By the Same Author

A HISTORY COURSE FOR
MALAYSIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

BOOK 1: Stories from
Malaysian History

BOOK 2: Stories from
Asian History

BOOK 3: Stories from
West and East

Books 2 and 3 in collaboration with John Bareham

From Malacca to Malaysia

1400–1965

HORACE STONE

GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD
London Toronto Wellington Sydney

First published in Great Britain 1966
by GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD
182 High Holborn, London, W.C.1

© *Horace Stone* 1966
Copyright. All rights reserved

R M
959.5
STO

850
PERPUSTAKAAN
ARKIB NEGARA MALAYSIA
13 JUL 1971

Composed in Ehrhardt type and printed by
Western Printing Services Limited, Bristol
Made in Great Britain

Preface

This book was first thought of as the result of a promise made to students of History at Brinsford Lodge, for whenever it was suggested at that time (1955–60) that there was no satisfactory summary of Malaya's history they always retorted that I should write one. In this little book I have tried to show how modern Malaysia has evolved, from a mere obstacle in the way of traders using the sea route between India and China into a modern dynamic country; how its peoples, never losing their own identity, have taken to themselves the elements of other civilizations and adapted them to their own needs. As in a bygone age Indian civilization was used, so today are Western ideas taken and given new meaning. As once Malaysians refused to adopt the Hindu caste system, so today they are adapting for use in their own way the best elements of Western civilization.

More specifically this book, it is hoped, will serve the needs of students working for School Certificate Examinations, and others wanting a summary of Malaysia's history. The encouragement, generous help, and advice given by experts on Malaysian history in specialist fields—all of them very busy people—has been most gratefully received. I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor C. D. Cowan, Mr J. M. Gullick, Miss M. Lomas, and Miss J. Coupland on this score. I should also like to thank Mr B. R. Pearn, Deputy Chief Examiner for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, Malayan History paper, and my present colleagues, Miss D. Humphreys, Mrs J. Briggs, and Mr V. Toms, for reading the full work and the help they have given, and, lastly, Mrs H. Crawley for typing the manuscript.

I have to acknowledge, too, kind permission to use copyright material received from the following sources:

George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, for an extract from *British Malaya*, by Sir Frank Swettenham.

Ernest Benn, Ltd, for an extract from *Malaya*, by J. M. Gullick.

The Hakluyt Society, for extracts from *Suma Oriental*, by Tomé Pires (ed. and trans. A. Cortesão), and *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, by Braz d'Albuquerque.

David Higham Associates, Ltd, and Robert Hale, Ltd, for extracts from *The White Rajahs of Sarawak*, by R. Payne.

Keesing's Publications Ltd, for permission to use a table from vol. xiv, 1963–64, of *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*.

The editor and contributors to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*Malaysian Branch*) for permission to quote from articles appearing in the *Journal*. In those cases where I have been unable to contact the authors, my sincere apologies.

Luzac and Co., Ltd, for an extract from *Malaya's First British Pioneer*, by H. P. Clodd.

Oxford University Press, for an extract from *Nineteenth Century Malaya*, by C. D. Cowan, and for permission to reproduce the map of Negri Sembilan contained in it. *Nineteenth Century Malaya* is published under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd, for extracts from *Notes* in Trübner's Oriental Series, vol. 2, by W. P. Groeneveldt.

University of Malaya Press, for an extract from *Under Chartered Company Rule*, by Professor K. G. Tregonning.

H.S.

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION *page* 11
   1. The Effect of Trade and the Monsoons in Malayan History, *p.* 11
   2. 'Kings', 'Kingdoms', and 'Empires' in South-east Asian History, *p.* 12
   3. Chinese and Indian Influences, *p.* 14
   4. The Coming of Islam to South-east Asia, *p.* 16
   5. The South-east Asian World in 1400, *p.* 17

2. MALAYA TO 1511 19
   1. The Foundation of Malacca, *p.* 19
   2. The Rise of Malacca, *p.* 20
   3. The Reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, 1445–59, *p.* 26
   4. Sultan Mansur Shah (1459–77), Sultan Alauddin Shah (1477–88), and the Growth of the Malaccan Empire, *p.* 28
   5. Mahmud Shah (1488–1511), *p.* 31
   6. How Malacca was ruled and its Trade organized, *p.* 33

3. MALAYA, 1511–1641 36
   1. Introduction, *p.* 36
   2. The Portuguese Capture of Malacca (1511), *p.* 38
   3. The Straits of Malacca, 1511–1600, *p.* 44
   4. The Straits of Malacca, 1600–41, *p.* 49
   5. The Dutch Capture of Malacca, 1641, *p.* 52

4. MALAYA, 1641–1786 55
   1. The Dutch in Malacca, *p.* 55
   2. Dutch Relations with the Malay States, *p.* 58

3. The Malay States to 1700, *p.* 61
4. Malaya, 1700–86. The Bugis, *p.* 65
5. Negri Sembilan (to 1824), *p.* 70

5. MALAYA, 1786–1824 *page* 74
1. Introduction: Francis Light and the Settlement of Penang, *p.* 74
2. Penang, Kedah, and Siam, *p.* 81
3. Malacca, *p.* 85
4. The Foundation of Singapore, *p.* 87

6. MALAYA, 1824–74 93
1. Penang, Malaya, and Siam, *p.* 93
2. The Malay States, 1824–74: Introduction, *p.* 98
3. Perak, *p.* 100
4. Selangor, *p.* 103
5. Negri Sembilan, *p.* 110
6. Pahang, *p.* 113
7. Johore, *p.* 117
8. The Straits Settlements, 1824–74, *p.* 119

7. MALAYA, 1874–1942 131
1. The Residents and the Residential 'System' to 1895, *p.* 131
2. The Federated Malay States, *p.* 146
3. The Unfederated Malay States, *p.* 149
4. Economic Progress in Malaya to 1941, *p.* 155

8. THE WAR IN MALAYA 167

9. MALAYA SINCE 1945 171
1. The Federation of Malaya, 1945–48, *p.* 171
2. Malaya and Singapore, 1948–57, *p.* 174
3. Economic Development since 1945, *p.* 182
4. Singapore, *p.* 187
5. The Formation of Malaysia, *p.* 192

10. NORTH BORNEO (SARAWAK AND SABAH) TO 1945 — page 200
1. Sarawak, p. 200
2. British North Borneo (Sabah), p. 209

CONCLUSION — 222

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY — 223

INDEX — 228

Maps and Diagrams

The 'Empires' of South-east Asia	*page* 13
Malacca's Position in Relation to Asian Trade Routes	21
The Sultans and Bendaharas of Malay Malacca	24-25
Dutch and Portuguese Routes to the Far East	49
The Straits of Malacca, 1511–1786	59
Penang and the Route to China	75
Negri Sembilan	111
Modern Malaya	151
Malaysia	193
Sarawak	206
Sabah	213

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1. THE EFFECT OF TRADE AND THE MONSOONS IN MALAYAN HISTORY

The story of Malaya begins long before 1400, and to understand fully what happened after this date we must look carefully at the patterns of its history from about two thousand years ago. At that time Malaya was a jungle-covered obstacle to traders who were beginning to travel between India and China by sea. Of course there were peoples living in Malaya then: the Negritos or Semang, the Senoi, the Jakun, and the Malays.

Until about two thousand years ago trade between India and China was carried on along the Great Silk Road, but then two things happened which caused more and more traders to turn to the sea route. The first was that in South India the people had learnt how to build large junks, and had learnt the 'secret' of the monsoons. The second was that fierce tribes in the centre of Asia were making the Old Silk Road dangerous for travellers. They had already stopped the Indians from trading with Siberia for gold. To find gold, when they could no longer get it from Rome, the Indians went to the Golden Chersonese, to the countries of Suvarna-bhumi and Suvarna-dvipa, the 'Land of Gold' and the 'Island of Gold'—Malaya and Sumatra.

When these traders began to come in great numbers they found that the Malay Peninsula was a barrier to them when they wanted to travel to China from India. At first they stopped at ports on the west coast and carried their goods across to the east coast by using the rivers as much as they could. At a port on the east coast they could take ship again for China. Traders then began to leave home as soon as the monsoon blew steadily in the direction they

wanted to go. At first they would not think of sailing out of the sight of land, but as time went on the shape of the Bay of Bengal became known, and the sailors steered a course straight across. The important thing to remember is that as soon as the monsoon began to show signs of changing they had to find somewhere to stop. If the traders wanted to sail all the way to China from India they would have to wait until the north-east monsoon had stopped and the south-west monsoon had started again—at least six months. These ships sailed slowly, and soon the traders began to plan their voyages so that they had time to reach ports on the way where they could stop. The next step came when they did not try to make the whole journey, but only went as far as the Malay Peninsula, to one of the markets that grew up there, such as Tun-sun, Langkasuka, or even Pahang.

2. 'KINGS', 'KINGDOMS', AND 'EMPIRES' IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN HISTORY

These words have rather different meanings from those found in a dictionary. A 'king' started out very often by being no more than the chief of the kampong at a river-mouth to which traders came, looking for a river they could use to cross the Malay Peninsula, or for somewhere to stay while they waited for the monsoon to change, so that they could either continue their journey or return home. If they found a river they could use or a good harbour the chief would become rich, either by trading with them directly, selling local produce, or by taking tolls on it when brought down-river by his people. His kampong would also grow quite quickly into a trading centre, and would increase greatly in size. As his kampong grew into a city, so the chief's importance would also grow. His 'kingdom' could be described more accurately as the area served by the river at whose mouth his kampong had been sited.

As the number of traders using the sea route from India to China grew, so did the number of these river-system kingdoms. One of them, so situated that most trading ships must pass by, grew so powerful that it could demand tribute from the smaller

100 0 100 200 300
MILES
FU-NAN
PASAI
KEDAH
KELANTAN
TRENGGANU
PAHANG
KLANG
MALACCA
ROKAN
SIAK
KAMPAR
INDRAGIRI
BINTANG
BATAM
LINGGA
JAMBI
SRI VIJAYA
PALEMBANG
FU-NAN
SRI VIJAYA
MALACCA
THE 'EMPIRES' OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA
MAJAPAHIT

centres in the area. Yet all it seemed to want from them was this tribute, for once it was paid there appeared to be no interference with their affairs. The first of these 'empires' was Fu-nan, at the mouth of the Mekong river, in modern Cambodia. It lasted until just after A.D. 600, in the period when traders mostly used the routes crossing the Malay Peninsula, and fell, at the time when they began to travel all the way by sea, to attacks from the north. The second 'empire', of Sri Vijaya, had its centre first at Palembang and then at Jambi, Sumatra. It controlled the Straits of Malacca, and Malaya at least as far north as Kedah on the west coast and Ligor on the east. The third of these 'empires' was Malay Malacca.

3. CHINESE AND INDIAN INFLUENCES

Our knowledge of Malayan history before 1400 has been built up from five main sources: firstly, from the notes the Chinese made (for the information of the Emperor) of the countries to their south, of their position, customs, and produce; secondly, from archaeology, from the remains that have been left by peoples who had once lived in Malaya; thirdly, from inscriptions on monuments put up by rulers telling of events in their reigns; fourthly, from writings of Middle Eastern travellers and writers telling of customs, produce, and sailing directions; and, lastly, from annals like the *Malay Annals*. Also a great deal of information has been gathered from the writings of travellers like Marco Polo, Fa Hsien, and I-tsing.

Beyond expecting the kingdoms of South-east Asia to send tribute, there seems to have been little contact between them and China. They were to recognize that Chinese civilization was superior to their own, but no more. In short, Chinese civilization was not for export. Ambassadors went to China carrying presents —which the Chinese called tribute—because their countrymen were allowed to trade as a result, and the Emperor's sense of importance often made him give in return presents even more costly than those he received. (This sending of presents to China was also used as a way of telling other countries in South-east

Asia that this ruler was independent, and if the South-east Asian 'emperor' of the time did not like this a fleet would be sent to the country of the offending ruler to make him pay tribute.)

Only twice did the Emperors of China send fleets to South-east Asia. The first time was in 1292, when Kublai Khan sent an army to punish Kertanagara, the King of Singosari, in Java, for helping the people of Annam to drive out a Chinese army. The second time was when the Ming Emperor sent fleets to the south, first under Yin Ch'ing and then under Cheng Ho from 1403 to 1430, to get the kings of the south to send tribute.

Indian influence was very different. While it could be said that culturally the Chinese had little or no influence, that of the Indians on the other hand was very great. Missionaries followed the traders, in this case both Brahmanist and Buddhist. We are told by the *Chinese Annals* that

> The kingdom of Tun-sun is a dependency of Fu-nan. Its king is called K'un-lun. In the country there are five hundred families of Hu from India . . . and more than a thousand Indian Brahmins. The people of Tun-sun practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; consequently many of the brahmans do not go away. They do nothing but study the sacred canon, bathe themselves with scents and flowers and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night.

The Indian idea that the raja was a man with the spirit of the gods in him, and would join them when he died, was liked because it made the raja more important and powerful. The complicated Court ceremonies also were liked and used. The raja was to rule with the help of four chief and eight lesser Ministers, and the country administered by sixteen chiefs of the first rank and thirty-two of the second. A line of kings in Java and Sumatra was called the Sailendras ("Kings of the Mountain"), and it is possible the Sultans of Malacca were descended from them.

Although Buddhism died out in India, it took root in many parts of South-east Asia, particularly in Thailand and in Java, where the great buildings of the Borobudur are a "textbook in

stone of the Buddhist religion". This great monument, although built in a style that is clearly Indian, has much that is pure Javanese, particularly the carvings which were made of scenes from the lives of the local people who helped to build it. All over the area can be found temples and buildings on the Indian pattern. In them are statues of Buddha that clearly are made in the various styles of Indian art. Also in India it became the custom for rulers to put up stone tablets telling of the greatness of the king and of the events of his reign. These inscriptions, as they are called, are also to be found in many parts of South-east Asia. The language used is the sacred Indian one of Sanskrit, and the alphabets are also those used in India.

In writing the people of South-east Asia used Indian alphabets. The great Indian works of literature, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, became popular, and were translated into Malay and Old Javanese. The wayang theatre still to this day uses stories from them. Indian influences ranged from the idea of the god-king, religions, art, literature, languages, writing, and how to organize the rule of a country to the way a king was crowned and ordinary folk married. The Chinese noted that as a result of these influences the kingdoms in the Malay Pensinsula, Sumatra, and Java had kings with Indian titles.

4. THE COMING OF ISLAM TO SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Among the traders visiting South-east Asia regularly were many from the Middle Eastern countries of Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. After the time of Muhammad from about A.D. 700, they were Muslims, and with them came their teachers to try to get people in South-east Asia to accept Islam as their religion. It is very interesting to note that the Persians and Arabs could not convert them at all, for it was not until Indians from Gujerat became Muslims that the South-east Asians could be converted. The pattern was the same as before. Convert the ruler and his people will follow him. The religion was spread in South-east Asia more possibly by marriages between ruling families than by missionaries.

On his way home to Venice from China in 1292 Marco Polo noticed that the people of Perlak were Muslim. (He had stopped near by to wait for the monsoon to change so that he could continue his journey to Persia, and then Italy.) But already the Chinese had noted that an embassy from Malayu (Jambi, Sumatra) in 1281 had been led by two Muslims. A daughter of the Sultan of Perlak married the ruler of Pasai, and so spread the religion to that country.

The great Muslim traveller Ibn Battuta visited Sumatra on his way to and from China in 1345–46, and he tells us that Samudra was a Muslim country. Perlak, Pasai, and Samudra were all three quite close together in the north of Sumatra. This, we might say, ended the first stage of the introduction of Islam to South-east Asia, for there is nothing positive about Islam on the Peninsula until Malacca was well established. The second stage of the spread of Islam in South-east Asia took place after Malacca was established, and will be described as part of the section on Malacca.

5. THE SOUTH-EAST ASIAN WORLD IN 1400

The picture we have of South-east Asia to 1400 is of a number of tiny kingdoms based on river-systems throughout the area, dominated by the one most powerful empire of the day. The first empire to dominate was Fu-nan, which fell in the early part of the seventh century. The second empire was that of Sri Vijaya, whose port at first was Palembang and then at some time was moved to Jambi. Sri Vijaya fell in A.D. 1275. It was attacked from the north in Malaya by the Siamese and from the east from Java, for after 1293 the kingdom of Majapahit grew rapidly to control the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago—but it is not certain that Majapahit had any control in Malaya itself. The port of Pasai grew into a great trading centre, so that at about A.D. 1400 the trade was shared between Majapahit, in Java, and Pasai, in Sumatra. Also the Siamese were overlords of the Malay Peninsula, particularly in Old Singapore and at Patani. It is quite possible that the ruler of Kedah at this time was sending tribute to Siam as well.

The trade of the time showed that the main ports exchanged Indian and Chinese goods, and also acted as collecting centres for South-east Asian products, particularly spices.

Islam had reached South-east Asia, but at this time had not got beyond the Sumatran kingdoms of Pasai, Perlak, and Samudra.

CHAPTER TWO

Malaya to 1511

1. THE FOUNDATION OF MALACCA

Events in Javanese history may be the clue to solving the mystery of when Malacca was founded. In 1275 the Javanese destroyed Sri Vijaya, which was centred on Palembang and Jambi. This could have led to the founding of Tumasek (Old Singapore) by a chief who had escaped after the battle. A hundred years later Palembang was part of the empire of Majapahit, Java. A Palembang prince had married the daughter of the King of Majapahit, and been sent to rule Palembang. His title of Parameswara meant 'Prince Consort'. When he tried to make himself independent his father-in-law sent an army which destroyed Palembang in 1377, and made him go to Tumasek. After only eight days in Tumasek he had the ruler killed, and he took control of the city. This ruler had been the son-in-law of the King of Siam, who ordered the ruler of Patani to punish Parameswara. Singapore was attacked and the city destroyed. The time he spent at Singapore and the time he stayed at Muar, where he went after the battle, is really not known. One account says that he was five years in Singapore and six at Muar, and another says three years in Singapore and nothing about length of time at Muar. If we accept that Parameswara was the prince driven out of Palembang in 1377, then he could have reached Malacca by about 1390. The first positive date we have is 1403, when the Chinese fleet under Yin Ch'ing reached Malacca: the *Ming Annals* tell us that, "In the tenth month of the year 1403, the emperor sent the eunuch Yin Ch'ing as envoy to this country to bring presents. . . . There was no king in the country and it was not called a kingdom, but it belonged to Siam, to which it paid an annual tribute of forty taels

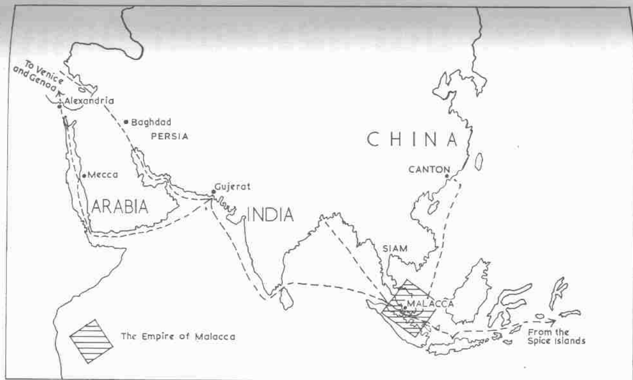
of gold." All that we can say positively, then, is that Parameswara reached Malacca before 1403. It may have been many years before or it might have been only one or two, as some people think.

2. THE RISE OF MALACCA

In its first few years Malacca was no more than a pirate base, to which were brought goods that had been taken from trading-ships captured in the Straits. It may be that by the time Yin Ch'ing arrived in Malacca, Parameswara was ready to settle down and understood the value of the spot he had chosen for his settlement. In any case, he had already made his peace with Siam. Following on this policy of making peace with the neighbouring Powers, he sent embassies to Majapahit (Java) and Pasai, in the far north of Sumatra. He found that the soil near Malacca would not grow rice very well, and Java and Siam are places that export it. In addition, he asked the King of Majapahit to allow his traders to call at Malacca, for it had a better harbour than Pasai. He also asked the Sultan of Pasai to allow traders to go to Malacca. The Sultan replied that he did not mind provided Parameswara became a Muslim. Finally Parameswara sent an embassy to China with Yin Ch'ing when he returned.

The result of all this was that Malacca changed from a pirate centre to a trading port recognized by all the Powers around. Chinese recognition meant that Malacca was an independent kingdom. From Pasai came Muslim traders to inspect the port of Malacca and its conditions of trading. They found an excellent port perfectly sited in the Straits fully protected from the monsoons all the year round, and a ruler willing to work with them to set up fair and very moderate charges for the use of the port.

The Sultan of Pasai meant what he had said about not giving Malacca his full recognition until Parameswara became a Muslim. At last, about 1414, Parameswara decided to become a Muslim, and married the Sultan of Pasai's daughter. He took the title of Megat Iskandar Shah. By this time it must have been obvious that he had to become a Muslim if Malacca was to be the great trading centre that he wished it to be. This is exactly what



Malacca's Position in relation to Asian Trade Routes

happened, for traders began to go to Malacca instead of to Pasai. In the *Ming Annals* we are told that Parameswara's first embassy to China arrived there in 1405, and the Emperor was delighted to see them:

> In the ninth month of the year 1405 these envoys arrived at the capital [of China]; the emperor praised their master, appointed him king of the country of Malacca, and gave him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and yellow umbrella, whilst Yin Ch'ing was ordered to go there again and bring all these presents.

Another embassy was sent to China with Yin Ch'ing in 1407. In 1411 Parameswara went himself to China with "his wife, and son, and his ministers, altogether five hundred and forty persons". They were received very well by the Emperor. By 1414 his name had been changed to Iskandar Shah, for the Chinese thought that it was his son who had made the second visit.

By this time, 1418–19, the Siamese had noted that Malacca had grown into a large and rich port, and were demanding more in tribute than the 40 taels that had previously been paid. The Chinese, however, looked on Malacca as an independent kingdom, it would seem from as early as 1409:

> In the year 1409 the imperial envoy Cheng Ho brought an order from the emperor, and gave to the chief of this country two silver seals, a cap, a girdle, and a long robe; he erected a stone, and raised the place to a city, after which the land was called the kingdom of Malacca. From this time the Siamese did not venture to molest it any more, and the chief of the country having become king by the imperial favour, went with his wife to the court [of China] to present his thanks, and to bring a tribute of products of his country.

When in 1419 Iskandar Shah visited China again he told the Emperor that the Siamese were getting ready to attack Malacca. The Emperor sent a letter to the Siamese telling them to leave Malacca alone, and the presence of Cheng Ho and his fleet stopped them from making this attack. In the time of the next Sultan, Muhammad Shah, in 1431, again a Siamese attack appeared to be coming, and once again a letter from the Emperor stopped it.

The Siamese did not attack until they were certain that the Chinese would not interfere. By then it was too late, for Malacca was strong enough to defend herself.

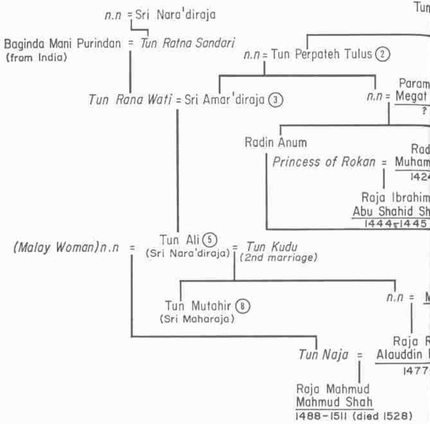
Iskandar Shah died in 1424. He was followed by a son who took the title of Sri Maharaja, which shows that he may not have been a Muslim. In fact, the *Malay Annals* tells the story of how this ruler was converted, when he took the title of Muhammad Shah. During his reign of twenty years (1424–44), he followed his father's policy carefully over trade, and the port continued to prosper. Following Indian patterns, he set up complicated rules for formal occasions at Court.

The *Ming Annals* tells us that Sultan Muhammad Shah sent embassies to China immediately after his father died in 1424, and again in 1431, when the Siamese were reported to be preparing to attack Malacca. In 1433 he went to China himself "with his wife, his son and his ministers", and in 1435 he sent his younger brother. The *Malay Annals* sums up the work of Sultan Muhammad Shah:

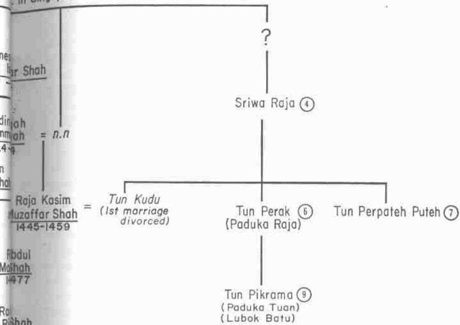
> Throughout his long reign Sultan Muhammad Shah showed a high degree of justice in his treatment of his subjects, and Malacca became a great city. Strangers flocked there . . . and . . . Malacca became famous as a very great city. . . . Princes from all countries came to present themselves before Sultan Muhammad Shah, who treated them with due respect bestowing upon them robes of honour of the highest distinction together with rich presents of jewels, gold and silver.

Sultan Muhammad Shah had married twice. His first wife, the daughter of the Raja of Rokan, had a son, Raja Ibrahim, and his second wife, a daughter of the Bendahara, had a son, Raja Kasim. In Malay law the son of a royal wife, particularly if born after the Sultan has begun his reign, has a better claim to the throne than the son of a wife who is not of royal birth. But in Malay Malacca the son of the Sultan's wife, who was a member of the Bendahara family, came to have the best claim of all. When Sultan Muhammad Shah died in 1444 Raja Ibrahim was made

THE SULTANS AND



The Bendaharas ◯ Sultans n.n ...... lady's not gi


HARAS OF MALAY MALACCA
eh Permuka Berjajar ①
in Singapore
?
Sriwa Raja ④
Raja Kasim
Muzaffar Shah
1445-1459
= n.n
Tun Kudu
(1st marriage divorced)
Tun Perak ⑥
(Paduka Raja)
Tun Perpateh Puteh ⑦
Tun Pikrama ⑨
(Paduka Tuan)
(Lubok Batu)
Ladies' names in italics

Sultan with the title of Sultan Abu Shahid, and because he was still a minor his uncle the Raja of Rokan was made Regent. As a foreigner the Regent was unpopular, and for a time there seemed nothing that could be done.

Raja Kasim's cousin, Tun Ali, plotted to overthrow the rule of the Regent and the young Sultan. He made a ship's captain suggest to Raja Kasim that he ought to be Sultan, and that there was a man (Tun Ali) who would help him. After dark one evening they collected their men, tricked the old Bendahara into going with them, and marched on the royal palace. The guards were confused by the presence of the Bendahara, and in the fighting that followed both the Regent and the young Sultan were killed. Raja Kasim was then made Sultan, with the title of Muzaffar Shah.

3. THE REIGN OF SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH, 1445–59

In the first years of his reign Sultan Muzaffar Shah, naturally grateful to Tun Ali, already the Treasurer, possibly turned to him for advice rather than to anyone else. The old Bendahara poisoned himself, and Tun Ali was made Bendahara in the place of the old man, whose son Tun Perak was sent away from the Court to Klang, where he was made their headman by the people living there. He was not there for very long before news came that the Siamese were attacking Malacca, and he was called back to help defend the city. The Siamese attack (1445) came cross-country from Pahang by way of Ulu Muar. In the battle that followed it is quite clear that Tun Perak had a great deal to do with the Malay victory. His reward was to be given the title of Paduka Raja—'second only to the Sultan'.

Sultan Muzaffar Shah knew that it was only a matter of time before the Siamese attacked again. He was worried because he found that many people did not like the idea of Tun Ali ("the Old Kling") as Bendahara, thinking that Tun Perak should have had that office. He saw that he must do something to stop the possibility either of civil war or of the Siamese being able to attack a city whose people were quarrelling among themselves. The Sultan was able to get Tun Ali to give up being Bendahara

and take up his old position as Treasurer, and this stopped any danger of the Malays fighting among themselves. When the Siamese did attack again in 1456—this time from the sea—the Malays were ready for them, and won a great naval victory. They chased the Siamese fleet as far as Singapore.

The reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah was the turning-point in the story of Malay Malacca, the two key factors being the defeat of the Siamese threat to the independence of the city and the appointment as Bendahara of Tun Perak. The *Malay Annals* tells many stories showing how clever Tun Perak was. However, Tomé Pires (a Portuguese in Malacca just after it fell) never mentions him at all in his writings, except perhaps as Paduka Raja. Tun Perak was content to be the Sultan's adviser. Every idea might have been his, but the orders were always given by the Sultan. The people Tomé Pires talked to after the Portuguese captured Malacca would not have been able to see Tun Perak at work. One of the first things he suggested was that peace be made with the Siamese, and an embassy was sent there. An embassy was also sent to China so that trade could be carried on. Tun Perak quickly settled to his real work of making Malacca *the* trading centre in South-east Asia. There is no date given for when Tun Perak became Bendahara, but it has been suggested that it was about 1455, just before the second Siamese invasion.

It must be clear already that Muzaffar Shah was a good ruler. The *Malay Annals* says of his reign:

> Sultan Muzaffar Shah showed himself to be a Raja of high character, just and humane, diligent in inquiry into the pleas of his people: and it was he who ordered the drawing up of a code of laws in order that there should henceforward be uniform justice in the decisions of his ministers.

Tomé Pires says of "this king Madafarxa" (as he spelt Muzaffar Shah):

> They say that he was a better king than all those who had been before. He greatly strengthened the ties with Siam and with Java and with the Chinese and Lequjos [Chams]. He was a great man of

justice: he devoted much care to the improvement of Malacca, he bought and built junks and sent them out with merchants, for which even today [1514] the old merchants of the said king's time praise him greatly as a very just man.

May we suggest that the code of laws, the improvements to Malacca, the good relations with foreign Powers, and also the conquests that were made in this reign were Tun Perak's work?

4. SULTAN MANSUR SHAH (1459–77), SULTAN ALAUDDIN SHAH (1477–88), AND THE GROWTH OF THE MALACCAN EMPIRE

When Sultan Muzaffar Shah died he was succeeded by Raja Abdul, whose mother was a member of the Bendahara family. The new Sultan took the title of Mansur Shah. An embassy was sent to China, and we are told that the Emperor was so pleased to have tribute from Malacca that he sent a beautiful Chinese princess to be married to the Sultan. The young men who came with her settled in Malacca to make the suburb called Bukit China, and are the ancestors of the Baba families.

To make sure that the Siamese could not use the 'overland' route from Pahang to attack Malacca again, an expedition was sent to Pahang which defeated the army of the ruler and captured him and his daughter. After this successful attack on a Siamese province an embassy was sent to Siam, and peace was made.

Now that Malacca was safe from attack, Tun Perak could suggest to the Sultan that they should turn their attention to trade and the protection of traders from the pirates who swarmed in the Straits. The main pirate centre was Aru, to the north of Sumatra. In Muzaffar Shah's reign, as Tomé Pires makes clear, attempts were made to deal with these pirates:

He often fought against the king of Aru and took from him the kingdom of Rokan. . . . At this time there was a large number of merchants of many nationalities in Malacca and Pasai was already beginning to be less great than it had been, and the merchants and sea-traders realised how much difference there was in sailing to

Malacca, because they could anchor safely there in all weathers, and could buy from the others when it was convenient. They began to come to Malacca all the time because they got returns. The king of Malacca dealt kindly and reasonably with them which is a thing that greatly attracts merchants, especially the foreigners.

This policy of getting control of the Straits was followed thoroughly in Mansur Shah's reign, and by the end of it he had control of Kedah, Trengganu, Pahang, Johore, Jambi, Kampar Bengkalis, the Carimon Isles and Bintang, and also the tin-producing areas north of Malacca: Selangor, Bernam, Myjam, and Perak. The *Malay Annals* tells of an attempt to gain control of Pasai which failed.

The power and influence in Malacca of Tun Perak is shown by the incident when his son Tun Besar was playing *sepak raga* (Malayan football). The boy miskicked the ball, which knocked off the headcloth of Raja Muhammad, the heir to the throne, who was passing at the time. Taking this to be an insult, the prince or one of his servants killed Tun Besar. After stopping his men from arming themselves to avenge the boy's death, Tun Perak said that he could not serve this raja if he ever became Sultan. Mansur Shah was very angry and sent the boy to Pahang, to be Sultan there. This shows that Tun Perak was a real 'king-maker', for while he was Bendahara all the Sultans that came to the throne were related to him.

Tomé Pires sums up Mansur Shah's reign by saying that:

> Mansur Shah was a sociable man, liberal, a gambler and luxurious, but withal he was just. He took all the beautiful daughters of the Parsee merchants and the Klings who pleased him to be his concubines, made them turn Moor when he had to give them in marriage, and he married them to mandarins' sons and gave them dowries. . . . The Moors of Malacca say that Mamsursa [Mansur Shah] was a better king than all his predecessors. He granted liberties to the foreign merchants; he was always a fervent lover of justice. They say that at night he used to go about the city in person, they say that he slept little and played much at dice.

This extract shows how the Sultans of Malacca had indeed

taken over from Pasai the task of spreading Islam. All the rulers of the states subjected to Malacca were married to Muslim princesses, and converted in that way. Their subjects naturally followed their lead. By 1500 Islam must have spread to all parts of Malaya and Sumatra connected with Malacca, and perhaps even to states in Java and the islands. Later, when the Portuguese arrived, they found that it seemed wherever they went in the islands Islam had reached there only a little time before, except for Bali, which has remained Hindu to this day.

When Mansur Shah died in 1477 he was followed by Tun Perak's nephew, a Raja Radin or Husein with the title of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, whose reign lasted until 1488. He is thought to have had a very strong personality. His older half-brother, the Sultan of Pahang, was jealous of him, and one version of the *Malay Annals* tells how the new Sultan fell ill and had to be guarded carefully from the Sultan of Pahang's grandmother, who wanted him to die so that her grandson could become ruler of Malacca.

Sultan Alauddin did not think of the feelings of others. He publicly rebuked Tun Mutahir (the son of Tun Ali) for neglecting his duties. As Temenggong he had the task of guarding the market from thieves. Though Tun Mutahir might not have liked being 'told off' in front of the whole Court, nevertheless he did his work properly from that time. Later on in his reign Sultan Alauddin kept at his Court the Rajas of Kampar and Indragiri, letting them see that he did not trust them. He planned to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and insisted that these two rajas went with him. His journey never took place, because he died suddenly. If he was poisoned, as some people think, he had many enemies who wished him dead.

The policy of trying to keep the Straits clear of pirates was followed in his reign. A great naval battle was fought with Aru, perhaps the biggest pirate centre in the Straits. There is no doubt, however, that Malacca's empire grew considerably in Alauddin Shah's reign, with a strong ruler who tried to stop piracy in the Straits, and to make sure of fair dealing for merchants in the

town, and safety for their goods. He also was "a better king than all those who had gone before".

It is generally accepted that Tun Perak, Bendahara Paduka Raja, died about 1498, but one version of the *Malay Annals* says that he died in Sultan Alauddin's reign. Although the first ruler of Malacca built the city from nothing, it must have been Tun Perak who turned Malacca into an empire. The *Malay Annals* shows him to have taken a large part in expeditions, especially those of Mansur Shah's time. The organization of the working of the port as noted by Tomé Pires (see p. 33) must have been his work, and he was responsible for keeping on good terms with powerful neighbours, Siam and Java, and for getting the Sultan to send embassies to China.

5. MAHMUD SHAH, 1488–1511

If Tun Perak did not die until 1498, then when he made Raja Mahmud the new Sultan he made his first mistake in character. The new Sultan was related not only to Tun Perak, but also to Tun Mutahir, who was his uncle. He turned out to be weak, mean, a dreamer, and a killer. In the latter part of his reign he left day-to-day administration to Tun Mutahir, who by that time had become Bendahara.

Tun Perak was followed as Bendahara by his younger brother, Tun Perpateh Puteh, who followed his brother's policy of increasing Malacca's control over near-by countries. He is said to have gained Manjong, Bruas, and Kelantan:

> At this time the Empire of Malacca included all of what is now the Federation of Malaya except for Kedah and Perlis; but to balance this were many of the Sumatran states: Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, and the Riau Archipelago.

Tun Perpateh Puteh did not live very long after his brother died. This appointment of Tun Mutahir as the next Bendahara was a bad mistake. He was haughty, proud, vain, and too caught up with trading on his own account. He was not above accepting bribes. The Portuguese writers show that in his time some traders, particularly the Chinese, were not happy with the way he was

treating them. We are told that he was not above twisting the law to suit himself, to make people pay fines or give 'presents'. His fall came about, we are told, over his not allowing the Sultan to see his daughter before she was married, as was the custom. For this the Sultan ordered him and his whole family to be killed. The real reason may have been that Tun Mutahir was ruling Malacca at the time, and his behaviour was possibly more like that of a Sultan than of the Prime Minister.

About a year before Tun Mutahir was killed the first Portuguese fleet reached Malacca, in 1509. They were led by Lopes de Sequeira, who asked the Sultan for permission to trade (which was granted). Tomé Pires tells us what followed:

> First the Gujeratees went to the King Mafamut [as Pires wrote Mahmud] with a great present, and also the Parsees and Arabs and Bengalees and many of the Klings reported to the king together, that the Portuguese had reached the port, and consequently were bound to come there every time, and that besides robbing by sea and by land, they were spying in order to come back and capture it [Malacca] just as all India was already in the power of the Portuguese—whom they call Franks here—that because Portugal was far away they ought to kill them all here and that the news could not reach Portugal for a long time, if ever, and that Malacca would not be lost. . . . Those who had spoken went to the Bendahara; they took him double the present—most of it was from the Gujeratees; they converted the Bendahara to their plot. . . .

The plan was to get all the Portuguese on shore to a banquet and then kill them. The plot was told to the Portuguese by a woman who had made friends with one of them, and they were all able to escape, except for about twenty men who were on shore at that moment trading. The Gujerati traders knew of the actions of the Portuguese in their home waters, and of their wish to control the trade of South Asia. Two years later, in 1511, the Portuguese were back again in strength, to insist that they be allowed to trade and build a fort at Malacca, and to rescue the remaining men still imprisoned by the Malays. Their capture of the city marked the end of Malacca as one of the greatest ports in the world of that time.

6. HOW MALACCA WAS RULED AND ITS TRADE ORGANIZED

Next to the Sultan, in charge of affairs, were the Paduka Raja 'a kind of viceroy' and the Bendahara (Prime Minister). Tomé Pires noted that the Sultans found it better to have one man for both of these posts. The Bendahara was the chief justice in all cases civil and criminal. He was also in charge of the Sultan's income. He could order a man to be executed, but had to consult the Sultan, the Laksamana, and the Temenggong before sentence was carried out.

Next came the Sultan's Treasurer, with the title Sri Nara Diraja, in charge of all the servants and clerks of the Sultan. The Temenggong was the chief magistrate. He tried cases where an accused man could be sent to prison, but sentences had to be confirmed by the Bendahara. He was also chief Customs officer, and received port dues and Customs duties. For this he had the help of four Shahbandars, who had to look after the merchants who came from certain areas, finding them warehouses, lodgings, and transport (elephants) for their goods. A line was drawn through Malacca approximately from north to south. One Shahbandar looked after all the merchants who came from Gujerat—Arabs, Persians, and others from the Middle East who came to Malacca in Gujerati ships; the second looked after all the other merchants who came from places to the west of Malacca; the third looked after traders from what is now called Indonesia, and the fourth looked after those from the north, from China, Siam, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Each trader when he arrived contacted the Shahbandar 'of his nation'.

The Laksamana was both Admiral of the Fleet and Captain of the Sultan's Guard, and Pires thought that when a war was being fought even the Bendahara had to take his orders. It is probable that he had to plan the patrolling of the Straits to keep it as clear as possible from pirates. There is no hint anywhere that ships were forced to call at Malacca, as they had to later on when the Portuguese and Dutch owned the port. Before, when the empire of Sri Vijaya was at Palembang, they were made to call there.

There were, of course, a great number of officials in the Court,

with their assistants and servants. Generally the pattern taught by the Indians to the Malays was used: the four chief Ministers and the eight 'junior' Ministers; the sixteen chiefs of the first rank and thirty-two of the second. It is possible that the Bendahara, the Treasurer, and the Temenggong were three of the four chief Ministers, and that the Laksamana was in the second rank of Ministers with the Shahbandars.

The importance of Malacca lay in the fact that it had become the chief centre for the exchange of goods between the countries to the west—India, Persia, and the Middle East—and China, and also as the collecting centre for all the produce of South-east Asia.

Merchants from western India and from Egypt, Arabia, and Persia gathered in Gujerat (North-west India) and sailed to Malacca in Gujerati ships. These merchants from the west paid duties and gave presents to the officials: Shahbandar, Temenggong, Bendahara—and Sultan. If, however, they brought in food, then they paid no taxes, but only gave 'presents' to the officials. Many merchants settled in Malacca. They had to pay less in duties, but in addition they had to give a Royal Due. Malay merchants whose home was Malacca paid less than foreign traders.

When a ship came in from Gujerat the merchants had their cargo valued by a committee of 10 merchants, 5 Klings (Indians), and 5 others supervised by the Temenggong. They paid the duties due on the valuation and gave the presents. By this means they were able to stop bribery of officials and any stealing by guards.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of trade in Malacca was that goods coming from the east paid no dues, but only a present, 'a reasonable amount', was given to officials, who decided how much. The Chinese merchants, however, gave much larger presents than the others.

The main goods for trade coming from India were cotton cloth of all kinds, while from China came porcelain and silk, and from South-east Asia came food for the people in Malacca—it never had been able to grow enough—spices, gold, tin, sweet-smelling woods, and various drugs.

The Sultans of Malacca were truly 'merchant princes', since

they took part in the trade. Muzaffar Shah, we are told, built junks and sent them overseas with his goods. Taxes and dues would not necessarily be paid in cash, as would be done today, but in food and goods of all types. Money was used in Malacca, the coins being made of tin, but it is doubtful if it was used for much more than a basis of valuing goods. Tun Mutahir was not only Temenggong, and then Bendahara, he was one of the richest of all the merchants in Malacca. The great interest that was taken in trade, and the care to see that conditions were favourable and pirates kept away, was to help the Sultan's and his officials' own trade, as well as that of the merchants.

CHAPTER THREE

Malaya, 1511–1641

1. INTRODUCTION

This period begins with the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese. But if we are to understand how that came about we must follow the merchants who left the city and took the goods they had bought to the West (see map p. 21). Very many of them would take these goods only as far as the next major port, Gujerat, where they would sell at a good profit to the next man in what became a chain—each merchant taking the goods on the next stage of the journey to the markets of Europe, and each in turn taking his profits. From Gujerat they went either to Persia or to Baghdad, and then on to the Syrian ports, such as Beirut, and then to Italy, to Venice or Genoa. Or they went to the ports of the Red Sea, and finally to Alexandria, and thence to the Italian ports. From Italy they were taken either by land to other countries of Europe, or by sea. The Italians had made treaties with the Sultan of Turkey so that their goods could come safely across the Mediterranean to their ports, but the other countries who used the sea routes, including Portugal, had to run the risk of their cargoes and men being captured by the Moorish corsairs (pirates) of the North African Muslim countries. This made them hate the Moors, for if these captured a ship they not only took the cargoes, but sold the sailors and anyone else they captured aboard as slaves.

We must now take note of a movement that spread throughout Europe about this time (1400 onward), and which has affected the whole world. It is the *Renaissance*. The word means 'rebirth', and in fact what happened was a 'rebirth' of positive thinking by the people, on every subject and on every side of life. People

began to ask questions, and try to find the answers for themselves. In Italy, for example, during the Renaissance people took a great interest in art: painting, sculpture, and architecture. The rich merchants and princes built beautiful palaces with their profits from trade or taxes, and filled them with beautiful paintings and things. In Portugal the people began to take a great interest in travel by sea. Schools of seamanship were started, encouraged by the son of one of their kings, Prince Henry the Navigator. His sailors began to explore the west coast of Africa. They were looking to see if they could find their way to the Far East so that they would not have to buy silks and spices and other Eastern produce in Italy. They wanted to by-pass the pirate-infested waters of the Mediterranean.

As the fifteenth century passed, so in the second half of it, from 1450 onward, the Portuguese sailors sailed farther and farther south down the west coast of Africa until finally they reached the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama commanded the fleet that finally turned the Cape, and in Mozambique picked up a pilot who took them to the port of Calicut, in India (1497–98).

Vasco da Gama sailed back to Portugal with a cargo of spices. What the Portuguese had found was that the trade of the South Asian waters was in the hands of Muslims, whom they called 'Moors'. We must never forget that to the Portuguese 'Moor' meant 'Muslim enemy', and they felt free to attack any Muslim ships they met. In the years before they visited Malacca, in 1509, their policy became quite clear. They were going to take all the trade away from the Muslims. To do that they began to capture key points along the trade routes. They built fortresses at places where ships must pass, and made them all put into their ports and trade with them. They took Ormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, in 1507, and in 1510 they took Goa, past which all ships went to Gujerat. They saw that to complete their chain of forts they must have Aden, at the entrance to the Red Sea, and Malacca. They failed to get Aden. The Gujerati merchants of north-west India had suffered from them from the time they arrived, and had seen with horror the treatment given to anyone they caught. Although the Portuguese were only a small nation,

they were able to control the sea routes because the peoples of South Asia were not able to join together in a plan to drive out these 'Franks'. Their ships were fighting ships, where the Asian ships were purely trading vessels, their men wore body armour, which protected them when they were fighting, and finally they had better guns than the Asians. But they had the greatest advantage of all in that they were united under a single commander.

When affairs in India seemed to be going to the satisfaction of the Portuguese, Lopes de Sequeira was sent with four ships to Malacca to trade and have a good look at the city. The traders were quite right when they thought that the Portuguese would want to come to Malacca 'all the time', and would want to have all the trade to themselves.

2. THE PORTUGUESE CAPTURE OF MALACCA (1511)

In Portugal the treatment of de Sequeira in Malacca had made the King angry, and in 1510 he had ordered one of his captains to take two ships and punish the Malays. This force d'Albuquerque would not allow to go any farther than India, because he knew that the task of taking Malacca would need every man he had. When he set out for Malacca in April of 1511 he had 18 ships and not more than 1500 men altogether, with which to capture a city which had, we are told, about 200,000 people and 20,000 fighting men.

On the way to Malacca they called at Pedir where d'Albuquerque found nine of the men who had been captured in 1509, and who had escaped from Malacca. From Pedir they went to Pasai, and then to Malacca.

When d'Albuquerque reached Malacca his force sailed into the mouth of the river, and for a short time the Malays were worried by it. But they soon saw how small it was, and could not see how such a small number of men could ever capture the city. Sultan Mahmud sent a messenger to tell the Portuguese that all he desired was peace, and that Bendahara Tun Mutahir, who had been killed the year before, was the leader of the plot against de

Sequeira. D'Albuquerque replied politely, asking that the remaining prisoners be released, which Sultan Mahmud would not do until they had made peace. While these talks were going on the Malays were very busy building barricades and other defensive positions, as if preparing to fight off a Portuguese attack on the city.

For a time d'Albuquerque tried to get the prisoners freed, and a trade agreement, without having to fight. As nothing happened he sent several ships in to set fire to houses near the shore, and burn ships belonging to the Gujeratis in the harbour. This had the effect of freeing the Portuguese prisoners, and a second round of talks began. It was clear that the Malays were playing for time so that they could finish their defences.

In the harbour at this time there were five Chinese junks which had been stopped from returning home. Their captains were complaining at the treatment they had received from the Malacca officials. They were so angry that they offered to help the Portuguese to take Malacca. D'Albuquerque politely refused their offer of help, and when they asked to be allowed to go on their way he asked them to wait a few days to see what happened when he attacked the city.

D'Albuquerque decided to try to capture the bridge which divided Malacca into two halves by landing his men on both banks of the river and making them fight their way to the bridge. The men landed at dawn on July 25th 1511, St James's Day, and fought their way to the bridge against very strong and determined opposition. They were kept very hard at it until well on into the afternoon, with no chance of stopping for rest or food. They had captured the bridge, but could not hold it. At last they were forced to withdraw to their ships.

Once again talks began, but this time d'Albuquerque wanted permission to build a fort. The Chinese ships were now allowed to leave, and agreed to take an ambassador from d'Albuquerque to Siam. In the meantime the Portuguese had made plans to attack the bridge directly by sailing a junk up the river and fastening it to the bridge. From this junk they would be able to fire down on to the bridge, and to protect their men when they

had captured it. On its way up the river the junk stuck on a sand-bank, but the Portuguese were able to stop the Malays from setting fire to it, while they waited for one of the extra high tides that come at certain times in the year. While they were thus waiting d'Albuquerque called his captains together to talk things over. "If we can only achieve the task before us," he said, "it will result in the Moors resigning India altogether to our rule, for the greater part of them live upon the trade of this country."

D'Albuquerque planned to attack the bridge directly, landing his men from boats near to it, and taking the junk up as they had planned before. In spite of heavy fire from the defenders, they were able to get the junk to the bridge and fasten it there. The soldiers then fired down on to the bridge, and cleared it quite quickly. The next step was to attack the mosque, where they had a hard fight before they were finally able to take it. In the mean-time the bridge was made into a strongly defended place, where the Portuguese could be safe to rest when they wanted. A number of fights were taking place in the city, but when night fell the Portuguese were able to get back to the bridge. The ships were ordered to fire their guns into the city all night, and started a great number of fires.

The next day the Portuguese found themselves in charge of the city, and put to death anyone they found in the streets, and con-tinued to do so for ten days, after which they made their final attack to end the fight.

