make itself more felt.

These grievances had smouldered quietly for many years, but they were fanned into open agitation in 1855 by the unwise interference of the Indian Government with two institutions very dear to the merchants—freedom of trade and the dollar currency. This was not the first time that the Indian Government had looked at the deficit it was called on to meet and demanded the raising of more revenue. It was now proposed to charge port dues. The Indian Government had also made several attempts to introduce the rupee, used throughout the rest of its dominions, instead of the silver dollar, but the peoples of South-East Asia were so used to using the latter that the merchants of the Straits were much opposed to any change. It was now proposed to make Indian money legal currency. Both measures were withdrawn after protests, but agitation for separation continued in Singapore with the support of friends in Britain, of whom the most important was John Crawfurd, the former Resident.

In 1858 the East India Company was abolished and the Crown assumed direct responsibility for the Government of its dominions. This would have provided a good opportunity for transferring the Straits Settlements to the Colonial Office instead of to the India Office. The change was agreed to be desirable in principle, but was delayed for many years by interminable arguments between the Government Departments in Britain over the financial details. At length the " red tape " was untied, and on 1 April 1867 the Straits Settlements ceased to be a dependency of India and passed under the care of the Colonial Office as a Crown Colony.

TIME CHART 1800–70

1800	Province Wellesley ceded
1805	Penang made a Presidency
1807	Fort of Malacca destroyed
1811	Conquest of Java
1816	Java returned to Dutch
1818	Malacca returned to Dutch
1819	Foundation of Singapore
1821	Siamese invasion of Kedah
1824	Anglo-Dutch Treaty: Malacca ceded
1826	Straits Settlements combined: Low's Treaty (Perak)
1830	Straits Settlements under Bengal
1831	Naning War began
1832	Singapore capital of Straits Settlements
1841	Sultan of Kedah restored
1850	
1851	Straits Settlements directly under Government of India
1857	Indian Mutiny
1858	East India Company abolished
1862	Abu Bakar ruler of Johore
1867	Straits Settlements transferred from India to the Crown
1869	Suez Canal opened

CHAPTER TEN

THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM IN THE MALAY STATES

(i) *Perak*

WHILE the Straits Settlements were rapidly developing and growing closer to the modern world, the Malay States just outside their borders continued in a condition comparable to medieval feudalism. The powers of the rulers had declined everywhere, with the exception of Johore. The chiefs of districts extorted what dues they could from the common people, who had no security that they would not be robbed of the crops they grew and animals they raised by rival forces in the frequent civil wars. Aborigines, captives and debtors were kept in slavery by the rajas, and even the freemen were liable for forced labour on any kind of private or public work on the orders of the chiefs. Trade was strangled by the tolls demanded by each local raja, as well as by customs duties on exports and imports leaving or entering the principal river-mouths. Although the country had rich resources, these were very little developed, except where a few Chinese had ventured into the tin-mining areas at the risk of their lives.

It was unlikely that the rulers of the Straits Settlements would be able to refrain for ever from interfering in this primitive hinterland. For long the reluctance of the Indian authorities had prevented action, but after the transfer of the Straits Settlements to the Colonial Office in 1867 the British Government slowly changed its mind on the repeated appeals for intervention from local officials in the Straits and in response to the general tendency of the times when all European nations were extending their spheres of influence in the East.

The occasion for the change of policy was the situation which

had arisen in Perak owing to the influx of Chinese to the Larut district. This was a swampy, thinly-peopled area outside the natural basin of the Perak River when a Malay called Che' Long Jafar married the daughter of the Panglima Bukit Gantang, guardian of the pass from Kuala Kangsar, and settled down near the present site of Taiping as a minor chief. Soon after his arrival rich tin-fields were discovered, and Che' Long Jafar encouraged Chinese from Penang to develop them. In 1850 he was granted the right to collect revenue from Larut by the Sultan of Perak, and this was confirmed, with very full powers of government, to his son, Che' Ngah Ibrahim, on his death in 1856. A rush of Chinese to Larut followed, and Ngah Ibrahim was soon the richest chief in Perak and aspiring to independence.

The Chinese brought to Larut the fierce rivalry of the secret societies which distinguished their fellow countrymen in the Straits. The two main divisions were the Ghee Hin, mostly Cantonese, and the Hai San, mostly Hakkas. At first they developed different areas of the district, but in 1862 war broke out between the two, and the Ghee Hin were driven out of their mines at Kamunting. The leaders of the Ghee Hin then appealed for help to the Straits Settlements Government, and as many were British subjects Governor Cavenagh blockaded the coast of Larut and demanded compensation. Not wishing to give an occasion for interference, the Sultan advised Ngah Ibrahim to pay compensation, and in return created him Orang Kaya Mantri, one of the four greatest officers in the state, with wider powers over Larut.

The Mantri now had a revenue of $200,000 a year, but he was unable to control the turbulent Chinese, whose quarrels led to serious riots between the two factions in Penang in 1867. In 1872 the Ghee Hin imported professional fighting men, drove out the Hai San and gained control of the whole tin-mine area. Shortly afterwards the Hai San launched a counter-attack and recovered the lost territory. This struggle seemed likely to go on indefinitely, but at this stage the wider issue of

the succession to the Sultanate became mixed up with the local struggle in Larut.

In 1871 Sultan Ali of Perak died. According to custom, the Bendahara invited the Raja Muda, as the rightful heir, to attend the funeral and to be installed as Sultan. The Raja Muda, Abdullah, was weak and unpopular and feared to accept the invitation. After waiting for thirty-two days the Perak chiefs lost patience and installed the Bendahara Ismail instead. Raja Abdullah never really gave up his claim, while a third candidate, Raja Yusof, also had hopes of becoming Sultan. Raja Abdullah started to intrigue with the Ghee Hin, who had seized Matang and were blockading the Larut coast. With their aid Abdullah hoped to gain the throne, but the Mantri supported the Hai San and resented Abdullah's interference.

The Governor, Sir Harry Ord, decided not to recognize either of the rival Sultans and to support the Mantri, who had engaged a British officer, Captain Speedy, to organize a police force in Larut. Accordingly, the Mantri was recognized as an independent ruler.

By this time the British Government had decided that intervention was necessary, and Sir Andrew Clarke, who arrived as Governor at the end of 1873, was given the following instructions:

"I have to request that you will carefully ascertain, as far as you are able, the actual condition of affairs in each state and that you will report to me whether there are any steps which can properly be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories. I would wish you, especially, to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the States."

The Secretary of State who wrote these words probably had in mind the good results which had been achieved in India by posting Residents or Advisers to native-ruled states.

Sir Andrew Clarke did not waste any time. Within a few

days of his arrival in Singapore he met Raja Abdullah and found out that he would be willing to receive a British Resident if he were made Sultan. Meanwhile Mr. W. A. Pickering, Chinese Interpreter to the Government, was sent to meet the Chinese leaders, and persuaded them to submit their quarrels in Larut to the Governor's arbitration. Then in January 1874 Sir Andrew Clarke met the principal Perak chiefs (except Sultan Ismail) and the Chinese headmen at Pangkor. Here an agreement was made that Raja Abdullah should be recognized as Sultan and should accept a British Resident " whose advice must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom ". Sultan Ismail was to be given a title and a pension. The islands of the Dindings (already promised by Low's Treaty of 1826) and a strip of coast opposite to them were to be ceded to the Straits Settlements.[1] The Perak chiefs accepted these terms reluctantly and with suspicion. The Mantri was especially discontented that his enemy Abdullah was to be Sultan and that his independent position was not acknowledged by Sir Andrew Clarke, who does not seem to have known that recognition had been given by Sir Harry Ord the year before. Sultan Ismail was naturally furious at his deposition.

At the same time the Chinese leaders agreed at Pangkor that Commissioners appointed by the Governor should settle their differences. Captain Dunlop, Mr. Frank Swettenham and Mr. W. A. Pickering were given this task, and a month later they were able to report that a satisfactory division of the tin-fields had been made, that all the stockades had been destroyed and captives returned to their families. Captain Speedy was appointed as Assistant Resident in charge of Larut, where the Chinese at last began to settle down peacefully.

The task of the first British Resident in Perak was a hard one. Unfortunately Mr. J. W. W. Birch, the Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, who was chosen for the post, was not the right man. He had had long experience in Ceylon,

[1] The Dindings were given back to Perak in 1935.

and was a brave, honourable and kindly man, but he could speak no Malay, was unsympathetic towards Malay customs, easily irritated by abuses and wanted to change everything too quickly. His attitude can be summed up in his own words: "It concerns us little what were the old customs of the country nor do I think they are worthy of any consideration." It is not surprising that he could get no co-operation from the chiefs, whose rights of collecting taxes and dues he proposed to take away before any compensation had been fixed. Horrified by the suffering of the debt-slaves, he helped them to escape from their masters, who could not understand why an immemorial custom should suddenly cease in this way. Sultan Abdullah was soon sending complaints to the Governor and even plotting with his rival, ex-Sultan Ismail, and his old enemy the Mantri. After a year Mr. Birch was murdered in November 1875 by the Maharaja Lela at his village of Pasir Salak, after a meeting at which Sultan Abdullah and his chiefs had decided that he should be killed.

This tragedy brought armed intervention by British troops. There was no serious opposition, but a guerrilla campaign followed until the murderers were caught and hanged. Nearly all the Perak chiefs were involved, but only Sultan Abdullah, the Mantri, the Laksamana and the Shahbandar were punished by banishment to the Seychelles. Ex-Sultan Ismail lived for the rest of his life in Johore, and Raja Yusof became Regent and later Sultan. The new Resident Mr. J. G. Davidson, formerly of Selangor, resigned his difficult post and returned to his law-practice in Singapore.

The man who was to save Perak and lay the foundations of her prosperity, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hugh Low had to face all Birch's difficulties with the addition of a heavy war debt and the sullen hostility of the people. But Low was a very different type of man, who spoke Malay well and had had experience of the Residential system in Sarawak, where he had served under Raja Brooke. He combined patience with sympathy and understanding. He worked through a State Council on which

the principal chiefs sat with representatives of the Chinese. He soon had the Malay ruling class working with him, and gradually built up the framework of a civilized government. The chiefs were given allowances and the collection of revenue taken out of their hands. By strict control of expenditure the debt was paid off in a few years, and by the end of Sir Hugh Low's twelve years as Resident Perak had a large surplus of revenue. Debt-slavery came to an end in 1883, and a beginning was made with the construction of roads and railways to facilitate the rapid economic development of the state which has followed. For all this Sir Hugh Low should be thankfully remembered.

(ii) *Selangor*

Most of the Malay States correspond roughly with the basin of a large river; Selangor is an exception, for it consisted until recently of very small settlements on the banks of three rivers, the Selangor, the Klang and the Langat, separated from each other by swamp and jungle. These settlements had no unity until the Bugis established themselves there in the eighteenth century and set up one of their leaders as the first Sultan. We have already seen how the second Sultan, Ibrahim, joined with his uncle, Raja Haji, in the Bugis attack on Dutch Malacca in 1784. As a result of this Selangor suffered at the hands of the Dutch, and Sultan Ibrahim made several friendly approaches to the British during the last part of his long reign. He also helped Perak to drive out the Siamese, and was on the whole a strong and successful ruler.

With the death of Sultan Ibrahim in 1826 Selangor fell on evil days. Sultan Muhammad, the next ruler, was unable to control his chiefs, who engaged in piracy and oppressed the people, many of whom migrated to Malacca territory. Chinese miners began to move into the state, and those at Lukut murdered an heir to the throne. With the death of Sultan Muhammad in 1857 there was a disputed succession, and Abdul Samad, who eventually became Sultan, gave up the

struggle to maintain order and made his son-in-law, Tengku Kudin, a Kedah prince, his Viceroy. Civil wars followed, in which adventurers like Raja Mahdi and Sayid Mashhor strove to gain control of the settled areas, which changed hands several times. Piracy was also indulged in, even by the Sultan's sons, and Malacca-owned ships were frequently attacked.

As in Perak, the Chinese tin-miners brought their quarrels to add to the general confusion. The most notable of their leaders was Yap Ah Loy, who founded the town of Kuala Lumpur. He took the side of the Viceroy, and tried to maintain some kind of order with a private army of fighting men. The Chinese were the source of most of the state's wealth and the rival rajas tried to gain control of the tin-mining areas.

Immediately after the Pangkor Agreement was signed Sir Andrew Clarke turned his attention to Selangor and visited the state with the Admiral of the British China squadron to get redress for a bad case of piracy. Sultan Abdul Samad agreed to the trial of the offenders and asked for a British officer to advise him. The Governor did not appoint a Resident for some time, but he left behind at Kuala Langat a young Civil Servant named Frank Swettenham to give informal advice and to gather information.

Swettenham was to play a great part in Selangor and all Malaya. He had arrived in Malaya a few years before at the age of nineteen as a cadet in the Straits Settlements service.[1] He paid his first visit to Selangor in 1872. On that occasion it took him three days to reach Kuala Lumpur by boat from Klang. He found a town of thatched hovels, visited some tin-mines and was welcomed by Yap Ah Loy. He walked most of the way back to Klang through the jungle. He was then employed in inviting the Perak chiefs to meet Sir Andrew Clarke at Pangkor. As a member of the commission for the pacification of Larut, he visited that district and was one of the

[1] He travelled in the yacht *Pluto*, one of the first vessels to pass through the Suez Canal.

first Europeans to cross Perak to Kuala Kangsar and follow the river down to the sea. As Assistant Resident at Langat he now spent fifteen months travelling to all parts of Selangor. Called to assist Mr. Birch in Perak, he narrowly escaped death when the Resident was assassinated, and took an active part in the Perak Expedition which followed. He was then made Assistant Colonial Secretary for Malay affairs at Singapore. This kept him in close touch with the work which was being done in the western states by the Residents. He was therefore especially well fitted for the post of British Resident in Selangor, to which he was appointed in 1882.

Little had been done to develop the state since it came under British protection in 1874, but during the years 1882–89 Swettenham did for Selangor what Sir Hugh Low did for Perak. In some ways he had an easier task, because there were fewer powerful chiefs attached to the old ways and Selangor was largely a waste-land open for development. The first tasks were to win the friendship of the Sultan and prominent chiefs and to restore order by the creation of a small, efficient police force. Next a revenue had to be found, and this, as in Perak, was provided by the Chinese tin-miners. The Sultan remained at Kuala Langat but Swettenham made his headquarters at Kuala Lumpur, which thus became the administrative capital of the state. With peace and order there was soon a surplus of revenue, and Swettenham used it wisely to improve communications. A system of cheap bridle roads was constructed to all parts of the state, and towns and villages sprang up rapidly. The opening-up of the resources of the country brought in more revenue, making it possible to construct buildings, bridges and a railway from Klang to Kuala Lumpur. Gradually other departments of government were set up. European coffee planters began to arrive from Ceylon, where a blight had destroyed the plants, and although coffee did not prove profitable in the long run, many of them turned to rubber instead. A certain Mr. William Cameron was given a roving commission to explore the interior, and reported the discovery of the table-

land now known as Cameron Highlands. By 1889, when Swettenham went to take the place of Sir Hugh Low in Perak, Selangor was well on the road to prosperity.

(iii) *Negri Sembilan*

The fateful year 1874 also saw the beginning of British intervention in Negri Sembilan. After dealing with Perak and Selangor, Sir Andrew Clarke persuaded the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong to sign a bond to free the Linggi River from illegal tax-gatherers and to accept a Resident. The Dato' Bandar, an old-fashioned chief holding an ancient Malacca title, considered that this infringed his rights to collect duties as Shahbandar, and rose in revolt. A small expedition of British and Gurkha troops from Malacca had to be sent to Sungei Ujong to deal with this.[1] After the defeat of the Dato' Bandar the Yam-tuan Antah of Sri Menanti made war on Sungei Ujong, whose ruler had opposed his acceptance as Yang di-pertuan Besar, and the British troops protected their ally. The Residential system was still on trial, and it was decided not to extend it for a while beyond Sungei Ujong. The Maharaja Abu Bakar of Johore now played the part of peace-maker and persuaded Yam-tuan Antah to promise to keep the peace and to submit any disputes to his arbitration. Troops were then withdrawn early in 1876, except for a very small force left in Sungei Ujong.

The attempt which Maharaja Abu Bakar now made to revive the ancient Johore suzerainty over the Menangkabau states was not popular in Negri Sembilan, and disorders and quarrels continued to cause devastation and hardship. In 1885 the request for a British officer to be appointed to settle the affairs of Jelebu was met by the appointment of a Collector to control the revenue and supervise justice. Two years later the Rembau chiefs surrendered the administration of their affairs to a Resident in return for a promise that one-third of the revenue should be

[1] A monument at Malacca commemorates those killed in this campaign.

paid to them.[1] In 1886 Martin Lister was appointed Resident for all the states, except Sungei Ujong and Jelebu, which continued to be looked after by the original Resident, whose headquarters at Seremban was growing into a prosperous town. Yam-tuan Antah died of smallpox in 1887. His son Tengku Mohamed, a young man of great charm and intelligence, profited for ten years from Lister's careful training and by 1895 was accepted as Yam-tuan of the whole of Negri Sembilan. Lister became the sole Resident just before his early death in 1897. Tengku Mohamed reigned most successfully until 1933.

