Glimpses Of SWIANGOR 1860-1898

Glimpses of SHLANGOR 1860-1898

J. M. GULLICK



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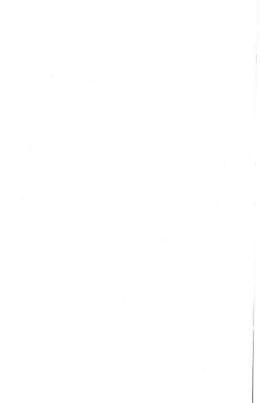
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ISTANA MESTIKA SHAH ALAM, SELANGOR, MALAYSIA.

POREWORD

Every <u>Kerajaan</u> in Peninsular Malaysia, with one exception, was named after a major river. It was, therefore, logical that when Raja Lumu was proclaimed Sultan Salehuddin in 1766, his new <u>Kerajaan</u> should be named SELANGOR, after the river at the çocky mouth of which his capital was located.

The first three Sultans of Salengor maintained the copital on top of a rocky bill. The first champs occurred when Sultan Nuhammad, the third ruler, while on wisit to Klang, died suddenly in January 1857. There was a delay of about three or four months before his successor, Sultan Abdul Samad, was appointed. The new Sultan decided to establish his capital at the mouth of the Langat river where he had etayed demise in 1898 evation. He remained in that area until his

Sultan Abdul Samad's reign was a period of major change. He had to cope with a civil war and come to terms with the establishment of British administration in Selangor. We are fortunate that Mr. J.M. Gullick has been able to gather material from various sources to depict that important phase in Selangor's history. His essays throw light on the Sultan Selangor's history will be selangor Police Force, on Douglas the unapher creator of the Selangor Police Force, on Douglas the unapher creator of the Selangor Police Force, on Douglas the unapher creator of the Selangor Police Force, on Douglas the unapher creator of the Selangor Police Force, on Police Force, on the Company of the Selangor Police Force, on the Selangor P

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DYTM Tengku Idris Shah Ibni Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah Alhaj, DK.,DK (Terengganu), SPMJ., (RAJA MUDA SELANGOR DABUL EHSAN)



INTRODUCTION

This volume contains five studies of different personalities and subjects, all from the history of Selangor in the late 19th century. They include the changing role of the Malay monarchy and the early period of colonial administration which are important themes in the making of modern Selangor. For the most part they are general studies centered on a particular individual or derived from his or her personal experience.

These papers are reprinted from the Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, but they were not written originally as a collection nor with regard to each other. Each was and remains an independent study of its chosen topic. While there is no sufficient reason for seeking to integrate them now by a complete revision, it has seemed advisable to make those minimum changes which will make them consistent in format and also bring them up-to-date and so – one hopes – more useful to the modern reader.

In this respect the paper on Sultan Abdul Samad, entitled 'A Careless, Heathen Philosopher?' (note the question mark appended to Thomas Braddell's bon mot) presents special problems. It was written 40 years ago and more than 20 years before any of the others in this volume. It was a pioneering attempt to penetrate the mask which a talented and humorous Malay Rulter interposed between himself and the world around him, which was not always to his likine.

The author finds no reason to modify the essential conclusions of the original version. But since the paper on the Sultan was written, new sources of information have come to light, from which substantial additions can be made to the original picture. Perhaps the most important of the new sources is the unpublished diary of Bloomfield Douglas (Resident of Selangor 1876-82), which is itself the subject of another paper in this volume. Among other additional primary sources are the Selangor journals (1874-5) of Sir Frank Swettenham, discovered by Dr. P.L. Burns and published in 1975, with the Perak journals which had previously appeared in Volume 24 of the Society's Journal. There is also the unpublished official diary of the Collector at Kuala Lanast for 1882-5.

Apart from new sources of information, the history of the Malay States in the second half of the 19th century has benefitted greatly from major works by Professors Cowan, Parkinson and Khoo Kay Kim, and the one book, a worthy memorial, which we have from the late Dr. Emily Sadka. These, and other works of the last 40 years, offer many insights and much new information.

Hence it has been decided to offer a revised and completely rewritten study of Sultan Abdul Samad, though the general scope and theme are much as they were in the original paper. With the other papers the original text has been retained with only minor changes – this volume is after all primarily a reissue of earlier work. But those papers which, when first published, were not fully amnotated, have now been equipped with notes to identify sources and discuss some subsidiary points. This is technical supplementation designed to assist students and researchers in the subjects of the papers in question.

Finally, the author wishes to express his appreciation and gratitude for the publication of his volume. He is aware, from personal discussion, of the great interest and practical support given to the history of Selangor by Y.T.M. the Raja Muda of Selangor, a Patron of the Society. Its President, Professor Dato' Khoo Kay Kim, and Hon Editor, Tan Sri Dato' Dr. Haji Mubhin Sheppard, have accorded to the author a much appreciated distinction in selecting his work to be first in what, it is hoped, will be a continuing series on Selangor history.

J. M. GULLICK

J. M. Gullick was born in England in 1916 and was educated at Taunton School and Christ's College Cambridge, where he obtained a degree in classics. During leaves from Malaya after the war he studied at the London School of Economics, writing his Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya as a dissertation submitted for a London postgraduate diploma in social anthropology. At various times he qualified as a barrister, a solicitor and a chartered secretary.

He began his career in the Colonial Administrative Service in Uganda in 1939 but then spent six years (1940-1946) in the army, reaching the rank of lieutenant-colonel with a mention in despatches. On demobilisation he was transferred to the Malayan Civil Service, from which he retired in 1957. After an initial 2½ years in Negeri Sembilan, he held federal appointments in Kuala Lumpur, including a spell as chief executive of the newly formed Rural Industrial Development Authority under the late Datuk Onn bin Jaafar as chairman.

When he arrived in Negeri Sembilan in September 1945, the longlived Undang Abdullah of Jelebu had just died and Datuk Klana Ma'amor of Sungei Ujong died a few months later after an even longer reign. It fell to Gullick as a district officer to supervise two successive elections of an Undang under the complicated and often contentious customary procedure, on which local expertise was somewhat rusty from long disuse. This instructive if stressful experience prompted him to offer a paper entitled 'Sungei Ujong' to the Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the first of a number of contributions, Soon afterwards, the Hon. Editor, the late Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, invited Gullick to cooperate with him in completing the biography of Yap Ah Loy which S. M. Middlebrook had left unfinished at his death in internment. This task led to the discovery that stored away in an attic the Selangor Government had preserved its secretariat records from 1875. Thus introduced to Selangor history, Gullick wrote a number of papers on Selangor history, a selection of which are included in this volume. A list of his books and articles is appended.

On retiring from Malaya in 1957 Gullick worked in the London office of the Guthrie Group of plantation companies, and later became a non-executive director of the Guthrie Corporation PLC. For a time he was a partner of a City firm of solicitors, which many years before had acted for Sultan Ibrahim of Johor; finally he worked as a law lecturer. He has now retired from these activities but continues to write on Malayan historical subjects.

He was a member of the Council of the Society from 1951 to 1956 and has been its UK representative since 1983.

J. M. Gullick - Published Books and Articles

Books

The Story of Early Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Donald Moore, 1956.

Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya, London, Athlone Press, 1958; revised edition 1988; in Malay translation, Sistem Politik Bumiputera Tanah Melayu Barat, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1970.

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A History of Selangor 1742-1957, Singapore, Eastern Universities Press, 1960.

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Malaysia and Its Neighbours, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.

The Story of Kuala Lumpur (1857-1939), Singapore, Eastern Universities Press, 1983.

Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1987.

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The Negri Sembilan Economy of the 1890's, 1951.

Yap Ah Loy (by S. M. Middlebrook), concluding chapters, 1951.

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A Careless, Heathen Philosopher? 1953.

Captain Speedy of Larut, 1953.

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Kuala Lumpur 1880–1895, 1955.

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Selangor 1876-1882 - the Bloomfield Douglas Diary, 1975.

The Tampin Succession, 1976.

Syers and the Selangor Police 1875-1897, 1978.

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The Entrepreneur in late 19th Century Malay Peasant Society, 1985.

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W. W. Skeat and Malayan Ethnography, 1988.

The Bandar Bahru Group Photograph (joint author J. Falconer), 1989. The Growth of Kuala Lumpur... before 1880, 1990.

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A CARELESS HEATHEN PHILOSOPHER? 1860-1898



A CARELESS HEATHEN PHILOSOPHER?

A revised version1

Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor has been the victim of wit, some of it his own. Of the quarrel which began the disastrous Selangor civil war (1867-73) he remarked, "They are both young men. Let them fight it out." Of the piracy which became the occasion for British intervention in Selangor he observed that he personally did not engage in piracy; he left it to the boys, his sons. Swettenham wrote that the Sultan would not allow anything to interfere with his opium cum diginitate. "Thomas Braddell found him" a rather careless heathen philosopher." Winstedt called him 'a dispassionate hedonist. 6 Most contemporary judgments reflect the view expressed in these anecdotes and bons mots. From them emerges the generally accepted picture of him as a Malay Nero smoking opium while Selangor burned. But, as we shall see, not everyone shared this view of his personality and there is good reason to think that it was superficial and to some extent a result of dissimulation by the Sultan himself.

Abdul Samad was born c.1805, the son of Raja Abdullah, younger brotherd of the future Sultan Mohamed (r. 1826-1857) who had hoped to secure the succession to the throne for his own son by allocating to his brother the outlying but important Langat district as his fief. When Abdul Samad came to the throne in 1857 he was a man past 50 years of age, a district chief as heir to his father, and had recently been appointed by the late Sultan Mohamed to the office of Tunku Panglima Besar, ie chief executive of the royal government. Sultan Mohamed planned that this experienced figure should be de facto regent during the minority of the Sultan's son, Raja Mahmud, a boy of 7 years of age. But, for reasons to be given later, this plan miscarried, Although little is known of the career of Abdul Samad before 1857 there are a few clues to be considered.

The royal capital was at Kuala Sclangor and the valley of the Sclangor river was the main centre of agricultural settlement and of tin-mining in a State then only sparsely settled. Swettenham, in a visit to Ulu Sclangor in 1875, came on the old workings of a huge mine' opened some 80 years before. Sutlan Mohamed's ventures in tin-mining, in the second quarter of the 19th century, had been financed by loans from Melaka towkays; their failure left the Ruler unable to pay his large debx. When he passed through Melaka he was at risk of being arrested for debt. From these difficulties he was extricated by a Bugis kinsman from Riau, Raja Juma'at, who was rewarded, in 1846, with a grant in perpetuity of the Lukut valley, just north of the modern town of Port Dickson. Under the able direction of Raja Juma'at Lukut became, for a seneration until its in deposits were worked out, one of the

most productive mining centres of western Malaya. Juma'at consolidated his position by marrying a daughter of Sultan Mohamed, whose other sons-in-law came to include Raja Abdullah, brother of Raja Juma'at. The Sultan was an ineffectual Ruler but this group of ambitious men, linked with him by marriage, were the power behind the throne.

However the political geography of Selangor, which at this time was a strip of coastline from Bernam in the north almost to the Linggi estuary in the south, dictated a dispersal of power among the Selangor Rajas and this limited the influence of Raja Juma'at. In particular the Klang valley had been assigned to Raia Sulaiman, a son of Sultan Mohamed by a secondary wife but an obvious opponent of Raja Juma'at until Sulaiman's death c. 1850. Away to the north another branch of the ruling dynasty, later represented by Raja Hitam and his brothers, had control of the Bernam valley. Raja Abdul Samad had for a time had charge of the Ulu Selangor mines. 12 But in 1857 he had returned to live in his ancestral fief of Kuala Langat.13 Whatever may have been his professed detachment in 1874 from acts which were piratical in British eyes, Abdul Samad had been a man of action in the traditional Malay style earlier in his career - so much so that in 1854 one of the rare British references to him describes him 'a notoriously bad character.'14 It is from this period of his middle life that Abdul Samad acquired his reputation of having killed 99 men with his own hand. Until much later, when it was no longer a joking matter, he did not deny the report. But in the 1890's he told Walter Skeat, the District Officer Kuala Langat, that it was the royal 'keris of execution which had been used to end ninety-nine lives; he personally had not used it for that purpose. 15

The last decade (1847-57) of Sultan Mohamed's reign was a period of unrubulence and strife. Two adult sons and a nephew of the Sultan intrigued for nomination as Raja Muda, is heir apparent to the throne. But as these contenders died in his lifetime, Sultan Mohamed finally conferred the title on Raja Mahmud, who although still young was a son by the Sultan's principal wife, Tengku Puan Basik. Although Raja Sulaiman had died, his son, Raja Mahdi, might have expected to succeed to the Klang district. But Raja Juma'at persuaded the Sultan to pass over this potential claimant to the throne by giving the Klang district to Raja Juma'at's brother, Raja Abdullah, married to the Sultan's coustin.

Abdullah applied himself with some success to developing tin mines up the Klang river, importing Chinese labour for that purpose and thereby promoting the foundation c. 1860 of Kuala Lumpur, as the trade centre of the new mines. The dispossessed Raja Mahdi was a forceful character but he could only bide his time until it was propitious for recovering his patrimony. He lived at Klang as a private citizen, engaging in mining and trading in tin.

Then, 1857, Sultan Mohamed died suddenly at Klang. Raja Juma'at presumably judged that a regency would not sufficiently stabilize the situation and promoted the accession of Raja Abdul Samad, who as a man in his fifties,

would at least fill the gap until Raja Mahmud had grown up and shown his potential. At some stage, it may have been later, the new Sultan sought to reconcile Raja Mahdi to the situation by offering him a marriage alliance with Abdul Samad's daughter, Raja Arfah.

The new Sultan was nonetheless dangerously exposed. Swettenham, who lived at the royal capital of Kuala Langai in 1874-75, wrote that 'the normal state of Selangor was robbery, battle and murder' and the Sultan 'had cause to fear ... it was even at one time proposed to murder the Sultan 'thad cause to fear ... it was even at one time proposed to murder the Sultan 'thad cause to the Sultan told Emily Innes that at formal ceremonies at which his subjects came close to make obeisance 'he was always expecting that one or other of them would seize the opportunity of stabbing him.'18 Obviously he felt safer on his home ground and so he lived at Kuala Langat, leaving Klang in the charge of Raja Abdullah.¹³ The death of Raja Juma'at in 1864 weakened the Sultan's position so much that supporters of Raja Muda Mahmud demanded that the Sultan should now abdicate in favour of the younger man – but he refused.²⁰

The Sultan was not directly involved in the origins of the next, and more serious, crises which began the Selangor civil war (1867-1873).21 With the support of Sumatran miners in the interior Raja Mahdi seized Klang and drove out Raja Abdullah, whose claims passed to his sons, as he himself died in exile soon after. By this time, if not before, Sultan Abdul Samad had developed a policy of neutrality and non-intervention in the disputes among his turbulent subjects. But as he could not, or did not choose, to exercise the minimum executive authority of his office, he needed a delegate. He had detached himself from Raja Mahdi, breaking off his daughter's engagement to Mahdi on the grounds that Mahdi had refused to continue the monthly payments to the royal exchequer from the revenues of Klang which had been made by Raia Abdullah.22 Instead he found an 'outsider', like Raja Juma'at in years before, who had no existing ties with the warring factions and might bring to Selangor some of the improvements to its government which Juma'at had advocated. To effect this scheme the Sultan married his daughter to Tunku Dhiau'ddin (usually abbreviated to 'Kudin'), a younger brother of the Sultan of Kedah and associated with that Ruler, as Raja Muda, in a relatively progressive regime in Kedah. Whether at the Sultan's suggestion, as Kudin later asserted, or in response to Kudin's request, the Sultan then formally, in 1868, delegated authority to Kudin to exercise powers of government in Selangor, but it was a grant expressed with studied ambiguity.23 The Sultan could not prevent his subjects coming to him direct but 'to all comers, from whatever quarter, the Sultan seemed always to signify his approval, and with strict impartiality, made gifts of all sorts. *24

However Kudin soon fell out with Mahdi and took sides, contrary to his father-in-law's practice and intentions, by joining forces with the sons of Raja Abdullah who were besieging Mahdi in the town of Klang. Thus the long and bitter civil war became a duel between Raja Mahdi, who might oust the Sultan from the throne if he won, and Tunku Kudin. Most of the Selangor Rajas supported Mahdi but Kudin, in addition to levies from Kedah, had the able Capitan Cina of Kuala Lumpur, Yap Ah Loy, as an ally. He lost the support of the Sumatran miners in 1872 but redressed the balance by securing military aid from the Bendahara of Pahang, whose troops finally turned the battle in Kudin's favour.

Kudin financed his war effort by running up debts which eventually reached a total of about \$400,000 (equal to two years revenue of the early colonial regime). This borrowing was incurred without reference to the Sultan and was to be a serious burden on the State for ten years after the war, until it was repaid. Kudin's creditors and many other merchants of the Straits Settlements with interests in Selangor exerted pressure on the Straits Settlements Government to intervene. 25 But Governor Ord (1867-1873) was strictly enjoined by the Colonial Office to hold aloof. Among his officials the best-informed on Selangor affairs was Rodney Macpherson, who earlier in his career, when he was Lieutenant Governor at Melaka (1857-60), had advised and cooperated with Raja Jumaat.26 But Ord, a quarrelsome man, did not get on with Macpherson, who was now Colonial Secretary (1867-69), and when Macpherson died in 1869, he was succeeded by J.W.W. Birch, on transfer from Ceylon. 77 There were other officials, to be mentioned in their place, who had or professed to have some knowledge of the troubled situation in the Malay States. But Colonial Office distrust of Ord's judgement denied the 'men on the spot' any latitude except when a crisis should require action first and a report to London afterwards.28

The first crisis came with the "Rinaldo incident" at Kuala Selangor in June 1871.³⁸ In response to an act of piracy against a vessel from a Straits port the acting Governor, Anson (Ord was on leave), sent British vessels, including eventually H.M.S. 'Rinaldo', to Kuala Selangor, where the Sultan's son, Raja Muda Musa, was in titular charge but Raja Mahdris forces were blamed for the attack. Thereafter Anson sent Birch and C.J. Irving to Kuala Langat to demand from the Sultan the surrender of those implicated in the piracy.³⁸ It is no surprise that the Sultan was quite unable to comply with this demand, but it served as a pretext for a British attempt, backed by the presence of H.M.S. 'Teaser', to induce the Sultan to declare his unequivocal support for Turku Kudin, on the basis of the 1868 grant of powers (interpreted by British officials as conferring the status of "viceroy"), although Kudin was not now an impartial arbitrator but a protagonist in the civil war.³⁸ To reinforce their approach the British envoys brought Kudin with them.

It is unnecessary to follow the course of the discussions between Birch, inclined to drastic action, and Irving on one side and the Sultan on the other. Only the British official reports of the meetings exist to reveal the Sultan's attitude but something can be deduced from them.³² His problem was that

Kudin was in open armed conflict with Raia Mahdi and was now disliked and distrusted by most of the Sultan's entourage, including his sons. The Sultan therefore did not wish to comply with the British demand - but he had little room for manoeuvre. Mahdi had asserted that the 1868 document was a forgery, but the Sultan could not deny that, in very different circumstances, he had indeed issued it. Birch and Irving demanded that it should be replaced by a more explicit grant of executive powers of government to Kudin. The Sultan's response, according to Irving, was 'a very curious and suggestive document', by which Kudin would be merely one member of what would be in effect a council of regency, whose other members - the nearest thing to 'neutral' available to the Sultan - would be Raja Bot, son and heir of Raja Juma'at, and his brothers. Kudin immediately objected that the wider powers carried enlarged responsibilities, but "if I am to be responsible, I must be free to act."33 The effect of neutralising Kudin by making him a member of a committee would neuter him as an effective agent. The upshot was that the British envoys accepted the Sultan's later proposal that the 1868 grant should be renewed by affixing the royal seal to it in their presence. In the end the original 1868 document was re-dated in 1871 and then re-sealed. The Sultan could thus reassure Kudin's opponents that nothing new had been conceded to the hated interloper. In passing one may note the skill of the Sultan, who was illiterate, in the use of documents and seals - a further example will be given later

The eye of the storm moved away from Kuala Langat, leaving the Sultan in comparative peace while the protagonists in the civil war slogged it out. The population fled from the agricultural settlements along the lower reaches of the Selangor and Klang rivers; the inland mining centres, notably Kuala Lumpur, were devastated. **Kudin's victory in the later part of 1873 was precarious; Raja Mahdi, driven into exiled, might return yet again to renew the struggle. **Although the Sultan lived quietly at Kuala Langat, the royal capital was so hostile to Kudin that he did not return to see the Sultan again throughout the "21-y years from mid-1871 to the beginning of 1874. **There is no sign that the Sultan made any overt gesture of support for Kudin's cause, nor that he had any inclination to take such a riskly step.

Then, as in 1871, a minor episode of piracy set in train larger events. As a trading vessel from the Straits Settlements was attacked and all but one survivor of her crew massacred. On this occasion however the attack took place within sight of the royal capital and one of the Sultan's sons, Raja Yakub, was clearly implicated. A gain, senior British officials, escorted by naval vessels, came to demand from the Sultan concessions which he probably did not wish to make. But this time the Governor himself, now Sir Andrew Clarke, came in person, bringing a group of advisers which did not include Birch or Irving. Instead he came with Braddell and McNair, who were sceptical of Kudin's authority and effectiveness, and he had the authority from

the Colonial Office for preliminary measures in a Malay State which had been denied to Ord and Anson (who was pointedly omitted from the party).⁴⁰

Clarke, and his advisers, were not disposed to lend support to Kudin's pretensions as 'viceroy' unless such a step was likely to produce positive results in the form of increased stability and enduring peace in Selangor. Kudin was invited to the conference, and he came in the company of the Singapore lawyer, J.G. Davidson' who had for some time been the medium of communication between Government and the Tuanku. 'But Kudin was held aboard a vessel offshore while Clarke probed the real intentions of the Sultan."

As always, the Sultan played for time. It may have been in this conversation that he distanced himself from acts of piracy as 'the affair of the boys, my sons.' So far as we know, that was the truth of the matter. But certainly he showed signs of stress. Fearing that he would be abducted into exile if he went aboard the 'Pluto' to meet the Governor, he 'absolutely refused to come on board, alleging that it was quite contrary to Malay customs to do so. Eventually the yacht was moored against the bank, a single pole was placed across the gap and then the Sultan, with characteristic Malay agility, made the crossing. But he insisted that he should be preceded and followed on to the vessel by 'a great number of armed attendants.' Moreover, when the floilla had first arrived he had mobilised 'all the people of the neighbourhood' and had sent the women and children, and their valuables, into the interior out of harm's way.' He had not forgotten his skills as a fighting captain.

Neither Clarke nor his advisers had previously met this Malay Ruler, who had been 'described as a feeble, worn out opium-smoker.' They were surprised to encounter 'an elderly looking gentleman of fifty-five or sixty years of age ... having his senses perfectly about him." But Clarke's aide-decamp, who had time to observe closely, noted the signs of tension in 'an indecisive manner of walking up and down when he is required to make up his mind and fidgeting with his head-dress which he constantly takes off and puts on again." After breaking the ice at this first meeting Clarke decided – perhaps to put the Sultan at his ease – to pursue the discussion on land at the astana. There was the conventional opening session of Malay diplomacy in public in the balat. "The constraints of such a forum suited the Sultan better than Clarke. When Clarke asked for a private interview 'there was much objection but I stuck to the point and at last he assented.' Clarke and his party were thus admitted 'into a small place where the Sultan was with his three sons and some eight or ten chiefs. ""

Before this plenary session Braddell may have made some soundings in a preliminary private chat with the Sultan, and we may assume he had briefed Clarke. At the larger meeting Clarke 'opened on the subject of my mission (and) told him how much better for him, his family and country it would be if he would support his son-in-law. In the presence of a group who were enemies of Kudin to a man the Sultan was not to be drawn into immediate acceptance of that proposition. Instead he allowed his son, Raja Yakub, to launch into a diatribe against Kudin as 'the cause of the disturbances. 48 Yakub had good reason to distract attention from his own suspected complicity in the piracy which had brought these unwelcome visitors. 49 How far, if at all, the Sultan had reservations or grievances against Kudin, we shall never know, except that Kudin's blockade of the Selangor coast (to prevent supplies reaching Mahdi) had caused an unwelcome loss of customs revenues to the Sultan at Kuala Langat.50 Having given Yakub his head, Clarke nersisted in his enquiry, asking whether 'there was any ill feeling on his part against Tuanku Kudin... to require that his authority as Vicerov should be cancelled.' Now that it was sufficiently clear to his entourage that the British were likely to support Kudin, whatever he might say, the Sultan judged it timely to fall into line. He replied that he had not seen his son-in-law, nor in consequence his daughter, Raja Arfah, wife of Kudin, for two years, but 'excepting this, he had no complaint and he was very well disposed to the Tuanku 51

Kudin, who had been waiting anxiously on a British warship was then included to join the conference. Before allowing the discussion to proceed the Sultan drew his son-in-law into a back room thus securing the opportunity of a short private exchange with him.²³ The moment of tension had now passed and Clarke concentrated on pressing the Sultan for a 'show trial' of the men accused of the piracy. On the government of Selangor it was deemed sufficient to elicit again formal confirmation of the grant of powers to Kudin made in 1868.³³ It was Clarke's intention to appoint as Resident, to work with the Viceroy, J.G. Davidson who was a financial backer as well as adviser to Kudin.