Sultan Mahmud and his people went to Pahang, while his son Sultan Ahmad and his men went to Muar, where they planned to make a base from which they could attack the Portuguese in Malacca when they were ready.

Wisely, d'Albuquerque allowed the traders who stayed in the city to make their peace with him. The first were the Burmese. Those traders who were not Muslims were allowed to take their goods away with them, so that normal trading could start as quickly as possible.

As soon as Malacca was captured d'Albuquerque ordered a palisade to be built to protect his men against possible attack by the Malays. At first he thought that he would not be able to build

a stone fortress, but some Indians told him that he could get the stone he wanted from the hill beside the burial-place of the Malay Sultans of Malacca. Then the Portuguese found another place where there was a kind of soft stone that made lime for mortar, and lastly more stone still was found on an island, which later was called Pulau Batu, the 'Isle of Stone'.

The building of the fortress was done as quickly as they could get their people and slaves to work. In spite of many catching malaria, d'Albuquerque included, the building was finished in January of 1512, and placed so that at high tide ships could sail right up to the tower at one corner. This tower was square, each side about 60 feet long and about 120 feet high. The fort was completed by a wall eight feet thick. At each of the two corners facing inland was a smaller tower on which cannons were mounted.

Even before he had completed the capture of Malacca, d'Albuquerque had sent an ambassador to Siam, hoping to begin trading, and while the fortress was still being built a fleet was sent to the Spice Islands to the east. Of the three ships that set out only one returned. The captain of one of the ships that was shipwrecked became famous as a fighter, and went to the island of Ternate to help the Sultan in his fight with the Sultan of Tidore.

D'Albuquerque, like all his men, was a good Catholic, and in addition to the fort he also had a church and a hospital built. In 1557 this church became the Cathedral of the Bishop of Malacca.

In charge of the city was the Governor, generally appointed for three years. He was usually a nobleman, and appointed directly by the King of Portugal. He had the advice of two councils: the first, for civil affairs, was made up of the Ovidor (Chief Justice), the Viador (Lord Mayor), the Bishop, and the Secretary of State, and the second, for defence, consisted of the Captain-General and the Sergeant-Major. Those found guilty of crimes had their sentences fixed by the Governor and the Ovidor.

After the Governor came the Captain-General, who was in complete charge of all the Portuguese soldiers and sailors. In many ways he was equal in rank to the Governor, because his only superior officer was the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, in India. He was also a nobleman, and was usually appointed for three

years. He tried all cases, civil and criminal, brought against his officers and men.

The Ovidor, or Chief Justice, tried civil cases, but only to a certain limit. Above this limit appeals could be made to a higher court at Goa. His verdicts on criminals had to be confirmed by the Governor.

With the fortress, the church, and the hospital completed, d'Albuquerque saw that his work in Malacca was finished, and that he must get back to Goa. He began to transfer to his ship, the *Flor de la Mar*, the treasure he had collected for himself and the presents he was going to send to the King of Portugal. The ship ran aground in a storm near Aru, in Sumatra, and the people who sailed in her were lucky to get away with their lives. All the great collection of valuables was lost. This was the first of two sea tragedies that lost to the world treasures of the Malaysian archipelago. The second was when the ship carrying Sir Stamford Raffles's collection caught fire and sank.

Before he left Malacca, d'Albuquerque called his officers together to work out how the city was to be governed, and to make arrangements for its trade. They did not like the money system of the Malay rulers of Malacca, and changed it to suit Portuguese ideas, using gold, silver, and tin coins. They decided to rule the city in much the way it would have been governed at home in Portugal.

The Factor was the chief Customs officer, and also acted as the Governor's Treasurer. He looked after all war equipment, such as ammunition and supplies generally, as well as the ships and all they needed. The Sergeant-Major was second in rank to the General, and was in charge of all soldiers; finally, the Secretary served the Governor, the General, and also the Factor.

The day-to-day affairs of the city were also changed to suit Portuguese ideas. The city 'council' was made up of three Viadors (Mayors) who acted as president of the council in turn, two Judges, a Procurator, and a Secretary. The Mayors collected the city's taxes. The Judges dealt with all cases, civil and criminal. Appeals could be made against their decisions in the court of the Chief Justice. The Procurator was in charge of public works and sup-

plies of all kinds. Except for the Secretary, who served for three years, all the other officials, Mayors, Judges, Procurator, were elected to serve for one year only.

In addition to the officials serving on what we might call the 'City Council', two Almotaseyes were chosen each month to serve the magistrates as clerks of the food market. They also had to supervise the cleaning of the city. Another official, chosen to serve for three years, looked after the children in the orphanage.

In charge of the Minangkabaus and Malays living at Nanning and Ringy was a Portuguese with the title of Temenggong, appointed for life. He had to act as magistrate. He could try all cases, but his death sentences had to be approved by the Governor. The Bendahara also had the powers of a magistrate, but he looked after the Indian traders who came to Malacca, while the Shahbandar inspected all vessels arriving at the port and acted as interpreter to the Governor. Finally, the Capitan Moor took charge of all Malaccans who had stayed in the city after it had been taken by the Portuguese.

In Malacca itself, the Portuguese thought of their own people as being of three sets: "there was the governing class, whose duty was to rule the city, the military class, whose duty it was to defend it, and the 'married men', whose duty was to populate it". They liked their soldiers and other servants to marry local girls and have families. In that way they hoped that as time went on there would be a number of people of Portuguese descent who would be 'natives' of Malacca and would never want to leave.

Customs duties were charged on everything that came into the port except for food. They were charged at 9 per cent, of which 6 per cent went to the King and 3 per cent to the city. Exports were charged at half the rate for imports—that is, a total of 4½ per cent, 3 to the King and 1½ to the city funds. All ships of any kind that used the harbour of Malacca had also to pay anchorage fees, and before a ship could leave the city a pass had to be got from the Governor for a small fee.

The Portuguese policy in Malacca was to control all ships passing through the Straits, and to see that they all called in at the port to trade there. Unfortunately, the Portuguese seemed

unable to stop themselves from attacking almost every ship they met on the high seas to take its cargo. In Malacca itself nearly all officials from the Governor downward were determined to make their fortune. This led to a great deal of private trading, and often downright cheating. This started the fighting that went on for the whole time the Portuguese were in Malacca to see who was going to control the whole of the trade. The main Powers taking part in this war were the Portuguese in Malacca, the Malays who had been driven out of Malacca and who had settled at Johore or Riau, and finally a new Power that arose at the north-western tip of Sumatra—the Achinese.

The Portuguese in Malacca were never strong enough to take complete charge of the Straits because their home country, Portugal, was only very small, and its total population was not more than one and a half millions. Each year when the north-east monsoon steadied, the King of Portugal ordered that every ship that could be used had to load up with goods to sail for Goa and the West. This meant that Malacca was left with not enough men to guard it, and very few ships. It was at this time that the Malays and the Achinese could attack the city, which was saved again and again by the strength of its walls, and the fact that the Malays and the Achinese were deadly enemies, and never could agree to join forces and attack together. Once only could the Achinese have taken the city, in 1575, when the Portuguese ran completely out of ammunition, and had very few men strong enough to fight. Happily for them, the Achinese thought that the silence that fell was a trick to fool them, and they just sailed away (see p. 48). Again and again the arrival of ships from Goa, or from the new trading station at Macao, made attackers give up.

3. THE STRAITS OF MALACCA, 1511–1600

The Dutch writer Justus Schouten, who was in Malacca in 1641, summed up what happened in the Straits after the arrival of the Portuguese:

> Malacca's domination.—In the beginning the Portuguese rule in Malacca was feared so much that all the Indian traders coming to

the Southern part of India were obliged to call at Malacca for trade. But the tyrannical treatment of foreigners by some of the Captains drove these traders away from that port, and they called instead at Johore, Deli, Perak, Achin and other places, avoiding Malacca as much as possible. This resulted in a serious reduction of their revenue and trade. To remedy this they . . . (forced) all Indian vessels passing through the Straits of Malacca to call at Malacca and carry on trade with that port, paying the tolls. Those who offered armed resistance were enslaved and their vessels set on fire. . . . (Captains) began to dread the Straits of Malacca and avoid it altogether. . . . The King of Portugal very wisely ordered . . . free passage for all. This had the desired effect immediately, because all the traders were again attracted towards Malacca and in a short time the city became an excellent commercial centre. A great number of vessels came regularly from the southern parts of India, and carried on trade without any hindrance except the payment of the usual duties—and exported all kinds of merchandise.

Driven out of Malacca, Sultan Mahmud went to Pahang, but his son Sultan Ahmad went only as far as Muar. The Malays were going to wait their chance to try to take Malacca back again. The Portuguese, however, did not give them time to settle down, and drove them away from Muar. This time they went to Bintang, in the Riau Archipelago to the south of Singapore. This meant that the Malay empire of which Malacca had been the capital had now a new centre on Pulau Bintang. During the time the Portuguese were in Malacca this capital was moved several times between places on Pulau Bintang and the Johore river, for each time it was captured and burnt, either by the Portuguese or by the Achinese.

Malacca had never been able to grow enough food to feed her people, and much of her rice had always come from Java. It became the policy of the Malays to try to cut off these supplies, either by capturing the ships carrying the rice or by turning them back. The Portuguese also had to face five attacks on Malacca itself between 1515 and 1524. They replied by attacking Bintang in 1521, but their attack failed. In 1526, however, they fought their way into the Malay city and destroyed it. The Malays escaped into the jungle, and made their next capital on the Johore

river. Sultan Mahmud went to Kampar, where he died in 1528. For five years or so there was an uneasy peace, which was broken by a misunderstanding. In 1533 the Portuguese found off Malacca a fleet of "27 boats which [the next] Sultan Alauddin of Johore had sent to the help of his 'brother', the Sultan of Perak". The commander of the fleet went to 'pay his respects' to the Governor of Malacca, who replied by sending an ambassador to the Sultan at Johore. This ambassador was taken to be a spy, and killed. The Portuguese replied by executing a Malay living in Malacca. Two years later a Portuguese fleet sailed up the Johore river to attack the Malays' capital. They could not reach it in their boats, so they landed their troops and bombarded the fort. While the Malays stayed inside their fort they were safe, but they came out to attack the Portuguese, who defeated them. They then left the fort, with all their belongings, to the Portuguese, who burnt it. The next year they had to attack a new fort on the Johore river because of the 'piracy' of the Malays. This sound defeat made Sultan Alauddin make peace with the Portuguese. The terms were so good that for a short time he made friends with them, and moved his capital to Muar.

In this twenty-five years or so since the Portuguese had taken Malacca many traders were trying to find other ports so that they would not have to call there. In the north of Sumatra this helped the tiny state of Achin, or Acheh, and traders went there, making the Sultan rich and powerful. The Portuguese first came up against them in 1522, when the Raja of Pedir went to Malacca to ask for Portuguese help—his country had been invaded by the Achinese. When the Portuguese wanted to 'protect' Pasai as well the Achinese drove them out of both Pasai and Pedir.

Having made himself the master of northern Sumatra, the Sultan of Acheh attacked the kingdom of Aru in 1539. A princess of Aru went to Johore to ask for the help of the Malays. The Sultan of Johore married the princess, and promised his help. The next year, 1540, a fleet was made up with the help of the Sultans of Perak and Siak, and after a great naval victory over the Achinese, Aru was freed, and became part of the Johore empire. From this time Acheh and Johore were deadly enemies—so

much so that Johore would rather help the Portuguese than join with the Achinese to drive out the Europeans.

Thus there were three main Powers in the Straits—the Portuguese, the Achinese, and the Johore Malays. They began what has been called 'the Triangular War', which lasted roughly until 1640. It was really a trade war, in which each of the three Powers was trying to destroy the other two, so that all the trade could go to the winner. As time went on the Achinese gained in strength, and their attacks on Malacca were more deadly than those of Johore.

The first attack on Malacca by the Achinese appears to have been in 1537. From this time onward all we seem to be reading is of attacks by the Achinese and the Johore Malays separately on Malacca. The crushing defeat of the Achinese by Johore, Perak, and Siak in 1540 kept them quiet until 1547, when an Achinese fleet arrived one night at Malacca, but only the leader landed. He returned to his ship when the Portuguese were warned by their geese that they were about to be attacked. The Portuguese felt very angry that an enemy could land and be away before a shot could be fired, but they did not even have enough men in the fortress to send them out to fight the Achinese. St Francis Xavier (1506–52), who was in Malacca at the time, was able to get some merchants to send out some ships, and said that two warships would arrive to help them. After quite a long time of waiting without news of any kind the ships returned bringing news of their victory.

A serious attack was made by Johore, Perak, and Pahang on Malacca in 1551. It was stopped only when the Portuguese either sent fleets to attack the home ports of Johore, Perak, and Pahang, or spread a rumour that they were attacking them. The Malays had captured the suburbs of the city and bombarded its walls.

From 1551 until 1564 there appears to have been no fighting on a large scale. In 1564 the Sultan of Acheh burnt Johore Lama and took Aru. In 1568 he attacked Malacca, but he was forced to give up this attack when a fleet arrived from Johore to help the Portuguese. In 1570 the Achinese burnt villages on the Johore river, and attacked Malacca as well. Three years later they made

another attack on the Portuguese. Meanwhile a Portuguese fleet had attacked the Achinese in 1570 and destroyed a large number of their ships.

The Achinese found an ally in the Javanese kingdom of Japarra, at that time ruled by a queen. They took it in turns to attack Malacca, hoping to make things so bad for the Portuguese that they would have a chance of success. They timed their arrival so well that the Portuguese were almost helpless. Three ships tried to get through the Achinese fleet to bring in supplies, but they were all captured. In the fortress there were only 200 Portuguese fit to fight when they used up the last of their ammunition. A determined attack would have made the city Achinese, but they thought the sudden complete silence from the fort a cunning plan to fool them, so they just got into their boats and went home.

The Achinese were ready to try again by 1582, and after a naval battle at Malacca went on to Johore. The Sultan asked the Portuguese for help, with which the Achinese were driven off. This resulted for a short time in friendship between Johore and the Portuguese, and a Portuguese officer was stationed at Johore, where the Portuguese allowed trading. This officer was withdrawn after only two years because traders flocked to Johore, and Customs duties that should have been paid at Malacca were going to the Sultan. To stop the Portuguese using the passage between Johore and Singapore the Sultan blocked it, but they found a new way through the islands. In 1586 the Johore Malays attacked Malacca, and this time they were able to get the Minangkabaus in Nanning and Rembau to help them. The next year, in January, the Sultan's men attacked again, and in June the Portuguese counter-attacked at Johore Lama, which they destroyed after taking away a great deal of booty.

Meanwhile in Acheh the old Sultan died, and his heir was killed and the throne taken by his guardian. He abandoned the attack planned against Malacca in order to make himself secure on his throne, so for a few years there was a lull in the fighting.

4. THE STRAITS OF MALACCA, 1600–41

For nearly a hundred years the Portuguese had been able to keep to themselves all their knowledge of the trade routes of the Indian Ocean and beyond. They were so short of men, however, that they often gave employment to sailors of other nations. One of these, a Dutchman named Van Linschoten, collected all the information he could about sailing and trading in Asian waters, and when he returned home this was published in two books in 1595 and 1596. They were translated into English in 1598.

The spices that the Portuguese brought to Lisbon, their main port, were bought by Dutch merchants, who then sold them in all the countries of Western Europe. During this time, too, the King

of Spain was at war with the Dutch, who wanted to be independent of his rule. In 1580 the King of Portugal died, and King Philip of Spain was able to make himself its next king. When he closed the port of Lisbon to the Dutch traders in 1594 it only made them want to sail to the East and collect the spices where they were grown, instead of buying them from the Portuguese. The same year as the first book of Van Linschoten was published (1595) the first Dutchmen sailed for the East.

English sailors had reached South-east Asia even before the Dutch. After Francis Drake had arrived back in 1580 with a treaty with the Sultan of Ternate, Thomas Cavendish followed him. He too sailed westward through the Straits of Magellan. The first proper expedition, with three ships, commanded by George Raymond and James Lancaster, sailed for the East by way of Africa in 1591. Raymond's ship was lost on the way, but Lancaster reached Sumatra and the Straits. There he did not attempt to trade, but attacked Portuguese shipping. He lost so many men through disease that he could not work his ship properly on the return voyage, and he was lucky to get back to England at all.

In 1600 the English merchants were able to get a Charter from Queen Elizabeth I to form an East India Company. The Dutch Company was not formed until two years later, in 1602. Before this a number of small companies were formed in Holland, and between 1595 and 1601 they sent out fifteen fleets, totalling 65 ships. The United East India Company was formed in Holland to stop these small companies competing with each other for cargoes of spices, which only had the result of putting up prices.

The Dutch ships made directly for Java and the islands where spices were grown. They wanted the whole trade for themselves, so it is not surprising that they began a bitter fight with the Portuguese. In this they were helped by the weakness of the Portuguese, their corrupt government in Malacca and elsewhere in South-east Asia, their continued hatred for every Muslim, whom they labelled 'Moor', and also the fact that their ships' commanders would not obey orders not to plunder all ships other than their own. At this time too the Dutch were far more efficient,

not only at trading, but also at fighting. As they were perhaps the richest nation in Europe, they also had better equipment and ships.

Although an agreement was signed in Europe to share the trade between England and Holland in the East, the Dutch soon showed they had no intention of allowing the English any share at all. As time went on between 1602 and the 'massacre' of Amboina in 1623, the Dutch deliberately began to force out the English from South-east Asia, until after this date the only English trading-post left was at Bantam, which lasted until 1684, although the King of Macassar remained friendly, and allowed a factory there as well, until the Dutch conquered his country in 1667. The English were forced to withdraw from South-east Asian waters, and set up new factories in India.

Although the Dutch did very well in taking control of the trade in spices at the eastern end of the Malay Archipelago—which they called Indonesia—they did not succeed at all in the Straits of Malacca. At Acheh the leader of their first expedition (in 1596) offended the Achinese so much that they killed him in 1599, and kept his brother in prison for two years. Although after this the Achinese traded with the Dutch, they never became very friendly. At Johore the Dutch protected the Malays against the Portuguese several times between 1600 and 1610. The Dutch Admiral Matalief made a treaty with the Sultan in 1606 by which the Malays would help the Dutch to take Malacca. The Dutch did attack Malacca, but the Malay fleet stopped at Muar to see what happened. The arrival of other Portuguese ships made the Dutch give up the idea of taking Malacca for the time being. After this they asked the Sultan of Johore for permission to build a fort at Johore to protect it against the Portuguese, but the Sultan refused them twice, in 1609 and 1614. The Dutch were doing so well at Amboina, Banda, and the other Spice Islands that they began to leave the Straits alone. The Sultan of Johore was forced to sign a treaty with the Portuguese in 1610.

The Sultan of Acheh had by this time (1610) made himself secure on his throne, and was nearly ready to make his try to conquer the Malay states on both sides of the Straits. He began

in 1612 by conquering Aru (Deli); the next year he captured and destroyed Batu Sawar and took a great number of Johore Malay prisoners to Acheh. He sent Raja Bongsu, the brother of the Sultan of Johore, back to Johore to rule it as part of the new Achinese empire, but in 1615 the Achinese attacked Johore again. Perhaps this attack made Raja Bongsu sorry that he did not let the Dutch build him a fort. The Achinese then conquered Pahang in 1617, Kedah and Perak in 1620, Nias in 1624. When they attacked Malacca in 1629 the Johore Malays went to help the Portuguese drive them off. In 1635 a fleet went to Pahang to punish its ruler for helping the Portuguese, but in 1636 Sultan Makhota Alam, who had built this Achinese empire, died. His wars had not been won without casualties, and great numbers of his men had been killed in them. Within a few years all that was left of this empire was perhaps Kedah and Perak, for after the Dutch had captured Malacca they looked on these states as belonging to Acheh, at least for a time. However, it is doubtful if Acheh had any real power over these states.

5. THE DUTCH CAPTURE OF MALACCA, 1641

One reason for the way that Achinese power faded may have been the loss of trade that went through the Straits. The Dutch went directly to the places where the spices were grown, and then set up their own collecting centre in Java, at Batavia. But the object of removing the Portuguese completely from South-east Asia was never forgotten. The Dutch Governor in Batavia said:

> We have from time to time seriously considered the capture of Malacca from the Portuguese, our hereditary enemies, not only for the expansion of trade, but to strengthen our influence and prestige over the neighbouring Indian monarchs and princes.

They began to blockade the Straits, and with the help of the Orang Selat (sea gipsies) were able to make things very difficult for the Portuguese, capturing ship after ship. The Dutch Governor reported in 1636: "We are in possession of the waterways of Malacca"; in 1637: "We intend to tighten our blockade of

Malacca"; "Malacca is so closely guarded that very few ships can pass through except very small boats."

It is clear that the Dutch never fully understood that Acheh and Johore were deadly enemies, because the rulers of both were asked to help them to take Malacca. As the Sultan of Johore agreed, it was obvious that the Achinese would not.

The Dutch carefully collected what information they could about the fortress:

> Reports as to the conditions of the garrison at Malacca prompt us to suggest . . . that the fortress can be captured if it is stormed with a force of 1,000 resolute Europeans.

The Dutch Council in Batavia took the decision to take Malacca in May of 1640. They arrived at Malacca at the beginning of June, but did not begin their campaign to take Malacca until the beginning of August. They found

> The garrison consisted of 260 men . . . but the Portuguese mestics and native inhabitants, in all about 2–3,000 formed the best fighting men for the defence. Owing to its excellent fortifications and its strong garrison the city was unconquerable for any Indian prince. Only a very strong European army would have a chance of forcing it.

The Dutch commander soon found that he would not be able to take the city by storm. His men quickly drove the Portuguese into the fortress and began bombarding the walls. The commander had already been warned about making a quick conquest:

> A long siege and the prevailing sickness are liable to claim from us more victims than the enemy would. It is imperative that you make haste and attack the enemy vigorously.

The Johore Malays had kept their promises, and had arrived in good time to help with the siege. They did no actual fighting, but helped with the building of defensive positions and bridges, and joyfully destroyed Portuguese crops and orchards; as the Dutch commander reported:

> The Malays are rendering us a great service in this expedition by destroying all the enemy's paddy, rice, fruits and vegetables and also

by closing in the sea coast with their 5 shallops and 15 to 16 prauws to prevent anything going in or out. It is true the Malays are not good soldiers, but they are good at keeping watch. It is due to their vigilance that the repeated attempts of the enemy's "jelias" to get through have failed. (November 6th, 1640.)

The second commander died at the end of December, and a third took over. The siege continued. The Portuguese, now in a very bad way, tried to get five *jelias* and seven other small ships away to get supplies. The seven small boats got through, but two of the *jelias* were stopped. The other three got away as well, but in fact the loss to the Portuguese of 100 fighting men made the Dutch at last make up their minds to storm the fortress. They increased their bombardment, and very early on the morning of January 14th 1641 they attacked. By ten o'clock the city was theirs. The Malays did not take part in this attack.

During this last furious attack the Portuguese commander offered to surrender if the lives of the people remaining in Malacca were spared, and they were allowed to leave for Goa, taking some of their things with them.

So ended the Portuguese rule in Malacca, which had lasted from 1511 until 1641, nearly 130 years.

CHAPTER FOUR

Malaya, 1641–1786

1. THE DUTCH IN MALACCA

Immediately they had completed the taking of Malacca the Dutch set to work to repair the walls of the fort, and to find out just what they now had. The Portuguese commander died a few days after the capture, and the Dutch buried him with every mark of respect. The agreement to let those Portuguese leave the city who wished to do so was kept, and a shipload of them with their possessions set sail. An official was sent from Batavia to examine the city of Malacca and report. He was very angry when he learnt that the Portuguese had been allowed to leave with some of their valuables and their slaves:

> The vanquished enemy was quite thoughtlessly allowed full liberty against all customs of war. . . . The wealthiest and the most intelligent prisoners were allowed to sail to Negapatam in a yacht. . . . In this way they carried off more than 100,000 reals worth of gold and jewellery, besides the best slaves of both sexes, artists and musicians, in fact the best things in Malacca. . . . This foolish act robbed the East India Company of at least four to five tons of gold.

He was now very angry with the Malays, who before were "a great help to us by their loyalty and courage", and had done "a great deal of damage to the enemy by pillaging and plundering everywhere and carrying away fruits and cattle". He says, in conclusion, "From a well-built city, cultivated land, and more than 20,000 inhabitants it has been reduced to a heap of ruins, a desert with very few inhabitants."

To rule the city the Dutch appointed a Governor, who was helped by a Council. The Council was made up of the Chief Merchant, who was also second in command and in charge of

the trade; the Captain of the Forces; the Merchant and Shahbandar who took charge of the Customs and goods coming and going from the port; the Merchant and Fiscal, who was in charge of finance; the Equipage Master, who was in charge of all equipment and supplies; the Merchant and Head of the Pay Office, and finally the Secretary. Other officials included the Guardians of the Orphans, the Commissioners for Matrimonial Matters, and the Governors of the Hospital. The lesser officials included the Cashier, the Licence Master, the Shipkeeper, Storekeeper, Assistant Garrison and Pay Office Book-keeper, and the Master of the Trading Warehouse.

The Dutch followed the Portuguese policy of making all ships passing by call in at Malacca to pay harbour dues and Customs duties. They also appointed a leader, or *capitan*, for each of the Asian communities in the city, and one for the Portuguese who had decided to stay in Malacca. One of the things that they did not like at all was the idea of the numbers of Christian slaves and servants who had escaped from Malacca during the siege, and who were caught by the Malays and sold as slaves in Rembau and Nanning and other places. They also wanted the Malays to give back all the guns that they had taken from Malacca during and after the siege.

The Dutch tried, whenever they came into contact with people in South-east Asia, to sort out their relations by means of a treaty. This is certainly true of all their dealings with the Malay States, and with their 'vassals' in the land they took from the Portuguese:

> The chief village, Nanning, is subject to Malacca together with the neighbouring villages or hamlets, Melecque, Perling, Inar Cammoy, Cherenaputu, Batampa, and Sabang about six miles up the river in the valleys there lying between the hills.

With the representatives of the Malays and Minangkabaus living near Nanning, they made "articles of agreement" quite quickly in August of 1641.

Until 1644 the Malays were 'reasonably obedient', but somehow never made the payments due to the Dutch. At this time the

Dutch Governor visited them to try to stop some fighting that was going on, and also to try to get from them Christian slaves and the guns. The people of Rembau were asked to give back "stolen goods as well as arms and Christian slaves". They said they would, but again put off doing it. The Captain and Shahbandar with six men were sent as collectors, but on the way they were ambushed and all killed before help could reach them. Those sent to help were also ambushed, but were able to get away. Then the Governor marched in with the rest of his men, and took his treasure-chest with him. He too was ambushed, and got away only with difficulty, having to leave his treasure behind.

The Dutch now learnt that there was no profit in being at war with their Malay and Minangkabau neighbours or 'vassals'. They hoped to get people to clear the jungle near Malacca to grow crops and fruit to feed its people. But now the Malays raided the outskirts of the city, particularly those gardens where a few people might be working, taking all they could catch to sell as slaves and killing any they could not carry away safely. As Bort tells us:

> Up to that time [1645–46] the enemy had suffered so little annoyance that they went on robbing and plundering every day both in the jungle and along the shore, carrying off our people and their slaves and using them in their own service or selling them elsewhere. If they were not able to take alive, but had it in their power to kill, they did.

In February of 1646 a large force was made up by the Dutch, which got to Nanning, burnt the houses, spoilt the padi fields, and cut down coconut palms to make a stockade. They were just about to go back to Malacca because their supplies of food had been finished when the leaders of the Malays gave in and made peace. In October 1646 leaders went to Malacca and were 'pardoned', and some things were given back—". . . only 81 reals weight of silver plate, 79 small gold buttons set with small diamonds, 38 gold buttons, 2 old bloodstained hats, and 2 old bloodstained ragged pairs of breeches [trousers], 270 gantangs of paddy and 22½ reals in cash." The Dutch tried to make them give more, but they said that there were no slaves or other goods

to be given, and they were too poor to pay money instead. For about eleven years there was peace. War started again when the Minangkabaus living near Malacca made a Sumatran Minangkabau prince their Yang di-Pertuan, and he was insulted by the Dutch Governor. Once again they attacked the outskirts of Malacca and forced the Dutch to stay inside the fortress until help came. In the end this Raja of the Minangkabaus was killed, and peace of a sort made. No doubt they did not give up their slave-raiding and kidnapping:

> These people of Nanning and Rembau have always been suspected of taking part in this kidnapping. They receive the kidnapped men, buy them for a small sum, and then sell them again for higher prices, or if we write to them they refuse to give them back except for a large sum, pretending that they have met the thieves and paid them that amount. The men of Nanning put the blame on those of Rembau and those of Rembau on the men of Nanning. We believe that they are working together.

To try to stop this kidnapping the Dutch kept a jungle patrol.

As time went on the Dutch allowed the Malays and Minangkabaus living in Malacca territory to pay small sums of money and amounts of rice and betel in recognition of their authority. Land was leased to Dutch residents, who allowed Chinese middlemen to 'farm' it—they paid a fixed 'rent' and then were allowed to collect as much in rents from the Malays living on the estate as they could. The question of kidnapping was probably never solved fully.

2. DUTCH RELATIONS WITH THE MALAY STATES

So far as the Dutch were concerned, Batavia had become their collecting centre for spices and trade with the eastern end of the Archipelago, which they called 'Indonesia'. Malacca became a backwater, since their ships used the Sunda Straits and sailed due west for Cape Town. They had decided to take Malacca because of the very valuable tin that was found in Malaya, and also, of course, to drive out the Portuguese. They had found that for

The STRAITS of MALACCA
1511 — 1786

trade in Asian waters, there was nothing, apart from precious metals such as gold and silver, that they could bring from Europe to exchange for South-east Asian produce. This meant that they must take over the carrying trade of Asia as far as they could. This trade must pass through the Straits of Malacca. They wanted the cotton cloths of India to trade for tin and spices.

From 1639 the Dutch had traded with Perak, having first made a treaty with the Achinese. In 1651 the factory they had set up at the mouth of the Perak river (to make sure they got the tin they had been promised) was attacked, and the traders in it were all killed. War followed between Perak and the Dutch, but was soon ended, and in 1655 the factory was rebuilt. It was quickly seen that the Malays hated its presence, and the Dutch gave up the idea of having a factory, and started a naval blockade instead. War broke out again, and this time it lasted until 1659, when another agreement was made. The Sultan agreed to sell tin to the Dutch for 31¼ reals a bahara. The price the Dutch paid for tin if they fetched it was 30 reals a bahara. They had worked out the amount of money they had lost when their factory in Perak had been destroyed in 1651. The extra 1¼ reals would go towards paying off the sum of money the Dutch said the Sultan owed them (see p. 64).

The Malays and Achinese were not keen on selling tin to the Dutch, because they could get much better prices from anyone else: Indians, Arabs, Persians, Portuguese, and British. The treaties the Dutch had with Acheh, Perak, and Kedah gave them half the tin mined in the last two countries, all the tin from Bangary, but at Ujong Salang they were not given any better terms than other traders. They also expected to have all the tin from Sungai Ujong and Klang, at that time subject to Johore.

To make sure that their treaties with Kedah and Perak were kept, the Dutch blockaded the coast, using Pulau Dinding (Pangkor?) as their base. The reasons for the blockade were to stop Kedah and Perak trading with 'foreigners', to show the Malay Rulers how strong the Dutch were, to keep all Portuguese and Moorish ships from their ports, even if they had passes, and

to make ships already there pay Malacca dues. In Kedah the blockade ships' commanders were told to take out half of the tin found in ships and pay for it at 40 reals a bahara. They had to stop ships entering or leaving to make sure they were not carrying any tin. "All vessels must be closely but politely and not rashly examined." When tin was found up the Siak river the Dutch made an agreement with the rulers concerned to help them open up mines and to buy all the tin produced.

The Dutch allowed Portuguese, Indian, and English ships to go to Malacca so that they could get the harbour and Customs duties. They quickly found that even if they blockaded the port against Asian traders (as they did at Acheh), Europeans could not be kept out. If, however, they did not blockade a port, then neither they nor other Europeans could compete with Asian traders.

Sir Richard Winstedt has left us a neat summary of Dutch policy: to make all ships passing through the Straits of Malacca call at the port and pay dues, whether they wanted to trade or not; to collect taxes from the people of Nanning, whom they thought of as their subjects; and to have the sole right to trade in tin and any other really valuable trade goods in Malacca. Their attempt to follow the Portuguese and have this monopoly failed because of competition from other European and Asian traders. The goods were tin, spices, pepper, sandalwood, and cloth.

The Dutch also wanted to make Malacca self-supporting in food if they possibly could. Their policy failed because the prices they paid for all goods were too low, and the prices they charged when selling were too high. The cost of keeping up the fortress at Malacca and elsewhere in Indonesia was far more than the profits they made, and even before 1700 private trading, bribery, and corruption among officials caused the Dutch East India Company to lose a great deal of money every year.

3. THE MALAY STATES TO 1700

(*a*) *Johore*. We have noted how the Sultan of Johore helped the Dutch to take Malacca in 1640–41, and for a time they were

friendly. A new treaty was made between them in 1642, by which the Malays agreed to return the slaves captured when they had been sent away from Malacca by the Portuguese during the siege, and all Malay ships would call at Malacca for passes before going on to Perak and other northern states. The Dutch noted that Javanese ships went to Johore to trade in pepper. They wanted them to go to Malacca instead, so that they could have their rice.

The Dutch found it just as difficult as the Portuguese had done to stop the Malay States from trading. In the *Day Book* that was kept at Batavia they wrote that trading at Johore was increasing in 1661, and that by the end of 1663 trading in tin was being carried on in spite of the agreements they had. Two years later the Dutch decided to stop the Portuguese from trading at Johore, and noted that Johore had made peace with Acheh. When the Sultan of Pahang died the Sultan of Johore made it part of his kingdom after a number of raids. His Bendahara ruled it for him, as later the Temenggong ruled at Singapore.

From about 1663 Jambi and Johore became enemies because of a broken marriage contract, and by 1670 war had started. In 1673 the Jambinese made a sudden attack on Johore and captured first Bengkalis and then Batu Sawar, which they destroyed. The Sultan of Johore was forced to go to Pahang.

While the Johore people were at Pahang the Sultan and the Raja Muda both died. The next Sultan began his reign at the end of 1677, and made a new capital at Riau. Trade grew there and he began to collect a fleet so that he could attack Jambi. To make sure of victory he asked the Bugis under their leader Daing Mangika to help him, but in 1679 peace was made, and in 1680 the Jambinese sent a fleet to Johore to give back the treasure they had taken in 1673. The Bugis, angry because they wanted more in payment than they had been given, captured this Jambinese fleet and carried off the people in it. Shortly after this, in 1682, the Sultan moved his capital back to the Johore river, at Johore Lama. After his death in 1685 the next ruler, Sultan Mahmud, was too young to rule for himself, so that the Laksamana was made Regent. Power so went to his head that the Laksamana became impossible, and in 1688 he was forced to leave

Johore. He went to Trengganu. Sultan Mahmud was the last of the line of Rulers directly descended from the Sultans of Malacca.

The Dutch made a new treaty with Johore in 1689. As always, the advantages were all in their favour, and if its terms had been kept Johore's trade would have been taken over completely. The Sultan protested to Batavia in 1691, asking for the treaty to be cancelled. It is very doubtful if it was ever kept at all.

In the period 1641 to 1700 the Dutch were rightly doubtful of the friendship of Johore. They wanted the Malays to pay import and export duties at Malacca, but generally excused the nobles. They had given orders that if a Johore ship was found to be carrying tin, half of it must be taken. If the captain then went to Malacca to sell all his tin to the Dutch he would be paid the Malacca price of 40 reals per bahara, but if he would not, then he would be paid the 'country' price of 30 reals. In 1663 the Dutch had noted that much higher prices were paid for tin by other buyers, "56 reals or more per bahara [which is more] than the Company paid". Finally, the Dutch wanted to make all ships from the east go to Malacca instead of Johore.

(*b*) *Perak*. In 1638 Barretto de Resende noted that:

> From Malacca to Perak is a distance of forty leagues of coast to the east. The King of this place was for many years a vassal of His Majesty [King of Portugal] and paid in tribute a large quantity of tin. Three years ago [1634 or 1635?] 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.
>
> There are great tin mines in his kingdom. . . . The greater part of it formerly came to Malacca, but now not a third part is sent there. The rest is taken by the Dutch to Acheh and thence they carry it to India with great profit.

We have already noted the Dutch point of view on trade with Perak, and that they wanted all the tin produced. There is no doubt that the Malays on the other hand signed the 'treaties' partly from good manners and partly to get rid of the Dutch officials who were determined to have them signed. The Malays so hated the idea of the Dutch factory at the mouth of the Perak river that in 1651 they raided it and killed all the men they caught

there. Even before this time it is reasonable to think that they had done all they could to find ways to take their tin and other goods and sell to other traders.

The Dutch, naturally, were very angry at this, and were soon back at Perak in force demanding new treaties, which they got, in 1653 and 1655. They made the Malays promise to pay compensation. On every bahara of tin handed to the Dutch 1¼ reals would be taken off the debt of 50,000 reals. They tried rebuilding their factory, but soon saw that it would do them no good, so they decided to use a naval blockade instead. This simply meant that Malay traders had to dodge the Dutch patrols, with the penalty of getting less for their tin if they were caught.

The damage that the Achinese had done to Perak when trying to gain control of the Straits had been forgotten. From 1660 it is clear that most of the tin went to Acheh. In spite of this, the Dutch recorded that in 1663 they had more tin from Perak than from all other places put together.

In his Report of 1678, Governor Bort of Malacca put in his instructions to the Dutch blockading force at Perak:

> You must diligently endeavour to prevent private individuals from getting even the smallest part of the tin.
> [and]
> above all take good care that the people of Perak or any other people with whom we are at peace, or at any rate not openly at war are not treated rudely, insolently, or vexatiously.

(*c*) *Kedah*. As with Perak, the Dutch tried to control the export of tin and other goods from Kedah, but again the treaties were never kept, and the blockade of Perak was to include Kedah as well. It was not nearly so successful as the Perak blockade because Kedah was that much farther away from Malacca, and it was easier to dodge the patrols. Traders from the West traded openly there, and the Dutch found that there was very little they could do to stop them. In 1642 the Sultan of Kedah had agreed that he would not allow 'Moors' to trade at Kedah, and would make them fetch passes from Malacca; he would sell half his tin to the Dutch Company, and allow a Dutch accountant to check the

output. In spite of this agreement the Sultan "sent great quantities of tin to Coromandel and Java", and allowed merchants to carry cloth overland to Patani, Ligor, and Pahang.

The Dutch tried to blockade the coast of Kedah, but they reported that "the Moors crept past Dutch cruisers". From 1654 to 1657 they did have a factory in Kedah for trading in tin, gold, and elephants, but when in 1658 nine members of the Dutch yacht *Hoorn*'s crew were killed the blockade was started again. And once again all that happened was that traders crept past the Dutch ships, often landing their goods away from the main river, and having them carried by elephants and buffaloes to market.

The Dutch orders were typical. Captains of the blockading fleet were ordered to take half or all the tin found in ships leaving Kedah, and pay for it at the Dutch price. If the captain had a pass only a third of the tin was to be taken. One of the ways Asian traders beat the blockade was to hire an English ship or crew and sail under the British flag. The blockade was kept up, but did not stop a large trade in cloth between Malays and Javanese. Finally the Dutch decided not to stop 'Moor' traders, as they called them, even if they could,

> since the English, Portuguese, French, and Danes, principally the first named, would in time of peace frequent Kedah so much the more, whereas since the Moors are there, they mostly stay away, knowing that, as regards the trade in cloth in competition with them, they like ourselves, have no chance.

4. MALAYA, 1700–86. THE BUGIS

When studying Malaya's history in this period, wherever we turn we find the Bugis playing a great part. They seem to be everywhere, especially in the western states, from Kedah in the north to Riau in the south. They came from Macassar, in the island of Celebes, where they were famous as traders and very tough fighters. By 1603 they had been converted to Islam, and for a time their home port became an important collecting centre for trade and traders. Once the Dutch had gained power they could not allow a port such as Macassar. They conquered it, and

ruined its trade. This forced the Bugis to go back to the 'ancient and honourable' occupation of piracy. They had learnt to use guns and body armour from the Portuguese, and their skill in fighting made many a South-east Asian ruler call on them for help in war.

By 1681 Bugis settlements had been made on the Selangor and Klang rivers. From there they could prey on shipping in the Straits, or trade in tin and other goods. Already they had taken part in a quarrel between Johore and Jambi. We have noted that the Sultan of Johore had asked them in 1677 to help him in his quarrel with the Jambinese. It is after this quarrel had been settled that the Bugis settlements at Selangor and Klang were noticed.

For over thirty years (1680–1717) we hear very little of the Bugis. From then on they were brought into any struggle for power that took place. Raja Kechil of Siak asked them in 1717 to help him take Johore, but did not wait for them to arrive before he attacked and made himself master of the state. This started the enmity between them that lasted for the rest of Raja Kechil's life. Whenever the Bugis helped a raja to make himself Sultan of his state the rival could count on help from Raja Kechil. In 1721–22, the Bugis drove Raja Kechil out of Riau and installed as ruler the son of the last Johore Sultan. One of the five leaders of the Bugis married the sister of the new Sultan, and another became the first of the Bugis Yang di-Pertuan Mudas (Viceroys) of Johore. It became quickly obvious that the Sultan was ruler only in name, and that real power was in the hands of the Viceroy. The agreement drawn up between them puts the matter quite neatly: "Sultan Sulaiman is established in authority over the kingdom of Johore by Raja Tua (Daing Manompo) and the Raja Muda (Daing Merewah)."

Hardly had matters been settled in Johore when the Sultan of Kedah died. The elder of two half-brothers immediately asked the Bugis to help him become Sultan. In return they would be paid 15 baharas of silver, and their leader (Daing Parani) would marry the new Sultan's sister. The marriage took place, but the Bugis were paid only 3 of the 15 baharas of silver promised. The

other brother then wrote asking Raja Kechil to help him drive out the Bugis and become Sultan. This led to a bitter war that lasted for two years (1724–26), which ruined the trade of Kedah, and in which Daing Parani was killed. In the end the Bugis won and Raja Kechil had to return to Siak.

The fighting between Raja Kechil and the Bugis went on: in Riau, which Raja Kechil raided several times, and then in Perak, where the Bugis drove out Siak and Kedah chiefs who had made the Sultan give them high offices of State. The Bugis were back in Perak again about 1742 to help a raja make himself Sultan.

The Dutch had watched the power of the Bugis grow in western Malaya, and decided that it was time they acted. By 1745 they were competing for the trade in tin, and had established themselves at Selangor and at Johore. The Malays also were worried by the power of the Bugis. From this time we can see the Dutch and the Malays, particularly in Johore, trying to break the power of the Bugis. The first step was taken by the Dutch, who made a new treaty with the Sultan of Johore in which they agreed to help him when he was troubled by his neighbours. In return the Dutch were given Siak (now, of course, independent of Johore), and the Sultan agreed to keep all treaties with the Dutch when he had regained control of Selangor, Klang, and Linggi.

Raja Kechil of Siak died in 1745, leaving two sons fighting for the throne. One, it seems, was helped by the Bugis (and became ruler) and the other by the Sultan of Johore. The fighting for control of Siak was not liked by the Dutch, because it stopped trading. In 1754 they made a new treaty with the Sultan of Johore, giving them their usual rights of trading whenever the Sultan regained control of Siak. The Dutch then promptly restored this control by driving the Raja, who was helped by the Bugis, out of Siak the next year (1755). Finally, in 1756, the Sultan of Johore went to Malacca to make a new treaty with the Dutch. Siak was to be ruled by a Regent, "who would study the [Dutch] Company's interests": no ships could go to Siak without the Sultan's pass; the Company and the Sultan would share the cloth monopoly in Siak; the Company's ships would be free of tolls everywhere in

Johore; the Company was to have a tin monopoly in Selangor, Klang, and Linggi (at that time controlled by the Bugis); and no Europeans would be allowed to trade unless they had a pass from the Company.

This treaty was followed by a Bugis siege of Malacca, which the Dutch broke up only after several months of fighting. We can understand the rivalry between the Dutch and the Bugis over trade, and the very bad feeling over the Dutch capture of Siak. The Dutch followed this up with two more treaties with the Sultan of Johore. In the first the Sultan gave them Rembau and Linggi (controlled by the Bugis) and in the second "nine countries" and Linggi—over all of which he had no further control; he would give no power to Daing Kemboja, his Bugis Viceroy, and the Dutch promised not to interfere with the Muslim religion. Both of these treaties were signed in 1757, and in 1758 the Bugis also made a treaty with the Dutch, and gave them a monopoly in tin.

The power of the Bugis was almost ended in Johore, for the Sultan had asked for a Dutch force to be left at Riau to protect him in 1758. Daing Kemboja sent his nephew Raja Haji to demand that he, Daing Kemboja, be asked to return to Riau as Viceroy (Yang di-Pertuan Muda). The Sultan, now a very old man, gave in, and at the end of 1759 made a new agreement with the Bugis. Early in 1760 Daing Kemboja was asked to return to Riau, and shortly after the Sultan died. The Bugis soon showed who was master by forcing the Malays to accept a baby prince as their new Sultan in 1761. The Dutch, however, had shown the Bugis their power, and until he died in 1777, Daing Kemboja kept on good terms with them.

Raja Haji. Like Hang Tuah, Raja Haji has become almost a legendary figure. He was the greatest fighter of his day. Every raja wanted him on his side if he went to war. The Raja of Jambi got him by inviting him to visit him, giving him a title and marrying him to his daughter. Then he helped the Sultan of Indragiri to drive out some Minangkabau invaders, and again his reward was the hand of the Sultan's daughter in marriage.

In 1770 Raja Haji was visiting his brother, now the Sultan of

Selangor. They remembered that in 1723 or 1724 the Sultan of Kedah had promised their uncle Daing Parani 15 baharas of silver, but had actually paid him only 3. They decided to ask the new Sultan to settle the debt. They collected an army and set out, but visited the Sultan of Perak first. When they entered the Perak river they anchored opposite the fort that the Sultan had allowed the Dutch to put up in 1747, when he had signed an agreement to sell them all his tin. After a short stay in Perak they went on to Kedah.

In Kedah Raja Haji asked the Sultan for the 12 baharas of silver due, and when the poor Sultan could not pay drove him out of his capital. The Sultan went to Perlis, and in the next year (1771) he offered a trading station on the river Kedah to Francis Light if only the British would drive out the Bugis for him.

When Daing Kemboja died in 1777 Raja Haji was at Pontianak, where he was fighting for its raja. He immediately went to Riau, and there forced the Malays to make him Yam-tuan Muda. From then until 1782, Raja Haji kept the peace with the Dutch. In that year the Dutch captured an English East India Company ship near Riau, and refused to give him a share of the captured cargo. Angry at this, Raja Haji with the help of Selangor and Rembau began attacking in the Straits. To stop this the Dutch sent a fleet to Riau and blockaded the port. In January of 1784 the Dutch began to try to capture Riau, when suddenly their Admiral's ship blew up. This caused them to panic, and call off the attack: the fleet was ordered back to Malacca.

In August of 1784 the Dutch conquered Selangor, and the Sultan went to Pahang. By October the Dutch were in Riau, where they forced the Bugis to leave. They finally defeated the Bugis in a battle at sea. Sultan Mahmud of Johore made a new treaty with the Dutch, who said that the kingdom and port of Riau had by right of war become Dutch property, but the Malays could have it under certain conditions: a Dutch force would be stationed on Riau; there would be no Bugis Yam-tuan Muda, and all Bugis must leave unless they were born there; the Company was to pay no tolls anywhere in Johore; all ships going from Pahang and Johore past Malacca must call in to get a pass from

the Dutch; the Sultan was to help put down piracy, allow no other Europeans to trade, send all tin and spices to Malacca, and sell them to the Dutch at fixed prices. On the death of the Sultan his successor must be approved by the Dutch, and 60,000 dollars prize money should be paid to the Dutch Admiral.

In 1785 the Sultan of Selangor, helped by the Bendahara of Pahang, attacked the fort the Dutch had built in Selangor, and was driven off. They had asked the British for help. The Dutch panicked once again and left their fort hurriedly for no apparent reason, leaving everything behind. They were soon back, however, when they saw that the British would not help the Bugis, and forced the Sultan to sign a treaty promising them all the tin produced.

By 1786, then, the power of the Bugis had been broken in Riau and Johore, and they had really established themselves firmly only at Selangor, where a Bugis Sultan ruled. The effect they had had on western Malaya was really to cause the break-up of the Johore 'empire'. At the beginning of the century, in 1700, Johore could count on being overlord at least in name of most of western Malaya, and of parts of eastern Sumatra, such as Siak. As time went on each state acted as if it was independent. The final touches came when in 1787 the Dutch took control of Riau, in 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles while founding Singapore divided the islands to the south of his new colony from the mainland, and in 1824 the Treaty of London made this division final.

5. NEGRI SEMBILAN (TO 1824)

The story of Negri Sembilan does not fit into tidy sections, as do perhaps the stories of the other states. The name 'Negri Sembilan' has been given to a federation of small states lying roughly between Malacca and Selangor, to which people have moved, mainly from the Minangkabau country of Sumatra. Their history can be traced at least as far back as the great days of Malay Malacca. It also seems clear that the chiefs appointed by the Sultans of Malacca to rule the settlements that were made in Klang, and in what is now Negri Sembilan, are the ancestors of

the *waris*, the families whose sons have the right to be elected as district chiefs.