(iv) *Pahang*

Pahang was the largest Malay state, but it was also more remote from modern influences. From 1857 it had been torn by a civil war which lasted six years and ended by Wan Ahmad winning the Bendahara's office from his brother Tahir. In 1883, after the death of the last ruler of the Lingga-Johore line he assumed the title of Sultan of Pahang to mark his independence, but it was very difficult for the ruler to exercise much control over the powerful up-river chiefs from his capital at Kuala Pahang.

Little was really known of conditions in Pahang until Swettenham made a long journey overland from Selangor to the mouth of the Pahang River in 1885.[2] He was able to have a friendly talk with the Sultan and settle some boundary disputes, but as a result of what he had seen he recommended the sending of a British Agent to open closer relations. Hugh Clifford was selected for this difficult task, and with the help of the Prime Minister of Johore a treaty was negotiated. Clifford found the condition of the state to be chaotic and the common people subject to oppressive taxation, debt-slavery and injustice at the hands of the chiefs. The Sultan had given large concessions to Chinese and Europeans without any regard

[1] When the revenue increased enormously the share of the chiefs was commuted for fixed allowances.

[2] Swettenham wrote an interesting account of the journey, which is printed in *JSBRAS*, Vol. XV (1885).

for the rights of chiefs or peasants in actual occupation, especially in the Jelai district, where the powerful Dato' Maharaja Purba was much aggrieved. With no means to back his advice, except his own tact and personality, Clifford was not able to do very much at first, but he kept the Government of the Straits Settlements informed. In 1888, during the absence of the Agent, a Chinese who was a British subject was murdered in the compound of the palace. The Governor then demanded that the Sultan should accept a Resident whose advice he would be bound to follow. The Sultan submitted in the hope that nothing more would be said and that Her Majesty the Queen would be satisfied with his expression of regret. Mr. J. P. Rodger, who had done good work with Swettenham in Selangor, was appointed as the first Resident, with Hugh Clifford as his assistant at Kuala Lipis.

The chiefs of Pahang had accepted British protection with some reluctance, and they were unwilling to give up their old powers. The fixing of allowances was a very difficult problem to settle fairly, and some mistakes were made. The situation was soon explosive, but the actual armed resistance was small, owing to the firmness and tact with which the first British officers won support. One old fighter, Bahman, chief of Semantan, refused to co-operate, and when threatened with arrest rose in revolt in 1891 with a few hundred of his followers. The Sultan led his forces against the rebels, but it was hard to find them in the jungle. Meanwhile the Dato' Maharaja Purba was on the point of attacking Kuala Lipis, where Clifford was in charge, and it was known that the Sultan was being urged to lead a general rising against the British. However, the Sultan remained true to his alliance, the grievances of the chiefs were settled and after a little guerrilla warfare the rebels fled into Kelantan. Bahman made a raid on Kuala Tembeling in 1895. Dato' Maharaja Purba and a few Sikh police defeated him. Chased into Trengganu and Kelantan by Hugh Clifford, Bahman finally gave himself up to the Siamese authorities. Very few lives had been lost in this last Malay revolt, and peace came to Pahang as it had to the rest of Malaya.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MODERN MALAYA: THE GOVERNMENTS, THE PEOPLE AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES, 1895–1941

(i) *Political Developments*

IN 1895 the political situation in Malaya was as follows: the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Malacca and Penang (with Province Wellesley) formed a Crown Colony under the supervision of the Colonial Office; British protection and regulation of internal affairs by Residents had been extended to the four Malay States in the centre of the peninsula, namely Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang; the northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu were still under the suzerainty of Siam; and the state of Johore, though its foreign relations were under British control, was independent in all its internal affairs.

The history of the Straits Settlements since their transfer from the Indian Government to the Colonial Office in 1867 had been one of peaceful progress and growing prosperity. The opening up of the Malay States naturally increased the trade of Singapore and Penang, which remained the chief ports through which the tin and later the rubber of the states passed, while development of their hinterland also gave new markets for imports. Government was of the usual Crown Colony type, with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils composed of the more important officials and representatives of all races of the merchants whose commerce was the life-blood of the settlements. The rule of the Governor and officials was paternally despotic, but usually the commercial interests had no difficulty in making their point of view known and listened to through representatives chosen by the Chambers of Commerce. There was no real demand prior to the Second World War for any more democratic institutions.

The four protected states were at different stages of development. Thanks to the work of Sir Hugh Low and Frank Swettenham, Perak and Selangor were the most advanced and had the framework of modern governments, with adequate revenues derived mainly from tin-mining by the Chinese. In Negri Sembilan the outlying districts had only recently been brought under British influence and the State unified administratively under a single Resident. Pahang had barely been pacified. The two latter states did not possess sources of revenue which could be rapidly developed and enable them to progress as fast as Perak and Selangor.

The success of the early Residents had depended upon their personal influence with rulers, Malay chiefs and leaders of the Chinese. When they met with difficulties they overcame them as best they could in their own way, subject only to the rather loose control of the Governor of the Straits Settlements, to whom they had to report what they had done. As a result there grew up differences in the laws and methods in neighbouring states. In addition, with the passing of the pioneering stage, the business of government became less personal as departments were organized and technical services introduced. All this led Swettenham, with his wide experience in Selangor and Perak, to the view that something must be done to standardize the development of government in the four states and to see that the resources of the whole area were used in as economic a way as possible. He was able to convince the Colonial Office and the Government of the Straits Settlements that this was the right policy and to persuade the Rulers of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang to sign an agreement in 1896 for the federation of their states. The State Governments and the Residents were to remain, but the office of Resident-General was created as the supreme co-ordinator of the Government of the Federated Malay States under the direction of the Governor of the Straits Settlements as the High Commissioner for the Federation. The more important Government departments were to be unified under the general control of the

Resident-General. Sir Frank Swettenham himself was chosen as the first holder of this office, in which he continued until 1901, when he was promoted Governor and High Commissioner.

The Federation did result in greater administrative efficiency, and made possible rapid development in the tin and later the rubber industry by offering a field for the investment of British and other foreign capital. When the time came for the linking up of communications by rail and road it was possible to plan a system which served these industries more effectively than if each state had continued to think only of itself. The Federated States, in fact, were so prosperous that they were able to help the other parts of Malaya also by extending their railway from north to south of the peninsula. Within the Federation the surplus from the richer states of Perak and Selangor was used to finance the development of the poorer states of Negri Sembilan and Pahang. Social services were also extended more uniformly.

The agreement that created the Federated Malay States had provided for a Durbar or meeting of the four Rulers from time to time, but this body had no legislative power, and new laws had to be passed by the separate State Councils in more or less identical terms. Executive power was in the hands of the Resident-General and the heads of the unified departments in Kuala Lumpur. In 1909 a further measure of centralization was achieved by the setting up of a Federal Council under the presidency of the High Commissioner, with the four Rulers, the Resident-General,[1] the Residents and a number of official and unofficial members, which was increased as the need arose. The power of legislating for the whole Federation was largely taken over, and the State Councils were left with very little important business.

The success of the Federation led to a desire to extend British influence over the whole of Malaya, and in 1909 a treaty was signed at Bangkok by which Siam agreed to transfer to Britain her rather vague suzerainty of the States of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan

[1] Soon afterwards the title of this post was changed to Chief Secretary.

and Trengganu in return for a loan for the construction of a railway to link up the Malayan and Siamese systems. Agreements were then made with the Sultans of these states by which they accepted British Advisers, whose advice they undertook to follow in all matters except Malay religion and custom. The difference in title of the officers represented a real difference in policy, for Malay Governments remained in being in these states, and the British Advisers never took over the direction of the administration in the same way as the Residents had done in the Federated States. As a result, the pace of change was slower and more varied, but the system of indirect rule which evolved was much nearer to what had been originally intended when the British Government started to intervene in the Malay States.

None of these states showed any desire to exchange its lot for the economic advantages offered by joining the Federation, but indirectly they were able to share in the general progress by obtaining the services of technical officers with experience in the Straits Settlements and the Federation, whose Governments also lent money for development projects in the Unfederated States. Kedah had long been in close contact with the modern world through Penang and made rapid progress. Kelantan and Trengganu were much more isolated and backward.

The political complexity of Malaya was increased by the situation in Johore. Officially it was the last Malay State to come fully under British protection, but unofficially it had been under British influence longer than any other. The explanation of this paradox lay in its close contact with Singapore, both geographically and through its ruling house. As we have already seen, the Temenggong Abdur-Rahman was the actual ruler of Johore when Raffles founded Singapore. His two possible overlords were the Sultan of Lingga (in the Dutch view) and Sultan Hussein (in Raffles's view), both of whom claimed to be the successor of the old Sultans of Johore and Malacca. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 left the Sultan of Lingga in

the Dutch sphere, while Sultan Hussein and his son Sultan Ali never had any real power at all. This left the way open for the Temenggong to make himself an independent ruler. Since the death of Abdur-Rahman in 1825 Johore has had only three rulers. They have all been men of great character and energy, and the creation of modern Johore has been their work. It was begun by the Temenggong Ibrahim, whose work in developing the almost uninhabited no-man's-land of mainland Johore has already been described.[1] On his death in 1862 he was succeeded by his son Abu Bakar, who had been educated by a missionary, Mr. Keasberry. Like his father, the new Temenggong lived mainly in Singapore. He spoke excellent English and was a close personal friend of successive Governors of the Straits Settlements. He was well known and popular as a sportsman and on friendly terms with the merchants of all races. A man of the modern world himself, he was most suited to guide his state on the road of progress and able to get all the advice and assistance he required from Singapore unofficially. Although he employed European technical officers when needed, the necessity for more formal advice did not arise during his day.

From 1866, when he made his first visit to Europe, Abu Bakar was a great traveller. He was received in audience by Queen Victoria, who conferred upon him a knighthood, the first to be bestowed on a Malay ruler. He remained a friend of the Queen for the rest of his life and was invited to visit her at Windsor Castle. On his travels through the countries of Europe and the East he was always ready to learn anything which would benefit Johore.

In 1868 Abu Bakar took the title of Maharaja of Johore to mark his independent status. In these early days he intervened in the civil wars in Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan in the hope of extending his rule to these territories of the former Johore Empire. In this he was not successful, but after the death of Sultan Ali in 1877 he regained control of the land

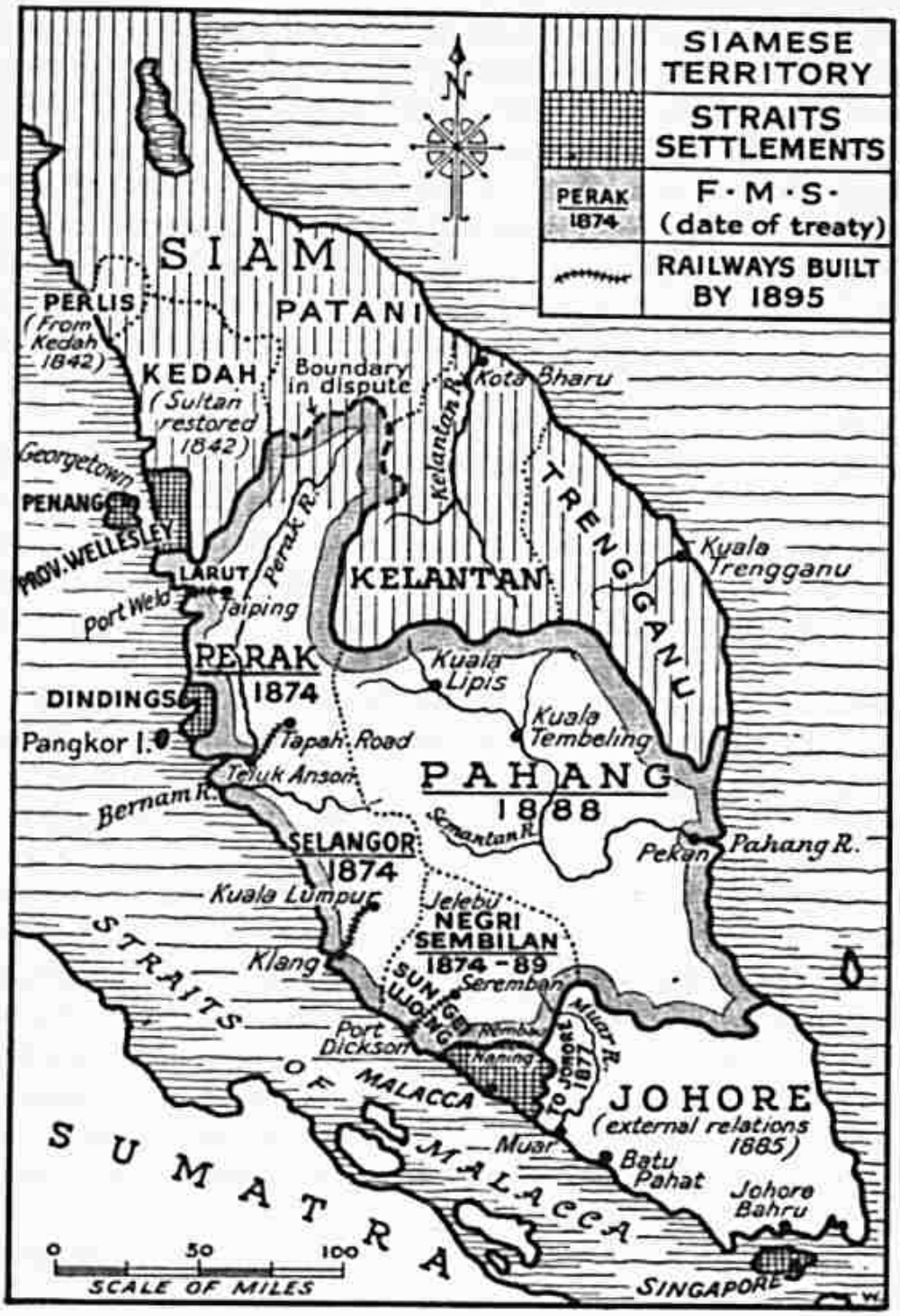
[1] See Chapter Nine.

between the Muar River and the border of Malacca and founded the town of Bandar Maharani (commonly known as Muar). Later his influence was used for peace in the Perak troubles and in the negotiations which led to the Pahang Treaty of 1887.

It was in the administration of Johore itself that Abu Bakar did his best work. Tanjong Puteri, founded by his father, was renamed Johore Bahru. Here he superintended the building of the Astana (furnished in a manner which reminded his visitors of Windsor) and other Government buildings. He encouraged Chinese settlers to open up the banks of Johore's rivers with pepper and gambier plantations and market-gardens to supply Singapore. Javanese and Malays from other states also settled in Johore. New crops, such as coffee and tea, were introduced, and the Government services modernized with the aid of European technical officers. Many distinguished visitors, who included the future King George V as a young naval officer, were amazed by the energy and skill with which he carried on his government and the business acumen with which he built up his own personal fortune.

In 1885 a treaty between Johore and Britain placed the external relations of the state under British control and recognized the ruler as Sultan with complete control of internal affairs. The last act of this "father of modern Johore" was the granting of a constitution in 1895, by which a Council of Ministers and a Legislative Council was set up to aid the Sultan and his Mentri Besar, a model for the present constitutions of the other Malay States. Later in the same year Abu Bakar died in England and was succeeded by the present Sultan, Sir Ibrahim. Johore continued to be ruled under the constitution of 1895, but in 1914 the increasing pressure and complexity of government led to the appointment of a British General Adviser on the request of the Sultan.

In 1927 the Federal Council of the Federation was reorganized so as to be composed of thirteen officials who were the heads of the federal departments and eleven unofficials representing various races and interests. The Sultans, who had



Malaya in 1895

been unable because of their position to enter into debate, gladly withdrew, leaving four unofficial Malay members to speak for their race. This change did not, however, meet the criticisms which were made of the way in which the State Governments had been set aside in favour of what was in reality a unified government of bureaucrats or officials. The Colonial Office decided that these complaints were justified, and in the 1930s a policy of decentralization was put into practice. The office of Chief Secretary was reduced to that of a Federal Secretary, junior in rank to the Residents, and the control of agriculture, education, medical services and the Public Works Department returned to the four State Councils. These, however, never recovered the prestige enjoyed by the councils of the Unfederated States of Johore and Kedah, and continued to be overshadowed by the Federal Council, which still raised and distributed most of the revenue. The fact that the Government was administered mainly by European officials belonging to unified services also tended to standardize the administration inside the Federation and the Colony, and even, to a lesser degree, in the Unfederated States. Some such uniformity was a necessity in a small country like Malaya, where there would have been confusion if the many Governments had, in practice, each gone their own way.