Modern opinion may be critical of the Sultan's unheroic stance in this episode. But once it was made clear to him, under the threat of British naval guns, that, if he declared in favour of Kudin, the British would give him the support which would secure Kudin's position, compliance was the best indeed the only - practicable course. The Sultan's eldest son, Raja Muda Musa, did not inspire confidence. If the exiled Raja Mahdi were recalled, he would be an unstable and ill-qualified replacement for Kudin, even though he might have more local support. One may admire the Sultan's skill in playing off the masterful Clarke against the anti-Kudin group, whose spokesman was Raja Yakub, himself compromised by complicity in the piracy, though it did not suit anyone to be explicit about it. In retrospect the next 18 months to November 1875, were a period of consolidation of British influence, but must have seemed rather different to those who lived through the crises of the time. For a year, until early 1875, there was no Resident but Davidson spent much of his time with Kudin at Klang, as his personal adviser. He also studied the Sultan and formed the opinion that, contrary to reports, the Sultan 'though an opium smoker is not the weak, unthinking old man he has been described to be, but is a very shrewd, money-loving man, with full use of his faculties. **
The uneasy calm was interrupted by disturbances in neighbouring Sungei Ujong, in which Raja Mahdi's lieutenant, Raja Mahmud, was involved. But Mahdi ceased to be a threat, when he surrendered and took up his abode in Johor under British surveillance. 55

For the Sultan the most significant consequence of these transient alarms was the appointment, in August 1874, of Frank Swettenham to reside at Kuala Langat as British representative. Although this arrangement formally continued until late in 1875. Swettenham was absent on other duties for long periods in 1875.56 From Swettenham, and later Emily Innes, we get a picture of the roval capital in the mid-1870's as a village 'in a mud swamp on the bank of a melancholy tidal stream', with 'the bazaar, where squalid wares were displayed hanging from strings, or shut up in glass bottles on account of the ants." 'When the tide went down, and the sun drew a pestilential vapour from the drying ooze, horrible, loathsome crocodiles crawled up the slimy banks to bask in the noisome heat.'57 It was inappropriately named the 'City of Festivals' (Bandar Termasa) - a sinister place where 'the stroller by night ... always carried a naked weapon, and, if he met another man, was apt to strike first, and then seek for explanations.'58 Swettenham recalls a memorable night scene when 'a badly wounded man was carried from the duelling field past the palisade, which enclosed the Sultan's house, (and) His Highness had asked. through the bars what was the matter, and being told, had laconically remarked. "If he is wounded, doctor him, if he is dead, bury him," 59

Swettenham describes the Sultan in more relaxed moments as 'a small, soare, wizened man, with a kindly smile, fond of a good story, and with a strong sense of humour. **O* Bandar Langat, as it was more usually known, offered its royal master two geographical advantages. It was the only route by which ith from the interior (Ulu Langat) could be exported, and he collected a tax as it passed. Secondly, it was some 25-30 miles up-river from the estuary, so than to natacking party could approach unbosvered.** Although Swettenham lived rough in this unsalubrious place, James Innes, under pressure from his wife, Emily, got approval for moving the administrative headquarters to high ground on Jugra Hill, with a view over the sea, early in 1878. The Sultan, then feeling more secure, readily agreed to join in the move, so that Jugra was the royal capital for the rest of his life and Bandar Langat declined into neglect.

A few weeks after Swettenham's arrival the Sultan signed a letter, produced to him by Swettenham (on instructions from Clarke) by which the Ruler declared that 'I should be very glad if my friend would set my country to right and collect all its taxes. **2 It was a simpler document than the Pangkor Engagement, but its effect was much the same. *5 Swettenham was a talented young man, with a superb knowledge of Malay language and custom which prompted the Sultan to write that 'be is very clever: he is also very clever as

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. ⁵⁴ There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Sultan's praise but the use of extravagant compliments was part of his diplomatic armoury to further his own ends and perhans for the pleasure of watching the British officials pure with satisfaction.

In the last quarter of 1875 there were brief Malay risings, apparently uncoordinated, in Perak, Selangor and Sungei Ujong, In Selangor the leaders were Sumatran headmen in Ulu Langat, encouraged by more serious disturbances in Sungei Ujong. One of them, Sutan Puasa, had obtained from the Sultan a permit to bring a party of 200 Sumatran miners from Ulu Bernam to Ulu Langat, though this fact hardly implicates the Sultan. 65 An indirect consequence of the trouble in Perak was the final departure of Swettenham from Selangor (until he returned as Resident in 1882). To replace Swettenham at Kuala Langat, now more an administrative than a diplomatic post, the harassed Straits Settlements Government sent Captain William Bloomfield Douglas. After a short spell at Kuala Langat, of which no record survives, Douglas moved to Klang to succeed Davidson as Resident of Selangor in April 1876.66 The vacancy at Kuala Langat was then filled by James Innes, who was soon joined there by his wife Emily, whose record of her life in Selangor is an important source of information about the Sultan and his circle in the period of 1876-82. Douglas also was keeping a diary of his working life. At about this time two other British officials appeared on the scene who were to have contacts with the Sultan over the next 20 years - Harry Syers and Charles Turney.67

In marked contrast to Swettenham, with whom his relations were fraught, Douglas was neither 'clever' nor could he 'gain the hearts of Rajas with soft words.' He was a brusque martinet, whose command of Malay was so limited that he often used Syers, one of the most accomplished Malay speakers among British officials of his day, as his interpreter. Syers had come to Selangor in March 1875 to take charge of the disorderly and demoralized rabble, which was all that now remained of the mercenary forces raised by Kudin during the civil war. It was Syers' task and achievement to convert this contingent, augmented by new recruits, into a useful police force, which for the first time brought law and order into the Selangor countryside. On occasion the police provided an escort or a guard of honour for the Sultan, who — like everyone else- found Syers a pleasant, dependable personality.⁶⁴

Both the Sultan and Douglas made their contribution to the unexpected success of their working relationship. His short apprenticeship at Kuala Langat had probably given Douglas an insight into the struggle for power around the Sultan. Soon after moving to Klang as Resident Douglas commented in his diary that 'the Raja element must come down and the real government must be the Sultan or his Viceroy and his Resident.** Accordingly Douglas regularly consulted the Sultan (though in doing so be tended to by-pass and marginalise Kudin who was thereby inclined to return to the power struggle in Kedah). Douglas restrained his impetuous and irascible temperament, treating the Ruler with proper respect and reasonable frankness. The Sultan was shrewd enough to see that here was a hard-working administrator who would relieve him of his worries. On occasions the Resident indulged in elephantine displays of diplomacy and tact which can hardly have deceived the Sultan and may well have caused him some quiet amusement.⁷⁰

In pursuing his policy of reducing the 'Raja element' to impotence Douglas sometimes acted too drastically and made no secret of his wrath - but pointedly never against the Sultan. The most notorious of these enjoydes which earned Douglas public rebuke and humiliation from his superiors, was the expulsion of the Tunku Panglima Raja from the State Council.71 Although he did not wish to exercise executive power himself, the Sultan may well have regretted the gradual elimination of Malays from the machinery of government. Here the most important event was the retirement of Tunku Kudin from the office of viceroy in 1878; at the same time Kudin's aide, Syed Zin. retired from his post. But the Sultan's sons did not commend themselves to the Sultan, still less to Douglas, as effective substitutes for Kudin, Raja Muda Musa did indeed become president of the State Council in succession to Kudin, but even if Musa had been more adroit he could not have resisted the inclination of Douglas to treat the State Council as a 'rubber stamp' for his own policy.72 There were latent problems in leaving the 'Raja element' unemployed but action to deal with them was not taken by Douglas. Years later the Sultan made one of his cynical jokes, remarking that there were Europeans 'who hired themselves out to rule countries, which was very convenient for those who owned them '73

Nonetheless there were matters on which the Sultan held definite views and, up to a point, asserted them. He felt very strongly that recipients of political allowances from State funds should remain in Selangor and either perform public duties or at least apply themselves to the development of their property or district.²⁴ He was conscious that by custom a Malay Ruler was trustee of the territory of his State, and so he took an active interest in the boundary adjustment by which the southern end of the Selangor coastine was ceded to Negeri Sembilan in exchange for an area of the interior.

The enforced retirement of Douglas from Selangor in 1882 was caused by a number of convergent factors, only one of which concerned the Sultan directly. Even that matter demonstrated the Sultan's personal support for his Resident. Me Under the system of central collection of revenues introduced by the colonial regime, the Sultan and other notables received monthly allowances; the Sultan's was fixed at \$1,000 pm. There was a risk that improvident recipients might pledge their allowances to creditors, and so in 1880 a ruling was made (by the Colonial Secretary) that allowances must be paid without deductions for sums owed to third parties. Douglas later

professed not to have understood that this ruling applied to the practice by which he, and sometimes other officials, received instructions from the Sultan to make purchases for him and 'potong pension' to recover the expenditure.⁷⁷

If the goods bought in this way had been limited to rice and domestic requirements of a Malay royal boasehold, there would have been no substantial cause for complaint. But Douglas used it for other purposes. The Sultan was persuaded to pay the cost (\$5,200) of bouilding a new godown at Jugra, which was needed as a consequence of the move of the administrative centre of the district from the unsalubrious Bandar Langat. But it was now the government not the Ruler, who collected customs duties and so the Sultan received a modest rent for the official occupation of a building which he binneff had no use for. ⁷⁸

But that was not all. When the matter came to light Douglas was summoned to Singapore and held there while Swettenham, who as Assistant Colonial Secretary (Native States) had supervisory responsibilities, made an investigation on the spot. The report of Swettenham's interview with the Sultan makes entertaining reading. The Sultan evidently did not wish to commit himself; the exiled Douglas might return to his post. The Sultan may have felt some constraint over joining in condemnation of a man who had worked energetically, if not always wisely, for the better government of Selangor.79 The godown was his main grievance and it was agreed that the cost should be refunded to him. But what of the personal and domestic items. of European style, which he had paid for? Of some, the Sultan said 'It was right I should have them' but, under pressure, conceded that 'I did not order them.' Douglas had evidently decided that this elderly and very traditional Malay Ruler should be kitted out with a uniform, a carriage and horses, a sporting gun and a stock of champagne. 80 There were suspicions that in some cases the Resident had bought at the Sultan's expense items which he intended to borrow for his own use - but the evidence was inconclusive. In the event Governor Weld decided that Douglas, then aged 60 must retire. The Colonial Office, disturbed more over the revelations of incompetence and jobbery in the Selangor Lands Department (in the charge of Daly, son-in-law of Douglas), than over the other matters, confirmed Weld's decision. 81

However the Sultan was involved, willy nilly, in the aftermath. The investigation of Douglas's conduct had been triggered by a letter to the Colonial Office, written by James Innes, who had resigned at het end of 1881 in protest against a decision of Douglas to repost him to Kuala Selangor and replace him at Kuala Langat by Charles Turney. ²² Turney had been court interpreter when Douglas was magistrate in Singapore, before his posting to Selangor at the end of 1875. Turney, a crony of Douglas, had followed him to Selangor intillatly to take up the post of State Treasurer.

When Douglas was detained in Singapore, early in 1882, he wrote to Turney at Kuala Langat, asking him to obtain from the Sultan a letter to the Governor, stating that the purchases had been made at the Sultan's request. On receiving the message from Douglas Turney set off and found the Sultan engaged in planting sago. The Sultan sent for his secretary and later, when the letter to the Governor was ready, it was sealed and delivered to Turney who sent it on to Singapore. But the scheme miscarried. Raja Bidin, one of the Bernam notables, had been present at Swettenham's conference with the Sultan. Bidin wrote to one of Swettenham's Malay friends and informants in Singapore, to tell him how the letter to the Governor had come to be written. He also drew attention to the fact that the Sultan had signalled that the letter was not to be taken at its face value, by having his small seal affixed to it, rather than the state seal normally used on his letters to the Governor.⁵⁰

The unfortunate Turney was removed from Kuala Langat. Weld also decided to go up to Selangor and see the Sultan himself:-

*His Highness was in high spirits and exceedingly glad to see me. He laughed heartily at my having to roll about outside the bar in bad weather waiting to get in while Mr. Swettenham was singly anchored in the river. This he seemed to consider a particularly good joke, and it was not for some time that I was able to come to serious conversation. Malays are accustomed to carry on their discussions freely before a mixed audience and we were sitting on a raised platform accompanied by four or five Rajas, while around stood or squated the general public.**

There are familiar signs here of nervous tension and the use of the same means of sidestepping discussion of awkward topics as Clarke had encountered a few years before.

But when it became apparent that Weld had not come to be difficult, the Sultan went over to the other tack of conspicuous disengagement and generous compliment. On the shortcomings of Douglas-and Daly (both of whom had by then definitely left Selanger for good) he said, "I do not trouble myself about hose things, all that is for you and the Resident." He continued, said Weld, "with thorough and even eager earnestness" to say that he was 'greatly delighted' that 'peace and plenty, order and security, and comparative riches have resulted from British rule'—all of which was splendid material for Weld's despatch to the Colonial Office. There is no reason to doubt the Sultan's sincerity but Weld, advised by Swettenham, felt impelled to add that 'these are blessings which the Malay, with the exception possibly of a Raja or two of the old school, feels and acknowledges."

By 1882 the Sultan was approaching 80 and more than ever appreciated the 'blessings' he had mentioned so enthusiastically. Whatever the shortcomings of Douglas, he had broken the power, such as it was, of the Malay dissidents. Raja Mathdi had died in exile in Singapore and his lieutenants of the civil war, Raja Mahmul and Nyed Mashor, lived peaceable,



The Raja Muda Musa, about 1880, reproduced from the plate at the beginning of the second volume of Emily Innes's "The Chersonese with the gilding off", London 1885.



Sultan Abdul Samad and his followers. His grandson, Raja Sulaiman sits on the Sultan's left. Out side the new Istana at Jugra. 1874. Photo Muzium Negara.

if resuless, lives as government headmen in Sclangor. ³⁷ The Sultan's eldest son, Raja Muda Musa had been known to say that 'when he becomes Sultan he will drive the white men into the sea. ⁴⁶ But he was an erratic personality, rather given to striking attitudes. When Musa died in 1884, there was for a time an uneasy vacuum, since none of the Sultan's other sons were qualified by status or personal ability to succeed him. But Raja Musa's son, Raja Sulaiman, was more promising and he became Raja Muda in due course and thus heir apparent to his grandfather. This appointment did not please Raja Mahmud, the Sultan's nephew and the strongest personality among the 'Rajas of the old school.' But Mahmud was by temperament an impetuous man of action, often in trouble. Indirectly Mahmud fell out with the autocratic William Maxwell (Resident 1889-1892) who stripped him of his public offices and sent him into exile nominally in compliance with 'the strong opinion of H.H. the Sultan and the principal Rajas. ⁴⁷

That episode brings up the question - how much influence on 'Malay affairs' did the Sultan retain under the Residents, generally able and strongminded, who came after Douglas? The forum for the discussion of Malay affairs was the State Council, established in 1877. First Tunku Kudin and then Raja Musa had presided at Council meetings. After Musa's death the Sultan presided over those meetings which were held at Kuala Langat, where his astana included a 'council chamber.' One of the functions of the Ruler in Council was to appoint penghulus. The number of penghulus considerably increased during the 1880's in response to rising population, as Indonesian immigrants came in to found new settlements and the government introduced a system of recording the occupation of land and collecting quit-rent. It was the policy to appoint as penghulus of larger settlements men of the Raja class. The appointment of Raja Mahmud (first at Sepang and later at Kuala Selangor) and of Syed Mashor (at Kerling) have been mentioned. Two other such cases were Raja Mahmud, the dispossessed son and heir of the late Sultan Mohamed, who became penghulu of Berenang, and Raja Laut, another son, who became penghulu of Kuala Lumpur and so head of its Malay community. It is unknown how much this policy owed to the Sultan's initiative, but he was certainly much in favour of anchoring Raias to official duties, so as to get some work out of them in return for an income from state funds. Swettenham (Resident of Selangor from 1882 to 1889) also preferred this method of associating the Malay Raja class with the new regime to the alternative of educating their sons, and thereby filling their heads - in Swettenham's opinion - with unsuitable notions. But, as the duties of a penghulu became administrative rather than traditional the verdict was that 'Malay Rajas, not withstanding their much larger allowances, are, almost without exception, practically useless as penghulus.*88

The Sultan was uncharacteristically unyielding in his insistence that decisions taken in Council on 'political allowances' were matters of Malay

custom and so even the Governor could not override him on these matters. But few such episodes occurred. It was not the Sultan's policy to maintain a full complement of traditional state officers at his court. As the officeholders died, they were not replaced. In 1898, when the Sultan himself died, his successor had to appoint eight orang besar to fill vacancies, so that these dignitaries were available to play their part at his installation. In the precloinal period of his reign, control of the sometimes turbulent Sumatran immigrants was delegated to their own leaders, who bore the title, conferred by the Ruler, of Datuk Dagang. These appointments had been made in each of the Selangor, Klang and Langat valleys. But they lapsed with the development of the penghulu cadre. In

In some other States the Ruler had a principal executive, either a chief minister (perdana menteri) or a Raja Muda or Bendahara, from his own dynasty. Sultan Abdul Samad had experimented in this fashion when he conferred vague powers on his son-in-law. Tunku Kudin. The title of 'vicerov' was a European invention, not a Malay title. Enough has been said of the inadequacy of Raja Muda Musa in his own right and as successor to Kudin between 1878 and 1884. Another son, Raja Kahar, had been equally unsatisfactory as local administrator of the district up-river from Kuala Langat. 92 Sultan Abdul Samad did have, like some other Rulers, an indispensable confidant and adviser, the Tunku Panglima Raja, who was his brother-in-law (and father of the belligerent Raja Mahmud).93 But the Tunku Panglima Raia died in 1887 and his son, and successor to his office. Raia Mahmud was never close to the Sultan. As already mentioned he fell from grace and went into exile in 1890. In the last decade of Sultan Abdul Samad's reign his grandson, the future Sultan Sulaiman, acted as his adviser and deputy. But Raja Muda Sulaiman had residences in Kuala Lumpur and Klang. and so was often absent from Kuala Langat.

In these last years the Sultan's domestic circle was largely confined to the affable Raja Kahar, and his favourite daughter, Raja Arfah, the wife of Tunku Kudin. Emily Innes had known her in the stormy days before she had separated from Kudin and has left a memorable picture of a strong-minded but unhappy Malay wife of traditional upbringing. Arfah found Kudin's western lifestyle, notably his consumption of alcohol, abhorrent. After an attempt to make a matrimonial home at Alor Setar in Kedah, to which Kudin withdrew in 1878, had failed, Raja Arfah returned to live with her father. Emily Innes noted that she had lost the good looks of her youth, partly by over-eating and partly by ill-health, and was becoming 'fat, unwieldy and more and more ill-tempered day by day.' Douglas, dining at the astana, said that she was 'cold and silent.' However she continued to be a formidable personality, held in much awe by her father's subjects, until her death in 1896.¹⁴

Before coming to the Sultan's way of life in the quiet final years at Kuala Langat, it is necessary to follow the old man in his reluctant travels to other places. Neither Swettenham nor J.P. Rodger, who deputized for Swettenham as Resident during his many absences from Selangor, troubled the Sultan's peace with frequent visits, though they were punctilious in continuing the practice of informing and consulting with him on important business. The Resident, and the ever-increasing headquarters of the state government, were far way in Kuala Lumpur, absorbed in promoting economic development and administrative progress. To enhance the status of Kuala Lumpur, which was still remote and almost unknown to officials and businessmen in the Straits Settlements, the Residents pressed the Sultan to make Kuala Lumpur one of his places of residence. The Sultan had no intention of yielding to these proposals – and thus we have another entertaining episode.

As sometimes happens, the wider issue of the Sultan taking up his residence in Kuala Lumpur narrowed itself down to how he would be fittingly accommodated if he did. The traditional seat of Malay authority in Kuala Lumpur was a stockade, originally built in the 1860s, on Bukit Nanas, and known after the civil war as "Sutan Puasa's stockade from the Malay headman who had once occupied it." During the first ten years of colonial rule there was little money to spare, but by 1888 the dilapidated structure had been rebuilt as "an astana on a plan chosen by His Highness." But, by now the State Government had launched into a more ambitious building programme and the Bukit Nanas building was evidently deemed too small or otherwise unsuitable — it was later used as the state museum. When the Sultan made a brief visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1892, the house of the Capital Cina in the High Street was placed at his disposal and he was invited to approve a different site and the plan for a more ambitious new astana."

The new project may well have owed something to Raja Muda Sulaiman, who promoted plans for a complex of six separate buildings, surrounded by a walled enclosure and including offices and quarters for members of the Sultan's household of various degrees and also for European guests. ⁷³ The site chosen was the hill 'behind Sultan Street' (which may well take its name from it). This site was cleared in preparation for building. ⁵⁰⁰ But by now the Sultan was 90 and no one could seriously expect that he would ever occupy the new astana if it were completed. Thus, for almost ten years the Sultan played for time and the Kuala Lumpur astana had not been built – it never was – when he died in 1898. His successor preferred to have a new astana at Klang.

Although he never took up residence in Kuala Lumpur, the Sultan did vitte it more than once. In May 1879 he had made the first royal appearance in the history of the town to meet the Sumatran community who were traditionally rather hostile to the Bugis ruling dynasty. ¹⁶ The Sultan's party included the dependable Harry Syers and a destament of his armed police. But the anxiety was groundless; there was a warm welcome and a demonstration of lovalty. ¹⁶

The next visit was in 1886 when the Sultan joined Governor Weld in opening the new railway line from Klang to Kuala Lumpur. The old man, travelling by train for the first time at the age of 82, pronounced it 'the best bullock cart he had ever travelled in. "" In the course of a visit which lasted three weeks the Governor invested the Sultan with the insignia of a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. "In his speech the Sultan expressed the hope that Weld would remain as Governor for the rest of his life. 10 Weld passed this suggestion on to the Colonial Office but – alast – to no effect. The visits oinvigorated the Sultan that on his return he married a new wife, and – as a practical farmer – sent her off to manage some new padi land which he was develoning.

The third significant royal visit to Kuala Lumpur came in November 1892 when the Sultan joined the Governor (now Clementi Smith) in opening the northward extension of the railway to the mines of Ulu Selangor. By now Kuala Lumpur ceremonial was well developed:—

As His Highness stept out of the railway carriage the big gun from the barracks on the hill fired a salute, the Guard of Honour presented arms, and the Band played the Selangor March. Some 70 followers came with the Sultan, one in particular carrying the sword of honour presented by the Queen, immediately behind him. As the old man, struggling with his "baji", walked slowly past the Guard with his numerous attendants following behind, the scene made one realise the fact, which one is sometimes apt to forget here, that this is after all a Malay Sultan at its head ¹⁰⁰

Two years before, in 1890, Harry Syers had escorted him on his first visit to Singapore, where, in company with the Rulers of Perak, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang, he had welcomed the Duke of Connaught, one of the sons of Queen Victoria. It was in the course of that meeting that the Sultan secured the agreement of the royal duke to giving the name 'Connaught Bridge' to the almost completed bridge, to carry the railway line from its original terminal on the north bank to the town of Klang on the south bank. ¹⁸⁸ He was quite a railway baff and 'takes a great interest in the railway and the construction of the Klang bridge which he would like to see completed. He did indeed join yet another (acting) Governor (Sir Frederick Dickson) at the ceremonial opening of the bridge on 17th April 1890. ¹⁸⁹

He had readily accepted Swettenham's proposal that Selangor should join the new Federated Malay States in 1896. But he jibbed at travelling to Perak in the following year to be present at the first 'durbar' of FMS Rulers. However, Swettenham, now Resident-General, was still 'very clever at gaining the hearts of Rajas with soft words.' So the old Sultan took his weary bones on the long roundabout journey to Kuala Kangsar, though he was now in such poor health that he took little part in the elaborate joilification organised by the hospitable Sultan Idris. ¹¹⁰

He was much more at ease in the daily round at Kuala Langat, as here described by Robson:-

'Like many Malay Raias he is a late riser, being seldom seen before four o'clock in the afternoon. It is then his custom, after taking "breakfast", to go for a walk, Visitors to Jugra may often in the evening see a party of some 30 or 40 men coming along the road with His Highness walking a few paces ahead of them. Should a native meet the little procession he will squat down at the side of the road until the Sultan has passed, for according to Malay ideas it shows a want of respect in a subject to remain standing in the presence of his Raja. Although this and other marks of homage are always shown to him. His Highness is not fond of ceremony, but lives and dresses very plainly. When out walking he generally carries his coat over one shoulder. The coat is of the Malay pattern, ornamented with embroidery and diamond buttons. On his head he wears a Malay handkerchief (tengkolo'), in one hand he carries a long Malacca cane, in the other often a parang; for he likes it to be seen that he does his own gardening and knows how to use the parang. He is always barefooted. In this dress he will walk with his followers down to the village, three-quarters of a mile distant from the Istana, and entering the Malay and Chinese shops discuss the price of rice and opium... Just before dark he returns home, and from then on to the small hours of the morning any of his subjects who wish to see him can do so. At these times, but little etiquette is observed; but on replying to His Highness natives place the palms of their hands together and so raise them to their forehead by way of obeisance, and this is done even by his own children. The Sultan often has native visitors from different parts of the State. To them he will lend an attentive ear while they relate how they are getting on, and what their crop prospects are, and, if necessary, give them rice or money to tide them over until harvest. Some time after midnight the Sultan eats his dinner, and, in the ordinary routine, the opium-pipe is then prepared, brought in, and enjoyed by the Sultan until he falls asleep. If, however, there are many people to see him, and the conversation is of a nature to interest him, he may not retire until near daylight.