Settlements of people on the Linggi river and its tributaries which have been the basis of Negri Sembilan can be said to have been made in two stages. (It is impossible to give dates when stage one ended and stage two began.) Stage one settlements can be said to be when, as each was made, the headmen of the new settlements were allowed to join in the election of new chiefs. Stage two would be when the people in new settlements would *not* be allowed to join in the election of territorial chiefs. Here as everywhere else in Malaya the custom was that land belonged to anyone who had the energy to clear it and farm it. The difference would be that the territorial chief of the area would 'hand it over' after a pleasant ceremony. The settlers gave traditional gifts to the 'owners', the local *waris* family, that had nothing to do with the value of the land.

The main differences between Negri Sembilan and the other Malay States is first of all shown in the names. Each of the other states is also the name of a river, at the mouth of which has grown up a centre for the control of the hinterland. No such centre grew up at the mouth of the Linggi river, and in fact the settlements that came into being on its tributaries very largely kept their independence. For a long time there were only four main groupings, each ruled by its district chief (called the Undang), elected from the members of the *waris* family of the district by the leaders of what I have called 'stage one settlements'. The second great difference between Negri Sembilan and the rest of Malaya is that in Negri *adat perpateh* is followed, and everywhere else *adat temenggong*. Simply, *adat perpateh* is the system whereby inheritance goes from mother to daughter, and *adat temenggong* from father to son. When a young man married in Negri he could not marry a girl from a clan which had the same ancestress as his own clan. When he did marry, for nearly all practical purposes he left his own clan and joined that of his wife.

In Chapter 4 we have seen how the Dutch had not got on at all well with their Minangkabau 'vassals' living at Nanning between 1641 and 1678, when Governor Bort left Malacca. At that

time the region where Minangkabaus were living was part of the kingdom of Johore. By 1700 they found that they had new neighbours in what is now Selangor.

We have already seen how the power of Johore began to lessen after 1700, and by 1745 it became clear that Johore could no longer control any part of Malaya north of Malacca. In a treaty with the Dutch in 1756 the Sultan offered the Dutch a monopoly of the tin mined in Selangor, Klang, and Linggi, when he should control those areas again. (By this time the Bugis had them.) Then in 1759 another treaty was made between the Governor of Malacca and Raja Muda Daing Kemboja of Linggi, Raja Tua of Klang, *and the heads of the nine countries of Rembau.* This is the first official mention that we have of the term 'negri sembilan'. Shortly after this Bugis control of the area began to get weaker. In 1760 Daing Kemboja went to Riau, and the Bugis-Dutch war of 1784 and the death of Raja Haji meant the end of Bugis control. They kept Klang, however, which became part of Selangor. The states that were to become Negri Sembilan gained their independence from Johore, to date from about 1770.

From time to time attempts were made to unite the Minangkabau settlements under one ruler. The first of these took place in 1677, when a Raja Ibrahim came over from Sumatra. To qualify for the position of Yang di-Pertuan Besar the Raja had to prove that he was a member of the royal family of the Sumatran Minangkabau kingdom, and also prove his knowledge of adat (customary law). Strictly, the Yam-tuan would be little more than a figurehead, but he would be the final court of appeal if a really difficult problem came up to do with adat. The next two 'candidates' both failed in their knowledge of adat, and the third was a Bugis Raja Khatib who had married the daughter of the Penghulu of Ulu Muar. He, of course, knew nothing of adat. Finally came Raja Melewar, who executed this Penghulu and made Raja Khatib leave the country.

Raja Melewar, who claimed to be of the Sumatran Minangkabau royal family, was elected as Yam-tuan about 1773 by four electors from Sungai Ujong, Johol, Rembau, and Jelebu. Very cleverly, Raja Melewar went inland to Sri Menanti, in Ulu

Muar, keeping well clear of the Bugis at Klang, and of the old settlements of Sungai Ujong and Jelebu, so that it could not be said that he was trying to take power from the Penghulu of Rembau and the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong. Finally, he was well away from any influence that might come from Johore or Pahang. What he did do was to find a peaceful centre, and many Minangkabaus moved into the little states centred around Sri Menanti, particularly from Pahang. He managed to bring Ulu Muar, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Jempul, and Inas together. He was not able to get any of the other states to recognize him as their Yam-tuan.

The terms that the people gave their Yam-tuan are interesting. In his royal house inheritance of the title could be from father to son, but everywhere else it would be from mother to daughter. The next Yam-tuan still had to pass his 'examination' in adat. The Yam-tuan could neither own land nor levy taxes. He would be given a palace, have all the rarities and freaks (such as white elephants), and finally would be given a fixed allowance of rice and coconuts. In fact each of these Yam-tuans married a rich lady and did not want for worldly goods.

When the British took charge of Malacca, between 1795 and 1818, they had to protect the trade of the city, and particularly the tin that came down the Linggi river. In 1801 a treaty was made between the British in Malacca and the people of Nanning, which reads very much like earlier Dutch agreements. It gave a monopoly of the tin coming to Nanning to the British at 44 dollars a bahara, and when enough pepper came at 12 dollars a bahara. It said that a tenth of the rice crop and the fruit ought to be paid to the Company, but they would accept 400 gantangs of rice instead as a 'token of submission'.

By 1824, then, the states that were to make up Negri Sembilan had more or less taken shape, and might be defined as Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Johol, Rembau, Terachi, and the little states that made up Sri Menanti.

CHAPTER FIVE

Malaya, 1786–1824

1. INTRODUCTION: FRANCIS LIGHT AND THE SETTLEMENT OF PENANG

We have several accounts of visits to Malaya by British seamen between 1590 and 1750, but in every case they were trading for themselves, or for a company having no connection with the 'Honourable Company' or 'John Company', as the British East India Company was called. After about 1700 a brisk trade grew up between India and China by 'country traders'. The journey to China was a very long one, so that a stopping place on the way where fresh food and water could be had was needed. There was another reason for the need for a port in Malayan waters—the fighting that was going on between Britain and France at this time.

The pattern of world history between 1600 and 1800 could be summed up as a struggle between first of all the British and the Dutch, and then between the British and the French, to become the top trading nation in the world. The fight between the British and the Dutch is taken to have ended (except in Indonesia) by 1688, when the Dutch ruler William of Orange became King William III of England. After this the fight with the French began, and can be said to have lasted until the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815 at Waterloo. Not only were the British and French fighting in India, but also in Europe and in America. It was the fighting in India that showed quickly the need for a port on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, because particularly when the north-east monsoon was blowing there was nowhere on the eastern side of India where ships could shelter safely. There was also no port where ships could be repaired if they were damaged.

PENANG AND THE ROUTE TO CHINA

For a time (1730–40) both British and French were using Syriam to build and repair ships, but after a revolt both British and French were forced to leave. Then because the French could use Mergui, their commander, Lally, was able to blockade and attack Madras between October 1758 and February 1759. The British commander was at Bombay refitting his ships, and could not get back until April. When peace was made in 1763 the search for a port was begun. By this time trade with China made the Directors look at the Straits of Malacca, to see if they could find a port there, or to the east of Malaya. In 1763 a representative was sent to Acheh, the most obvious place because of its position at the entrance to the Straits. The Achinese, a very proud and

independent people, would not have a foreign settlement or factory in their country. Although they were asked time and time again, their answer was always a firm no. One suggestion was to use Balambangan, in the Sulu Islands, but when this was examined more carefully Balambangan was seen to be too far away from the direct route between India and China.

It was at this time that the attention of the British in India was drawn to Francis Light, whose first suggestion—that they think of Pulau Bintang—they received in 1769. Light was born in England about 1740, and joined the Navy as a midshipman in 1759. In 1765, having left the Navy, he sailed for India, and was given command of a ship owned by the firm of Jourdain, Sulivan, and De Souza trading in Asian waters.

It would seem that after his suggestion about Pulau Bintang had been turned down, Francis Light was at Acheh as agent for his Company when he heard that the Sultan of Kedah was willing to offer the British the use of the mouth of the Kedah river for building a trading station. "I have the pleasure to inform you that the King of Kedah has granted you the Kuala or seaport of Kedah with a fort lying near it to be kept by you in consideration that you will promise to assist him against the people of Selangor", he wrote in August 1771. Raja Haji had invaded Kedah in 1771, and Francis Light met the Sultan at Perlis. Letters were sent to the Governor of Madras and to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General. At last two missions were sent in 1772, one to Acheh, where it was thought the Sultan might change his mind, and the other to Kedah, led by the Hon. Edward Monckton. Monckton failed, simply because his orders allowed him to offer only a defensive alliance, when the Sultan required an offensive alliance, so that with the help of the British he could expel the Bugis from Kedah. While waiting for the officials in India to make up their minds, Francis Light had actually taken possession of the old fort at the entrance to the Kedah river. When all came to nothing he was deeply hurt and went to Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon), where he lived and traded for the next twelve years or so.

The people of Junk Ceylon itself asked him to take over the

island and rule it for the Company. In 1777 the King of Siam told Light he intended to try to take the island of Mergui, which belonged to Burma. If he succeeded, then the British could have it. When Light visited Calcutta to see Warren Hastings, he asked the British to take Junk Ceylon again, if only to benefit its people, who were being harshly treated by Siamese officials. Warren Hastings, however, could do nothing at that moment because Britain was in the middle of the American War of Independence, which France had joined on the side of the Americans. Fighting was taking place in India as well. The French Admiral Suffren, using Mauritius as his base, had an advantage over the British Admiral Hughes, who had to use Bombay during the north-east monsoon. In 1782–83 Suffren was able to get the Achinese to let him use their port to refit, and he was back off the coast of India well before the British, and was able to blockade their ports.

Once again a mission was sent to Acheh, but the Sultan would not even consider allowing the British a port. Another mission went to Riau, only to find that the Dutch had just taken it. In 1785 Francis Light was back in Kedah, when the Sultan offered the British the island of Penang in a letter dated August 27th 1785:

> If any enemies of ours from the East or the West should come to attack us, the Company would regard them as enemies also and fight them and all the expenses of such wars shall be borne by the Company. . . .
>
> The articles of opium, tin, and rattans are monopolies of our own, and the rivers Muda, Prai, and Krian are the places from whence tin, rattans, canes, besides other articles, are obtained. When the Company's people, therefore, shall reside at Pulau Pinang, I shall lose the benefit of this monopoly and I request the Captain will explain this to the Governor-General and beg as a compensation for my losses, 30,000 dollars a year, to be paid annually to me as long as the Company reside at Pulau Pinang.

Francis Light pointed out to the Company that the real reason for the offer was the Sultan's fear of invasion from Siam, and suggested that the final treaty when drawn up should be worded carefully to show the difference between "an enemy endeavouring

or aiming at his destruction or the Kingdom, and one who may simply fall into displeasure with either the King or his Ministers".

In India Sir John Macpherson had replaced Warren Hastings as Governor-General, and all he wrote in reply to the Sultan was:

> Your friendly letter containing a grant of Pulau Pinang to the Honourable Company was delivered to me by Captain Francis Light, the 16th February, 1786. Captain Light also made known to me the requests of my friend and brother, which I, having the interest and friendship of my noble friend at heart, have already transmitted to England for the approbation [approval] of the King of England and the Honourable English Company. I have likewise ordered a ship of war for the defence of the island and protection of the coast of Kedah.

Francis Light was back at Kedah at the end of June 1786, "having brought a letter [quoted above] and presents". There is some doubt whether a formal treaty was signed, as the matter of the defence of Kedah was referred to London. The Company promised only to keep a warship off the Kedah coast.

With the Sultan's formal permission to make a Settlement on Penang, Light arrived there on July 16th and took possession with proper ceremony on August 11th 1786. He named the island "Prince of Wales Island", and its capital Georgetown, after the heir to the British throne, and the King, George III.

Francis Light, with the title of Superintendent, set about the task of turning Penang into a thriving settlement. Even before he had officially taken the island he had used a bag of silver coins as 'ammunition', shooting it out of a cannon to encourage the people clearing away jungle. He followed Malay custom by giving land to anyone who cleared it, and hoped to get his fellow-captains to settle by giving them pieces of land freely. The Asian traders were attracted to Penang because no Customs duties were charged, and many settled because of the great trust that Light had won from Asians generally. In two years there were over 1000 people from all parts of Asia, and by 1804 there were over 12,000.

The port of Penang became increasingly busy, and grew quite quickly between 1786 and 1810, based on the exchange of British

and Indian goods such as opium, cloth (woollen, cotton, and silk), steel, gunpowder, iron, and china, and the goods from near-by countries (Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra), such as rice, tin, spices, rattans, gold-dust, ivory, ebony, and pepper. It was soon found that Penang was too far from the Spice Islands at the eastern end of the Archipelago, and did very little trade with them until 1796. Francis Light did his best to get people in Penang to try to grow spices—pepper, cloves, and nutmeg—but the only crop that they had any return from was pepper. Finally, after this period ended in 1825, yet another attempt to grow spices was made, and this time they were more successful.

The Government of the British East India Company in India left Francis Light to manage Penang as best he could, and until he died he had only one man officially, to help him as a clerk. There is no wonder that he ran into difficulties. The climate of Penang at that time was not too healthy, and in granting land no proper arrangements were made to take care of estates or farms if the owner died. It was left to James Scott, Light's old friend and partner, to buy up land that had no owner. Another problem that had to be solved was how to collect enough money to pay for the expenses of government. Almost from the very beginning there was not enough coming in to pay expenses. With no proper help, the only thing Light could do was to 'farm' out the right to collect harbour dues and taxes. By this system an agent buys the right to collect taxes, dues, or rents by paying a fixed sum of money.

From time to time the officials in India questioned the value of Penang as a naval station, but this was accepted by 1799 after reports had been studied from the admiral of the fleet that formed up at Penang in 1797 for the invasion of Manila. In charge of the soldiers in this force was Colonel Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington. He proved that whoever had Penang could control the Straits of Malacca, and of course the route to China from India. Although Penang had a fine harbour, it was found only later (1805–1810) that the timber on the island was not suitable for the building of ships.

Another problem Francis Light was left to solve as best he could was that of keeping the peace. He divided up the cases, both

criminal and civil, into three classes: petty cases he left to the Capitans he had appointed to take charge of the affairs of each of the races on the island; more important cases were tried by his Assistant Superintendent (given the title of Lieutenant-Governor in 1800); the most serious cases he tried himself. He could review sentences passed by his Assistant and by the Capitans. The most serious cases, and those involving Europeans, had to be referred to Bengal. The worst part of all this was that Light had practically no authority over Europeans. In 1794, the year that he died, he was appealing for help in administration from Bengal, and also for a better system of justice. It was not until 1800 that a trained lawyer arrived in Penang, and not until 1807 that a proper system of justice was established, and a Recorder's court set up. Until that time magistrates used their common sense and their knowledge of the customs of their people in making their judgments. Their sentences ranged from flogging and imprisonment to banishment from the island.

From the beginning Francis Light showed great enthusiasm for the new settlement of Penang. His plan for the layout of Georgetown was excellent, even though he had little or no money to spare for public buildings worthy of the name. He was right in thinking that Penang would be a good port of call, but wrong in thinking it would get a large share in the trade of the Spice Islands, at the other end of the Archipelago, that income would balance expenditure, and that the island would produce sufficient food to feed its people and supply the ships that called.

After Light's death in 1794 little or no changes were made in the government of the island until 1805, when, at a time of great enthusiasm, Penang was made the fourth Indian Presidency, with a Governor and a large staff with equally large salaries. Very shortly after it was seen that Penang would not justify this sudden burst of faith. The great naval victory at Trafalgar in 1805 lessened the need for a naval station at Penang, and the Admiralty never did take up the idea of building docks there. From 1810 to 1819, when Singapore was founded, its trade hardly increased at all, and it was seen that even its position was by no means ideal. Worst of all, it never paid its way. The period 1805 to 1826

in Penang's history has been called by Professor L. A. Mills its "period of disillusion".

2. PENANG, KEDAH, AND SIAM

It will be remembered that in 1771–72 the Sultan of Kedah offered the British the use of Kuala Kedah for a port in return for help in driving out the Bugis, and, when he was offered only a defensive alliance, withdrew his offer (pp. 69 and 76). The next Sultan in 1785–86 was ready to let the British have Penang if they would protect him against the Siamese this time, and for a sum of money to be paid to compensate for loss of revenue because trading-ships would go to Penang instead of Kedah. Francis Light was not able to make a formal treaty in 1786, because certain points raised by the Sultan in his offer of 1785 had to be sent to London for approval, but in the meantime he allowed Light to start the settlement, expecting that his points would be dealt with to his satisfaction when the replies came.

There is no doubt that the Governor-General in India, Sir John Macpherson, and Francis Light understood the Sultan's wishes. Light wrote of the Sultan's fears of the King of Siam: "The King of Kedah has reason to be afraid of such a tyrant and hopes to secure himself by an alliance with the Honourable Company." And the Governor-General himself wrote: "The king himself in making the grant, originated in the idea of supporting his own independence by the protection of the English."

The American War of Independence had ended in 1783, and in the next year Pitt had got a Bill through the English Parliament stating that the Company must on no account interfere in the affairs of Asian kingdoms. This was shown in the decision, taken in January 1787, that was sent to Francis Light:

> With respect to protecting the King of Kedah against the Siamese, the Governor-General in Council has already decided against any measures that may involve the Company in military operations against any of the Eastern Princes. It follows, of course that any acts or promises which may be construed into an obligation to defend the King of Kedah are to be avoided.

To this Light replied:

> Should the Siamese be permitted to take possession of his country, we shall not only find an insolent and troublesome neighbour, but be under the necessity of assisting them in their wars or to go to war with them ourselves. I humbly conceive that it will be easier, and attended with less expense to the Honourable Company, to declare at once the King of Kedah under our protection; little else than the name of the Company will be wanted.

We can see how upset Light must have been when he found that the Company had decided not to honour the terms of the agreement, or even negotiate on them. They had Penang, which is what they wanted, and could see that no Asian Power could throw them off it. Time and again he appealed against this terrible decision:

> Should your Lordship resolve upon protecting Kedah, two companies of Sepoys with four six-pounder field pieces, a supply of small arms and ammunition, will effectually defend this country against the Siamese, who though they are a very destructive enemy, are by no means formidable in battle; and it will be much less expense to give the King of Kedah timely assistance than be obliged to drive out the Siamese after they have possessed themselves of the country.

Francis Light had also not forgotten the question of compensating the Sultan, and from time to time wrote to Bengal and to the Sultan about it. How bitter it must have been for him to have to write: "No treaty which was likely to occasion a dispute between the Honourable Company and the Siamese could be made without approbation of the King of Great Britain."

The Sultan of Kedah did as Francis Light expected. He gathered forces and asked his friends to help him drive out the British from Penang. Towards the end of 1790 they began to gather at Prai, but a swift move by Light early in 1791 made them go away. It was only after this that the first formal treaty was signed, by which the Sultan was given 6000 dollars a year for Penang as compensation. No mention of the defence of Kedah was made at all.

The final word came from London in 1793: "No offensive and defensive alliance should be made with the Raja of Kedah."

The idea that Penang would be able to grow enough food for its people was seen to be false well before 1800, but by then it was thought that if a strip of land on the mainland was taken it might be possible not only to grow enough food but also to put an end to the piracy that was going on, and to make the harbour of Penang much safer for small ships. As a result of this a new treaty was made in 1800, by which Province Wellesley was added to the British settlement for an additional 4000 dollars. No mention, of course, of defending Kedah against its enemies!

Whenever the Siamese were strong enough to demand it the Sultan of Kedah sent them every three years the *bunga mas*, a beautiful tree made in gold and silver. Throughout South-east Asian history 'tribute' had been sent from a country to a more powerful neighbour. It was meant more as a kind of 'licence to trade' and insurance against interference than anything else. If the tribute was not paid the penalty could be invasion.

In 1810 the reigning Sultan of Kedah wrote to the Governor of Penang, reminding him of his father's letter of 1785, and the conditions set out in it for the grant of Penang to the British:

> Since the decease of the king, and the accession of his son to the throne in the year 1215 A.H. [A.D. 1800] violence and severity have been exercised by the Siamese against Kedah in demands and requisitions exceeding all former custom and usage, and which I cannot support for a length of time . . . and their intention is to attack Kedah for the purpose of reducing the country under their government.

The first move the Siamese made was to order the Sultan of Kedah to invade Perak in 1816. He appealed to Penang for help, but there was nothing the Governor could do, and so he began the conquest of Perak as ordered. It took him two years to do it, and the only result was that it delayed the Siamese conquest of his own country.

In 1819 the series of raids taking place between Siam and Burma ended. The Burmese decided to put all their effort into

the conquest of Assam on the borders of India (which led to the First Burmese war of 1824–26), and this left the Siamese free to put into action their plans to take Malaya. They were so suspicious that it may well be that the invasion of Perak was ordered to find out just what the British would do. When they refused to help the Sultan the next move was for the King of Siam to order the Sultan of Kedah to go to Siam in 1821 to answer 'charges', among which was that he had asked the King of Burma for help against the Siamese. When the Sultan did not go to Bangkok the attack on Kedah was ordered.

In 1821 a Siamese fleet suddenly appeared in the Kedah river and demanded a large quantity of rice, saying they were on their way to Burma, and then, when they had partly put the Malays off their guard, they attacked. The Sultan was able to get away safely to Penang, but members of his family and a great number of his people were caught and taken to Siam.

To be fair to the British in Penang, they refused to give up the Sultan to the Siamese, and when the Siamese commander's men followed Malay refugees into Province Wellesley a company of sepoys was sent there, and (as Light had forecast) the Siamese fled.

The Sultan, when he found that the Governor of Penang could not help him in any way, asked the Burmese and the other Sultans in Malaya, including the Sultan of Selangor, for help to drive out the Siamese. To make this sad story even sadder, when the British in Penang heard about this plan they told the Raja of Ligor of it, and so it had to be given up.

The next year, 1822, John Crawfurd was sent to Bangkok as ambassador to try to settle matters between the Company and Siam. The Company wanted to increase its trade with the Siamese, but also they wanted information about the country and its people. Lastly, Crawfurd was to try to persuade the Siamese to give the Sultan of Kedah his kingdom back. As might be expected, Crawfurd did not get any real trading concessions, nor could he get the Siamese to do anything for the Sultan, but where he did succeed was in getting information. He showed that the Siamese were far weaker than the Company had thought, and

that had Light's advice been taken, the mere promise to help the Sultan would have been enough to keep them away.

In the same year, 1822, the Sultan of Perak, helped by the Bugis of Selangor, was able to drive out the Siamese from Perak. In doing so he put himself in the power of the Bugis, and for a few years had a very difficult time of it. He had to allow a Raja Husein to set up a toll post on the Perak river, and share the duties on tin. In 1824 he sent the bunga mas to Ligor (the first stage of its journey to Siam), and his men were escorted home by 40 Siamese boats, to be loaded with tin for Siam. The tin never reached the Siamese, because the ships were captured by the Sultan of Selangor's men.

3. MALACCA

The British connection with Malacca arose from events in Europe. In 1789 the French Revolution began, and by 1793 the French were at war with their European neighbours. In 1795 Holland was taken, and its ruler, the Stadtholder, escaped to England, where he wrote asking the British to take over Holland's empire and look after it for him, to stop the French getting it. As a result of this many Dutch possessions were taken over, such as Cape Colony, in South Africa, and in Asia, particularly Malacca. The Dutch Governor of Malacca and his soldiers left the town, but the British asked the Council to stay to help them rule. They did not want to make any great changes.

As time went on it was understood that sooner or later Malacca would be handed back to the Dutch, and so British policy was to try to get all Malacca's trade to Penang. With free trade Penang had over 20,000 people to Malacca's 1500. The idea grew that when the Dutch did return Malacca would be a serious rival to Penang for trade, and could still be important if ever the British and the Dutch found themselves at war. The best thing to do would be to destroy Malacca completely and get all its people to go to Penang.

In 1807 the work of destroying the fort began. The town as a whole was saved because a young man on the staff of the Governor

of Penang called Stamford Raffles went to Malacca to recover from illness. He also acted as the Governor's secretary and Malay translator. Raffles saw that there was no real need to destroy Malacca. It was almost finished already as a trading centre, and the big guns on British warships could easily knock holes in the walls if a war made it necessary. He also saw that people had been living in Malacca for many generations, and that they would not want to leave their homes. Although the report he wrote arrived too late to save the fortress, yet it did have the effect of saving the town.

One part of the Dutch empire that the British had not taken was Java, but when Napoleon thought to use Java for part of an attacking movement on India something had to be done. In 1808 a new Governor-General arrived in Java to organize the defence of the island to fit in with the French plan. We find, then, that when news of this arrived in India the decision was made to take Java, and French posts on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal and Réunion and Mauritius were captured. In 1810 Raffles was back at Malacca to prepare for the invasion of Java. His report on the destruction of Malacca had brought him to the notice of the Governor-General in India, Lord Minto, and the knowledge he had gained made him the ideal person to gain information needed before Java could be taken.

The fleet assembled at Malacca before going on to Java. Both Lord Minto and Raffles sailed with it. After only a token resistance the Dutch surrendered Batavia in 1811. As in Malacca, the British wished to rule Java with Dutch help. Raffles became Lieutenant-Governor, to be advised by a British military commander and two Dutchmen. He ruled Java for five years, from 1811 to 1816. In that time Lord Minto died (1814), and the new Governor-General, Lord Moira, who later became the Marquess of Hastings (not to be confused with Warren Hastings), did not like Raffles nearly as much as Lord Minto had done.

In Java Raffles found a great deal he thought was very wrong in the way the Dutch had treated the people. In the five years he was in charge he tried very hard to improve things. He was able to make it possible for slaves to get their freedom, and to start a

fairer way for the people to pay taxes. His dream was that Java should become the centre of a new part of the British Empire. In Europe, however, the war with France ended in 1815, and the politicians wanted the Dutch to be a strong nation in case the French tried to make themselves masters of Europe again. It was decided that Holland's empire possessions must be given back to her. Also, although later the Dutch did make Raffles's ideas work, Raffles himself failed to make his government pay its way. In 1816, then, much to Raffles's disappointment, Java was given back to the Dutch, and in 1818 Malacca was returned to them.

When it was known in Penang that Malacca was to be returned to the Dutch (they also, of course, would take back the Riau Archipelago) the British made a treaty in the early part of 1818 with the Sultan of Selangor, asking him not to renew 'out-of-date' treaties with the Dutch. As soon as the Dutch had taken back Malacca they wrote to him asking him to confirm all the old treaties. The Sultan wrote to the Governor of Penang, Colonel Bannerman, telling him of this, saying:

> The Dutch oppressed me, wanting to oblige me by force to renew the treaty of 1790. When Mr. Cracroft [a British official] said that when the Dutch government in these parts ceased, the Treaty expired and could not be renewed.... When I made the treaty with Mr. Cracroft, I requested that the Company should engage to defend Selangor from all her enemies, but his orders did not permit him to agree. Now the Dutch would attack and ruin Selangor unless I had signed an agreement. When Mr. Stecker [a Dutch official] [told me this] I was in distress what to do. So for fear of consequences I ratified a treaty which Mr. Stecker told me had been in force since 1790. It was forced upon me and unless the British help I cannot escape from it; if I fail to observe it, my country will be conquered and ruined. For Selangor is near to Malacca.

4. THE FOUNDATION OF SINGAPORE

Even before the Dutch had returned to Malacca it was seen that Penang was too far north to be the perfect spot for a port.

The search started again for a better position. In the meantime Raffles had been in England for a holiday. The Governors of the English Company thought him a nuisance for trying to get them to keep Java, and the Dutch out of South-east Asia. In 1817 they sent him to Bencoolen as Lieutenant-Governor, where they thought he would be out of the way. He went to India, where he was given instructions that he was to keep away from the Dutch, yet look for a port at the south end of the Straits, and also to go to see the Sultan of Acheh to see if he would allow the British to use his port. In Penang Raffles was told to look for the port first by Governor Bannerman, and Raffles went to Singapore. We know that Raffles knew of the *Sejarah Melayu*—he had written an introduction to the first translation of it into English. This meant he had read of the greatness of Old Singapore (Tumasek).

When he arrived at Singapore, Raffles found the Temenggong of Johore living there in a very poor way with only a few families of Malays. He asked the Temenggong to sign a treaty allowing the British to have a factory (trading station) on the island, in return for 3000 dollars a year. This was January 30th 1819. The Temenggong said that the treaty must be confirmed by his master the Sultan. It so happened that the Sultan was living at Riau, and in the power of the Dutch. This did not stop Raffles. He knew that a few years before, when the old Sultan was still alive, he had been thinking of which of his two sons was to become Sultan after him. He had two 'royal' wives and two other wives. Now, neither of the royal wives had a son, but each of the other two wives had a son. The older son was Raja Husein, and the younger was Raja Abdu'r-Rahman. It became clear that the Sultan and his royal wife (one of them had died) liked Raja Husein better than his brother. Then, while Raja Husein was in Pahang to marry the Bendahara of Johore's daughter, the old Sultan died suddenly and the Bugis made Raja Abdu'r-Rahman the Sultan. (At this time the kingdom of Johore was in three parts; the Sultan ruled from the capital on the Riau Islands, the Bendahara ruled Pahang; and the Temenggong ruled what is now Johore state from Singapore.) When Raja Husein got back to Riau he found Raja Abdu'r-Rahman the Sultan and there was

nothing he could do about it. (It seems that the old Sultan's mother and the royal wife, though, would not let Raja Abdu'r-Rahman have the royal regalia so that he could be crowned properly.)

All this Raffles also knew, and so when the Temenggong said that he must get permission for the factory from his master he thought of Raja Husein. A message was sent, Raja Husein pretended to go fishing, and went to Singapore. It was at this time that Raffles made a serious mistake. Instead of asking the Sultan (as he called Raja Husein) for the whole island, all he asked for was permission to build factories for trade, and he made a treaty to this effect with the Sultan and the Temenggong (February 6th 1819).

Raffles left for Penang only a few days after the treaty had been signed, on his way to Acheh, where he had to make a treaty with the Sultan. At Penang he asked the Governor, Colonel Bannerman, to send two companies of sepoys to Singapore. As a matter of courtesy, Raffles told the Dutch Governor of Malacca of his settlement at Singapore. We can understand that the Dutch were very angry over Singapore, but it is surprising to find that the Governor of Penang was no less angry and jealous of Raffles, while the Directors of the British East India Company in England were equally angry because he had made things difficult for them.

Bannerman would not send the soldiers to Singapore, and complained to India about Raffles, but he was bluntly told by the Governor-General to send the men. Until 1822 there was a very real danger that the Directors would give in to the Dutch demands and hand over Singapore to them. However angry the Directors might have been with Raffles, they waited to see how this new port would turn out. Happily, with the policy of free trade, people flocked to Singapore, and it grew very quickly. It was soon seen that Raffles had really found the right place for a trading station that they had been seeking for so long. It had an excellent harbour, which could easily be defended, and it could control the southern entrance to the Straits of Malacca. If a war started the Dutch could not close the Straits, and so stop trade

with China. Lastly, as a trading centre it was far better than Riau.

Although Singapore grew very quickly, and showed that it would become the true successor to Malay Malacca as the greatest trading port in South-east Asia, the problems of running it grew just as quickly. As with Penang before it, the main difficulty was with law and order. There were very few officials and police to look after a population made up of "half the races of East Asia". There were no courts, no proper set of laws, and a great number of murders and robberies went unpunished. When Raffles returned to Singapore in 1822 he tried to solve the question of law and order by having the Resident appoint each year 12 magistrates who would try the smaller cases. The Resident would have to supervise their work and try more serious cases himself. The courts tried to follow the ideas in English law, but would respect the customs of the people, particularly where religion, marriage, and inheritance were involved. The real difficulty was that until the island was a British possession Parliament in England could not do much about it.

In 1823, after John Crawfurd had become Resident, Raffles had to ask the Sultan and the Temenggong to give up their right to take tolls and act as judges. In return for a monthly payment of 1500 dollars to the Sultan and 800 dollars to the Temenggong, they gave up these rights, and agreed that the whole island could be used by the British except the land they themselves were using. Early in 1824 Crawfurd was given the task of making a treaty with them to settle the matter once and for all.

Towards the end of 1823 Raffles was showing signs of very bad health, and only his determination stopped the doctors from sending him back to Britain. When he did leave he had made a collection of Malay manuscripts and other things of great value to people who would like to understand the Malayan way of life. Unfortunately, the ship carrying this priceless collection was lost, just as d'Albuquerque's collection was lost 300 years before. Yet Raffles left with the knowledge that he had founded the city of his dreams, which would take away a great deal of the Dutch

trade, because of its policy of free trade and its wonderful position at the end of the Straits. In England, after waiting nearly two years to see if he was to be given a pension, he was informed by the Directors that he owed them a great deal of money. He died very shortly afterwards, on July 5th 1826. After his death his wife had to pay the Company £10,000 to settle the debt.

Back in Singapore, Crawfurd's first task was to get the Sultan and the Temenggong to sign a treaty giving Singapore to the British, and to try to get them to move to Johore. Their men had become very unruly the year before: a man whom Resident Farquhar had imprisoned for debt had stabbed him. It was thought that the stabbing had been done by one of the Sultan's or Temenggong's men, and only the presence of mind of Raffles himself stopped a fight from starting. Farquhar was not seriously wounded. We can understand that the Sultan and the Temenggong were not keen to sign this new treaty. They had, of course, prospered, as Singapore itself had prospered, and in a few short years had become wealthy and powerful. However, in August of 1824 the new treaty was signed. The island of Singapore, "together with adjacent seas, straits, and islets" within a radius of ten miles, was given "in full sovereignty and property" to the English East India Company for ever. The Sultan and Temenggong also promised to do their best to put down the piracy that went on in the Straits. In return the Sultan was to be paid 33,200 dollars and 1300 dollars a month for life, and the Temenggong 26,800 dollars and 700 dollars a month for life. The Company also promised to pay the Sultan 20,000 dollars and the Temenggong 15,000 dollars if they would sell their lands in Singapore to the Company and go to live in Johore.

When Raffles had left Singapore in 1823 the island was transferred from Bencoolen to a dependency of the Supreme Government in India. In 1826 the British Parliament ratified the Treaty, and in 1827 a Charter of Justice arrived to set up proper courts of law under a Recorder (another title for an English magistrate). In 1826 Singapore became part of the Penang Presidency, and quickly became the busiest trading centre of all three Settlements.

Treaty of London (1824). When the Dutch realized that the

Settlement of Singapore would not be given up by the British they saw also that Malacca had become useless to them. In 1824, therefore, they made the Treaty of London with the British. In it the Dutch gave to the British their trading stations in India, and also Malacca in exchange for Bencoolen, in Sumatra. The British wanted to keep Singapore because its position gave them control over the Straits of Malacca, and protected their China trade. They promised not to interfere in any way in Sumatra and in the islands to the south of Singapore, and the Dutch promised not to interfere in Malaya and Singapore. They would both join together to put down piracy, and would let each other's merchants trade freely. The treaty resulted in Malaya becoming a British 'sphere of influence', and Sumatra and the islands south of the equator a Dutch 'sphere'. In effect the Dutch gained Sumatra in exchange for Malacca. They also gave up their objections to the British settlement of Singapore. Later on the Dutch tried to get the British to accept the idea that Borneo should be included among the islands 'south of the equator', particularly after Raja Brooke had taken Sarawak, which was clearly well north of the equator. Many letters were exchanged, until the matter was settled in 1891—though not completely until 1915.

CHAPTER SIX

Malaya, 1824–74

1. PENANG, MALAYA, AND SIAM

In many ways the year 1824 was a turning-point in Malaya's history. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London, so far as Europe was concerned, made Malaya a British 'sphere of influence', and secured the position of the Straits Settlements. It was no less a turning-point for the Malay States. Although the East India Company would not allow any interference with the affairs of the states, yet the events in Kedah had made the Directors and the Governor-General allow the Governor of Penang to do what he could to get the Siamese to let the Sultan return there. Robert Fullerton, the new Governor of Penang, thought that the British had had a moral obligation to stop the Siamese from invading Kedah. He saw that this was only the first move in a plan to dominate the whole of Malaya. Lastly, it may be argued that the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824–26 had its share in shaping the history of Malaya.

The "Raja of Ligor", as officials in Penang called him, collected a force on the Kedah river in the early part of 1825, intending to make use of the situation that had arisen between Perak and Selangor. It seems that the Sultan of Perak was trying to play off Selangor against the Siamese, asking the latter for help when the work of Raja Husein from Selangor annoyed them. In the agreement made between Perak and Selangor after the Siamese had been driven out of Perak it had been agreed that Selangor could share in the duties on goods (particularly tin) coming down the Perak river. The Sultan of Perak had been persuaded to write to the King of Siam asking for his help against Selangor! Having

collected his force, the Raja of Ligor then wrote to Fullerton asking him to allow his force to pass between Penang and the mainland on its way to Perak. This Fullerton could not possibly do, and in reply told the Raja that the British had taken over the Dutch treaties with Perak and Selangor, and could not allow the Siamese to interfere with them. In the meantime it had become necessary for the British to try once again to make some sort of agreement with Siam about trade, and Captain Henry Burney was chosen to go there to see what he could do. His instructions were to go first to see the Raja of Ligor, to find out how the Siamese felt about the war with Burma and the chances of a reasonable trade agreement between the British and Siam, and finally to do what he could for the Sultan of Kedah. He also had to find out just what power the Raja had.

Burney soon found that the Raja was no more than Governor of the area. By taking quite a firm attitude, Burney made him think that the British could not stand by and watch an invasion of Perak, as they had of Kedah in 1821. On July 31st 1825 Burney and the Raja agreed to a preliminary treaty. There were three main points in it: the Siamese would not invade Perak or Selangor, and the British said that they had no wish to interfere with the government of Perak, and would have Raja Husein removed, and would also stop the Sultan of Selangor from interfering in Perak, and would make peace between Perak and Selangor. Secondly, the British said that they did not wish to interfere in Kedah, but if the Siamese would allow the Sultan to return they would get him to send 4000 dollars a year to Siam and the bunga mas every three years. The other point dealt with putting down piracy. The Raja of Ligor could accept the first and third points, but said that he had no power to do anything about the second, and must refer it for a decision to the King of Siam.

Fullerton was very pleased with the preliminary treaty, and as soon as he saw it sent John Anderson to Selangor and to Perak to make treaties with them both. The Sultan of Selangor agreed that the river Bernam was the boundary between the two states, that he would not send men to fight Perak, and that he would withdraw Raja Husein. The Sultan of Perak also agreed that the

Bernam river was the boundary, that he would not attack Selangor, would grant no monopolies, and that the duty on tin was 6 dollars a bahara.

This preliminary treaty (1825) had its effect. The Raja of Ligor never did invade either Perak or Selangor, but sent "ambassadors" to "help the Sultan of Perak with his government". As soon as he heard of it Fullerton made the Raja of Ligor remove them. The result of this treaty was that Selangor did not interfere any more with Perak, and that peace was kept between the two states.

In the meantime Burney had gone to Siam, where he found that the Siamese thought that it would be only a matter of time before the Burmese would beat off the British invasion. For many months he stayed in Bangkok, quietly and firmly stating the British point of view. When the Siamese heard of the end of the Burmese war in 1826 it seems as if they could not believe it, and when they had to Burney had a treaty very quickly indeed. It was dated June 20th 1826. Briefly, Burney was able to get the Siamese to agree to allow British traders to pay normal Customs duties, and that neither the British nor the Siamese would interfere with Perak and Selangor, and that the British would keep the peace between them. The Siamese also agreed that they would "not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Trengganu and Kelantan", which meant very little. So far as Kedah was concerned, Burney failed:

> Article 13th: The Siamese engage to the English that the Siamese shall remain in Kedah and take proper care of that country and of its people. . . . The English engage to the Siamese that they will not attack or disturb it, not permit the former *Governor* of Kedah or any of his followers to attack . . . the territory of Kedah. . . . The English engage that they will make arrangements for the former *Governor* of Kedah to go and live in some other country. [Author's italics.]

Burney's failure to help Kedah made Fullerton very angry, and the agreement to make the Sultan leave Penang did not help matters either. The treaty was approved in India, and a very difficult situation arose when the Governor of Penang was ordered to get the Sultan to go to Malacca.

It quickly became obvious that the Raja of Ligor had no idea of leaving the Sultan of Perak alone, and had continued to send 'embassies' to try to get him to send the bunga mas to Siam. The treaty said that he could send it if he wanted to. Governor Fullerton sent Captain James Low to Perak with forty sepoys and a gunboat to find out what the Siamese were doing. When Low arrived the Siamese quickly left Perak, and, to make sure of the safety of the Sultan, Low made a treaty with him promising that the British would come to his aid if the Siamese tried to take Perak. This is the famous treaty of October 18th 1826. In it there were four main points: the Sultan would have nothing to do with Siam, Ligor, or Selangor, or any other state wishing to interfere with affairs in Perak; he would not send the bunga mas to Siam—or anyone; if the Sultan kept the terms of this treaty he could rely on the British for help against interference from outside; and lastly he confirmed Anderson's treaty of 1825.

By this treaty with Perak, James Low had of course disobeyed completely all orders that the British should not interfere in the affairs of the Malay States, and had risked a war with Siam. Fullerton must unofficially have approved of what Low had done, but dared not confirm the treaty, and sent it off to the Governor-General in India. He did, however, write to the Raja of Ligor warning him that if he continued to interfere with Perak it might lead to war (following the advice given long ago by Francis Light).

One interesting thing is that although Low's treaty with Perak of 1826 was never confirmed, everyone in Malaya acted as if it had been.

The result of Fullerton's work between 1824 and 1827 was to make Perak and Selangor safe from the Siamese. He would have liked to have made Kelantan and Trengganu equally safe, but the Burney treaty talked only of no commercial interference, so that later on the Siamese did make the Rajas of these states accept their overlordship. If Fullerton was not able to help the Sultan of Kedah, it did not stop him from trying to help himself.

In 1827, when the terms of the Burney treaty demanded that the Sultan be made to live somewhere where he could not worry

the Siamese in Kedah, he asked the British not to stop him if he tried to get his country back again. He told them that he would not leave Penang, and also that he wanted the full 10,000 dollars a year. Fullerton, not able to help him in any way, promised that the full amount would be paid if the Sultan would leave Penang and go to Malacca. He was told that if he did go to Malacca it would make no difference to his claim to Kedah. Naturally, the Sultan wanted to go somewhere where he could gather a force to try to retake his country. This the British could not let him do, for the Siamese would blame them. It would be better if the Sultan stayed at Penang.

Towards the end of 1827 Fullerton was ordered to make the Sultan leave, and a ship was chartered to take him to Malacca, but the Sultan did not go until 1831, when another threat to force him to go was made. In that year the Malays rose and drove the Siamese out of Kedah. Everyone seems to have kept the secret of the revolt, so that it came as a complete surprise to both Siamese and British Governments. The new Governor, Mr Ibbetson, helped the Siamese by blockading the Straits, and after several months they were able to reconquer Kedah.

The Malays tried again to free their country in 1836. The Sultan left Malacca for Deli, but went no further than Bruas. Again the British had to help the Siamese. The Sultan would not go back to Malacca until two British warships arrived and destroyed the Malay fleet. The Sultan was punished by having his pension reduced to 6000 dollars. In 1838 the Sultan's nephew, Tunku Muhammad Said, led another revolt against Siam, once again unofficially helped by people in Penang. They swept through the country, reaching as far as Perlis and Patani, but the Raja of Ligor crossed the frontier with 1500 men. As Winstedt said: "He came, he saw, he conquered. To Britain's shame British gunboats blockaded the Kedah coast."

By 1840 the Sultan saw that he could never get Kedah back by fighting for it, and sent his eldest son to make his peace with the King of Siam. He chose the right moment, for the Raja of Ligor who had taken Kedah had died, the British felt they could no longer blockade the coast to help the Siamese, and the Siamese

themselves saw that fighting and piracy had so ruined the country that it was no longer of any value to them. The King of Siam agreed to restore the Sultan in 1842, giving him back most of the old kingdom of Kedah. The next year, 1843, the Sultan of Kedah took Krian, claiming that it had been part of Kedah in the past. The Sultan of Perak asked the British for help under Low's treaty of 1826. Stopping his pension of 10,000 dollars had no effect on the Sultan of Kedah, and he did not leave until the British threatened to send a force to remove him in 1848. Kedah remained a dependency of Siam until 1909.

2. THE MALAY STATES, 1824–74: INTRODUCTION

To understand fully events in Malaya in this period, we must remind ourselves that Malaya was still mostly covered by jungle, and that the people lived on the banks of the rivers, and used them as their highways. Each state was really based on a river-system, or a group of near-by river-systems. When a Sultan gave land to one of his chiefs to rule he really gave him a section of one of the main rivers, with the land on either side of it. Even then the chief did not own the land; all he could do was to take a tenth of the produce grown or mined by the people. He also acted as chief magistrate for his area, war leader, and tax-collector, taking tolls of goods passing up and down the river. His importance was measured very often by the number of people he had living in his compound, and dependent on him. In bad times he would lend money to his people, and when they could not repay they became his debt-slaves, having to live in the chief's compound and work for him without pay until they could pay off the debt. In most cases this became impossible, and so the man and his family and his descendants all became debt-slaves to the chief.

At the capital, at or near the mouth of the main river of the state, the Sultan ruled the country as a whole. He generally did not interfere with the chiefs who ruled their districts and paid the Sultan 'rents'. Cases where the death penalty was involved were supposed to be referred to the Sultan's court, but it is possible that this was not always observed. The official title of the Sultan,

Yang di-Pertuan Besar ('He Who is Chosen to Rule'), shows that when one died the next ruler was selected by the chiefs from those members of the late ruler's family who were qualified to become ruler. If one of them was not liked he could be passed over and another chosen. We must not forget that the key word in Malayan history is 'trade', and that chiefs and their rulers often traded in their own right, as well as taking tolls on the trade of their subjects and the traders who visited them from overseas. Nor must we forget that piracy was 'an ancient and honourable' profession, and that it is more than likely that when they were not trading many of the chiefs let their men go on piratical raids. Generally they only tried to take ships belonging to other Malays and Asians, but would attack European ships if they were small enough, or looked as if they were trapped or not properly guarded. There was little the Europeans could do until they had steam-powered ships, nearer the end of this period, and then the British East India Company would keep only a very small number of warships to protect shipping in the Straits.

The last factor in the general situation in the Malay States at this time was the larger scale of mining for tin and other precious metals. The Malays had always mined a little tin to trade for Indian cloth and other things they wanted from outside Malaya. In this period, when tin was found in Perak, Selangor, and in Sungai Ujong, mining concessions were given to Chinese merchants of Penang, Malacca, or Singapore to work. They quickly found that the Malays would not work in these new mines, and began importing labour from China. Trouble arose because there grew up in Malaya two main groupings of these miners into the Ghee Hin and the Hai San secret societies. Even though they tended to work in separate areas, it was easy for them to become rivals. Quarrels and fighting could and did break out between them. In Perak their quarrels were mainly separated from the quarrels between the Malay chiefs and the Sultan, but in Selangor they were drawn into the civil war that broke out.

When in 1826 the British had stopped the Siamese from going any farther down the west coast of Malaya they had promised

to keep the peace between Selangor and Perak. They did not, however, make any promises to keep the peace in the state itself, or interfere in any way with how the Sultans ruled their kingdoms. This meant that the chiefs of the states either fought among themselves—and nearly every state in Malaya had a civil war—or went in for piracy. As time went on the quarrels among chiefs and tin-miners worried traders in the Straits Settlements, so that they were continually asking the British to stop them, because this interfered with their trade. For a very long time the British felt that they were still bound by the rule that they must not interfere with the states. As we shall see (pp. 102, 109), when the fighting and piracy hurt British citizens something was at last done. The period ended with new instructions arriving from England to officials, telling them they could at last offer to help the rulers to make their states peaceful, make peace between the Malay chiefs and the Chinese miners, and stop the piracy.

3. PERAK

It had become the custom in Perak for a future Sultan to learn how to rule in two stages. When a Sultan died the Raja Muda was made Sultan, provided the chiefs agreed. The dead Sultan's eldest son—again provided the chiefs agreed—became Raja Bendahara, and the Raja Bendahara was made Raja Muda. This meant that before becoming Sultan a Raja served first as Bendahara and then as Raja Muda. There was, however, nothing to stop the chiefs from not making the Sultan's son Bendahara if they thought he was not suitable.

At some distance from the main part of Perak was the district of Larut, in the charge of one Che Long Ja'afar. When he found that there were rich deposits of tin in Larut he told the Chinese merchants in Penang of it, and they began to mine the tin. Che Long Ja'afar died in 1857, and his son Ngah Ibrahim took his place. He became very rich from the money he received from the miners. He was able to add Krian, Matang, and Selama to the district he ruled. In 1858 the Sultan gave him the right to

make laws for his people, and to make agreements with the British in Penang without asking the Sultan first. Really the miners in Larut ruled themselves through their secret societies, and all Ngah Ibrahim did was to collect the dues the miners agreed to pay on the tin they mined.

It was in the period up to 1860 that the miners joined either the Hai Sans or the Ghee Hins. The Hai Sans were mainly made up of men from Hokkien and Hakka, and were known as the Go Kwans ('Five Districts'), and the Ghee Hins, mostly Cantonese, were known as the Si Kwans ('Four Districts'). Both societies were ruled from Penang. The Chinese mine-owners allowed their relatives to run the mines in Perak, and send the tin to Penang to be exported. In 1861 a fight started, and quickly became general. The Hai Sans had far more men than the Ghee Hins, and were able to drive them out of Larut. They went to Penang, and appealed to the British Governor of the Straits Settlements. The Governor worked out the 'damages' at 17,000 dollars, and when the Sultan would not pay he ordered a blockade of the Larut river. Ngah Ibrahim in the quarrel between the miners supported the Hai Sans, but after some months made an agreement with Sultan Ja'afar and paid the 17,000 dollars. For this the Sultan made him one of the four great chiefs of the state, with the title of Mantri, and so far as the British were concerned after this (until 1874) he was the independent ruler of Larut. For the time being the Ghee Hins stayed in Penang, but began to collect weapons and train as soldiers with the object of taking back their mines from the Hai Sans.