Within this framework Malaya continued to be peacefully ruled right up to the outbreak of the Japanese War in December 1941, for though it called forth a remarkable response in aid of Britain,[1] the First World War had little effect internally in Malaya. The most notable feature of this pre-war Malaya was the general contentment and almost complete absence of nationalistic movements. The main reason for this was the general level of prosperity, so much higher than in any other country of South-East Asia, but it was also due to the division of interests and loyalties among the mixed population. The special position of the Malays had always been respected, and

[1] The Federated Malay States presented to the Royal Navy the battleship H.M.S. *Malaya*, which fought in both World Wars.

their states had never been reduced to colonies. For the most part any national feelings of the immigrant peoples was to their homelands in China or India, and they were quite content to leave the business of government to others so long as the conditions existed for making their living in Malaya more easily than in their own lands, to which many hoped to return with their savings in their old age.

(ii) *Growth of the Population*

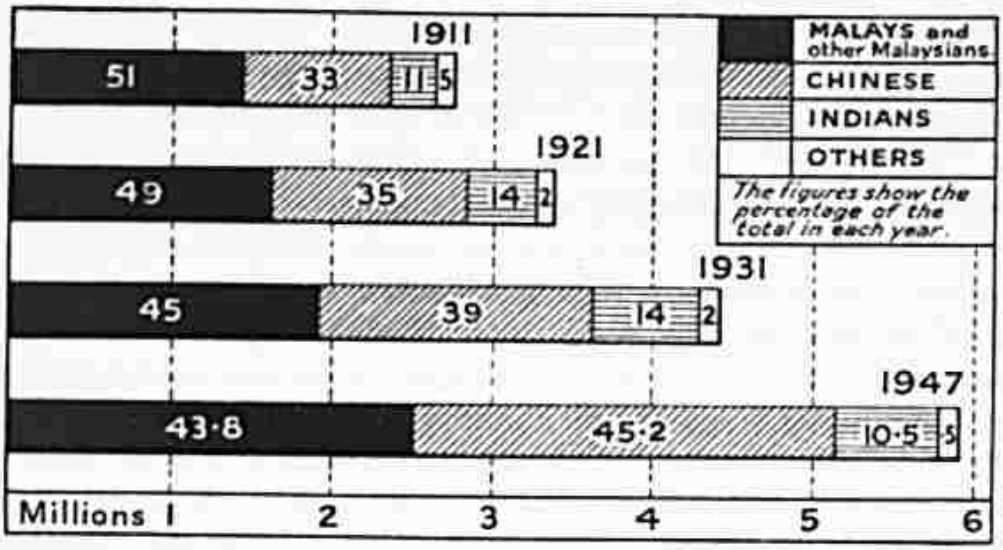
Before British intervention in the Malay States started in 1874 Malaya was a very thinly-peopled land. Only on the islands of Singapore and Penang were there large urban populations with considerable numbers of Chinese and Indians. On the mainland, including Province Wellesley and Malacca, the inhabitants were almost entirely Malay or Aboriginal. Only a few thousand tin-miners and spice-planters had ventured into the Malay States, the native population of which has been estimated at about 300,000. The bulk of the true Peninsular Malays were settled, as they are today, on the padi-growing plains of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and northern Perak. The central and southern parts of the country were more sparsely inhabited by Malaysian settlers of historic times, such as the Menangkabaus of Negri Sembilan and the Bugis of Selangor. The inhabitants of Johore included still more recent arrivals from the East Indies, whose settlement had been encouraged by the rulers of the State.

The establishment of law and order led to a flood of Chinese immigration into Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan and to a smaller extent into Pahang, Kedah and Perlis. In Johore nearly half the new settlers were Chinese, and only the east-coast states of Kelantan and Trengganu remained overwhelmingly Malay. With each development of the interior came a corresponding increase in the population of Penang and Singapore with their large Chinese majorities.

A few thousand Indian merchants and shop-keepers had been established in the Straits Settlements for some time, and a number

of these migrated into business in the new towns of the Malay States, but with the opening of large European estates, growing first sugar and coffee and later rubber, the demand for labourers led to the entry of thousands of southern Indians. At first they were recruited under indentures by which they undertook to serve for a term of years the employer who paid their passages. This soon gave way to a system of assisted immigration financed from a fund to which the employers all contributed. Among the largest of these were the Governments of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, who employed very large numbers of Indian labourers on the construction and maintenance of railways and roads. In the early days of the development of the Malay States the Governments looked to India and Ceylon for clerks and teachers before there were sufficient English schools in Malaya to produce them. The first police forces were largely composed of Sikhs, and many of their descendants are living in Malaya today.

The diagram on page 148 shows the proportions of the population belonging to the chief communities at the time of the first census for all Malaya in 1911 and the growth which has taken place since then. So great had been the immigration, that even in 1911 the section of the population usually called "Malay" composed only half of the total for Malaya, though it was naturally a much larger proportion in the Malay States than in the Straits Settlements. Not all the "Malay" population was native to the country, for the opening up of the central and southern states had attracted large numbers of Malaysians or Indonesians from Java, Sumatra, Borneo and other islands of the East Indies. These Malaysians formed a considerable part of the "Malay" population of Singapore and Selangor, while in Johore they were almost half. These Malaysians did not create much of a problem, for they were similar to the Peninsular Malays in race and language and were Moslems in religion. Except where they settled in groups isolated from their neighbours, their children tended to mingle with the true Malays and to become indistinguishable from them.



The population of Malaya, 1911–1947

The diagram shows that the proportion of Malays and other Malaysians has declined steadily from 1911 to 1947 and that of the Chinese increased during the same period, so that in the whole of Malaya today the Chinese outnumber the Malays. Two points are important about this increase of the Chinese. Firstly, even in 1911 there were more Chinese *men* in Malaya than Malay men, but there were very many fewer Chinese women than Malay women. The reason was that the Chinese immigrant did not usually bring his wife with him to Malaya because he could not afford it, and, in the early days, because the Chinese Government would not allow women to emigrate. If there had been as many Chinese women as men in Malaya in 1911 the Chinese would have outnumbered the Malays even then. Secondly, up to about 1931 the growing Chinese population was not composed of the *same* people. Thousands who had made a little money left the country every year to go back to their homeland and their families, while other thousands came in to take their places. The increase of the Chinese population during the period from 1911 to 1931 was due to the excess of immigration rather than the number of children born in Malaya.

Gradually the number of Chinese who settled permanently in Malaya grew larger, and although immigration was checked by law in the 1930s, the Chinese population continued to increase rapidly for various reasons. More Chinese decided to stay in Malaya, and the proportion of women increased. More Chinese children were born in the country, and as the Chinese made better use of the medical facilities available to them in the towns, their death-rate was lower than that of the Malays.

The troubled conditions in China, owing to the Japanese invasion from 1937 onwards, made it more difficult for Chinese to return home, and the Japanese occupation of Malaya made it impossible. By 1947 two-thirds of the Chinese in Malaya had been born in the country, and all but a very few were obviously there to stay.[1]

Although the actual number of Indians in Malaya has more than doubled since 1911, the *proportion* to the other races has not grown. Generally speaking, the higher classes of the Indian community, the merchants, shop-keepers, clerks and professional men, have tended to settle permanently, but the labourers, who form the largest part, have not done so to the same extent as the Chinese labourers. Many still have families in India, return there for visits and intend to go back in their old age. But as with the Chinese, the number of Malayan-born has increased. Large numbers of Indians were forced by the Japanese to work on the Siam–Burma railway, and the hardships and loss of life account for the fact that the Indian population was actually less in 1947 than it was in 1931, while the proportion declined from 14 to 10·5 per cent of the total for Malaya.

Since 1911 all other races in Malaya have not amounted to more than about 2 per cent of the population, and have not affected the balance between the three major communities. The influence of the Europeans as Government servants, planters, miners and leaders of commerce has been out of all proportion to their small numbers. The Eurasians have also

[1] In 1931 less than one-third were Malayan-born.

played an important part and as a community are rooted in the country as deeply as any save the Peninsular Malays and the older Straits Chinese.

(iii) *Medical and Health Services*

Malaya today enjoys the reputation of being one of the healthiest tropical countries in the world, but those who have grown up under these conditions are apt to forget that they are the result of the work of the medical and health services during the last seventy years—or less in the case of the former Unfederated States. A visit to any of the old cemeteries in the Straits Settlements will very quickly show the heavy toll which tropical diseases took of the early Europeans, and especially of the children. Among the Asian population mortality was just as high, and as a result the population of the country had not increased to any great extent for centuries, except in such places as Singapore and Penang, where it was swelled by the influx of large numbers of immigrants. Malaria, hookworm, dysentery, smallpox and other diseases were widespread, and their causes and treatment little understood. It was the advances of medical science, which happened to come at the same time as the political and economic changes in Malaya, that made possible the great development and progress of the country.

Medical science has worked in Malaya in two ways. First, there has been the provision of doctors and hospitals for the cure and care of the sick. These services were among the first which were built up when the revenues of the Straits Settlements and of the Malay States began to increase during the last part of the nineteenth century, but it is in the prevention of disease that the most important results have been achieved.

The steady flow of immigrants from other countries brought with it the danger of epidemics being introduced, and from about 1901 this was checked by the port health authorities, who saw to it that newcomers were medically examined and quarantined so that such diseases as cholera, smallpox and

plague, common in neighbouring countries, were kept from spreading to Malaya. These measures were very successful, but others were needed to deal with diseases already common in the country.

Most deadly of these was malaria. Fortunately the true cause of malaria and its method of transmission by the *anopheles* mosquito was discovered in 1898 by Sir Ronald Ross in India. This knowledge was almost immediately put to use in anti-malarial work in Malaya, particularly by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Malcolm Watson at Klang in Selangor. By draining, this formerly unhealthy town was largely freed of malaria, and it was possible to go on with the scheme to develop the new town of Port Swettenham, which the Government was on the point of abandoning owing to the high mortality. When surface draining was tried in other places it was not so successful until it was realized that other types of the *anopheles* flourished in clear, running water open to the sun. Sir Malcolm Watson overcame this by the use of subsoil drains and the oiling of streams and drains. In 1911 a central Mosquito Advisory Board was set up to direct all anti-malarial work, and local Mosquito Destruction Boards were established to carry out the campaign in all the developed parts of the country. In this way thousands of lives and much money were saved. In the early days mortality on estates was sometimes as high as 20 per cent annually, and planters were glad to co-operate with the Government in order to protect their labour forces. Without these anti-malarial measures the rapid expansion of the rubber industry could not have taken place. Once the problem had been overcome, rubber provided the revenue for further health work.

Other examples of preventive medical work can be seen in the campaigns carried out against hookworm and other diseases, the prevention of which depends upon the education of the people in habits of hygiene. The improvement of water supplies has also helped to decrease disease due to the use of insanitary wells and streams. In the towns the enforcement

of rules for public health was carried out by Health Inspectors, and the fact that the earliest local government bodies were known as Sanitary Boards shows the importance attached to these aspects. Infant Welfare centres have helped mothers with the care of young children and brought down the high rate of infant mortality.

The necessity for research and the training of doctors was recognized by the establishment of the Institute for Medical Research in Kuala Lumpur in 1900 and of the King Edward VII College of Medicine in 1905. The former has won an international reputation in tropical medicine, and the graduates of the college have since 1916 been recognized by the British General Medical Council as qualified to practise anywhere in the Commonwealth.

The health problems of the large towns of the Straits Settlements were in many ways more difficult that those of the smaller, newer and better-planned towns in the Malay States. In Singapore, particularly during the 1860s and 1870s, lack of proper control led to the building of back-to-back shop-houses in the central blocks of the older parts of the town. These were soon very much overcrowded, and made it almost impossible to introduce modern sanitary measures. It has been calculated that in the late 1930s Singapore had only half the housing which would have been needed to accommodate the people under reasonably healthy conditions and that the space needed for this would be twice the present town area. Under these conditions it is not surprising that tuberculosis became a new and growing menace to the health of the population. In an attempt to meet the desperate need for housing, the Singapore Improvement Trust was established in 1928, and money was advanced to it by the Government for the building of new flats at a low rent and for the opening up of back lanes through the older blocks. By the time the Second World War started a good deal had been done, but the need remained too vast for the resources then available. Penang and other Malayan towns had similar problems, but not on so large a scale.

Generally, it may be said that progress in the provision of medical services was steady until the First World War, when it was slowed down owing to the shortage of doctors from the United Kingdom and the post-war depression. The 1920s were a period of rapid development, during which large new hospitals were built in Singapore, Penang and Malacca and health measures extended everywhere. Even at the time of the Great Depression in 1930–32 the Malayan Governments tried to give as much revenue as possible to the Medical Department, and large sums were spent in the years preceding the Second World War. The main difficulty has been to bring medical services to the rural areas, and especially to the Malays, who were for long prejudiced against Western medicine and surgery.

(iv) *Education*

The idea that the State should be responsible for the education of its children is a very modern one which only gained acceptance in Western countries very gradually during the nineteenth century. The older view was that education was the responsibility of parents, who paid the costs themselves or might be helped by charitable organizations and religious bodies where they were unable to do so. The State at first confined itself to giving some financial aid to these organizations. This was the way that schools had been provided in Britain, and it was not until 1870 that the State accepted the responsibility of filling the gaps by building and maintaining schools itself.

It is natural, therefore, that the same pattern was followed in the Straits Settlements and the earliest schools should have been established by the efforts of individuals and religious bodies. First of these was the Penang Free School, which owed its foundation in 1816 to the Rev. R. S. Hutchings, the Anglican Chaplain of the Settlement at that time. Mention has also been made of the "Institution" founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in Singapore in 1823. It did not become the centre of

oriental learning which its founder had planned because the East India Company was not enthusiastic about this idea, but, after many vicissitudes, from 1837 it developed into one of the earliest English schools for boys. When Malacca finally became British, funds left over from a former Dutch school were used to start the Malacca Free School in 1826. This changed its name later to the Malacca High School. Like the Penang Free School, it was closely connected with the Church of England in its early days, but was taken over by the Government in 1880. British intervention in Perak led to the founding of a school in Taiping, which eventually became the King Edward VII School, and the Victoria Institution in Kuala Lumpur opened in 1894 was the result of a fund collected to celebrate the golden jubilee of the Queen. At first these schools were under the management of trustees, but all received aid from the Government. In order to train the sons of Malay chiefs to play a part in the government of their country the Malay College was founded at Kuala Kangsar in 1905. In the early days much of the instruction in these schools was necessarily elementary, but later they became the first secondary schools and the models for the English schools of today.

From about 1850 the first Catholic mission schools were set up in the Straits Settlements, and later in most of the main centres in the Malay States, by the Christian Brothers. Catholic orders also established Convents for girls soon afterwards. In later years a large number of schools were started by the American Methodist Mission and a few by other religious bodies.

Until the First World War the Government left most of this education in English to these trustee or mission schools, which in 1919 numbered sixty-three, while the Government English schools were only seventeen. The efforts of the Government had been concentrated on the provision of Malay schools giving an elementary and free education in the vernacular. Chinese schools had been left almost entirely to themselves without any aid or supervision. From the first, the majority of pupils in the English schools were Chinese drawn

from the more settled families in the towns, but the Government did not feel responsible for providing education for the bulk of the Chinese as long as they remained only temporary residents in Malaya. Indian vernacular education before 1919 was in a very rudimentary stage.

Despite the success of a few well-known schools and the extension of free primary education to many Malay boys, the record of the Malayan Governments in education before 1920 was not impressive, and the amount of money spent was a very small proportion of their revenue. Very few girls were in school, but this was due to prejudice against their education rather than any desire of the Government. The training of teachers for all types of schools was quite inadequate. The English schools had been left mostly to the missions. The Chinese schools were neither aided nor controlled, and the curriculum in them, taught mostly by imported teachers, was not adapted to the needs of Malaya. Shortage of European officers during the First World War made it hard to overcome these weaknesses, but with peace there came a general overhauling of the educational system. Great progress was made in the twenty years between 1920 and the Second World War, and much larger sums were provided from revenue.

A new system of grants to the English mission schools enabled them to pay their teachers at the same rates as those in Government schools and to follow the same curriculum. Assistance was also given for the erection of new buildings. At the same time the Government took over the older trustee schools, such as the Penang Free School and the Victoria Institution, and opened many other new ones, so that by 1941 the number of pupils in Government English schools was drawing nearer to that in the mission schools, although these had also increased their enrolments. When the Second World War started there were nearly twice as many children receiving an English education as there had been in 1920. The proportion of girls had also increased, but was still much smaller than that of the boys.