When Europeans wish to see him he usually arranges for the interview to take place at about five o'clock in the aftermoon. On going to keep the appointment, the visitor will be met at the Istana gateway by one of His Highness's Secretaries and conducted past the lower Audience Hall and private residence to the Council Chamber in the Istana grounds... After His Highness has been informed of the arrival of his visitor, he will come up into the Council Chamber. Unless on State occasions, he will be dressed much the same as described when out walking, and will have his coat off. After shaking hands he sits down and then proceeds to put on his coat A, his followers meanwhile standing around

the dais. In conversation His Highness shows considerable interest in all matters affecting Malays or Malay countries, any remarks about the progress and development of his country at once eath his attention, and he is always glad to hear particulars of interest about the railway now being constructed in the State. For the refreshment of his visitors he will order coconut water, fruit etc., and manifest the greatest impatience until these have been placed on the table. After chatting for half an hour the visitor is very courteously dismissed with an invitation to come again, and upon leaving the presence will usually find that some fruit is sent with him.

Occasionally His Highmess can be persuaded to show some of his gold ornaments, of which he is reputed to have about five hundredweight. They consist for the most part of sirch-boxes, pindings (Malay waist-buckles), earrings, bracelets and broaches. One of the largest pindings weighs about five pounds, and is of pure gold with a large uncut sapphire in the centre. It is remarkable more for its weight and value than for its beauty. To the European the gold sirch-boxes and kris handles will always come first, as many of them are very beautifully wrought... "111

Everyone who knew him testifies to the Sultan's remarkable and lifelong enthusiasm for agriculture. It was much more than benign goodwill and a willingness to 'give them rice or money to tide them over until harvest.' Douglas once found 'H.H. in a paddy field up to his waist in mud' and Turney came on him 'planting sago in a plain adjoining a public road.' ill addition to helping others he invested his own money in plantations and supervised them effectively.

It may be that in his peaceful 'gardening' the Sultan found release from the amiety and frustration of his earlier life. Even in his extreme old age the Sultan 'frequently referred with dismay to the time when trublent chiefs were constantly fighting in almost every part of Selangor and he was powerless to end their dissensions. "In *The bad times had passed but the trauma haunted him still. So far from being a 'dispassionate hedonist', as Winstedt had suggested, the Sultan often, even in moments of comparative calm, showed signs of nervous tension. The long passage above mentions his display of the 'greatest impatience' over delay in serving refreshments to his guests. When LWW. Birch visited him in April 1874 'the old gentleman now got very flidgety, and soon took off his coat, and after an absence of half an hour returned heated and out of breath, having been assisting in catching a good sized he-goat of which he begged our acceptance." He became 'peevish' if pressed to perform administrative duties which he felt should be done by the British administrator. "

The extant photographs were taken when he was a very old man and perhaps do not do justice to his appearance in earlier years. Isabella Bird described him (in 1879) as 'the most prepossessing Malay that I have seen. He is an elderly man, with iron-grey hair, a high and prominent brow, large, prominent, dark eyes, a well-formed nose, and a good mouth. 115

It was noted that until close to the end of his life 'he keeps his health and thoroughly enjoys life'. The general testimony that he continued to smoke opium cannot be discounted, but 'it seems to agree with him very well' and did not diminish 'the vigour of the old Sultan. *116 It may be that, as with the legend that he had slain 99 men, reports of his opium-smoking were much exaggerated - not least by the Sultan himself.

However the signs of decline which had appeared during the stress of his attendance at the Kuala Kangsar durbar of July 1897 marked the beginning of the end. In the last week of his life his mind was wandering, but up to the last he had intervals of consciousness, when he displayed 'an amount of vigour quite extraordinary in a man of his great age.' When he died an anxious district officer hastened to safeguard his 'accumulated wealth' held in a wooden building in the astana grounds. Apart from his famous collection of ornaments he had (during his visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1892) presented \$8,000 in bank notes to the State Treasury to be exchanged into into silver dollars, in which he felt more confidence 117

At his funeral the mourners were headed by the Resident-General and by Tunku Kudin - men of government, present and past. It was right to pay respects to a Ruler who had reigned for more than forty years and a man who had lived for almost a hundred. But he had done more than just survive. The Selangor in which he had grown up had been undeveloped, sparsely populated and pulled apart by internal rivalry among its ruling class and the resentment of the Sumatran settlers against their rule. Abdul Samad was no doubt pleased to ascend the throne in 1857, but it was an exposed and thankless position to occupy. In his unheroic insistence that the monarchy must stand above the savage strife, he had offered some stability and unity to a troubled State. In his realistic acceptance of the intervention imposed on him in 1874 he carried the process forward. Selangor in 1898 was a better place than it had been in 1804 - and it owed something to him that it was so.

NOTES

The reasons for rewriting this paper instead of merely reprinting the original text have

been given in the Introduction to the volume.

Continuation of Report on the Proceedings of Government relating to the Native States in the Malay Peninsula, Inclosure 3 in No. 84 in C1111, ie the memorandum by Thomas Braddell, recording the negotiations between Sir Andrew Clarke and Sultan Abdul Samad at Kuala Langat in February 1874, enclosed with SSD 24 February 1874, para 50. This report is cited hereafter as 'Braddell', with th paragraph number.

Braddell, 84.

F.A. Swettenham, Malay Sketches, London, John Lane Bodley Head, 1895, p. 104. But

see J.M. Gullick. 'Tunku Kudin in Selangor (1868-1878), p. 36-15 herein.

Braddell, 8

6 R.O. Winstedt, 'A History of Selangor,' JMBRAS 12(43), p. 29.

- His successor said that Abdul Samad had died at the age of 93, after a neign of 42 years. SSD 24 March 1898. In 1889 the Soltan himself had told the Governor (Clementi Smith) that 'he could not recollect his own age' but believed that he was 60 or 70 years old (in fact he was abut 84). SSD 20 May 1889. That may have been one of his hammless distinguishations about himself to which here Note 15 below.
- This paper, like the original version, is offered as a character study rather than a history of Sultan Abdul Samad's life and times. The leading histories of Selangor are cited elsewhere

as appropriate.

- F.A. Swettenham, Sir Frank Swettenham's Malayan Journals 1874-1876, ed. by P.L. Burns and C.D. Cown, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 226-7 (where there is a sketch plan of th workings). In 1889 (Cimenta) Smith visited the tomb of Sultan Mohamed at Kuala Selangor and saw other gravestones which were a century old. SSD 20 May 1889.
- Nay 1007.
 Khoo Kay Kim, The Western Malay States 1850-1873, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1972. p. 71f.

11 Braddell, 81.

- 12 Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., p. 73. 13 Ibid. p. 26.
- Board of Control Collections, India Office Library, Series F4 BC 2605/163367, pp. 45-61, dated 26 Sentember 1854.
- 15 Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 229 N14 below.

16 Winstedt, History of Selangor, p. 19.

- ¹⁷ F.A. Swettenham, British Malaya, London, John Lane Bodley Head, 1907, p. 126; and his Some Account of the Independent Native States of the Malay Peninsula, 'ISBRAS 6, p. 96.
- ¹⁸ E. Innes, The Chersonese with the Gilding Off, 2 vols, London, Richard Bentley & Sons, 1885, vol 1, p. 44.
- 19 Haji Buyong Adil, Sejarah Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1971, p. 54. Kudin said that in 1868, when he obtained his kuazar the Sultan was at the time at Klang' as though it was somethine acceptional. Bradell, 48.

20 Buyong, op. cit., p. 58.

28 Diyung, Ay, San, Paraci, and works by Winnest, Buyong, Corwa and Parkinson cited Khoo Kay Kim, and the play with be Selangor civil vary. See also R.J. Williamon, 'A littory of the Penintum Malays with chapter on Persk and Salangor,' Papers on Meloy Subjects, ed. P.L. Burns, Kuala Lampur, Oxford University Press, 1971 reprint, chapter 13; and S.M. Middlebrook, 'Yap Ah Loy', JMBRAS 24(2), chapters 3-15 (on the war in the interior).

22 Buyong, op. cit., p. 64.

- 23 Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 201 below.
- M Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 130.
- 25 Shoo Kay Kim, op. cit. Chap 8: C.D. Cowan, Nineteenth Century Malaya, London, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 125f. Gullick. Kudin In Selangor, p. 223 elsewhere below on Kudin's loans.
 - 26 C.M. Tumbull, The Straits Settlements 1826-1867, London, Athlone Press, 1972, pp. 301-

27 Cowatn, op. cit., p. 34.

- As a result of Ord's clurnsy dealings with Malay Rulers the Colonial Office had become 'sharply hostile' to him. Cowan, op. cit., p. 62.
- The government steamer 'Pluto' was sent to recover a junk, the 'Kim Seng', which had disappeared in a voyage from Penang to Larut in Perak. A landing party from the 'Pluto' was recelled by Malay forces. Cowan. oo. cit. pp. 35-7.

- 30 Under the Anglo-Selangor treaty of 1825 (J. de. V. Allen, A.J. Stockwell and L.R. Wright. eds, A Collection of Treaties etc., vol 1, p. 439) the parties agreed that 'any offenders such as pirates' were to be seized and handed over to the other.
- 31 See Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 203 below.

22 Contemporary official papers, including Irving's report (Note 33 below), are in C 466 of 1872. See also Cowan, op. cit., pp. 85-98.

33 Irvine's report, enclosed with SSD 29 July 1871, para 10.

In 1874 Swettenham (report enclosed with SSD 27 April 1875 and printed in C 1320) noted that up-river from Kuala Selangor 'for miles there are deserted coconut and sago plantations, on both sides of the river, untenanted save by elephants.' Kuala Lumpur was three times burnt to the ground during the war. Report by Swettenham enclosed with SSD 19 June 1880 (C 3095 of 1881), para 24 (reprinted in JMBRAS 24 (2) p. 95).

The first half of Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, tells the story of the struggle, including Mahdi's part.

Braddell, 43.

- The evidence of Mat Syed (the survivor) at the trial, and other papers are enclosed with SSD 24 February 1874 (printed in C 1111)
- He was 'vehemently suspected of being the leader' according to Braddell (para 85); Mat Syed (Note 37 above), on the day following the piracy, saw the vessel, which had been attacked, at anchor off Raja Yakub's house.

39 Braddell, 19-89, and Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 220 below.

- Cowan, op. cit., Chap 5, for a full account of Clarke's role in 1874-5.
- The Birch/Irving open support of Kudin in 1871 'was not free from objection' and his current 'position... was a matter not quite free from obscurity' but if those doubts could be cleared up, he would be 'a strong ally against the pirates'. Braddell, 26 (and see also para 38).

Braddell 84

At this point the Sultan was 'advised by his sons and followers', who had most reason to fear that once aboard the 'Pluto' those suspected of piracy would be arrested and deported. Braddell, 35-6.

Braddell, 84. It is here that Braddell uses his phrase 'a rather careless, heathen philosopher'. See Note 7 above on his age.

It is Clarke, not Braddell himself, who tells us that the Sultan was persuaded to come aboard by Braddell who 'landed alone, smoking a cigar, as if for a stroll, lounged through the bazaar and town, passed the sentries, and stepped quietly into the Sultan's palace. Braddell speaks Malay better than a Malay, and knows their customs. It ended in his getting at the Sultan who at last consented to come on board. R.H. Vetch, Life of Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Clarke, London, John Murray, p. 157, quoting from a personal letter written by Clarke a few days later.

It seems unlikely that Braddell, with his knowledge of 'Malay custom,' would have made the gaffe, when eventually he 'got at the Sultan', of immediately pressing him to come aboard the 'Pluto'. Decorum as much as diplomacy required some opening general discussion before coming to the point. If it was so, Braddell may well have been able to elicit from the Sultan some confidential indications of his attitude to Kudin and other delicate matters. From Clarke's account it is clear that Braddell's intention was to avoid being noticed in his approach to the astana so that he could get to the Sultan without alerting his entourage who might prevent him having a private interview with the Sultan.

Vetch, loc. cit.

46 J.M. Gullick, Malay Society in the late 19th Century, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 23. See also Note 84 below on Weld's similar reception in October 1882. Vetch, loc. cit.

Gullick. Kudin in Selangor, p. 198 below, on Kudin's relations with the Sultan's sons. 49 See Note 38 above.

Earlier there had been 'a large trade' at Kuala Langat with up to 20 vessels at anchor.

Braddell. 52. There is little precise information on the flow of sea-borne supplies and Kudin's blockade, but clearly it was a significant part of the struggle. 'Food, weapons and money from Langat', for example, reached Mahdi's forces attacking Kuala Lumpur in July/August 1872, Khoo Kay Kim. op. cit., p. 189.

Braddell, 43.

52 The Sultan 'became excited and was unable to sit quietly' while awaiting Kudin's arrival.

Braddell, 45. See Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 221 below.

Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 221 below, on the subsequent assertion by Swettenham, who was not at Langat at the time, that innocent men were convicted and executed. C.N. Parkinson, British Intervention in Malaya 1867-1877, Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1960, p. 118, considers that the story told by Mat Syed 'makes no sense', mainly because, if it was true, Raja Yakub and his men would have killed the one survivor who might incriminate them. But at the time they were not to know that a few weeks later a court would be formally investigating the matter - and the Bugis who saved Mat Syed could have given damning evidence of his disappearance in the hands of Raja Yakub's men (with a repeat of Mat Sved's story as told to them).

It may also be pertinent that J.G. Davidson, who in effect conducted the trial, was a very experienced and much respected lawyer who had 'a flourishing legal practice with clients among the local communities ... much sought after by Malays and Chinese . SSD 28 May 1875; and see Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, ibid. below. A lawyer of this type becomes very alert in detecting false testimony. Davidson (see Note 54 below) was shrewder than most other observers in his judgment of the Sultan's character.

If Swettenham's information is correct one must assume that the Datuk Aru, the Selangor chief on the court, knew at the time that the accused were innocent but elected to

withhold this information from Davidson.

Report of 28 October 1875 (C 1320). This assessment is given in Davidson's account of the brief Ulu Langat rising of October 1875, in which he believed the Sultan had closer contacts with the rebel leaders than Davidson approved. See Note 65 below.

Swettenham. Malayan Journals, p. 104, for a summary of these events. See also the passage cited in Note 58.

Swettenham was in Selangor for about 3 months in the second half of 1874 and for shorter

- periods, not exceeding one month in any one case, in 1875. See Malayan Journals, especially p. 270. Swettenham, British Malaya, pp. 127-8, and his Footprints in Malaya, London, Hutchinson, 1942, p. 42; and see also Malayan Journals, p. 109. Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p.
- F.A. Swettenham, The Real Malay Pen Pictures, London, John Lane Bodley Head,
- 1900, p. 71. F.A. Swettenham, Malay Sketches, p. 68. When he took his leave of the Sultan on leaving

Sclangor in 1889, he recalled that gruesome episode. Footprints, p. 97,

Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 128.

On the local river lines see Swettenham, The Real Malay, pp. 63-4, his Malayan Journals. p. 107 (for a sketch map) and his report enclosed with SSD 27 April 1875. In brief the lower reaches of the Langat River had a very winding course reaching the Straits at the point marked 'Kuala Selat Lumut' on the map. The 'narrow ditch.' to which Swettenham refers in his story, was known as the 'Jugra River' because it made a direct, but virtually impassable, channel from the natural Jugra inlet (marked 'Kuala Langat' on the man) to Bandar Langat. After the move of the royal residence and the administrative headquarters to Jugra hill, visitors by sea came up the inlet and then covered the short distance to the hill overland. In the 1880's a road was built to connect Jugra hill and Bandar Langat.

The Sultan began to live on Jugra (Parcelar) hill for part of the time from the end of 1874 'saying he feels no anxiety now that I am living here, and he very much prefers his house and garden at the hill.' Report of 18 December 1874 by Swettenham enclosed with

SSD 23 March 1875 (C 1320).

- 62 Allen, Stockwell and Wright, op. cit., vol 1, p. 448 (and ibid. p. 446 on the origin of the letter).
- 63 Gullick, Kudin in Selangor, p. 238 N146 below, corrects the mistake in the original version of this paper. There was no formal treaty.
- ⁶⁴ Clarke's speech to the SS LegCo on 15 September 1874. SSD 15 September and 7 November 1874 (C 1320).
 - 64 the jime however Davidson (report dated 27 October 1875 in C 1505) took the view that the Sultan must have known be purpose of this notentilely innocent application, since Suna Plasas had been in the coposite camp to Kudin the final stages of the civil war, and, through an intermediary, Suna Plasas had been in conact fin Aqueut 1875) with a brother of Raja Mahdi who was reported to trying to mobilize forces for an attack or Klang. Davidson argued that, if there was renewed trouble in the Klang valley, in produced there would be diverted down the Langat valley. At tha early stage in the new regime the sultant still collected, and restance, deport ducies at Klank Langat (see page 10 above). Davidson therefore imputed to him an intention to sugment his revenues by fomenting trouble elsewhere in his State.

Parliation (op. cit. p. 274) has characterised as 'drivel' other alarmiat communication passing between baddy frighteened British the ficials at this time. They feared a 'general rising.' Davidson's suspicious ignore the fact that Sutan Passa's a stronghold was in Uh Langat. If there was a rising under his leadership, there might be -a site new as - fighting in Uh Langat, which, sofar from receiving tim divented from the Klang valley, would case to this pint from the Uh Langat mines to the Sulain's customs bosse. However this episode caused Davidson to make his remark that the Sulan was 'very shrewd' etc. (see Note 54 shows).

Davidson's long report also tells an involved and inconclusive tony of the intended movement of gunpowder from the Saluan's store for use in the operations and of secret meetings at Kuala Langat. Perhaps the most significant point in Davidson's report is that be feared that Raja Khahr, the Sultan's son, was 'instituted up' in the afficial. It was the court circle, rather than the Sultan, which may lave been marginally involved. Much of Davidson's story is derived from as unnamed agent of Shekh Mohamed Ali, headman of Davidson's story is derived from as unnamed agent of Shekh Mohamed Ali, headman of Davidson's story is derived from as unnamed agent of Shekh Mohamed Ali, headman of the story of the unreliable. There is no other evidence (eg from Swettenham's reports of the period) to confirm it.

On the Ulu Langat rising see J.M. Gullick, 'Syers and the Selangor Police Force 1875-1897', JMBRAS 51(1), reprinted in this volume.

- Davidson was sent to Perak to replace J.W.W. Birch as Resident, but he was ill at ease and soon returned to his legal practice in Singapore. With the departure of Tunku Kudin from Selangor in 1878, the key figures of the State Government (from 1876) were Douglas (Resident), Innes (at Kuala Langas), Syers (Police), Turney (Treasury) and Daly (Lands, Mines and Survey).
- See J.M. Gullick, "Selangor 1876-1882: the Bloomfield Douglas Diary", JMBRAS 48(2), and his "Emily Innes (1843-1927)", JMBRAS 55(2) on these sources and their authors. Both are papers reprinted in this volume. On Turney see Note 82 below.
- 68 Gullick, Douglas Diary, p. 101 below, and Syers, p. 48 below, deal with Douglas's limited proficiency as a Malay speaker. See also Innes. on. cit. vol 1. p. 129.
- Diary entry for 14 April 1876. On his working relationship with the Sultan see J.M. Gullick. Rulers and Residents. Singapore. Oxford University Press. 1992. pp. 35-8.
- One example, the attempt to induce the Sultan to make a will, is found in Gullick, Douglar Diary, where the entry is quoted in full (see p. 106 below). The abolition of debt alavery (described in Note 107 below) is a good example of the working relationship between the Sultan and Douglas at its harmonious best.
- ⁷¹ See Gullick, Douglas Diary, p. 115 below, on the Tunku Panglima Raja Case and Rulers and Residents, p. 38, on an outburst by Douglas against the Datuk Dagang of Kuala Langat, who had inveigled the Sultan into an arrangement of which Douglas disapproved.

⁷² E. Sadka, The Protected Malay States 1874-1895, Kuala Lumpur. University of Malaya Press. 1968. pp. 176-195, and Gullick, Rulers and Residents, pp. 91-3.

A.L. Keyser, People and Places, London, John Murray, 1922, p. 102. Keyser was for a time in the 1890's District Officer, Kuala Langat.

74 Gullick Rulers and Residents p. 37

United, Kuser and Residents, p. 31.
 P. Loh Fook Seng, The Malay States 1877-1895, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 28-30 for the negotiations; Allen, Stockwell and Wright, op. cit., vol 1, pp. 307-312. for the treatv.

In 1862 the 'prime minister' of Pahang had told Governor Cavenagh that 'there were three things which, according to Malay haw, a Ruler could not divide: 1-at territory; and subjects; '3rd the regalls. O. Cavenagh, Remoniscences of an Indian Official, London, W. H. Allen & Co. 1884. p. 304. In the discussions of 1878-80 Douglas consulted the Sultan who decided that the grant in perpetuity of Lukut to Raja Jume'at in 1846 (see Note 10) expired at his death, but are reluming the objections of his son, Raja Boto, the cession of Lukut to Negeri Semblian, against which Bot assented that Lukut was no longer in the researts Sultan's owners to distonce the

See also Note 107 below on the Sultan's realistic contribution to the unobtrusive abolition of debt-bondage, which was not a major problem in Selangor such as it presented in Persk.

presented in Perak.

The estrangement of Douglas from James and Emily Innes led to the resignation of Innes from the Selangor service at the end of 1881 and complaints by Innes to the Colonial Office against Douglas, which had to be investigated. See Guillick, Emily Innes, op. cit., p. 175. x.

One of Innes' charges concerned the Sultan, although the Colonial Office was, in the end, more concerned over the land dealings in Selangor in which Douglass and his sonniaw Daily were involved. Neither the Sultan nor Innes had any part in the investigation by McCallam which brought these to light. There is lengthy correspondence in CO 273/115. Loh Fook Seng, op. cit., especially p. 117, believes that Douglas suffered from the intrigues of Swettenham, who wanted – and got – his job, But Sadas, opert, p. 1507, in the contract of the cont

To See the monthly statement of items for which deductions were made from the Sultan's allowance, over the period from October 1878 to May 1882, enclosed with SSD 24

August 1882.

⁷⁸ In 1877 and again in 1879 the Selangor Government had a budget deficit. Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 223; the price of tin wat exceptionally low-at this time; and the repayment of sums borrowed by Tunku Kudin was a heavy burnen. See Note 25 above. Hence Douglas wat impelled to shift on to the Sultan capital expenditure which the State could hardly bear.

Note of 30 June 1882 by Swettenham of his interview with the Sultan in the presence of his secretary, Ence Behak, his son, Raja Sah, and a kinsman, Raja Bidin (on whom see

Note 83 below), enclosed with SSD 24 August 1882.

Douglas (feiter of 30 January 1882 enclosed with SSD 24 August 1882) had asserted that everything had been bought at the Sutan's request, and that the godown project had first been proposed by Junes and accepted by the Sultan as an income-producing investment. He had not understood that the order issued in 1880 applied to paying for purchases made in these circumstances.

81 Intel Columbaries.
82 The McCallum report was sent to the Company under cover of SSD 3 May 1882 and led to the dismissal of Daly (though he continued his career in North Borneo). Douglas retired with a small gratuity but had not qualified for a pension. See p. 144 below for his later

career.

On Turney's career see Selangor Journal, vol 4, pp. 328-9, anonymous article entitled 'C.H.A.T.', and Note 84 below. Emily Innes, who cordially disliked Turney refers to him as 'the little Eurasian'. Innes, Chersonese, vol 2, p. 227.

With SSD 22 September 1882 Weld had forwarded to London letters to him from the Sultan and Raja Kahar, making representations on behalf of Douglas. Raja Bidin's letter followed with SSD 22 September 1882.

Raja Bidin (Abidin) was one of the Bernam branch of the Sclangor Bugis aristocracy, in 1879 Douglas had arbitrated on hir claims against his brocker, Raja Hisam, and found that not one tittle of his case was proved (boyersty 25 March 1879) and consistend him 'simply a hulking, dangerous fellow', who or good trained to restore his finances with 'petitions and lying allegations. The Shiftingspore and tried to restore his finances with 'petitions and lying allegations. The Shiftingspore and offer Bidin a poxili or Sclangor to keep him out of missichief. Bidi 10 March and 15 and 18 April 1879. Yet in November 1881 Douglas was surprised to find that the Sultan had inexplicably invited Bidin to live with him at Juars. Bid 21 November 1881.

Bidin's letter to Singapore was addressed to Mohamed Said, who is probably the Malay language seacher who had staght Swettenham and had late helped his prepare the Malay translation of the Pangkor Engagement (Swettenham, Footprints, p. 33). Raja Bidin had been present at Swettenham's meeting with the Saltan in Intend (Note 79 above). We shall never know whether he wrote of his own initiative, or on behalf of the Sultan, or whether, as seemn not improbable, he had been installed in the Sultar's household on the initiative of Swettenham; then Austisant Colonial Secretary (Naive States), as Swettenham stagent in Sedapor to report to him drepath Mohamed Sait.

84 SSD 27 October 1882. Turney rose to become Senior District Officer and was sent back to Kuala Langat in the early 1890's.

Mohamed Amin Hassan, 'Raja Mahdi bin Raja Sulaiman, Peninjau Sejarah 1(2); Gullick, Malay Society, p. 82 (on Mahmud); Swettenham, The Real Malay, 'A Silhouette', pp. 224-231 (on Mashhor).