During the period that the Ghee Hins were planning their revenge, Sultan Ja'afar died (1865), Raja Muda Ali became Sultan, and Raja Abdullah became Raja Muda. Raja Ismail was still Raja Bendahara because the chiefs would not make Raja Yusuf Raja Muda. If they did they would find it difficult not to make him Sultan when Sultan Ali died. Sultan Ali ruled for only six years, from 1865 to 1871, when he died. It was after his death that events began to move much more quickly.

The chiefs decided to make Raja Muda Abdullah the next Sultan, and sent a message to him asking him to go to Sayong to

attend the burial of Sultan Ali, and be made Sultan. To go to Sayong meant passing part of the river controlled by Raja Yusuf, who, Raja Abdullah was told by the Mantri, meant to kill him. Raja Abdullah thus stayed where he was, afraid to go up-river. Finally Raja Abdullah said that the message for him to go up-river to Sayong was not sent in the proper way, since the messenger did not bring with him the yellow umbrella. The chiefs waited for Raja Abdullah for a month, saying that they could not bury Sultan Ali until he did come. After that time they would not wait any longer, and made Raja Ismail the new Sultan.

Raja Abdullah would not accept Raja Ismail as Sultan, and in 1872 began calling himself Sultan Abdullah, with Raja Yusuf as his Raja Muda. In the meantime the Ghee Hins in Penang had completed their preparations, and early in 1872 were able to drive the Hai Sans out of Larut. All that the Mantri did was to change sides. So long as his taxes were paid he did not care who was mining the tin. The Ghee Hins, however, could keep Larut only until October of 1872, when once again they were driven out by the Hai Sans, who surprised them and captured a large number of women. The Ghee Hins fought back by trying to stop supplies from going up and down the Larut river, but soon were not very particular whom they attacked. The Mantri found that Larut was not a very safe place for him, and moved away.

In 1873 the situation became impossible. The British could not allow the piracy off the Perak coast to continue, and sent gunboats to stop it. The Mantri asked for permission to settle Larut, and was joined by Captain Speedy and a small private army of Indian sepoys, who went to Larut to try to restore order. The Ghee Hins were caught between the British Navy off the coast and Captain Speedy inland, but would not stop fighting. By the end of the year conditions were so bad that even if tin could be mined there was no way of getting it to market, and both sides had had enough. The way was open for the British Governor of the Straits Settlements to make peace between them.

On the Perak river, too, things were not going well. Raja Abdullah was willing to promise anything if only he could become Sultan. Raja Abdullah had met the Governor and said he would

have a British Officer in Perak if he was made Sultan. By this means the way was clear for Sir Andrew Clarke to go to Perak and settle both problems. He asked the leaders of the Chinese miners to meet him at Pangkor in January of 1874. They both signed a document promising to keep the peace, and to pay 50,000 dollars if they broke their word. The Hai Sans also agreed to release the women they had captured from the Ghee Hins.

A few days later Raja Abdullah, the Mantri, and many of the Perak chiefs (but not Raja Yusuf and Sultan Ismail) also met Sir Andrew, and drew up the famous Pangkor Engagement. It was not strictly a treaty. The Governor-General was acting as peace-maker, and offering his advice and help to settle the difficulties. The provisions were first that Raja Muda Abdullah become Sultan, and Raja Ismail be Sultan Muda, and be given a pension. Secondly, the Sultan agreed to "receive and provide a suitable residence for a British Officer to be called Resident, . . . whose advice must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom". The Resident would advise the Sultan about the collection and use of taxes, and on the way the state should be ruled. From the taxes collected a 'Civil List' would be made to give an income to the Sultan and the chiefs. Thirdly, the Mantri, Ngah Ibrahim, had his appointment as Mantri confirmed, but was told that Larut was part of Perak, so that he must rule it in the name of the Sultan and with the help of an Assistant Resident, also a British official.

Captain Speedy took up his post as Assistant Resident in Larut, and was able to get the mines working peacefully again quite quickly. We hear of no further serious trouble from the Chinese from this time. Unfortunately, it was not possible for a Resident to start work equally quickly, and this did make for a great deal of trouble, as we shall see in the next chapter.

4. SELANGOR

In many ways Selangor was different from Perak. The succession to the throne was simpler, for there was no Raja Bendahara. The title of Raja Muda was given to the Sultan's son who was next in

line, but, as in Perak, the chiefs could still choose from the Sultan's family who should be the next Sultan. Secondly, the chiefs, although they were given control of rivers and the trade that went up and down, were largely independent rulers so long as they paid their 'rents' to the Sultan. Thirdly, Selangor was divided between the Bugis, who controlled the lower parts of the rivers, and Malays who lived farther up-river and had a chief of their own, the Dato Dagang. When the civil war started it was a fight for control of the rivers, and the Sultan took no part. The tin-miners had to get their tin to market, and thus had to keep on good terms with the chief who controlled the mouth of the river. Thus when these chiefs began to quarrel the Chinese miners were drawn into the fighting. Finally, the chiefs themselves found the tin areas and encouraged businessmen to invest in their development.

The first of the tin-mines to be started in Selangor was at Lukut. It was started by Raja Juma'at of Riau, who had married the eldest daughter of Sultan Muhammad (1826–57). Under his strong rule the mines were well run. In 1853 Raja Abdullah was made chief of Klang, and with the help of his brother Raja Juma'at started the Klang mines in 1857, and the Ampang mines in 1859. After Sultan Muhammad died in 1857 it was two years before Raja Abdul Samad was made Sultan (1859). Before he had become Sultan he had started the Kanching mines, up the Selangor river. Kuala Lumpur grew at the junction of the Klang and Gombak rivers.

It soon became clear that all Sultan Abdul Samad wanted was a quiet life in his *istana* at Langat, and that he was not going even to try to keep his chiefs in order. They were divided between those who had control of rivers and those who had not. The Chinese miners were also divided between the Ghee Hins at Kanching and the Hai Sans at Ampang. Finally, Chinese and European businessmen had given money towards the starting of mines, and others wanting a share of the profits of mining were willing to back with money and weapons any chiefs who would try to get control of a river.

The troubles began shortly after Raja Mahdi, the grandson of

Sultan Muhammad, went to Klang saying he was going to trade. He took advantage of a quarrel between Raja Abdullah (his brother-in-law) and the Dato Dagang living up-river to take Klang. In this he was helped by a businessman and the Malays. So long as he paid the rents due to the Sultan for the river, Sultan Abdul Samad would not interfere, so that when Raja Ismail bin Raja Abdullah went to the Sultan, all he was told was that the two rajas were young men, and they could fight it out between themselves. To make matters worse for Raja Ismail, Raja Mahdi was engaged to be married to the Sultan's daughter, Raja Arfah. Feeling that he was in a strong position, Raja Mahdi did not pay his rents of 500 dollars a month. The Sultan promptly cancelled the engagement of Rajah Arfah to him, and married her instead to Tunku Zia'u'd-din of Kedah (called Tunku Kudin by everyone). Tunku Kudin (as we shall call him too) could not be given a river of his own to rule, so Sultan Abdul Samad made him Wakil Yam Tuan, which means 'agent or representative of the Sultan', but which the officials of the Straits Settlements translated as 'Viceroy'.

Yap Ah Loy, whose name is bound up with the story of Kuala Lumpur, did not arrive at the town for some little time after it had been founded. As a private immigrant paying his own fare from China, he hated life in Malaya so much at first that his uncle gave him 100 dollars so that he could return to China. Yap Ah Loy got only as far as Singapore, where he lost all his money in a gambling shop. After serving some time as a cook at the tin-mines he became a pork merchant, and ended up as head *panglima* ('chief of staff') to the Capitan China of Lukut. Shortly after Kuala Lumpur had been founded he went there as head panglima of the first Capitan China and himself became the third Capitan China. He proved to be an excellent administrator, and ruled his community very well indeed. His appointment as Capitan China was confirmed by Raja Mahdi in the name of the Sultan.

Soon after Yap Ah Loy's appointment as Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur, Raja Mahdi quarrelled with the Dato Dagang. He had already quarrelled with the Sultan, and the other chiefs were jealous of his growing power and wealth. The Dato Dagang

told Tunku Kudin that if he would help they could together drive Raja Mahdi out of Klang. At this point Tunku Kudin was called home to Kedah because of the illness of his mother, and could not help the Dato Dagang. Raja Ismail, however, took the chance of revenge on Raja Mahdi. He found someone to back him with money and men, and captured the forts at the mouth of the river and began a siege of Klang itself, which lasted from 1869 to 1870, when Tunku Kudin returned with 500 Kedah fighting men. The siege had stopped the trade of Klang. When Tunku Kudin arrived Raja Mahdi saw that his position in Klang was hopeless, and gave it up.

In the meantime Yap Ah Loy found that his idea to get the miners to join forces would not work. His agent at Kanching was killed, and the new leader, Chong Chong, hated him. Ah Loy went to Langat to see the Sultan, who treated him as he treated every chief who went to see him. He gave Ah Loy his blessing, twenty-five buckets of gunpowder, half a case of opium, and 2000 dollars. The important thing that happened at Langat, however, was that Ah Loy met Tunku Kudin, and in the months that followed the two sides became clear. On the one hand there was Tunku Kudin and Yap Ah Loy, and against them was Raja Mahdi, the Kanching miners led by Chong Chong, and the other chiefs who hated Tunku Kudin.

The war began with Raja Mahdi collecting forces to attack Kuala Selangor so that he could control the tin from the Kanching mines. Yap Ah Loy's men attacked Kanching, but Chong Chong escaped to Kuala Langat, where he was joined by Sayid Mashor. Sayid Mashor was a famous warrior of Arab descent. In July of 1870 Raja Mahdi took the Selangor forts, but in October Sayid Mashor and Chong Chong were outwitted by Yap Ah Loy and made to leave the area between Kanching and Kuala Lumpur to join up with Raja Mahdi. At the end of 1870 Tunku Kudin held the Klang river, and was made Chief of Klang instead of ruling Langat for the Sultan.

While there was a pause in the civil war, what has been called 'the Selangor Incident' took place. It started off as a simple case of piracy. A Chinese junk on its way from Penang to Larut was

captured by pirates who had gone on board as passengers. They took their prize and sold it with its goods to Chinese merchants at Kuala Selangor. The owner of the junk when it was overdue complained to the British in Penang, who could do nothing for him, but who told him to go to Singapore and see the Governor there. On his way he saw his junk near Selangor. The Governor sent the steamer *Pluto* with police to search for the junk, and they found it in the Selangor river. Its cargo had been sold to Chinese shopkeepers near by. The police took charge of the junk, part of its cargo, and nine Chinese, some of them members of its crew. When the police tried to round up all the Chinese for questioning they came up against Sayid Mashor. A fight started, and the British had to withdraw, taking the junk to Penang.

By the Anderson Treaty of 1825 the Sultan of Selangor of the time had agreed not to allow pirates to use Selangor as a base, or sell their prizes there, and to help the British put down piracy. This meant that if the British had asked the Sultan first, and had his permission to take the pirates by force if necessary, no case for interference in the affairs of a Malay State could arise. What happened, however, was that *Pluto* returned to Selangor with H.M.S. *Rinaldo*, but went straight to the Selangor river. When the sailors and police tried to search the town for the pirates and the rest of the cargo there was more fighting, and once again they were made to return to the ships. The next day, July 4th, and again two days later, July 6th (1871) H.M.S. *Rinaldo* shelled the forts and the town. The people all ran away, and Tunku Kudin took the opportunity to take charge of what was left of the forts and the town. Only after this second try to catch the pirates did the Governor of the Straits Settlements write to Sultan Abdul Samad asking that the pirates, and also Raja Mahdi and Raja Mahmud, be given up. The leader of the mission was Mr J. W. W. Birch, the Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements. He wanted the Sultan "to place some person in the office of Governor or Chief over the country about the Selangor river whom this Government can trust" to confirm Tunku Kudin as Viceroy and make Raja Mahdi, Raja Mahmud, and Sayid Mashor outlaws. He then went on to promise that the British would help this person

against anyone who would not accept his rule. The Sultan did renew Tunku Kudin's appointment as Wakil Yam Tuan ('the Sultan's agent or representative').

The result of the Incident was that in the early part of 1872 Tunku Kudin controlled the mouths of the Klang and Selangor rivers and his enemies the inland areas, except for Kuala Lumpur, where Yap Ah Loy was in charge. When it was seen that Mr Birch had promised British help—something that could not be given—Tunku Kudin's position was made very much weaker. His attack with Yap Ah Loy's help on Sayid Mashor at Kuala Kubu failed for lack of supplies, and they were forced to give up and return to Kuala Lumpur. By August of 1872 Yap Ah Loy's commander, a European called Van Hagen, saw that nothing could save the town, and one night tried to escape to the coast. He had received a message from the leader of a strong Pahang force saying they were on their way, but thought it a trick of Sayid Mashor. Van Hagen and his men were caught in the jungle and taken back to Kuala Lumpur, where they were killed. Yap Ah Loy found out that Van Hagen had left, and also that a gap in the attacking ring around Kuala Lumpur was made when the besiegers went after Van Hagen. He used this opportunity to make his own escape, and reached the coast safely. Sayid Mashor followed up this victory by taking the forts and the town at the mouth of the Selangor river, leaving Tunku Kudin with only the Klang river-mouth. His enemies controlled all the rest of the state.

The help that Tunku Kudin had asked from Bendahara Wan Ahmad of Pahang did not arrive in time to save Kuala Lumpur, and it seemed as if the situation was hopeless. In fact, the officials of the Straits Settlements suggested that if Tunku Kudin gave up at this point he would not lose face, but his adviser, Mr Davidson, found him and Yap Ah Loy money and supplies so that he could hire more soldiers, and he also knew that help was on its way from Pahang. With this in mind he refused to give up, and by the beginning of 1873 things began to go better for him.

By March of 1873 Kuala Lumpur was taken back by a joint force of Pahang men and a Chinese-Malay force under Yap Ah Loy. Raja Mahdi and Sayid Mashor escaped to Ulu Selangor, and

after a time both left the state. Mashor went to Perak. In November Kuala Selangor fell to Tunku Kudin, and this at long last gave him control of the Selangor and Klang rivers. The Sultan ruled at Langat, and had taken charge of affairs in that area when Tunku Kudin had taken Klang in 1870.

The piracy taking place off Selangor at this time became very much worse, and two incidents forced the new British Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Andrew Clarke, to take action after he had made a settlement of affairs in Perak. In November of 1873 a Malacca trading boat put in near Langat, stopping for the night. It was boarded by pirates, who killed all the people on board except one, who had jumped overboard and hid himself by the rudder. The man escaped, and in Malacca one day saw eight men he took for the pirates. They were arrested and taken to Selangor for trial. The second incident was when in January of 1874 pirates attacked the lighthouse on Cape Rachado.

In February of 1874 Sir Andrew went with a naval squadron of three ships to see the Sultan at Langat. He was able to make friends with the Sultan and Tunku Kudin. The Sultan agreed to have the pirates' stockades near Langat destroyed, and also to allow the trial of the pirates taken in Malacca to be judged by Tunku Kudin and three other chiefs. The man who escaped said very firmly that these were the men who had killed the people on board the junk; they were found guilty, and executed with a *keris* sent by the Sultan, who also gave tin to the value of 5000 dollars as compensation for the owner of the junk.

Sir Andrew Clarke wanted Sultan Abdul Samad and Tunku Kudin to ask for a British Adviser so that a Resident could be sent to Selangor. He tried to keep on very friendly terms. In August of 1874 young Frank Swettenham was sent to live at the Sultan's Court as an unofficial adviser, and did so well that in September the Sultan wrote:

> We are very much obliged to our friend for the officer whom our friend has chosen. He is very clever; he is also very clever in the customs of Malay government and he is very clever at gaining the hearts of Rajas with soft words, delicate and sweet, so that all men rejoice in him as in the perfume of an opened flower.

And in a letter dated October 3rd 1874:

> As regards our friend's intention of having us enter into an engagement so that our friend will collect the revenue of our country, we feel very glad of it, provided our friend will put to right our country and collect the revenue.

The Resident chosen for Selangor was Mr J. G. Davidson, an old friend and backer financially of Tunku Kudin, while Frank Swettenham remained at Langat as Assistant Resident.

5. NEGRI SEMBILAN

The detailed history of Negri Sembilan has yet to be written, so that all we can do here is to try to understand in outline what was going on in this period. Yam-tuan Raja Lenggang died in 1824, and a struggle took place between the stronger states whenever a Yam-tuan died to put in a man of their own choice as the new Yam-tuan.

Much of the story of this period concerns the hope of the people in Malacca for steady trade, particularly in tin from Sungai Ujong and Rembau coming down the Linggi river. This brought the British into quite close relations with those states, and particularly when the lack of any kind of real control made it possible for chiefs to put up barriers across the river and tax goods going up and down. The war with Nanning (1831–32) we will deal with when we talk about the story of Malacca (p. 121).

By 1844 it was clear that trade was becoming difficult up and down the Linggi river, and in the next year (1845) Sungai Ujong and Linggi were fighting. This meant that the river was completely blocked, and no tin could get through. This fighting seems to have gone on at intervals for a very long time. The British in Malacca would not sell weapons to either side, and complained about 'illegal' tax-collectors, but nothing was done until 1855, when the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong drove out the worst of the tax-collectors from his stockade. The Governor of the Straits Settlements promised to send a gunboat to make sure no stockades were put up, but by 1860 one man was collecting tolls at Lubok

NEGRI SEMBILAN

Reproduced by kind permission of the Oxford University Press, from "Nineteenth Century Malaya", by C. D. Cowan.

China, with authority, it seems, from the Penghulu of Rembau, and another was taking taxes from the people of Sungai Ujong. There seemed no end to this state of affairs. Apparently they were not only taking taxes from each other, but were also fighting among themselves. In Rembau, we are told, there was a civil war. In Sungai Ujong, while Johore still ruled the country, a Dato Shahbandar had been appointed by the Sultan to regulate traffic up and down the river and to take tolls. When the Sultan of Johore lost control of the country the Shahbandar remained, and defied the Dato Klana to remove him, and so, too, in Sungai Ujong there were two rivals for power. The Shahbandar controlled the lower part of the river, and the Dato Klana the upper part.

Naturally, merchants and officials had been complaining about the state of affairs, and the way that trade had been stopped. Sir Harry Ord (Governor at the time, October 1872) reported: "Murders, plundering and burning are the order of the day, and the bad ones are beginning to believe the popular cry that 'nothing will induce the Government to interfere'." Near the end of 1872 both the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong and the Ruler of Rembau asked the British to settle affairs. In April of 1874 Sir Andrew Clarke was able to make a treaty with the Dato Klana in which the Dato Muda of Linggi joined. The agreement reached was that the British Government would help the Dato Klana keep order in Sungai Ujong, and also keep the Linggi river clear for trade. The Dato Klana promised to pay 50,000 dollars if he used the weapons given him by the British for any other reason than to keep the river open for traders, and to see that only fair taxes and tolls were charged. He was to maintain order and keep illegal tax-collectors away. The interesting thing about this treaty was that nothing was said about appointing a Resident. It did agree that the part of the river that everyone had been fighting over should be controlled by the British. The Dato Shahbandar, of course, would have nothing to do with this treaty. The Dato Klana's army, sent to make him behave, melted away when it was learned that Raja Mahmud from Selangor was with him. It took a combined Malay and British force to bring him to order. The Dato

Bandar agreed to go to live in Singapore, and pay the cost of the action. The result of this British action made it possible for Sungai Ujong at last to become a united country under the Dato Klana, and when it was found that it was not possible to rule the country through the chiefs the Dato Klana with the advice of British Officers appointed headmen to rule local areas. The Dato Klana himself, the new Dato Bandar, and the waris were given monthly payments to compensate them for loss of customary revenues.

By 1874, then, the British had been able to settle the Linggi river problem and to put a Resident into Sungai Ujong, alone of the little states that were to make up Negri Sembilan.

6. PAHANG

The story of Pahang goes back at least as far as A.D. 500. The Chinese noted a kingdom there which sent tribute to their Emperor. It may have been one of the places from which it was possible to cross the Peninsula, before the time when traders and seamen made the whole journey between India and China by sea. From about 1300 Pahang was part of the Siamese empire, until about 1460, when a force led by Bendahara Tun Perak defeated the Siamese governor's army. From this time Pahang was part of the Malaccan empire. When Malacca was taken by the Portuguese, and the Sultan moved his capital to Johore, Pahang was still part of his empire. During the eighteenth century (roughly from 1722 onward) Pahang was part of the kingdom of Johore. It no longer had a Sultan of its own, but was given to the Bendahara of Johore, to rule for the Sultan of Johore. Similarly, in this period up to 1819, Johore itself was ruled by the Temenggong who lived at Singapore. Unlike the Temenggong, who joined forces with Raja Husein (recognized as Sultan by Raffles), the Bendahara living at Pekan announced his loyalty to the Sultan living at Riau.

The Treaty of London between the British and the Dutch recognized the Malay Peninsula as a British 'sphere of influence' and Sumatra and the islands south of Johore in the Riau archipelago as a Dutch 'sphere of influence'. This meant that,

separated from the Sultan at Riau, Pahang from 1824 was to all practical purposes an independent kingdom, although the Ruler kept the title of Bendahara.

Tun Ali, who took the title of Bendahara Sewa Raja (1806–57), ruled over a country at peace:

> [In 1836] peace and prosperity reigned in the country. Twenty gantangs of rice cost only one dollar and other foodstuffs were equally cheap. Many people became rich . . . (and) . . . there was a great trade in gold. Pahang, with the exception of the rich tin-producing region of the river Kuantan, which was kept as a private reserve by the Bendahara, was free from import and export duties.

Munshi Abdullah, who visited the state about this time, noted that among the people were Chinese, who had married Malay or Balinese slave-women, and Jakun, and Arabs. He also remarked that any criminal could escape punishment for his crime if he became a bondman to a prince (*hamba raja*). The hamba raja could commit crimes without fear of punishment. Tampang (tin money) was used in Pahang until 1893. Until 1847 when one-cent pieces were made there were 16 tampang to the dollar.

Bendahara Ali, some time before he died, left the rule of the country to his elder son Bendahara Muda Wan Mutahir, who was living at Ganchong. In his will Bendahara Ali left the Kuantan and Endau districts to his second son, Wan Ahmad. After his death in 1857 the new Bendahara Mutahir would not let Ahmad have these districts and the income from them. This led directly to the civil war.

In 1857 the Dutch in Lingga deposed Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, and he decided to try to make himself Sultan of Johore and Pahang. The Siamese also wanted to get back their old mastery of Pahang, and to do this they helped both the ex-Sultan of Lingga and Ahmad. Thus the sides were formed: Bendahara Mutahir was helped by the Temenggong of Johore and encouraged by the British, while Ahmad was helped by the Sultan of Trengganu and the Siamese. The British were in a difficult position. They had no liking for the Siamese, and did not want either them or ex-Sultan Mahmud to have any authority in Pahang.

Trade was growing between Singapore and Pahang, and they knew that a war would ruin it.

Ahmad very cleverly used both ex-Sultan Mahmud and the Siamese to get what he wanted, which was to make himself Bendahara and independent of both. Linehan sums it all up very neatly:

> Ahmad played his cards well and had all the honours of the game. He used the Siamese, the Sultan of Trengganu and the deposed Sultan of Lingga to defeat his brother, and when he had succeeded promptly made his peace with the British.

Yet if Bendahara Mutahir had not been so bad a leader he might easily have stopped Ahmad.

The civil war lasted from 1857 to 1863. It is curious to note that although the British wanted Bendahara Mutahir to win his war against Ahmad they decided in 1858 that they could not allow him to buy arms in Singapore, nor would they let the Temenggong send arms. Ahmad, of course, did not bother to ask for permission—he just went and bought them.

The attack on the Pahang river that Ahmad made in 1858 was beaten off in the end, and ex-Sultan Mahmud found that he would not be allowed to become Sultan of Pahang. As time went on things began to favour Ahmad. Engku Muda Koris was put in charge, but since he was no good as a military commander, his chiefs began to quarrel among themselves, with the result that one of the most powerful of them was killed, and his father joined Ahmad's side. The attack of 1861 followed the same pattern as all the others: Ahmad's capture of strongpoints to start with, but in the end his being forced to return to Trengganu.

The Governor of the Straits Settlements tried to settle affairs in Pahang in 1861, and while he was visiting the state all was quiet. Not long after he had left, though, the bad treatment of the Rawa men of Raub by Mutahir's chiefs made them revolt. Ahmad used this to make the enemy fight on two fronts, although we gather that the revolt was not connected with his fight at all. Also in 1861 a treaty was made between the Bendahara of Pahang and the Temenggong of Johore for help to fight Ahmad. This treaty

was approved by the British in 1862, but did not stop things going badly for the Bendahara, who gave the leadership to two other chiefs. The Temenggong did everything he could think of to help Bendahara Mutahir.

In August of 1862 Ahmad began the attack which after five months of fighting gave him Pahang in January of 1863. His claim to be Bendahara was helped when in May of the same year both Mutahir and Koris died.

As Bendahara, Ahmad began well. He did not punish the chiefs who had fought against him, and he sent rice to his starving people. By the end of 1863 the British recognized him as Bendahara. The quarrel between him and Temenggong Abu-Bakar of Johore went on. In the treaty of 1861 Mutahir had given the Temenggong Pulau Tioman and other islands, which Ahmad said were still part of Pahang. After some time the British were able, in 1867, to get them to agree over the islands, but they did not finally settle the question of the river Endau as the boundary between the states until 1897.

From 1867, too, there was peace and prosperity once again for the people of Pahang, although Mutahir's sons in 1866, 1868, and again in 1870 made unsuccessful invasions.

The period ends with the arrival in November of 1871 of a messenger from Tunku Kudin of Selangor, asking for Bendahara Ahmad's help in his war against the other chiefs, and promising the revenues of Klang as payment. The help of the Pahang men turned the tables for Tunku Kudin and Yap Ah Loy. Early in 1873 they were able to beat their enemies, and so to end the Selangor civil war. The Bendahara asked for 20,000 dollars and a share in the state revenues as payment for the services of his men. Tunku Kudin sent him tin worth 3000 dollars, and promised six baharas of tin every month until the debt was fully paid. One Pahang chief (of Jelai) did not wait to collect his 'fees' from his Bendahara, but took them in money and women from the area where he found himself at the end of the fighting.

Sir Andrew Clarke, who had done so well in trying to bring peace to other Malay states, in 1874 also tried to settle the differences between Bendahara Ahmad and Temenggong Abu-Bakar.

When it was proved that Ahmad was quite innocent of the killing of a Johore headman on the Endau river things became much easier.

7. JOHORE

The story of the modern state of Johore may be said to have begun in 1824 with the Treaty of London between the British and the Dutch, because it divided what was left of the old empire into two parts: the Riau archipelago and the islands south of Singapore, which came into the Dutch sphere, and Pahang and Johore, which came into the British sphere of influence. At this time there were very few people living in the southern part of the state, and the only settlements that can have been of any size were those on the Muar river.

The situation which Raffles found when he reached Singapore in 1819 was that the Temenggong of Johore was ruling the state, living in a poor way in a small kampong on the island. The Temenggong said that no treaty with him would be legal unless it was signed by the Sultan, whereupon Raja Husein was brought from Lingga, recognized as Sultan by Raffles, and a new treaty was made. Until the British arrived both men can be said to have been very poor. Raja Husein had been living quietly at Riau, when he found that nothing could be done to drive his half-brother off the throne. As Singapore grew rapidly, so did the fortunes of Sultan Husein and Temenggong Abdu'r-Rahman, and our period begins (1824) with the treaty that made the whole of Singapore Island British, and the hope stated in the treaty that the Temenggong and Sultan would go to live on the mainland.

The Temenggong died in the next year (December 1825), and the lawyers of the British East India Company quickly pointed out that the pension given to him was for his lifetime only, but paid 350 dollars a month to his second son, who became Temenggong Daing Ibrahim. Sultan Husein, however, lived until 1835, and his son Tunku Ali was too young to be considered for Sultan. In the meantime the Temenggong showed himself to

be a man of great ability. He was formally made Temenggong Sri Maharaja in 1841, and in 1846 he was presented with a sword by the British for the very great help he had given them in putting down piracy.

The question arose as to which of the two, the Temenggong or Tunku Ali as the heir of Sultan Husein, was the rightful ruler of the new Johore. It was quickly seen that the Temenggong was a man of great ability, while Tunku Ali was not, and that the Temenggong ruled the state as of right, for the Temenggongs had already done so for a very long time. As Governor Murchison wrote: "The late Sultan [Husein] was never recognised by the Malay States as Sultan of Johore and enjoyed neither revenue nor political sway in that country." The Temenggong had shown himself to be willing to work with the British to make trade easier, and to build up the prosperity of the country. In 1840 Tunku Ali was formally recognized as his father's heir, but only to his property and not to the title of Sultan. In 1847 Tunku Ali, not satisfied with things as they were, asked to be recognized as Sultan. Mr Blundell, the Acting Governor, arranged for him to be installed as Sultan by the Temenggong. In 1855 a treaty was made by which Tunku Ali was given the title of Sultan, with a payment of 5000 dollars and 500 dollars per month. His 'kingdom' would be the district of Muar only. The Company did not like this arrangement at all, and decided that if the Temenggong wished he could buy all rights from the Sultan and his heirs to all Johore except the area between the Kesang and the Muar rivers. By 1855 the Temenggong was rich enough to be able to buy Tunku Ali's rights.

Between 1835 and 1840 the failure of spice cultivation on Singapore had made many Chinese move to the mainland to plant pepper and gambier, and the Temenggong began to draw an income from export duties on the crops. Then in 1843 gutta percha was found. The price merchants paid for it was so high that Malays stopped looking after their rice-fields to search for it. This also brought in money for the Temenggong, and he was rapidly becoming a very rich man. In 1855 he was still living at Singapore, now recognized as Raja Temenggong Sri Maharaja

of Johore. Two years later, with the outbreak of the Pahang civil war, his position in Singapore became uncomfortable, for the British would not let him use the island to prepare for attacks on Wan Ahmad. This did not stop him from doing all he could to help Bendahara Mutahir.

When the Raja Temenggong died he was followed by his son Abu-Bakar as Temenggong in 1862. Winstedt describes him as "able, energetic, trained in business and affairs". He carried on the work of his father in building up the prosperity of his state, and trying his very best to help Bendahara Mutahir defeat Wan Ahmad. In 1866 he renamed Tanjong Putir Johore Bahru, and built his istana there. In the same year the Governor of the Straits Settlements asked him to make land laws by which people, particularly the Chinese, would know that they could not be turned off their land. In return the Chinese planters would be pleased to pay higher rents. Also in the same year he made his first visit to Britain. Then, soon after he returned to Johore in 1868, he took the title of Maharaja of Johore.

In all the Malay States we have looked at in this period up to about 1874 there were civil wars, fighting among Chinese miners, and, it would seem, no peace anywhere. Johore was the only exception, for it was peaceful and prosperous. As Winstedt summarized it:

> The 1870's were troublous years in the Malay States and in all these troubles the Governors of the Straits Settlements turned to the ruler of Johore, the only Malay they could trust for information and help.

8. THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 1824–74

(*a*) *Penang*. By 1824 it had already been seen that the position of Penang was too far north for it to become a centre for more than local trade. Its merchants built up trade with near-by countries, Siam and Sumatra, and of course with the Malay States. It became a collecting centre for pepper from northern Sumatra (which in 1824 supplied 58 per cent of the world supply), and for the tin of Perak. With these and other goods Penang had a small but growing trade throughout the period, especially after

1830, when it reached its lowest point. Between 1830 and 1840 the figures were more than doubled, so that if we take the figure for 1830 as 100 they would be as follows:

1825	*1830*	*1840*	*1850*	*1859*	*1864*
159	100	210	234	504	643

So far as growing spices was concerned, bad land laws had stopped the cultivation of plantations, because it took a number of years before any crop could be sold. The Company would not give long leases on land, or sell it, and men did not like the idea of seeing their work just beginning to pay when the Company stepped in and took back the land. The Chinese planters used the method of intensive cultivation for pepper, which after a short time exhausted the soil. Crops were grown year after year on a plot until no more would grow, and then a new site was cleared and the same done again. This might explain why although 4,000,000 pounds of pepper were marketed in 1810, by 1835 the figure had dropped to 266,600, and by 1847 the amount of pepper sold was too small even to note. A Mr Brown of Glugor, however, found how to grow cloves and nutmegs by about 1833, and from 1847 after the land laws had been changed (1841–45) these spices were grown with success until 1860, when the trees were killed by a disease. In Province Wellesley sugar was grown from 1846.

(*b*) *Malacca*. If the foundation of Penang in 1786 had been a serious blow to the trade of Malacca, then Raffles, by starting Singapore in 1819, almost (but not quite) ended any chance of future prosperity. In any case the harbour had become very poor owing to the silt that had been brought down by the river. After 1824 the story of Malacca is taken up very largely with the problem of trying to sort out the land ownership. Towards the second half of this period (1824–74) trade began to pick up in the settlement because of the tin coming down the Linggi river.

Malacca alone of the three Straits Settlements had a settled Malay population when the British took it over. The Dutch, and before them the Portuguese, had followed the Malay customs of landholding. All land belongs to the Raja, but no-one who clears some land to grow crops can have it taken away, so long as he

continues to cultivate it. The Raja is entitled to a tenth of the man's crops, and also to be able to call on him to work when required. This kind of arrangement is called 'feudalism' by historians. The difficulty in Malacca territory came about because the English had also once gone through a period of feudalism, but since the Englishman had wanted to get out of having to work for his 'lord' and to pay rents in money, the English officials thought—quite wrongly—that the Malay *ray'at* would also prefer to pay his rents in cash. A second difficulty arose because to the British, land, even thickly forested, was valuable.

While the Dutch held Malacca they did not give land to chiefs, of course, but to Dutchmen living in Malacca. These men, whom the British called 'proprietors', had rights like the zemindars in India—that is, the right to the tenths of the crops of the ray'ats living on their lands. These 'proprietors' did not collect their rents themselves, but each year sold the right to collect them to Chinese. When the British took over Malacca these proprietors tried to make them think that they really owned the land, and were not just zemindars. They did not succeed in doing this, and in 1825 Governor Fullerton bought out their rights.

The trouble over landholding in Malacca really came about because the British wanted to survey the whole territory and know who owned land, where, and how much. They also wanted anyone who cut a farm out of the jungle to have a document called a 'lease'. At about the time when the survey was started (1830), the number of civil servants in the Straits was cut down, and so the survey was never finished. Also the Dutch proprietors caused a lot of trouble by giving the Malays false information about the British. The Dutch were not caught out until 1837.

The land problem had still not been properly sorted out at the end of this period (1874). Only much later was the Australian Torrens system of land registration introduced.

Another series of misunderstandings led to the Nanning war of 1831–32. The Dutch had always talked of their 'vassals' of Nanning, and to make certain that they were the overlords, the Sultan of Johore had given all rights he had over Nanning to them in 1757. The Dutch insisted that they had the right to collect a

tenth of the produce of the area, but in about 1765 they gave up trying to collect it, and took a yearly tribute of 400 gantangs of rice only. Nanning was ruled by a penghulu.

While the British were in Malacca (1795–1818) a treaty had been made with Nanning in 1801 which recognized that Nanning was what we might call today a self-governing part of Malacca territory, but still paying the 400 gantangs of rice as tribute. Then when Fullerton began to inquire about landholding in Malacca, and the position of Nanning in 1827, the work was given to a man called Lewis. He wanted the British to have everything they were entitled to from Nanning, and particularly the tenth. He thought that the Penghulu, Abdul Said, was a tyrant who oppressed his people, and he wanted to protect them from him. The other members of the Penang Council wanted to leave well alone in Nanning, but Lewis was able to get the strong-minded Fullerton to see things his way, and insist on the tenth being paid.

Agents were sent to Nanning in 1828 to collect the tenth, but found so much opposition from the people that they asked for soldiers to be sent to protect them. No men were sent, and the question was left for Fullerton to settle when he next came to Malacca. In 1829 Fullerton was still thinking that Nanning was part of Malacca, and the tenth ought to be paid, but he decided to leave things as they were until Penghulu Abdul Said of Nanning died. He asked the Penghulu to meet him at Malacca, but Abdul Said would not go there, nor would he allow officials to make a census of the people in Nanning. Fullerton then sent Mr Church, the Deputy Resident at Malacca, to Nanning to see the Penghulu. Mr Church found that Abdul Said had been made to think that his life was in danger from the British by Malacca merchants. He was able to prove to the Penghulu that this was untrue, and also was able to make friends with him, so that for a time good relations were restored. Abdul Said then allowed the census to be taken.

It did not take the trouble-making Malacca merchants very long to undo Mr Church's good work, and when Governor Fullerton went to Malacca a few months later (October 1829) Abdul Said once again would not meet him, and prepared for

war. Fullerton did not attack the Penghulu, and wrote to the Governor-General in India for advice. The Governor-General in turn wrote to the Company's directors in England, and so it was fully two years before the reply reached Malaya. In the meantime Fullerton's refusal to fight the Nanning men was understood by them to be a sign of weakness.

In England the Directors ruled that the Company had sovereign rights over Nanning, that the tenth could be collected, and that the Recorder's court could try cases from Nanning, but to stop a war it approved Fullerton's idea that the Company's rights should not be insisted upon for the time being. By the time this reply arrived in Malaya the Penang Presidency had been stopped, and a new Governor appointed in 1830. Ibbetson, the Governor, saw now that things had gone too far, and in April of 1831 he was told to act as he thought best.

The war began with 150 Indian soldiers with two six-pounder guns being sent to Nanning. The Malays' tactics were not to fight but to worry them, cut off supplies, and let the jungle do the rest. The soldiers were forced to return to Malacca when their supplies ran out. At this stage Abdul Said was helped by Raja Ali of Rembau, who was made to think that the British intended to conquer Rembau next. Raja Ali sent his best fighter, Sayid Shaaban, to help Abdul Said. This setback caused the British to have another look at the records, when they found the Dutch agreement with Nanning of 1765, where they arranged to have 400 gantangs of padi instead of the tenth as a token that Nanning was subject to Malacca. By this time, of course, there was no turning back—the war must be won, otherwise the British would lose too much face.

Governor Ibbetson then made a treaty with Raja Ali of Rembau in which the British recognized Rembau as an independent state. As a result of this Sayid Shaaban was sent by Raja Ali to help the British. The next campaign was started with many more soldiers, in March 1832. The British commander decided to cut a road 600 feet wide to Taboh, where Abdul Said lived. They could make only three or four miles of road a month. In April, however, Sayid Shaaban arrived and taught the

commander how to fight in the jungle. He showed him how to find stockades and take them. As a result they were able to take Taboh in June. Abdul Said and his chiefs fled, and the war was over.

The British were in a difficult position with Nanning. They offered it to Raja Ali, but he would not have it. Finally they decided that Nanning was definitely part of Malacca territory, that the people must pay the tenth, and that the office of Penghulu would be no more. Abdul Said gave himself up to the British when promised a pardon. They gave him a house and garden in Malacca and a pension of 100 dollars a month. It seems that this kind treatment of Abdul Said did more for British influence than the winning of the war.

(*c*) *Singapore.* The best way to show how quickly the trade of Singapore grew is to take the figure for 1825 and call it 100. Then:

1825	*1830*	*1840*	*1850*	*1859*	*1864*
100	150	230	220	400	510

Before, Europe had no goods to sell in the area, and the trading centre of the day was a stopping-place for traders between India and China and a collecting centre for South-east Asian produce. Now Singapore became in addition the centre for selling British cottons and manufactured goods all over the Far East. Lastly, of course, Singapore was a free port, which made traders from the Spice Islands of the eastern end of the Malay Archipelago (such as the Banda Islands) go direct to Singapore rather than call at Dutch ports and pay the high duties charged. Later on the Dutch too were forced to make their ports free, but by that time it was too late for them to compete with Singapore.

The population of Singapore grew no less rapidly, and as a result market gardening was begun by many people to supply food to the city. Needless to say, cloves, nutmegs, and sugar were tried, but the soil was unsuitable, and they would not grow, even after the land laws were changed (1841–45), when long leases could be had, or land bought outright. Gambier and pepper, however, were grown successfully, but they were grown year after year on the same plot, so that when a piece of land was used up

another was taken, and the same process begun again with no attempt to put anything back into the soil. By about 1840 Chinese planters were crossing into Johore and starting plantations there.

It is human nature for some people never to be satisfied with what they have, and this was equally true of merchants in Singapore. However much trade they handled between the Far East and India and the Far West, they felt that they were missing great opportunities for trade on their very doorstep. They really knew very little about Malaya, but they did know that there was tin in the western states and gold in Pahang. They also thought there must be iron and coal, and that the soil would be good for growing sugar and rice and spices. We are not, therefore, surprised to know that the merchants wanted the British to bring peace to the Malay States, so that they could trade with them, and also that some were willing to invest money in helping rebels to gain control of a state so that they could have trading concessions.

(*d*) *Administration in the Straits Settlements* (1824–74). British rule of the Straits Settlements can be divided into five periods. The first was from 1786 to 1805, when Penang was a Residency, and part of the area ruled by the Governor of Bengal. The second period was from 1805 to 1826, when Penang was given a governor of its own and made a Presidency with a large number of civil servants. In this period Malacca and Singapore were both ruled from elsewhere: Malacca from India, and Singapore from Bencoolen, from 1819 until Raffles retired in 1823, after which it too was under the direct rule of the Governor-General in India. The third period, from 1826 to 1830, saw the three Straits Settlements joined together under the Governor of the Penang Presidency. In the fourth period, from 1830 to 1867, the Penang Presidency was reduced to a Residency, once again part of the Bengal Presidency. The centre of government until 1832 was at Penang, and after that at Singapore. There were two changes in this period: one in 1851, when the Straits Settlements were transferred to the direct rule of the Governor-General (but this did not have any real effect on the Settlements), and another in 1858 after the East India Company ended and the India Office took over its territories. The fifth period began in 1867, when as a

result of a great deal of agitation the Straits Settlements were made into a Crown Colony and ruled from the Colonial Office.

Although after 1830 the Straits Settlements were officially a Residency and ruled by a Resident and his assistants, in 1832 the Resident was called Governor and his Assistant Residents were called Resident Councillors. From 1832 the Governor lived at Singapore and the Resident Councillors were stationed in Malacca, Penang, and Province Wellesley. One effect of the changes made in 1830 was that before then there had been too many civil servants in the Settlements, but afterwards the number was cut down too much, so that these men were terribly overworked. During the period (1832–67) while the Settlements prospered, each in its own way, and the amount of work for the Government increased also, the number of men to do the work was not increased equally. For example, in Singapore to start with, three civil servants shared between them the departments and work of the Superintendent of Lands, the Chief of Police, the Superintendent of Convicts, Magistrate and Commissioner of the Court of Requests (where small debts were dealt with), the Superintendent of Public Works, and they also served on the Town Councils.

'Recorder' was the title given to the magistrate who had to try the serious cases, both criminal and civil, that arose in the Settlements. The Governor and his Assistants, the Resident Councillors, had the right to sit with him to try cases when he was on circuit—that is, when he moved from Settlement to Settlement, spending so much time in each.

The Governor of the Straits Settlements had no authority to make any changes without permission from India. He must write for permission, particularly if he wanted to spend money to make improvements. This was necessary because after the ending of the Company's monopoly of the China trade in 1833 there had been a heavy loss every year, between income and the cost of ruling the Settlements. Thus the urgent need to put down piracy in the Straits was held up for lack of money, as also were other things, such as the Malacca land question, the extension of British power in the Peninsula, and the increase of the Civil Service. In

spite of this lack of money, the Governor had to see that the laws were kept, to make roads and public buildings as and when he could with the little money he had at his command, sell the tax farms (on opium, for example), encourage trade and agriculture. He must obey the strict policy of not interfering in the Malay States, and he could do nothing to help the merchants in them. His civil servants were given no training in the customs and languages of the Chinese and Malays, and had to learn them in their spare time. Civil servants sent to the Straits from India had little or no chance of promotion, and returned to India as soon as they could, often at the point when they had learned enough to do useful work. It was not until 1866 that young men intending to make the Civil Service their career were sent to Malaya to learn the languages and customs, and to be trained particularly for service in the Straits Settlements.

After 1858, when the East India Company had been taken over by the British Government, the Straits Settlements were ruled from the India Office in London. The people living in them began to ask that the Settlements be transferred to the Colonial Office, and that the strict policy of not interfering with the Malay States be changed, so that they could be made peaceful. Their complaints were firstly that the Settlements were so far from India, and the problems were so different, that the Government in India could not understand them or deal quickly with problems as they came up. After the ending of the monopoly of trade with China in 1833, the Company had lost interest in Malaya, but merchants and officials both felt that the Settlements could be used to expand greatly trade with the East Indies. Secondly, they thought that the strict policy of not interfering in the Malay States was wrong. Thirdly, they did not like the idea of India's worst convicts being sent to the Straits, although they did useful work on roads and public buildings, nor did they like the idea of paying for them. Fourthly, the Europeans wanted to share in the work of government in a Legislative Council of which some of the members could be elected. Fifthly, they did not like the idea of the Indian Government charging Customs duties in Singapore, which they tried to do from time to time. Sixthly and lastly, they

objected to the Currency Act of 1855, which made the Indian pie and anna legal tender in the Straits Settlements in addition to the cent. The rupee had been made legal tender as early as 1835, but it was not proposed to stop making cents. The merchants thought that this was the first step in a move to do away with the dollar and replace it with the rupee. By 1857 opposition became so strong that the Act was never enforced.

The first petition to have the Straits Settlements transferred to the Colonial Office was made in 1857, and by 1859 the idea was accepted in England. It seemed a fairly simple matter until talks began between the India Office, the Treasury, and the War Office. Then complications began to appear. At last, after seven years of negotiations, agreement was reached. In August 1866 the British Parliament passed the necessary Act, and on April 1st 1867 the Settlements were transferred to the Colonial Office.

Having succeeded in their first main object, the people of the Straits Settlements turned to the second, which was to get the British Government to change the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Malay States. We have already seen how between 1867 and 1873 fighting had started in Perak and Selangor, and that trade was almost impossible up and down the Linggi river; also that piracy was still going on in the Straits. The complaints of the merchants grew in number, but at first they received no satisfaction at all, as Governor Ord wrote to the Singapore Chamber of Commerce in 1872:

> If persons, knowing the risks they run, owing to the disturbed state of these countries, choose to risk their lives and properties for the sake of large profits which accompany successful trading, they must not expect the British Government to be answerable if their speculation proves unsuccessful.

The policy of the Government did not stop Governor Ord from trying to do what he could to promote peace. He helped Tunku Kudin in Selangor by visiting Pahang to arrange for a force to go to Selangor to help him. He also tried to get the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong to remove the illegal tax-collectors who were killing chances of trade up and down the Linggi river, and to settle a

border dispute between Tunku Kudin and the Dato Klana over who owned Simpang Linggi.

Meanwhile in London the situation in the Straits was being examined to see if interference could be allowed, and changes in the administration brought new men into touch with the problem. It seems that when at last they did decide to do something it was not to do with trade or piracy, but because they wanted to stop any chance of a foreign European Power getting into Malaya. The French and the Dutch were expanding their territory in South-east Asia; the Dutch into Northern Sumatra and the French into Cambodia and Vietnam. The Germans too were trying to find bases in the area, and had already asked for permission to survey in Malayan waters.

Governor Ord retired from the Straits Settlements in 1873, and he was replaced by Sir Andrew Clarke, who was given the following orders:

> You will carefully find out as far as you are able the actual condition of affairs in each state, and . . . any steps which can be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order, and to secure protection to trade and commerce. . . .
>
> . . . to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British Officer to reside in any of the States. Such an appointment could of course only be made with the full consent of the Native Government and the expenses connected with it would have to be defrayed by the Government of the Straits Settlements.

Sir Andrew Clarke arrived in Singapore in November of 1873. By January 1874 he had made peace between the Chinese miners of Larut and had made the Pangkor 'Treaty' with the chiefs of Perak, in which Sultan Abdullah agreed to take the advice of a British Officer in all matters concerning the government of the state except those dealing with Malay custom and religion. He took advantage of an act of piracy, as we have seen in the chapter on Selangor, and in February he met Sultan Abdul Samad and got him to order the trial of men accused of the piracy. He did not press matters in Selangor, but hoped that the Sultan would ask

for a British Adviser. Then in April agreement was reached in Sungai Ujong to stop interference on the Linggi river so that trade could flow freely, and also to allow the British to supervise traffic in the lower part of the river (although at this point nothing was said about appointing a Resident). Meanwhile Sir Andrew Clarke was told not to do anything in Perak for the moment, but to report in detail to London. In August he sent young Frank Swettenham to live at Langat to give informal advice to the Sultan of Selangor. Then fighting between the Dato Klana and the Dato Bandar broke out in Sungai Ujong, and Clarke was forced to take action, which resulted in the Dato Klana gaining control of the whole state and agreeing to have a Resident. Swettenham so pleased Sultan Abdul Samad that he too asked for a British Officer. Finally, in December the Governor wrote to London asking for approval of these appointments as Residents: in Perak, J. W. W. Birch, with Captain Speedy as Assistant Resident at Larut; in Selangor, Tunku Kudin's friend, J. G. Davidson, and Swettenham as Assistant; and at Sungai Ujong, Captain Tatham to be Assistant Resident. Within twelve months of his arrival Sir Andrew Clarke had not merely inquired into the situation in the Malay States, but had interfered in a way that he hoped would bring peace and prosperity to them.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Malaya, 1874–1942

1. THE RESIDENTS AND THE RESIDENTIAL 'SYSTEM' TO 1895

(*a*) *Perak*. Although the Pangkor Engagement was signed in January of 1874, and Birch and Swettenham visited Perak in April, it was not until October that Mr J. W. W. Birch arrived in Perak. The reason for the delay was that Sir Andrew Clarke had to ask London to approve his appointment as Resident, and also that of the Assistant Resident, Captain Speedy. In Larut Captain Speedy was able to get to work immediately after the signing of the Pangkor Engagement, and with peace restored mining was restarted. The Mantri was not at all pleased, because Captain Speedy collected the taxes on tin and spent the money freely in building roads and providing other services—and a very nice house for himself.