Improvements were also made in the Malay schools. The small centres for the training of teachers were amalgamated into the large new Sultan Idris Training College opened at Tanjong Malim in 1922. The curriculum was made more suitable for the rural Malay children by the introduction of gardening and handicrafts. A translation bureau produced better text-books, and opportunities were provided for clever Malay boys and girls to continue their education in the English schools by the provision of special Malay classes to bridge the gap between primary education in Malay and secondary education in English. The total enrolment of the Malay schools was more than doubled in the twenty years before 1941, and it was not necessary any longer to enforce the laws making attendance compulsory for Malay boys who lived within reach of a school.

From 1920 the registration of Chinese schools was made compulsory. The information which this disclosed regarding the management and the teachers made control easier and brought the Chinese schools nearer to the Government system. From 1920 Kuo-Yu (a modified form of Mandarin which had been adopted as the national language of China) became the medium of instruction instead of the various dialects spoken by the Malayan Chinese. During the 1920s and early 1930s the Chinese schools were found to be centres for anti-British propaganda sponsored by the Kuomintang (then the Chinese Government party), and the Chinese Protectorate took over their inspection and supervision. From 1923 the Government began to make grants to those schools which followed the regulations drawn up by the Education Department and were considered to have reached a satisfactory standard. The grants were small at first, but have been steadily increased ever since. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War the Kuomintang dropped its anti-British propaganda, but there was some trouble with similar misuse of the schools by the Communists.

Indian schools, nearly all teaching in Tamil, were established compulsorily on estates employing large numbers of Indian labourers, while the Government also built a few schools

in places where its Indian employees were numerous. Grants were also paid to these schools if they reached an approved standard of efficiency.

Technical education did not progress very rapidly, in spite of the obvious needs of the country and the desire of the Government to encourage it. Special schools of Forestry and Agriculture were set up by these Departments to train subordinate staff, and the Technical College in Kuala Lumpur performed the same function for the Railway, Public Works, Survey and Telecommunications Departments. The first Trade School was opened at Kuala Lumpur in 1926, and others followed later at Singapore, Penang and elsewhere. The enrolments in this type of school were small and the demand much less than that for the English school education which led to clerical employment.

Higher education was limited to the King Edward VII School of Medicine in Singapore until 1928, when Raffles College for Arts and Science was opened. Up to the Second World War most of the students in this College became teachers in the English schools. The period from 1920 to 1941 was one of great expansion and development in education, during which time an effort was made to overcome the neglect which had characterized the years before the First World War. It was the solid foundations laid then which enabled the system to survive the shock of the Japanese occupation and to make the more spectacular expansion which we have seen during the post-war years.

(v) *The Labour Code and the Chinese Protectorate*

The large-scale immigration of Indian indentured labour which accompanied the growth of the rubber industry might have led to many abuses and exploitation. That it did not is very much to the credit both of the Malayan planters and the Governments. Legislation was passed to deal with labour matters, and this was gathered together from 1912 onwards in the Malayan Labour Code, which became practically uniform

for the whole country. It was administered by the Labour Department staffed by officers of the Civil Service who could speak Tamil and other southern Indian languages.

The indenture system of recruitment gave way to assisted immigration under the Indian Immigration Committee, set up in 1907, but individual estates and firms recruited through agents, known as *kanganies*, who were usually labourers who had themselves worked in Malaya and received a fee for each labourer engaged. Depots were established in India where the labourers were housed, fed and given medical attention before being given free transport to the estates in Malaya. The Malayan Governments tried to prevent the *kanganies* from giving false information and inducements to their recruits, and looked after the immigrants during the voyage and on arrival. Efforts were made to prevent the labourers becoming indebted to the *kanganies* or to their employers. Conditions of employment in Malaya were also controlled and inspected by the Labour Department. Housing had to be approved; water supplies were to be sufficient and hygienic; anti-malarial measures were enforced; the estates were also compelled by law to supply medical attention and hospitals free, crêches for the care of young children and schools for those between seven and fourteen years. Standard wages were fixed and work outside the normal hours paid as overtime. Plots of land had to be provided for the labourers to cultivate in their own time. Co-operative societies were formed to encourage thrift and combat indebtedness.

The best proof that these conditions were appreciated by the Indian labourers themselves was the fact that the *kanganies* became less and less necessary, and more and more of the labourers were volunteers who had heard how much better conditions were in Malaya than in their own villages and flocked to the immigration depots of their own free will. Labourers commonly went home to India after about three years, but often returned again to Malaya time after time. The appointment of an Agent in Malaya to represent the Government of India was

welcomed by the Malayan Governments, but public opinion in India itself never seemed to believe that the conditions were such as to attract voluntary workers, in spite of a very favourable report of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who was sent to Malaya to investigate conditions of Indian labour in 1936. In 1938, under pressure from within, the Indian Government stopped the recruitment of unskilled labour in India.

The application of the Labour Code to Chinese workers was, prior to the Second World War, entrusted to the Chinese Protectorate.[1] This department had been first set up in Singapore in 1877 under a remarkable scholar of Chinese, Mr. W. A. Pickering, who had played a big part in settling the quarrels of the miners in Larut. It was at first concerned with the collection of information about the secret societies, and was extended later to Penang, Malacca, Perak and the other Malay States where the Chinese were numerous. The European officers of the Civil Service in charge of the department had been sent to China to learn the dialects in use in Malaya, and so were able to do without interpreters. By means of this special branch and through Chinese Advisory Boards the Government was able to keep in closer touch with the Chinese community. The secret societies were brought under better control by enforcing registration. Information had to be given about the members, the officials and the objects of each society, and those which were considered undesirable or failed to register were declared illegal. The improved police force was gradually able to get the better of those so outlawed and, although they have never disappeared completely, they have now degenerated into gangs of criminals and do not have the support of the respectable classes of the Chinese community.

The conditions under which Chinese labourers were brought into Malaya by agents at the ports and under which they worked in the tin-mines in the last part of the nineteenth century were

[1] Officially called the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs after 1931, but the older name was still in common use up to the War.

bad. Not only were their lives endangered by the strife between different factions but also large numbers died from malaria and other diseases. The ignorant immigrant was usually indebted to the capitalists in Penang and Singapore who controlled the mines, and therefore forced to work for them to clear himself. With the establishment of law and order the Chinese Protectorate was able to apply the provisions of the Labour Code to Chinese labourers and to check exploitation. At first the labourers were suspicious of Government interference, but the knowledge that any worker could get direct access to the European officers of the Protectorate to complain or to ask for advice gradually overcame these feelings. Before long it became the custom for the poorer Chinese to go to the Protectorate to seek the settlement of all kinds of disputes rather than to go to the courts. In general, however, the Chinese labourer was more independent and better able to look after himself than the Indian estate worker.

CHAPTER TWELVE

MODERN MALAYA: ECONOMIC CHANGES, 1895–1941

SIDE by side with the political and social developments described in the previous chapter, the period from 1895 to the Second World War saw economic changes which revolutionized the industries, the communications and the finances of the country. It is these even more than the political changes which have created modern Malaya. In fact, most of the problems of the country today are largely the result of the economic development of these years. It is only possible here to deal with a few of the more important events in this process.

(i) *The Mining Industry: Tin, Gold, Coal and Iron-ore*

The mining of tin is one of the oldest Malayan occupations, going back to prehistoric times. All through the Portuguese and Dutch periods and up to the British intervention in the Malay States tin was the only important export from the country. Until the present century it was obtained by primitive manual methods. After the rise of important commercial communities in the Straits Settlements the Chinese merchants of Penang and Singapore financed more extensive operations, especially in Larut and Selangor. The Malay chiefs and rulers did not encourage this immigration, except where they could use it as an easy means of raising revenue. The Chinese had no rights in the Malay States, and every miner who entered them took his life in his hands. If he did not fall a victim to disease he was lucky if he was not killed in the civil wars or the feuds between his own countrymen, which, as we have seen, were one of the main causes of British intervention.

In these circumstances the production of tin was not very great until the establishment of law and order in the protected States of Perak, Pahang, Negri Sembilan and Selangor created

more favourable conditions for expansion. To the early Residents, faced with the necessity of raising enough revenue to build the framework of modern government, this expanding, easily taxable industry was the key to all progress. The first roads and railways constructed in Malaya, from Port Weld to Taiping and from Klang to Kuala Lumpur, were intended to connect the important mining areas with the coast so as to facilitate the export of tin and the entry of miners and supplies. With the opening of the even richer field in the Kinta Valley another railway was built from the mouth of the Perak River, and reached Ipoh in 1895. With each improvement in communications came a greater output and an increased revenue to the Government.

Up to about 1900 the tin-mining industry remained almost entirely Chinese, and by this time the Malayan production had doubled what it was in 1889 and amounted to roughly half of the world production. During the early years of the present century a new technique was introduced by British and other European companies in the form of the bucket dredge. This equipment was too expensive to be provided from local capital, and the share of the Chinese mines in the Malayan production fell from about 80 per cent in 1900 to about 40 per cent in 1929, and has remained at about that figure. The dredge was much more efficient than the older methods, and made it profitable to work areas with a lower content of tin or even fields which had been mined before. This led to a further increase in production, but Malaya's share in the world market declined relatively with the development of mining in other countries, notably Bolivia and Nigeria.

After the First World War over-production of tin led to a fall in price, and the chief producing countries agreed to a scheme for the restriction of output in 1931, when a general slump both in rubber and tin reduced the economy of Malaya to a very low ebb. This scheme did not benefit Malaya as much as had been hoped, as it fixed her production at a figure far below her capacity, while it left countries like Siam, Indo-

China and the Congo, which were not at first included, free to develop their fields, although their costs of production were usually higher than in Malaya.

The development of the tin-mines of Malaya led to the building of large smelting works in Singapore and Penang which processed not only the whole output of the Malayan mines but also ore from Siam, Indo-China and even Australia and Africa. The development of this branch of the industry owed much to the foresight of Sir Frank Swettenham, who prevented an attempt to attract ore to smelters in America and elsewhere by imposing an export tax on unsmelted ore.

Although the tin industry was later overshadowed by the growth of the rubber industry, it has always contributed a great deal to the revenue of the Malayan Governments, and it is true to say that the first railways and roads were mainly financed from this source.

The mining of other minerals has been of much less importance. The most notable are the gold produced from one mine in Pahang; the iron ore which was exported to Japan before the Second World War and might be of greater importance if the only coal deposits at Batu Arang were of better quality; and the bauxite, which, as yet, is little developed because of the lack of cheap and plentiful electric power necessary for the extraction of the aluminium it contains.

(ii) *The Introduction of Rubber*

No event in the recent history of Malaya has had such a widespread influence as the introduction of the rubber-tree in the latter part of the nineteenth century as a result of British enterprise.

Several trees which grow wild in the forests of tropical South America produce a latex from which rubber can be obtained, the most important being known by the scientific name of *hevea brasiliensis*. This wild rubber had been discovered in the early days of Spanish settlement in the West Indies; hence the name " india-rubber " applied to it. Small quantities of

wild rubber were also obtained from trees in the forests of central Africa, but until the latter part of the nineteenth century both the demand and the production was small owing to the very limited uses to which it was put.

Scientists attached to the experimental gardens all over the world are always investigating the possibility of acclimatizing trees and plants from other parts, and the introduction of rubber to the East was due to their efforts. Brazil had tried to prevent the export of rubber seeds, but Mr. (later Sir) Henry Wickham obtained 70,000, and these were planted at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in Britain. From here in 1877 seedlings were sent to Ceylon and to the Botanical Gardens in Singapore. Of the twenty-two which survived the voyage to Malaya some were planted in Singapore and the rest in the grounds of the Residency at Kuala Kangsar, where the then Resident, Sir Hugh Low, himself a trained botanist, was keenly interested in the possibilities of introducing this new crop. From this small beginning come the millions of rubber-trees all over Malaya today.

At first there was little interest in the idea, either from administrators or from planters, who at this time were striving to introduce coffee in the Federated States or already producing sugar-cane, in Province Wellesley. After Sir Hugh Low left in 1889 little was done, and some of his trees at Kuala Kangsar were cut down. The most important figure of this experimental period lasting till 1900 was Mr. H. N. Ridley, who became the director of the Botanical Gardens in Singapore in 1888. When he arrived three trees of *hevea brasiliensis* remained, but he soon started to plant more and to conduct experiments in tapping by which he was able to show that by cutting a very thin slice of bark in a herring-bone pattern latex could be obtained over a long period, during which new bark would form that could be tapped again. The productive life of a tree was thus prolonged over a period of twenty years or more. For years Ridley tried to interest Governments and planters, but at first met nothing but apathy.

Meanwhile new uses were increasing the need. The development of electricity created a demand for rubber-insulated wire; rubber tyres were fitted to bicycles, and—most important of all—to the motor-car, which was developed at the end of the nineteenth century. By this time it had been shown that rubber produced in Malaya for about forty cents a pound would sell in London for nearly four times as much. The planting of coffee had not been a success, due to low prices and trouble with pests and diseases; sugar-cane was also not as profitable, and planters, convinced at last, turned willingly to rubber instead. Labour, which had been scarce in South America, could easily be supplied by immigrants from India and China. Much planting was done from 1900 onwards, but the trees took six or seven years to mature. In 1905 Malaya exported only 200 tons, as compared with over 62,000 tons from wild sources. By the time Ridley retired in 1911 [1] over a million acres had been planted. As the trees came into production so Malaya's share increased. By 1914 plantation-produced rubber exceeded wild rubber, and by 1918 Malaya was producing half the total world supply.

Even in this pioneer stage rubber showed the tendency to fluctuate in price which has marked it ever since. Usually about $1·25 (3/-) a pound in the first years of the century, it was forced up to $5·00 (12/-) in 1910 by Brazilian speculators taking advantage of the growing demand. Their greed only led to so much planting in the East that wild rubber soon could not compete at all. In Malaya new areas were opened up in the Federated Malay States, in Malacca and after 1910 in Johore, where 10 per cent of the State was alienated for rubber in three years. In the north rubber replaced sugar on the estates of Province Wellesley, and with British protection spread to the Unfederated States of Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and Trengganu. Nor was it confined to estates, for smallholders, especially Malays, took to planting a few acres, and

[1] Mr. H. N. Ridley, living in retirement at Kew, reached the age of 100 years in 1955.

ultimately the area in their hands amounted to a little more than one-third of the total under rubber. The Government did not encourage Malays to change from padi planting to rubber, but where they did gain this additional source of income it helped much to raise their standard of living. Even when the price of rubber was very low, more rice could be bought with the profits of an acre of rubber than could be grown on the same area.

After the First World War there was a trade slump all over the world, and the results of this in Malaya brought to an end the rash optimism which had marked much of the early rubber planting, large though the profits had been to the more fortunate pioneers. Much more rubber was now being produced than was needed, and from 1920 to 1922 the price fell to an average of about twenty cents a pound. This was a good thing in that it forced the Malayan producers to pay more attention to improving their methods, which in better times they were unwilling to do, either from ignorance or because it did not seem worthwhile so long as profits were assured. Thus the practice of removing all plant growth from between the trees—"clean weeding" as it was called—was given up in favour of growing cover crops or allowing small plants to spring up. This stopped the rapid erosion of the soil that prevailed under the old system. Over-tapping of the trees was now avoided also. In introducing these and other new methods the Department of Agriculture played an important part. In this way the more efficient estates were able to reduce their costs of production nearer to the selling price.

Even so, there was still a gap by which this price fell below the cost, and a loud demand arose for some kind of restriction of output in order to raise the price. The Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia) refused to join in such a scheme because of the difficulty and the undesirability of restricting the smallholders who had been encouraged to plant rubber by their Government. As a result, the Stevenson restriction scheme was applied only to the British territories of Ceylon and Malaya. It had the effect of raising the price and keeping it fairly steady

for a few years, but in the long run it did Malaya more harm than good. In the first place it annoyed the consumers in the United States, who took more of Malaya's rubber than anyone else. Feeling that they were being compelled to pay an artificially raised price, they turned to methods of reclaiming old rubber as a substitute, and later to the production of synthetic rubber instead of the natural product. Secondly, the slightly higher price encouraged planting on a vast scale in Sumatra, by smallholders who were not subject to restriction. This tended to bring the price down and led to the abandonment of the Stevenson scheme in 1928. By this time Malaya's share of the world production had dropped from 70 to 52 per cent, while that of the Netherlands East Indies had risen from 25 to 40 per cent.