Bird, Golden Chersonese, p. 226, reporting Douglas.

AR Selangor 1887, para 84 (Sulaiman becomes Raja Muda); AR Selangor 1890, para 176, and Sadka, op. cit. p. 305 (exile of Mahmud).
AR Selangor 1883, para 115, Gullick, Malay Society, p. 110, and Rulers and Residents, p.

187, on penghulus' role and performance.

89 Sadka, op. cit. p. 189, citing Sclangor State Council Minutes of 29 April 1886 and 3 June 1888. There was a similar clash in Perak in 1890. Ibid.

⁵⁰ AR Selangor 1893, para 35; Wan Mohamed Amin bin Said, Pesaka Selangor, ed Abdul Samad Ahmad, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966, pp. 75 and 89. Braddell (para 40) lists four non-royal Malay district chiefs, adding that the Datuk Art was the most important. He was a member of the court which conducted the Kuala Langar piracy

trial (see Notes 38 and 53 above).

9 Sadka, op. cit., p. 14. Much of the Malay population of Ulu Selangor were originally Pahang levies who came in during 1872, and stayed on under their own headmen as an

army of occupation. Gullick, Douglas Diary, p. 131 herein.
Gullick, Douglas Diary, p. 110. Braddell, 53 and 85-6 on Kudin, Musa and Kahar.

The Tunku Panglima Raja had been 'closely attached to the Sullan ever since they were young men together'. AR Selanger 1887, para 84. Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 100f for a vivid and sympathetic picture and see p. 172 therein.

Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 97, but the whole passage from p. 87 is worth reading as a superb study by one unhappy woman of another. See also J.M. Gullick, "Tunku Kudin of Kedah, "JMBRAS GOZ, p. 7, and Kudin in Selangor, p. 225 heropy.

The unpublished official diary of the Collector, Kuala Langat, from 1882 to 1885 chronicles - among other things - the contacts of the Resident and the Collector with the Sultan

See map at p. 41 of J.M. Gullick, 'Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895,' JMRAS, 28(4), where it is marked (top righthand corner) as 'istana.'

AR Selangor 1888, para 45.

Selangor Journal, vol 1, p. 49, on the Capitan Cina's house; ibid., p. 281, on the use of 'the Astana, near the Roman Catholic Church' (see map cited in Note 96) as a museum building.

'A sketch by H.H. the Raja Muda' was the basis of the more detailed plan. Selangor Journal, vol 1, p. 131.

AR Kuala Lumpur Sanitary Board 1892.

101 Gullick Kudin in Selangor, p. 200 herein, on the quarrel between Raja Mahdi (a Bugis Raia) and the Sumatrans of Kuala Lumpur. 102 Gullick, Douglas Diary, p. 129 herein.

103 SSD 23 September 1886. See also Gullick, Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895, pp. 46-7

At this time only Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor, regarded by other Malay Rulers, including Sultan Abdul Samad, as an upstart, had a British honorary knighthood. Gullick. Malay Society, p. 66 note 52. But, beginning with Sultan Abdul Samad, it became uniform practice to confer a KCMG on every Malay Ruler a few years after his accession. Sultan Sulaiman of Selangor, for example, came to his throne in 1898, was invested with the CMG in 1906 and the KCMG in 1912 (annual reports).

105 SSD 4 October 1886.

106 "The younger (of his two wives) he married in 1887 on the occasion of the opening of the line of railway between Klang and Kuala Lumpur.' Anon (see Note 111 below), 'H.H. Sultan Abdul Samad, K.C.M.G., at Home', Selangor Journal, vol 1, p. 6.

In 1892 one of the Sultan's new padi lands included 'a house for his second wife, who now lives there and superintends operations.' Monthly report by District Officer Kuala Langat, Selangor Government Gazette 1892, p. 609.

Selangor Journal, vol 1, p. 49, The sword of honour had been presented in 1879 in token of British gratitude to the Sultan for the rapid abolition of debt-slavery in his State. SSD 4 April 1879. It cost £60. Letter of 8 July to Crown Agents in CO 273/101.

In 1878 'His Highness with great fairness and liberality stated it was his opinion that all slavery should be quietly dropped and ignored ... The question of debt-slavery has not been brought before the council, and no public notice has been given of the abolition of the custom.' 'The prompt and ready acquiescence of the Sultan in the matter at once relieved me from much anxiety.' Report of 28 May 1878 by Bloomfield Douglas (among slavery papers in C 3285). See also the report of 30 June 1875 (ibid.) by Swettenham (as Assistant Resident) describing debt-bondage in Selangor at that time.

SSD 26 March 1890; AR Selangor 1890, para 277. On the construction of the bridge Selangor Journal, vol 1, pp. 74-7 and Federated Malay States Railways, Fifty Years of

Railways in Mataya 1885-1935, Kuala Lumpur, 1935, p. 55.

109 AR Selangor 1888, para 77; Selangor Journal, vol 1, p. 77. At an earlier stage when Swettenham, as Resident, was having problems in financing his ammbitous project for a railway from Klang to Kuala Lumpur, the Sultan had given his support to raising loans. AR Selangor 1883, para 47.

SSD 7 August 1895 on the Rulers' consent to forming the FMS. SSD 20 August 1897 on the durbar, at which Sultan Abdul Samad was 'in a very weak state of health which prevented him from taking a prominent part in the ceremonial and proceedings'. AR

Selangor 1897.

111 The anonymous article in the Selangor Journal, cited in Note 106 above, was probably written by J.H.M. Robson, who was Assistant District Officer, Kuala Langat, at the time, and one of the founders of (and a regular contributor to) the Journal, until in 1896 he founded the Malay Mail, which he also edited for some time.

Swettenham British Malaya, pp. 128-30, and Footprints, p. 96, Bird, Golden Chersonese, pp. 230-4, and Innes Chersonese, vol 1, pp. 38-47, describe the Sultan as they knew him 20 years earlier than Robson and Keyser, op. cit. (Note 73).

112 Gullick, Douglas Diary, p. 108 herein and Note 83 above for the quotations.

On his agricultural activities Gullick, Malay Society, pp. 32 and 52, and Rulers and Residents, p. 212. As specific examples, in 1892 he lent \$3,000 to paid cultivators. AR Selangor 1892, para 80; in 1894 he extended the area under fruit trees, rice and coffee pear the istana at Jugra. AR Selangor 1894, para 69. In 1897 he was 'about to open a large tract of swamp padi lands, especially for Selangor Malays, AR Selangor 1897, para 9. The development supervised by his second wife (Note 106) included 'a few primitive dykes and sluices' and 'a granary'. The sheer driving dynamism of the Sultan at 90, even if others now did the physical work, entirely belies the accepted picture of a roi faineant.

113 AR Selangor 1898, para 35.

114 J.W.W. Birch, The Journals of J.W.W. Birch: First British Resident to Perak 1874-1875, ed P.L. Burns, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 51, on catching the goat. When Allan Skinner visited Selangor in 1875 'we were much amused to find the Sultan cutting the timber down himself for the new road.' SSD 3 may 1875 (C 1320).

A.L. Kevser, Trifles and Travels, London, John Murray, 1923, p. 134, on his

previshness.

Bird, Golden Chersonese, p. 231. In the passage quoted at length above (Note 111) Robson describes the Sultan as 'of medium height and slightly built, having a light complexion with good features, more after the Bugis type than that of the Peninsular Malays. He is proud of his Bugis descent, and never speaks of himself as a Selangor Malay. A good forehead and well-shaped, slightly arched nose give him a decidedly distinguished appearance."

There are no extant individual photographs of the Sultan, though there are several groups in which he appears. One of the clearest pictures is the group taken outside the balai at Kuala Langat, which is reproduced at p. 113 of A.B. Rathborne, Camping and Tramping in Malaya, London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1898 and as Plate 78 of J. Falconer, A Vision of the Past, Singapore, Times Editions, 1887. The Sultan is wearing the insignia of the K.C.M.G. conferred in 1886 and so the photograph may have been taken on his return to Kuala Langat from his visit to Kuala Lumpur in that year (Note 104 above). The FMS Rulers' group facing p. 144 of the 1948 edition of Swettenham's British Malaya, was taken behind Government House, Singapore, on 27 March 1890 (Singapore Free Press of 28 March 1890 - I am indebted to Mr. J. Falconer for this reference). A third photograph is the FMS durhar group of 1897 which appears as Plate 82 of Falconer, op. cit. The Sultane is not in the less formal Residency garden party group (Falconer's Plate 83 and Swettenham, British Malaya, facing p. 289) probably because ill-health (Note 110) prevented him attending this function.

Robson, as in Note 111 above.

On his last days, death and funeral see the report by the District Officer, Kuala Langat, in

Selangor Government Gazette 1898, pp. 70-4, and SSD 10 March 1898.

On the \$8,000 see the report by District Officer, Kuala Langat, in Selangor Government Gazette 1892, p. 930. £500 worth of jewelry had been stolen from the astana in 1892. Ibid. 1892, p. 692. His distrust of bank notes was not mere eccentricity. The failure of the Oriental Bank caused a financial crisis in Selangor and obliged the State Government to intervene and buy in the notes. Gullick. Kuala Lumpur 1880.05 p. 74

He made no Will (see Note 70 above) and so, under Islamic law, his surviving children and widows shared the estate, His successor, Sultan Sulaiman, although the son of the deceased eldest son (Raja Muda Musa) of the late Ruler, took nothing from the personal estate. There was a good deal of difficulty in determining which of the ornaments etc. were regalia (kebesaran) passing to the new Ruler by virtue of his office. AR Selangor 1898, para 35.



SYERS AND THE SELANGOR POLICE 1875 – 1897



SYERS AND THE SELANGOR POLICE 1875 – 1897

J.M. GULLICK

The Beginning and the End. No 2153 Syers C., private of the 1st Battalion, 10th Regiment of Foot, was rowed ashore from the small steamer which had brought him up the coast from Malacca. To the left and right of the muddy river spread a huddle of houses, mainly of atap but with here and there a more substantiab building under a tiled roof. From a low hill on the right bank the Fort dominated the town; around the buildings of the Fort ran a square earth rampart, twelve foot thick and a hundred yards along each side. The Fort and the nearby stone godown were the headquarters of the British Resident since his recent arrival a few weeks before. The boat bumped against the rickety landing stage of jungle logs; Syers climbed the steps and walked the length of the stone jetty from which the town of Klang took its traditional name of Pengkalen Batu. Emerging from the shade of the stag canopy which ran along the jetty he crossed the main street of Klang and entered the Fort to report his arrival.¹

It was March 1875.2 Syers had leave from his regiment to take up the temporary post of Inspector of Police at \$50 p.m., which would be an improvement on his private's pay of one shilling per day plus a penny good conduct pay (and all found).3 But it was not just a matter of money. During the five years of his army service other men - officers, sergeants and corporals had given Syers and other men of his rank clear and peremptory orders; obedience to command was all which was demanded. Now it would be different. In his new post Syers was to take charge of the remnants of a mercenary force raised to fight in the Selangor civil war now ended. Out of this demoralised rag, tag and bobtail of several races he must make a police force. He himself would have to decide what to do and get it done. He would have to give the orders. Other men of his type and background, trained in the habit of disciplined obedience, found the loneliness of leadership overwhelming, found the jungle hostile rather than neutral, and cracked under the strain. But this quiet young man, "altogether unpretending" said Isabella Bird, was to prove equal to his task.4

Let us move on now over more than twenty years to 1896 and to Kuala Lumpur. On the Padang there is a ceremonial parade of the Selangor Police. With military precision and a joyous concerted thump of heavy boots the Sikhs respond to the words of command. To them drill is meat and drink. But the watchful eye of Captain Superintendent Harry Syers is on his Malay police. of whom he himself has written that "the best policemen make the worst soldiers." However all goes well on this grand occasion. It is also a sad occasion. After 21 years Syers is relinquishing command of the Selangor Police Force. There are men on parade who have been with him since Klang in 1875. The ties of respect, loyalty and affection which unite Syers and his police are already a legend in his lifetime.

However Syers was not yet at the end of his police career. He had in 1896 been promoted to the newly created post of Commissioner of Police. Federated Malay States. In that wider responsibility there was much to be done. He spent months in direct command of the Perak Police in order to reorganise it as an entirely civil police force; then a visit to Pahang recuperating from the disturbances of the Malay revolt of 1892-94; then to Negeri Sembilan to overhaul the sadly neglected administration of its police.6 Along the rivers, on foot and on ponies along jungle paths he travelled the length and breadth of the FMS applying to each new problem the lessons of his long experience. After a year's hard work Syers felt the need of local leave. After the police his ruling passion was hunting big game. He was an excellent shot and enjoyed the excitement of taking risks - especially in pursuit of seladang, of which he had already over the years shot thirteen. In an homeric struggle the fourteenth seladang and Syers killed each other in a remote part of Pahang. Syers himself, dreadfully injured, died the day after the encounter while being taken downriver to Pekan. When the news of his death reached Kuala Lumpur some of his European friends wept and his Malay police were lost in silent despair. His funeral was attended by one of the largest processions Kuala Lumpur had ever seen.7

The homed head of the fatal seladang still looks down from the wall of the police officers' mess in witness to the abrupt end of a remarkable career. In its essentials it is a familiar story, But, as the official historian of the Malayan Police has written, "the man himself remains elusive." Successive British Residents of Selangor, Bloomfield Douglas, Swettenham and William Maxwell, disparaged each other but were united in their praise of Syers — without however recording how he did his job so well. A man who rises swiftly to the top in a small official community is likely to have his detractors. But — with the predictable exception of the waspish Emily Innes – Syers was very popular but also a lonely man. Visitors to Selangor, Isabella Bird and William Hornaday, saw quite a lot of Syers in a short time. Hornaday "found great interest in drawing him out" but did not in fact elicit anything much except that he was a Londoner. Isabella Bird explored his range of studies and interests without penertating his reserve."

A search for Syers necessarily takes one through the record of the development of the police in the Malay States of his time. He alone had a sound conception of how a police force should be organised and deployed. Swettenham produced a blueprint of police organisation in Perak but was

content to accept and endorse Syers' very different approach to the problem when Swettenham himself came to Selangor, eventually as Resident. A way in Perak R.S.F. Walker evolved a military parody of Swettenham's ideas which moved a Colonial Office official to write in a minute that the Perak police were about as suited to police work as the Household Brigade. Syers had no previous training in police work, no one to whom he could turn for expert guidance. There were critics of his methods and of his standards. But he got results. Although he was no thoereticaln he must rank as the most creative mind among the police officers of his day – and as it turned out of the day after too – in the Malay States. To seek to find out what he was and did is to trace one strand through the darbie of Malayan history of his period.

The Young Recruit. On 7th July 1870 Syers enlisted at the Aldershot depot of the 2/10th Regiment (the North Lincolnshire Regiment). ²¹ He gave his name as Charles Syers and his age as 18. But he may only have been 17 since his date of birth, as stated on the headstone to his grave in Kuala Lumpur, is 17th June 1853. ³⁴ Although he was an Englishman no entry of his birth appears in the register of births for England and Wales over the years 1850-1855. These and some related problems are considered in Appendix 1.

Extant police reports and other writing by Syers display a command of English vocabulary and grammar which suggest that he was reasonably well educated. Yet he enlisted in the army as a private and remained in that rank for five years. One can exaggerate this apparent discrepancy. In Syers' boyhood primary education in England was widespread though not yet compulsory; in his early years in Selangor he studied earnestly to improve himself and his knowledge - as Isabella Bird noted in 1879. Emily Innes, who was prone to exaggerate, refers to "English policemen of the rough-and-ready order, whose 'arts' were in the right place, according to their own account, but whose h's were decidedly in the wrong. One of these, who constantly acted as interpreter for the Resident, infected all the Malay rajas in the country, so that they began to talk and write of Tuan Hinnes an the Hoffice in the Arabic character."14 This passage must refer to Syers who alone acted as interpreter to Bloomfield Douglas. One must infer that he was of working class origin and retained in his speech some trace at least of an accent (mid-19th century Cockney?) which jarred on the genteel susceptibilities of Emily, who detested anyone associated with her arch-enemy Douglas. No one else refers to Syers' mode of speech in this way.

There is one other possible clue to his boyhood. Robson says of him that "he was a fine horseman and a good amateur jockey," ³⁵ Douglas relates how Syers dealt expertly with a frightened horse which had fallen into the river. ¹⁶ Hornaday tells how "Syers" pony went down when at a full gallop and gave him a terrible full*? Douglas also refers to the after-effects of a bat full at a different time. He may have learnt to ride as a boy; experience with horses was obviously commoner in his day than it is now. Let us return to Syers, the new recruit of July 1870. He was one of a group of about thirty young men enlisted and trained at the depot of the 10th Regiment. The majority of the group enlisted at local military district headquarters, presumably near their homes. We are denied that clue to Syers' origins since he, and some others, were sent in to Aldershot by local recruiting agents and completed the enlistment formallities at the depot itself. Syers, as we have seen, told Hornsday that he was a Londoner. But that may merely indicate where he was employed as a youth before joining the army. Both battalions of the 10th Regiment were stationed overseas and so enlistment in it offered a good prospect of service abroad as soon as basic training had been completed. This may have prompted his choice – we do not know.

For the next two years, i.e. until the autumn of 1872, Syers was at the depot of the 10th Regiment, which moved from Aldershot to Shomceliffe in the autumn of 1871. His record was unblemished except for the loss of one day's pay (8th November 1870) for absence. Unlike some men on the depot strength he took no furlough, which suggests that he had no family whom he wished to revisit in the glory of his red tunic. All through his life one is struck by Syers' total absence of family connections. (Appendix 1) When he died in 1897 there were no known next-of-kin in England (apart from his children at school) to be informed of his death.

On 6th September 1872 Syers was posted from the depot to the 1st Battalion, which was then about to move its headquarters from Hong Kong to Singapore.

Army Service in the Straits Settlements (1872-75). Syers was one of a party of about fifty men under an officer and a sergeant who travelled out to Singapore on the troopship "Scotland". They reached Singapore on 27nd December 1872 after a voyage of 43 days. Shortly after his arrival Syers qualified, as a trained soldier of good record, for good conduct pay of one penny per day. For the next fifteen months he served with the main body of the 1/10th in Singapore. If he had left England with romantic notions of service in the East, Singapore in the 1870's must have been an acute disappointment. The lot of a Tommy in a British colony in the tropics was unenvisible. A social historian, referring to the Treaty ports of China as well as to the Straits Settlements, has described it thus:

"The other ranks were sharply divided from both the civilians and their own officers and shared with seamen the unenviable role of a white proletariat in a society especially rigid in its class distinctions ... the life of the soldier in the Far East during most of the nineteenth century was almost as wretched as that of a London outcast and even more unhealthy. He dressed in a manner which made Edward Bowar remark of a scarlet-coated sentined in Singapore, 'I do not like to take my eyes off him, for I expect every moment that he will burst into flames.' He are monotonously and supplemented his coarse meals by swilling beer when he could get it, and arrack when he could not. He lived

in crowded and badly built barracks; for years the European troops at Tanglin were housed in attap barracks ... In lieu of marriage he solaced himself with Chinese or Malay prostitutes. And even these brutal pleasures were often cut short by the sicknesses resulting from bad water, bad sanitation and marshy ground. Whenever epidemics of smallpox, cholera and typhus swept through the treaty ports, it was always – among the Europeans – the soldiers and seamen who suffered most ... The private or sergeant who survived and took his discharge in Shanghai or Hong Kong usually found himself a social parish in the middleclass world of the China Hands. At best he might hope to earn a living as a policeman, one of the few occupations open to Europeans of the wrong class. Failing that, he might join the motley company of adventurers and mercenaries who formed a disreputable fringe to the British communities in the Far East and end his days fighting for a Malay raja, smuggling for Chinese merchants, or running guns into the Philippines, a better fate probably than going home to rot in an English workhouse."

In these grim conditions the private soldier all too often got drunk. The muster rolls of the 1/10th in Singapore contain long lists of soldiers fined for drunkenness or muleted of pay while undergoing punishment in civil prisons. There is no reason to think that the record of this unit is in any way better or worse than that of others in like conditions. It was the way of life and the common lot of the common soldier. Syers kept himself out of serious trouble but he was deprived for a whole year (May 1873 to May 1874) of his good conduct pay. During the same period he was for four months employed as a regimental cook which may have been a punitive fatigue duty. When this retribution (the cause of which is not recorded) was drawing to its close he was posted in March 1874 to the small detachment of the 1/10th stationed at Malacca. 19

The strength of the Malacca detachment was about sixty privates with a handful of officers and NCO's. Presumably their functions were to undertake routine guard duties and also to provide a small local reserve available for immediate use if there were disturbances in Malacca or along its boundaries with the Malay States. Even in the town of Malacca Syers would have had the opportunity of contact with Malays and of learning their language. At his death it was said of him that "though not a scholar, his knowledge of colloquial Malay was greater than that of almost any other European in the Straits" — no small compliment when one remembers that he was here being compared with a group which included Frank Swettenham and Hugh Clifford. In view of his outstanding proficiency in Malay later on and his systematic and wide-ranging programme of study of language, culture and natural science at the time (in early 1879) when Isabella Bird met him it is a reasonable guess that he began to study Malay on his arrival in Malacca. If he had, it helps to explain how he came to be selected for service in Selangor a year later.

1874 began with the Pangkor treaty with Perak followed soon afterwards

by similar informal arrangements to establish British influence in Selangor and Sungei Ujong. In the peaceful backwater of Malacca there must have been much talk of these things, not least among the small body of soldiers passing the hours of midday heat on their charpoys in the bashas of the small cantonment. Would the monotony of their routine be interrupted by the excitement of action in the adjoining Malay States? The call came on 21st November 1874 with the news of disturbances in Sungei Ujong arising from a clash between the Datuk Klana, who had signed an agreement and later raised the British flag at his house at Ampangan (on the outskirts of the modern Seremban) and his opponent, the Datuk Shahbandar who had the support of the formidable Raja Mahmud, one of the exiled leaders of the opposition movement in Selangor. In Sungei Ujong the Datuk Klana had with him Pickering, future founder of the Chinese Protectorate. When the news came from Pickering to Captain E.W. Shaw, the Lieutenant Governor of Malacca. Shaw decided to send off to support Pickering as many of the small detachment of troops in Malacca as could be spared.21

The party set off from Malacca on 23rd November 1874. It consisted of two officers, a sergeant, a bugler and 26 rank and file. Was Syers one of the 26? Of the sixty men at Malacca some were non-effectives (the proportion of seriously ill men in hospital was about 5 per cent) and the preference would have been given to the younger and fitter men, of whom Syers was one. If Syers did by then speak some Malay, it was a rare accomplishment for a British Other Rank and must have counted ("Then there's young Syers, Sir, speaks the lingo a fair treat"). In view of all which followed I believe that he went on this expedition but it cannot be proved. So far as the records go he never in later life talked about his army life; hence the absence of reference to it is not particularly significant. The small party from Malacca went by sea as far as the mouth of the Linggi River and then marched the 18 miles up the Linggi valley to Seremban. A few years later Isabella Bird went up the Linggi River by boat to Seremban, noting as she went that "the Golden Chersonnese is very hot and much infested by things which bite and sting... the night on the river was awful and after the intolerable blaze of the day the fighting with the heat and mosquitoes most exhausting." Isabella's trip took two exhausting days by boat.22 The troops in November 1872 were on a forced march by the traders' bridlepath up the valley. As they stumbled over the uneven track in their tight serge uniforms, carrying arms, ammunition, rations and other loads besides, the language was no doubt as torrid as the climate. They reached Ampangan on 25th November.

Here they waited for further reinforcements from Singapore, a force of two sergeants and 54 rank and file sent by sea from Singapore to land at the nearest point on the coast to Seremban. There were in addition 50 police, 20 men of the Royal Artillery, 40 seamen and 20 marines. With this rather scratch force there were a few officers. The Singapore force landed on 26th November and marched inland to effect a junction at Ampangan. For this expedition the whole force was under the command of Captain Dunlop, an ex-army officer who was now head of the Straits Settlements police. The combined force moved on from Ampangan to attack the Datuk Shahbandar's stockade at Kepayang in the upper Labu valley just outside Seremban. But when they reached Kepayang on 29th November they found the stockade abandoned. The pursuit took Dunlop and his Malay allies on another march down the Labu valley and on to Sepang (near the modern Negeri Sembilan-Selangor boundary) on the coast. Sepang was Raja Mahmud's base but he was not there. They then marched back to Rasah, the jetity on the upper Linggi (just outside Seremban) from which the tin was shipped down river by boat from the Sungel Ujong mines. It was now 7th December. Part of the British force then marched to Lukut and the rest remained temporarily at Seremban muder Captain Tatham, who had been selected to act as the Datuk Klara's adviser.

Dunlop himself referred to these marches through the length and breadth of Sungei Ujong as "our long and wearisome journeys". B At every stage of the pursuit Dunlop must have needed information of the movements of his elusive quarry, supplies, guides and other local help. Any member of his small force who could speak Malay and act as an interpreter and liaison officer was no doubtp ut to that use. Again one can only guess that Syers was with Dunlop and came to his notice in this way. But it is a reasonable guess which serves to

explain things which need explaining later on.