In Perak all that Sultan Abdullah and the chiefs wanted was to be left alone to enjoy their rights as they had done in the past. There were now three Rajas all wanting to rule the country. Sultan Abdullah really controlled only the lower part of the river Perak, while Ismail, with the title Sultan Muda, held the upper part of it. The third was Raja Muda Yusuf, who was also angry because he had not been made Sultan. He at any rate had learnt to respect the British, and as a result never took part in the plots of Sultan Abdullah, Sultan Muda Ismail, and the Mantri of Larut.

When Birch at last arrived to begin work in Perak the memory of the Pangkor Engagement of January was already fading, and Sultan Abdullah and his chiefs were angry when they found out that he was going to collect all the taxes in Perak, and did not take much notice that they should be paid according to rank from the

money collected. They also did not like the way Birch was helping their runaway debt-slaves. In fact, what Birch was doing was to take away all the power and self-respect of the chiefs. Their right to tax their people and have debt-slaves was what made life worth living to them.

Things happened so quickly in 1875 that we have to go from month to month. In January Sultan Abdullah asked Sultan Muda Ismail not to give up the royal regalia to Birch. In February and March Birch was trying to get Sultan Abdullah to sign a proclamation which would allow the Resident to make the changes he wanted in collecting taxes, and in the way the country was ruled. Both the Sultan and the Resident sent complaints about each other to the Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, who naturally supported Birch. When in June the Sultan once again would not sign the proclamation he was told that if he did not sign by a certain date in July the British would put him off his throne. The Sultan signed the proclamation a few days later. This allowed the Resident and the Shahbandar to collect taxes and appoint head-men, and made the Resident and a Raja Dris, Judges. The high-handed way that Birch was going about things was making the Sultan and the chiefs more and more angry with him.

Sir Andrew Clarke was transferred to India in May 1875, and his place taken by Sir William Jervois. While Sir Andrew had tried to get Birch to slow down the rate of making changes, and to try to win the support of the chiefs, the new Governor came to agree with the Resident that "it really concerns us little what were the old customs of the country, nor do I consider they are worthy of any consideration in dealing with the present taxation of the country", which Birch had written as long ago as December 1874. By August of 1875 relations between Sultan Abdullah and the Resident had become much worse because of the way Birch continued to help runaway debt-slaves.

In September 1875 the new Governor visited Perak and thought that the best thing to do was for the British to take over the state and let it be ruled by British Officers. He went on to suggest that the other states be taken over as well, the chiefs pensioned off and rajas rule under British supervision. In Perak

only Raja Yusuf was willing to let the British take over the state, while Sultan Abdullah and Sultan Muda Ismail did not like the idea at all. The Governor insisted that the Sultan sign a letter saying that he was willing to allow the British to take over the state, but he did not sign for some weeks. In the meantime the Governor had thought things over and wrote two letters to the Sultan, the first saying that the British would rule the state in the name of the Sultan, and the second (only to be used if Sultan Abdullah would not sign) offering to make Raja Yusuf Sultan. The day before these letters arrived Birch had got the Sultan to sign a letter saying that the British could rule the state. The terms now were that Abdullah would stay as Sultan with an income of 2000 dollars a month, and that his runaway slaves would be sent back, and the state would be ruled in the name of the Sultan.

The Governor quickly worked out how Perak would be ruled, and issued a proclamation saying that the British would rule the state in the name of the Sultan through officers called Queen's Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners. All this had been done without asking the Government in London for approval. No sooner had he issued the proclamation than he had a letter from London telling him that the Government wanted no increase of British power in the Malay states: "British Residents should . . . confine their action to advice offered by them to the native Rulers, under whose direction the government of the country should be carried on." The Governor had already gone too far by this time, and towards the end of October Swettenham was sent to Perak with copies of the proclamation which had been printed. Also Mr Birch had not kept his word about runaway debt-slaves, and made it quite clear that he would do away with slavery just as quickly as he could.

When copies of the proclamation arrived Swettenham and the Resident went to post them in Perak. One chief, Maharaja Lela said that if the proclamation was posted at his village, Pasir Salak, he would kill the Resident. Birch himself went to Pasir Salak, while Swettenham went farther up-river. The Resident, on the morning of November 2nd, ordered his men to put up copies of the proclamation, and went for his morning bath. While

he was still bathing, Maharaja Lela's men came and stabbed him through the walls of his bathing-hut. By killing the Resident, Sultan Abdullah and his chiefs thought to end any further British action in Perak. How wrong they were! Although the taking over of the state was still forbidden by London, the death of a Resident could not go unpunished. Troops arrived from India and Hongkong, and Maharaja Lela and other chiefs were forced to hide in the jungle. Some months later, on being promised a fair trial, the Perak chiefs, including Maharaja Lela, surrendered. The Maharaja and three of his men were executed in January 1877, and Sultan Abdullah and Sultan Muda Ismail were made to leave Perak and live elsewhere. Abdullah with the Mantri, Laksamana, and Shahbandar was sent to the Seychelles Islands, while Ismail, who had never signed the Pangkor Engagement, went to Johore. Raja Yusuf, who had taken no part in the affair, was made Regent of Perak.

The result of Birch's murder did have the effect of stopping any idea of Perak being ruled directly by the British. Davidson was sent from Selangor to be Resident in Perak, and after a very short stay resigned early in 1877. Unlike Birch, he had a thorough knowledge of Malay, and understood the customs of the people. His place was taken by Mr (later Sir) Hugh Low, who had spent a very long time at Labuan, and also had a thorough knowledge of Malay language and customs. His task—and that of the other Residents, whose work we shall study in the next sections—was summed up by Sir Frank Swettenham:

> The idea was that a British officer, or two, should be sent into a country where white men were unknown; where everything that could be wrong was wrong; where almost every man was a law unto himself; where there was hardly any trade, no development of any kind, no roads, no police, or other means of keeping order; and where two or three individuals claimed to be supreme. It was . . . supposed that . . . the single white man would reduce everything to order by the exercise of tactful advice.

Sir Hugh Low understood what others in authority should never forget, that the only way to deal with a Malay people is through their recognized chiefs and head-men. To gain their co-operation

it is necessary to show them at least as much consideration as if they were Europeans, and infinitely more patience. Moreover, they should be consulted before taking action, not after.

Although the leaders of the plot to kill Birch had been sent away or executed, there were still many chiefs in Perak to make things difficult for Hugh Low when he arrived. He, however, had the patience that Birch lacked, and the knowledge and personality that made it possible for him to make friends with the Malays. His best idea was to form a State Council, on which the Regent, the Resident and his Assistant, some major chiefs, and leaders of the Chinese living in Perak had seats. Within the Council every law suggested was fully discussed, as were other important matters, including the death penalty for crimes. It also appointed headmen and chiefs, and decided what salaries they should have, and sorted out the difficult task of giving pensions to chiefs who had lost important rights with the changes.

Raja Yusuf had been made Regent, and later Sultan, of Perak. He was never popular with his people, and often hasty. It needed all Hugh Low's tact at times to stop him from action which could easily cause trouble. The Council of State became a great help in this, for often the Sultan found himself opposed by all the other members.

The problem of debt-slavery took many years to solve completely. Hugh Low did return runaway slaves to their owners, but made sure that they were not punished as before with death or cruelty. He made it possible for them to buy their freedom, but the changes that had taken place also helped, because a chief's importance was no longer measured by the number of slaves he had and the people he could tax. As a tax-collector for the state he was paid a salary, or if he was not given an official position he had a pension. As soon as he could the Resident had sent away the soldiers brought to Perak after the murder of Mr Birch, and used the village penghulus and the chiefs of districts to control their villages or districts, since their people were used to obeying them.

When Hugh Low arrived in Perak he found the state deeply in debt. This debt of 800,000 dollars he paid off, by careful management, in six years. With peace in the state, money came in mainly from taxes on tin.

Sir Hugh Low, then, succeeded in bringing peace and prosperity to Perak. Its debts paid off, by the time he retired (1889) the state had an income of more than 2,000,000 dollars, with 1,500,000 dollars in the bank. Low had always been interested in plants, and after rubber seedlings had been brought to Malaya he had planted rubber-trees in front of his house, and gave seeds to anyone who would plant them.

(*b*) *Selangor*. The problems facing Mr Davidson, the first Resident in Selangor, were very different from those in Perak. He had been friendly with Tunku Kudin for many years, and knew the people and the country. The other important differences between Selangor and Perak were, first, the Sultan of Selangor was in charge of a united country ruled by his son-in-law Tunku Kudin, and, secondly, he had asked quite freely for a British Officer to help in the government of his state.

As in Perak, the importance of getting the tin-miners back to work was seen, but in Selangor the task was left to Yap Ah Loy, Capitan China at Kuala Lumpur. The civil war had cost him a great deal of money (as it also had the state). He had to borrow more to get the mines started, and by 1878 he was nearly bankrupt. Fortunately there was a sudden rise in the price of tin in 1879, which solved his problems. Just when all seemed to be going very well, fire broke out at Kuala Lumpur which burnt out a great part of the town, and, of course, Ah Loy lost a great deal. Never one to allow setbacks to stop him, he started work at once to rebuild.

Davidson as Resident lived at Klang with Tunku Kudin, and Swettenham as Assistant Resident lived at Langat with Sultan Abdul Samad. They both travelled a great deal in the state, and found the Sultan and the Viceroy willing to take their advice. As in Perak, there was a heavy debt to be paid off—money borrowed during the civil war—and the country had to be quietened and made peaceful again. Because of the fighting, Kuala Selangor

had been deserted by the ray'ats, and it was the Resident's task to show that peace really had come to the state, and that the people could go back to their farms and be sure that they would not be disturbed again. Fortunately, there was nothing like the same amount of debt-slavery in Selangor as in Perak, so this did not give them much worry. Because of the friendship and goodwill that Davidson and Swettenham had with the Sultan, the Viceroy, and the chiefs they never had difficulty in getting their ideas accepted—ideas for changes in taxation, about the way chiefs and penghulus were chosen, about starting a proper system of justice.

As we have seen, after the troubles in Perak Davidson was sent there in 1876, but he stayed only a short time, and returned to Selangor to take up his business interests again, having resigned as Resident of Perak early in 1877. The next Resident was Mr Douglas, who had been Assistant Resident at Langat from 1875, when Swettenham was sent to Perak to help Birch. He remained as Resident until 1882, with his son-in-law, Mr Daly, as his assistant.

Once peace had been restored in Selangor from 1874, and Raja Mahdi's attempt to restart the civil war promptly stopped in 1875, Kuala Lumpur as a town grew very quickly under Yap Ah Loy, who kept its people very well controlled. By 1878 it was seen that it would be a much better centre for the government of the state than Klang, and in the next year the decision to move there was made. Many merchants had also moved up-river. In 1880 the move was completed. For the Resident the move was not happy, for he could not get on with Yap Ah Loy at all, and wanted his office as Capitan China taken from him. In 1882 the Resident resigned. His place was taken by Frank Swettenham, who had been in Singapore from 1876, first as Secretary for Malay Affairs and then as Assistant Colonial Secretary from 1878. When he took up his post as Resident of Selangor he was still only thirty-two.

Yap Ah Loy found the new Resident full of ideas for the development of the state, and sometimes did not like them. Swettenham soon came to like Ah Loy, and had the greatest respect

for him. In this way, although they did not always agree, they remained as friends until Ah Loy died in 1885. One of Swettenham's ideas was to have a railway between Kuala Lumpur and Klang. It was started in July 1883 ceremonially by the Governor of the Straits Settlements cutting the first turf, and finished in 1886, and formally opened by the Governor and the Sultan. Another idea was to build roads all over the state to make it easier to get about. Swettenham started by having a six-foot-wide path cut, and having it widened as traffic increased until it became a metalled road with strongly built bridges.

Between 1880 and 1895 Kuala Lumpur grew quickly into a fine town, worthy of being the capital of the state. Swettenham took care to start Government offices for health, education, posts, and land, as well as justice and finance. In his speech at the opening of the Kuala Lumpur–Klang railway (September 15th 1886) Raja Laut summed up the work of the Resident:

> Since the arrival of the British Resident in the country, we have felt as one elevated up and placed between Earth and Sky. So great had been the change from our previous to our present condition. The first and most important change is that now peace and prosperity reign throughout and confusion is unknown, so that all can dwell in peace and safety. The second is that foreigners and strangers now come in crowds, much to the profit of the country. Thirdly, all the laws are just, therefore everyone is settled in peace. Fourthly, the country has been opened up and improved by means of roads so that all can easily come and go. Fifthly, this our railway is now made in order to further facilitate our means of transport and to assist in the development of this State, in order that the traders and others may work with profit to themselves and to the government. Places that were far away have now been brought near and goods that were dear have now become cheap.

(*c*) *Negri Sembilan*. As in Selangor, a local Ruler, the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong, had asked for British help to get control of his little state, and had quite freely asked for a Resident. He was troubled by the Chinese miners and the chiefs of the other Minangkabau states, and found that the Resident could keep his independence for him. He too was willing to work with his

Resident and take his advice, and the fact that he had gained control of the whole of his state made it possible for the changes to be made without trouble.

The murder of Birch in Perak and the fighting there was also echoed in Sungai Ujong. In the states around Sungai Ujong the fighting started because the chiefs did not like having British troops in Sungai Ujong, and thought that the Dato Klana would use them to get control over the whole area. The chiefs invaded Sungai Ujong when a British survey party went into Terachi near the end of 1875. This only caused more troops to be sent, and they had not only stopped the invasion, but had driven back the chiefs and their men and taken Terachi, Sri Menanti, and Ulu Muar by the January of 1876.

Sir William Jervois, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, set up police stations at the end of this little campaign, putting in charge Dato Sutan, of Sungai Ujong, and the Assistant Resident. The people did not like the idea of British police posts in Terachi, Sri Menanti, and Ulu Muar, and after a short time they were attacked and the police driven out. The only result was that the British soldiers had once again to go and take charge.

To solve the problem Jervois turned to the Maharaja of Johore for help. In November of 1876 they were able to get most of the chiefs of the Minangkabau states to meet at Singapore. They decided to form a federation of Sri Menanti, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Johol, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, and Inas. The chiefs said they would have Tunku Antar of Sri Menanti as their Yam-tuan. A treaty was made in which the chiefs agreed to keep the peace, to allow traders to move about freely, and to let the Maharaja of Johore settle arguments between the states themselves, and between the states and the British. The result of this treaty was that the Minangkabau states had been reduced to three groups. First was Sungai Ujong with its British Resident; second was the new federation ruled by Tunku Antar; and third were the states still independent: Rembau, Jelebu, Tampin, and Kesang (Lower Muar).

In 1877 the Lela Maharaja, Ruler of Rembau, gave to the British the land at Simpang over which he and the people of Selangor

had quarrelled, and in the next year (1878) Selangor gave to Sungai Ujong the district of Lukut, which made the boundary between the two states much more clear.

The Rulers of both Jelebu and Rembau signed similar treaties to the Sri Menanti one in 1877, but in both cases the chiefs did not like them. In Rembau the chiefs drove out their ruler, Haji Sahil, and asked the Governor to settle things for them instead of the Maharaja of Johore—they had not liked the way he had given money and a title to Haji Sahil. Also in Jelebu, Yam-tuan Muda Abdullah was quarrelling with his chiefs, and fighting started between them. Both the Yam-tuan and the chiefs represented by the Penghulu asked the Governor to settle their quarrel and send a Resident, but the Governor thought that this was not the time to appoint a Resident. Instead an agreement was made in 1883 and again in 1886 for a British 'Collector' to go to Jelebu. A 'Collector' could be 'Assistant Resident' under another name, for he had the same sort of work to do. In 1887 the chiefs of Rembau accepted a British Officer to take charge of the collection of taxes and finance, but, it seems, nothing else. In the same year it was agreed that the Governor of the Straits Settlements would take over from the Sultan of Johore the charge of foreign affairs of the Sri Menanti group of states.

The name Negri Sembilan really came into being in 1889 when Tampin and Rembau joined the Sri Menanti federation, for at last there were nine states which joined it. Each of the Rulers in the group then formally asked for a British Resident to help him rule his states, and also asked for British protection. The final chapter was the Agreement of 1895, when the states of Negri Sembilan agreed to form themselves into only six. They were Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Tampin, Johol, Sri Menanti, and Rembau. The other six tiny states joined Rembau. A British Resident was then appointed to the Federation under the usual terms.

(*d*) *Pahang*. Unlike the Sultans of Perak and Selangor, Bendahara Ahmad of Pahang had not to ask the British for any help when the civil war had ended in his favour (1863). If anything the British, and the Temenggong of Johore, had helped his brother Mutahir. This meant that the Temenggong (from 1868

Maharaja) and the Bendahara were not very friendly. In 1874 Sir Andrew Clarke tried to get them to become friendly. They did when it was found that the Bendahara had nothing to do with the killing of a Johore headman of the Endau district. The end of this little chapter came in 1881, when the Maharaja visited Pahang, and they became good friends.

When Jervois was in Singapore in 1875 he offered British advice and help in the development of Pahang, but his offer was not accepted. Not until another ten years had passed did trouble arise in Pahang over concessions given to outsiders which made it necessary for the British to try to get a treaty with the Bendahara.

Ever since the Treaty of London of 1824, which had declared Malaya a British 'sphere' of influence, both Pahang and Johore had really become independent states. In 1868, after some consultation with the Sultan of Riau, the Temenggong of Johore took the new title of 'Maharaja'. In 1882 Bendahara Ahmad took the title of 'Sultan', but he was not formally installed as Sultan by his chiefs for another two years, at the end of 1884. The Maharaja took the title of Sultan shortly after, in 1885.

In that year Frank Swettenham was sent to see Sultan Ahmad to try to get him to settle certain problems: there was a dispute over the boundary with Jelebu, a quarrel with one of his major chiefs, and the question of concessions had come up. He had, it seems, no difficulty in settling the question of the Jelebu boundary, or of getting Sultan Ahmad to forgive the chief, but he would not agree to have a British Agent at Pekan. In the next year (1886) the Governor tried to make a treaty with Pahang, and Hugh Clifford also tried. It was not until the Sultan of Johore told Sultan Ahmad that it would be a good thing that he at last agreed to have a treaty (1887).

With the opening up of the western Malayan states, and their mining of tin, the attention of merchants turned to Pahang. They knew that gold had been found at Raub, and thought that tin and other minerals could also be found in the state. The difficulty was that when a concession was granted for men to search for minerals in Ulu Pahang the area allowed them was not stated exactly; for example, a concession in 1885 granted a piece of

land "in Penjom where the Chinese are now working, the first measurement to commence from there to the right five miles, to the left five miles, in front five miles and behind five miles". This was taken to mean they had a square piece of land, each side being ten miles. The concession took no account of the fact that the Chinese miners had worked at Penjom for a very long time, and had paid tribute to the local chiefs. The new company made the Chinese miners leave their mines, and naturally made the chiefs very angry. In the end the Chinese miners were allowed to go back, but had to pay the company the dues that before they paid the chiefs. This was only one of the very many concessions made by the Sultan. By the end of 1887 nearly all of Ulu Pahang had been granted to people looking for valuable minerals. They would pay the Sultan 10 per cent of all that they found, and no doubt gave him a suitable 'present' on the granting of the concession. The chiefs whose land had been given naturally were very angry indeed, but could do little or nothing about it.

The aim of the British, in getting a treaty by which a British Agent could be sent to Pahang, was to settle the difficulties that must arise from the granting of these concessions; to help the Sultan make the country peaceful and stop the fighting that still went on between the chiefs; and to protect the country in case of invasion from outside. With the help of the Sultan of Johore, Sultan Ahmad was at last persuaded to write a letter asking for a treaty in April of 1887, but it was not until October that the treaty itself was signed. In addition to the points already mentioned, the Sultan would not make any treaties with other foreign Powers unless the British agreed, or give concessions to people of any European country other than Britain. When dealing with foreign states the Sultan also agreed to consult the British, and finally the British formally recognized the Ruler of Pahang's right to the title of Sultan.

Hugh (later Sir Hugh) Clifford was the first British Agent in Pahang. He suggested that a new set of laws on the English or Johore model be introduced, but modified to suit conditions in Pahang; secondly, that a High Court be set up at the capital, Pekan; and, thirdly, that power should be given according to rank

to chiefs and headmen to act as magistrates in their own districts or kampongs. The Sultan liked the idea of a code of laws, and Clifford set to work to draw one up. At that time they did not think of having a Resident in Pahang.

The High Court that Clifford had suggested started work in March of 1888, but it was not long before complaints were made that the Bendahara was interfering with the decisions made by the judges. Clifford soon found that little justice was done. He thought that the Sultan was not really interested in making changes. One good thing that did happen was that Clifford made friends with Tunku Mahmud, who showed that he was always willing to help, and who became one of the judges.

The journeys that Clifford made in Pahang showed him that there was a great deal wrong with the way the state was run. Some chiefs were kept at Pekan, while others began to try to take over their districts. The report that Clifford sent made the Governor visit Pekan and ask the Sultan to have the advice of a resident British Officer. The Sultan, however, did not like the idea too much, and it was only when Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore visited him in August of 1888 that Sultan Ahmad wrote to the Governor confessing that he had ordered the killing of Go Hui, and asked for a "British Officer in order that he may assist us in matters relating to the government of our country".

Go Hui was a British citizen living with his wife, Ah Chu, at Pekan. One night in February of 1888 Go Hui was stabbed while passing near the palace. Hugh Clifford asked the Sultan about it, and was told that "devils did it". It seemed that nobody would have dared to attack anyone so near the palace unless it was by the Sultan's orders. Shortly afterwards Go Hui died, and while Clifford was away the Sultan's men carried off Ah Chou, screaming to the house of the Captain China, where she was locked up. The Sultan said she owed him money.

The first Resident of Pahang was Mr J. P. Rodger, who was appointed in October 1888, and began officially on July 1st 1889. Hugh Clifford was made first Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, and then Assistant Resident. Other European officers were appointed as Collectors and Magistrates and in charge of the police for

districts. The Supreme Court was made up of Tunku Mahmud, the Bendahara, the Temenggong, and the Resident. The State Council was headed by the Sultan, Tunku Mahmud, the Sultan's brother, and the most important chiefs. The Council made Tunku Mahmud Regent of Pahang, and in his reports the Resident noted that the new Regent helped him a very great deal.

The way the ray'ats were treated reminded one of Perak before Hugh Low arrived. They were taxed heavily by the Sultan and chiefs, there were import and export duties on almost everything, and they could be called on to work for their chief or the Sultan when needed. There was also much slavery in the state—true slaves, non-Muslims taken in battle or just bought, and debt-slaves, who found it almost impossible to free themselves. The fighting in the civil war and the too heavy taxation had made many people leave the country, and it was calculated that Pahang had only about 35,000 people in 1888.

The Resident, then, had to try to deal with four main things—the stopping of slavery; getting the chiefs to limit forced labour (*kerah*) to a reasonable amount; the fixing of allowances for the Sultan and the chiefs, and getting the chiefs to give up their rights of taxation; and, finally, the making of a set of rules for people holding land. He suggested that in future slaves must be registered, and that they should be told how much it would cost them to buy their freedom, and that there should be no more slaves. With regard to *kerah*, he thought that nobody should have to work more than a total of two months in the year, and that a man could send someone else to take his place, or pay a small sum of money instead. The payment of money to the chiefs to compensate them for their loss of rights was badly handled, and led to the rebellion.

When the State Council met in January of 1890 a letter from several chiefs was read asking for bigger allowances, and saying that the state ought to pay allowances to headmen, and that it ought also to put into writing their rights and duties. The chiefs were still not satisfied, even though they were given bigger allowances, and the British Officers found it difficult to work with them.

The rebellion in Pahang started when a chief of the second

rank, the Orang Kaya of Semantan Che Bahman, said he would accept only the allowance of a major chief. When called to Pulau Tawar—where the Sultan was living—to answer charges he would not go, and when another chief was sent to fetch him he went into the jungle, and then into Kelantan. He collected men and came back in 1891 to raid. He took Temerloh. The next year (1892) the Sultan himself led the soldiers, and the rebels were driven back into the jungle. He offered to forgive all rebels except the leaders. Che Bahman tried to get other chiefs to join him, without much success. With the Sultan leading the force against him, Bahman was made to take refuge in Kelantan. Between May and September of 1892 the rebels were pushed farther and farther back, until once again Bahman and his friends escaped into Kelantan, and really the rebellion was over. Even so Bahman did not give up, for he was helped by the Sultan of Kelantan. The end came in 1894, when Clifford got permission from the Siamese to try to catch Bahman in Kelantan, and only just failed. In the end Bahman gave himself up to the Siamese, who were overlords of Kelantan, and went to live in Siam.

Besides ending Bahman's threat of rebellion in 1892, that year was a turning-point because it marked a much better understanding between the British and the Pahang chiefs. In 1890 one of the major chiefs, the Maharaja Perba, complained that a mining company had started work on land belonging to him. In the early part of 1892 he complained again about the Penjom Mining Company mining gold in his territory. Later on in the year, in September, Sultan Ahmad went to Singapore, and the Maharaja was asked to go as well. After some hesitation he did go. There he met the Governor, and told him of the things that were still worrying the people in Ulu Pahang: inadequate chiefs' allowances, the way mining companies misread their grants, and the *kerah* rules. The Maharaja Perba was pleased to find that the Governor felt that his complaints were justified, and would do his best to have them put right. This friendly meeting in Singapore did lead to a much better relationship between the British and the chiefs, so that they were now willing to work with the British Officers and obey the laws.

2. THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

In the twenty years between 1875 and 1895 the Residents in Perak, Selangor, and Sungai Ujong had worked wonders. They had completely changed the situation in these states, which had become peaceful and prosperous, particularly in the case of Perak and Selangor. In 1888 Pahang and in 1889 the whole of Negri Sembilan had Residents. In 1878 the Governor had sent a letter to the Residents appointed up to that date in which he said: "The Residents have been placed in the States as advisers, not as rulers, and if they take upon themselves to disregard this principle they will . . . be held responsible if trouble [arises]." This meant that the Resident could advise the Ruler, but if as a result of his advice things went wrong, then the Resident had to take the blame for it.

As time went on the Residents became busier and busier, each dealing with problems as they arose, and each in his own way. By 1893 Swettenham, at that time Resident of Perak, noticed that because the Residents were working alone, serious differences were arising in the way things were done, such as in the collection of taxes, the administration of justice, and in land laws. He thought that it would be a good thing if a way was found to have the same arrangements for all the states. He suggested that a Resident-General should be appointed to keep an eye on the affairs of each of the states with Residents. Each state would continue to be independent, but meetings of their Rulers and chiefs ought to be held from time to time so that agreement could be reached on matters that concerned them all. Then he thought that if a Civil Service was started to serve all the states, instead of each one individually, it would have the effect of their all being ruled in the same way.

The Colonial Office thought over Swettenham's idea for two years, and then in 1895 he was told that if the rulers agreed, then their states could be federated. Swettenham thought that federation would increase the importance of the Rulers, and their states would lose none of their independence. The Rulers did agreed, and

the Federation came into being on July 1st 1896, joined by Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang. Frank Swettenham became the first Resident-General, and made his centre at Kuala Lumpur. The practical result was that the Federated States were ruled from Kuala Lumpur, although in theory they were still independent. The head of each main Government department had his office there. These were the Legal Adviser, the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, the Financial Commissioner, the Judicial Commissioner, the Commissioner of Police, and the Director of Public Works. The Treaty that brought the Federation into being made the Governor of the Straits Settlements also British High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States, and superior to the Resident-General.

The Malay Rulers and their chiefs met in 1897 at Kuala Kangsar, Perak. Their discussions lasted for a full week, and they reached agreement on a number of important things. They agreed that each State Council would pass laws to put their decisions into practice. The Rulers met again in 1903 at Kuala Lumpur. The Federation had been going long enough by then for them to be able to see how it was working out. The Sultan of Perak said that really their states were ruled from Kuala Lumpur, and that the State Councils seemed to have little say in government, and also he thought that the Malays did not have enough to do in the ruling of their country.

There is no doubt that the Federation brought prosperity to its members. One of Swettenham's ideas had been that the richer states of Perak and Selangor would be able to help the other two states progress more quickly. Population rose from about 425,000 in 1891 to over 675,000 in 1901, and after the first ten years of the Federation income was nearly three times as much as it had been in 1895. Post-offices had been set up everywhere, hospitals cared for the sick, schools had been started, and roads and railways had been made.

In spite of all the undoubted increase in efficiency of government and increase in prosperity, there was a growing demand for changes. The merchants, miners, and planters wanted to be able to put their point of view directly to the Government. Also there

was a feeling that the Resident-General had too much power. Therefore in 1909 the Rulers were asked to approve the setting up of a Federal Council. The High Commissioner would be the President, and the members would be the four Rulers, the Resident-General, and the four Residents. The High Commissioner could bring in four 'un-officials' (people outside the Government). For each head of department brought in to the Council another 'un-official' had to join also.

These changes, however, once again were all right in theory, but when put into practice had the opposite effect to that desired. The Rulers became just ordinary members of the Council, without any rights over and above the other members. They found that their position was very difficult, in that they could attend Council meetings if they wished, but could not take part in its debates without loss of face. Also their State Councils found themselves to be very much reduced in power, for all business was done in the Federal Council, and they just had to accept the laws it passed, and which were signed by the High Commissioner. One final change was that the Resident-General was given the new title of Chief Secretary, and his powers were cut down. The result of the new arrangement can be summed up by saying that from 1909 the High Commissioner had taken over the powers of the Resident-General, since he signed the Bills passed by the Federal Council, and instead of gaining in influence the Rulers lost it.

The demand for changes did not come until the 1920's, because of the general prosperity of the country. The British thought that if the State Councils had some of their old powers given back to them the Unfederated States might be willing to join the Federation. Thus changes were made in 1927. The Sultans withdrew from the Council, and their places were taken by a Malay from each state who could speak freely. The other members of the Council had been five Europeans, two Chinese, and one Malay as 'un-officials', and three more were brought in to make their number up to eleven. The number of officials was increased to thirteen, which made it possible for more heads of Government departments to attend. It was arranged for the Rulers to meet the

High Commissioner and the Chief Secretary each year, but in practice Residents met Rulers before Council meetings, and talked over with them the things to be brought before the Council. This new arrangement was much better from the Rulers' point of view, but it did not have the effect of bringing the other five states into the Federation.

As time went on the Chief Secretary became the Federal Secretary, and his authority over the Residents lessened, so that he became their servant rather than their master. The State Councils took charge of such things as farming, education, public works, and health, and looked after their own finances. The Federal Council still looked after matters that concerned them all, such as police, defence, overall finance, and Customs duties.

Until 1941 the relationship between the Colonial Office and Malaya was confusing. The Federated Malay States were still ruled by their Sultans, with the advice of British Officers, but in practice it seems that they allowed a great deal of the actual work of government to be done by the British Officers. The changes that took place in 1927 did much to give back to the Rulers the feeling that the Federal Council was making laws that had first gained their approval, and the restoring of many of the powers of the State Councils to do with local affairs in the 1930's must have increased this feeling. Perhaps the most remarkable thing of all was that there was no general demand before the Second World War for independence, or for further changes in government.

3. THE UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES

Strictly speaking, when talking of the 'Unfederated' Malay States we generally think of the northern states of Perlis, Kedah, Trengganu, and Kelantan on the one hand, and of Johore on the other. So far as their modern history goes we can deal with the northern group in one section, and Johore in another.

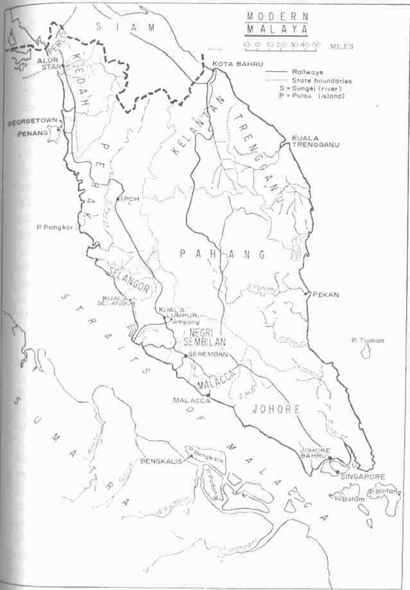
(*a*) *The Northern States of Perlis, Kedah, Trengganu, and Kelantan.* The history of the states on the eastern side of Malaya, Trengganu and Kelantan, can perhaps be said always to have

been rather separate from that of the western states. Western and eastern states were separated by ranges of mountains and many miles of jungle, so that communication between them was fairly small. Swettenham in 1885 found it quite an adventure to cross from Selangor to Pahang.

We have seen how the Siamese took Kedah in 1821, and how the Burney Treaty of 1826 allowed them to keep it. What the Burney Treaty did, however, was to stop the Siamese from advancing any farther down the west coast. The vague wording of the clause dealing with Trengganu and Kelantan merely said that the Siamese and the British would not interfere with trade, and nothing at all about stopping the Siamese advance down the east coast. It is clear that by 1850 the Siamese had made the Sultans of Kelantan and Trengganu accept their overlordship, in that they both sent the bunga mas regularly, as Kedah and Perak had done before 1821. Whether it was sent as a token of respect only, or as a kind of 'licence to trade', or to try to stop their powerful neighbour from invading them, is not very clear. Kelantan was weaker than Trengganu, and had a common frontier with Siam, and was less able to refuse to obey its orders. We could sum up by saying that both states were semi-independent, but that Trengganu had more independence than Kelantan. The British in 1862 thought of Trengganu as 'an independent principality'. In the 1890's, however, when Hugh Clifford wanted to go into Kelantan to capture Che Bahman, permission was obtained from the Siamese, which shows that at this time (1894–95) at least the British had accepted that Siam was overlord of Kelantan.

The later history of Kedah, and of the little state of Perlis which the Siamese separated from it, can be told briefly. In 1842, when the Sultan of Kedah made his peace with them, he was allowed to return and rule his state as part of the Siamese Empire. He promptly tried to take the Krian district from Perak, and in the end a British force had to be sent to make him withdraw. The Kedah Malays traded with Penang and supplied the Settlement with food and exports.

The events which led to Siam giving up claims to overlordship over Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu in 1909 perhaps



MODERN MALAYA
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 MILES
Railways
State boundaries
S = Sungei (river)
P = Pulau (island)
SIAM
PERLIS
KEDAH
ALOR STAR
GEORGETOWN
PENANG
PERAK
IPOH
P. Pangkor
KOTA BAHRU
KELANTAN
TRENGGANU
KUALA TRENGGANU
PAHANG
S. Pahang
PEKAN
P. Tioman
SELANGOR
KUALA SELANGOR
KUALA LUMPUR
Ampang
NEGRI SEMBILAN
SEREMBAN
MALACCA
JOHORE
JOHORE BAHRU
SINGAPORE
P. Batam
P. Bintang
STRAITS OF MALACCA
SUMATRA
BENGKALIS
P. Bengkalis

began with the first Anglo-Burmese War of 1824–26. Later, the Second and Third Burmese Wars may have led the suspicious Siamese to think that they were next on the list of countries to be taken over by the British, even though time and time again they were told that the British had no intention at all of attacking them. To the east of Siam the French took Cambodia under their 'protection' in 1863, and then having taken what is now Vietnam in 1883 insisted that the present-day Laos was part of Vietnam and not of Siam. The British saw that an independent Siam would be a good buffer state between themselves in Burma and the French in Vietnam. The French were able to take Laos from the Siamese in 1893, after a diplomatic victory over Britain. The possibility of trouble over the boundary region of Upper Burma, the Shan States, with Laos now in French hands, was ended when France and Britain formed the Entente Cordiale in 1904. A settlement of the boundary between Pahang and Trengganu was reached with the Siamese by the British, who did not discuss the matter with the Sultan of Trengganu. To make sure that other foreign Powers did not get into eastern Malaya, the British in 1897, and again in 1902, agreed that Siam should appoint Advisers (rather like Residents) in the two states in 1902, and also take charge of their relations with foreign Powers. The Siamese would not interfere in the two states while they were peaceful and orderly. The Sultan of Trengganu was strong enough to be able to reject this Anglo-Siamese agreement, but the Sultan of Kelantan was not, and the Siamese Adviser and his Assistant arrived in 1903—Englishmen in Siamese Government service. In the treaty of 1897 the Siamese agreed not to give up any land on the Peninsula, or allow foreign Governments any concessions unless the British agreed.

Between 1904 and 1907 the situation between Britain, France, and Siam was worked out and settled. The end of this story came with the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, by which the Siamese gave up their rights over Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu in return for a loan of £4,000,000 to complete the railway between Singapore and Bangkok, and Britain giving up some of the rights their traders had while living in Siam.

Kelantan's Siamese Adviser was in 1909 merely replaced by a British official. Even before 1909 civil servants from the Federated States had gone there. Now independent, although under British protection, the Sultan of Kelantan accepted the idea of having a State Council to help him rule, with advice from the Adviser. Except for a few heads of department, the Malays ruled the country.

The Sultan of Trengganu would give up no part of his independence and would only agree to have a British Agent at first. He did, however, agree to the idea of a State Council, and allow changes in the way the state was ruled. He would not have an Adviser until 1919, when he made a new treaty with the British accepting their protection and control of his foreign policy. He kept control of his state, making his Mentri Besar chairman of the Council. As in Kelantan, only a few British officials were sent, and its government was in the hands of its own people—helped, of course, by the Adviser, who was not a member of the State Council.

Although the Sultan of Kedah allowed the British to advise him, and help rule his state from 1910, he did not make a formal treaty until 1923. He kept the right to approve the appointment of any British officials to serve in his state. He also accepted the idea of a State Council with himself as its president, three Malay members acceptable to the British, and the British Adviser.

Finally, the same sort of thing was done in Perlis. The treaty to settle finally its relationship with the British was not signed until 1930. A complication for this state was that money had been borrowed from the Siamese, which it took twenty years to pay off. Again the Sultan ruled with the help of his State Council and the Adviser.

All four states were invited to join the Federated Malay States, but refused, preferring to keep their independence, and for their people to be ruled by their Sultan and their own chiefs and to be able to have advice from a British Officer. In this way they kept much more of their independence, knowing that in case of need they could call upon experts from the Federated States, and keep control of their own finances.

(*b*) *Johore*. There was no suggestion of asking the Maharaja of Johore to have a British Officer to help him rule. Both he and his father had lived in Singapore, and had always kept in close touch with the Governor. This meant that from about 1840, when the mainland began to be developed, it was easy for them to have advice from the British officials in dealing with problems as they arose.

When the British decided that Maharaja Abu-Bakar's father was the rightful ruler of Johore, Sultan Husein's son was given the title Sultan, but ruled only the district of Kesang. The agreement was that he held it only for his lifetime, and that when he died the British could have the district and add it to Malacca, or it could go to the Temenggong—as he was at that time (1854–55). Sultan Ali died in 1877, and the British decided that they did not want any more land in Malaya. It so happened that Sultan Ali's sons also were not interested in Kesang. To settle the matter the chiefs of the district met and decided that Kesang should be part of Johore. Sultan Ali's family wanted the British to pay their allowances, but after a time it was agreed that the Maharaja would pay them.

Maharaja Abu-Bakar made a new treaty with the British in 1895. By it he was formally recognized as Sultan by the British. (He had been using the title of 'Sultan' since 1885.) The independence of his state was guaranteed by the British, who promised to protect him if he were attacked by any outsider, and he accepted their advice on foreign affairs. It seems that unofficially he had taken advice on this ever since 1862. He in turn promised not to interfere with the affairs of other states; he would give no concessions to anyone but Asians or British, and accepted the idea that a British Officer with duties rather like that of a Consul should live in Johore. In fact, no Agent was ever appointed.

Sultan Abu-Bakar, now that matters in his own state had been settled, travelled widely. He visited Britain several times, and made friends with Queen Victoria. He found the English climate suited his health. An interesting thing to record is that in 1892 the Emperor of China gave him the Order of the Double

Dragon (First Class) for dealing justly with the Chinese living in Johore.

In 1895 Sultan Abu-Bakar gave his state a Constitution. It allowed the chiefs the right to elect the next Sultan after the last one had died, gave State pensions for himself and his family, and brought into being a Council of Ministers and a State Council which had the power to pass laws some of which the Sultan could not refuse to sign. After this work had been completed he went to England, where he died in London in September 1895. He was succeeded by his son, who became Sultan Ibrahim.

Sultan Ibrahim carried on the work of Sultan Abu-Bakar, and in 1912 started an Executive Council in addition to the Council of Ministers, and to the Legislative Council begun in 1895. The new council was very like those in states which had Residents, made up of the most important heads of Government departments. The Sultan made two more changes in 1914. The first was to allow men not Malays and not Johore citizens to join the Council of State, and the second was to accept a British Adviser, after seeing that the rapid development of Johore, with the new plantations of rubber, was making government of the state too complicated. It should be pointed out that the British had always taken the view that Johore was an independent state allied to them. These arrangements worked so well that no further changes were made up to 1941.

4. ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN MALAYA TO 1941

(*a*) *Tin*. Even if Malaya had not formed a barrier to traders travelling between India and China two thousand years ago, they would have gone there to buy tin. Malay Malacca had a money system based on the metal. The Portuguese found that they could not keep away Arabic and Indian traders going to the northern states for tin, and when the Dutch established themselves at Batavia and the eastern end of the Malay Archipelago they made up their minds to take Malacca, not only because it commanded the Straits of Malacca, but also to use it as a collecting-centre for tin.

In the period after 1825, however, the tin came more and more to be worked by Chinese, often brought in by Malay chiefs, as, for example, at Larut, Lukut, and Ampang. The Chinese were left to work the mines, paying a royalty to the Malay chief in whose land the mine lay. The method they used was to find the site of a mine with the help of a Malay *pawang* and then to clear the site. The men carried baskets filled with a mixture of earth and tin, and used running water through a kind of bath to separate the earth from the tin. As the mine hole became deeper and deeper the men had to carry their full baskets up ladders made from tree-trunks to the spot where the washing was done. This was a rather rough-and-ready method of getting the tin, and often the earth washed away was gone over a second time by women and children to get more tin.

The Malay method of tin-mining was called *lampan*, and the Chinese, *lombong*. The Malays made water flow down a ditch and then cut into the sides of the ditch, pulling the soil into the water, which washed away the earth and left the tin.

When in 1874 peace came to Perak, Selangor, and Sungai Ujong tin-mining was carried on more extensively than ever. The Residents used the money paid by the miners in royalties and duties to build railways, to link up mining centres with the coast, and to pay for countless other improvements. Hugh Low brought in a steam-engine to show how to control water in mines, and Yap Ah Loy in Selangor bought one for his mines at Ampang. This led to the use of the water-pump to cut away soil containing tin from the side of a mine in a new method known as the gravel pump.

Until about 1900 nearly all mines were owned by Chinese. There had been some attempts by Europeans to start mines, but they were never very successful. As time went on, however, demand for tin from the West grew more and more. With the development of the dredge method of mining more capital was needed, for this method was very expensive. The need for labour was less, and the amount of tin produced was very much greater. This led to a change-over, until in 1936 European-owned mines produced about two-thirds of all the tin mined.

After the end of the First World War in 1918 production of tin grew very quickly, so that by the depression of 1929–31 too much was being mined. In 1931 an International Tin Committee was started by all the tin-producing countries to cut down mining so that the surplus stocks could be sold, and to keep up the price of tin so that they all could make a profit.

Other metals are also found in Malaya, but in nothing like the same quantities as tin. The most important of them is iron. Aluminium, gold, tungsten, and titanium are also mined.

(*b*) *Rubber, and Other Plantation Crops.* The first seedlings of rubber-trees arrived in Malaya as early as 1877, but even after it was proved that the climate of the country was suitable, they were not grown on a large scale for some time. It was only when other plantation crops, such as pepper, sugar, and coffee, failed that in the 1890's rubber began to be tried seriously. Hugh Low, the Resident of Perak, tried to get people to plant rubber-trees, but the 'Father' of Malaya's rubber production was Henry Ridley, the Director of the Botanical Gardens in Singapore in 1888. He gave seeds to anyone who promised to plant them, and for a time some people planted trees between rows of other plants to see what would happen. (It was Ridley also who found how to tap a rubber-tree without killing it.) By 1900 less than a thousand acres had been planted, and Brazil was still the world's greatest producer.

With the coming about 1900 of the motor-car and the electricity industry need for rubber grew very quickly, and as time has gone by its uses have increased, and are still increasing. Numbers of companies were formed to start plantations in Malaya, where land could be had easily on very good terms. The states where most plantations were started were down the west coast—Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Johore.

The First World War was a boom time from the point of view of rubber-planters. As time went on a great number of Malays planted a few trees to earn themselves some money. The Brazilian merchants forced up the price of rubber to such a height in 1910 that it encouraged anyone with money to invest in rubber plantations in Malaya. As time went on Malayan production of

plantation rubber became regular, while the amount of rubber found wild in Brazil varied from year to year.

After the War ended in 1918 it was quickly seen that far too much rubber was being produced, and the price fell rapidly. In 1921 the Stevenson Commission of Inquiry in Britain reported that the amount of rubber produced should be limited, and in 1922 this was done. Unfortunately, the growers in Java and Sumatra were not brought into the scheme, and while in Malaya and Ceylon rubber production was carefully cut down they went on producing. There was some improvement in price, but the depression of 1929–31 nearly ruined the plantation side of the industry altogether. There was no way of knowing how many smallholdings there were belonging to Malays, but they were not hurt by the depression nearly so much as the planters.

In 1934 Britain, Holland, France, and Thailand joined to make an International Rubber Regulation Agreement to cut down the production of rubber so that stocks could be used up and a reasonable price could be had by producers. Meant at first only to last four years, the scheme was continued in 1938 until 1944. This plan did work, but only in a limited way. The price of rubber went up, but because of the great number of smallholders it was not possible to keep it steady.

As early as 1926 a Rubber Research Institute was started at Kuala Lumpur to try to find ways of improving the quality of trees, and the quantity of latex they would give. It was soon found that some trees gave much more than others. By grafting buds from high-yielding trees on to young stems the number of trees needed to produce the same quantity of latex lessened. The results of this research did not really have much effect before the War because of the depression. In Britain research goes on into the uses of rubber, and still there seems to be no end to them.

Like the duties on tin, those on rubber have provided the Malayan Government with a large part of its income. It has always been thought, however, that it was dangerous to place too much reliance on tin and rubber. For this reason other plantation crops were continually being tried, such as the oil-palm. This first came to Malaya as early as 1875, and by 1941 there were about

80,000 acres planted. Another crop which does quite well is pineapples, which are canned and exported. The Chinese also grew them in smallholdings.

(*c*) *The Peoples of Malaya.* The population of Malaya is made up of three main groups—the Malays, the Chinese, and the Indians. The Malays can more truly be said to be the people of Malaysia or of the Malay Archipelago than merely of Malaya. Within this area the Malays, a great seafaring people, have throughout history moved easily. They settled in their kampongs on the banks of the rivers, and whenever they felt like it they would move to another island to make new homes, and to find a suitable place where they could plant their padi, grow fruit-trees, fish, and perhaps do a little trading.

As Malaya became more and more important in the trade between East and West, and the collecting-centre for South-east Asian produce, so more Malays went to live there. The Malay States grew up, to become what we know today. The latest groups to arrive in Malaya were, as we have seen, the Minangkabaus, who settled in what is now Negri Sembilan, and the Bugis, who settled in the lower parts of the Selangor rivers, pushing the earlier settlers from Sumatra farther up-river.

There is no doubt that both Chinese and Indians have visited and settled in Malaya for a very long time. We can divide up their settlements into two periods. The first period, when they came as traders and stayed in Malaya to trade, began as soon as Malaya was used as a stopping-place by traders travelling between India and China. There were a great number of Indians living in P'an-p'an (a state in the far north of the Peninsula) from about A.D. 150 who were noticed by Chinese traders. The semi-legendary Baginda Mani Purindan, the grandfather of Tun Ali, 'the Old Kling' of the *Malay Annals*, came from India, and historically may well have helped Parameswara, the first Sultan of Malacca, to make the city the sort of trading station that traders would like to use. Chinese traders have also been visiting Malaya for a very long time. This first period, it might perhaps be argued, did not end until the war with Japan began in 1941, for even though the number of people from India and China coming as

traders was by then small, they were still coming. While the Portuguese and the Dutch controlled the Straits of Malacca they had to use ports like Pahang and Kedah, but when the British settlements were begun at Penang and Singapore they could go where they liked quite freely—and many did, of course, go to trade in both. By this time more Chinese than Indian people were coming. The British officials thought very highly of them.