Now that the Malayan rubber industry had to depend on its own efficiency to survive, the need for more research was evident, especially as the Dutch were spending large sums on this. Some rubber companies had done research work, but their efforts and those of the Department of Agriculture were unco-ordinated. This situation was brought to an end by the establishment in 1926 of the Rubber Research Institute in Kuala Lumpur, where all the research work and advisory service is centred in one organization supported by the whole rubber industry. Among the improvements which the R.R.I. has helped to introduce is bud-grafting, which in some cases can increase the yield as much as threefold.

When in 1931 the Great Depression in America spread its effects all over the world, the demand for rubber declined sharply, and the price fell to levels lower than ever before. For three years from 1931 to 1933 the average price was about ten cents a pound, far below the cost of production even of the most efficient estates. The result was widespread distress in Malaya among planters, estate labourers and smallholders. The revenue of the Malayan Governments was reduced to half what it had been in 1927, and social services and development schemes were cut down. Eventually a new restriction plan

was worked out which was more satisfactory, as it was joined by the Netherlands East Indies and all the minor producers in the East. Under this scheme, which lasted up to the outbreak of war with Japan, the position gradually improved, especially after war in Europe in 1939 led to a great demand for rubber for military purposes.

In 1937, just before the Second World War, the vast proportions of the rubber industry can be judged from the following figures:

Acreage planted

Estates	2,026,348	(about ¾ European owned and ¼ Asian owned)
Smallholdings	1,275,822	(all Asian owned)
Total	3,302,170	(total in 1952 was 3,612,820)

Labourers employed on estates 351,404

Production

	1937	1953 (for comparison)
Estates	314,658 tons	341,117 tons
Smallholders	185,836 tons	231,675 tons
Total	500,494 tons	572,792 tons

The violent ups and downs of the rubber industry have been a disturbing factor in the economy of Malaya, but, despite all this, it must be remembered that without this great asset the setting up of the social services on the present scale, the building of large public works and the completion of the present system of communications would have been quite impossible. For these things which the rubber industry has given Malaya (and is continuing to maintain) we must thank the foresight, the enterprise and the perseverance of those pioneers of all races who founded the industry.

(ii) *The Development of Other Resources*

Rubber and tin have been mainly responsible for the prosperity of modern Malaya. The fortunes of most of the immigrant peoples and the greater part of the revenue by which Government services have been built up have been dependent, directly or indirectly, upon these industries. By contrast, the

livelihood of the Malays has been bound up with their traditional occupations of cultivating rice, planting coconuts and fishing. Several factors have been at work to maintain this state of affairs. First, there is the conservatism of the Malays themselves, who are genuinely attached to a way of life full of tradition and well suited to the land they love so much. They have never wished to exchange it for an economy based upon working for wages in estates and towns which have no place in their customary world. Secondly, the leaders of the Malays and the Governments of the Malay States, in which these leaders have always kept a real influence, have tried to prevent the break-up of Malay rural life and, especially, have encouraged the Malays to continue and increase the production of rice. The Government could hardly take any other view when Malaya was dependent for more than half of her supplies of rice on imports from other countries which might be cut off by circumstances over which she had no control, or by slumps in her main industries when she could ill afford to purchase from abroad.

In order to prevent the Malay peasants from losing their land through indebtedness or other reasons, many of the best padi-growing lands were declared Malay Reservations where other races could not buy land. The Government undertook large schemes for the control of water supplies, such as that which changed the Krian district of Perak from a desolate swamp into a productive padi-growing area thickly colonized by Malays and immigrant Malaysians from the East Indies.

On the whole, these measures were successful, and although the Malay population has increased very much since British intervention, the padi production has kept pace with the increase, so that the Malay peasant grows most of his own needs and also supplies something towards those of the rest of the population. The difficulty has been that growing padi has never been as profitable an occupation as planting rubber or mining tin, and the Malay peasant has remained poorer than many who work in these industries. Like everyone else, he has gained by the blessings of peace and order, a fair title to his land, justice

in the courts and freedom from the old system, which often made him the debt-slave of a chief. He uses the roads and the railways which rubber and tin have built, but, especially in the remoter villages, it has been harder to bring to the Malay peasants the social services, medical and educational, which have raised the living standard of the urban inhabitants of Malaya. Where the Malays have been able to supplement their traditional farming by planting smallholdings of rubber they have secured an alternative source of income which has enabled them to buy some of the things which mere subsistence agriculture could not supply.

The establishment of the Rubber Research Institute enabled the Department of Agriculture to concentrate more on helping the Malay peasants. Experiments were made to find new strains of rice which would give a higher yield per acre. The distribution of these and the increase in the numbers of Malay Agricultural Assistants to give advice on methods led to better results. Government rice mills were established where the peasants could get a fairer price for their padi than from the Chinese-owned mills, which often had combined to force down the price. The control of water supplies was taken over by the Drainage and Irrigation Department separated from the Public Works Department in 1932. Flooding (often the result of tin-mining) was controlled and new irrigation works built. The most ambitious of these was the opening up of the Sungai Manik area in South Perak to convert an uninhabited swamp into some 25,000 acres of new padi land, with the possibility of another 20,000 later. Much of this area has since been colonized. Efforts were also made by the Department of Agriculture to improve the cultivation of coconuts, which are an important secondary crop of the rural Malays, and by the Rubber Research Institute to help the rubber smallholders to get increased yields by more scientific methods and better prices by preparing rubber of a higher quality.

Two other agricultural crops, not usually grown by Malays,

also became important in the present century. The first, the oil-palm, like rubber, was introduced by the Botanical Gardens in Singapore from its original home in West Africa. The Department of Agriculture carried out experiments at the research station at Serdang which led to the oil-palm being established as an estate crop from 1917. Owing to the high cost of the machinery for extracting the oil, it is not suitable for smallholdings and is grown mainly in large European-owned estates, especially in Johore. During the 1930s the industry suffered, like rubber, from low prices.

The second crop, pineapples, has been almost entirely grown by Chinese. The first factories for canning were set up in Singapore in the 1880s to deal with fruit grown on the island. With the introduction of rubber, pineapples were often planted as a " catch crop " in between the rows of young trees, and later estates on which the fruit was the sole crop were established in southern Johore and Selangor. Most of the canned pineapples were exported to the United Kingdom, where the Empire Marketing Board helped to increase sales. Malaya was not able to compete with Hawaii in the best grades of fruit, but the cheaper Malayan pineapple was popular with the poorer customers. The Government has done much to improve quality and canning methods by inspection of factories, research and grading of fruit.

Four-fifths of Malaya is still covered with forest, and this is one of the most valuable resources which a country can have. Not only does it provide from the more accessible parts an ample supply of timber, one of the most useful raw materials, but even the forested mountains of the interior have their vital part to play in controlling erosion and flooding and in conserving rainfall. In the early days of the development of the Federated States much of the more accessible forest was wastefully destroyed by tin-miners seeking fuel and by the burning of large areas for the planting of rubber. At first the Government had not enough officers to control this, but a small Forest

Department was formed in Singapore in 1883 and was later extended to the Federated Malay States and to the Unfederated States. Large areas were then declared Forest Reserves, and cutting was regulated so that the jungle would be replaced by planting or natural regeneration. These reserves were sufficient to supply the immediate needs of all the States except Selangor by sound Forestry methods. A Forest Research Station was established at Kepong near Kuala Lumpur, where forestry problems are studied, and to it was attached a school for the training of Government officers. Attempts to build up an export trade were not very successful owing to the distance from the more important markets.

(iv) *Commerce and Communications*

For the first fifty years of its existence Singapore grew and prospered as an entrepôt. The freedom of the port and its central position attracted trade from a vast area extending over the whole East Indian archipelago, Siam, Indo-China and the Philippines. It was also a base from which British and Indian trade was carried on with China. Here were collected, exchanged and distributed tea and silks from China, Indian opium, iron goods and textiles from Europe and " Straits produce ". The latter term included pepper and other spices; gambier for tanning; rattans, gums and other jungle produce; birds' nests for the Chinese and tin, the only important export of Malaya itself. In a smaller way Penang acted as a local entrepôt for the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, northern Sumatra and Burma. Between these two Malacca had become of little commercial importance.

By the 1860s the future of Singapore was threatened by the shrinking of the trading area which it dominated. First to be lost was the China trade when a much more convenient entrepôt was established at Hong Kong in 1842 and another European-controlled port at Shanghai later. With the extension of French rule over Indo-China direct shipping lines were opened between that country and Europe. Dutch steamships dis-

placed small native craft in much of the inter-island trade of the East Indies and collected produce at Batavia for trans-shipment direct to Europe, and merchants in these parts of South-East Asia began to order goods direct from the manufacturers in the West rather than from the merchants of Singapore.

In spite of all this, two developments more than compensated for the decline of the entrepôt trade. The first was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, leading to the final triumph of the steamship over the sailing-vessel in the eastern trade and the shifting back to the Straits of Malacca of the main trade route between East and West. With these changes the length of time taken for the passage from Europe to Malaya, which had often been six months by sailing-ship round the Cape, was reduced to a little over forty days for the faster steamships. In 1871 the electric telegraph completed between London and Singapore helped to bring contact even closer. These facilities led to a great increase in the volume of trade with the East, and consequently of European influence and control. Singapore became a port of call of the first magnitude on one of the main highways of the world's expanding commerce, and Penang shared, more modestly, in this traffic passing by Malaya's shores.

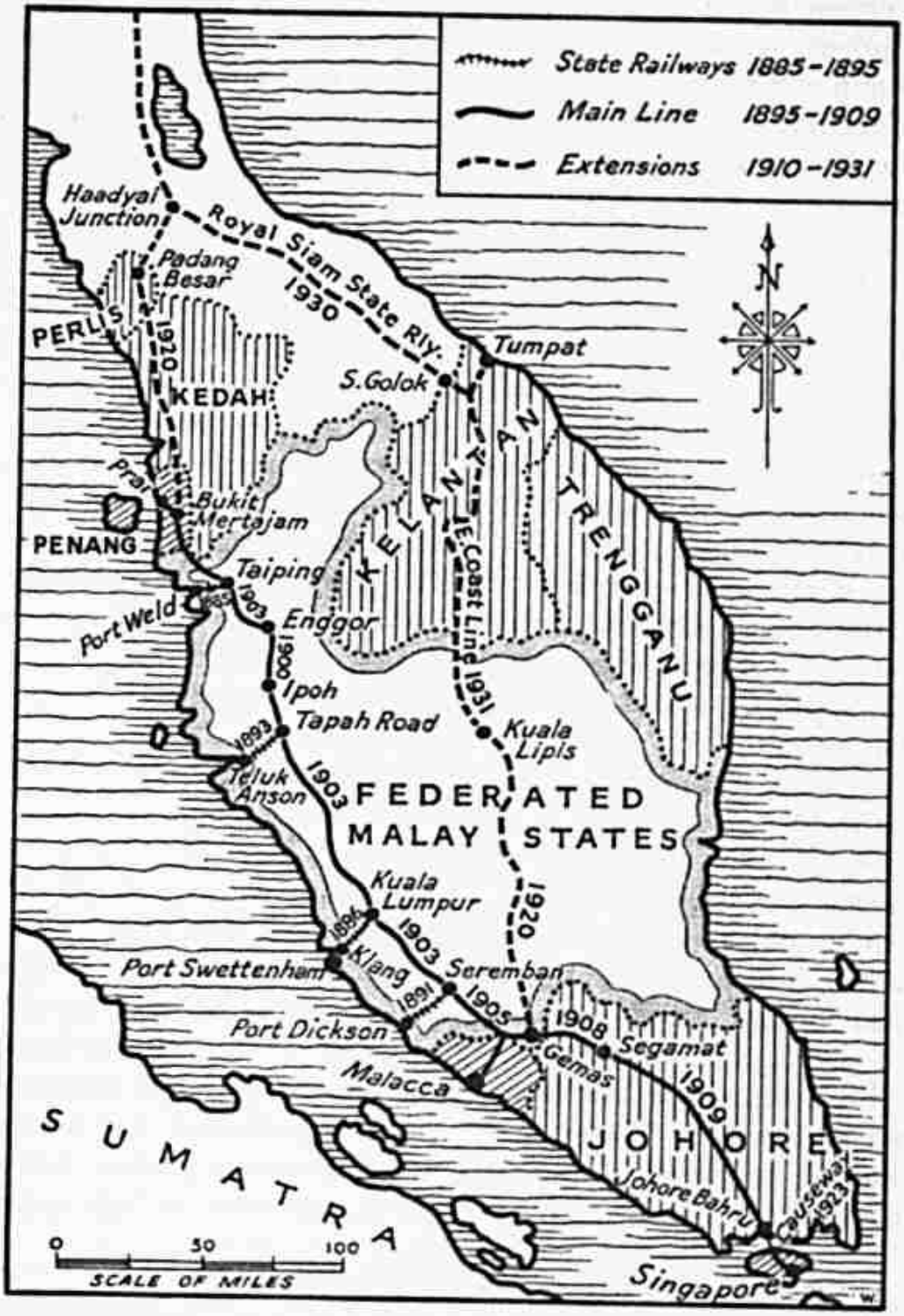
The second factor which favoured the continued prosperity of the Straits ports was British intervention in the Malay States from 1874 onwards and the rapid development of the tin-mining and rubber-planting industries. Singapore and Penang firms, European and Chinese, played a big part in the formation of companies for mining and planting, and as agents supplied equipment and handled the produce of these industries. The entrepôt trade was still important, but both Singapore and Penang became more and more the outlets and inlets for their Malayan hinterlands.

When the Malay States began to come under British protection the only means of communication internally was by river, and each state, corresponding roughly with a river-basin, was politically and economically isolated from its neighbours by

stretches of jungle passable only with great difficulty by paths through the forest. One of the first needs was, therefore, to connect the newly-developed areas with the ports. At first short roads and railway lines were made to a convenient place on the coast, where small steamers, like those of the Straits Steamship Company, founded by a group of Malacca Chinese in the 1860s, could collect tin and other produce and land supplies. Four such short railway lines had been built by the time the Federated Malay States Government was created in 1896. These (with the date of completion) were the Perak State Railways with two lines, one from Port Weld to Taiping (1885) and the other from Telók Anson to Ipoh (1895); the Selangor Railway from Klang to Kuala Lumpur (1886) and the Sungei Ujong Railway from Port Dickson to Seremban (1891).

These were now placed under the unified management of the Federated Malay States Railway Department, and it was planned to connect them by a line from north to south. Within ten years the Federated Malay States completed this main line connecting Taiping, Kuala Kangsar, Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur, Seremban and Tampin with extensions into Straits Settlements territory at Prai in the north and Malacca in the south. In 1908–9 the main line was continued southwards through Gemas and Segamat to Johore Bahru, where a ferry connected with the short line across Singapore island. After 1909 it was, therefore, possible to travel by train and railway ferry from Penang to Singapore, and the tin-mining regions and rubber estates were directly connected with these ports. This happened just at the time when the rubber industry was expanding rapidly, and helped to bring about the prosperity of the west-coast states during the first two decades of the present century. The first important roads were also constructed in this same developed region mainly as feeders to the railway.

After the First World War it was hoped that the construction of another line through Pahang and Kelantan would open up these states in the same way. Construction was started from



Growth of F.M.S. Railway System

Tumpat in the north and Gemas in the south. By 1920 the southern section had reached Kuala Lipis, but the post-war slump and the difficulties of the terrain delayed the completion of the line until 1931.[1] At the same time links were made with the Royal Siamese State Railway at Padang Besar in the west and Sungei Golok in the east.

During the 1920s motor-cars, buses and lorries began to play an ever-increasing part in Malaya's transport system. This made necessary a great programme of road construction. The older bridle roads were widened and metalled, and a main trunk road was made from north to south following fairly closely the main railway line. Within a short time the east-coast states were covered with a good network of roads and motor transport began to be a serious rival of the railway. As a result, some of the small branch lines proved to be uneconomic and have been closed. Roads in the east-coast states are still few, but with her network of over 6,000 miles of highways, largely constructed during the period 1895–1941, Malaya has a better system than any other country in South-East Asia.

Finally, two of the services which are today taken for granted in Malaya should not be forgotten, for their development belongs largely to this same period from 1895 to 1941. The first is the postal and telegraph service, which was extended through the length and breadth of the country as the Malay States came under British protection. The second is electricity for power and lighting, which has caused revolutionary changes in the life of all who live in the main centres where it has been provided. This development has been carried out partly by the Government Electricity Department (now the Central Electricity Board), partly by Municipalities and partly by private utility companies. Most of the power-stations were at first coal-

[1] During the Second World War the Japanese removed the rails from the east-coast line and several branch lines. The east-coast line was opened again in 1954. The branch to Malacca has not been relaid.

burning but have since been converted to oil The one hydro-electric station at Chenderoh on the Perak River is operated by a private company. This, the largest power project in the country, was constructed to supply electricity to the Kinta Valley with its many tin-mines.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

WAR AND PEACE 1941–1948

(i) *Events Leading up to the Japanese Invasion*

DURING the century preceding the First World War (1914–18) the overseas territories which compose the British Commonwealth were secured from aggression by the supremacy of the Royal Navy. This gave them a most welcome chance to grow and develop their strength without interference and threats of war such as haunt the world today. Under the sure shield of the Navy Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa grew to nationhood; India was pacified and united as it had never been before, and the colonies and protectorates were enabled to take the first steps economically and politically towards the modern world. Such progress would have been more difficult if resources and energies had been diverted from peaceful pursuits to defensive measures. It should be remembered that in the most vital period when modern Malaya was being developed she also enjoyed this protection.