Syers is sent to Selangor (early 1875). When Dunlop returned to his police duties in Singapore he found that he was required to discuss with J.G. Davidson, British Resident designate for Selangor, how help could be given to Selangor in establishing a police force. The formal instructions to Davidson include a paragraph which told him to apply "to the Inspector General of Police for a few men from Singapore or Malacca in the first instance as a commencement." "A These instructions were dated 20th January 1875 but it may be assumed that drafting and discussion had been in progress for some time before that (the formal recommendation that Davidson should become Resident in Selangor had gone off to the Colonial Office on 30th December 1974).

Davidson had an exceptionally difficult problem to discuss with Dunlop. As an adviser and former financial backer of Tunku Kudin, Viceroy of Selangor, Davidson was well informed of the situation in Selangor which he had visited on occasion. He knew that in Klang there were still about 100 men, the undisciplined remnant of a mercenary force which had fought for Tunku Kudin in the civil war since about 1870. The war was now over but the Selangor government owed them large sums in areaers of pay and could not afford to pay them off. But to let them disperse in Selangor without their pay or even to keep them in discontented idleness at Klang was to invite trouble. They might well sell their services to Tunku Kudin's enemies who were

suspected of planning to return from exile and fight again. Accordingly the best course was to use these men as the nucleus of the new State police force. But for this purpose Davidson needed a new commander to replace Ali Mamat, the officer then in charge of the force at Klang (of whom more is to be said later).

Whom could Dunlop suggest? It would be difficult for Dunlop to persuade an inspector or even a sergeant of the Straits Settlements police to leave the comparative comfort of his present surroundings for a rough life in Selangor. Dunlop had probably heard - and so probably had the men in his force whom he might have selected - of the fiasco of the small police contingent sent with Swettenham to Selangor in August 1874. They had been sent off at an hour's notice and without any preparations. According to Swettenham "the European Sergeant has absolutely nothing either to eat, drink, or to sleep in". Swettenham concluded that "he had been a good deal the worse for liquor" in the adverse environment of Bandar Langat.25 The Sergeant was later replaced by a European corporal but the result was equally unsatisfactory. Swettenham concluded that "it is a great mistake having a European in charge of the police here. There is not one of them that understands Malays and every day they do something which offends these most sensitive and touchy people. Moreover they have no companions or amusements, and dislike the place, and they often try to amuse themselves by drinking"26 The alternative of seconding an experienced NCO from the 10th Regiment to service in Selangor was unlikely to produce better results. Such a man might be a stronger character with a greater sense of discipline. But uprooted from the familiar regimental routine, which was the very framework of his life, he would be at a loss - especially as he would be unable to speak Malay. It was necessary to find a man young and junior enough to fit into a subordinate post (since the police would be under the general direction of the Resident), adaptable but trained to military or police working routine, and above all else - able to speak Malay. Sufficient has been said above to indicate why Svers may have been qualified to satisfy these requirements and also known to Dunlop as such a man. In that way or in some other - he may have volunteered for service in the Malay States - Syers' name came up for consideration.

It is clear from the initial arrangements made that Davidson hesitated to accept Syers. He himself had had no chance of assessing Syers' calibre. Even if Syers was a Malay speaker and had begun to attract notice he was certainly quite without experience either of police work or of the command of men. But, as was recognised by Isabella Bird among others, Davidson "had a calin temper and much good sense." He decided to give Syers a trial. So Syers was appointed a temporary inspector of police by the Selangor Government. The 10th Regiment granted him six months leave of absence, later extended to nine. If Syers was not a success he could relinquish his new post and return to

service with his unit. Syers arrived at Klang in March 1875.20 On the government side his service began from 1st March but his military leave of absence did not begin until 11th March 1875. As the army is precise about these matters – for ration strengths etc. – the military record is probably more reliable. Swettenham was in Klang on 11th March and mentions in his Journal for that day the arrival (from an unspecified port of departure) of HMS Lapwing, a small vessel on which Swettenham took a return passage southwards as far as Kuala Jugra. So it is likely that Lapwing came up the coast, perhaps from Malacca. If so Syers may have arrived by that means. Incidentally Swettenham, an arrogant young man, makes no reference whatever to Syers during his Journal for 1875.29 Yet Swettenham was in Klang on several occasions after Syers had begun his service there. Syers was simply a subordinate of Davidson placed in immediate charge of the police force.

It did not take Davidson very long to assess the worth of his new police inspector. In July 1875 Syers' pay was increased from \$50 p.m. to \$70 p.m. and £18 was paid to the 10th Regiment to purchase his discharge from his longterm engagement to military service. All concerned had decided that he should stay in Selangor. ³⁰ There is some evidence in the regimental record that he returned to his unit for two days in October 1875, perhaps to pick up his remaining possessions from Malacca and/or to complete the formalities of his discharge, which took effect from 13th December 1875. ³¹ According to an Official Selangor staff list of 1891 his "date of first appointment to the public service" was 1st July 1875, i.e. from that date he was on the police establishment.

When Syers reached Klang three years later all the officers except one had gone. The condition of the force had not improved. The account from which the following passage is taken is part of an article which appeared in the Selangor Journal of 1892.³³ It is clearly firsthand reminiscence and may well have been written by Syers or by someone who had persuaded him to talk

about his experiences; the source cannot have been Davidson for he was then dead. Syers found "an undisciplined mob, badly armed and without any uniform whatever, each man supplying himself with whatever his fancy dictated; and they were all quartered in the Fort at Klang with the exception of a few at Kuala Klang and Damansara. This non-descript force, in addition to being badly armed and badly clothed, had not received any pay, or at least only very small sums, from the time when it was first raised; the men were supplied with rice, salt, fish and opium - the latter article being consumed by them indiscriminately with few exceptions. The result of this onium consumption was that the whole force had become utterly demoralised, and discipline was unknown among them. The NCO's had not the slightest control over their men, who were allowed unrestricted licence, and the barracks at night presented a scene which can be better imagined than described ..." When Syers had made his initial assessment he had a "long consultation" with Davidson and it was decided that the whole force must be reorganised. As a first step the Selangor Government paid the men their arrears of pay, amounting in some cases to three or four years' pay. As there was insufficient cash available, payment was made by the issue of promissory notes payable by instalments over three months. But "so little value was attached to these documents that the men disposed of them for merely nominal sums." This reaction tells one a great deal about the damaged credit of a bankrupt government and the mentality of the mercenaries.

The second step was to weed out the hopelessly degraded and unfit members of the mercenary force - "all the worst characters were dismissed which reduced the force to about 50 men and Ali Mamat being dissatisfied with the new order of things was allowed to resign and his appointment was not filled up." Ali Mamat is described as "a Mauritius Frenchman, or Creole. who had turned Muhammadan." Apart from his brief and inglorious appearance here nothing more is heard of Ali Mamat. The fact that he was a Frenchman has led some writers to identify him with the De Fontaine, a former lieutenant of the French navy, who had raised the mercenary force in 1870. Ibrahim Munshi who met de Fontaine in 1872 describes him as "quite handsome, young, not yet bearded but with a moustache," and resplendent in a "jacket of gold thread" and a sword.34 De Fontaine's later career is known: he served in the Perak War later in 1875 and then became an inspector in the Straits Settlements police. But the article from the Selangor Journal refers to de Fontaine and to Ali Mamat separately and with very different implications. Mr. de Fontaine is mentioned as the man who raised the force, but without saying that he was in Klang in 1875; Ali Mamat was at Klang when Syers arrived and then in command of the mercenary force but the tone of the reference to him is contemptuous. Ibrahim Munshi makes it clear that there were originally several officers with the mercenary force; there is no inherent difficulty about two of them being French. I am not persuaded that de

Fontaine and Ali Mamat were the same man. At all events Ali Mamat decamped; a swashbuckler of his type would not wish to serve under exprivate Syers – and the unease was probably mutual. In place of the sepoys whom he had dismissed Syers recruited Malays from Malacca to raise his Selangor police force to a total strength of about 150. The enlarged force was provided with arms and practised at drill. When this retraining and recquipment was complete detachments were placed as "garsinons" in support of and under the control of the British officers (Swettenham and Denholm) at Kuala Langat and at Kuala Selangor. The new regime was thus able to assert some control of the Selangor coastline and of the major river estuaries through which him was exported and through which any hostile force must sooner or later establish communications.

There are several incidental references to the precarious state of law and order even in the coastal towns of Selangor in 1875. Two or three weeks before Syers' arrival Davidson, on a visit to Kuala Selangor, reported that "a Kelantan man murdered in the presence of many people." Two days later Swettenham, down in Kuala Langat noted in his Journal, "last night a juvenile domestic of the Bandar of Sungei Ujong, a boy about 10 years old, ran away to our stockade to prevent being taken to Singapore. He is covered with wounds all over made by a parang, the native wood-cutting knife which has always been used as a means of punishment..." A few weeks earlier (Journal 5 Dec 1874) Swettenham gives a gruestome introduction of the famous Malay warrior, Raja Mahmud, very different from the romantic picture of Swettenham's later memoirs. He tells how a man sitting near Mahmud was ordered to stop his chatter..." he did not at once obby so Mahmud ... drew his keris and krissed him. The [police] constable said, "Why did you do that?" and Mahmud said, "He was making a row."

If the police or even a European officer tried to intervene they were often met with open defiance. Swettenham again (ibid. 13 March 1875) "I told my orderly to go and take the man and I followed him into the boat. The man handed over a long keris that belonged to Tuan Sheikh but he refused to give up a tumbok lada, a knife much affected here and finally drew it on my orderly.35 Emily Innes, who did not arrive in Selangor until more than a year later, noted that "the police themselves were a comparatively new and not very popular institution and the people were apt to look on them as spies of the government and natural enemies to themselves." Emily Innes also relates a story, apparently from before the time of her arrival, which is the only extant account of Syers dealing with problems of this kind. Emily describes Raja Arfah, daughter of the Sultan and wife of Tunku Kudin, as a woman with "the temper of a tigress." Her jealousy was roused by some mild interest shown by her husband in one of her domestics, a Malay slave girl. Emily continues, "the peeping wife grew pale with rage and jealousy, lay in wait for the girl as she left the room, and beat her furiously with a slipper. The girl's screams were so

violent that they attracted the attention of an English policeman who lived near. He came to enquire what was the matter, and on nearing the house found apathetic natives looking at 'streams of blood' that were dripping through the lantai (lath flooring) belonging to the Tunku's women's apartments. In reply to his questions these natives told him that the blood was that of a slave girl whom Tunku Chi [Arfah] had been beating. Seeing Tunku dia Udin [Kudin] in the garden the policeman went up to him and, touching his cap, asked what were the shrieks that he had heard, and whether he could be of any use. The Tunku took his cigarette leisurely out of his mouth, smiled sweetly, showing his pretty little teeth, and replied with an air vainqueur, 'It is nothing - only a little jealousy among the ladies.' The policeman then mentioned the blood he had seen. This the Tunku assured him was only that of some fowls that were being prepared for his curry. As the shricks had now ceased, and the policeman did not wish to insult the Tunku by showing open disbelief of his statements, or to outrage all Malay custom by forcing his way into the womens' apartment, he withdrew but sent for the natives he had seen and questioned them privately. They repeated their former statement, but declared that the slave girl was not dead. The story goes on to say, however, that in a week's time the girl was dead, having been quietly finished off and thrown into the river by the orders of Tunku Chi." The story may have gained in the telling; obviously it was first recounted by Syers himself - whether or not direct to Emily.36 Raja Arfah ceased to live at Klang in mid-1876; the affair probably occurred in 1875 or early 1876.

Davidson himself observed that, 'I think it is necessary to keep a pretty strong force of police both here and at Kuala Selangor, as there are a great number of bad characters in the country who have been long accustomed to living by plundering. The population is also very mixed, consisting of Menangkabau men, Mandiling men, Rawas, Bugis and Chinese. These classes are so clannish and jealous of each other that a casual quarrel between two men of different classes might at any time cause such a disturbance as would require a considerable force to quell it ... 'Swettenham (Journal 18 Aug 1875) illustrates that assessment with a story of how he and Davidson went to watch a Chinese wayang in the town of Klang on a festival day... "There was a cry and a rush of people, about 300, down the street. We could not quite make it out and got nearly run over. I being in the 5ft pathway with difficulty avoided being swept away. At the first rush my stick was knocked out of my hand and I was unmercifully bumped against the projecting counter of a shop. The mob passed in a minute, carrying Davidson away..." Later Davidson arrested the two men who were said to have started the riot by drawing their weapons on the police.37

The interior of Selangor was at this time beyond the effective administrative control of the new Residential regime. Local potentates such as Yap Ah Loy, the Captain China of the important mining centre of Kuala

Lumpur, ruled their own districts. But there was the risk that opponents of Tunku Kudin might rise in revolt against his government. To the south of Kuala Lumpur there was an uncertain situation in Ulu Langat. This district was in the titular charge of Raja Kahar, a son of the Sultan of Selangor. However Kahar had antagonised his subjects by his oppression. In August 1875 Swettenham had noted in his Journal (11 August 1875) - "But, I said, there are no Rajas here now. No, they said, thanks to God and the Government you have taken away Mahdi, both Mahmuds, Syed Mashor, Raja Laut and the Tunku Panglima Raja dare not come near the place, but there are still Raja Kahar and Raja Yakoob. As long as Raja Kahar is in the Interior [Ulu Langat] no one will go and work there. As long as he has power as a Raja, they said. don't hope for it... the people they said pray for some fixed laws, and not the caprice of every Anak Raja whose path they cross..."38 The leader of the discontented Malay miners and traders of Ulu Langat was Sutan Puasa, formerly a prominent leader of the Sumatran Malay community of Kuala Lumpur. He had defected from the Tunku Kudin/Yap Ah Loy camp to their enemies in the final stage of the Selangor civil war only to discover that he was after all on the losing side. So he nursed his grievances in Ulu Langat until an opportune moment should arrive. It came in October 1875 when there was a rising in neighbouring Sungei Ujong which spread over the border into Ulu Langat. Sutan Puasa joined the local insurgents, mustered a strong party of Mandiling Malays from Ulu Langat and seized control of Ulu Langat village and the nearby mining camps of Cheras and Kajang. Raja Kahar, characteristically devious and irresolute, did nothing and awaited the outcome. He was even suspected of lending covert support to the rebels since British rule was not popular among the sons of the Sultan in Selangor. It was a dangerous situation which could easily escalate into a major revolt.39

It is a mark of the confidence which Davidson by now had in Syers that he sent off his advance party of 75 police and 100 Malay irregulars under Syers as soon as the news reached Klang. The story is told in the latter part of the Selangor Journal article referred to above; it must again be taken as Syers' own account.40 On reaching Kuala Lumpur Syers joined forces with Yap Ah Loy who had mustered 200 Chinese fighting men. Finally Davidson arrived with a small artillery detachment (from Singapore) with two mortars. By this time news had reached Selangor of the murder (in early November) of J.W.W. Birch, the Resident of Perak. It seemed to Davidson, Syers and Yap Ah Loy (and to other observers at the time) that there was a a general rising throughout the Malay Peninsula. There was a council of war in Kuala Lumpur at which it was decided "to make a 'dash' for Cheras and Kajang before there was time for cooperation from Sungei Ujong." Cheras surrendered without resistance by the armed men who had occupied it. The next move was against Sutan Puasa's principal stronghold of Kajang which he had strengthened with "three newly built stockades facing the entrance to the village armed with brass guns,

loaded to the muzzles with old nails and other rubbish. Fortunately [says Syers] our seouts gave us good information and we were able completely to surprise the occupants of this village by taking them in the rear and rushing their stockades before there was time for resistance.... Sutan Puasa, a notorious rebel chief and one of Raja Mahdi's principal men was captured. "It his decisive success brought the brief insurrection to an end."

To consolidate the position police stations were established for the first time at Ulu Langat village, Cheras and Kajang and also subsequently at Kuala Lumpur itself, where Yap Ah Loy insisted that "he might be allowed the privilege of paying their wages. The Government being anxious to please him and not being overburdened with cash at the time willingly granted this concession. The wisdom of establishing stations in the interior was soon apparent from the increased prosperity which followed their advent: villages sprang up round them; crime ceased to exist, except in very rare instances; and the people soon became reconciled to the fact that robbery and murder could no longer be considered a legitimate occupation." The same system was soon afterwards extended to Ulu Sclangor with police stations at Bandar, Kanching and Ulu Selangor villages. Police stations were also placed at Rekoh and Semunyeh, which at that time were still treated as nominally part of Sungei Uiong (the frontier rectification between Selangor and Sungei Ujong came in 1880), and along the Damansara Road which linked Kuala Lumpur with Klang between Damansara village, where the Klang river ceased to be navigable to small launches, and Kuala Lumpur itself.

Thus effective if indirect control was extended into the interior by the use of a network of police stations. As will be seen this deployment of the police into Malay and Chinese villages was strongly disapproved by Swettenham in memoranda written a year later with reference to the situation in Perak. It remained however the essential basis of Syers' police system in Selangor throughout the twenty odd years of his command. It may have been Davidson who devised the system. But if so Davidson could not have introduced it at such an early stage and in such an effective way if Syers had not forged for him the tool he needed, i.e. an effective police force which could be dispersed in small detachments and yet be relied upon to act with discretion and to maintain a reasonable degree of efficiency under remote control from the capital. The reason that the system worked smoothly - and this again was to be an essential feature of Syers' method at all times - was that the local authority was allowed to have a measure of control over the police in their areas. At this stage the local authority was the Malay chief or Chinese headman such as Yap Ah Loy; later it was the Collector (District Officer). When Syers came to write his first major report on police organisation in 1878, to which we shall come shortly, he was entirely committed to these methods - if indeed he rather than Davidson was not the originator of them.

Two other significant features of this episode may be noted. It brought Syers for the first time into working association with Yap Ah Loy and other Chinese headmen. Out of that came the system of controlling the Chinese local communities indirectly through their own leaders. It was a method which ad its abuses and deceits, to which it will be necessary to refer later, but at a time when the police force was only about 150-200 strong in Selangor there was probably no alternative. Secondly, the attack on Sutan Puasa's stronghold at Kajang was the first operation of its kind in which Syers had been engaged. It was a useful preparation for the Pahang emergency of 1892.

The Selangor Military Police (1876-78). For some years the Selangor police continued to be styled officially the Selangor Military Police. It is unlikely that Syers was at this stage in any disagreement with this view of its nature and function. It was an armed force trained in the military fashion and prepared on occasion to act in a para-military role as in the operations against Sutan Puasa. Syers himself was by origin and training a soldier. Bloomfield Douglas who succeeded Davidson in April 1876 as Resident of Selangor was disposed to emphasise the military function - so much so that Isabella Bird described the Klang Residency in 1879 as having "much the appearance of an armed post amidst a hostile population."42 It was necessary to humour Douglas in his views. However it was not the choice of name nor the outward appearance which counted so much as the actual practice of Syers in dealing with problems of police organisation. He was a pragmatic worker, not a theorist. But in the end his practice produced differences of conception of the role of a police force which had eventually (in the reorganisation of 1896) to be reconciled with the contrasted ideas of Walker and other police officers.

Syers' first problem was the uneven quality of his men. Syers himself had eliminated half the mercenaries whom he had taken over from Ali Mamat in March 1875. Some of the remainder, or perhaps some of the men recruited in haste to replace them, proved unsatisfactory. When Swettenham recommended in 1878 a reduction in the numbers of the Selangor police he advised that "some of the less effective members be gradually got rid of."43 All through his career Syers was something of an optimist and perhaps too ready to accept that the best which a man could do should be good enough. When he went on home leave in 1893 and again when he relinquished control of the Selangor police in 1896 the police officers who took his place immediately began to weed out some of the men whom Syers had been prepared to retain. His main recruiting ground from 1875 onwards was in Malacca, which of course he had come to know during a year of army service in 1874-75. There was no question of recruiting Malay police from within Selangor. In this practice, i.e. recruitment from outside the State. Syers was acting in conformity with the general views of police officers and Residents of his day. He had no choice. At this period the police were "not a popular institution" (Emily Innes) in a Malay State. 44 To the general body of the local Malay

population the police were simply the successors to the disreputable followers of Malay Rajas, the budak Raja etc., of earlier times. It was only in the early years of the twentieth century that the inspired choice of a Perak aristocrat (Raja Alang Iskander, son and heir of Sultan Idris) as a police officer began the change of Malay attitude in the Malay States which has made a career in the police an honourable and much sought after employment. 49 But all that was after Svers' time.

For reasons which are not recorded Syers had a strong prejudice against the employment of Javanese in the police; he would only use them as buglers. 46 For many years he resisted the general use of "Sikh" i.e. Sikh proper and other North Indian police such as became the mainstay of the Perak police in the 1880's. In recruiting Malay constables from Malacca it was found difficult to obtain men of the education and other qualifications required for promotion to NCo status. Rembau in Negeri Sembilan was regarded as an extension of the Malacca area and Svers noted that his Rembau recruits "are very good men, and are of a higher standard than those obtained from the Straits Settlements; they all make very good constables but it is extremely difficult to get men of sufficient education and ability who are fit for promotion." But he did find some. In the same report (written in 1878) Syers counted himself lucky to have two satisfactory Sergeant Majors "both good drills." Many years later he recorded in his annual report the retirement of "the senior Sergeant Major Hussein who had been with me since 1875" and in another report of the same era the death of his chief clerk Doraisamy who "had been in the department since 1875." From the very beginning Syers had the gift of inspiring strong personal lovalty.48 He was a kind and tactful man and of course a very proficient Malay speaker. It all helped.

The report of 1878 cited above was written in response to a request from the Secretary of State pressed by questions in Parliament. It must have been quite a challenge for the young ex-private to compile an account of what he was doing to be read in London. There is a parallel report on the Perak police written by Lieutenant Paul Swinburne which covers much the same ground and identifies the same problems. Syers refers to the "military duties" of his force but adds that the police were also required to act as boatmen and to undertake heavy work such as clearing the jungle around their new police stations. The dispersal of the police into out-districts worked against the maintenance of military efficiency. He resolved this problem by calling in the police by rotation for refresher training in "company and light infantry drill at least four times a week; they are also instructed in gun and mortar drill and are put through a course of musketry." Clothing and equipment was another problem. Essential items had to be ordered from the United Kingdom since local supplies were non-existent or unreliable. By 1878 Svers had equipped his force with "the medium sized Snider rifle" which he argued was the most serviceable type because it was accurate and had less recoil than a carbine - "where the natives are concerned no matter how little the recoil may be they are with very few exceptions afraid of it." But the drawback to the short rifle was that it could only be fitted with the sword or long bayone which was "top heavy and awkward to use." When the police had to make trips through the jungle they tended to leave behind their cumbersome bayoness.

It was found that lightweight cloth would not stand up to hard use in uniforms. So blue serge was ordered from the United Kingdom on a scale sufficient to supply each man with two suits of uniform. In his Syers was following Straits Settlements police practice. When received the cloth was made up into uniform suits by the Chinese tailors of Klang to whom Syers gave a "uniform pattern procured from Singapore." In this as in other matters Syers was prepared to remedy any lack of his own resources by drawing on that of others.

The Selangor Government. While Syers was training and equipping his police the Selangor Government, of which he was part, was under the general direction of the Resident, Bloomfield Douglas (1876-82).49 There had been a complete change of personnel since Syers' arrival in 1875. Both Davidson and Swettenham (for the time being) had left Selangor. At Kuala Langat the Collector (second in seniority to the Resident) was James Innes (1876-78 and again 1880-1882) whose wife Emily in her book makes references to Syers (but without ever naming him) which have been cited in their place in this paper. At Kuala Selangor there was a sequence of unsatisfactory Collectors. Bloomfield Douglas was able to secure an appointment in Selangor (as head of the departments of Lands, Surveys and Public Works) for his own son-inlaw, Dominic Daly, who (with Syers himself) seems too have been closest to the irascible Resident. Douglas' personal diary contains about 170 references to Syers; most of them are very brief but they afford a glimpse of an active life and of the increasing respect and regard which Syers earned from Douglas. In June 1876 Douglas sends Syers to investigate a reported murder at Kajang. Syers returns five days later with three prisoners and a useful general report on the situation at Kajang which he had not visited since the operations of October 1875. A week later "the mandor from Damansara came down complaining that some of the coolies had struck work and were mutinous. Sent Mr. Syers up with 20 men." On the following day "Mr. Syers brought four men down, they had threatened the mandor and so got a dozen of each and h.1."50 This last is an example of the rough and sometimes brutal justice administered by Douglas which so shocked Isabella Bird.51 So the record of assignments and of jungle trips continues. At this time it meant travelling by boat or on foot. It was only from 1878 that European officials began to use ponies for their overland travelling.