The second type of settlement began in the 1800's, when the tin-mines of Malaya were being opened up, and the Malays did not want to work in them. The Malay rajas allowed Chinese businessmen to start mining, and men were brought from China to work the mines. There were three ways that were used to get them. The first was a kind of indenture system. By this young men, having agreed to work in Malaya, had their fares and expenses for the journey paid by the agent in China. In Malaya they had to work, wherever they were sent by the local agent, for 360 days for little more than food and shelter and a little pocket-money. When this time was over they could go to work anywhere so long as they were not in debt to their employer or the agent. The agent supplied the men to work for an employer, and was paid by him. Conditions in the mines were unhealthy, particularly after they had just been opened, and a great number of workers died—sometimes as many as half. The men were allowed to work in their free time to earn extra money.

The second method the Chinese used to work the mines was for a Chinese businessman called an 'advancer' to use 'free' labour. He made an arrangement with his foremen and workers to share any profits made by mining. He would supply all the equipment needed, food, clothing, shelter, and small sums of pocket-money for the men. If the mine was successful, then the profits were shared on a carefully worked-out system, and all the men could do quite well. If, however, the mine failed, then the 'advancer' lost his investment, but the men lost only the cost of their work. The third way was where the mine-owner engaged 'free' workers and paid them on a daily rate or by results—piece-work.

This method of getting men to go to Malaya lasted until the beginning of the War, and the men had to repay to the agents the

cost of getting them there. As time went on, and especially after the Residents began their work, they tried hard to make sure that the Chinese workers brought to Malaya had fair treatment. The workers, though, did not like the idea of foreigners interfering with them, and liked to have their own societies to look after their interests. We have seen how two main societies grew up—the Hai San and the Ghee Hin. From 1877 the Chinese Protectorate was started, and officials were encouraged to learn Chinese, both Mandarin and the dialects, so that they could help. This they were allowed to do when these officials were found to be worthy of trust—but, it seems, never completely.

In addition to the men whose fares were paid for them by agents, there were also a large number who had paid their own fares. One of the best known of this group was Yap Ah Loy. Not all the Chinese who came to Malaya went to work in the mines. They started businesses, market gardens, and soon were to be found working hard anywhere opportunity arose.

We must never lose sight of the fact that the aim of these Chinese workers was to make enough money to be able to return to China to make a better life for their families who had stayed behind. A great number of men did return, but others found that they could not go back, for many reasons, and settled down in Malaya. Until 1930, when the world depression hit Malaya, the Government allowed as many people in as wished to come. When in August of 1930 it was found that there was no work for a great many, the number of those allowed in was severely cut down. Figures we have just before this show that although over 240,000 arrived, nearly 168,000 returned to China, their passages paid for by the Government in cases of need.

At first about 6000 men were allowed in each month, but by July of 1932 this number was cut to 1000, and about 280,000 left, while only about 33,000 arrived, including women and children. Only men were stopped entering freely, for there never had been enough women and children coming, and as many women as arrived were allowed in. As things improved in the period after 1933, so the quotas were increased for the men, to 4000 a month, and others were allowed to come if they had a job waiting for

them. In 1937 nearly 219,000 arrived while only 66,500 left; about 52,000 Chinese were working in mines, 75,600 in estates of one kind or another, 44,600 in factories, and 6400 in Government departments.

The story of Indians—mainly from the south of India—coming to work in Malaya is very like that of the Chinese, except that they had had dealings with the British before they came, and because they were mainly brought in to work for British employers the Government was able to look after their interests more easily and more strictly than with the Chinese.

Three methods were also used to bring Indian workers to Malaya. The first was by contract, which we can call the indenture system. The men engaged to work for a particular employer for a stated period, and for an agreed wage. This, however, did not stop other employers getting workers to break their contracts by offering them more money. As time went on and railway working increased, and particularly after rubber-planting was started on a large scale, so the need for more and more workers was seen. This indenture system was not liked, and a second method started. This was the use of kanganies. The kangany was a man in India acting as recruiting officer, but not for any employer in particular. He lent the worker his fare money, and had it repaid in monthly instalments by the man after he had started working. By 1907 as against 5500 contract workers there were 24,700 men who arrived in Malaya using this second, kangany, method by which the man was 'free' from contracts. In fact, the indenture system was ended in 1910 altogether.

In 1907 an Indian Immigration Committee was formed. All employers who had Indians working for them paid into a fund, and this made a third way in which men were brought to Malaya. Their fares were paid for them, and they were given everything they needed for the journey in the way of food, medicines, and accommodation. They were quite free when they arrived, particularly from having to repay to the kangany the money advanced, as they had under that second system.

A Malayan Labour Code was drawn up in 1912 to cover working in the Federated States, and in 1920 to cover the Settlements.

In 1923 consultations were held with the Government of India, and as a result the Code was changed. It was also accepted by the Unfederated States. Officials were appointed to see that conditions under which the Indian workers and their families lived and worked were satisfactory: pay, houses, sanitation, medical attention, and education for the children. An Agent of the Government of India lived in Malaya to see that these officials did their work properly, and that the workers were looked after.

In the 1930's the feeling grew in India that Indians in Malaya were being used unfairly. This led in 1936 to the Indian Government being invited to send an official to examine conditions. The man chosen was Mr Srinivasa Sastri, well known at that time for his ability and independence of mind. He reported in 1937, saying that on the whole the workers were treated quite well. He did not like the kangany way of getting men to go to Malaya, and suggested that it should be stopped. It was. He recommended that higher wages be paid, and that the quality of teachers in the schools for Indian children be improved. At this time a man could earn 40 cents a day in Malaya (about 7 Indian annas) and be sure of work all the year round. In India all he could be sure of was 3½ annas a day for four months only.

Like the Chinese, the Indians too wanted to come to Malaya to make money to take back home with them, and many stayed a few years and then returned to India. Some men stayed and sent for their families. Others came and went several times. Also a great number came quite independently to take up work wherever they could find it. Others started businesses and entered Government service. The figures we have for 1937 show this very clearly: about 244,000 worked on estates—by far the greatest number—about 8700 in mines, about 9300 in factories, and about 44,800 for the Government. We have no figures for those who worked for themselves.

How efficient the health measures of the Government were, and how important to both Chinese and Indians who worked in mines and on plantations, can be seen from the following figures, showing the number of people who died from malaria. In 1910

an average of about 63 out of every 1000 people died of malaria; in 1920, 19; and by 1937 only 7.[1]

(*d*) *Transport and Communications*. Until 1874 the rivers were still the main method of travel and transport of goods. The Residents saw the need for more efficient methods of carrying goods, and to start with built railways to connect the tin-mines with a place from which the ore could be taken by water. In each case a port grew up at the terminus. In Perak the Taiping–Port Weld (originally Sa-petang) line was opened in 1885; in Selangor the next year Kuala Lumpur was connected with Bukit Kuda, to Klang in 1890, and to Port Swettenham in 1899; in Negri Sembilan the Seremban–Port Dickson line was opened in 1891, and in Perak again the Tapah Road–Telok Anson in 1893. All these lines ran very roughly east–west. Of the ports which grew up as a result Port Swettenham became the most important.

The move to join the railheads in a north–south railway came after the federation of the four Malay States with Residents. The Federated Malay States Railway joined them up, and extended northward to Prai, opposite Penang, and southward to Gemas, on the border of Johore. A line to Malacca was made in 1903. The main line was extended south to Johore Bahru in 1909 and north to the Thai border in 1918. When the causeway between Singapore and Johore was completed in 1926 it also joined Singapore with the F.M.S. Railway. The whole system was completed in 1931 with a line from Gemas through Pahang to Kota Bahru and Tumpat to connect with the Thai railways.

No less important was the road-building that started about the same time as the railways. Bridle-paths and cart-roads were cut as a beginning, and as traffic increased so these were widened and in time made into metalled roads. As time went on the network of roads and tracks increased steadily. Further improvements were necessary with the coming of the motor-car, and the road system linked up so that there was a main road running the full length of the country from Singapore to Perlis via Kuala Lumpur, and to Kota Bahru and Tumpat.

[1] Figures based on L. A. Mills, *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1952).

Where it was practical the Residents made sure that the rivers were cleared of obstacles. The overall result was that settlements were made near the new roads and railways; and it was possible for the country to be opened up considerably. In particular, when plantations were planned they were placed near road or rail to make transport of produce to markets much easier. Another result was the growth of a very valuable coastal steamer service between the new railhead ports and Singapore. Indeed, some of them have become international ports in their own right.

(*e*) *Education*. Before 1945 each community in Malaya had its own education in the vernacular. Malay education began in the Koran schools, mostly for boys. It was free and compulsory. The Chinese built their own schools, which were financed from fees paid by the pupils or from private individuals, and staffed by teachers from China. Schools for Indian children were provided by the owners of coffee, sugar, coconut, and then rubber estates. These also were free.

Education in the English style was provided by the Government or by missionary bodies. The Penang Free School (free, that is, to all races) was founded in 1816 by the Rev. R. S. Hutchings (chaplain to the East India Company) and a number of businessmen of all races. In Singapore Raffles built a school in 1823, which because it failed initially was occupied by the Singapore Free School (1837). About the same time a school was started in Malacca, which became the Malacca High School in 1878. Later came the King Edward VII School, Taiping, and the Victoria Institution in Kuala Lumpur. These schools were later supported by the Government and became known as Government English Schools; by 1919 there were seventeen of them. Mission schools were started under the direction of the Christian Brothers, the Methodist Mission of the American Mission Church, and the Church of England. All these schools were for boys. It was a hard battle against prejudice and conservatism to get parents to send their daughters to school. Most of the education of girls was in the hands of missionary bodies, though there were a very few Government English Schools for girls. The Malay College, Kuala

Kangsar, started in 1905 was to prepare sons of well-born Malays for Government service.

Secondary education in English was offered at Government or Mission schools to students who it was thought might benefit from such education, and be able to sit for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate. The Chinese vernacular schools offered a secondary education in Chinese.

Malay men teachers were trained at the Malay Teachers' College, Tanjong Malim, from 1922, and Malay women teachers at the Malay Women's Training College, Malacca, from 1935. A Normal Training course for student teachers wishing to qualify to teach in Government English Schools was started as early as 1907. They taught full-time and attended lectures at the weekends. A Technical School had been started at Kuala Lumpur before 1926, and a school of Agriculture at Serdang in 1931.

Higher education was provided by the College of Medicine (1915) and at Raffles College (1928), both in Singapore.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The War in Malaya

To understand fully what happened in Malaya in 1941–42 we must see what was going on elsewhere in the world. In the far West the policies of Hitler, since he had become Chancellor of Germany in 1933, had led to the starting of the Second World War in 1939; it had been seen that he intended to try to rule at least all the Western world. In the Far East Japan had become an industrial nation and was looking, to start with, for markets for her products. This search soon grew into the idea of throwing out all Europeans from Asia, and having "Asia for the Asians". Between 1931 and 1940 Japan moved into China from Manchuria, and gained control of the coastal area. From China the Japanese moved south into French Indo-China, and prepared to take over all the Asian side of the Pacific Ocean. Her attempt began in December of 1941 with the attack on Pearl Harbor. In the West France had by this time fallen, and Italy had joined the war on the side of Germany. In North Africa the Axis Powers (Germany and Italy) were hoping to attack the Middle East, not only as the gateway to India, but also for its rich oil lands.

Fully occupied in Europe and in defending the Middle East, the British had too few troops that could be spared to make Malaya quite safe. In any case, it was thought that any attack on Malaya must come by sea; but Japanese invasion when it did come on December 8th 1941 was through Kota Bahru, in the far north-east. The Japanese, now expert jungle fighters, swept the British forces before them, and it took them only ten weeks from start to finish, between their landing in Malaya and the surrender of Singapore on February 15th 1942. The British fought very bravely, as did the Malay Regiment also. The Japanese went on to take the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) between January 10th

and March 9th 1942. Between these dates they had also taken Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo (Sabah).

In the three and a half years that the Japanese held Malaya they tried to divide and rule. They talked of 'Asia for the Asians', but what they meant was that the Japanese would take over from Britain, France, and Holland as the colonial Power. One of their aims was to allow their people to go to these parts of South-east Asia and settle there. They tried to make friends with the Malays and Indians in Malaya at first. Europeans and Eurasians were interned, and their Government jobs were often given to Malays with little or no experience. The Chinese they hated particularly because they had been supporting their brothers in China in every way they could, with money and supplies, while the fighting in China had been going on. The Indians they invited to join them in their plan to 'free' India from the British by forming the Indian National Army (INA). It was not very long before the peoples of Malaya saw that they could not trust the Japanese at all, and that the real object was to use Malaya's resources for themselves. In this they failed, because as the British and Malayan soldiers retreated they blew up the tin dredges, while on the plantations the people just did not tap their rubber-trees.

In ruling Malaya the Japanese tried to get people to join a party called the People's Association of Peninsular Indonesia, and form a Government under their direction. Whatever they tried, their cruelty made all Malayans hate them. In fact, for many years after the War no Japanese dared visit Malaya for fear of revenge. Because the mines and plantations had more or less stopped working, a great many people were without jobs. Even had they been made to work, as time went on the Japanese would not have been able to profit by it.

The speed at which everything took place at this time is surprising. The Japanese invasions began in December 1941, and they had captured the East Indies by March—only four months. Yet in only another three months their advance had been stopped, and as the American industry got into its wartime stride they were put on to the defensive. From having complete command of sea and air at the beginning they found themselves fighting harder

and harder against Allied ships, submarines, and warplanes. More and more of their supply ships were being torpedoed and lost. It was 1943 before the Allied counter-attacks fully got under way, from India through Burma and up through the islands towards the Philippines and Japan itself.

Another effect of Malaya being under the Japanese was a serious shortage of food. Malaya had never been able to grow all the rice she needed, and now her new master had no thought of importing it. Instead, people out of work were collected and taken into the jungle and made to grow food. Others were taken with prisoners of war to work on a railway the Japanese were building from Bangkok to Moulmein: only a third of these returned. They made no attempt to safeguard the health of the people, but took over all supplies of drugs. Such schools as they allowed to stay open had to teach Japanese to the students.

The only bright side of this story comes when we read of the courage of the people in this nightmare time. In the towns people somehow went on living, and did what they could to help their brothers in the jungle who had never stopped fighting. The Malayan Communist leaders had some training from British officers just before the invasion, and they enlarged their forces by forming the Malaya People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA). As soon as it was possible, help in the form of modern weapons was sent to them by the Allies by submarine and air, and a number of Allied officers were also sent. The MPAJA did a great deal to worry the Japanese, and to build up the courage of the rest of the people.

In the West, after October 1942 and the battle of El Alamein in North Africa, things began to go better for the Allies. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had brought in the Americans, who were able to give a tremendous amount of help. In 1943 the enemy was cleared from Africa altogether, and the first attacks on the mainland of Europe began. In 1944, in June, the final stage began when the Allies invaded Europe. But for bad luck the European war might have been over in 1944. As it was it did not end until May of 1945, when the Russians invaded Germany from the east, and the other Allies from the west. This meant that

the whole of the armies of the Allies could be used to free Asia from the Japanese. Already they had been counter-attacking from India into Burma, and from the South Pacific through the islands towards Japan. Unfortunately, Malaya was not on the route of either of these forces. Nevertheless, an army was being prepared in India to drive out the Japanese from the Peninsula. The country was spared any more fighting when two atom bombs were dropped on Japan itself in August 1945, and the War ended.

For a short time there was no Government in Malaya between the departure of the Japanese and the arrival of the Allied force in September. The peoples of the country used the time to fight among themselves on occasion, and in some cases to plunder. The new Government, however, quickly stopped this.

The real result of the War was that on one side the British had had a serious loss of 'face', and would never enjoy the same respect as they had up to 1941 and, on the other hand, a great number of people living in Malaya, particularly Indians and Chinese, found that they could never return to the country they thought of as 'home'. As a result they would take a greater interest in how Malaya was ruled.

CHAPTER NINE

Malaya since 1945

1. THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA, 1945–48

The first thing the British had to do after they had set up the British Military Administration was to calm the country, stop any racial fighting between Chinese and Malays, and also stop the MPAJA men from executing 'justice' on people they thought had helped the Japanese. Also they had to restart proper arrangements for food, importing rice from Thailand, Burma, and Indo-China, and making it possible for the people to start tapping their rubber-trees again by setting up buying agencies. It would take the tin-mines longer to get going because of the damage to dredges and other equipment put out of action when the Japanese arrived. The last task was to call on the MPAJA men to hand in their weapons —but many of these hid their guns in the jungle, to wait for the day when the Communists would try to take over the country.

Even before the War had ended the Colonial Office in Britain had been thinking about the situation in Malaya, where from a military point of view nine separate states, with their own rulers (even though four had been federated), and three settlements made the country far weaker than it needed to be. It seemed to the officials that if all these states and the settlements of Malacca and Penang were joined together the country as a whole would be far stronger. Towards the end of 1945 it was proposed to have the states and two settlements join together into a Malayan Union. Singapore would not be part of the Union for two reasons: if its Chinese people were added to the number of Chinese living in the other parts of Malaya there would be more Chinese in the country than Malays, and this the rulers and their people did not like; the other reason was that Singapore was still a free port,

while much of Malaya's income was from the duties on exports of tin and rubber.

The idea was that the Union would make Malaya a strong and united country with good central government; that these changes would lead in the end to independence; that all people who made Malaya their permanent home could become citizens; and lastly that the rights of the Malays would be protected. To start the Union off, Sir Harold MacMichael arrived in Malaya towards the end of 1945, and was able to get the Rulers to sign treaties giving up their powers as Rulers to the British, so that the Union could be formed. No time at all was given them to talk over things with their State Councils, which had not met while the Japanese had been in the country.

When news of the Union reached the Malays, their anger was so great that the British saw that a mistake had been made. No less angry were the friends of Malaya living in England at the time. It is said that Sir Frank Swettenham's letter to *The Times* protesting against the Malayan Union as being completely unfair helped to make the British Government think again. They had in fact to start again from the beginning and do things properly—that is, to ask the Rulers and the peoples of Malaya what they thought, and then to try to find an answer which would satisfy them as far as possible.

Events after the War, for various reasons, led to the formation of political parties. The first of these was the United Malay Nationalist Organisation (UMNO), formed early in March 1946 under the leadership of Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, Mentri Besar of Johore. The Chinese community started the Malayan Chinese Association in 1948, and the Indians formed the Malayan Indian Congress.

A series of conferences between the peoples of Malaya and the British, led by Mr Malcolm MacDonald, then took place, beginning in 1946. The plan for a Federation that was made was not perfect, for no compromise can ever satisfy everybody. It was put into action in 1948. The main proposals were to give back to the rulers the sovereignty taken away by the Union, to make citizenship for non-Malays more difficult, and to safeguard the rights

Also in 1952 a change was made in the law dealing with Malayan citizenship. After careful consultation with the Rulers and the leaders of UMNO, General Templer was able to get them to agree that a person born in the Federation could become a citizen automatically if only one parent had also been born in the lands covered by the Federation (instead of both parents). This made it possible, for example, for about half the Chinese community to become citizens.

For some time people doubted whether it would be possible for the Alliance between UMNO and MCA to continue, since there were a tremendous number of things about which they disagreed. There was one thing which they did agree on, which made it possible for their leaders to keep them working together, and that was their desire for independence. The next step towards Merdeka came when a committee was set up in 1954 to look at the number of members of the Legislative Council which should be elected. The committee members did not agree among themselves. Some said that less than half of the Council members should be elected, and others said that more than half ought to be elected. Once again the High Commissioner talked it over with the Rulers, and then announced that they had agreed that 52 out of a total of 98 members of the Legislative Council would be elected, and that elections would take place the next year (1955).

The great wisdom of the leaders of the UMNO and MCA in the Alliance was shown again when the Malayan Indian Congress formed by the Indian community was invited to join the Alliance in 1955. In the elections which took place in July of 1955 the Alliance won 51 of the 52 seats, the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party the 52nd, but Dato Onn's new Party Negara did not win a single seat. The Alliance Party's victory was due to their demand for early self-government and independence within a few years. In fact, Tunku Abdul Rahman said he would have Merdeka in two years. The other reasons for the Alliance success were because it was much better organized and financed, and its supporters voted. It seems that about three-quarters of all the Chinese who could have voted did not. The 51 Alliance members

were made up of 34 Malays, 15 Chinese, 1 Indian, and 1 Ceylonese.

The new Legislative Council was led by Tunku Abdul Rahman as Chief Minister. A possible difficult situation between British officials still in charge of finance, defence, and the Civil Service and Malayans in charge of other departments was avoided by Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Malayan Ministers working as a team. The High Commissioner also worked very closely with the Chief Minister, and here again difficulties were avoided.

Tunku Abdul Rahman had meant what he had said about having Merdeka within two years of taking office, and with his advisers went to London in January of 1956 to ask for it. There is no doubt that the wisdom he and Colonel Lee had shown had great influence on the British Government, and to his delight he was told that Malaya could indeed have Merdeka. The date was set for August 31st 1957, and a Constitutional Conference would be called early in 1957 to draw up a Constitution for the newly independent Malaya.

One result of this promise of Merdeka was shown in the handing over to members of Tunku Abdul Rahman's Government of the control of finance and internal security and defence.

The Constitution of the Federation of Malaya (1957)

(*a*) *Citizenship*. Anyone already a citizen, anyone whose father is a citizen, so long as the child's birth is registered within twelve months, and anyone over eighteen years of age born in the Federation, so long as he or she has lived in Malaya for at least five of the last seven years and intends to make Malaya his permanent home, who can show a good character, and has an elementary knowledge of Malay qualifies for citizenship. Another way to become a citizen is to show that the person applying has lived in Malaya for eight or more of the last twelve years, and intends to make it a permanent home. A knowledge of Malay would also be needed, unless the person concerned applied for citizenship within a year of Merdeka Day. A second way to obtain citizenship of the Federation would be by naturalization, which could be had

if the person concerned had lived in the Federation for ten or more of the last twelve years and, as before, was of good character and had a knowledge of Malay.

(*b*) ***The Yang di-Pertuan Agong*** was to be the title of the King of Malaya. He must be chosen by the Rulers of the nine Malay States. (The Governors of Penang and Malacca cannot vote in the election of the Yang di-Pertuan.) He would serve for five years, and for this five years would not act as ruler of his own state, except as head of the Muslim community there.

(*c*) ***The Majlis Raja-Raja*** (Conference of Rulers) was to be made up of the nine Rulers and the Governors of Malacca and Penang. It would give the Royal Assent to laws passed by Parliament, and approve the appointment of the most important officers of State and the judges, who cannot have their appointments cancelled except by an address from both Houses of Parliament with a two-thirds majority. (This is to make the judges quite independent, so that their judgments will be impartial.)

The Yang di-Pertuan Agong would appoint the Prime Minister (usually the leader of the party with most seats in the House of Representatives), dissolve Parliament, and grant the Royal Pardon. He would be advised in these tasks by his Ministers.

(*d*) ***Parliament*** would be made up of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong and two Houses. The Senate would have 2 elected members from each state and 16 appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, and would last for six years. It would not be affected if Parliament were dissolved. The House of Representatives would have 100 elected members and last for five years. The number can be increased by Parliament after the first census after Merdeka Day. Any citizen may be a member of either House so long as he is aged more than thirty (for the Senate) and twenty-one (for the House of Representatives).

Except for Money Bills, which must be sent to the Senate more than a month before the end of a session, all Bills passed in the House of Representatives have also to be passed by the Senate. If the Senate votes against a Bill, and the House of Representatives votes it again in the next session, then the Senate cannot stop it from going to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong for his

signature to make it law. Amendments to the Constitution must have a two-thirds majority in both Houses.

Parliament may pass laws for the whole of the Federation or any part of it, and for a state if it is asked to do so. The State Legislative Council will make laws for the state, but if it goes against a Federal law, then it must be cancelled. If Muslim law or Malay custom is involved when a new law is being made, then the state must be asked to agree before Parliament can talk about it or vote on it.

Each state in the Federation is to be divided up into constituencies with as far as possible equal numbers of people in each. The people in each constituency will vote for a member of the House of Representatives to represent them. In the first elections after Merdeka Day the number of constituencies was as follows: Johore 32, Kedah 24, Kelantan 30, Malacca 20, Negri Sembilan 24, Pahang 24, Penang 24, Perak 40, Perlis 12, Selangor 28, and Trengganu 24. Any citizen over twenty-one may vote in the elections.

Disagreements between states would be settled by the Chief Justice and the Judges of the Supreme Court. They would also give an opinion on the legality of the Constitution if asked to do so by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Normally it would act as a Court of Appeal.

Finally, Malay was to become the national language, but for ten years after Merdeka, or as long as Parliament decided, English would be used as an official language.

3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1945

After the Japanese had left, there was for a time a serious shortage of food, particularly rice, which could not be made up by imports from Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China. The Government bought rice wherever it could, rationed it out, and often sold it below cost. It took some years before supplies were sufficient for the needs of the people, who were encouraged to grow more. Although it seems that Malaya may never be self-sufficient in padi cultivation, yet by 1954 the area under cultivation was 15 per

cent more than it had been before the War, and by using better seeds the yield per acre was also higher. Malaya supplies only about a third of the rice it needs. One of the main problems is that padi is grown mostly to supply family needs, and not as a cash crop. It has also proved very difficult to start cultivation by modern methods, for the growers do not care for change. The Japanese had tried to get two crops in one year, but this is not desirable. Experiments are being tried by planting maize as an off-season crop.

Once the rubber industry had recovered from the War, the importance of replacing old, low-yielding trees with new, high-yielding ones was seen very clearly. The Government could lose up to a quarter of its income if natural rubber no longer competed favourably with synthetic. There are three types of rubber-producers: the first are the foreign owners of estates of over 1000 acres, who could plan to replant systematically over a long period, and so lose little production; the second are Malayan owners of estates from 5 to 1000 acres in size, who would have to have help in replanting; and the third type are the smallholders with up to 5 acres, who would also need help to enable them to replant. In 1955 a system of subsidies was started, whereby the smallholders could replant a third of their land, or clear new land for planting. By 1961 about half the total acreage had been replanted, and it is planned to have the whole area replanted by 1973. A problem faced by the smallholders, who own about half of the total acreage, is that of the quality of the rubber produced. Bad processing leads to bad quality, and increasing competition makes it necessary for all the rubber sent to market to be of first-class quality, but better processing plants in the villages could overcome this problem.

The search for alternative cash crops goes on. One of these is the oil-palm, but it needs a certain type of soil and expensive machinery to extract the oil. Like the rubber-tree, the oil-palm produces all the year round, so that it gives continuous employment. So far it has been a plantation crop, but as the rural development plan goes on (see below) it is being tried on smallholdings. Another cash crop is the coconut, which grows in well-drained

land near the coast. The estates process it themselves into copra. It is also grown on smallholdings which in 1957 produced nearly half the total of copra and oil exported. Other crops grown are coffee, gambier, groundnuts, maize, pineapples, spices, sugar, tapioca, tea, and tobacco, but as yet none of them show any possibility of becoming major cash crops.

Malaya still has a vast area of jungle, some of which if cleared could support many people, and produce both food and cash crops. The first step towards this was taken in 1950, when the Rural and Industrial Development Authority was set up under the chairmanship of Dato Onn bin Ja'afar. It was to give Government help to start producer-marketing schemes and loans to help rural industries, and to encourage co-operatives (tried since 1920, but with little success). One of the positive results was that 600 miles of country roads and tracks were built or improved. Then in 1956 the Federal Land Development Authority took up the task of making new settlements. It planned to clear areas of 4000 acres of jungle land, and each settler would be given 10 acres, of which 8 would be planted with a cash crop (rubber at first) and the other 2 acres could be planted with padi and fruit. The settlers would help in clearing and planting the land, and until they could support themselves they would be given money and equipment. They would repay the Government by instalments when their land became productive. These new estates would also have roads, schools, and water supplies. The Government land offices had so many people wanting to join the scheme that applications—mostly by Malays, but by a few others—took years to deal with. By the end of 1962, 48 of these areas had been started, all using rubber as the cash crop except one which had oil-palms. The state Governments decided not to keep strictly to 4000 acres as the size of settlements they started, and a target of 50,000 acres a year was set for five years from 1961 by the FLDA. Wherever the soil is suitable it is proposed to plant oil-palms as the cash crop, and make arrangements for processing. The success of the first years of this scheme suggests that it will be expanded greatly as time goes on.

Tin-mining took longer to get going after the War than rubber

because it took time to repair and replace equipment. The danger here is that at some time in the future the mines will become worked out, even though greater efficiency has made it possible to go over old ground profitably. The Malayan mines have the advantage of being less costly to work than those in other countries, because they are nearly all open-cast mines, worked by dredges or the gravel-pump systems. This means they can compete favourably with other countries. By 1953 over-production led to a new International Tin Agreement, and by 1957–59 output was cut. Then in 1961 the United States began selling off its surplus stocks of tin, which cut still more the market for Malaya's tin, since the USA had been buying a large proportion of the amount produced.

The future of the tin industry in Malaya is not happy, unless new mines can be opened up, for it is expected that nearly a third of the dredges may have to close down by 1970. The future of the smaller mines owned by Chinese will depend on the price of tin more than on anything else. A systematic search is being carried out, not only for tin, but also for other minerals—anything, in fact, that can help Malaya's economy.

It seems that iron may take over from tin as the most important mineral found in Malaya. Production rose from half a million tons in 1950 to well over six million in 1961, and is expected to go on increasing. At the moment Japan is taking all Malayan iron, and the question has been put as to whether the Japanese will be able to continue to buy all the iron mined. The answer seems to lie in Malaya starting her own heavy industry making iron and steel. This may be difficult. Coal has not been mined in Malaya since 1960, nor was it suitable for making coke—though suitable coking coal may be found in Sarawak. The first hydro-electric scheme will not be fully in operation in the Cameron Highlands until 1967. In the meantime the Government is encouraging secondary industry, and already one-tenth of the working people are engaged in it. New industries are given tax-exemption for a period up to five years, and possible tariff protection. Sites and services are being made ready for factories, and the Government will lend money. It does not wish to start them itself, although it

may have to if heavy industry is started, for there does not appear to be the money in the country to do it in any other way. Oil-refineries are planned for Port Dickson and Singapore, which will give valuable by-products as well as fuel oil to serve existing and new industries.

The Government has never lost sight of the fact that since so many of the people of Malaya and Singapore are young when they begin to have families the population will increase rapidly, and that their children will need first of all education and then jobs. At the moment Malaya has the highest standard of living of all South-east Asian countries, and the Government will wish to keep this standard, and even improve on it.

Education after the War was seen as being of extreme importance, and could be used to build a Malayan nation. In 1956 Dato Abdul Razak led a committee to study the whole question very carefully. He wanted to find a system of education that could be accepted by all Malayans. His committee went through the suggestions of the Barnes Committee in 1950 that all children should go to national schools, where they would learn Malay and English; the Fenn-Wu report of 1951, with its study of the needs of Chinese children, recommending that they learn their own language and literature; and the report of the Central Advisory Committee that had studied the first two reports, and suggested that all children should learn Malay and English (and also Chinese and Tamil if there were sufficient numbers to make up a class). Yet another committee had reported in 1953 that it would cost far too much to start a full national school system.

The Razak Plan, as the report of Dato Abdul Razak's Committee is called, gave up the idea of schools attended by children of all races. They would continue to be taught in their own language in separate (vernacular) schools. There would be two types of school—the standard school where teaching was in Malay, and standard-type schools where teaching could be in Chinese, English, or Tamil. Malay and English would be taught in all schools, and Chinese and Tamil would be taught if the parents of 15 or more children asked for it. All new schools started after

the Plan would be standard schools. In all schools children would be taught from common syllabuses, and the scale of grants would be at the same rate for all schools that accepted the Plan which provided for proper inspection. The Plan also provided for more trade schools and Teachers' Training Colleges. Bigger grants and better conditions for teachers in Chinese schools were offered if they changed to teaching in English, but they could give up to a third of their timetable time to the study of Chinese language and literature. By 1962 about three-quarters of the Chinese secondary schools had accepted these conditions.

Higher education was served when Raffles College and King Edward VII College of Medicine joined to become the University of Malaya at Singapore in 1949. A division of the University was set up at Kuala Lumpur in 1957 which became a university in its own right in 1962, when it separated from Singapore. The Nanyang University was started in 1956 to serve the needs of Chinese students.

4. SINGAPORE

The plans of the British Government after the War ended were for Singapore to stay as a colony for the time being because the Malays would not have it in the Federation, and perhaps also because it was a vital military base. Its Government was made up of the Governor with executive and legislative councils, following the usual pattern in British colonies. The members of the councils were the British officials in charge of Government departments and a number of 'un-officials', men who represented the different business and racial sections of the community. In 1948 the first step towards self-government was taken when elections for 6 of the 22 seats in the Legislative Councils were held. (The intention would be to increase in stages the number of elected members until they were a majority.) Only about a tenth of the people qualified to vote did so. Also in 1948, elections were held for seats on the Singapore Municipal Council to get people used to the idea of voting.

The effect of the 'emergency' in Malaya was to stop for a time

any progress towards a greater share in government for Singapore people. Security arrangements were so strict that people did not like to talk over ideas, and this made it almost impossible for political parties to develop.

There were three groups of people to make up the political parties when fears of the emergency had died down in Singapore. The first was the businessmen, who until the War had the only share or say in government. The second group was made up of educated people drawn from all the communities. Their education had been in the English Government schools. It was from this group that the leaders of the Progressive Party came (many of whom spoke no Chinese at all), and in the elections of 1948 the six seats in the legislative council were filled by them. When in 1950 there were nine elected seats the moderates still had six of them, but the new Labour Front gained two, and an Independent the last one. The number of voters this time was more than twice those who voted in 1948. In contrast to the mainly English-educated and English-speaking progressives were the Chinese-educated and Chinese-speaking people who formed the third group; they were mainly Chinese of the working class—traders, craftsmen, and shopkeepers. A fierce battle for the leadership of this part of the community took place, and soon the leaders drawn from the Progressive second set were pushed aside by people who wanted changes more quickly—reformers, lawyers, trade-union leaders. The Progressives had joined the Malayan Democratic Union, which allied itself with the Pan-Malayan Council for Joint Action, made up of the Straits Chinese led by Mr Tan Cheng Lock. Other parties were the Malayan Communist Party, which thought it could use the situation in Singapore to get control of the city. There were many riots, but not between the different communities. There were more than a million people living in badly overcrowded conditions.

The next step towards self-government came in 1953 with the Rendel Commission, appointed to inquire into the situation and to suggest what should be done. The Rendel Report's suggestions were accepted, and put into action in 1955. The Commission had been made up of Sir George Rendel as chairman, with 3 Chinese,

1 Indian, and 1 Malay as the committee. They thought that people qualified to vote as citizens should be registered automatically. This meant that although in 1953 only a quarter of the people could vote, in due time with no change of rule this would become three-quarters. Having dealt with the question of citizenship, the Commission then went on to set up a partnership in government between a new legislative council of which 25 out of 32 members would be elected, and the Governor and his officials, in which some Government departments would be controlled by the Chief Minister and others by the Governor and his officials. The leader of the party having most members in the council would become Chief Minister, and with five others would take over control of all Government services except for defence and internal security, finance and foreign affairs. Actual government would be carried out by the Governor and the Chief Minister working together.

The Rendel Report was accepted, and elections were held in 1955. In the result the Labour Front led by Mr David Marshall won 10 seats, the Progressives 4, the People's Action Party, the Alliance and Independents 3 each, and the Democrats 2. With the support of the PAP, the Alliance, and two of the nominated members, Mr Marshall was able to form a Government. He had to face a very difficult situation. The Communists had been able to make use of the Chinese schools, and used them to teach Communism and work against the Government. Students barricaded themselves in one school, and tear gas had to be used to get them out. A person who visited these schools just after the riots saw:

> how effective had been the organisation with stores of food, the timetables including Communist collective-study and Communist style songs written on the blackboards; and how strong had been the communal pressures on boys and girls living in this unnatural atmosphere while fighting their 'enemy', the elected government of the colony.

The one thing that all parties in Singapore agreed upon was their wish for complete self-government. In April of 1956 Mr

Marshall led a delegation to London to ask for it. He found that the British Government were quite willing to give them what they wanted, such as allowing China-born people to vote, but did not think it right to give up control of internal security. The mission agreed that Britain should keep her military and naval bases in Singapore, but the British could not agree to hand over to the Chief Minister the right to call out British troops to restore order if trouble came. To try to solve this difficulty a joint security council was suggested, with three members from the British and three from the Government, with a British chairman. Mr Marshall would not agree to this, although the other members of his mission thought that they should, since they had gained so much in other directions. The result was that Mr Marshall resigned soon after he returned to Singapore, and his place was taken by Mr Lim Yew Hock.

The new Chief Minister saw that he must be firm if Singapore's problems were to be solved, and peace and prosperity for his people were to be had. He was able to sort out the problem of the Chinese schools for the time being, and with the British Government set up an internal security council with three British and three Singapore members and one from Malaya. With this problem solved Singapore became a self-governing state in the British Commonwealth. Its head was given the title of 'Yang di-Pertuan Negara'. The British Governor was recalled, and his place was taken by a High Commissioner to represent British interests, but whose main duties were to be diplomatic. The Legislative Assembly was to have 51 members, all of them elected, and the Prime Minister and his Ministers would be responsible to it. Britain gave up all control over Singapore affairs except for defence (Singapore had no way of defending herself) and external affairs. Aliens could become citizens if they had lived for at least ten years on the island, would take an oath of loyalty, and give up allegiance to any other state.

As time went on Mr Lim's firm stand against Communists in the Chinese schools had made him unpopular, so that when new elections were held in 1958 Mr Lee Kuan Yew's PAP gained 43 out of the 51 seats in the Legislative Assembly, and he formed a

Government. The new Prime Minister said that he wanted an "independent, democratic, non-communist, socialist Malaya". One of his big problems was to stop the unemployment which was growing year by year. He saw that unless he could pacify Singapore no foreigners would invest money there, so that new factories could be started. To join the Federation meant a much larger market for Singapore goods, and an attempt in 1960 to make a common market for Malaya and Singapore goods failed. Another fear was that Singapore's trade would suffer by the further development of entrepôt ports in the Federation such as Penang and Port Swettenham. This trade was very important to Singapore because it meant that it could remain as the most important centre for the collection of South-east Asian produce to send on to the other countries of the world, whose manufactured goods would be distributed in return. It is easier and cheaper for a few centres to have warehouses to store goods, factories to process local produce (particularly rubber), banks to make financial arrangements easier, and to keep up a harbour for large ships.

Mr Lee began settling the troubles in Singapore. He could not do everything at once, and many people were not satisfied with slow progress. He had started by getting the Government to forbid 'splinter unions' and to make workers and employers settle their differences by arbitration. He also said that Malay should be the national language as a step towards joining the Federation, but it seemed that it was the two by-elections for the Legislative Assembly in 1961 that had the effect of making the Federation Government look for a way to bring Singapore into the Federation. The first of these by-elections had been won by Mr Ong Eng Guan, who had left the PAP, making use of the discontent in Singapore with Mr Lee's Government. The possibility of joining the Federation was known before the second by-election, which the PAP lost because one of its Communist members also stood and split their vote. The Communists naturally did not like the idea of Singapore joining the Federation. In the Assembly the result was that Mr Lee lost support, for some of his members left him to join a new party, the Barisan Socialist, leaving him with

only 26 members out of 51. With the help of members of other parties, he still had a good working majority.

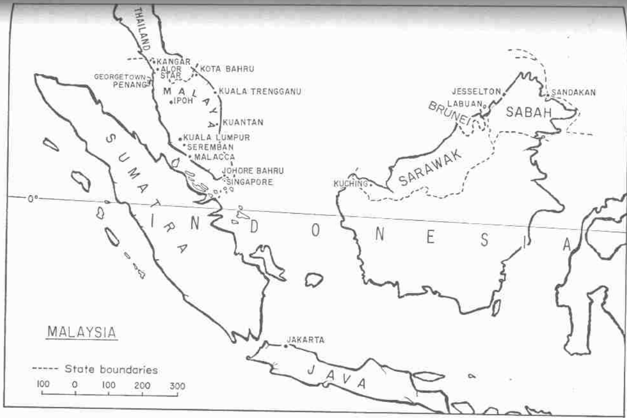
These by-elections had the result of making the Federation Government consider the position in Singapore. A general election was due to be held in 1963, and they did not like the idea of the Barisan Socialists winning. The reason was they might easily demand full independence from Britain and then ally themselves with Communist China or Indonesia. This was one of the main reasons for putting forward the idea for the formation of Malaysia.

5. THE FORMATION OF MALAYSIA

We have already noticed that Singapore wanted to join the Federation of Malaya, and that until 1961 Tunku Abdul Rahman would not consider it. Yet there would be many advantages to the Federation if Singapore did join. To counter the imbalance of races, it occurred to the Malayan Government that if the Borneo territories, Brunei, North Borneo, and Sarawak, also joined a new Federation of Malaysia, the balance could be kept. A very important point is that the economy of the North Borneo states is based more widely than that of Malaya, and that Sarawak and Brunei both have oil.

In the period between Sarawak and North Borneo becoming Crown Colonies and 1961, the damage done by the War had been made good, though there had been no real desire in either to change their rulers, from the Rajas in one and the Chartered Company in the other. They had both settled down, and a great deal of progress had been made.

In Sarawak the Sarawak-Indonesian People's Liberation Army had started troubles in 1952 in which a policeman had been killed. For a few months a state of emergency had been declared, but was ended when it was seen that there was no general plan for terrorism. In the next year (1953) the Constitution given by Raja Vyner in 1941 was modified. There would be 15 unofficial seats on the Council to be elected by the divisional and urban district councils that had been set up, and by the Chambers of Commerce. This was changed again in 1957, when the Council


THAILAND
KANGAR
ALOR STAR
KOTA BAHRU
GEORGETOWN
PENANG
MALAYA
IPOH
KUALA TRENGGANU
KUANTAN
KUALA LUMPUR
SEREMBAN
MALACCA
JOHORE BAHRU
SINGAPORE
SUMATRA
0°
INDONESIA
KUCHING
SARAWAK
BRUNEI
LABUAN
JESSELTON
SABAH
SANDAKAN
JAKARTA
JAVA
MALAYSIA
----- State boundaries
100 0 100 200 300

Negri (Legislative Council) had a majority of elected members—24 out of 42. The Supreme Council would have 10, of which 2 were nominated, 3 were officials, and 3 elected by the Council Negri. Local government would be carried on by the District and Divisional Advisory Councils. The elections for the Council Negri were indirect. The people voted for members for the local councils, the district and advisory councils. These in turn joined with the towns, Kuching, Miri, and Sibu, from which the members of the Council Negri were elected. Another constitutional change came in March of 1963, when the Supreme Council (Cabinet) would be headed by the Chief Minister, the leader of the majority party in the Council Negri, which would have a majority of elected members. This would take effect before Malaysia Day.

In North Borneo, government too had made progress. The new colony had included Labuan. The Governor's Executive Council was made up of 6 official and 6 nominated members, and the Legislative Council had 7 official and 18 nominated members.

Brunei continued to be an independent Sultanate in this period. The oil found there was making it rich, and with the revenue a great deal could be done. In 1959 progress had been such that the Sultan had granted a Constitution. He would have an Executive Council made up of himself, the High Commissioner, 7 officials, and 7 others appointed from the members of the Legislative Council. The Sultan had the right to call the Executive Council, and need not take its advice if he put his reasons in writing. He agreed that he would not give up any more territory to anyone. The Legislative Council would be made up of the Mentri Besar, who would replace the British Resident, 14 officials, 16 elected members, and 3 more chosen by the Sultan. In two years—*i.e.*, 1961—elections would be held to the district councils, from which the elected members for the Legislative Council would be chosen. The Legislative Council would have charge of taxation and the control of public money.

The first suggestion that the three territories of North Borneo should act together came in 1958 when it was suggested that they make up a central authority for defence, foreign relations, internal

security, and communications. After talks had been held the idea was put off for the time being.

In 1961 Tunku Abdul Rahman put forward his idea for a 'Greater Malaysia'. It would be made up of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, North Borneo (Sabah), and Sarawak. Talks were started at Kuala Lumpur between Malaya and Singapore, and then transferred to London. It was agreed that Singapore should keep control of labour, education, three-quarters of its revenue, and its Civil Service recruitment. It would remain a free port. The Federation would take charge of internal security. Singapore would send 15 members to the Federation Parliament. They agreed that Britain could keep her bases on the island, but that SEATO must not use them. A satisfactory settlement was agreed about citizenship to make sure that Singapore people would not feel that they were 'second-class' citizens of the new Federation.

The way was now clear for consultations with Brunei, Sabah, and Sarawak to take place. A Commission was appointed, led by Lord Cobbold, to report on the feeling of the Borneo states towards the idea of Malaysia. It reported that "a Federation of Malaysia is an attractive and workable project and is in the best interest of the Borneo territories". The British members of the Commission thought that some years ought to pass before Malaysia Day to allow Borneo peoples to get used to ruling themselves. The Malayan members could not accept this, but agreed that certain departments normally run by the Federal Government would be left to the Borneo states for a time, so that Malaysia Day could be fixed for August 31st 1963.

It became clear very quickly that President Sukarno of Indonesia did not like the idea of Malaysia, and he was going to do everything he could to stop it. Then, in 1962, the Filipinos remembered that once part of Sabah had belonged to the Sultan of Sulu (part of the Philippines). They claimed that the Sultan had no right to give up his lands as he had in 1878, with confirmation in 1903. Their argument fell down when it was shown that Spain in 1885 made a treaty giving Britain sovereignty over lands "on the continent of Borneo formerly belonging to the Sultan of

Sulu". In 1898 the USA took over the Philippines from Spain, and in 1930 formally recognized that North Borneo was under British protection, which was confirmed in 1946 when the Philippines were given their independence by the Americans. The Filipino Government then put forward its own idea for a "Confederation of Greater Malaysia" in which they could join Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sabah, and Sarawak.

At the end of 1962 a revolt was staged in Brunei, headed by the leader of the elected members of the Legislative Council, Mr A. M. Azahari, who called himself "Prime Minister" of the "Revolutionary State of North Kalimantan". Its object was to stop Brunei joining Malaysia. The rebellion was soon put down. The Sultan suspended the Constitution and dissolved the Legislative Council, of which all the elected members had been supporters of Mr Azahari, who was in the Philippines when the revolt took place. The new Council was made up of 14 members: 4 officials including the High Commissioner and the other 10 nominated by the Sultan.

About the same time as the rebellion in Brunei, a similar revolt was attempted in Sarawak, but was also soon stopped. In March 1963 the Lansdowne Commission reported—it had been set up to settle constitutional questions. It was agreed that the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya would serve as the basis of the new Federation's Constitution, that the Legislative Councils of the Borneo States would have to approve any changes, and that the rights of Borneo peoples would be protected. The main provisions were: Malaysia would be made up of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak, and Brunei (if agreement on financial matters could be reached). The State religion would be Islam, but there would be no State religion for Sabah and Sarawak, and the Constitution would guarantee religious freedom. Immigration would be a federal matter, but arrangements made for entry into the Borneo States would have to be agreed by them. Education, too, would be a federal subject, but the Borneo States would keep control for the time being. Citizenship would be granted to anyone who had been born, naturalized, or registered in the States and resident there on Malaysia Day. Others over

seventeen years of age could apply for registration as citizens, provided they had lived in the state for seven of the previous ten years. Each state would elect 2 members to the Senate and 6 more would be appointed to it from Sabah and Sarawak. Sabah would have 16 members in the House of Representatives and Sarawak 24. The Head of State (except in Brunei, of course) would be chosen jointly by the Queen of Britain and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Since elections in the Borneo States were indirect, the members of the Federal Legislature would be elected by the State Legislative Councils to start with, but direct elections would take place within five years. The national language would be Malay, but English would also be an official language for ten years, and as long afterwards as the Councils of the states agreed. The Borneo peoples would have special rights similar to the Malays in Malaya.

In spite of long discussions, the Sultan of Brunei could not accept the financial arrangements suggested, particularly since he wished the whole of the revenues of the oil-wells to be used in Brunei, so that in the end Brunei did not join Malaysia.

Opposition to the formation of Malaysia from the Philippines and Indonesia became greater as Malaysia Day approached. Between May and September 1963 many meetings were held, in places as far apart as Tokyo and London, in an attempt to sort out differences. After a meeting at Manila, Tunku Abdul Rahman agreed that he would allow United Nations teams to go to Borneo to see if the elections held in Sabah in December 1962 and in Sarawak in June 1963 had been properly conducted, and if the people had understood the situation, and had been able to vote quite freely, which the Indonesians denied. To allow this, the date of Malaysia Day was put back. Some people thought that Tunku Abdul Rahman had made a mistake. The United Nations teams got to work in spite of an attempt by Indonesia to delay them indefinitely and reported that "the majority of the people of Sabah and Sarawak have given serious and thoughtful consideration to their future", and U Thant, the Secretary-General, said: "It is my conclusion that the majority of the peoples of the

two territories . . . wish to engage with the peoples of the Federation of Malaya in an enlarged Federation of Malaysia." In Sabah 95 of the candidates elected to the district councils had been in favour of Malaysia, with only 15 against, while in Sarawak the figures were 313 for and 116 against. Meanwhile Tunku Abdul Rahman had announced that Malaysia Day would be September 16th.