With the twentieth century new factors began to change the balance of power in the East. From about 1869 Japan began to adopt Western ways and to build up modern armed forces. These enabled her to defeat China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. Britain at first welcomed and aided the Westernization of Japan as a counter-balance to the imperialistic policies of Germany, Russia and France in the Far East. In 1902 this friendship was sealed by a formal alliance between Britain and Japan, by which each promised to help the other if attacked by more than one power.

Although we may have doubts today about the wisdom of this alliance, it did localize the Russo-Japanese War and helped to keep the peace in the East, including Malaya, in the first

world conflict. After the War was over the disadvantages became apparent. The whole balance of power in the East had been upset by the disappearance of Germany from the scene, by the weakening of Russia and China, by revolutions and civil wars and the decline of the power of Britain and France in the long, exhausting struggle. Meanwhile Japan, only nominally involved in the war, had taken advantage of the preoccupation of the other powers to make demands on China which threatened the independence of that country and the large commercial interests which had been built up there by the Western countries.

Another result of the First World War was the development of the aeroplane as a new weapon of war which would influence, often decisively, the outcome of land and sea operations in the future. In these circumstances the Royal Navy could no longer police the seas of the world as it had done in the nineteenth century. As events were to show, it would be fully engaged in keeping open the vital sea-lanes to Britain itself against the threat of the aeroplane and the submarine.

Most important of all, as a result of the First World War, the United States of America emerged from her traditional isolation to take her place as one of the great world powers. As America had taken the Philippines from Spain in 1898, she had a stake in the Far East, and she strongly opposed the Japanese attempt to dominate China, both on account of her real sympathy with Chinese national aspirations and because of her large commercial and cultural interests in that land. Britain also was alarmed by Japanese aggression towards China, and when faced with the alternative of quarrelling with America or abandoning the Japanese alliance there could be little choice. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty was ended and a conference at Washington (1922) fixed the relative strengths of the American, British and Japanese navies on a 5 : 5 : 3 ratio. In practice, the American Navy was divided into Atlantic and Pacific Fleets, the British Navy was mainly in home waters and the Japanese, whose ships were all in the Far East, had a clear

local naval superiority. If Japan became hostile South-East Asia would be temporarily at her mercy.

Britain was aware of the dangers this presented to her whole position in the Far East, and after the Washington Conference embarked upon the construction of a naval base on the Straits of Johore from which a large eastern fleet could operate. £30,000,000 was spent on this project between the wars, but the deterioration of the situation in Europe with the rise of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany made it impossible to spare the powerful fleet which alone could have saved Malaya from attack. Pooling of naval resources with America would have helped, but this never really became possible owing to the renewed isolationism of the United States. Consequently the British and American fleets in the Far East remained separate and weak, the one based on Singapore and the other on Manila.

Japan's aggression against China had been checked by the Western Powers at Washington in 1922, but not for long. The Americans during the later twenties seemed to be falling back more and more into isolationism, and when the more militaristic element gained control in Japan they judged rightly that there was not enough unity between the Western Powers to create an effective opposition to their plans. A new quarrel was picked with China, and in 1931 an attack launched on the northern province of Manchuria. The League of Nations tried to settle the dispute, but the Japanese, realizing that no force lay behind the international organization (which America had refused to join), contemptuously left the League and had by 1932 established a puppet state of Manchukuo. Not content with this and fearing the growing consolidation of China under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek, the Japanese in 1937 made an excuse for a further attack from Manchuria and Shanghai, hoping to overthrow the National Government of China and set up a puppet regime over the whole country. After the first clashes the Japanese easily gained control of the chief ports and the main lines of communication, but they met with a determined resistance from the Chinese people, and were never able

to control more than the territory on which their armies stood. Chiang Kai Shek withdrew his headquarters to Chungking in the west and continued the struggle from there.

This was the situation when the Second World War broke out in Europe in September 1939. Linked with Germany and Italy in the Anti-Comintern Pact directed against Communist Russia, the Japanese looked on for two years, waiting their chance. They saw Holland and France fall before the German onslaught in 1940, leaving their Eastern colonies isolated and unprotected. Britain, left fighting on her own, was obviously not able to do much to defend her possessions half-way round the world, and danger of attack from Russia seemed remote when Hitler invaded that country in June 1941. The United States, though giving great material aid to Britain, was still standing aloof from the actual fighting. In these circumstances the military and naval leaders of Japan decided to gamble on the victory of Germany in the West and to plan for war with Britain and the United States.

The first step taken was the occupation of southern Indo-China with the assent of the German-controlled Government of France. This brought the Japanese within striking distance of Malaya, the Philippines and the Netherlands East Indies, but American isolationism was even now so strong that Japan was able to take this step without provoking war, though it was so obvious a threat that the United States Government countered it by freezing Japanese credit and stopping absolutely all further exports of oil and iron to Japan. The Japanese determined to push forward with their long-cherished plan for the domination of Asia, and on 7 December 1941 seaborne aircraft were launched against the American Pacific Fleet in its main base at Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands without a declaration of war. At the same time landings were made on the coast of Kelantan, and Singapore was bombed. The Pacific War had started, and peaceful Malaya found herself in the middle of the storm.

(ii) *The Japanese Invasion*

In the surprise attack on Pearl Harbour one American battleship was destroyed and four others were put out of action for nearly a year, besides losses of smaller craft. Three days later Admiral Phillips, who had taken his British Eastern Fleet into the Gulf of Siam in the hope of sinking Japanese convoys there, was caught on his return off the east coast of Malaya without adequate air-cover. His two biggest ships the battleship *Prince of Wales* and the battle-cruiser *Repulse* were both sunk by air attack. As a result of these disasters the American Pacific Fleet was crippled and the Allied naval forces in the western Pacific were reduced to a few cruisers and destroyers. The Japanese, with control of the sea, were able to send expeditions wherever they liked in South-East Asia.

At Kota Bharu the Japanese landings were opposed by the small forces available there, but the Siamese did nothing to hamper those made at Singora and Patani, for the Japanese had seized control in Bangkok and forced Siam to become their unwilling ally for the rest of the war. The invaders soon concentrated enough men and material to push their way through the defensive position which had been prepared at Jitra in northern Kedah and began their advance southwards along the main road and railway. Smaller forces followed the east coast through Trengganu towards Pahang.

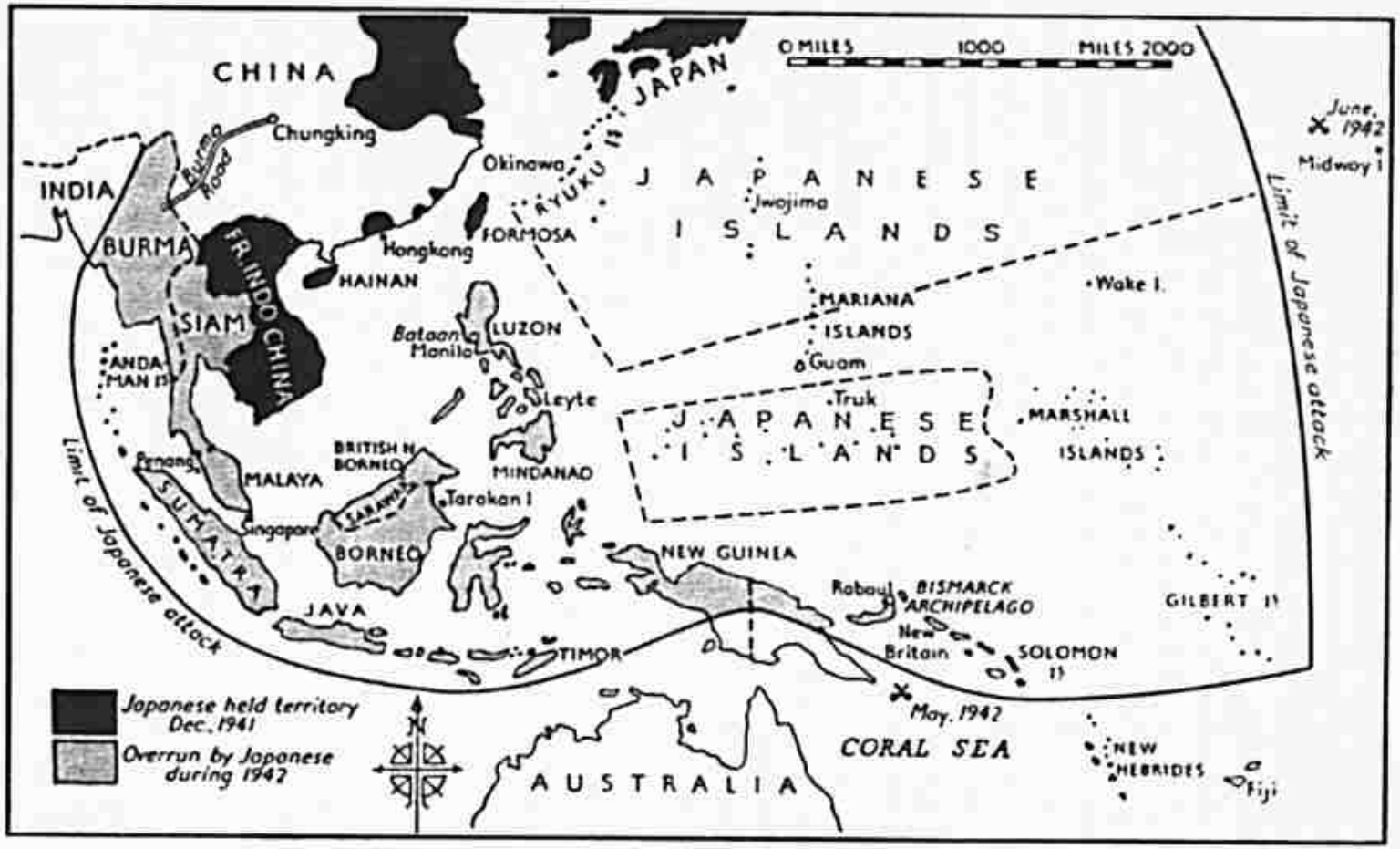
The Japanese force which invaded Malaya numbered at least 150,000 of their best fighting troops. In the early stages of the campaign they were able to seize airfields in northern Malaya from which their Air Force soon obtained complete control of the air. The Royal Air Force in Malaya was equipped with obsolete types of planes which were no match for the modern "Zero" Japanese fighters. This lack of air support, as elsewhere in the Second World War, discouraged the ground forces and undermined morale. Coupled with the Japanese control of the sea, it was fatal; for even if the British forces were able to hold for a while positions on the main road and

railway, the enemy were always able to outflank them by landing on the coast farther south. Where more direct attack was necessary the Japanese had tanks, while the British had none.

Withdrawal after withdrawal took place. On 11 January 1942 the enemy had reached Kuala Lumpur, and it was decided to try to hold a line across the north of Johore behind the Muar River. Here an Australian division won the only success of the campaign when they ambushed and killed a thousand of the enemy in a gorge near Gemas. This was not enough to turn the tide, for the Japanese forced a passage over the Muar River and made landings farther south at Batu Pahat. To avoid being cut off, the forward troops had to fall back again, and this time there was no alternative to a retreat into Singapore Island. This withdrawal was completed on the night of 30–31 January. The last troops to cross before a gap was blown in the causeway were the remnant of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders who marched across led by their pipers.

The defences of Singapore Island had been designed to meet an attack from the sea. Big guns mounted to command the approaches to the harbour and the naval base could in most cases not be trained on the mainland, and little had been done, even after the Japanese invasion, to prepare defensive positions on the northern side facing across the Straits of Johore. The Japanese pressed on before these could be improvised by the tired and disorganized defenders, and on 8 February they succeeded in gaining a foothold on the north-west of the island. This was quickly exploited, and the enemy poured across in force. Fighting continued fiercely for a week, during which time the defenders were pushed back on to the outskirts of the town area. With the capture of the reservoirs in the centre of the island further resistance became useless, and on 15 February 1942 the British commander, General Percival, surrendered unconditionally to the Japanese.

This resounding defeat stunned both those who had taken part in the battle and the peoples of Malaya, who had been led to believe that Singapore was an impregnable fortress. Yet



The Pacific War

seen now in perspective it is not hard to explain. Britain was at the time engaged in a life-and-death struggle to defend her own island, to retain against strong German attacks her vital foothold in the Middle East, to supply her own forces with the necessary weapons of war and to send essential supplies to her ally Russia, then barely able to survive the deep German thrusts into her territory. To fail in any of these would have meant the loss of the war. By comparison Malaya was a distant outpost, important but not vital. The British Government had done much to build up the forces there, but in the circumstances Malaya's needs could not be given first preference. The forces contained a large proportion of garrison and base troops needed for the supply of the larger army it was hoped to build up. Many of the fighting units also were inexperienced and untrained in the kind of warfare to be expected in a country largely covered with jungle.

The truth is that Singapore never was a fortress. If there had been a fleet based on it the invasion might have been stopped on the sea. When this could not be provided it was hoped to defend the country mainly from the air, but here again the necessary modern aircraft could not be spared. It was a hard fate which led to Malaya's sacrifice, but it is difficult to see how it could have been avoided in the circumstances. At least the attack was delayed for two years by the bluff of Singapore's strength, and if the Japanese had waited a few months more the result might have been very different.

(iii) *The Japanese Occupation and the Liberation of Malaya*

The naval superiority which had enabled Japan to strike such devastating blows was short lived. The great naval victory of the United States in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 saved Australia from invasion and made it a safe base from which counter-attacks could be made. The second defeat at the Battle of Midway Island in July 1942 restored American control of the Pacific and sealed the fate of Japan. Later in the same year the tide of battle changed in the West

with the victory at El Alamein, the conquest of North Africa and the failure of the German thrust to Stalingrad. It was now only a question of time before the Allies could mass against Japan the overwhelming force at their command.

The time of waiting was nevertheless a hard and cruel one for the peoples of Malaya. Reasons of high strategy made it necessary to concentrate first on the defeat of Germany; everywhere the Japanese resisted with obstinate ferocity, and the work of liberating the East was slow and bloody. For three and a half years the Japanese ruled Malaya with an iron hand. The Europeans were all made prisoners-of-war or were interned under conditions of great hardship. Together with the other captured troops, those who had been Volunteers were sent to Siam to build a railway through the jungles to Burma. Under conditions of cruelty and privation, without the medical services which had kept tropical diseases under control, thousands perished. Their fate was shared by some quarter of a million Indian labourers conscripted in Malaya, of whom 100,000 died.

In Malaya itself the Japanese at first favoured the Malays, whom they hoped to win to their side against the Chinese, from whom only undying hatred could be expected for what had been done to their homeland. In some ways the rural Malays were better off than the rest of the population, since they were able to support themselves as before by their subsistence agriculture. The town-dwellers, on the other hand, suffered more from the disruption of Malaya's economy, which had been built up on the selling of her main products in world markets, from which she was now cut off, and the importing of food and manufactured goods which the Japanese could not supply. The wealthier Chinese were made to give large sums to the Japanese, and thousands who were suspected of pro-British views were massacred. The Japanese had boasted that they would set up a " Co-prosperity sphere " in South-East Asia, but their rule brought nothing but want, starvation and suffering wherever they went. Under these

conditions the people of Malaya endured and awaited the day of liberation. A few Communist guerrilla bands took to the jungle and were aided by arms and supplies sent by air by the Allies, but the bulk of the population were powerless to resist their ruthless enemies.

During 1943 and 1944 conditions in Malaya grew steadily worse, but the Allies were able to recover some lost ground in the East. In the latter year the British and Indian forces began to re-enter Burma, and the Americans under General McArthur returned to the Philippines. The first few months of 1945 saw the reconquest of both these countries and the final defeat of Germany in the West. Japan's hour of reckoning had come. The Americans were poised ready for a final assault on Japan itself, while Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten's forces in Burma were ready to invade Malaya. Both of these operations were unnecessary, for in August 1945 the first atomic bombs, manufactured in great secrecy in America, were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The leaders of Japan realized that further resistance was hopeless, and the Emperor used his influence to persuade them to surrender. In these circumstances Japan was occupied without a struggle, and Malaya was spared the horrors of another campaign on her own soil. In September 1945 Admiral Mountbatten's forces carried out their plan for the liberation of Malaya without opposition and received the surrender of the local Japanese forces.