When Douglas left Klang on tour he often took Syers with him to act as his Malay interpreter. ⁵² Even for a young and fit man this constant travelling must have been exhausting. He had been in Singapore and Malaya since December 1872. It is not surprising to note from the Douglas diary that Syers was occasionally ill. There was no medical officer in Selangor at the time. The government apothecary dispensed such drugs as he had and thought useful. If Syers was ill he simply lay up in his quarters until his constitution, which must have been robust, restored him to a fit state to resume duty.³

Whatever Syers thought of Douglas (on which there is no direct information) it is clear that Douglas took a liking to the young policeman whose steady efficiency made him a tower of strength. Until July 1877, when Mrs. Douglas and his children arrived, Douglas was a grass widower. For all his cantankerousness Douglas felt the need of company and he often invited Svers, who was living alone in the police headquarters at the Klang Fort, to dine with him at the Residency. Douglas had begun to drink too much in the final year of his service in Australia (1873); these sessions at the Residency may have called for some restraint on the part of Syers. Douglas and Syers also shared a common interest in snipe shooting. Emily Innes says that on her first arrival at Kuala Langat she could sit in her chair on her verandah and count the snipe in twenties at a time; the wild birds came to share the food which she put out for her chickens. Douglas visited Kuala Langat regularly to report to the Sultan. He brought Syers with him as interpreter and they would go snipe shooting as well. Emily Innes has left a vivid account of her domestic tribulations in catering for Douglas and his party during these visits. Her animosity against Douglas rubs off on Syers also.54 Apart from the sneer at Syers' manner of speech (v.s. p. 33) she implies that there was a failure to pay her the proper courtesies which as hostess she would have been accorded by visitors "of a superior class". It conjures up a picture of Syers, perhaps tonguetied in the presence of this genteel gorgon, finding difficulty in making polite conversation. In their snipe shooting there was amicable rivalry between Douglas and Syers - "birds very wild, I got one bird which I lost, Willie shot one and Syers two." There are other references besides snipe-shooting to Syers' expertise as a marksman. If a naval vessel visited Klang Douglas would take the officers out snipe-shooting or organise a shooting match in which Syers was included. Syers, but not Douglas, had begun to shoot bigger game -"Mr. Syers with my sanction formed a volunteer party to track elephant tomorrow,"55

Syers on his side put himself out to please the Resident. Douglas, a form master mariner, held a religious service each Sunday at the Residency and was disposed to treat attendance as if it was a parade — "I told the European officers that their attendance on the Sabbath was quite optional but..." Syers unlike some of his colleagues did come fairly often. Isabella Bird attended one of these services during her visit. ""the whole white population being rounded up for it... the congregation sat under one punkah and the Resident under another... a union jack over the desk from which the liturgy was read." There are other anecdotes which show Syers in an

accommodating role. When the Residential steam launch broke down and Douglas was left stranded, hungry and irritated off the Klang estuary, Syers -"thoughtfully" - sent down the Resident's gig to meet him. Douglas returning to Klang after spending Christmas with the Innes, with whom he was then (1876) on the friendliest terms, noted grimly - "Klang had been drinking but Svers was steady as a rock." On another trip Douglas, Daly and Svers returning from a visit to Kuala Lumpur arrived at Damansara, the point at which they were to transfer with their ponies to the river launch to go downriver to Klang. Owing to clumsiness by the boatman the boat overturned and two of the ponies went into the river. It took three hours to put matters right; Douglas concludes - "we nearly lost both horses, their safety was principally owing to the great pluck and activity displayed by Mr. Syers who had a long swim and very hard work to get the horses clear of the boat and on shore" - one of several indications that Syers had more than ordinary skill in the management of horses. 57 Douglas repaid these services by showing regard for Syers' prospects. For example some visiting naval officers were taken to see the police on parade - "Captain Mead was good enough to express his approval at the appearance of the men and stated he should report to the Admiral in China the very creditable and efficient state of the force. I am very glad of this meeting. The report may be forwarded to His Excellency thus bringing Mr. Syers the Superintendent's name under the notice of H.E."58

Syers was perhaps fortunate to avoid any part of the censure which fell on Douglas over the Tunku Panglima Raja affair and the demonstration by HMS Fly at Bernam, both in 1878. However it was no doubt recognised that Syers was merely acting as a police officer under the orders of the Resident.⁵⁹

In their visits to Selangor W. Hornaday, the American naturalist, and Isabella Bird, were both given the opportunity to get to know Syers and they both recorded their impressions of him in their books. Hornaday came first. He was from the Rochester Natural Science Museum and he visited Selangor in June-July 1878. At the time of his first arrival Douglas was away in Singapore (being interrogated about the Tunku Panglima Raja affair). There was no hotel or resthouse at Klang and Hornaday accepted Syers' "cordial invitation" to stay with Syers in his quarters at the Fort. Hornaday continues -"Mr. Syers and I became friends directly, for I greatly admired his strength of character and he was not averse to the companionship of one interested in shooting quite as much as himself. He was a character fit to do duty as the hero of a vigorous romance, and I found great interest in drawing him out. He was a young Englishman from London, only a little older than I, frank, bighearted, fearless as a lion-tamer and tenacious as a bulldog." Hornaday went on to give a resume of Syers' achievement in creating a police force out of very suspect material. Hornaday then went off to collect specimens of crocodile at Jeram where Douglas and Syers, en route for Bernam, found him on 17 June 1878. Later Douglas gave Syers a fortnight's leave to accompany

Hornaday on a trip to Kuala Lumpur. Here they were able among other provisions to purchase Mumm's champagne at 60 cts per quart to refresh them on their impending trip to Ulu Selangor. "My only regret", continues Hornaday, "is that I did not fill a tub and take a bath in it, for champagne is the only artificial drink I really like." In their hunting trip they obtained a specimen of an elephant which Hornaday skinned and also some monkeys and squirrels. They failed to get a rhinoceros or even a seladang, though they did sight a specimen of the latter. They were the first Europeans to enter the Batu Caves. In riding back from the Caves Syers had a severe fall from his pony while galloping at full speed but he made nothing of it. When they got back to Klang Douglas entertained them at the Residency. Thus Hornaday, breezy and cheerful, gives us his picture of a fortnight spent by two young men on a hunting trip.60

Isabella Bird arrived at Klang from Malacca on Sunday 2nd February 1879 and stayed until the following Friday, when she left for Penang en route for her more famous visit to Hugh Low in Perak. In the meantime she was taken down to Kuala Langat and was received at the Istana by the Sultan. During the two days of the round trip to Kuala Langat Isabella was left a good deal in the company of Syers as her escort - Douglas and Daly were also in the party but paid her little attention. In the days spent in Klang after her return from Kuala Langat she was shown round the police headquarters and the prison by Syers. She took a great liking to him and concludes her account of her visit to Selangor with the following portrait:-

"Mr. Syers, the superintendent of military police, appears a thoroughly efficient man, as sensible in his views of what would conduce to the advancement of the State as he is conscientious and careful in all matters of detail which concern his rather complicated position. He is a student of the people and of the country, speaks Malay fluently, and for a European seems to have a sympathetic understanding of the Malays, is studying the Chinese and their language, as well as the flora, fauna, and geology of the country, and is altogether unpretending. I formed a very high opinion of him, and should rely implicitly on anything which he told me as a fact."61

This is a very different picture of Syers' character from that given by Hornaday. To the latter he was an extrovert, adventurous "hero of a vigorous romance". But, as with Conrad's "Lord Jim", there was a less obvious side to his character which Hornaday recognised in the need to "draw out" Syers. We have seen that Syers, the ex-ranker, was probably ill at ease with Emily Innes. Isabella was a much nicer, friendlier person than the spiteful Emily. A few days later on arrival at Kuala Kangsar she was soon swapping repartee with Paul Swimburne, the young regular officer who was Syers' opposite number in Perak. 62 But her relationship with Syers was serious and subdued: he was over-awed by the dumpy little woman travelling with a letter of introduction from the Governor and he minded his 'p's and q's'. Isabella recognised the outstanding merit of the reserved, serious young policeman not least as an informant (her letters to her publisher show almost an obsession with obtaining accurate information) but she did not get through to him as Hornaday did. Syers, Sultan Abdul Samad (whom Isabella rather oddly rated "as the most prepossessing Malay that I have seen")63 and Mrs. Douglas (the unhappy Northumberland farmer's daughter who showed her appreciation of Isabella's politeness - obviously not a familiar experience in the Douglas household - by giving "me tea, scones and fresh butter, the first fresh butter I have tasted in months" - "a lone woman in forlorn, decayed Klang" waving goodbye as Isabella left) - these three were the people whom Isabella met and liked in her crowded five days in Selangor.64 To Douglas she took a dislike which developed into hatred. The letters which she wrote afterwards to her publisher, John Murray, are extraordinary and I have reproduced some extracts in Appendix 2. They also raise the question whether Isabella in her industrious search for accurate information obtained from Syers any of the material (mostly unpublished) which so prejudiced her against Bloomfield Douglas. The evidence is inconclusive but it is pertinent to the relationship between Syers and Douglas and merits consideration.

"Mr. Douglas", wrote Isabella later, "is I think the most fiendish human being that I have ever seen. After close study I have failed to find a redeeming point in his character. The misgovernment of the State was gross and brutal. I saw scenes in which the Resident was the chief actor and I heard more than I saw lemphasis supplied MGI, It was a rule of fraud, hypocrisy and violence. As the guest of the SS Government I "ate salt" with this man and would not under any circumstances put into print my opinion of him..." From whom did Isabella hear more than she saw? And what did she see?

It is clear from the Selangor chapters of the Golden Chersonese, which as published omitted much which was written in her original letters (Appendix 2), that Isabella witnessed at least one appalling outburst of fury on the part of Bloomfield Douglas. It happened during the final voyage up the coast from Klang to Penang. She does not say what occasioned it though the context suggests that there had been some mishap such as grounding the launch in an estuary. Douglas burst out against some member of the crew: - "'Chelaka' (worthless good-for-nothing wretch), 'Bodoh' (fool). I hear these words repeated incessantly in tones of thunder and fury, with accompaniments which need not be dwelt upon" (emphasis supplied JMG). Isabella continues (Golden Chersonese p. 241) - "the Malays are a revengeful people. If any official in the British service were to knock them about and insult them..." etc. The final words just quoted imply, with studied ambiguity, physical assault. Douglas was officially reprimanded for at least one such assault on a Malay boatman on another occasion. It is likely therefore that Isabella saw Douglas hit a Malay with some considerable violence. 65

What then did she hear which was worse? It may have been a remark

made by Douglas himself with reference to the convicts in the prison. Again one quotes from the published text of the Golden Chersonese - "Flog them if they are lazy', the Resident often said; but Mr. Syers says he never punishes them except under aggravated circumstances"66 It seems therefore that during her visit to the prison in the sole company of Syers (i.e. Douglas was not there) Isabella questioned Syers as to the practice in administering floggings. The incident on the launch had not then occurred and so they cannot have discussed that. Did Syers, perhaps under pressure of direct and persistent questioning, confirm that flogging and other violence were ordered if not executed by Douglas himself? Whatever conclusion one draws must be read between lines of Isabella's carefully edited text of her original letters from Selangor (Appendix 2) plus her correspondence with Murray later. I am inclined to the view that Isabella did not obtain anything material from Syers in addition to what she established by her general enquiries. Apart from loyalty (if there was that consideration) prudence would have dictated proper discretion to Syers in supplying material to a lady who was collecting information with a view to writing a book and who was due to meet the Governor again in Penang in a couple of days' time.

It is an interesting sign of Douglas's insensitivity that his own diary entries of the days of Isabella's visit make no mention of the episode on the launch which so scandalised Isabella. There are entiries in the diary for other dates which disclose cases of flogging ordered as a punishment – which, it must be remembered, was quite legal at the time.

A milltary or a civil police force (1879-82)? After describing the Residency at Klang in February 1879 as having "much of the appearance of an armed post amidst a hostile population" Isabella Bird continued "in front of the Residency there is a six-pounder flanked by two piles of shot. Behind it there is a guard-room, with racks of rifles and bayonets for the Resident's bodyguard of twelve men, and quarters for married soldiers, for soldiers they are, though they are called policemen. A gong hangs in front of the porch on which to sound the alarm, and a hundred fully armed men can turn out at five minutes notice." Not only could turn out – but did do so – on Isabella's last evening when Douglas sounded the alarm to demonstrate to het the efficiency of his arrangements. Miss Bird however was not impressed — "humbug", she wrote. In fairness to Douglas ones should remember that a few weeks before Captain Lloyd (the District Officer at Pangkor on the Perak coast) and his family had been massacred in a surprise assault – and Emily Innes, who was staying with the Lloyds, narrowly escaped the same face.⁶⁰

When Isabella Bird visited Perak a few days later she took a great liking to Paul Swinburne, then on secondment from the 80th Regiment and in charge of the Perak Police. Swinburne's police force made the same impression on Isabella. The force of four hundred and fifty Sikhs and Pathans were, she wrote, "to all intents and purposes soldiers, drilled and disciplined as such."

though called 'Armed Police'". If she had re-visited Perak a few years later she would have found the Perak Armed Police now increased to a strength of more than 900 and cavorting about on military manoeuvres complete with their own mounted battery of guns and troop of cavalry. This development of the military character of the Perak Police was the work of R.S.F. Walker, another ex-regular officer from the army, who had just arrived in Perak to replace Swindnume when Isabella was at Kuals Kangsar - she did not like him and noted his "somewhat suave ADC manner". Morrah describes him as "undoubtedly a difficult man to work with... very much a martinet." The essential feature of Walker's long tenure of command was that he aimed to develop his police "even closer to the Army pattern." There is more to be written of Walker later in this paper.

It was the accepted and orthodox official doctrine of this period (c. 1880) that the police force in each of the Malay States then under British control had a primarily military role and should be organised and trained on that basis. In 1876 Swettenham, then Assistant Colonial Secretary for Native States in Singapore, had written two memoranda in which he had argued cogently and at length that the police in Perak should not be dispersed and employed as a civil police. Their functions, wrote Swettenham, were to provide a "Sikh Guard" as a "force of police to be stationed at the customs houses, the mines and Residencies, to be ready whenever required either to accompany the Resident in journeys, to work boats, or at the Resident's orders under responsible officers, to proceed to any particular place to the assistance of a headman." Swettenham was an influential policy-maker even at this stage; he had the confidence of successive Governors, notably Sir Frederick Weld (1880-1886) who shared the view of the role of a police force expressed by Swettenham in 1876. Although Swettenham's memoranda were not sent to London until 1883 (when they were used as part of a review of the functions of the Straits Settlements police) they were used in October 1876 as the basis of a despatch written to the Colonial Office on the future of the police in Perak. It is therefore worth examining Swettenham's arguments and contrasting them with the actual practice of Svers at this time in Selangor.

The police were needed at customs houses to enforce and safeguard the collection of government revenue, especially export duty on tin which was the mainstay of the new Residential regimes. They were to be placed at the mines to restrain disorder among the Chinese miners if their own leaders failed to keep them in order. There was need of a strategic reserve at Residencies (i.e. government administrative headquarters in Kuala Kangsar, Taiping and Telok Arson in Perak) "chiefly as a body which being not only police but boatmen can at a moment's notice be despatched to any point where their presence is needed." From this conception of the role of the police it followed that they should be trained and armed as a para-military force and concentrated in a few large detachments at strategic points, where they were held in reserve as a

striking force. This is how the Perak Police were organised, equipped and deployed right down to 1896. Sadka calls them "a small standing army" and notes that three quarters of the entire Perak Police force was stationed at three major mining centres. By contrast along the Perak River, one of the main areas of Malay settlement in Perak, there was a sixty mile stretch of river between Telok Anson and Kuals Kangsar with no police stations at all.³⁰

In Selangor however the deployment of the police was very different. Reporting on his force in 1878 Syers wrote that minor crime and disputes were "settled by the native chiefs of the outlying districts, it being unnecessary to bring in cases of simple assault and other trivial offences when they can be settled on the spot by the chiefs to the satisfaction of all parties, the mere fact of small bodies of police being stationed in the interior of the country has a tendency to check crime not from their active interference but from it being known that in the event of crimes being committed the sufferers have some chance of obtaining redress on the spot by lodging their complaints at the police station before the criminal has time to escape... it is a common occurrence to meet a Chinaman carrying a bag full of dollars through the jungle without any arms of weapons whatsoever." Both Bloomfield Douglas and Swettenham might have been expected - though for different reasons - to object to Syers' dispositions. But neither did so. One learns something of Syers' temperament and working methods by considering how he secured acceptance for his unorthodox arrangements.

Syers was neither a theorist nor a controversialist. Confronted by a problem he applied to its solution a strong practical common sense and an undemonstrative efficiency. All through his police career Syers accepted that the police did have some military role and must have the resources to discharge it. He differed from his contemporaries in his judgment of the priorities of the civil and the military police function. In 1878 Syers allocated one third of his total Selangor force to duty as a central reserve (as compared with two thirds of a much larger Perak force reserved for that role). This one third made up the hundred men (including police used for local civil police work in Klang town) whom Bloomfield Douglas could turn out at five minutes' notice on the beat of a gong in the (disappointed) hope of impressing Isabella Bird. It may be that Syers thought that one hundred men were too many for this role but this was the price of persuading Douglas to accept that the remainder of the force should be dispersed into local police stations in the villages.⁷²

Before considering Swettenham's argument against stationing police in small numbers in Malay villages it is interesting to observe the meeting of minds achieved by Syers and Swettenham in 1878-79. In 1878 and again in 1879 Swettenham visited Selangor to conduct the audit of the Selangor Government's accounts. He was looking for economies since the Selangor financial position, under the ineps tsewardship of Douglas, was precarious.

Government revenue which had reached \$226,853 in 1877 fell to below \$190,000 in each of the two following years and did not rise to the level of 1877 again until 1881. The Selangor police were a substantial element in public expenditure; accordingly Swettenham reviewed the state of Syers' force. In 1875 Syers had been beneath the notice of Swettenham as Assistant Resident; at all events he never mentions Syers in his Journals of that year, But when Swettenham looked at Syers' achievement in 1878 he was impressed - "the Resident is very fortunate in his superintendent of police. Mr. Syers". (The exact date of Syers' promotion from Inspector to Superintendent is not recorded - Sadka attributes it to 1875 or 1876 - it was no doubt a recognition of greater independence of function as he was at all times from 1875 onwards in executive control of the police in Selangor). Swettenham continues his report - "the number of men in reserve here struck me as large considering the improbability of further disturbances, and I have mentioned it to the Resident. I doubt if Malay and Kling policemen, of whom the Selangor police force is composed can safely be employed for military purposes... to keep the peace on all occasions, to arrest criminals or to deal with the Chinese, they are no doubt competent, and those are likely, I trust, to be the only services they will henceforth be called upon to perform in Selangor." It is in effect an endorsement of Syers' policy of switching the bulk of his resources to civil police work. Swettenham went on to recommend that the general reserve of 75 men (which could be increased to 100 by calling out the local police in Klang) should be reduced to 45 by gradually eliminating "some of the less effective members." The result would be that about one quarter of the total strength of the Selangor police (i.e. 45 out of a reduced total of 200) were to be held as a military reserve. This was about the proportion allocated to that role throughout the remainder of Syers' time in Selangor. In the 1890's his force had increased between 600 and 700 and of this strength 170 were held in reserve.

Swettenham had criticised the inadequacy of the existing Malay and South Indian police as a strike force. When he returned for his next audit in 1879 he tried to persuade Syers to employ Sikh (i.e. North Indian) police as being a more martial type—"it would be more advisable... to employ as in Perak a proportion of Sikhs... I will only say here that Mr. Syers is of opinion that Sikhs might be employed with advantage but he still has confidence that there is no absolute necessity for the change..." By this diplomatic stonewalling Syers in fact resisted the introduction of a Sikh element into the Selangor police until 1884." Thereafter they became the main element of his para-military reserve; he respected his Sikh police and praised them, especially for their work in the earlier phase of the rising in Pahang but he never achieved as close a relationship with them as with his Malay police. The Sikh represented the Indian Army tradition which was alien to Syers though it imbued the outlook of most of his contemporaries, who had come to police

duties from previous service with Indian military regiments.

Sherlock Holmes once observed to Dr. Watson that the important thing was that the dog did not bark in the night - as might have been expected. Why did Swettenham, searching for economies in expenditure, not even discuss the case for retrenching the number of Selangor police held in local police stations? On the contrary, he recognises it as their main - and necessary function. This was quite contrary to Swettenham's doctrines, as expressed in his two memoranda of October 1876, in relation to Perak police organisation. Swettenham began his analysis of the Perak police situation with the proposition, with which Syers would have entirely agreed, that a Malay police force must be recruited from Malays "foreign" to the State in which they were to serve. Syers, as has been explained, recruited his Selangor police from Malacca and some adjoining districts of Negeri Sembilan. Swettenham then argues (in his memoranda) that if foreign Malay police were to be stationed in Malay villages in Perak they might "inflict petty exactions on the villagers" who would then react by non-cooperation with the police - "should any misdemeanour be committed in a village, I believe the police would have great difficulty in collecting evidence and greater still in arresting a supposed criminal." This view is in marked contrast to Syers' experience that "sufferers would lodge their complaints at the police station" expressed in his 1878 report.

Swettenham goes on to develop a second major objection to "the establishment of a number of police stations in the principal villages". It was that "we should be occupying the country with an armed force, taking the administration out of the hands of the people of the country." Syers of course had stipulated that his police were to abstain from "active interference" and wait until their help was solicited - but their mere presence would be a deterrent against crime. Swettenham develops his argument of interference as follows - "place a police station in the village and what will happen? Can you place the police under him [the penghulu]? Certainly not. You can't place disciplined men under an undisciplined officer. You could never make a real policeman out of the headman, he would never attend to what we call his work, his men would not have confidence in or respect him, nor he for them. Moreover they would be tools to which he was unaccustomed, and he would never understand how to properly use them. The police cannot be under the penghulu. The penghulu could not and would not be under the police, and it is equally impossible to have two powers in the village - the police and the penghulu. It is almost impossible to hope that they would work in accord: besides the power of the headman must always give way before the power of the police, unless the question comes to open resistance." Swettenham goes on to argue that it should be left to the penghulu to settle minor crimes; thus far off course he and Syers are in agreement. If there is some serious incident which the penghulu cannot deal with by his own powers, then - says

Swettenham – he can report it to his Malay district chief and through him to the nearest European administrator who in turn will send in his police, held in reserve until then, in aid of the Malay traditional authority. The essential difference between the thinking of Syers and Swettenham, as expressed in their respective written formulations, is that Syers thought it better to have the police close at hand for direct assistance to the penghulu and direct reception of complaints from victims of crime; Swettenham argued that there would then be a conflict of authority and that the channel of communication for calling in the police must be indirect and therefore deliberately a matter of more distant and remote cooperation. Time and experience have vindicated Syers' judgment.

Why then did Swettenham tacitly accept in his reports of 1878-79 that Svers' view was sound, though in disagreement with his own? Probably because Swettenham, whose knowledge of conditions in both Selangor and Perak was based on periods of working in both States among the Malay communities, recognised that Selangor did not have as strong and close-knit a traditional structure of Malay authority as existed in Perak. One of the notable features of Malay society in Selangor was the mixed origins and local antipathies of the people. "Clannish and jealous" were Davidson's words in 1875.75 In such conditions it was simply not possible to build a system of law and order upon communication and cooperation through Malay channels (at the higher levels). Swettenham had tried this during his time as Assistant Resident at Kuala Langat in 1875. The editor of Swettenham'ss Journals commenting on this period says, "in the months which followed Swettenham's difficulties in making such a system work in Langat are vividly reflected in his journals.... he began to record in his journals his increasing frustration with the Rajas..."76 However the key to Swettenham's ready acceptance of Syers' methods, both in 1878-79 and later when Swettenham became Resident of Selangor in 1882, was that Syers in his characteristic fashion worked out a method of cooperation both with Malay authorities and later with British Collectors in their districts.

While Syers went his quiet way the Selangor Government itself was in a state of flux and change. The event which triggered off a sequence of changes was the rapid rise in the price of it in 1878-79. The mines around Kuala Lumpur which had been in a state of depression for some years swung over to rapid expansion. The population of Kuala Lumpur increased by thirty per cent in twelve months. There was a corresponding decline in the population of Klang where (in 1879) there were "more houses empty than occupied and nearly half the entire population of the village is composed of government employees, principally police constables... There is no air of business energy, and the queerly mixed population saturtes with limp movements; even the few Chinese look depressed, as if life were too much for them."

The decline of Klang precipitated the overdue move of the administrative

headquarters of the State Government to Kuala Lumpur early in 1880. An incidental but direct consequence of the move was more effective government control – by the police among other government agencies – of the interior districts of Ulu Sclangor and Ulu Langat and of the large Chinese population of the new capital and of the outlying areas. There were a number of disadvantages. Klang had been relatively healthy and its climate benefitued from the sea breezes. Kuala Lumpur by contrast was surrounded by newly cleared mining areas in which the mosquitoes multiplied and spread malaria. The Police had their main headquarters and lines in the area of Bluff Road and the lower slopes of the Residency hill. What is now Merdeka Square was originally the police parade ground. Fort Road and Barracks Road derive their names from the police occupation of this period. The northern end of the Padang ran down to the Gombak River above its junction with the Klang River. It was marshy and badly drained – Syers is said to have shot on it for snipe – it is not surprissing that the health of the Police was particularly bad.