In spite of continued opposition from Indonesia, Malaysia came into being on September 16th 1963, being made up of the 11 states of the Federation of Malaya with Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak. It has about 130,000 square miles, with a total population of about 10,000,000, as shown in the table[1]:

STATE	AREA (sq. miles)	POPULATION (approx. 1960–61)	CAPITAL
Johore	7,360	1,045,000	Johore Bahru
Kedah	3,660	772,000	Alor Star
Kelantan	5,780	562,000	Kota Bahru
Malacca	640	330,000	Malacca
Negri Sembilan	2,590	416,000	Seremban
Pahang	13,920	350,000	Kuantan
Penang	400	635,000	George Town
Perak	8,030	1,363,000	Ipoh
Perlis	320	100,000	Kangar
Selangor	3,150	1,140,000	Kuala Lumpur*
Trengganu	5,000	312,000	Kuala Trengganu
Singapore	225	1,670,000	Singapore
Sarawak	48,250	750,000	Kuching
Sabah	29,000	455,000	Jesselton

* Federal capital.

Malaysia's population includes over 4,000,000 Chinese, nearly 4,000,000 Malays, nearly 1,000,000 Indians and Pakistanis, and over half a million Borneo peoples. It was calculated Malaya had a population of just over 6,000,000 at the end of 1960, of whom there were 3,500,000 Malays, 2,600,000 Chinese, nearly 800,000

[1] From *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 1963–64.

Indians and Pakistanis, and nearly 130,000 others. Singapore's population was calculated to be 1,670,000 at the end of June 1961, with about 1,270,000 Chinese, nearly 240,000 Malays, and the rest 'others'.[1] Sarawak had three-quarters of a million people in 1960, with about 300,000 Ibans (Sea Dyaks), 230,000 Chinese, 130,000 Malays, and the rest other Borneo peoples. Finally, out of Sabah's population of about 455,000 in 1960, 307,000 were Borneo peoples and 104,000 Chinese.

[1] During 1965 the differences in points of view between the Federal and Singapore Governments made it impossible for them to work together any more. The only answer to the problem seemed to be for Singapore to leave the Federation of Malaysia. It was announced on August 9th 1965 that an agreement had been made between the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore, by which Singapore left the Federation and became an independent and sovereign nation. The two Governments were to establish a Joint Defence Council, Malaysia would help with the defence of Singapore and could continue to use bases on the Island for defence only, and neither would make a treaty with any other country that might lessen the independence of either. Britain (whose treaty relations with Singapore were said to be still in force) recognized the new state immediately.

Singapore was admitted as a member of the United Nations, September 21st 1965, and became an independent member of the Commonwealth on October 16th 1965, sponsored by Malaysia.

CHAPTER TEN

North Borneo (Sarawak and Sabah) to 1945

1. SARAWAK

The position of Borneo on the map shows that when traders began to travel by sea they must have passed it on their way from Malaya to China, particularly when they began to make the whole journey by sea. It is easy to see that Brunei is very well placed to serve passing traders. As time went on its rulers, the Sultans, came to control the whole of the north-west coast of Borneo, but in Sarawak the Governor, Pangiran Makota, had driven the Malay chiefs to revolt by his treatment of them, and the Sultan sent Raja Muda Hassim to put down the rebellion. This was the state of affairs when James Brooke arrived in the Sarawak river at Kuching in 1839.

Brooke had been born in India in 1803. At sixteen he joined the Bengal Army as an ensign, and two years later was promoted to lieutenant (1821). He took part in the First Burmese War, and was wounded so badly that he was left for dead on the battlefield. In 1830 he resigned his commission. Back in England, he decided that he would trade in Far Eastern waters, and in 1834 bought the *Findlay*, "a rakish slaver-brig" of 290 tons. The voyage he made in her failed completely, and he had to sell ship and cargo for what he could get in Macao. He would not give up, and in 1836 bought the schooner *Royalist*. He finally left England at the end of 1838. In Singapore he decided to visit Sarawak, and arrived at Kuching on August 15th 1839. From there he went on to Celebes, and then returned to Singapore. He soon learnt of the piracy that was going on in these waters. The most feared of all pirates were the Illanuns, who came from Mindanao, in the Philippines. The Sea Dyaks also took part, but did not come in

great fleets like the Illanuns, or travel so far looking for spoil. At this time Brunei had lost a great deal of the power it had had two hundred years before, and the Sultan could do nothing to stop the piracy. He did, however, make a treaty with Britain allowing her men to go into his lands to look for pirates, and to stop their activities.

James made his second visit to Kuching almost exactly twelve months after his first visit. When he said that it was time for him to go back to Singapore, Raja Muda Hassim begged him to stay and help him deal with the rebels. When James said a second time that he had to leave Raja Muda Hassim again begged him to stay, and this time said that he would make him Raja of Sarawak if he stayed.

When James finally did drive the rebels from their stockades they said they would make peace, but that they would do so only if Brooke himself were there, and if their lives were spared. Only when James threatened to go away did Raja Muda Hassim allow it. James even got him to let most of the rebels' women he had captured return to their homes. Meanwhile James went to Singapore to fetch goods to trade for antimony ore. Raja Hassim promised to have a house and the ore ready for him when he got back. On his return James allowed Raja Muda Hassim to have the goods he had brought to trade for the antimony, but found no ore and no house. He also found that the Sea Dyaks were getting ready to attack the Land Dyaks and the Chinese. All this made James very angry. His house was built, the ore collected for him, and the attack by the Sea Dyaks was stopped.

When he heard that a British ship had been wrecked off Brunei and the sailors kept there he sent the *Royalist* to Brunei to get the men freed, and his new ship the *Swift* back to Singapore with the ore. James stayed at Kuching. The Governor of Singapore sent the ss *Diana* to Brunei, and frightened the Sultan into freeing the crew and passengers of the wrecked ship. Raja Muda Hassim made James Raja and Governor of Sarawak in return for a small annual payment to the Sultan of Brunei, and in return James promised to respect the laws and customs of the people. It was September 24th 1841.

James had read as much of the writings of Raffles as he could, and had long ago made up his mind as to the things needed. He drew up a list of eight laws, which may be summed up as having the effect of stopping the exactions of the Malay chiefs, showing pirates and head-hunters that James meant to stop their raiding, and allowing the people to trade freely. He wanted free trade, and to make sure that goods could be moved freely in the country. He also wanted to stop all kinds of slavery, and to start a fair system of taxation.

In 1842 James visited the Sultan, not only to have his grant of Sarawak confirmed, but also to free the crew of another British ship wrecked off Brunei, and some Indian sailors from the previous crew who had been sold into slavery. James had to buy them himself before they could be freed. The Sultan did give him his grant, although Makota's friends tried their best to stop it. Back in Kuching, James was formally installed as Raja by Raja Muda Hassim on August 18th 1842.

Soon after he had been made Raja, James went to Singapore, where the British were interested in getting Labuan because it had coal. James went to look over the island with a British Officer, who advised him to have his grant from the Sultan made permanent (1843). In Singapore James had met Captain Henry Keppel, and had made friends with him. In 1844 Captain Keppel arrived at Sarawak to attack pirates. The well-trained British sailors pressed home their attacks on the pirate forts and destroyed them one after another. They found that Makota was in league with the pirates. This great success made the danger from pirates much less. Raja Muda Hassim, after this, at last returned with his family and servants to Brunei. Another great attack on pirates in Malludu Bay was organized by the British in 1845, in which the pirate leader and a large number of his men were killed.

The result of these moves meant that at last James could think of himself as master in his own house, and at the end of 1845 it was peaceful enough. He did not know that Raja Muda Hassim's enemies had so poisoned the Sultan's mind that he ordered the whole family to be killed. When James heard of it, months later, he organized a British force against Brunei, burnt the town, and

made the Sultan take refuge in the jungle. The Sultan at this stage gave Labuan to the British (1846). The next year James felt that his position was strong enough to allow him to take a holiday in England. The Queen gave him a knighthood and Oxford University the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. The Government made him Governor of Labuan and Consul-General for Borneo with a salary of £2000 (about 10,000 dollars) a year. Before this he had been Confidential Agent for Borneo. When he returned to Sarawak he had his nephew Charles Johnson with him.

In 1849 the pirates became as bad as ever, making it almost impossible for small ships to sail in safety. James made up a great war fleet from among his people, and went after the pirates. He caught up with them one night, and in the battle won a great victory. When news reached England a man James had dismissed as dishonest worked to such good effect that people were made to think that James had attacked peaceful traders.

In England James's enemies had forced the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to examine his position in Sarawak and his handling of the pirates. The inquiry started in Singapore in 1854. The evidence soon showed that James's enemies had twisted the truth to suit themselves and that the inquiry should never have taken place.

About this time the British were trying to get a treaty of friendship with the Siamese, and James was sent to Siam in 1850 to try to arrange it. He could do nothing with the terribly suspicious Siamese. Perhaps this is too definite, because he met and talked with the heir, Prince Mongkut, who did make friends with the British when he became king later on.

For a little while Sarawak was as peaceful as it was possible at that time, with little head-hunting and piracy. In London the Borneo Company had been formed in 1856 to exploit the resources of Sarawak. James's secretary, Spenser St John, became secretary of the Company and a Mr Helms the managing director.

When trouble came next, in 1857, it was from the Chinese community. The men living in the *kongsi* at Bau were mainly engaged in working gold. James had made it clear to them as early

as 1850 that he would not have Chinese secret societies making trouble in Sarawak, and there were several clashes between them. James had sold to their leaders the 'farms' (sole rights) in opium, arrack, and gambling as a way of raising taxes. His nephew Charles Johnson reported as early as 1852 that the Chinese were collecting weapons. By 1856 they were very discontented indeed.

Early in 1857 the men of the *kongsi* of Bau decided to rebel. Their chief enemy was James himself. They had some idea of taking over Sarawak after they had killed him. They stormed into Kuching at midnight, killing any Europeans they could catch. James himself escaped and swam across the river, but they stopped looking for him when they thought a European they had killed was James. The terror lasted only a few days until the ss *Sir James Brooke* (the Borneo Company's armed steamer) arrived. James's loyal Malay and Dyak friends then went after the Chinese although James tried to stop them. The Dyaks welcomed the chance to do some head-hunting, and chased those they could not catch over the border into Dutch Borneo. The rebellion was over. The Chinese gained nothing from it. Another source of trouble was removed when Pangiran Makota was killed in the next year (1858).

After this excitement James lived another ten years, most of them spent in England. He left his nephews John and Charles Johnson in charge of Sarawak. They had changed their name to Brooke, but their position was a little difficult. John was made acting Raja and tried to get James to retire and make him Raja. In 1861 John was installed as Raja Muda to rule as Regent while James was away. Charles (Johnson) Brooke took his elder brother's place as Raja Muda when John was disinherited for demanding that James abdicate and make him Raja.

James wrote of his aims in Sarawak in the introduction to a book written by Charles, and published just before he died:

> I once had a day-dream of advancing the Malayan race by enforcing order and establishing self-government among them; and I dreamed too that my native country would derive the benefit of position, influence, commerce. . . .

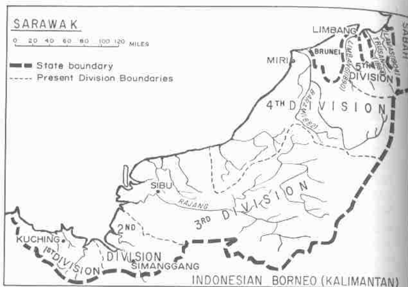
> I have found happiness in advancing the happiness of my people who, whatever may be their faults, have been true to me and mine through good report and evil report, through prosperity and through misfortune.

James died in England on June 11th 1868.

Raja Charles. Charles Johnson-Brooke was thirty-nine years old when he became Raja of Sarawak. While James had become close in spirit to the Malays, Charles had been brought up, as it were, among the Sea Dyaks, and had even begun to think like them. He had joined the Royal Navy when he was thirteen, and became a lieutenant at twenty-three. Suddenly he decided to leave the Navy and work for his uncle. One piece of advice he received from James very early in his career: "Do not pull the cords of government too taut of a sudden, and do not be rigid or starched in your views. . . . You must proceed by degrees, and gain their entire confidence."

Charles followed the policies of James quite strictly, but of course using his own methods. Already a series of small forts had been placed across the country. Those Malays and Dyaks who helped him to stop head-hunting were rewarded, while those who still wanted to take heads were caught and punished. To stop head-hunting meant also to stop fighting between the tribes. Apart from this the Malays and Dyaks were not interfered with to any great extent. They were ruled through their chiefs, and according to their own adat. Their problems they could take directly to the Raja, and know they would be solved. The Government felt it necessary, however, to pass many laws for the Chinese and Tamils living in the country.

Besides wanting to increase trade—by encouraging the planting of pineapple, for example, and building roads—Charles decided to increase the size of his 'kingdom'. In 1868 Sarawak was made up only of the lands between Cape Datu on the Sambas border and Cape Kidurong, seven miles north of the mouth of the Bintulu river. Almost immediately Charles asked the Sultan of Brunei for Baram in 1868. The reason for his deciding to ask for more lands was that Charles saw that the Sultan was in a very weak position, and might grant lands to any adventurer who came



to Brunei to ask for them. Mr Charles Lee Moses, the United States Consul, had got the grant of North Borneo in 1865. Raja Charles's policy was simply to try to get all the north coast of Borneo for Sarawak, particularly after the Chartered Company had been approved by the British Government in 1881.

The extensions to Sarawak territory took place in 1882, when Charles got Baram, in 1884 (Trusan), in 1890 (Limbang), and in 1904 (Lawas). The result of all this was to leave Brunei only a tiny part of the lands it once had, and for it to be surrounded by Sarawak on three sides. Another result of the quarrel between Raja Charles and the Chartered Company was that in 1888 all three—Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo—were placed under the protection of Great Britain. This pleased them all, because it made the British the official decider of disputes between them. Raja Charles readily accepted the conditions: Sarawak was recognized as an independent state; the British Government would not interfere in internal matters, but would take charge of relations with all other states; consular officials would be appointed; and no territory could be given up. The Governor of

the Straits Settlements would act as High Commissioner for all three territories.

To encourage trade, Charles was by 1890 minting copper coins and printing postage stamps with his own picture on them. Trade was in the export of sago, gutta-percha, a little tobacco, diamonds, birds' nests, bêche-de-mer (sea 'slugs', liked by the Chinese as a tasty dish), and bezoar stones.

Unlike his uncle, when Charles heard rumours that the Chinese were going to rebel he acted at once. He was always having a certain amount of trouble with them. He called the towkays to meet him and reminded them of the result of the rebellion of 1857, and reminded them also that the Dyaks would be only too pleased to collect some heads.

In 1913, just before the First World War, Charles had no debts and he had built two large hospitals, a public bath-house, metalled roads, a fresh-water pipeline from the hills, while he owned six steamships. He could not afford to help with education, and left it in the hands of the missions. In the War itself Sarawak really took no part, except that it produced a little oil and rubber. As early as 1896 Charles had known that oil might be found at Miri, in Baram territory, but had done practically nothing about it until 1909. He died in May 1917, nearly eighty-eight years old, leaving a wife and two sons, Vyner and Bertram.

Raja Vyner. The third and last Raja was Charles's elder son, Vyner, who had been born in 1874. He entered the Sarawak Government service when he was twenty-three, and was sent to learn his job at an outpost as his father had done before him. He had to be judge, prosecutor, commander of the army, chief medical officer, and office boy all at once. He came to like and understand the Dyaks very much. He quickly learnt their language, and became very clever in helping them to solve their problems. Unlike his father, he had a great sense of humour and enjoyed everything he did, although he could be firm enough when he had to deal with warring or rebellious tribes. In 1903, when he was twenty-nine, he was made Resident of the Third Division, and the next year his father recognized him as Raja Muda, to live at Kuching and act as Regent while Charles was

away from Sarawak. In 1916 Charles officially made Vyner the Raja Muda.

After the war was over (1918) Vyner carried on the work of his father, and of James. Most of the country had settled down to a peaceful life, and very little head-hunting was done. Slavery had been ended, and the 1920's was a period of prosperity. The Chinese had been able to get land near Kuching cheaply, and were doing well with their plantations. Rubber and oil were being exported in ever-increasing quantities. The depression period of 1929–32 is well illustrated from the figures for exports, which dropped from 63 million dollars to 13½ million. Yet pepper exports jumped from 19,000 to 71,000 piculs, and gold from 35,000 to 400,000 dollars in value, in the same period.

Vyner's idea was that he should govern without appearing to do so. He took court cases in Kuching until a Chief Justice came from Britain. Like his father and grandfather, he had an attitude to killings and head-hunting nearer that of his people than the European. He had a habit of turning death sentences into hard labour instead. Vyner made his brother Bertram his Tuan Muda, to rule while he was in England.

Another World War had started in 1939, and for a time it seemed that Sarawak would be far away from it. More important to Vyner was the celebrating of the centenary of James's grant of Sarawak, September 24th 1941. He felt that it was time to take the first steps to draw his people more closely into the work of government. As part of the centenary celebrations, he granted a Constitution. There would be a Supreme Council with 5 members, and a Council Negri with the power to pass laws made up of 14 members of the Sarawak Civil Service and 11 representatives of the Sarawak peoples. The Raja would have to accept the rulings of the State Councils, which would also control revenue and taxation. He would have the right to veto new laws he thought against the interest of the people, unless they were passed in three sessions by the Council.

The Constitution lasted only three months, for on December 24th 1941 the Japanese landed at Kuching. They interned all the Europeans, and were very angry when they found that the oil-

wells had been blown up. At the time of the invasion Raja Vyner was in Australia. He tried to get back to Sarawak, but got only as far as Batavia, and had to go back to Australia when Java was evacuated by the Dutch after the Japanese invasion of the island. Vyner's Chief Secretary stayed in Sarawak after the Japanese came, even though he could have got away. They killed him only a month before they had to leave the island, in 1945.

For Sarawak the War was a disaster. When Vyner returned after it was over he saw that it would be impossible for him to restore the country to what it had been before, because it would take far too much money. He determined to do what James himself had intended to do at a suitable stage. He offered the country to the British Government, to become a Crown Colony.

2. BRITISH NORTH BORNEO (SABAH)

A hundred years ago the area of land which today we call Sabah was shared between the Sultan of Brunei and the Sultan of Sulu. Very roughly, the Sultan of Brunei owned the west coast and the Sultan of Sulu the east. The first attempt to exploit the area was made by an American in 1865, when he bought a concession to a large area of Sabah with the right to work it for ten years. He sold his concession to Joseph W. Torrey and other Americans living at Hong Kong. With two Chinese merchants, they formed a company they called the American Trading Company of Borneo in October 1865. The Company made its headquarters at the mouth of the Kimanis river. The adventure failed, and the new settlement was abandoned after less than a year.

In this period (1865–1900) many countries began to take an interest in finding colonies in the islands of South-east Asia. An Italian idea to take Banggi Island for a place to send convicts was fortunately given up. The Americans were also interested in Banggi, but as a naval station.

Although his first try had failed, Torrey had not given up hope. In Hong Kong he met Baron Overbeck, the Austrian Consul-General, and with him formed a new company in 1874, but with no better success. Overbeck then bought out Torrey

early in 1875, but the Sultan of Brunei would not renew the leases.

In the meantime an Englishman, William Cowie, the manager of the Labuan Trading Company of Singapore, had been allowed by the Sultan of Sulu to make a settlement in Sandakan Bay. In Hong Kong, Cowie and Torrey met, and they agreed to get a concession from the Sultan of Sulu and sell it to a European Power. In London, Baron Overbeck had met Alfred Dent, who lent him £10,000 and took control of the Company. Back in Borneo, Overbeck went to Labuan (British since 1846) to see William Treacher, the acting Governor and Consul-General to Brunei. They wanted to buy up the American concession. So long as the new company was British, Treacher was all in favour. If the British Government would agree they would ask the Sultan for a new lease. In any case, the American lease was worthless.

To start with, Baron Overbeck and Dent really had no further idea than to get concessions from the Sultan of Brunei and sell them to a European Power. They did not like the idea of the British Government being able to stop this. In December of 1877 the Sultan gave them three areas, from Gaya Bay on the west coast to Sibuko river on the east. Together with a grant by the Pengiran Tumonggong they had about 28,000 square miles, with about 900 miles of coastline, for a yearly rent of 15,000 dollars.

With rights over such a large area of the Sultan of Brunei's lands, Baron Overbeck saw that he must have the help of William Treacher and the British. His next move was to go to see the Sultan of Sulu with Cowie, and in January 1878 for 5000 dollars a year he was given all the Sultan's lands in North Borneo. He and the Sultan agreed that the British Government would help them decide all quarrels, and that the concession could not be sold to any other foreign Power. William Pryer was left in Sandakan as 'Resident of the East Coast'. He began very wisely the method of working followed later throughout Sabah by the Company. He made friends with the local chiefs, and with their help he was able to make the country peaceful. He made certain that there would be no trickery over land-buying, and that fair prices were paid.

Pryer then started the town of Elopura in 1879, at the mouth of Sandakan Bay. It grew quickly into a good trading centre under the new name of Sandakan. With the help of the chiefs he was able to open up the Kinabatangan river and stop pirate raids by Bajaus and Illanuns.

Back in England, Dent thought the best thing, for himself and the Company, would be to have a Royal Charter. This would mean that the Company would be officially recognized by the British Government as the rulers of Sabah and make their position very strong, particularly if another European Power began to take an interest in the area. The British Government granted a Charter to the British North Borneo Company in November of 1881. The Company promised to end all slavery; it was not to interfere with the religions and customs of the people; it must take the advice of the British Government if any disagreement over policy arose, either with Sabah people or with foreign Powers; the chief office in Sabah had to be approved by the British Government; the Company would give the Royal Navy all the help it needed; and, finally, the Company would grant no monopolies.

Sabah and the Chartered Company. The first governor appointed to rule the new Chartered Company's lands was William Treacher. He soon noticed that the lands granted to the Company were separated by other lands ruled by absentee landlords living at Brunei. They were used by trouble-makers, smugglers, and slave-traders. He saw that he must control these lands (really river-systems) if Sabah was to become a peaceful country. In this he was opposed by Raja Charles Brooke, who also wanted to control the whole of North Borneo. This meant that the Raja and the Company were both trying to get the Sultan and his chiefs to grant them the rest of the land. Treacher, on behalf of the Company, was granted the Pangalat river for 300 dollars a year in 1883, and the Putatan district for 1000 dollars a year in 1884. The next lands granted were the Padas-Klias peninsula in 1884 for 3000 dollars a year, but Raja Charles would not accept that this grant was legal, and appealed to the British Government. They decided in favour of the Company in 1886. Meanwhile, in

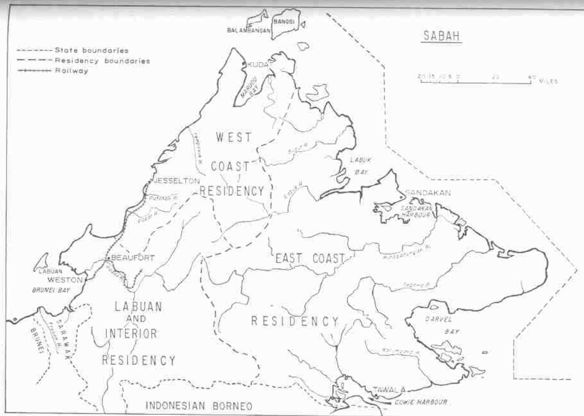
1885, Treacher had got the Mantanani Islands in the China Sea, and then the Kawang river.

The attitude of the British to Brunei itself is interesting. For a time they were content to see Raja Charles and the Chartered Company in an almost undignified rush to get the Sultan to grant them parts of his lands. It seems that for a time the British would be content to see Brunei swallowed up between the Raja and the Chartered Company. It is to the credit of the Company that its Chairman in 1884 asked the British to take Brunei under their protection, which they did in 1886. Raja Charles was at this time trying to get the Sultan to grant him the Limbang river, which the Sultan wanted to keep. The Company's reasons for wanting British protection for Brunei were really to stop the Raja's advance, for he was proving to be a very awkward neighbour. There was also the question of German interest in the little state, and coal deposits at the mouth of the Brunei river which Cowie had been working.

The settlement made when Britain declared all three territories under her protection (1888) required them to allow her to settle arguments. Raja Charles was to keep Trusan, and have the Limbang and also the lands between them and the northern boundary of Sarawak, but not the Brunei river. The Chartered Company would have all the rest of Brunei territory between their boundary and the Trusan river, and also have all the independent rivers left on the west coast. In return for all these concessions, the Sultan wanted a British Resident, to which the Governor of the Straits Settlements agreed, but to which London would not.

The Chartered Company did not take over the independent rivers immediately, as they could have done. The boundaries were clear, and the chiefs were told that so long as there was no raiding and they did not help criminals they would be left alone.

One of the most important decisions that was taken in the first years of the Chartered Company was that it would not trade at all, but merely act as the Government. This meant that it lost revenue from trading and its only income came from import and export duties, and the 'farms' of the taxes on opium and gambling. This saved the country a great deal of trouble, but, of course, did not


SABAH
State boundaries
Residency boundaries
Railway
MILES
BANGGI
BALAMBANGAN
KUDAT
MARUDU BAY
WEST
COAST
RESIDENCY
JESSELTON
LABUK
BAY
SANDAKAN
SANDAKAN HARBOUR
BEAUFORT
LABUAN
WESTON
BRUNEI BAY
EAST COAST
RESIDENCY
LABUAN
AND
INTERIOR
RESIDENCY
SARAWAK
BRUNEI
DARVEL
BAY
TAWAU
COWIE HARBOUR
INDONESIAN BORNEO

make a profit that could be handed on to the people who had invested money in the Chartered Company.

After Treacher's term as Governor ended he was followed by another experienced officer from Malaya, Mr C. V. Creagh, who had served under Hugh Low in Perak. In his period of rule tobacco was grown successfully, and the Chartered Company began to prosper. Unfortunately, the United States of America, which took a great deal of the tobacco grown, stopped importing it in 1893, and this caused a slump.

William Clarke Cowie, whose name comes up again and again in the early story of Sabah, had sold his coal-mining concession in Brunei and returned to London. He was made a member of the Court of Directors in 1894. He quickly became its most powerful member. In 1895, when Governor Creagh's term ended, Cowie was able to change the old policy of having experienced Malayan Officers and took more direct control of affairs. Until that time the Court of Directors had been content to leave day-to-day ruling to the Governor and his staff. The new Governor, Mr Beaufort, was a lawyer who did not know any Malay, and very soon found himself in difficulties. His mistakes almost ruined the Company. One of Cowie's ideas was for a telegraph-line to join up the various centres. He thought that the line would cost about 28,500 dollars, but in the end it cost over 114,000 dollars. To pay for it they decided on an increase in duties, and, of all things, a tax on rice.

Beaufort by this and other mistakes upset all the people in Sabah—Chinese, Europeans, and of course the Sabah people and their chiefs. The discontent caused the rising led by Mat Salleh. The affair was badly managed by the Government from the start. Two traders had been killed in Mat Salleh's kampong in 1894, and instead of letting Mat Salleh act himself as a sort of 'chief of police' in the area, he was made to feel small by complaints. The official police did nothing, to make him think he had more power than he really had. The affair dragged on until in 1897 Mat Salleh and his friends attacked Gaya and burnt it. In the end Cowie offered a pardon to Mat Salleh and his men, but all that happened was that Salleh began building a very strong fort, and

held out until early in 1900, when he was killed by a stray bullet. The result of this incident was to show what little real knowledge Cowie had of the interior of Sabah, to lead to the taking over of all the independent river-systems, and to make Beaufort resign.

Another idea Cowie had was for a railway to be built between Brunei Bay and Sandakan. He really had no knowledge of just how difficult the country was between the two points. The Court of Directors accepted his idea, and he appointed a Mr West to build the railway. West was to be responsible only to the Court of Directors in London. The Governor of the time (Beaufort) would have no authority over him at all, no power to check his work. West arrived in Borneo in 1896, found that the spot Cowie had chosen for the Brunei Bay end of the railway was not suitable, and began to build the railway seventeen miles inland. In 1897 he chose Weston as his port. He began the line following the Padas river, aiming now, not for Sandakan, but for Cowie Harbour. Cowie then saw that Weston would not do as a port, and in the end decided on Jesselton, but since West was away up the Padas river and out of touch, he gave the contract to build the line from Beaufort to Jesselton to a private firm. He would not allow anyone in Borneo to check the work of this firm either. Fortunately, this part of the railway was built (quite by accident) across land suitable for padi and rubber plantations.

When Beaufort resigned Cowie tried to rule Sabah through three officials—the Treasurer-General, the Resident of the West Coast, and the Colonial Secretary. He soon found that they could never agree, and in the end got Hugh Clifford to come over from Pahang to be Governor (1900). As we might expect, Clifford's presence in Sabah acted like a great tonic. He set to work to put right all the things that had gone wrong. He soon found that Cowie did not wish him to criticize. When Clifford reported that the railway work was being done badly he was told that he had no control over this, and was to send home reports praising the work, which Cowie could send to the shareholders. At this Clifford resigned and returned to Pahang.

The next Governor was the son of J. W. W. Birch, who had been the first Resident of Perak. Ernest (later Sir Ernest) Birch

had been brought up in the tradition of Hugh Low and Hugh Clifford, and just before his move to Sabah was Resident of Negri Sembilan. He, like Clifford, hated the idea of being ruled from London by Cowie, but stayed just over two years, as against Clifford's six months. In this time he was able to get Cowie to agree to some reforms. He was able to stop the tax on rice and put an end to slavery. He was also able to get Chinese businessmen to invest in the country, to open up new areas by building bridle-paths, and to link them with the railway. His idea was followed up by those who succeeded him, until in 1941 there were over 600 miles of these paths.

An American visitor to Sabah in Birch's time (1901–4) was

> much impressed by the excellent tact and administrative ability shown by the government officers. They spoke the language of the people, showed an interest in their affairs, were at all times accessible to everybody who wished to make a complaint or ask for advice or assistance, and appeared in every way to command the respect and goodwill of the people . . . governed rather by force of personal influence than by the power of legislation, that the judicial relations were based upon wise and tolerant equity more than upon mere precise law, and that a perfectly friendly understanding existed between the government and the people.

Governor Birch knew far more about railway-building than had Clifford, and found it hard to watch and do nothing. When the contractors had finished their work he had a report made. It found that it would be dangerous to send trains along the railway-line. Cowie, however, took the word of the contractors that when they finished the line was in perfect working order, and dismissed Birch (1903). Another reason for Cowie's not liking Birch was when he learnt that Birch had written to a friend in the Colonial Office in Britain saying that Cowie was ruining a wonderful country. He thought that Britain should take over Sabah as a Crown Colony. The British Government did not approve of Birch being dismissed by Cowie, and said that he must stay on as Governor of Labuan. Cowie had to give way, but the situation was solved when Birch asked to be allowed to retire a year early. The railway that had caused so much trouble had been started

in 1896. The line from Beaufort to Weston was finished in 1900, and the section to Jesselton and Tenom in 1905. This was not the end of the story by any means. After Cowie died in 1910 experts examined the railway, and reported that it must be completely rebuilt. This was completed in 1923. Instead of costing just under a million dollars, as Cowie had intended, in the end there were 107 miles of railway costing more than seven times this figure.

Cowie, in the period between 1903 and 1910, would not appoint another experienced governor from Malaya, but nevertheless things began to improve. Rubber-planting was started in 1905, and added to the tobacco, timber, jungle produce, copra, and coal: the export trade was doing well. Against this a huge sum of money had been borrowed in England. The death of Cowie marks the end of the second period in the story of Sabah and the beginning of the third, in which we see Cowie's mistakes gradually put right and the country beginning to prosper. In the end the shareholders were by 1941 receiving a dividend on their investment.

The new Chairman, Sir West Ridgeway, had been Governor of Ceylon. He visited Sabah and asked for reports on the country from experts, in addition to one on the railways. The Department of Health was reorganized, and departments for Education and Forestry and an Advisory Council to work with the Sabah people were all started. Unlike Malaya, the idea of contract labour had never worked at all well in Sabah, and in this period it was stopped, and so was the opium farm. In 1912 a Legislative Council was started with seven official and four unofficial members, to represent the Chinese, the planters of the east and west coasts, and the businessmen. Later on two Chinese representatives joined the Council, which took no interest in politics.

The First World War halted progress in Sabah, and it has been said that from 1914 began ten lean years for the country. In all this time, however, Ridgeway was quite active. He had the railway put to rights, continued road-building, got the coal-mines working again, and to help the timber industry allowed the British North Borneo Timber Company the sole right to take timber from State land. Yet to do all these things Ridgeway had to

borrow a lot of money—so much that the Chartered Company came very near to bankruptcy.

In 1924 Ridgeway brought in Dougal Malcolm, who with another of the directors called for a careful examination of the Company's affairs. The report which was made in 1926 showed that financially the Company was in a very bad position, and Ridgeway was forced to resign. The activities of the Company had to be carefully replanned so that the huge debt could be paid off. Malcolm's changes had the result he wanted. By 1941 about 5,600,000 dollars had been repaid, and it was planned to repay the whole amount by 1965. Dougal Malcolm visited the country regularly, but did not interfere with the officials, except to make sure that his money policy was strictly obeyed. All this had the effect of keeping things on a steady course, and gave the business people the confidence they needed. Malcolm scrapped the idea of using a telegraph-line and used wireless instead, which was very much cheaper. The postal service was financed by the issue of stamps which became collectors' items.

The Chartered Company had used the Mexican dollar to start with, but soon decided to have its own money system. Its dollar would be the same value as the Mexican silver dollar, which was 5·71 to the pound sterling in 1890, 13·33 in 1902, and in 1906 was set at 8·54 to the pound (the same as the Straits dollar), at which it has stayed ever since.

The Company had tried to get people to come to Sabah to work, in the same way that they went to Malaya. Unfortunately, Malaya was much more attractive to them, and although many attempts were made to get Indians and Chinese to go to Sabah, on the whole the official efforts to get them to come were not successful. They did go more often than not, independently. The figures are not too clear, but show that in 1921 of the total of about 263,000 there were some 39,000 Chinese (mainly Hakkas and Cantonese) and 665 Europeans. Notice—no Indians! In 1931, the year of the great depression, of the total of about 277,500 there were just over 50,000 Chinese. Finally, in 1940 it was thought there were altogether about 310,000: 230,000 people of the country, 60,000 Chinese, and 20,000 'others', including only 400 Europeans.

The affairs of the Chartered Company were managed in London by a Secretary, who at some time was given the help of an Assistant Secretary with a small staff. The Directors did not meet very often. From their point of view after the depression in the 1930's things were improving, and in 1934 they could show a small profit. By 1937 the shares of the Company were worth just over three million pounds (26 million dollars). In 1938, with the rising value of rubber, a 4 per cent dividend was paid. From time to time the Directors had asked the British Government to take over Sabah, but each time the answer had been no. The High Commissioner for Malaya acted as British Agent for all three areas in North Borneo, each of which had a different type of Government. In Sarawak the Brookes ruled, in Brunei the Sultan ruled with the help of a Resident, and in Sabah the Chartered Company was in charge. An examination that Sir Cecil Clementi made in 1933 ended with his suggestion that the British Government ought to buy the Company, but nothing came of it. His idea that the three territories should be joined together in a federation was liked in Malaya, but not, it seems, in London.

In Sabah itself the actual work was carried out by the District Officers. They did any job connected with government: they acted as magistrates, protectors of labour, and tax-collectors, carried out the local work of every Government department, and of course were guides, counsellors, and friends to all people whom they had to visit regularly. In the 1920's and 1930's their work was made more difficult by the international agreements to cut down the amount of rubber produced, and to cut out the opium trade altogether.

Mr D. J. Jardine, who was appointed Governor in 1934, came from Africa and not Malaya, as had so many former governors. He made improvements in education, health, land, and encouraged local chiefs to take part in local government. In 1935 he restarted the Residents' Conferences, but called it the Administrative Officers' Conference and brought in the District Officers. He also started a Chiefs' Advisory Council, which until the War kept the Governor more closely in touch with opinion. These councils

did a great deal of good in the country, and it may be as a direct result of them that revenue increased, as did the number of Chinese people entering the country.

Education in Sabah was for a long time in the hands of the Catholic, Church of England, and Lutheran missions. They started schools soon after the Company received its charter. They were given allowances by the Government from 1911 on, if they were found to be efficient by Inspectors of the Board of Education founded in 1909. Government schools were started in 1921 with teachers from Malaya. They were not very successful until Governor Jardine's time (from 1935). Schools were also started by the Chinese community for their children. It was not until after the War that the importance of education was seen by all the people in Sabah, as Tregonning has said: "With the future of the territory in his hands, and much of its finance, the Director of Education in North Borneo today holds the most important job."

The War in Sabah. The Japanese did not attack Borneo until their campaign in Malaya was well under way. They arrived at Labuan on January 1st 1942, and landed at Jesselton on the 6th. The people had no way of stopping them taking the country. They divided Sabah into two areas, the first covering the West Coast and Interior Residencies and the second the East Coast Residency. They controlled the country from centres at Ranau and Pensiangan. Once they had interned the former rulers they seemed to have no plans for ruling the country at all. They quickly earned the hatred of all Sabah peoples for their greed, cruelty, and bad government. They made no attempt to bring in food or carry on trade. In this they were following the usual pattern found in all countries they took.

The Chinese businessmen were ruined by the invasion, and when they heard of the American naval successes towards the end of 1943 they were ready to rebel. Guerrilla activities had been started in the Philippines, and soon watching-stations were set up in Sabah to report on Japanese ship movements. The first resistance group was started at Jesselton, after a visit to Sulu by Albert Kwok Fen Nam with his Overseas Chinese Defence Association. His job was to collect and send information, but

against orders he decided to attack the Japanese, after yet more cruelties by them. On October 10th 1943 his men attacked Jesselton from land and sea and took the town. The Japanese countered with their usual ferocity, and took the town back again. In the hope of saving lives, Kwok surrendered, and with many others was executed. A second revolt was planned in April 1944, but the night before it was due to take place the Japanese arrested all the leaders and executed them.

Towards the end of the occupation resistance grew up around Brunei Bay to help the liberation. Australian troops landed at Labuan on June 10th 1945, at Weston on June 19th. Jesselton was not taken until September 28th, and Sandakan October 19th. Both towns had been levelled by intense bombing. After the Japanese had surrendered about six thousand of them in the interior were ordered to march to Beaufort. On their way they were attacked by Muruts bent on revenge. Only a few reached Beaufort.

Once the liberation had been completed it was quickly seen that it would be impossible for the Chartered Company to rebuild the country. They just did not have that kind of money. It was decided that the British Government would buy out the Company, and Sabah became a Crown Colony on July 15th 1946.

Conclusion

Malaysia today is one of the two great meeting-points of civilizations in the modern world. As the United States of America has been the meeting-point of all European civilizations with African and some Asian influences, so Malaysia is the meeting-point of Asian civilizations with European influences. As such its importance in the modern world cannot be emphasized too much. Already Malaysia is an example of how different races can live and work together. It is never easy to appreciate and understand the customs and points of view of others so very different from one's own, but from the formation of the Alliance Party the leaders have shown that this is possible. There is no doubt that with this example there is less likelihood of communal troubles. In this Malaysia is already ahead of the United States. This is not to say that things are perfect, for, of course, they never are. It seems part of human nature never to be quite satisfied. There is no doubt that some of Malaysia's people would like to see changes in the Constitution in their favour, and that others do not like to see much of the commercial life of the country in the hands of one section of the people, and so on. Yet each contributes to the national life in his own way, for with specialization comes greater richness, each one taking up the sort of work suited to his or her own special abilities. One has seen a community made up of Malaysians of all races working together, observing each other's festivals, appreciating the entertainments on these occasions illustrating national cultures produced by the community concerned, and then joining together to produce mixed entertainments that delighted all who saw them. Should this spirit of co-operation and understanding reach fully into Malaysian life, then it is possible that a new and brilliant nation has been born.

Select Bibliography

JRASMB = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malaysian Branch.
JRASSB = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch.

1. *Documents and Original Sources*

ABDULLAH, MUNSHI: *Hikayat Abdullah* (trans. by A. H. Hill; in JRASMB 28, Part 3, 1955).

ALBUQUERQUE, AFFONSO DE, the Younger: *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque* (trans. from the Portuguese edition of 1774, with notes and an introduction by Walter de Gray Birch; 4 vols.; Hakluyt Society, 1875–84).

BARBOSA, DUARTE: *The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An Account of the Countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants* (trans. from the Portuguese text and edited and annotated by M. L. Dames; 2 vols.; Hakluyt Society, 1918–21).

BORT, BALTHASAR: *Report on Malacca, 1678* (in JRASMB 5, Part 1, 1927).

BROWN, C. C. (trans.): *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (*Malay Annals*) (in JRASMB 25, Parts 2 and 3, 1952).

BURNEY, HENRY: *The Burney Papers* [Papers relating to Captain Burney's Mission to Siam in 1825] (Vol. 1–Vol. 5, Part 1, all published by the Vajirañana Public Library, Bangkok, 1910–14).

CHAO (JU-KUA): *Chau Ju-kua: his Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (translated and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, Academia Scientiarum Imperialis, St Petersburg, 1911).

COWAN C. D. (ed.): *Early Penang and the Rise of Singapore* (in JRASMB 23, Part 2, 1950).

— (ed.): *Sir Frank Swettenham's Perak Journals* (in JRASMB 24, Part 4, 1951).

GROENEVELDT, W. P.: *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca* (Trübner's Oriental Series, Vol. 2, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1887).

Keppel, Hon. Sir Henry: *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS* Dido *for the Suppression of Piracy: with Extracts from the Journal of James Brooke Esq. of Sarawak* (2 vols.: London, 1846).

Leupe, P. A.: *Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese* (trans. by Mac Hacobian, in JRASMB 14, Part 1, 1936).

Linschoten, J. H.: *The Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies* (2 vols.; Hakluyt Society, 1885).

Maxwell, Sir W. G., and Gibson, W. S. (eds.): *Treaties and Engagements affecting the Malay States and Borneo* (Truscott, 1924).

Mendes Pinto, Fernando: *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernando Mendez Pinto* (Done into English by H[enry] C[ogan] Gent., London, 1653). An abridged and illustrated edition, with an introduction by A. Vambery (Adventure Series, Fisher Unwin, 1891).

Pires, Tomé: *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (translated from the Portuguese MS, and edited by Armando Cortesão [with Portuguese text], 2 vols.; Hakluyt Society, 1944).

Resende, Barretto de: *Account of Malacca (1646)* (trans. by W. G. Maxwell; in JRASSB 60, 1911).

Sadka, Emily (ed.): *Journal of Sir Hugh Low, Perak 1877* (in JRASMB 27, Part 4, 1954).

2. *Secondary Works*

Anderson, John: *Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (Wm Cox, Prince of Wales' Island, 1824), reprinted JRASMB 35, Part 4, 1962.

Braddell, Sir R.: *Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca* (in JRASMB 13, Part 2, 1935; 14, Part 3, 1936; 17, Part 1, 1939; 19, Part 1, 1941).

—: *Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya* (in JRASMB 20, Parts 1 and 2, 1947; 22, Part 1, 1949).

Brooke, C.: *Ten Years in Sarawak* (2 vols.; Tinsley, 1866).

Cardon, Rev. Fr R.: *Portuguese Malacca* (in JRASMB 12, Part 2, 1934).

Chapman, F. Spencer: *The Jungle is Neutral* (Chatto and Windus, 1949).

Cheeseman, Harold A. R. (compiler): *Bibliography of Malaya. Being a Classified List of Books wholly or partly in English relating to the Federation of Malaya and Singapore* (Longmans, 1959).

CHIN KEE-ONN: *Malaya Upside Down* [An account of Malaya under Japanese occupation during the Second World War] (Jitts and Co., Singapore, 1946).
CLODD, H. P.: *Malaya's First British Pioneer: The Life of Francis Light* (Luzac, 1948).
COMBER, L.: *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya* (Association for Asian Studies, J. J. Augustin) (New York, 1959).
COUPLAND, SIR R.: *Raffles of Singapore* (Collins, 1946).
COWAN, C. D.: *Nineteenth Century Malaya* (Oxford University Press, 1961).
DANVERS, F. C.: *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; Allen, 1894).
DOBBY, ERNEST H. G.: *Southeast Asia* (University of London Press, 7th edn, 1960).
FOSTER, SIR WILLIAM: *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (Black, 1933).
GOULD, SABINE BARING, and BAMPFYLDE, C. A.: *A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs (Sir James Brooke and Sir Charles Anthony Johnson Brooke), 1839–1908* (Henry Sotheran, 1909).
GULLICK, J. M.: *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya* (Athlone Press, London, 1958).
—: *Kuala Lumpur, 1880–1895* (in JRASMB 28, Part 4, 1955).
—: *Captain Speedy of Larut* (in JRASMB 26, Part 3, 1953).
—: *Sungei Ujong* (in JRASMB 22, Part 2, 1949).
—: *Malaya* (Benn, 1963).
HAHN, EMILY: *Raffles of Singapore. A Biography* (Aldor, 1948).
—: *James Brooke of Sarawak* (Barker, 1953).
HALL, D. G. E.: *A History of South East Asia* (Macmillan, 1955).
HARRISON, BRYAN: *South East Asia: A Short History* (Macmillan, 1954).
IRWIN, GRAHAM: *Nineteenth-century Borneo. A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1955).
JONES, S. W.: *Public Administration in Malaya* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1953).
JONG, P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE: *Who's Who in the Malay Annals* (in JRASMB 34, Part 2, 1961).
KENNEDY, J. *A History of Malaya, 1400–1959* (Macmillan, 1962).
LINEHAN, W.: *History of Pahang* (in JRASMB 14, Part 2, 1936).
MACGREGOR, I. A., GIBSON-HILL, C. A., and SIEVEKING, G. DE G.: *Papers on Johore Lama and the Portuguese in Malaya (1511–1641)* (in JRASMB 28, Part 2, 1955).

MACNAIR, JOHN F.: *Perak and the Malays: "Sarong" and "Kris"* (Tinsley, 1878).

MIDDLEBROOK, S. M.: *Yap Ah Loy* (in JRASMB 24, Part 2, 1951).

MILLS, LENNOX A.: *British Malaya, 1824–1867* (in JRASMB 3, Part 2, 1925; also new edition 33, Part 3, 1960).

— and associates: *The New World of Southeast Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1949).

—: *Malaya: A Political and Economic Appraisal* (Oxford University Press, 1958).

—: *British Rule in Eastern Asia. A Study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong* (Oxford University Press, 1942).

PARKINSON, C. N.: *British Intervention in Malaya, 1867–1877* (University of Malaya Press, Singapore, 1960).

PAYNE, R.: *The White Rajahs of Sarawak* (Hale, 1960).

PERCIVAL, A. E.: *The War in Malaya* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1949).

PURCELL, V. W. W.: *The Chinese in Malaya* (Oxford University Press, 1948).

—: *Malaya: Outline of a Colony* (Nelson, 1946).

—: *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1951).

—: *Malaya: Communist or Free* (Gollancz, 1954).

RENTSE, ANKER: *History of Kelantan* (in JRASMB 12, Part 2, 1934, and 14, Part 3, 1936).

RUNCIMAN, SIR STEVEN: *The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak, 1841–1946* (Cambridge University Press, 1960).

SAINT JOHN, SIR SPENSER: *The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak from his Personal Papers and Correspondence* (Blackwood, 1879).

SHEPPARD, M. C. ff: *A Short History of Trengganu* (in JRASMB 22, Part 3, 1949).

SWETTENHAM, SIR F. A.: *British Malaya* (new and revised edn, Allen and Unwin, 1948).

TARLING, N.: *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, 1824–1871* (in JRASMB 30, Part 3, 1957).

TREGONNING, K. G.: *Under Chartered Company Rule. North Borneo, 1881–1946* (University of Malaya Press, Singapore, 1958).

VELLA, W.: *Siam under Rama III, 1824–1851* (Association for Asian Studies, New York, 1957).

VLEKKE, B. H. M.: *Nusantara. A History of Indonesia* (wholly revised edn, Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1959).

WHEATLEY, P.: *The Golden Khersonese* (University of Malaya Press, Singapore, 1961).
WILKINSON, R. J.: *The Peninsular Malays* (Luzac, 1906; 3rd edn, Singapore, 1923).
—: *The Malacca Sultanate* (in JRASMB 13, Part 2, 1935).
— and WINSTEDT, SIR R. O.: *A History of Perak* (in JRASMB 12, Part 1, 1934).
WINSTEDT, SIR R. O.: *A History of Johore* (in JRASMB 10, Part 3, 1932).
—: *A History of Selangor* (in JRASMB 12, Part 3, 1934).
—: *A History of Negri Sembilan* (in JRASMB 12, Part 3, 1934).
—: *A History of Malaya* (in JRASMB 13, Part 1, 1935).
—: *Britain and Malaya, 1786–1941* (Longmans, 1944).
—: *Malaya and its History* (Hutchinson, 1948).
—: *The Malays: A Cultural History* (Routledge, 1950).
WOOD, W. A. R.: *A History of Siam: from the Earliest Times to 1781* (Fisher Unwin, 1926).
WURTZBURG, C. E.: *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1954).
Annual Reports for Federated Malay States, Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo.