(iv) *Rehabilitation and Federation*

During the Japanese occupation much thought had been given in Britain to the problems of Malaya. There was a very general desire to help the peoples of the country to recover their former prosperity and to unite them in preparation for the advance to self-government. The economic changes of the last sixty years had paid little attention to the boundaries between States and between the Straits Settlements and the Federated States. Railways and roads, the common industries of rubber-planting and tin-mining, and the fact that the same

methods were used by British administrators in the Colony, in the Federation and in the Unfederated States had to a great extent unified the country. All this made it seem absurd that so small a country should have nine separate State Governments as well as those of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, or that there should be customs barriers between the Colony and the Federation and the Unfederated States.

To the planners in Britain it seemed that the best solution was to sweep away all these divisions and to establish a political union with one sovereign government for the whole country, except Singapore, with its predominantly urban and Chinese population, which was to become a separate colony. This exclusion of Singapore was, indeed, unnatural in many ways, but it would make possible the continuation of free trade in the island, and would prevent the Malays from being hopelessly outnumbered by the Chinese and Indians in their own country. Unfortunately it was not possible for the British Government to consult the Malayan peoples during the occupation, and nearly all those officials who knew the country best were also in the hands of the Japanese. The older Malayans in retirement in Britain soon sensed the faults of this scheme, but their protests were not heeded.[1]

The British forces had been welcomed back with wild delight in 1945 by all except the Communists, who had even then schemes for gaining control of the country. Faced with Mountbatten's victorious army, the Communists made a truce openly, but buried most of their arms for future use and did not give up their aims. After this first difficulty the British Military Government set to work energetically to rehabilitate the country.

The actual physical damage caused by the fighting in Malaya was slight compared with the devastation in Western countries. The main towns and most buildings everywhere were intact,

[1] Sir Frank Swettenham, then in his ninety-sixth year, was one of the critics of the Malayan Union.

but everything movable had been looted in the confusion of war and surrender, and three and a half years of neglect and misuse had led to enormous waste and loss. However, within a very short time all the Government departments had begun to function again. Schools were restarted and made valiant efforts to provide for the education of more pupils than ever before. Rubber estates had not suffered much damage, and were able to start producing fairly quickly. The restoration of the tin dredges took longer, but the Chinese mines were soon operating.

Meanwhile a senior British official, Sir Harold MacMichael, was sent to obtain the consent of the Sultans to the new plan for the political union. Unable to consult their people, they signed new treaties, and in April 1946 the Malayan Union came into being. The new Government was headed by a Governor as the representative of the British Crown, to which the Rulers had surrendered their sovereign rights. The central Government was to be supreme, the State Governments practically ceased to exist, though a British Resident Commissioner was to be in charge of each " region " as the representative of the Governor in local affairs. A separate colonial government was set up in Singapore under another Governor, and Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, an experienced British politician, was appointed as Governor-General to co-ordinate the policies of the Malayan Union, Singapore and the British territories in North Borneo. A system of common citizenship was to be established in the Union for all those born in the country or who had lived there for a period of years.

The reception given to this constitution showed how far the British Government had failed to realize the changes which had taken place in Malaya. Left to fend for themselves, the Malayan peoples, who before the war had taken so little interest in their government, had learnt to think for themselves and had become suddenly politically conscious. In particular, the Malays saw in the Malayan Union a threat to their whole position as the native people of the country. The surrender of the

Sultans' powers, nominal though they had become, altered the whole legal position, while the proposals for a common citizenship threatened to leave them in a minority, when self-government came, compared with the Chinese and Indians, whose loyalty to Malaya they suspected. Led by Dato' (now Sir) Onn bin Jaafar, they formed a political party called the United Malays National Organization (U.M.N.O.). They refused to co-operate with the new Government, and agitated for the restoration of their special position.

Faced with this formidable opposition, the British Government had the good sense to realize that a mistake had been made, and a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Malcolm Macdonald was set up to work out a more acceptable solution. The result of these negotiations was the Federation of Malaya Agreement, the present constitution of Malaya. As in all confederations, this provided for the division of sovereign power between the central Government and the States. The Federal Government at Kuala Lumpur was to be strong enough to secure the essential unity of the country, but it was to be carried on in the joint names of the Rulers and the British Crown, whose representative was once more to be known as the High Commissioner. There was to be a Federal Legislative Council, on which the Malays were to be strongly represented, but which was also to contain members of other races able to speak for the main commercial and industrial interests and for those of labour. The arrangement for a common citizenship was altered so that it was more difficult for Chinese and Indians to gain it if they were not born in Malaya and had not lived there all their lives. Separate State Agreements were signed between the British Government and the Malay Rulers which restored most of the Sultans' legal powers and provided for the State Governments. These were to be headed by a Malay Mentri Besar with a State Secretariat also staffed by Malays. A separate Council of State, in which all races were represented, was set up as the local legislature for those matters which the Federation of Malaya Agreement had reserved for the States. In the

two Settlements of Penang and Malacca the Resident Commissioners remained at the head of the Government, but in the Malay States the senior British official became an Adviser without executive powers. It was provided that all the Councils should be composed at first of official and nominated members, but both the Federation of Malaya Agreement and the State Agreements included promises that elections would be introduced as soon as possible.

The new constitution was accepted by the British Government and came into force on 1 February 1948, the anniversary of which has since been celebrated as Federation Day. The Malays were well satisfied with the agreement, which safeguarded their rights and at the same time made generous concessions to the immigrant races. The curtailment of the common citizenship caused some opposition from the Chinese, but their leaders wisely did not go to extremes, and agreed to give the constitution a fair trial. Time was on their side, since every year the proportion of Chinese born in the country and eligible for citizenship increased.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1948–1959

(i) *The Communist Revolt*

THE constitution of the Federation of Malaya which came into force on 1 February 1948 was regarded by some Chinese as a set-back to their hopes of achieving a full share for their community in the government of the country. In these circumstances the Communist Party saw an opportunity to win them to their side in an attempt to gain control in the same way as they had done in North Korea and as they were engaged in doing in China itself. At this time, under the guise of nationalism, the Communists had started armed revolts against the government in Burma and the Philippines, and against the French in Indo-China. They were also an active influence in the struggle of the Indonesians against the Dutch. In February 1948 there had been a meeting of representatives of all Asian Communist parties in Calcutta, and it is believed that the decision was reached there to take up arms in Malaya.

Communism in Malaya has always drawn its inspiration from China, and the first agents of the party had arrived as far back as 1924. In 1930 they succeeded in organizing the Malayan Communist Party. Although this body was able to foment strikes from time to time, its work was frequently disrupted by the vigilance of the police, especially in Singapore, where they were most active. By posing as the leaders of resistance to the Japanese invasion of China the Communists were able from 1937 to achieve considerable prestige. Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941 forced the Communists to drop their anti-British propaganda, and when the Japanese invaded Malaya in the Second World War their offer of assistance was accepted in the desperate situation just before the fall of Singapore.

During the Japanese occupation of Malaya those Com-

munists who escaped from the enemy took to the jungle, where they built up a considerable force of guerilla fighters. In the later stages of the war the Communists received arms and other assistance from the British forces, and contact was made with them by small groups of a special force, called Force 136, charged with organizing resistance in Japanese-occupied territory. In the interval between the Japanese surrender and the arrival of the liberating forces under Admiral Mountbatten the Communists emerged from the jungle and attempted to establish power in many parts of Malaya. Although they agreed at the end of 1945 to disband their troops, it seems that they did not hand over more than a portion of their arms. Their guerilla organization remained in existence, and through the Ex-Services Comrades Association they kept in close touch with their followers, who could be mobilized at short notice.

Soon after the Calcutta meeting in February 1948 the call went forth, and most of the former guerillas disappeared into the jungle and began to make attacks on European planters and miners, police and anti-Communist Chinese. There had been much lawless violence in Malaya since the War, and the government, headed by the High Commissioner, Sir Edward Gent, considered at first that these outbreaks were to be attributed to the gangs of robbers who had been plaguing the country for some time. Sir Edward Gent was therefore reluctant to take extreme measures, and the terrorists gained the initiative. It was only after three European planters had been murdered in one day in the Sungei Siput district of Perak that a state of emergency was declared and soon applied to the whole of the Federation. The Singapore Government took similar action as a precautionary measure. A few days later, in July 1948, Sir Edward Gent was killed in an aeroplane accident while returning to Britain for consultations with the Government in London.

The Regulations made under the emergency law gave the police wider powers to arrest suspects and to detain them if they were believed to be supporters of the Malayan Communist

Party, which was now declared an illegal organization. With the arrival of Sir Henry Gurney, the new High Commissioner, at the end of 1948 the counter-measures were stepped up. The regular police force was expanded, and many experienced officers were obtained from the Palestine Police, then being disbanded. The Malays as a whole soon recognized the revolt as an attempt to put their country under alien domination, and large numbers of young Malay men joined the Special Constabulary, formed to provide guards on rubber estates and mines, or the new battalions of the Malay Regiment which were now in process of formation. In the towns and villages auxiliary police helped to patrol and check road blocks. Before the end of the year the whole population was registered and received identity cards to make it easier to trace the movements of people and to distinguish the terrorists from the rest of the people. The British Government sent more troops to Malaya to join in the struggle, including a brigade of the Guards.

In spite of these efforts, the toll of murder and intimidation continued. That it did not succeed in its object was mainly due at this stage to the planters and miners, who refused to give in. Gradually they trained their Special Constables with the aid of a number of British sergeants from the former Palestine Police. The strain under which they lived was a heavy one, but, on the other hand, the Communists had failed to achieve their object of bringing the two leading industries of the country to a standstill. The position was one of stalemate, with the Communists able to launch their attacks almost anywhere outside the larger towns, but having failed in their larger objectives to disrupt the economy, to draw the nationalists to their side or to establish their rule in large sections of the country.

One weakness which became apparent on the government side was the lack of co-ordination between the police, the armed forces and the civil authorities. To remedy this, in March 1949, the British Government appointed Lieut.-General Sir Harold Briggs, who had distinguished himself in the Burma

campaign during the War, as Director of Operations, with powers to co-ordinate the whole of the efforts to combat the terrorists. General Briggs soon saw that there was little chance of making headway against the Communists as long as they were able to get supplies, information and recruits from the Chinese farmers who lived in such large numbers on the fringes of jungle. Most of these were squatters who had established themselves on unoccupied land to which they had no title. Their numbers had grown during the Japanese occupation and the post-war years, when lack of food and work had driven thousands to seek a livelihood on the land as far as possible away from authority. Among them were many Communist sympathizers and, owing to the situation of the majority of the settlements in remote areas without government protection, it was easy for the terrorists to dominate them from the nearby jungle and to force them to supply food and other requirements either willingly or through intimidation. Among these people and their sympathizers in the towns the terrorists built up a vast support organization known as the Min Yuen.

Sir Harold Briggs came to the conclusion that there was no other solution but to resettle all the squatters in places away from the jungle where they could be collected in groups under the control of government and the protection of the security forces. This was a task which would have had to be undertaken in any case eventually, but under the stress of the emergency it was carried out as rapidly as possible. It was an immense operation, for it was found that there were over 600,000 squatters to be resettled—roughly one-tenth of the total population of the whole Federation. In the end there were established some six hundred resettlement areas, some attached to existing towns and some in new sites, where they became known as New Villages. Inevitably this forced migration led to some hardships and resentment, and at first the squatters were sullen and unco-operative. Great efforts were made to render the policy more acceptable by providing schools, medical facilities and other services for the resettled squatters, who had never enjoyed

them before. Each new village was surrounded by barbed wire and had a detachment of police for its protection. Gradually the inhabitants began to appreciate the freedom from Communist demands and to be less suspicious of government, with which they had previously had little to do. From the start the villagers were encouraged to play a part in running their own community through elected committees, which, since then, have in many cases become town councils with statutory powers. Before long, many villages provided their own Home Guards, who were able to take over the protection of the settlements from terrorist attacks.

One of the most hopeful developments in 1949 was the formation in March of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). It was inspired mainly by the veteran Chinese leader, Mr. Tan Cheng Lock (now Sir Cheng Lock Tan) of Malacca. The MCA was intended to bring together all those Chinese who rejected Communism and were anxious to co-operate with the Government and with the Malays in the creation of a Malayan nation. One of the first objectives of the Association was to come to the help of their fellow Chinese in the New Villages, and the MCA raised much money and arranged many facilities to improve the lot of the resettled squatters. It was also able to interpret to the new villagers the Government's policy and to make representations on their behalf.

Resettlement was a slow process which had to be carried out mainly by the State and Settlement Governments. It was mostly completed by the end of 1951, but its effects were not really seen until after this when Sir Harold Briggs had left Malaya. On the surface the years 1950 and 1951 were disappointing ones when little progress seemed to have been made. The attacks of the terrorists continued unabated, and in 1951 there were 6,100 incidents the most resounding of which was the murder of the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Gurney, in October, on the road to Fraser's Hill. Neither Sir Henry nor General Briggs (who died soon after he left Malaya) were to see the results of the measures which they had taken, but their

successors benefited from them. In addition to the vital work of resettlement they deserve credit for the system of War Committees, at Federal, State and district level, which they instituted. These brought together the police officers, the Army commanders and the civil servants in one body for the prosecution of the war against the terrorists.

In an effort to bring the emergency, now in its fourth year, to a conclusion the British Government appointed as Sir Henry Gurney's successor General (now Field-Marshal) Sir Gerald Templer, who had had a brilliant record in the Second World War. General Templer was not only High Commissioner but was also the supreme commander of all the armed forces engaged in the fight against the Communists. At last all the necessary powers were concentrated in the hands of the man on the spot, and he did not hesitate to use them. General Templer's energy and leadership soon created a new confidence that the struggle could be won. He punished, individually or collectively, those who obstructed or failed to help the Government, but by his encouragement of social reforms and good citizenship he also won the hearts of the simple people most exposed to Communist influence, and the respect of the leaders of all communities.

The effects of resettlement were now beginning to be felt, and the terrorists in the jungle were becoming short of food and other supplies. To follow up this advantage denial schemes were carried out to prevent supplies of food from reaching the terrorists, by rationing the amount to be kept in areas near to the gangs' hiding-places, and by controlling the transport of foodstuffs outside the homes of the people. These measures were naturally not popular with those who were inconvenienced by them, but they proved most effective.

By 1953 the security forces were much stronger and better trained, and were able to take the offensive as information improved. On the other hand, the terrorists, realizing that their brutality had alienated the population, began to change their tactics. Fewer attacks were made on civilians, and the gangs

retreated farther into the jungle and made use of the aborigines as a screen to warn them of attack and as food suppliers. To counter this the security forces established forts in the jungle from which patrols could penetrate to the remotest parts and prevent the aborigines from being intimidated. As a result of this the number of incidents declined sharply to 1,100 in 1953. In some areas which had been freed from terrorists it was possible to lift all the food rules and other restrictions and for life to return to normal. The first of these " white areas " was declared in Malacca in September 1952, and they were extended gradually as other parts were freed of terrorists.

General Templer left Malaya in June 1954. During the period of over two years that he had been High Commissioner the whole situation had been transformed from one of gloom to one of hope. He was succeeded by Sir Donald MacGillivray, who had come to Malaya as Deputy High Commissioner with General Templer and was able to carry on the gradual wearing down of the terrorists who remained in arms.

The emergency had not been ended when Malaya became independent in 1957, but the morale of the terrorists steadily declined, and each month their numbers were reduced by the action of the security forces and by surrenders. Malaya may well be proud that it has won one of the most important victories of the free world over Communism.

(ii) *Political Developments in the Federation*

While the emergency was at its height there was little chance of political development towards the goal of self-government for which the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948 was intended to be a stepping-stone. However, in January 1951 a start was made to bring the federal government in closer touch with the people. This was known as the " member system " by which nine prominent Malayan politicians were made members of the Executive Council and given responsibility for the different departments of government concerned with internal affairs and the social services. Among the most pro-

minent were Dato' Onn bin Jaafar (now Sir Onn bin Jaafar), the leader of UMNO, who became Member for Home Affairs, Dato' E. C. (now Sir Clough) Thuraisingam, who was given charge of Education, and Col. H. S. (now Sir Henry) Lee, an important leader of the Chinese.

The promise to introduce elections was also honoured. General Templer in particular was convinced that the unfamiliar methods of popular election should be introduced first of all for local affairs. Accordingly, elections were held in 1951 and 1952 in the three municipalities of Penang, Kuala Lumpur and Malacca. This was followed by the smaller town council and local councils in the New Villages. During 1954 and 1955 the first elections were held for some of the seats on the State and Settlement Councils.