The cost of accommodating the State headquarters at Kuala Lumpur was trimmed by various expedients including the use of building materials removed from demolished buildings at Klang. As a result of these economies the Police suffered throughout the 1880's from inadequate, badly sited and poorly constructed police stations and barracks. It was only in his last years of the 1890's that Syers was able to shake off the legacy of the initial mistakes for which Douglas and his son-in-law, Daly, who had charge of the Public Works Department among others, must bear the main responsibility. There is a gap in the extant diaries of Bloomfield Douglas over the period of the move from Klang to Kuala Lumpur but the volume covering the period from April 1881 to January 1882 has survived. From this record one can see that Syers managed to retain the confidence and goodwill of Douglas in what must have been a difficult period. Yet in this he was able to avoid being drawn into the debacle which brought about the downfall early in 1882 of both Douglas and Daly.78 It is from this period that one must date the friendship between Syers and Willis Douglas, son of Bloomfield Douglas, who was with his father until he (Willis) obtained a post in Sungei Ujong as an inspector of police. We shall cross the path of Willis Douglas again in 1896. He and Syers shared an interest, indeed a passion, for hunting game of various kinds. Willis Douglas even raised a pack of "hounds" for the pursuit of wild board.79

The middle of 1881 was darkened by the death of Bridie (Helen) Douglas, one of the unumaried daughters of the Resident. Whatever faults one may attribute to Bloomfield Douglas he had great affection for his children. Isabella Bird too had noted "gentle Mrs. Douglas devoted to her helpless daughter". Bridie fell ill of a fever; for a few days it seemed a normal bout of fever and the bumbling apothecary reassured the anxious parents — "Mr. Forsyth says she is in no danger and that we need not be alarmed" (Bridie was by this time delirious). On 31st July Douglas returned from several days

absence to find "Bridie much worse ... she scarcely knew me, only recognising me by touching my beard. A very anxious day, Mr. Forsyth persuaded there was no immediate danger." Poor Bridie died two days later in her father's arms; the apothecary contending to the end that "there was no danger." His daughter's death may have contributed to the steady decline in Douglas's performance of his official duties for which he had lost heart. It certainly brought home to him the risks to which the government official community was exposed, living as they did in a malarial town without any competent medical practitioner on hand. Douglas wrote a letter to the Governor seeking approval for the creation of a new post of Residency Surgeon despite the lack of money for public expenditure. The request was approved but was not implemented until some time later.*

Very soon after the death of Helen Douglas Syers too fell seriously ill of an abdominal complaint - possibly dysentery. He had by this time spent nine years in a tropical climate, living and working in trying and often unhealthy conditions. As Syers could not achieve his usual rapid recovery by taking to his bed in his quarters with the apothecary's random dispensation of whatever drugs were at hand he was (on 5th October 1881) granted sick leave to be spent in Singapore - where there would at least be a doctor on hand. In this the first and shortest of Syers' periods of absence from duty one notes a feature of his performance which was to recur during later and longer periods of leave. His precept and example to his police was effective but very personal. As soon as he was no longer present the standard of performance of his subordinates began to slip. On this occasion the Governor (Weld) came to visit Kuala Lumpur and Douglas noted in his diary that "the police arrangements were miserably defective, there was neither guard of honour nor any men told off to keep the road clear for carriages... a complete and degrading failure." This fiasco was followed by the escape from the prison of several convicts (Syers was superintendent of prisons as well as of police). However on 1st December 1881 Syers reappeared in Kuala Lumpur. Apparently his health was fully recuperated for he then served on in Selangor until his first home leave in 1885. There were the usual Christmas celebrations including a shooting match in which Syers was the winner. The day (27th December 1881) ended with "a large party at Mr. Syers' in the evening." As Syers was to be married within the ensuing three months one wonders (Douglas offers no clue in his diary) whether he had met his fiancee while he was in Singapore and whether the party celebrated his engagement as well as his familiar prowess as a marksman.

Syers' Marriage and Home Leave. The available information on Syers' marriage is fragmentary, incomplete and somewhat inconsistent – as with his other personal particulars. The diary of Bloomfield Douglas, which ends late in January 1882, makes no mention of Syers' marriage or engagement although it does mention Syers as late as 28 January 1882 (when he and others

went out with Douglas to look at the line of a new road to Ulu Klang), hence it is unlikely that Syers was yet married at that time – Douglas would hardly have passed it over altogether. At the other end of a time limit one has the date of birth, 6th January 1883, of Thomas Scott Syers, the eldest child of Syers' marriage. On the reasonable assumption that the son was conceived in wedlock, this puts the marriage of his parents not later than early April 1882. On the other hand, in October 1882, Swettenham, inspecting government quarters in Kuala Lumpur, commented on Syers' house, "I fear the quarters as at present constructed may not be suitable for a lady." This comment implies that Mrs. Syers was not yet in occupation. However if she had married Syers in Singapore (or Penang), she may have delayed coming to Kuala Lumpur until suitable accommodation was available. 3

Morrah says that Mrs. Syers, "who was quite a young girl when they married was partly Siamese."83 Her granddaughter, who saw Mrs. Syers when the former was a small child, remembers her as a slender, dark, graceful figure.⁸⁴ The second name given to the son, i.e. Scott, may have been her maiden name - there were several Scott families of high and low degree among the European community of the Straits Settlements at this time. Her Christian name was Theodora. Her father was said (in 1897) to have married twice and to have had a large family by each marriage. Her brother-in-law, Louis Stafford, was a surveyor in Selangor to whom was entrusted the task of winding up Syers' affairs at his death; presumably Stafford had married another daughter of the same family.85 From these small clues one may deduce that Syers married a local girl, probably encountered when he was on sick leave in Singapore late in 1881. It was a stable and happy marriage; they had three children. After many years of widowhood Mrs. Syers eventually married J.H.M. Robson, founder of the "Malay Mail" and a federal councillor and prominent businessman in Kuala Lumpur who died in internment during the second world war.

The story that Mrs. Syers was the origin of the name "The Spotted Dog" given to the Selangor Club in Kuala Lumpur because she tethered her pair of Dalmation dogs to the verandah while taking morning coffee there is probably apoerryphal. In later days when Syers was at the height of his career and a prominent figure in the Kuala Lumpur world, he and his wife were noted for their generous hospitality though the snobbish European society of the period tended to ostracise Mrs. Syers because of her mixed blood.

It is convenient to deal here with Syers' first home leave taken in the course of 1885. He had then been ten years in the service of the Selangor Government (following 2½ years with the Army in Singapore and Malacca). No details are recorded but one assumes that he spent his leave in England. When he took leave a second time (1893-95) his leave address was in Northamptonshire. In his Annual Report for 1885 the Resident noted, in connection with the Police, that "the exceptional experience and influence of

Mr. Syers cannot adequately be replaced". In the report of the following year we learn that "some diminution in efficiency of the Police was apparent during his absence" but Syers' return soon restored a "high state of efficiency". It was a very personal regime.

Policing the Towns. 1882, the year of Syers' marriage, also saw the departure of Bloomfield Douglas, of his son-in-law Dominic Daly and of James Inness and his wife, Emily Innes.* In place of Douglas and Daly came Swettenham, with whom Syers had had a good working understanding since 1878, and J.P. Rodger, who as Commissioner of Lands deputised for Swettenham as Resident during his long absences from the State. With these two men at the top and an increasing number of Collectors in the districts Syers worked in harmonious and effective cooperation. By the early 1880's Syers worked in harmonious and effective cooperation. By the early 1880's Syers worked in harmonious and effective cooperation. By the early 1880's Syers later years in Selangor was the policing of Kuala Lumpur and the other towns and large villages where the population was mainly Chinese. In this category one may include the mining areas, which even if remote were essential areas of Chinese pollutain.*

In the formative period of the later 1870's administration and police work in the interior was sketchy and intermittent. Yap Ah Loy, the Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur, and his associate (and eventual successor as Capitan China) Yap Ah Shak of Petaling, were the dominant economic and therefore political influence of central Selangor. Yap Ah Loy owned the important mine sat Ampang where in 1881 he installed the first steam engine (to drive a water pump) which had been used in Selangor tim-mining. Since the economic recovery of 1879 Yap Ah Loy had prospered and extended his interests. So far as can be discovered the mines of Kanching, Kuala Kubu and elsewhere in Ulu Selangor were also financed and controlled by the Kuala Lumpur ciwkiays. The same pattern of economic dominance from Kuala Lumpur existed in the less important mining districts of Ulu Langar.*

There was indeed a chain of small police stations along key routes into the interior of Selangor. As we have seen the foundations of this system were laid in late 1875 following the Sutan Puasa rising. The network was gradually extended – to Rekoh (April 1878), Sepang (June 1878), Sabak (July 1879). But Ula Bernam (July 1879). But whether in large towns like Kuala Lumpur or in smaller and remoter places the police could only act with the acquiescence or active support of the local bigwigs, Malay or Chinese. Yap Ah Loy neatly sidestepped the challenge to his authority of receiving a police detachment in Kuala Lumpur by agreeing to pay the constables' wages. The Datuk Dagang of Kuala Lumpur, who was the headman of the large Sumatran Malay community, made a similar arrangement – he was to bear the cost of 20 full-time police along the Damansara to Kuala Lumpur oad and to have 100 – 200 men available in reserve to be called out if there were a major disturbance. In

return the Datuk was entitled to levy a local duty of \$1 per bahara on tin exported from Kuala Lumpur over this route which brought him in some \$800 to \$900 per month. It was a decentralised system of maintaining law and order in the interior by which those who had the power to do so were given the means, or allowed to raise local taxes for that purpose, of local control. Now and again when there was a report of serious crime such as murder, Syers was sent off to arrest the criminal and bring him in for trial. Isabella Bird witnessed these proceedings - "I cannot elicit anything very definite, here or elsewhere, about the legal system under which criminals are tried in these States. Apparently murder, robbery, forgery, and violent assault, come under English criminal law, and must be equally punishable whether, committed by a Briton. a Chinaman or a Malay. But then nobody except a Christian can be punished for bigamy..." If Isabella had observed it she would have been even less favourably impressed by Douglas's practice of returning convicted murderers to the scenes of their crimes for public execution. Whatever Douglas thought of the result one may doubt what effect it had. Thus (in September 1877) Douglas noted "Syers returned from Kajang. Boon Boon hanged satisfactorily - he said he should reappear on earth in 14 years and then he would have his revenge, "92

In this curious fashion a sort of influence - one can hardly call it control was gradually established in the interior parts of Selangor. But it set a pattern from which the State Government could not escape when, with the move of the State capital, it became possible to exert more effective control over the inland districts. It was the established practice to govern through leaders such as Yap Ah Loy. After the move in 1880, as much as before, the practice continued. It is interesting that Swettenham in his analysis of police organisation had expressly excluded areas of mixed population from the recommended system of indirect control - "a large Chinese population is beyond the control of a Malay headman, and is much better and more easily manged through a Chinese headman, with a police station answerable only to the Resident to keep the peace between Chinese and Malays and see that justice is done to both. It would be a dangerous experiment ever to put the peace of a mixed population... in the hands of one nationality. Even if he desired to do what was right his party would bring such pressure to influence him in favour of his own countrymen as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for him to act with impartiality."93 Swettenham is of course here discussing the case of a Malay headman in authority over a mixed population. But until 1880 Yap Ah Loy succeeded in governing Kuala Lumpur which had a significant and sometimes turbulent Sumatran Malay population as well as its Chinese. However Yap Ah Loy was a very remarkable man. Few others could do as well as he. After 1880 the British regime dealt with each community through its own leaders and not through others.

But even in that situation Syers had to come to terms with Yap Ah Loy,

and lesser Chinese leaders, in exercising minimum control over the Chinese through them. In characteristic fashion Syers sought an accommodation rather than a confrontation. In his annual reports Syers pays regular tribute to the "valuable assistance" which he received from the Chinese leaders.94 The same note is struck by the Residents. Thus Swettenham, in his Selangor report for 1883, states that "the Capitan China, who possesses the greatest influence with the Chinese in Selangor, has as he never fails to do thrown the whole weight of his authority on the side of the Government in any measure which it has been deemed advisable to carry out..." The practical application of this policy had its positive aspect, i.e. the association of the Chinese leaders in any government initiative affecting their community, and also its passive aspect, i.e. an abstention from intervention in Chinese affairs unless invited or prompted to do so by the Chinese themselves - or at least with their acquiescence. If a serious crime occurred (and it was often reported by the Chinese themselves) or some major issue of policy arose, such as the legal framework of tin-mining in the form of "Mining Regulations", the Chinese leadership bowed to the inevitability of official intervention. But in many fields such as labour relations they were left in almost unchallenged control of the situation within their community. They were of course given official recognition. The Capitan China was a member of the State Council and also a Magistrate. In this latter capacity he concerned himself mainly with civil disputes arising within the Chinese community.

On the death of Yap Ah Loy in 1886 Yap Ah Shak, his close associate, succeeded to his position as Capitan China. In turn on the death of Yap Ah Shak he was succeeded by Yap Kwan Seng, who was the last Chinese to hold the office of Capitan China (1889-1901). These were lesser men and the government extended its authority gradually at their expense. It was increasingly necessary to introduce improvements in public health and social welfare in the overcrowded Chinese area of Kuula Lumpur from Old Market Square along the axis of Petaling Street. The inspection and licensing of brothels and gambling houses, and sale of opium, the smelting of in (with its considerable fire risk from the charcoal furnaces) were in the early years of these limited reforms assigned partly to the police because of their close relationship with the maintenance of law and order. Later in the 1890's they became more appropriately a responsibility of the Sanitary Board, of which Syers was a member. 30

一丁一人の「一丁一」というとなる。 中国は世界ののであるとなるというできないという

In spite of his growing concern with Chinese activities, legitimate and otherwise. Syers had a very small number of Chinese detectives (10 in 1894). Although Syers was studying Chinese (dialect unspecified) at the time of Isabella Bird's visit it is nowhere stated that he acquired any proficiency in speaking the language. His obtuary in the Straits Times notes that he had "marked influence" with the Chinese but "of a stiffer character" than with the Malays. "In First Chinese-speaking officer employed by the Selangor

Government arrived only in 1890 to serve in the Mines Department; the Chinese Protectorate began in 1892. "It may be doubted whether any of Syers' Malay or Indian police could speak any Chinese dialect.

The crime wave which hit Sclangor so badly in the 1890's is left for consideration later. The 1880's were not seriously troubled by crime. In 1889 for example the police knew of seven murders and four gang robberies. The main burden of Syers' annual reports is the difficulty of securing evidence sufficient to obtain conviction. Thus he says of the gang robberies of 1889 that "it is a curious fact that in each of these cases a number of persons were present and had a good opportunity of identifying the thieves but not one of them could afford us the slightest clue or give any assistance." On occasions Syers' patience was insufficient to restrain him from public protest. Of one unsuccessful prosecution of a named individual he wrote that "there is no doubt in my mind that he was the actual murderer... I feel sure that in this case there was a miscarriage of justice." In a different age Syers would have been sued for libel (his annual reports, from which the passages just cited were taken, were published each year in the Selangor Gazette).

The recognised fact of intimidation of witnesses should have made Syers reflect more seriously than apparently he did on his repeated assertion that there were no secret society lodges in Selangor. The main documents on this celebrated dispute of 1884 have been published and the facts have been discussed by Blythe in his authoritative treatise on Chinese secret societies in Malaya, where the conclusion drawn is that "in Selangor the hand of Triad moved, unseen and unknown to European observers, even to those closely connected with the administration of the State."98 This verdict, based on the evidence of a contemporary Chinese expert informant, must be accepted. The extent of the matter in dispute should however be defined. Syers accepted that many of the Chinese who immigrated into Selangor via the ports of the Straits Settlements had been admitted to secret society membership at their port of arrival. But he contended that there was no Chinese secret society organisation in Selangor through which the societies could or did control the individual members. In particular he contended that there were no lodges and no meetings. From that assertion it followed that Yap Ah Loy and other Chinese leaders could not be, so Syers said, the leaders of the local organisation because there was none. Syers' opinion, which was supported by both the Residents of Selangor of the period (Swettenham and Rodger) was based on two main facts. First, the secret society subscription receipts which the police seized in the course of searching for stolen property had been issued in the Straits Settlements. Secondly, the recognised Chinese community leaders in Selangor frequently assisted the police in uncovering and suppressing the secret society lodges which the Chinese attempted from time to time (but without success, said Syers) to establish. On this second argument Blythe comments that "the Capitan [Yap Ah Loy] played his cards well; he

gave all the information available about this possible rival in order to ensure that the authorities would suppress it." Thus the leaders of the established societies used the police as unknowing instruments of exclusion against any intruders of their own kind.

Although the acting Protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements was better informed, the Protector of Chinese in Perak (there was none in Selangor at that time) shared Syers' view. But it was a fundamental mistake which affected the entire relationship between the authorities of the State government and the leaders of the local Chinese community. The former felt that they could rely on the latter; Syers himself wrote, as late as 1892, that "our great safeguard is in the fact that the Capitan China and all the best men here are opposed" to secret societies. Syers held with obstinacy to his view as the evidence against it came in. In the same year as the view just cited was written Syers noted that the District Officer, Ulu Selangor, "reports no doubt the place is honeycombed with secret societies; but this is probably an exaggerated view of the matter. It is extremely difficult to obtain any information as to the existence or otherwise of these illegal institutions." One notes the slight doubt in Syers' mind which shows through the last few words. But by this time he was more preoccupied with what seemed to be a straightforward crime-wave which had spread into Selangor from the Straits Settlements rather than with locally-based illegal bodies. His successful suppression of the crime-wave will be described in its place later in this paper.

On another controversial issue of the mid-1880's (and before) Syers was persuaded, though with great reluctance, to change his views. We have seen that even Swettenham could not persuade Syers in 1879 to recruit Sikhs into his Selangor police. The expression "Sikh" is used in this context to denote north Indians of all communities; in addition to Sikhs proper it comprised (for this purpose) what were at the time distinguished as "Pathans", though apparently this is not an accurate designation. I take it to mean what the Indian army used to call "Punjabi Muslims" in the days of the British Raj. Swettenham's argument was that the Selangor police had Malay and South Indian elements only. For use as a para-military striking force this category. said Swettenham, was unsuitable. In his annual report on Selangor for 1888 Swettenham wrote that "you cannot make a Malay into a highly drilled soldier". One need hardly point out that the Royal Malaysian Army totally disproves Swettenham's point - but it was the orthodox view of his day. One may perhaps attribute the error to the predominance in the Malayan police forces of this period of officers who had begun their service in regiments of the Indian Army recruited in North India. To men like R.S.F. Walker, who commanded the Perak Police from 1879 to 1896 there was no substitute for "Sikhs" in the military role for which the police (in Walker's view) existed. Syers agreed that it was difficult to train Malay police to operate as a military force - but they made better civil police and Syers gave much less importance

to the military role of the police, as we have seen. Yet even Syers had to admit that some small force of a military character must be available for use when required. Thus in 1884 the Selangor police was enlarged by raising a Sikt contingent initially of only forty men "to furnish semi-military guards". When not required as a striking force the Sikts were employed a static guards on government offices in Kuala Lumpur (the Residency, the Treasury etc.) and to escort convoys carrying cash to government sub-treasuries in outstations. With this compromise the Selangor Police continued until the Pahang operations of 1892-94, in which the Selangor Sikks played their part, raised larger issues of police function organisation and recruitment.

The Pahang Police. From 1882 to 1888 the Commissioner of Lands in Selangor was J.P. Rodger. Rodger was quite unlike the general run of British administrators in the Malay States in this period. A wealthy man, who had been educated at Eton and Oxford and who owned a castle, he had also worked in the East End of London (which, said a Colonial Office official, is "not a bad training for a man who is to look after natives"). Rodger was travelling in Malaya in 1882 and there met Swettenham and accepted the latter's offer of the post of Commissioner of Lands in Selangor, to which Swettenham had just been appointed as Resident. Rodger was a man of great talent and charm who rose eventually to become Resident of Perak. But he was not quite of the stern metal of Swettenham. Clifford and others, 100 However in 1888 the Straits Settlements authorities had to select a Resident for Pahang and Rodger, who had acted successfully as Resident of Selangor during Swettenham's absences from that State, was their choice. Rodger of course had come to know Syers well in Selangor and shared the general high opinion of him. It was natural therefore that Rodger should turn to Syers for assistance in raising a police force for Pahang. As a first measure of assistance Syers sent off a small detachment of the Selangor police under one of his own veterans, Inspector Cross. Unfortunately Cross died shortly after reaching Pekan (by sea via Singapore).

Syers himself set off for Pahang in April 1889, travelling round to Pekan by Sea. He took with him 25 Sikhs enlisted and trained in Selangor for service by Pahang and a similar number of volunteers from the Strist Settlements police in Singapore. Syers' initial task was to raise a Pahang police force of 50 Sikhs and 150 Malays. The Sikhs would be used on guard duties and when necessary as a strike force. The Malay police would be raised and trained for ordinary police duties. Syers himself later recommended that the Sikh contingent should be increased to a strength of 100 and this proposal was approved. After a short initial visit to Pahang Syers returned to Selangor but was back in Pahang by June 1889. He then made an extensive tour by boat of the interior in order to establish police detachments at the principal administrative centres. His report on these measures (dated 15th August 1889) was commended by the Governor – "this is an excellent report." ¹⁰⁰ Syers was

by now an immensely experienced and capable police officer. The jungle bashing through Selanger in the late 1870's followed by his establishment of effective police control of the interior of Selanger together with his understanding of the Malay language and temperament, equipped him well for this latest assignment to a task in pioneer conditions.

There were two main problems in 1889. The first was how to enlist and train an efficient Malay police force for general duties. Rodger was no doubt reporting what Syers told him when he wrote that "the conduct of the Malays,necessarily recruited in haste, has not been so good, several of them having been convicted of extortion, accepting bribes etc. It is very difficult to recruit a satisfactory Malay contingent for this State, as the Singapore and Johore men although intelligent have not proved trustworthy, the natives of Pahang are so entirely submissive to their Rajas and headmen that they cannot be relied on to carry out their duties efficiently, whilst the natives of Trengganu and Kelantan who form the bulk of the present contingent, speak an uncouth dialect and are somewhat looked down on by the Malays of Pahang. The main, if not the only, objection to the Sikhs is that so few of them can speak Malay, but the Pahang force is called on to perform a comparatively small amount of purely police work and the most satisfactory plan has been found to combine Sikhs and Malays at the headquarters of all the Collectorates, leaving only the outlying stations to be garrisoned solely by Malays". 102 It is interesting to note how Syers, ready to learn (secret societies apart) adapted Selangor organisation to the different needs of Pahang. One should add that after this shaky start the Pahang police contingent became in later years one of the best in the FMS.

The second main problem which Syers encountered in 1889 was the simmering Malay resentment at the withdrawal by the new regime of the traditional privileges and powers of local ruling chiefs. So soon had the lesson of 1875 in the west coast states been forgotten. In his report on police organisation Syers felt obliged to give a warning that... "the Government should clearly understand that... there are many discontented people in the country who would gladly take part in any enterprise however rash in order to regain their lost power for misrule and oppression.' For a time it looked as if Syers was an alarmist. Rodger, writing his report for 1890, stated his view that there was no greater risk of a rising in Pahang than there was in Perak or Selangor.103 But Syers was right. The storm broke at the end of 1891. It will suffice here to relate how Syers became marginally involved. When the Resident of Selangor (William Maxwell) went on leave in 1891 it was thought appropriate to uproot Rodger from his delicate task of reconciling the Pahang Rajas to a new regime in order that Rodger might again act as Resident of Selangor. Maxwell returned from leave on 18th December 1891. On 21st December news reached Kuala Lumpur that the Collector of the Semantan district (near the Selangor boundary) had been repulsed, with police casualties,

in his attempt to assert his authority in the Semantan valley – he had been trying to strengthen the police post at Lubok Terua. The rebels were led by the Orang Kaya of Semattan, Toh Bahman, a Malay warrior of great renown (described by Syers as "one of the biggest rascals in Pahang" – it is a question of standards). Toh Bahman first overran the post at Lubok Terua and then moved eastwards down the valley to capture Temerloh on the Pahang River. He now had a force of some 600 men. The ensuing operations against him were directed to re-establishing control of the Semantan valley.

Rodger was still in Kuala Lumpur when the news of the rising arrived. He set off to return at once to Pahang by the Ginting Bedei pass (the route of the modern road from Kuala Lumpur over the central range into Pahang). He was escorted by Syers and a detachment of 25 Sikhs of the Selangor police. At Raub Rodger met Hugh Clifford, who had been acting as Resident of Pahang during Rodger's absence. They went on together to Pulau Tawar where the Bendahara of Pahang was then living. Syers was left at Bentong to close the western end of the Semantan valley. His force had by now been augmented by part of the Pahang Sikh contingent. In these preliminary moves Syers' force came under fire from the Malay rebels. In the meantime additional police forces, mainly Sikhs, had been sent into Pahang both from Selangor and from Perak On 6th January 1892 a detachment of the Perak Police under a Mr. Duhan effected a junction with Syers, who had been hemmed in by six stockades built in a ring around his position to cut off his lines of communication. On 11/12th January the combined police force at Bentong advanced on the Malay stockades which they found abandoned. The police destroyed the stockades and also the villages of Bentong and Lebok. On 21st January Syers' force was again fired on but was able to occupy Malay stockades. Shortly afterwards the Orang Kaya retreated from his district and the local rebellion in that part of Pahang collapsed. On 17th February the Selangor police detachment under Syers was withdrawn from Pahang. Syers later reported of his Sikhs that "they performed their duties admirably, there was not a single complaint against any of them, all worked well together under very trying circumstances owing to bad weather, scarcity of food and want of transport." The Orang Kaya reappeared in the Semantan district in March but was soon driven out again. Later in 1892 a detachment of 30 Selangor police were sent round by sea to Pekan to assist in holding in check raiding parties from Kelantan. This small force was led by Sergeant Major Hyder Khan of whom Syers wrote in his annual report that "he is an excellent man, fit to be trusted anywhere on active service." Syers was always ready to give praise where he felt it was due 104

Hugh Clifford has given a vivid and colourful account of those days in Pahang in Bushwhacking. A short extract, although it does not relate to anything in which Syers was personally involved, will serve to convey the flavour of the campaign. "The tramp of the ammunition-boost of the Sikhs on the dank soil of the path is heard like the beating of distant native drums; there is an occasional clink and jingle of side-arms; a sharp word of command; a laugh or an exclamation from some of the Malays. The heat of the day increasing steadily, the khaki uniforms of the men begin to show huge black patches where the perspiration soaks them. a great stillness has fallen on the world.. Suddenly in the distance a shot rings out, breaking in a rude explosion upon the peace of the silent world. The column halts like a single individual... All are learning slightly forward; every face is tense; every faculty seems to be concentrated in a single effort, the effort of listening. It is only for an instant, and then the tongues begin to wag..."