Index

ABDUL SAID, NANNING, 122, 123, 124
Acheh, 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 75, 76, 77; Sultan of, 47, 51, 88
Achin—*see* Acheh
Achinese, 45, 47, 48, 60, 77
Achinese Empire, 52
Adat (*see also* Malay custom), 72, 73
Adat perpateh, 71
Adat temenggong, 71
Aden, 37
Advisers (*see also* British Adviser, Resident), 152, 153
Africa, 50, 169, 219
Africa, West, 37
Agriculture, 127, 149
Ah Chu, 143
Alexandria, 36
Alliance Party, 178–179, 189, 222
Aluminium, 157
Amboina, 51
America—*see* U.S.A.
American Trading Company, Borneo, 209
Americans, 77, 168, 169, 209, 220
Ampang, 104, 156
Anderson, John, 94
Annam, 15
Antimony, 201
Arabia, 16, 34
Arabs, 32, 33, 60, 114, 155
Arrack, 204
Aru (Sumatra), 28, 30, 42, 46, 47, 52
Asia, 49, 60, 76, 167, 170
Asian kingdoms, 81
Asians, 61, 78, 99, 154
Assam, 84
Atom-bombs, 170
Australia, 209
Australians, 221
Axis Powers, 167
Azahari, A. M., 196

BABA FAMILIES, 28
Baghdad, 36
Baginda Mani Purindan, 24, 159
Bahara (375 lb.), 60–61, 63
Balambangan (Sulu Is.), 76
Bali, 30
Banda, 51, 124
Bangary, 60
Banggi Island, 209
Bangkok, 84, 95, 169
Bannerman, Colonel, Governor of Penang, 87, 88, 89
Bantam, 51
Baram, 205, 206
Barisan Socialist Party, 191–192
Barnes Committee, 186
Barretto de Resende—*see* Resende, Barretto de
Batampa, 56
Batavia, 52, 55, 58, 62, 63, 86, 155, 209; Dutch Council in, 53; Dutch Governor of, 52

Batu Sawar, 52, 62
Bau, Sarawak, Chinese kongsi at, 203–204
Bay of Bengal, 12, 74, 86
Beaufort, 217, 221
Beaufort, Mr, 214–215
Bêche-de-mer (sea slug), 207
Beirut, 36
Bencoolen, 88, 91, 92, 125
Bendahara—*see* Malacca, Pahang
Bendahara Ahmad, Pahang, 108, 114–117, 140–141
Bendahara Ali, Pahang, 114
Bendahara, Johore, Ruler of Pahang—*see* Johore, Bendahara of Ruling Pahang
Bendahara Mutahir, Pahang, 114, 115, 116, 119, 140
Bendahara, Portuguese, 43
Bendahara Sewa Raja, Pahang, 114
Bengal, 80, 82; Governor of, 125; Presidency, 125
Bengal Army, 200
Bengalees, 32
Bengkalis, 29, 62
Bernam, 29
Bernam, river, 94–95
Betel, 58
Bezoar Stones, 207
Bintang, 29, 45, 76
Bintulu, river, 205
Birch, Sir Ernest, 216
Birch, Mr J. W. W., 107, 108, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139
Birds' nests, 207
Blundell, Mr, 118
Bombay, 75, 77
Borneo, 92, 192, 195, 197, 200
Borneo Company, London, 203
Borneo, Dutch, 204
Borneo, North Coast of, 206
Borneo, States' Councils, 196
Borobudur, 16
Bort, Balthasar, Governor of Malacca, 57, 64, 71
Brahmans, 15
Brazil, 157, 158
Bridle paths (*see also* Roads), 216
Briggs Plan, 176
Britain, 90, 119, 154, 158, 167, 168
British (*see also* English), 60, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 84, 85, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 107, 108, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 139, 140, 142, 145, 148, 150, 152, 154, 159, 160, 202; Adviser (*see also* Resident), 130, 141, 155, 173; Commonwealth of Nations, 190; Empire, 87; Government, 172, 189, 206, 210, 211; military administration, 171; Navy, 102, 211; Officers, 113, 121, 132, 134, 140, 143, 145, 148, 149, 153, 154, 202
British North Borneo—*see* North Borneo *and* Sabah
British North Borneo Timber Company, 217
Brooke, Bertram, 208
Brooke, Charles Johnson—*see* Johnson, Charles *and* Raja Charles Johnson Brooke, 203, 204
Brooke, James—*see* Raja James Brooke

Brooke, John Johnson, 204
Brown, Mr, of Glugor, 120
Bruas, 31, 97
Brunei, 168, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202, 206, 211, 212, 219; Constitution, 194; Government of, 194; Legislative Council of, 196; Sultan of, 196, 197, 202, 203, 205, 209, 210
Brunei Bay, 215, 221
Buddha, 16
Buddhists, 15, 16
Buffaloes, 65
Bugis, 62, 65–70, 72, 76, 81, 85, 88, 104, 159
Bukit China, 28
Bukit Kuda, 164
Bunga Mas, 83, 85, 94, 96, 150
Burma, 77, 79, 83, 94, 152, 169, 170, 171, 182
Burmese, 83, 95
Burney, Captain Henry, 94, 95
Burney Treaty—*see* Treaties, British-Siam (1826)

Calcutta, 77, 175
Calicut, 37
Cambodia, 14, 33, 129, 152
Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, 166
Cameron Highlands, 185
Canes, 77
Cantonese, 101
Cape Colony, S. Africa, 85
Cape Datu, 205
Cape of Good Hope, 37
Cape Kidurong, 205
Cape Rochado Lighthouse, 109
Capitan China, 105, 137, 143
Carimon Islands, 29
Cavendish, Thomas, 50
Celebes, 200
Central Advisory Committee, 186
Ceylon, 158
Chartered Company of North Borneo, 192, 206, 211–221; directors in London, 214, 215, 219
Che Bahman, Semantan, 145, 150
Cheng Ho, 15, 22
Cherenaputu, 56
Chief Justice, 182
Chief Secretary, F.M.S., 148, 149; Sarawak, 209
Chiefs', Advisory Council, Sabah, 219; allowances, 135, 144, 145; unfederated states, 153
Ch'in P'eng, 177
China, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 22, 23, 27, 33, 34, 74, 75, 76, 90, 92, 99, 105, 113, 124, 126, 127, 159, 161, 167, 168, 174, 175, 177, 192, 200; embassies to, 17, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 113; Emperor of, 14, 15, 22, 154–155
China—*see* Porcelain
Chinese, 15, 17, 22, 23, 31, 34, 39, 58, 101, 104, 107, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127, 135, 142, 148, 155, 159, 160–161, 168, 170, 171, 177, 198, 203–204, 205, 207, 208, 216, 217, 218, 220; affairs (Protectorate), F.M.S., 147, 161; *Annals*, 15; miners, 99, 100, 103, 104, 129, 138, 156; secret societies (*see also* Ghee Hins, Hai Sans), 101, 161, 204
Chong Chong, 106

Church, Mr, Deputy Resident, Malacca, 122
Civil Service, Straits Settlements, 125, 126, 127
Civil Service, F.M.S., 146, 153
Clarke, Sir Andrew (Governor of Straits Settlements), 103, 109, 112, 116, 129, 130, 131, 132, 141
Clementi, Sir Cecil, 219
Clifford, Sir Hugh, 142, 143, 145, 150, 215–216
Cloth, cotton, 34, 60, 61, 65, 67, 78; British, 124; Indian, 99
Cloth, silk—*see* Silk
Cloves, 79, 120, 124
Coal, 125, 185, 202, 212, 217
Cobbold Commission, 195
Coconut palms, 57, 73, 183–184
Coffee, 157, 184
Colonial Office, London, 126, 127, 128, 129, 146, 149, 171, 216
Commission of Inquiry, Sarawak, 203
Commissioners, Assistant, 133; Queen's, 133
Communications, 150, 164–165
Communists, 169, 171, 174–177, 188, 189, 191
Concessions, 141–142, 152
Constituencies, 182
Constitution, Federation of Malaya, 180–182, 196
Convicts, 126, 127
Co-operatives, 184
Copra, 184, 217
Coromandel (India), 65
Country traders, 74
Cowie Harbour, 215
Cowie, William, 210, 212, 214
Cracroft, Mr, 87
Crawfurd, John, 84, 90
Creagh, Mr C. V., 214
Crown Colonies, British, 192, 209, 216, 217
Currency Act (1855), 128
Customs duties, 69, 93, 95, 127, 149

Daing Kemboja, 68, 69
Daing Mangika, 62
Daing Manompo, 66
Daing Merewah, 66
Daing Parani, 66, 67, 69
d'Albuquerque, Affonso, 38–41, 42, 90
Daly, Mr A., 137
Danes, 65
Dato Dagang, Selangor, 104, 105, 106
Dato Klana, Sungai Ujong, 73, 110, 112, 113, 128, 129, 130, 138, 139
Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, 178, 179, 184
Dato Shahbandar, Sungai Ujong, 112, 113, 130
Dato Sutan, Sungai Ujong, 139
Davidson, Mr J. G., 108, 110, 130, 134, 136, 137
Debt-slaves—*see* Slaves, debt
Defence, F.M.S., 149
Deli, 45, 97
Democrats, 189
Dent, Alfred, 210, 211
Depression, world, 161
Diamonds, 207
Diana, s.s., 201
District Officer training, 207

District Officers, Sabah, 219
Dollar, Straits, 128
Douglas, Mr, 137
Drake, Francis, 50
Dutch, 33, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74, 77, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 113, 114, 117, 120, 121, 124, 129, 155, 160, 204; blockades by, 63–65; Empire, 85–86; factories, 60, 63, 64, 65; policy (in Straits of Malacca), 61
Dyaks (*see also* Land Dyaks *and* Ibans), 204, 207

East India Company, Dutch, 50, 55, 61, 64, 67, 68
East India Company, English, 50, 69, 74, 77, 78, 79, 82, 84, 88, 91, 93, 99, 117, 118, 120, 123, 125, 126, 127; directors in England, 75, 89, 123
East Indies (*see also* Indonesia), 127, 167, 168
Ebony, 79
Education, 149, 163, 165–166, 169, 186–187, 196, 207, 217, 219, 220
Egypt, 16, 34
El Alamein, 169
Elections, 178, 179, 191–192
Electricity, 157, 185
Elephants, 65
Elizabeth I, England, 50
Elizabeth II, Britain, 197
Elopura—*see* Sandakan
Emergency, the, 174–177, 187, 192
Endau, district, 141
Endau, river, 116, 117
Engku Muda Koris, Pahang—*see* Wan Koris
England, 50, 51, 100, 128, 155
English (*see also* British), 50, 51, 61, 65, 173
Entente Cordiale (Britain–France), 152
Equator, 92
Eurasians, 168
Europe, 47, 51, 60, 74, 85, 87, 93, 124, 169
Europe, Western, 49, 167
Europeans, 61, 68, 99, 104, 127, 129, 148, 167, 168, 204, 209

Fa Hsien, 14
Far East, 37, 124, 125
Far West, 125
Farming—*see* Agriculture
'Farming', rents and taxes, 58, 79, 204, 212
Farquhar, Mr, 91
Federal Council, 148, 149, 174, 179; Government, 173, 178; secretary, 149
Federal Land Development Authority (F.L.D.A.), 184
Federated Malay States (F.M.S.), 146–149, 153, 162, 164, 173; finance, 149; Financial Commissioner, 147; Government departments, 147; officials, 147
Federation of Malaya, 171–174, 177, 187, 195, 198; Constitution, 180–182, 196; Singapore and, 191–192
Fenn-Wu Report, 186
Feudalism, 121
Fish, 159
Flor de la Mar, 42

Foreign Powers, 142, 152
Forestry, Sabah, 217
France, 77, 87, 158, 167, 168
Franks—*see* Portuguese
French, 65, 75, 86, 129, 152
French Revolution, 85
Fruit, 73, 159, 184
Fullerton, Robert, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 121, 122, 123
Fu-nan, 14, 15, 17

GAMA, VASCO DA, 37
Gambier, 118, 124, 184
Gambling, 204, 212
Ganchong, 114
Gaya Bay, 210
Gemas, 164
Genoa, 36
George III, Britain, 78, 82
Georgetown (Penang), 78, 80
Germans, 129, 212
Germany, 167, 169
Ghee Hins, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 161
Go Hui, 143
Go Kwans (Hai Sans), 101
Goa, 37, 42, 44, 54
Gold, 11, 34, 65, 79, 114, 125, 141, 145, 157, 203
Gombak, river, 104
Government English Schools, 165, 188
Government, F.M.S., 147, 158, 161, 163
Government Land Offices, 184
Government, Singapore, 187–189
Governor, Singapore, 189, 201
Governor, Straits Settlements, 101, 102, 103, 107, 110, 115, 119, 126, 127, 130, 132, 133, 138, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146, 154, 207
Governor-General, India, 81, 89, 96, 123, 125
Gravel-pump, 156, 185
Greater Malaysia, 195
Greater Malaysia, Confederation of, 196
Groundnuts, 184
Gujerat, 16, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39
Gunong Pasir, 73, 139
Gunpowder, 79
Gurney, Sir Henry, 175–176, 178
Gutta percha, 118, 207

HAI SANS, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 161
Haji Sahil, Rembau, 140
Hakka, 101
Hamba Raja, 114
Hang Tuah, 68
Hastings, Marquess of, 86
Hastings, Warren, 76, 77, 78
Head-hunting, 202, 203, 205, 208
Health, 149, 207, 217, 219
Helms, Mr, 203
High Commissioner (*see also* Governor, Straits Settlements), 147, 148, 149, 173, 177, 179, 190, 196, 207
Hitler, Adolf, 167
Hokkien, 101
Holland, 50, 51, 85, 87, 158, 168
Holland, Stadtholder (Ruler) of, 85
Home guards, 175
Hong Kong, 134, 209, 210
Honourable Company—*see* East India Company, English
Hoorn (Dutch yacht), 65

Hospitals (*see also* Health), 41, 147
House of Representatives, 181
Hughes, Admiral, 77
Hutchings, Rev. R. S., 165

IBANS (Sea Dyaks), 199, 201, 205
Ibbetson, Mr, 97, 123
Ibn Battuta, 17
Illanuns, 200–201, 211
Immigration, 159–164, 196, 218
Inar Cammoy, 56
Inas, 73, 139
Indentures, 160, 162
Independence of Malaya Party (I.M.P.), 178
Independence, Malayan (*see also* Merdeka), 149, 172, 177–180; Singapore, 192
Independents, Singapore, 188, 189
India, 11, 12, 15, 23, 32, 34, 37, 38, 40, 45, 51, 60, 63, 74, 76, 77, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95, 113, 124, 125, 126, 127, 132, 134, 159, 163, 167, 169, 170, 200; art of, 16; South, 11
India Office, London, 125, 127, 128
Indian Government Agent, 163
Indian Immigration Committee, 162
Indian National Army (I.N.A.), 168
Indian Ocean, 49
Indians, 23, 32, 34, 41, 44, 60, 61, 155, 159, 160, 162–163, 168, 170, 198, 218
Indochina, 167, 171, 182
Indonesia, 33, 51, 58, 61, 167, 174, 192, 197, 198
Indragiri, 30, 31
Indragiri, Sultan of, 68
Industry, 185
Inscriptions, 14, 16
International Rubber Regulation Agreement, 158
International Tin Agreement (1953), 185
International Tin Committee, 157
Iron, 79, 125, 157, 185
Iskandar Shah, Malacca, 20–23
Islam, 16–17, 18, 29–30, 68, 196
Italians, 209
Italy, 17, 36, 37, 167
Ivory, 79
I-tsing, 14

JAKUN, 11, 114
Jambi, 14, 19, 29, 62, 66
Jambi, Raja of, 68
Japan, 159, 167, 169, 170, 185
Japanese, 168, 170, 171, 174, 182, 208–209, 220–221
Japarra, 48
Jardine, D. J., 219
Java, 15, 16, 17, 27, 30, 31, 45, 50, 52, 65, 86, 88, 158, 209
Java, Dutch Gov.-Gen. of, 86
Javanese, 62, 65
Jelebu, 73, 139, 140, 141
Jelebu, Penghulu of, 140
Jelebu, Yam-tuan Muda of, 140
Jelias (small Portuguese ships), 54
Jempul, 73, 139
Jervois, Sir William, 132, 139, 141
Jesselton, 215, 217, 220, 221
John, Spenser St, 203
Johnson, Charles—*see* Raja Charles Johnson Brooke

Johol, 73, 139, 140
Johore, 29, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61–63, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 91, 112, 113, 117–119, 125, 134, 141, 149, 154–155, 157, 164; Bendahara of, ruling Pahang, 62, 88, 113; British officer (Adviser) in, 154, 155; Constitution, 155; Empire, 46, 70, 117; Maharaja of, 119, 139, 140, 141, 154; Malays, 52, 53–54; Mentri Besar, 172; Raja Temenggong Sri Maharaja of, 118–119; royal regalia of, 89; State Council, 155; Sultan of, 46, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 70, 88, 91, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 121, 140, 142, 154, 155, 178; Temenggong (ruler of), 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 140–141; Yang di-Pertuan (Yamtuan), Muda of, 66, 68, 69
Johore Bahru, 119, 164
Johore Lama, 47, 48, 62
Johore, river, 45, 46, 62
Jourdan, Sulivan and de Souza, 76
Judicial Commissioner, F.M.S., 147
Junk Ceylon—*see* Ujong Salang
Junks, 11, 35, 39, 40

KAMPAR, 29, 30, 31, 46
Kanching, 104, 106
Kanganies, 162, 163
Kawang, river, 212
Kedah, 14, 18, 29, 31, 52, 60, 61, 64–65, 69, 76, 78, 82, 93, 94, 95, 96–97, 98, 106, 149, 150, 152, 160; British Adviser, 153; State Council, 153; Sultan of, 64, 65, 66, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 93, 94, 95, 98, 150, 153
Kedah, river, 76
Kelantan, 31, 95, 96, 145, 149, 150, 152, 153; advisers, 152, 153; State Council, 153; Sultan of, 145, 150, 152, 153
Keppel, Capt. Henry, 202
Kerah, 144, 145
Keris, 109
Kertanagara, King of Singosari, Java, 15
Kesang (Lower Muar), 139, 154; Chiefs, 154
Kesang, river, 118
Kimanis, river, 209
Kinabatangan, river, 211
King Edward VII School, Taiping, 165
Klang, 26, 60, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 104, 105, 106, 109, 136, 137, 164
Klang, river, 106, 108, 109
Klings (Indians), 29, 32
Kota Bahru, 164, 167
Krian, 98, 100, 150
Krian, river, 77
Kuala Kangsar, 147
Kuala Kedah, 76, 81
Kuala Kubu, 108
Kuala Langat, 106
Kuala Lumpur, 104, 105, 108, 109, 136, 137, 138, 147, 158, 164, 173, 195
Kuala Selangor, 107, 136
Kuantan, District of, 114
Kuantan, river, 114
Kublai Khan, 15

Kuching, 194, 200, 201, 202, 204, 208
Kwok Fen Nam, Albert, 220–212

LABOUR CODE, MALAYA, 162–163
Labour Front, Singapore, 188
Labuan, 134, 194, 202, 203, 210, 216, 220, 221
Labuan Trading Company, 210
Laksamana (Malacca), 33, 34; Perak, 134
Lally (French Commander), 75
Lancaster, James, 50
Land Dyaks, 201
Land Laws, Johore, 119; Malay, 120, 146; Pahang, 144; Penang, 120; Singapore, 124
Land leases, 121
Land, Superintendent of, 126
Langat, 104, 106, 109, 110, 130, 136
Langkasuka, 12
Lansdowne Commission, 196
Laos, 152
Larut, 100, 101, 102, 106, 129, 130, 156
Larut, river, 102
Latex, 158
Law and order, 42, 123, 126–127, 142–143, 146
Lawas, 206
Lee, Colonel, 178
Lee Kuan Yew, Mr, 190–192
Legal Adviser, F.M.S., 147
Lela Maharaja, Rembau, 139
Lewis, Mr, 122
Light, Francis, 69, 74–82, 84, 96
Ligor, 14, 65, 85, 96
Ligor, Raja of, 84, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97
Lim Yew Hock, Mr, 190
Limbang, 206
Limbang, river, 212
Linehan, W., 115
Lingga (Riau Archipelago), 114, 117
Linggi, 67, 68, 72, 110; Dato Muda of, 112
Linggi, river, 71, 73, 110, 112, 113, 120, 128, 129
Linschoten, Van, 49, 50
Lisbon, Portugal, 50
London, 78, 81, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 189, 195, 197
Long Ja'afar, Che, 100
Lopes de Sequeira—*see* Sequeira, Lopes de
Low, Sir Hugh, 134, 135, 136, 144, 156, 157, 214, 216
Low, Capt. James, 96, 98
Lubok China, 110–112
Lukut, 104, 105, 140, 156

MACAO, 44
Macassar, 65
Macassar, King of, 51
MacDonald, Malcolm, 172
MacMichael, Sir Harold, 172
MacPherson, Sir John, Gov.-Gen., India, 78, 81
Madras, 75
Madras, Governor of, 76
Mahabharata, 16
Maharaja Lela, Perak, 133, 134
Maharaja Abu-Bakar, Johore—*see* Johore, Maharaja of
Maharaja Perba, Pahang, 145
Maize, 184
Majapahit (Java), 17, 19, 20
Majlis Raja-Raja, 181

Malacca, 14, 15, 17, 19ff, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71, 73, 85–87, 90, 92, 95, 97, 99, 109, 110, 113, 120–124, 125, 126, 154, 155, 164, 171, 173; Bendahara, 23, 26, 32, 33, 34; Bugis, siege by, 68; Churches, 41; Dutch Council of, 85; Dutch Governor of, 52, 57, 58, 85; Dutch in, 55ff; Dutch rule of, 55–56; Dutch, siege and capture of, 53–54, 62; Empire of, 29, 31, 113; fortress of, 41, 42, 48, 53, 55, 58, 61, 85–86; harbour, 120; land problem, 120, 122, 126; Malay, Government of, 33–34; port of, 31, 33; Portuguese, 38–52; Portuguese attack on, 39–40; Portuguese, Custom duties, 43, 46, 48; Portuguese government, 41–43; Portuguese Governor of, 44, 46; Portuguese officials, 39; Siamese attacks, 26, 27; Sultan of, 33, 41, 113, 159; trade of, 33

Malacca High School, 165

Malacca, Straits of—*see* Straits of Malacca

Malaria, 41

Malay Affairs, Secretary for, 137

Malay Annals, 14, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 88

Malay Archipelago, 17, 42, 51, 58, 79, 80, 124, 155, 159

Malay chiefs, 99, 100, 156

Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, 165–166

Malay custom (*see also* Adat) and religion, 78, 103, 127, 129, 134, 182

Malay (language), 16, 127, 134, 173, 182, 191, 197

Malay Peninsula, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 79, 113, 126, 152

Malay Regiment, 167

Malay rulers (*see also* Sultans), 60

Malay States, 51, 56, 71, 96, 100, 116, 118, 119, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 141, 146, 159, 173; Government, 98–99, 133; Rulers, Sultans—*see* Sultans, *and under names of States*

Malay Teachers' College, Tanjong Malim, 166

Malay Women's Training College, Malacca, 166

Malaya, 11, 30, 58, 71, 72, 74, 75, 84, 92, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100, 105, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 149, 154, 158, 159, 160, 163, 200

Malaya, Eastern, 152

Malaya People's Anti-Japanese Army (M.P.A.J.A.), 169, 171

Malaya, Western, 70

Malayan Chinese Association (M.C.A.), 172, 177, 178, 179

Malayan citizenship, 172, 173–174, 177, 179, 180–181

Malayan Democratic Union, 188

Malayan Indian Congress, 172, 179

Malayan Union, 171, 172

Malays, 11, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 84, 88, 97, 99, 104, 105, 112, 114, 118, 120, 134, 135, 147, 148, 153, 155, 157, 159, 160, 168, 171, 177,

184, 198, 204, 205; government of, 109
Malaysia, 159, 192–199, 222; Borneo States and, 195; citizenship, 195, 196–197; Constitution—*see* Federation of Malaya Constitution; Government, 197; States of, 198
Malaysia Agreement, 195
Malaysia Day, 195, 197, 198
Malayu (Jambi) Sumatra, 17
Malcolm, Mr Dougal, 218
Malludu Bay, 202
Manchuria, 167
Manila, 79, 197
Manjong, 31
Mantanani Islands, 212
Mantri, the—*see* Ngah Ibrahim
Mao Tse-tung, 175
Marco Polo, 14, 17
Market gardening, 124, 161
Marshall, David, 177, 189–190
Mat Salleh, 214–215
Matalief, Admiral, 51
Matang, 100
Mauritius, 77, 86
Mecca, 30
Mediterranean Sea, 36, 37
Mekong, river, 14
Melecque, 56
Mentri Besar, 173
Merdeka, 177–180, 182
Mergui, 75, 77
Middle East, 33, 34, 167
Mills, Professor L. A., 81
Minangkabau, chiefs, 71, 138–139; Sumatra, 70, 72; States, 138–139; Yang di-Pertuan of, 58, 139
Minangkabaus, 43, 48, 56, 57, 58, 68, 71, 72, 159
Mindanao, 200
Mine-owners, 101
Mines—*see* Tin
Ming Annals (*see also Chinese Annals*), 19, 22, 23
Mings, 15
Mining companies, 145
Minto, Lord, 86
Miri, 194
Mission Schools, 165
Missionaries, Indian, 15
Missionaries, Muslim, 17
Moira, Lord, Gov.-Gen., India, 86
Money, 42, 218
Monkton, Edward, 76
Monsoons, 11, 12, 17, 74, 77
Moors—*see* Muslims
Moses, Charles Lee, 205–206, 209
Motor-car, 157, 164
Moulmein, 169
Mozambique, 37
Muar, 19, 40, 45, 46, 51, 117, 118
Muda, river, 77
Muhammad, Prophet, 16
Munshi Abdullah, 114
Murchison, Gov. Straits Settlements, 118
Muruts, 221
Muslims, 16, 17, 20, 29, 37, 40, 50, 60, 64, 65, 68
Myjam, 29

NANNING, 43, 48, 56, 57, 58, 61, 71, 121, 122, 123
Nanning, Penghulu of, 122, 124
Nanning War, 110, 121
Nanyang University, Singapore, 187
Napoleon, 74, 86
National language, 182, 191, 197

National Schools, 186
Negapatam, 55
Negri Sembilan, 70–73, 110–113, 138–140, 146, 147, 157, 159, 164; Britain and, 110; Chiefs, 110; Yang di-Pertuan, Besar of, 72, 73, 110
Negritos, Semang, 11
New villages, 176
Ngah Ibrahim, Mantri of Larut, 100, 101, 102, 103, 131, 134
Nias, 52
North Africa, 36, 167, 169
North Borneo (*see also* Sabah), 168, 192, 195, 206, 209–221; British Agent, 219; British Protectorate, 196, 206, 212; Chartered Company—*see* Chartered Company; Government of, 194; telegraph, 214
North Kalimantan, Revolutionary State of, 196
Nutmeg, 79, 120, 124

OIL, 192, 194, 197, 207, 208; refining, 186
Oil-palm, 158, 183, 184
Old Singapore—*see* Singapore, Old, *and* Tumasek
Ong Eng Guan, Mr, 191
Opium, 77, 78, 204, 212
Orang Selat (Sea Gypsies), 52
Ord, Sir Harry, 112, 128, 129
Ormuz, 37
Overbeck, Baron, 209
Overseas Chinese Defence Association, 220

PACIFIC OCEAN, 167
Padas, river, 215
Padas-Klias peninsula, 211
Padi (*see also* Rice), 57, 123, 159, 182–183, 184, 215
Paduka Raja—*see* Tun Perak
Pahang, 12, 28, 29, 30, 40, 45, 47, 52, 62, 65, 69, 73, 88, 108, 113–117, 128, 140–145, 146, 147, 150, 152, 160, 164, 215; Bendahara of, 143, 144; Bendahara (of Johore), Ruler of, 62, 70, 115, 116, 141; Bendahara Muda of, 114; British Agent, 141, 142; chiefs, 115, 116, 141, 142, 144, 145; civil war, 114–116, 119, 140, 144; concessions, 141; law and order in, 142–143; rebellion, 144–145; Regent of, 144; State Council, 144; Sultan of, 62, 114, 115, 142, 143, 145; Supreme Court, 144; Temenggong, 144
Pahang, river, 115
Pakistanis, 198
Palembang, 14, 19, 33
Pan-Malayan Council for Joint Action, 188
Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, 179
Pangalat, river, 211
Pangiran Makota, Brunei, 200, 202, 204
Pangkor, 60, 103
Pangkor, Engagement, 103, 129, 131
Panglima, 105
P'an-p'an, 159
Parameswara (*see* Iskandar Shah), 19, 23, 159
Parliament, British, 81, 90, 91, 128
Parliament, Malayan, 181–182
Party Negara, 179

Pasai, 17, 18, 20, 22, 28, 29, 38, 46
Parsees, 29, 32
Pasir Selak, Perak, 133
Patani, 17, 19, 65, 97
Pearl Harbor, 167, 169
Pedir, 38, 46
Pekan, 113, 141, 143
Penang, 74–81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, 119–120, 125, 126, 150, 160, 164, 171, 173; food, 83; Government, 79, 93, 122; Governor of, 83, 84, 89, 95; harbour, 79; Kedah, Siam and, 81; land grants, 78–79; law and order in, 80; naval station, 79, 80; Presidency of India, 80, 123, 125; recorder's court, 80; Residency, 125
Penang Free School, 165
Pengiran Tumonggong, 210
Penjom, 142; mining company, 142, 145
Pensiangan, 220
People's Action Party (P.A.P.), 189, 190
People's Association of Peninsular Indonesia, 168
Pepper, 61, 62, 73, 79, 118, 119, 120, 124, 157, 208
Perak, 29, 45, 47, 52, 60, 62, 63–64, 67, 84, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100–103, 104, 109, 119, 128, 130, 131–136, 137, 139, 140, 144, 146, 147, 150, 156, 157, 164; chiefs, 102, 103, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135; Dutch fort in, 69; invaded by Kedah, 83, 84; Raja Bendahara of, 100, 103; Raja Muda of, 100, 102; royal regalia of, 132; Shahbandar, 132, 134; State Council, 135; Sultan of, 46, 69, 75, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101, 131, 132, 133, 135, 147; village penghulus, 135
Perak, river, 85, 102, 131
Perlak (Sumatra), 17, 18
Perling, 56
Perlis, 31, 69, 76, 97, 149, 150, 152, 153, 164; State Council, 153
Persia, 16, 17, 33, 34, 36
Persian Gulf, 37
Persians, 60
Philippines, 169, 195, 196, 197, 220
Pineapples, 159, 184
Pirates, piracy, 20, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 46, 66, 70, 91, 92, 94, 98, 99, 100, 102, 106–107, 109, 118, 126, 128, 129, 200–201, 202, 203, 211
Pires, Tomé, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33
Pitt, William (the Younger), 81
Plantations, 125, 157, 175, 183
Planters, 147
Pluto, s.s., 107
Police, 126, 134, 143, 149, 177; Commissioner F.M.S., 147
Political parties, 172, 177
Pontianak, 69
Population, 147, 159, 186, 198, 199
Porcelain, 34, 79
Port Dickson, 164, 186
Port Swettenham, 164
Port Weld, 164
Portugal, 32, 36, 37, 42, 44; King of, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 50, 63
Portuguese, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36,

37, 39, 40, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 113, 120, 155, 160
Portuguese Viceroy, India, 41
Post offices, 147, 218
Prai, 164
Prai, river, 77, 82
Presents (*see also* Tribute), 14
Prince Henry the Navigator, Portugal, 37
Prince Mongkut, Siam, 203
Prince of Wales Island—*see* Penang
Progressive Party, 189
Province Wellesley, 83, 84, 120, 126
Pryer, William, 210, 211
Public buildings, 127
Public Works F.M.S., 147, 149
Pulau Batu, 41
Pulau Dinding, 60
Pulau Tawar, 145
Pulau Tioman, 116
Putatan District, 211

QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS, 133

RAFFLES, SIR STAMFORD, 42, 70, 86–91, 113, 117, 120, 125, 202; Lt-Gov. Bencoolen, 88; Lt-Gov. Java, 86–87
Raffles College, Singapore, 166
Railways, Malaya, 138, 147, 152, 156, 162, 164; Sabah, 215–217
Raja, 15, 120, 121, 160
Raja Abdul—*see* Mansur Shah
Raja Abdul Samad, Selangor—*see* Sultan Abdul Samad
Raja Abdullah, Perak (*see also* Sultan Abdullah), 101, 102, 103
Raja Abdullah, Selangor, 104, 105
Raja Abdu'r-Rahman, Johore, 88, 89
Raja Ali, Perak, 101
Raja Ali, Rembau, 123, 124
Raja Arfah, Selangor, 105
Raja Bendahara—*see* Perak, Raja Bendahara of
Raja Bongsu, Johore, 52
Raja Charles Johnson Brooke, Sarawak, 205–207, 211–212
Raja Dris, Perak, 132
Raja Haji, Bugis, 68–69, 72, 76
Raja Hassim, Brunei, 200, 201, 202
Raja Husein, Johore, 88, 89, 113, 117
Raja Husein, Selangor, 85, 93, 94
Raja Ibrahim, Malacca, 23
Raja Ibrahim, Nanning, 72
Raja Ismail, Perak (*see also* Sultan Ismail), 101, 102, 131, 132, 134
Raja Ismail, Selangor, 105, 106
Raja James Brooke, Sarawak, 92, 200, 201–205; laws of, 202
Raja Juma'at, Riau, 104
Raja Kasim, Malacca, 23 (*see also* Sultan Muzaffar Shah)
Raja Kechil, Siak, 66, 67
Raja Khatib, Bugis, 72
Raja Lenggang, Negri Sembilan, 110
Raja Mahdi, Selangor, 104, 105, 106, 107, 137
Raja Mahmud, Selangor, 107, 112
Raja Melewar, 72
Raja Muda—*see under* State name
Raja Muhammad, Malacca, 29
Raja Tua—*see* Daing Manompo

Raja Vyner Brooke, Sarawak, 192, 207–209
Raja Yusof, Perak, 101, 102, 103, 131, 133, 134, 135
Ramayana, 16
Ranau, 220
Rattans, 77, 79
Raub, 141
Rawa, Pahang, 115
Ray'ats, 121, 137, 144
Raymond, George, 50
Razak Plan, 186
Recorder—*see* Law and order
Red Sea, 36
Rembau, 48, 56, 57, 58, 68, 69, 110, 112, 123, 139, 140; chiefs, 140; Penghulu of (Ruler), 73, 112, 139, 140
Renaissance, 36–37
Rendel Commission, 188–189
Rendel, Sir George, 188
Resende, Barretto de, 63
Resident, Brunei, 212
Resident-General F.M.S., 146, 147, 148
Resident (British Officer), 103, 109, 129, 130, 131, 133, 146, 148, 149, 156, 161, 164; Commissioner, Penang, 173; Commissioner, Singapore, 173; Jelebu, 140; Negri Sembilan, 140; Pahang, 143, 144; Perak, 130, 132, 134, 135, 137; Sabah West Coast, 215; Selangor, 130, 136, 137, 138; Singapore, 90; Straits Settlement, 126; Sangai Ujong, 112, 113, 130, 138–139
Residents' conferences, 219
Réunion, 86
Riau, 44, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 77, 88, 90, 117; Sultan of, 141
Riau Archipelago, 31, 45, 87, 113, 117
Rice (*see also* Padi), 20, 45, 58, 62, 73, 79, 84, 114, 116, 118, 122, 125, 182, 214, 216
Ridgeway, Sir West, 217
Ridley, Henry, 157
Rinaldo, H.M.S., 107
Ringy, 43
River travel, 165
Roads, 127, 131, 134, 138, 147, 164, 184, 205, 216, 217
Rodger, Mr J. P., 143
Rokan, 23, 26, 28
Rome, 11
Royal Navy, British, 102, 211
Royalist, 200, 201
Rubber, 136, 155, 157–159, 162, 168, 171, 172, 175, 183–184, 191, 207, 208, 215, 217, 219
Rubber Research Institute, 158
Rulers of Malay States (*see also under* Sultans, Raja, *and names of States*), 146, 148, 160
Rural and Industrial Development Authority (R.I.D.A.), 178, 184
Russians, 169

SABAH (*see also* North Borneo), 195, 196, 197, 198; chiefs, 210, 219; Colonial Secretary, 215; Crown Colony, 216, 219, 221; Government, 217; officials, 216, 218; people, 214, 220; resistance, 220–221; Treasurer-General, 215
Sabang, 56

Sago, 207
Sailendras ("Kings of the Mountain"), 15
Samudra (Sumatra), 17, 18
Sandakan, 210, 215, 221
Sandakan Bay, 210, 211
Sandalwood, 61
Sanskrit, 16
Sarawak, 168, 185, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200–209, 219; Chief Minister, 194; civil service, 208; Constitution, 192, 208; Council Negri, 192–194; Crown Colony, 209; Government of, 192–194; Governor of, 200; Mentri Besar, 194; Raja of, 192; Raja Muda of, 204, 207–208; Supreme Council, 194
Sarawak-Indonesian People's Liberation Army, 192
Sarawak, river, 200
Sayid, Mashor, 106, 107, 108, 109
Sayid Shaaban, Rembau, 123
Sayong, 101, 102
Sea Dyaks—*see* Ibans, Dyaks
Schools (*see also* Education), 147, 165, 186–187
Schouten, Justus, 44
Scott, James, 79
Sejarah Melayu—see *Malay Annals*
Selama, 100
Selangor, 29, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 76, 85, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 103–110, 128, 129, 136–138, 139–140, 146, 147, 150, 156, 157, 159, 164, 178; Chiefs, 104, 116, 137; civil war, 104, 106, 116; Dutch fort in, 70; forts, 106; incident, 106–107; law and order in, 137; Raja Muda of, 103; Sultan of, 69, 70, 84, 85, 87, 94, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 129, 130, 136, 137, 138; Wakil Yam-tuan (Viceroy)—*see* Tunku Kudin
Selangor, river, 104, 107, 108, 109
Semantan, Orang Kaya of, 145
Senate, 181
Senoi, 11
Sepak raga (Malayan football), 29
Sepoys, 82, 84, 102, 123
Sequeira, Lopes de, 32, 38, 39
Seremban, 164
Seychelles, islands, 134
Shahbandar, Dutch, 57; (Malay Malacca), 33, 34; Perak, 134; Portuguese, 43
Shan States, 152
Si Kwans (Ghee Hins), 101
Siak, 31, 46, 47, 61, 67, 70
Siak, Dutch capture of, 67, 68
Siam (*see also* Thailand), 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 33, 41, 81, 82, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 113, 119, 145, 150, 152, 203; King of, 77, 93, 94, 97, 98
Siamese, 17, 23, 26, 27, 28, 82, 83, 84, 85, 94, 97, 99, 114, 115, 150, 152, 153
Siberia, 11
Sibu, 194
Sibuko, river, 210
Silk, 34, 37, 78
Silk Road, Great, 11
Simpang Linggi, 129, 139
Singapore, 27, 48, 70, 80, 87–92, 99, 105, 107, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 124–125, 129, 139,

145, 154, 160, 167, 171, 174, 186, 187–192, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203; Botanical Gardens, 157; Causeway, 164; Chamber of Commerce, 128; citizenship, 189; Federation of Malaya and, 191–192; Government, 187–189, 190; Governor of (*see also* Governor, Straits Settlements), 189, 201; Internal Security Council, 190; law and order in, 90, 91, 126; military bases, 187, 190; municipal council, 187; Old (*see also* Tumasek), 17, 19; officials, 126; people of, 188; Resident of, 90; self-government, 187; Malaysia, separated from, 199; Temenggong of Johore, ruler of, 62; Town Council of, 126; trading stations on, 88
Singapore Free School, 165
Sir James Brooke, s.s., 204
Slaves and Slavery, 36, 41, 55, 57, 58, 62, 133, 135, 144, 202, 208, 211, 216
Slaves, Balinese, 114
Slaves, Christian, 56, 57
Slaves, debt, 98, 132, 133, 135, 137, 144
South Asia, 32, 37, 38
South-east Asia, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 34, 50, 51, 52, 56, 66, 83, 88, 90, 124, 129, 159, 168, 186, 191, 209
South Pacific, 170
Spain, 195, 196; King of, 49–50
Speedy, Capt. (Assistant Resident, Perak), 102, 103, 130, 131
Spice Islands, 51, 79, 80, 124
Spices, 18, 34, 37, 49, 50, 52, 58, 60, 61, 70, 79, 118, 120, 125, 184
Squatters, 175
Sri Maharaja—*see* Sultan Muhammad Shah
Sri Menanti, 72–73, 139–140
Sri Nara Diraja (Treasurer of Malacca), 33, 34
Srinivasa Sastri, Mr, 163
Sri Vijaya, 14, 17, 19, 33
State Councils (*see also for each State*), 147–149, 172, 173, 182
Steamer services, 165
Stecker, Mr, 87
Steel, 79
Stevenson Commission, 158
Straits of Magellan, 50
Straits of Malacca, 14, 20, 28, 29, 30, 33, 43, 44ff, 49–52, 60, 61, 64, 66, 69, 75, 79, 88, 89, 91, 92, 97, 99, 126, 128, 129, 155, 160
Straits Settlements, 93, 100, 105, 119–130, 162; Crown Colony, 125; Government of, 127, 129; Indian money in, 128; officials, 108, 126
Strikes, 174
Suffren, Admiral, 77
Sugar, 120, 124, 125, 157, 184
Sukarno, Dr, 195
Sultans (*see also below and under name of State*), 147, 148, 149, 153, 173
Sultan Abdul Samad, Selangor, 104, 105, 107, 109, 129, 136
Sultan Abdullah, Perak, 102, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134
Sultan Abu-Bakar, Johore, 143, 154, 155

Sultan Abu Shahid, Malacca, 26
Sultan Ahmad, Pahang, 141, 142, 143, 145
Sultan Ahmad, Malacca, 40, 45
Sultan Alauddin of Johore, 46
Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, Malacca, 28, 30, 31
Sultan Ali, Johore, 118, 154
Sultan Ali, Perak, 101, 102
Sultan Husein, Johore, 90, 91, 117
Sultan Ibrahim, Johore, 155
Sultan Ismail, Perak (*see* Raja Ismail), 103, 133
Sultan Ja'afar, Perak, 101
Sultan Mahmud I, Malacca, Johore, 31, 32, 38, 39, 40, 45, 46
Sultan Mahmud II, Johore, 62, 63
Sultan Mahmud III, Johore, 69
Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, Lingga (deposed), 114, 115
Sultan Makhota Alam, Acheh, 52
Sultan Mansur Shah, Malacca, 28, 29, 31
Sultan Muhammad Shah, Malacca, 22
Sultan Muhammad, Selangor, 104, 105
Sultan Muzaffar Shah, Malacca, 26, 27, 28, 35
Sultan Sulaiman, Johore, 66
Sulu, 220; Sultan of, 195–196, 209, 210
Sumatra, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 30, 46, 50, 70, 79, 92, 113, 119, 129, 158, 159
Sunda Strait, 58
Sungai Ujong, 60, 73, 99, 110, 112, 113, 130, 139, 140, 146, 156; Dato Klana of, 73, 110, 112, 113, 128, 129, 130, 138, 139; Dato Shahbandar of, 112, 113
Sungei Siput, Perak, 175
Supreme Court, 182
Suvarna-bhumi, 11
Suvarna-dvipa, 11
Swettenham, Sir Frank, 109, 110, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 141, 146, 147, 150, 172
Swift, 201
Synthetic rubber, 183
Syria, 36
Syriam, 75

TABOH, 123, 124
Taiping, 164
Tamils (*see also* Indians), 205
Tampin, 139, 140
Tan Cheng Lock, 177, 178, 188
Tanjong Putir—*see* Johore Bahru
Tapioca, 184
Tatham, Capt. A., 130
Tax-collectors, 135
Tax-collectors, illegal, 110, 112, 128
Taxes (*see also* Farming), 127, 146
Tea, 184
Teachers' Training Colleges, 187
Telok Anson, 164
Temenggong Abdu'r-Rahman, Singapore, 117
Temenggong Abu-Bakar, Johore, 116, 119
Temenggong Daing Ibrahim, Johore, 117
Temenggong of Johore, ruling at Singapore, 88, 90, 91, 113, 154
Temenggong, Malay Malacca, 30, 33, 34
Temenggong, Portuguese, 43

Temenggong Sri Maharaja, Johore, 118
Temerloh, 145
Templer, General, 176, 177, 178, 179
Temples, 16
Tenom, 217
Terachi, 73, 139
Ternate, 41; Sultan of, 50
Thai Railways, 164
Thailand (*see also* Siam), 15, 158, 164, 177, 182
Tidore, 41
Timber, 217
Times, The, 172
Tin (tin-mining), 29, 34, 35, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70, 72, 77, 79, 85, 93, 95, 101, 102, 106, 109, 110, 114, 125, 136, 155–157, 184–185; dredge, 156, 168, 171, 185; miners, 100, 104, 136, 147; mines, 61, 63, 99, 103, 141, 156, 160, 171, 175; royalties, 131, 136, 156, 172; money, Pahang, 114; trade in, 67
Titanium, 157
Tobacco, 184, 207, 214, 217
Tokyo, 197
Tomé Pires—*see* Pires, Tomé
Torrens, 121
Torrey, Joseph W., 209, 210
Trengganu, 29, 63
Trade and Traders, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50–51, 52, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 73, 74, 76, 78, 83, 84, 89, 92, 94, 95, 99, 100, 104, 110, 112, 113, 115, 118, 119–120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 147, 150, 152, 155, 159, 161, 182–186, 188, 191, 200, 202, 205, 207, 212, 220
Trade Unions, 174, 191
Trafalgar, Battle of, 80
Transport (*see* Communications), 164–165
Treacher, William, 210, 211, 212
Treasury, London, 128
Treaties: Anderson's, 94, 107; British-Dutch (of London, 1824), 70, 91–92, 93, 113, 117, 141; British-Ligor, 94, 95; British-Siamese, 95–96, 150, 152; British-Spain, 195; Brunei-British, 201; Bugis-Dutch, 68; Burney's, 95–96, 150; Johore-British, 88–89, 90–91, 117, 154; Johore-Bugis, 68; Johore-Dutch, 63, 67, 68, 69, 72; Kedah-British, 82–83; Linggi, Klang, Rembau-Dutch, 72; Low's, 96; Malay States-British, 172; Malay States-Dutch, 63, 64; Nanning-British, 73, 122; Nanning-Dutch, 123; Pahang-British, 141–142; Pahang-Johore, 115; Perak-British (*see also* Pangkor Engagement), 94, 96; Perlis-British, 153; Selangor-British, 87, 94, 107; Selangor-Dutch, 87; Sungai-Ujong-British, 112; Trengganu-British, 153
Tregonning, Professor K. G., 220
Trengganu, 95, 96, 115, 149, 150, 152; Adviser, 152, 153; Mentri

Besar of, 153; State Council, 153; Sultan of, 114, 115, 150, 152, 153
Triangular War—*see* War, Triangular
Tribute (*see also* Presents), 14, 15, 22, 83
Trusan, 206, 212
Tumasek (*see also* Singapore, Old), 19, 88
Tumpat, 164
Tun Abdul Razak, 186
Tun Ali, Malacca, 26, 159
Tun Besar, Malacca, 29
Tun Mutahir, Malacca, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38
Tun Perak (Bendahara Paduka Raja), Malacca, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 113
Tun Perpateh Puteh, Bendahara, Malacca, 31
Tungsten, 157
Tunku Abdul Rahman, 177, 178, 179, 180, 192, 195, 197, 198
Tunku Ali, Johore, 117, 118
Tunku Antar, Sri Menanti, 139
Tunku Kudin, Selangor (Wakil Yam-tuan), 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 116, 128, 129, 130, 136, 137
Tunku Mahmud, Pahang, 143, 144
Tunku Muhammad Said, Kedah, 97
Tunku Zia'u'd-din, Kedah—*see* Tunku Kudin
Tun-sun, 12, 15
Turkey, Sultan of, 36

U THANT, 197
Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon), 60, 76, 77
Ulu Muar, 26, 72–73, 139; Penghulu of, 72
Ulu Pahang, 141, 142, 145
Ulu Selangor, 108
Undang, 71
Unemployment, 191
Unfederated Malay States, 148, 149–155, 163; finance, 153
United Malay National Organisation (U.M.N.O.), 172, 178, 179
United Nations, 197
United States of America, 74, 185, 196, 214, 222
University of Malaya, 187
Un-officials, 148

VAN HAGEN, 108
Vasco da Gama—see Gama, Vasco da
Venice, 17, 36
Victoria Institute, Kuala Lumpur, 165
Victoria, Queen, 154
Vietnam, 33, 129, 152
Village Committees, 176

WAN AHMAD, PAHANG—*see* Bendahara Ahmad, Pahang
Wan Koris, Pahang, 115, 116
Wan Mutahir—*see* Bendahara Mutahir, Pahang
War: American Independence, 77, 81; British-Burmese, 84, 93, 95, 152, 200; British-Dutch, 74; British-French, 74; Bugis-Dutch, 72; Nanning-British, 110, 121–124; Triangular, 47
War Office, London, 128

Waris, Sungai Ujong, 71, 113
Warships, British, 86
Warren Hastings—*see* Hastings, Warren
Waterloo, Battle of, 74
Wayang, 16
Wellesley, Colonel (Duke of Wellington), 79
West, Mr, 215
Weston, 215, 221
White areas, 176
William of Orange (William III of England), 74
Winstedt, Sir Richard, 61, 97, 119
World War I, 157, 207, 208
World War II, 149, 159, 167–170, 208, 220–221

Xavier, St Francis, 47

Yang di-Pertuan Agong, 181, 182, 197
Yang di-Pertuan Besar, 99
Yang di-Pertuan Negara, 190
Yang di-Pertuan (Muda)—*see under* State names
Yap Ah Loy, 105–106, 108, 116, 136, 137–138, 156, 161
Yin Ch'ing, 15, 19, 20, 22