The establishment of elections encouraged the formation of organized political parties. Dato' Onn wished to extend the membership of UMNO to non-Malays and to make it a national party in the widest sense. This proposal split the party, and in August 1951 Dato' Onn resigned from UMNO to launch the Independence of Malaya Party. His place as leader of UMNO was taken by a lawyer, Tengku Abdul Rahman, a brother of the Sultan of Kedah. Under his leadership UMNO later made an alliance with the MCA for the purpose of defeating the candidates of Dato' Onn's new party in the first municipal elections in Kuala Lumpur. This move was so successful that the Alliance was put on a permanent basis with a council representing the two parties. In the later elections for the State and Settlement Councils the Alliance won a large majority in every case. The success of the Alliance forced the leaders to work out acceptable compromises on those questions on which there had been a wide divergence of opinion between the Malays and the Chinese.

One such question was education. The years since the War have seen a phenomenal expansion of the school system. Immediately before the War there were about 265,000 children in school in what is now the Federation; by 1948 the number

had risen to 525,000, and today (1961) there are nearly 1½ million. The cost has risen even more steeply to more than ten times what it was in 1946. All types of schools have shared in this advance, but the objects of the schools have been diverse, and the main difficulty has been to find an educational policy acceptable to the whole of the people.

The discussion was made more controversial by the report of the Barnes Committee on Malay Education and the report of Dr. Fenn and Dr. Wu on Chinese Education, both of which were published in 1951. The former proposed the setting up of National Primary Schools, in which the medium of instruction was to be Malay and English, the official languages of the Federation, with the intention of achieving bilingualism in the six-year course. It was suggested that this type of school should gradually become the standard type of multi-racial school replacing the present communal schools. The Fenn-Wu Report, on the other hand, envisaged the continuance of Chinese-medium schools indefinitely. A Special Committee under the chairmanship of the Member for Education, Dato' E. C. (now Sir Clough) Thuraisingam decided in favour of two types of National School (Malay Medium and English Medium), with the concession to the Chinese and Indian minorities that Kuo-Yu or Tamil would also be taught to those pupils whose parents requested such instruction. As a result, in 1952 a new Education Ordinance was passed by the Federal Legislative Council giving effect to the proposals of the Special Committee. This policy did not win general acceptance, and owing to the lack of funds the National Schools were never established except experimentally in a few places.

In 1952 an attempt was also made to settle the question of citizenship, which had been a vexed one ever since the liberation. The Chinese and Indian communities have claimed the right of *jus soli* or citizenship for all persons born in the Federation. The Malays, on the other hand, have been unwilling to grant equal rights to immigrant peoples, who may, in many cases, have not adopted Malaya as their sole object of loyalty

and in some cases retain rights of citizenship in their homelands. The Citizenship laws of 1952 established a State nationality as the basic status. All Malays born in a Malay state acquired this automatically, as also did all born in the Settlements. Non-Malays born in the Malay States were allowed to acquire the status of subjects of the Rulers by registration if one of their parents was born in the Federation or if they had lived in Malaya for a considerable period and had a sufficient knowledge of either Malay or English. Even with these concessions there were many Chinese and Indians who were excluded. State or Settlement citizenship automatically qualified the holder for federal citizenship.

In 1953 a national convention of the Alliance parties, which now included the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), demanded elections for the Federal Legislative Council. To work out a solution a Federal Elections Committee was appointed which reported in February 1954. It proposed that there should be a very small elected majority in the first Council, which would be elected in 1955. This did not satisfy the Alliance, who asked for a three-fifths elected Council and elections in 1954. After the Alliance had sent an unsuccessful mission to try to persuade the Secretary of State to their view a compromise was reached by which fifty-two of the ninety-eight members were to be elected, and the High Commissioner promised that he would consult the winning party regarding the nomination of five members which was within his discretion.

The first elections under this system were held on 27 July 1955. The Alliance was opposed by a new party led by Dato' Sir Onn bin Jaafar and known as Party Negara, by the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party and in a few places by candidates of the Pan-Malayan Labour Party. The result was a sweeping victory for the Alliance, which won fifty-one of the fifty-two seats. None of the candidates of Party Negara or of the Labour Party were returned; the sole opposition member was from the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party. In these circumstances the High Commissioner, Sir Donald Macgillivray, called upon Tengku

Abdul Rahman to nominate the elected Ministers, who under the new system were to share the work of government, under his chairmanship in the Executive Council, with the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary, Attorney-General and the Secretary for Defence.

(iii) *Political Developments in Singapore*

In Singapore the pattern of political development has been different from that in the Federation. The Communists did not, except for a few isolated attacks, extend to the island their campaign of violence. This may have been because Singapore was an important source of money and supplies for the terrorists in the Federation. Nevertheless, the Communist Party was most active among the people and gained control of several of the more important trade unions. It has also been very active in the Chinese Middle Schools, some of which had grown so large as to be very difficult for the teachers and managers to control. The situation has been made more dangerous by the presence among the population of Singapore of a considerable hooligan element which was liable to burst out into riotous disorder when whipped up by agitators.

The first step towards democratic government was in these circumstances taken with some caution. In 1951 the Legislative Council was reconstituted with an unofficial majority of sixteen out of twenty-five. Of the unofficials nine were elected directly, three represented the Chambers of Commerce and four were nominated. In the first elections the Progressive Party led by Mr. C. C. Tan won six of the elected seats in a contest which was marked chiefly by the apathy and suspicion of the population. Only 48,000 persons bothered to register as voters, and of these only some 52 per cent voted.

The Progressive Party remained the most important element in the legislature until 1954, when a commission under the chairmanship of Sir George Rendel recommended a new constitution which was adopted. Seventy-five per cent of the Legislative Assembly was to be directly elected by an electorate

which would be automatically registered and was estimated to number 250,000. The leader of the party winning a majority of the elected seats was to become the Chief Minister, and would nominate other Ministers to take over the responsibility for most of the departments of government. The Chief Minister and other Ministers would be members of the Executive Council along with the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary and the Attorney-General under the chairmanship of the Governor.

The Progressive Party expected that their good record of pressing for social reforms during the previous years would assure them success in the first elections under the new system which were held in April 1955. The Right vote was, however, split by the formation at the last moment of the Democratic Party, which was sponsored by several wealthy Chinese merchants. As a result, the victory went to the Left, although they polled only a minority of the votes. Ten seats were won by the Labour Front led by Mr. David Marshall, a prominent lawyer, while three went to the People's Action Party led by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. Mr. David Marshall became the first Chief Minister and formed a coalition government with the UMNO-MCA Alliance.

The Government had only a slender majority in the Assembly and the position was very unstable. Within a short time the lawless elements in the population started very serious riots in Singapore which threatened the whole basis of law and order. A most disturbing feature was the large part played by Chinese Middle School students in these disorders. In the atmosphere of recrimination which followed, Singapore politics became most acrimonious and the British Government became seriously alarmed.

Mr. Marshall decided to make a determined bid for popularity by seeking to obtain complete internal self-government for Singapore. With this object he led a delegation to London to negotiate with the British Government. The Secretary of State, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, was willing to agree to most of his

demands, but insisted on adequate safeguards for the internal security of the island, which was an essential base in the whole defence of South-East Asia from Communism. On this issue the negotiations broke down. Mr. Marshall then resigned and was succeeded as Chief Minister by Mr. Lim Yew Hock.

(iv) *The Attainment of Independence*

In contrast to the situation in Singapore, the Alliance Government of Tengku Abdul Rahman in the Federation enjoyed great prestige and virtually no opposition. The Alliance had an agreed programme which it was now able to put into operation. In accordance with the policy of making Malay the national language of the country, it secured the appointment of a Special Committee of the Legislative Council to work out a new educational system which would achieve this object while satisfying the people of the Federation as a whole. The Committee presented its report in May 1956. The idea of the national school was dropped in favour of a standard primary school in which Malay was to be the main medium of instruction but which would be open to pupils of all races. Chinese and Tamil would be taught if the parents of sufficient pupils demanded it. The present English, Chinese and Indian schools would become standard-type primary schools, following the same syllabus as the standard schools and teaching Malay as a subject. English would be taught in all schools. Secondary schools would conform to one national type with the same syllabus, but might use different languages as the main medium of instruction. Technical institutes were to be established at the secondary level, and there were to be new trade schools in the rural areas. These proposals were embodied in an Education Ordinance which was passed by the Federal Legislative Council in February 1957.

The Alliance government had hoped to bring the emergency to an end by a generous offer of an amnesty to the terrorists. The results were, however, disappointing, and a direct meeting between Tengku Abdul Rahman, Mr. David Marshall and Sir

Tengku Abdul Rahman

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong taking the oath

Cheng Lock Tan on the government side and the Secretary-General of the Malayan Communist Party, Chin Peng, revealed that the terrorists, though anxious to be accepted as a legitimate party, would not accept the surrender terms, which were all the Chief Minister was prepared to discuss. Faced by this hard core of resistance, the Alliance threw its weight into the task of mobilizing the whole of the people in the fight. Steps were also taken to build up the armed forces of the Federation in preparation for the day when the country would become responsible for its own defence.

Early in 1956 the Alliance government arranged for a delegation of Ministers and of representatives of the Rulers to visit London to work out a programme for the achievement of full independence in 1957 instead of the four years which had previously been the target set in the Alliance platform. The Malayan side of the negotiations was led by the Chief Minister, while the Secretary of State, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, represented the British Government. Complete agreement was reached in an atmosphere of great good-will, and it was decided that the goal should be independence by 31 August 1957, if possible.

The interval was taken up mainly with the all-important task of settling the constitution for an independent Malaya. On the suggestion of Tengku Abdul Rahman a commission of distinguished jurists and statesmen from Britain, India, Pakistan and Australia, under the chairmanship of Lord Reid, was appointed by the Queen and the Rulers to draw up a proposed constitution. The commission reported in March 1957 and, with minor adjustments agreed by a Working Party presided over by the High Commissioner, the constitution was accepted by the British Government and by the Rulers.

Under the new constitution the head of the state was a Yang di-Pertuan Agong or Paramount Ruler, who was to be elected by the Rulers from among themselves for a five-year term. He was to be the constitutional ruler of the Federation acting on the advice of his Ministers, giving assent to bills passed by the legislature and having a direct responsibility for the special

position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of the other communities. There was to be a Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong, who could deputize for the head of state on occasions.

The Conference of Rulers was to continue to function much as before. The Queen gave up her jurisdiction in the Settlements of Penang and Malacca, which were to become States of the Federation. Governors appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong were to play the same part in these new States as the Rulers in the Malay States, and were to be members of the Conference of Rulers except for the purpose of electing a Yang di-Pertuan Agong.

A cabinet was to be established which, as in other Commonwealth countries, was to form the executive branch of the Government. The Prime Minister was to be chosen by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, who would normally select the leader of the party with a majority in the lower house of Parliament. The other Ministers would be nominated from the members of Parliament by the Prime Minister. Ministers, who might speak in either house of Parliament, would be collectively responsible to the lower house, whose confidence they must retain to remain in power.

It was recognized that the creation of a new Parliament would have to wait until the laws extending the rights of citizenship had gone into effect and the new voters given a chance to register. Provision was therefore made for the former Federal Legislative Council to perform the functions of Parliament until 31 December 1959 if this was necessary. The new legislature was to consist of two houses. The Dewan Negara or Senate would consist of two members elected by each of the State Assemblies and sixteen nominated by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong on the advice of the Prime Minister. Senators would hold office for six years, one-half retiring each three years. The Senate would be able to delay legislation for one year except in the case of money bills. The lower house was to be known as the House of Representatives. The former constituencies for elections to the Legislative Council were to be divided in two

to make 104 electoral districts, each of which was to return one member. Adjustments might be made later after the first elections by a commission appointed for this purpose. The maximum term of a lower house was to be five years, but it could be dissolved at any time by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, who would normally only do so on the advice of his Prime Minister.

As the constitution is a federal one, each State still retains its own government under its Ruler, or, in the case of Penang and Malacca, its Governor. The State Governments continue to be headed by a Mentri Besar (Chief Minister in the former Settlements), but the Rulers' choice is limited to the leader of the party which can command a majority in the State Legislative Assembly. Other members of the Executive Council of the State, or State Cabinet, are chosen on the advice of the Mentri Besar from members of the Legislature.

The present State Councils were to continue to function until 31 July 1959, if necessary, while arrangements were being made for their replacement by the State Legislative Assemblies. The maximum life of these was to be four years, and for the first two terms they were composed of a majority of elected members and a minority of nominated members. After a maximum period of eight years all assemblies would, therefore, be fully elected. The State Assemblies have power to legislate on matters concerned with land, agriculture, forestry, local government except for the federal capital, housing and local public works. Religious affairs also remain within their jurisdiction. All other matters, particularly external affairs, defence, police, civil and criminal law, customs and direct taxation, education, major communications, labour and co-operatives, were reserved to the federal government.

Safeguards were included in the constitution for the independence of the judiciary and the impartiality of the public service. Certain special privileges of the Malays were to continue for the immediate future, but citizenship was to be extended by operation of law to all persons born in the

Federation after independence, and the acquiring of citizenship by other was encouraged during the first year of independence by a relaxation of some of the qualifying requirements.

One question which was much discussed was that of the union of Singapore with the Federation. In the colony there was more desire for this than on the mainland, for Singapore was too small to achieve independence by herself. Most people considered that for geographical and economic reasons union must come eventually, but at the time the Alliance government showed little desire to pursue the subject. For one thing the addition of a million Chinese would upset the balance between the Malays and the other communities in the Federation, and the leaders there did not wish to be involved in Singapore's difficulties with Communist-dominated trade unions and disorders in the Chinese schools.

The new Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, showed himself to be both a firm believer in democratic government and a determined opponent of Communism. When he led a delegation to London in 1957 to reopen the negotiations on self-government he met with success. It was then decided that Singapore would in 1959 become a state with full internal self-government headed by a Malayan chief of state.

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At midnight on 30 August 1957 great crowds gathered all over the Federation to see the Union Jack lowered and the Federation flag raised as a symbol of the end of British rule and the beginning of independence. Later on Independence Day at a brilliant ceremony in the new Merdeka Stadium in Kuala Lumpur H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester presented to the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, the formal instruments of independence in the presence of the High Commissioner and the Rulers and a vast crowd. Two days later, on 2 September, the ruler of Negri Sembilan, Tuanku Abdul Rahman ibni Al-marhum Tuanku Muhammad, was installed as

the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong with ancient Malay ceremony.

In May 1959 elections were held in Singapore which resulted in a clear majority for the People's Action Party (P.A.P.) Under the new constitution for the State of Singapore Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the P.A.P. leader, formed the first government with full powers of internal self-government. Six months later Inche Yusof bin Ishak was chosen as the first Malayan Yang di-Petuan Negara or Head of the State. The P.A.P. government has unified the city and state governments, and has pursued a vigorous policy of social reform and economic development.

In this way Britain laid down the task she had first taken up when Penang was founded in 1786. Little by little, as her rule was extended to Malacca and to the Malay States, she had brought Malaya nearer to the threshold of the modern world. She has now endowed independent Malaya with many gifts—an economy capable of supporting an efficient government and of providing the highest standard of living in South-East Asia; equal justice for all men before the law; freedom of worship for all religions; an education in the ideals and working of democratic institutions, and an opportunity to create a united nation. Recent events cannot yet be seen in the perspective of history, but they can be better understood against the background of Malaya's past. So in the future, too, the study of her history will help to unite the peoples of Malaya, who must now become responsible for the maintenance of their country's economy, for the defence of justice and religious toleration, for the working of democratic institutions and for the building of national unity.

In the words of Sir Gerald Templer, " A nation which does not look back with pride upon its past, can never look forward with confidence towards its future."

1874	British intervention: Perak, Selangor, S. Ujong
1875	Assassination of the Resident of Perak
1877	Hugh Low Resident of Perak
1882	Frank Swettenham Resident of Selangor
1886	First Malayan Railway: Port Weld to Taiping
1888	Pahang accepted a Resident
1895	End of Pahang disturbances: death of Sultan Abu Bakar
1896	Federated Malay States established
1902	Anglo-Japanese Alliance
1905	King Edward VII College of Medicine founded
1906	Straits dollar fixed by Government at 2*s.* 4*d.*
1909	British protection in Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu
1914	General Adviser appointed in Johore: First World War
1920	Post War slump
1922	Washington Conference: end of Japanese Alliance
1931	Great depression
1937	Sino-Japanese War began
1939	Second World War began
1941	Japanese Invasion of Malaya
1945	End of Second World War
1946	Malayan Union established: Singapore separate colony
1948	Federation of Malaya established: Emergency began
1949	Inauguration of the University of Malaya
1952	General Sir Gerald Templer, High Commissioner
1955	Elections in Singapore and the Federation: Alliance government formed
1957	Independence for the Federation

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