It was not a major campaign nor was Syers involved in any serious fighting. But it was the first time since his part in the operations against Sutan Puasa in 1875 that he had been involved in a military rather than a police operation. No doubt Syers' command called for sound logistics and administration rather than brilliant tactics. According to the District Officer, Ulu Selangor, "nearly all my time was taken up by attending to the commissariat wants of the Pahang Expeditionary Force." Syers emerged from the campaign, so far as he was involved in it, with credit and the opportunity was taken by the Selangor Government to alter Syers' official title as head of the Selangor Police from "Superintendent" to "Captain Superintendent". To "It is from this stage that the man who had never been more than a private during his army service was properly referred to as "Captain Syers". No doubt it helped this unassuming man to hold his own with the exception of the service of t

The final legacy to the Selangor Police of the Pahang disturbances was the less happy affair at Jeram Ampai in the Tembeling valley which occurred on 29th June 1894. Syers was at this time away on leave in the United Kingdom and the command of the Selangor police had devolved on Captain Lyons, seconded from the Perak police to replace Syers during his absence. Although Syers had no part at all in the Jeram Ampai affair it led to the Jones Vaughan enquiry into the whole question of the efficiency and future role of the Sikh element in both the Selangor and the Perak police forces. It has a bearing therefore on Syers' work as a police officer.

First then what exactly happened at Jeram Ampai? Rather as Clifford described it in the passage quoted above, a column of police, mainly but not entirely Sikhs (of both the Selangor and the Perak forces), was advancing along a jungle path. The column was fired upon. There was a wild and uncontrolled rush forward but part of the Selangor detachment consisting of 14 Pathans' under a Sergeant hung back; so did some of the Perak Sikhs. The Selangor police fired wildly. Most of these shots were aimed in the air but it may have been one of these random shots which killed Wise, a European administrative officer who was with the party. The Malay stockade however

was found abandoned. In the immediate aftermath there was a conversation (reading between the lines it must have been a heated altercation) between R.S.F. Walker, commandant of the Perak police, who was in command of the entire column and Lyons, who was in command of the Selangor detachment. Walker was at the best of times "very much a martinet" and "a difficult man to work with", according to Morrah. He blamed Lyons' men for causing the death of Wise by their wild firing. Lyons replied that some of the Perak police had behaved just as badly as his own men. At the subsequent enquiry Lyons asserted that Walker had at the time agreed with his comment on the Perak police; Walker denied it; Jones Vaughan accepted Lyons' version. Walker's memory was notoriously subject to convenient lapses. But whatever was or was not said Wise was dead and no one would ever know who fired the shot. 100

There had been discussion of the future of the Sikh element in the police forces for some time past and also some disquiet about their efficiency in the military role which was the main justification for retaining them. After Jeram Ampai the Straits Settlements Government invited Major General Jones Vaughan, General Officer Commanding troops in the Straits Settlements, to conduct an enquiry into the Jeram Ampai affair and the wider issues which lay behind it. It is an admirable report and very much to the point. Jones Vaughan established what had happened and then turned to the Sikh police in general. He concluded that "the force as at present constituted is inefficient and not adapted for such operations as they have just been engaged in." He made some specific comments on the Sclangor Sikh police which will be reproduced in the appropriate place later in this paper. The Jones Vaughan report was probably the catalyst which led to the major reorganisation of the police in 1896, 199

Syers' Last Years with the Selangor Police. The years from 1889 to 1896 in Syers' career were interrupted by absences in Pahang (in 1889 and 1892) and by his extended home leave (1893-1895). By now the Selangor Police was a smooth-running organisation – at all events if Syers was not away for too long. It was a period of expansion in the size of the force to meet growing commitments and of improvement of buildings and other material

Syers had by now become a very useful all-purpose administrator and the Seagney Government gave him many additional tasks. Twice, in 1883 and again in 1887, he had been appointed to act temporarily as an administrative officer in charge of the Ulu Langat district. He was also acting Inspector of Mines in 1882. When Bellamy of the Public Works Department went on leave in 1889 he left the Fire Brigade, a volunter body and very much the apple of his eye, in the charge of Syers; on his return Bellamy had Syers elected an honorary member "as a recognition of the great interest he had taken in the brigade and in some way as a return for his voluntary services." When in the

April 1890 the aged Sultan Abdul Samad set off on his farst visit to Singapore (to attend the reception there of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught) Syers was selected to escort the party. Syers noted later with pride that the "smart appearance" of the Selangor Sikh contingent attracted favourable comment in Singapore.111 On another occasion Syers was given the task of escorting the Sultan and party ("a large following including some of the royal ladies") from Jugra to Kuala Lumpur. 112 There is no direct evidence of Syers' relationship with old Sultan Abdul Samad, to whom he had been known since the early days when Syers interpreted for Bloomfield Douglas in his interviews with the Sultan. But Syers, with his quiet good manners and excellent Malay, is likely to have earned the old man's trust and affection. Syers had seen the Sultan through so many crises from the time back in May 1879 when the Sultan had naid his first visit to Kuala Lumpur - in some trepidation - and Syers put sentries "at all the gateways" of the royal lodgings, escorted him "with a very strong guard under arms" to his first meeting with his turbulent - but on that occasion very respectful - Sumatran subjects in Kuala Lumpur, and finally brought him the long journey back down the Langat valley to his royal capital at Kuala Langat "pleased happy and in excellent health"113

Early in 1890 Swettenham had gone on to Perak and had been replaced as Resident of Selangor by William Maxwell. Isabella Bird, who stayed with Maxwell in Taiping in 1879 found him "clever, dogmatic, strongwilled, thoroughly a gentleman."114 In the ensuing ten years Maxwell seems to have matured into a considerable autocrat and bureaucrat with something of a chip on his shoulder at being constantly outshone and outmanoeuvred by his contemporary and rival in the service. Swettenham. He had an addiction to what French colonial administrators used to call paperasserie (the English prefer a four letter word). In Maxwell's day in Selangor (1889-92) the Gazette teems with new ordinances, regulations and instructions. Syers got his share of the flood of paper. Let us take the Manilla Band as an illustration. Kuala Lumpur was now becoming a more civilised town in which "country houses, horses and carriages testify to the prosperity of the Chinese whose ambition so short a time ago was limited to the possession of a mud house with a thatched roof"115 One young blood of the Chinese towkay class drove a four-in-hand down Petaling Street.116 This period also saw the establishment of the Lake Gardens and of Kuala Lumpur race meetings.117 It was part of this process which the sociologists - regrettably - call "gentrification" that Kuala Lumpur should have a "military band" to give public concerts and to play at dances. In default of local trained musicians the Selangor Police recruited bandsmen from the Philippines. It was a very successful experiment.

This was just the sort of thing to bring out the absurd in Maxwell. Syers had to publish regulations (in the Selangor Gazette) providing that the band should practise (in public) from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. except on Sundays, when the hours would be 3-4 p.m. "New music is to be practised and the band master is

directed not to be satisfied with the repetition of the same pieces over and over again." Public performances were to be given in front of the Selangor Club, i.e. on the Padang, from 5 to 6.30 p.m. and on Thursdays in the Botanical Gardens (i.e. the Lake Gardens) – "a programme is to be submitted to the Resident the day before." For band performances at "private entertainments" the Resident's general approval was required but the musical programme was to be submitted for approval to the Superintendent (i.e. Syers) who "will direct an officer of the Police Department to see that whatever programme is arranged is properly carried out"; as an additional safeguard a copy of the approved programme was to be submitted to the Resident for information!¹⁸

Fortunately the Resident left the Selangor European community a rather free-er hand over arrangements for race meetings. Syers, a keen and skilful rider, was among the provisional committee of the Selangor Gymkhana Club established in March 1890. The first Kuala Lumpur race meeting was held at Chinese New Year in February 1891 on the occasion of a visit by the Governor (Clementi Smith). The programme included a "cigar and umbrella Race" in which each competior had to light a cigar before opening an umbrella with which he then mounted: he had to pass the winning post with ciera a light and umbrella occu.¹³⁵

Among minor chores one finds Syers fixing the permitted hours for letting off fire trackers at Chinese New Year and the official mileages to outstations for purposes of ghard hire. He also inspected the three bakeries in Kuala Lumpur and reported that "dirt and filth" were the prevailing features of two of them.³³

Maxwell may fairly be regarded as the father of the Malayan system of registered land title. He revised and elaborated the Selangor land laws and put an end to the dubious practice of permitting government officers to acquire land for speculative purposes. Swettenham himself is believed to have bought and sold land in Sclangor during his time as Resident of the State. Syers had one land speculation. The relevant instructions were ambiguous; they forbade "wholesale jobbing" but were "not read as prohibiting bona fide investment within limits." Robson says that Syers "acquired a small coconut estate (more estate than coconuts) on the Ampang Road, which he ultimately sold for a few thousand dollars," adding that "all his friends thought that he had done very well out of it". In more precise terms the Selangor Government alienated 100 acres to Syers in 1886 under a lease for agriculture; Syers sold it to Loke Yew for \$3,000 in 1894. According to Robson the land had increased in value to \$300,000 by the early 1930's. Even \$3,000 was about ten months' pay for Syers. 121 It was in this period of his distinction and prosperity that Syers and his wife entered into the European social whirl of Kuala Lumpur. However unkind the ladies of Kuala Lumpur might be to part-Siamese Mrs. Syers it was said that "as a host in conjunction with Mrs. Syers his fame was widespread."122 Since he was barely solvent at his death one must assume that

he lived up to the limit of his income. He held a senior and pensionable post under the Selangor Government and that appeared to provide sufficiently for the future. Syers was ever a cheerful optimist.

In spite of his many extra-curricular activities Syers continued to work hard as a police officer. His departmental annual reports (published each year in the Selangor Gazette) are absorbing reading. His interest in his job was reflected in an ability to write interestingly about it. The strength of the Selangor Police had risen to about 500 by 1889 and increased further to 660 in 1894. About a quarter were Sikhs and the remainder Malays. In addition to a considerable concentration in and around Kuala Lumpur there were 29 police stations in outdistricts "occupying positions suitable for commanding the principal highways and important mining centres." To raise the standard of drill among Malay police in outstations Syers began to send out Sikh NCO's as travelling instructors. Until the crime wave of 1895 there was a normal incidence of serious crime in the form of murder and gang robbery with the familiar problem of obtaining evidence upon which to secure a conviction. Let us take this episode (of July 1890) as a typical illustration. Syers relates that "in the month of July a Chinaman was found murdered in the jungle at Rasah near Ulu Selangor, and on enquiry it was found that this man had a short time previous to his death given information against another Chinaman and caused his arrest for a breach of the spirit regulations; unfortunately the informer was called upon to appear in court and I have no doubt that this was the cause of his death." Svers goes on to relate that the suspect was brought to trial but acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence. An application for a deportation order also failed. He concludes by arguing that the murdered man had no other known enemies and that the suspect had been heard to threaten revenge.123 One is bound to comment that all this hardly amounts to proof of guilt beyond reasonable doubt. It must often be so. The reports also deal with the registration of brothels, of hackney carriages, of bullock carts and of births and deaths, with the various effects of inadequate street lighting and the extension of the telegraph system on crime, with fires and inquests, with the obstruction of the sideways by food-sellers and the destruction of dangerous and noxious animals by the police (in 1890 their bag was six tigers, one bear, one panther, 161 crocodiles, 1,460 snakes, 2 elephants and 3 seladang). Syers in his time had shot rhinoceros and elephant but, according to Robson, "he never secured a tiger, although he made many attempts to do so." Syers' interest in animals included a concern for the sadly overworked ponies which pulled the gharis then playing for hire. He describes them as "poor wretched creatures totally unfit for work" and subject to frequent breakdown. He commented that in a hilly town such as Kuala Lumpur it would be much better to have a light two-wheeler ghari to replace the heavy four-wheeler then in use. But this sensible suggestion seems to have got lost in the labyrinth of municipal administration. 124

In these fairly relaxed circumstances Syers and his family went on leave to the United Kingdom in August 1893. He now had three children, a son and two daughters and one purpose of his leave was to put all three children to school in England. At his death in 1897 the son was at Crediton in Devon and the daughters at Wolverhampton. Mrs. Syers stayed behind for some time after Syers' return to Selangor to see her children settled. Syers himself was granted a three months' extension of leave and did not come back to duty until February 1895. He was most anxious that his son, Tom, should have a good education in order to secure an appointment either in the administrative service or the police in the Malay States. These hopes were frustrated by Syers' untimely death when his son was only 14 but, as will be related, Tom was a credit to his father but in a different walk of life.

During Syers' long absence from Selangor his post was filled by Captain Lyons seconded from the Perak Police. Lyons was an ex-regular army officer of the R.S.F. Walker school. He went on (long after Syers' death) to a senior police appointment in Hong Kong. His temporary duty in Selangor was his first independent command. Apart from the fiasco at Jeram Ampai in Pahang which has already been related it was not a successful tenure. It fell to Lyons to write the police annual report for 1893. He began with the Sikhs - "the contingent is composed partly of Pathans and partly of Sikhs... they are very jealous of each other... the discipline of the contingent is not as good as it should be... the non-commissioned officers want more supervision... many of the men are old soldiers and impatient of the control of young noncommissioned officers. I think it better to enrol young men from India and train them here, they are more likely to learn Malay and police work." Lyons goes on to recommend that the Snider rifles then used by the Selangor Sikhs should be replaced by Martini Henry rifles so that they would have the same weapons as the Perak Sikhs if the two contingents had to take 'united action'..." (Jeram Ampai still lay some weeks ahead). Some of these comments were repeated by Jones Vaughan in his report later. But whatever justification there was for Lyons' views he exceeded his function as a temporary deputy by making wholesale changes in Syers' absence. He divided the "Sikh" police into separate "companies" of Pathans and Sikhs proper, altered the system of recruitment to direct enlistment from India instead of the old system of "men returning from furlough bringing their friends and relations to join the force." Finally he made some changes in the police uniform. Syers on his return was very critical of the new system of recruitment - "this is a most expensive method of recruiting and I doubt if the class of men secured are any better than those formerly enlisted locally",125

In fairness to Lyons Major General Jones Vaughan in his report (following the Jeram Ampai affair) was of the same general opinion. He attributed the poor standard of the Selangor Sikhs to two main factors. First, as it was a small contingent it was under the effective command of its NCO's;

Syers was much too preoccupied with his other duties to be able to attend to the Sikhs. In Perik, where Sikhs made up the larger part of a much larger total force, they were led by officers who had had experience in the Indian Army of Indian troops and who had the time to supervise them as military police. Secondly, the Non-Commissioned Officers of the Selanger Sikh contingent were inadequately trained. The outcome of the Jones Vaughan report was a decision to retain Lyons for the time being to assist Syers by commanding the Selanger Sikh police as part of Syers' force and an attempt to recruit three Indian officers, of suitable military background, for the Selanger police. It was however, found impossible to secure these officers. Syers next contemplated the attachment of selected police NCO's to an Indian Army regiment for training with a view to their promotion. This programme was in the end overtaken by the more drastic re-organisation of the FMS Police in 1896. ¹³⁶ On the Sikh police Lyons was perhaps a greater expert than Syers. He had

no such justification for the upheaval which he instituted among the Malay element of the Selangor police. The Malay recruits, said Lyons, were left "to pick up by chance what training they could". The whole Malay contingent was found to be slack - "asleep and sitting down when on duty and slackness on street duty". He did add that "there are many good men among them." However Syers on his return cannot have been pleased to read such comments in the departmental annual report submitted to the Resident and published in the Selangor Gazette. There was also criticism of the police buildings, both offices and quarters, and of the unreliable crime returns - "furnished by native non-commissioned officers from native report books and very difficult to 'check' - one wonders whether the supercilious Lyons could read Jawi. But there was worse to come. Lyons decided that the police good conduct pay, which he said had been allowed to grow to a "very large sum" (to offset poor basic rates of pay) should be reduced. Lyons feared that this change would cause great dissatisfaction. Indeed it did. The Selangor police force lost approximately one third of its Malay element, mainly long service men, in one year (the figures are given as 150 out of a total strength of 462 Malay police). Naturally it was difficult to recruit suitable Malay replacements. So Lyons tried to restore the strength of the police by recruiting Tamils, Javanese and "low class Bengalis", most of whom said Syers on his return proved to be "utterly useless".

Syers therefore returned early in 1895 to find his police in a state of disorganisation. He made no bones about his disagreement with Lyons' policies but he did not criticise Lyons. He first restored the old system of good conduct pay and "many old men rejoined". He also sent off recruiting parties to Malacca and Penang and so was able to restore his Malay contingent to its old level both in numbers and quality. Syers commented that "Malays are somewhat casual and require careful handling, but they are the only men who can be relied on for doing police work in this State, so far as my experience

goss ... It is false policy to under-pay the police force." This is as near as Syers came to rejecting the "spit and polish" school of police leadership exemplified by Lyons from Perak. Syers was also a kind and a fairminded man; in his 1895 annual report, after detailing what he had done, he mentions that Lyons had charge of the Selangor Sikh police and adds —"I have every reason to be satisfied with the way in which he has performed his duties." Even on the subject of Malay police one should perhaps not simply dismiss Lyons as an inexperienced and over-zealous police officer of the military school. Syers probably found the best way of getting good work out of the material which he had to hand. He was undoubtedly right in his view that the backbone of the police in a Malay State should be Malay police. But when Syers moved on to be Commissioner of Police FMS and was replaced in Selangor by Wagner, another police officer from Perak but not a military man, there was the same criticism of the standards which Syers had been content to accept.¹²⁹

The last major trial of Syers' leadership of the Selangor police was the crime wave of 1895.1³³ A well-organized gang from the Straits Settlements moved into Selangor and carried out numerous burglaries. Public disconneta grew. "Several deputations," says Syers, "from various members of the community waited on me to urge measures for their protection." He reassured them as best as he could and set about his task — "it was not long before I succeeded in breaking up the gang, arresting some of its members and driving others out of the neighbourhood. A judicious system of patrols and the employment of some extra Chinese detectives enabled me to carry out this object, and we have not been much troubled with thieves within town limits since that time."

The gang had merely retreated to Petaling and Sungei Besi, where there was a tradition of lawlessness. Syers pursued them. "For a long time the police were completely baffled," he wrote afterwards, "their organisation being so perfect and their plans so carefully worked out that all attempts to obtain information about them resulted in failure. At last an informer gave me a clue which being followed up led to the arrest of several of the gang, who were tried and convicted, but the headman remained at large... Extra precautions had been taken by placing detachments of plain clothes constables and detectives in various places and increasing the number of our night patrols." At last - at the beginning of 1896 - "the headman and leading spirit, one Li Choi, with his principal assistants was arrested." Syers believed that Li Choi and his accomplices were responsible for at least nine murders... "these men had simply terrorised whole districts by their inhuman and brutal conduct." They went armed with "revolvers of the latest pattern". After his arrest Li Choi admitted to stealing three iron safes from government offices. He was convicted on a charge of murder and sentenced to death.

In his final review of the Li Choi episode Syers attributes the success of

the gang to the lack of an efficient police force at the beginning of 1895, abolition of the pass system, failure to register secret societies and unemployment among the Chinese due to the low price of tin. While this affair was going on there were two serious riots at Serendah —"one in connection with a mining dispute between two kongsis in which 200 hundred men took part" and the other arising from a dispute in a brothel. To deal with these two disturbances it sufficed to send in the Sikhs.

Thus at the end of his twenty years in Selangor one observes Syers at work, dealing with a variety of serious police problems and finding solutions as he went along. He was a very competent, experienced police officer whose promotion to the new post of Commissioner of Police, Federated Malay States, in 1896 was generally regarded in Selangor as well-deserved.

Commissioner of Police FMS (1896-97). The only possible rival to Svers among his colleagues in the police of the Malay States was R.S.F. Walker who had commanded the largest force - in Perak - since 1882. But Walker's methods were far too military in character for a civil police commander. The organisational and functional problem of the military police had been resolved by a decision to raise a new para-military force, the Malay States Guides, separate from the police but undertaking the military function of the police to which Walker himself had given such priority in Perak. In Walker's time the Perak police had become the "1st Battalion Perak Sikhs", a title which speaks for itself. 129 However the creation of the new military force would deprive the Perak police of their commander and many of their Sikh personnel, as they would be needed to form the nucleus of the Malay States Guide. A major reorganisation of the Perak police was the first and most urgent task. Syers himself took over temporary command of the Perak police and did not establish his new headquarters in Kuala Lumpur as Commissioner of Police, FMS, until he had finished his task in Perak. His appointment as Commissioner took effect from 14th August 1896 (but was not gazetted until 4th November 1896),130

There is a certain hesitation in Swettenham's comments, published in his annual reports as Resident-General FMS, on the choice of a Commissioner. In the report for 1896 Swettenham mentions Walker's appointment to the command of the Malay States Guides and then adds that Syers was "somewhat later selected" for the post of Commissioner of Police. If he had written "appointed" rather than "selected" that would merely reflect the chronology. Syers was in Perak working out the reorganisation with Walker until a date subsequent to Walker's own appointment. But "somewhat later selected" may imply that other candidates were considered as well as Syers before the choice was made. 1911 so (I have been unable to trace the papers on this decision) the alternative to Syers must have been a candidate from outside the Malay States since, with Walker suitably employed, there was no one at all who rated comparison with Syers in the police forces of the Malay States. Possibly the

alternative candidate, if there was one, was an ex-army officer with colonial police experience, the type who held so many senior police appointments in this period.

When Swettenham came to write his report for 1897 in the first half of 1898 Syers had been dead for some months, his post had been filled (from within the Malay States) by a successor who "lacked the outlook of a police officer ... like Walker purely a soldier" (Morrah) and the counter attack upon all that Syers had stood for in police policy had been launched in "long and disparaging minutes", according to Sadka, by the two men who had respectively succeeded him as Commissioner and as commander of the Selangor police. Under this pressure Swettenham hedged - "the organisation and satisfactory working of a Police Force is about as difficult and thankless a task as can be imposed on anyone especially in he East and in a semi-wild country where the conditions are peculiarly favourable to crime and where it is a vexed question as to what nationality it is best to employ for the detection and arrest of criminals. We cannot claim to have solved the difficulties in the Malay States, where we have a mixed force of Indians and Malays ... a great deal must depend on the commissioner and other European officers."132 If Svers had lived to be Commissioner until the normal age of retirement he would have had a great deal of opposition to contend with.

In this early stage of the administrative evolution of the Federated Malay States (which itself had been created in the teeth of opposition from William Maxwell (as Colonial Secretary in Singapore) and some officials at the Colonial Office) there was the minimum of central control. Each of the four State contingents had its own Chief Police Officer, with the rank of Deputy Commissioner in Perak and in Sclangor and Assistant Commissioner in Pahang and Negeri Sembilan. In each State the Resident retained general control of the police. Syers' role, for which his record in Selangor admirably equipped him, was to establish a harmonious working relationship with each State government and contingent by advice and inspection rather than by drastic or autocratic directives. 133 In Selangor Syers had been succeeded by Christian Wagner, transferred from the Perak police. Unlike most of the Perak police officers Wagner was not by origin an ex-regular army officer. But he shared the prejudice of Walker's team against Malay police. Thus in his police annual report for 1897 Wagner wrote that "the Malay non-commissioned officers have been largely weeded out, being replaced by smarter, and it is hoped, honester men". The underlying cause of Wagner's policy was disclosed by the Resident in his 1897 report where in commenting on Wagner and the police he wrote that "the composition of the force is not altogether congenial to him... but he has effected many improvements and is gradually but surely impressing upon his men that order and discipline must be maintained and that personal comfort must, when on duty, be subordinated to smartness and general efficiency" 134 Wagner also reversed another of Syers'

policies by taking the administrative control of police in outdistricts away from the Collectors. Consideration of these implied criticisms of Syers and his standards is deferred until later in this paper.

While Wagner's new broom was sweeping through the Selangor police Syers was away from Selangor for long periods on visits to other States. As already stated his priority task was to work out with Walker the hiving off (into the Malay States Guides) of a large part of the predominantly Sikh Perak police. There is no trace of friction between the two men. Walker was presumably glad to be given command of the unified and purely military force which he had been advocating since the combined police action in Pahang in 1892 had first afforded a model. Syers was always a diplomatic and tactful colleague. Even after the formation of the Malay States Guides the remaining Perak police were predominantly Sikh (in contrast to the other State contingents in which Malay police were the majority). Syers had to introduce his reforms gradually and with discretion. One of his innovations was a system of rural patrols entrusted to Malay constables on bicycles. This change made redundant the remains of Walker's cavalry ("mounted orderlies"). But to abolish the cavalry altogether would upset the Sultan of Perak who was accustomed to have a bodyguard of mounted police on ceremonial occasions. Syers, ever the diplomat, retained 23 mounted police and stationed them at the royal capital of Kuala Kangsar. After his work in Perak was completed Syers. in company with Walker, made a tour of inspection of Pahang. 135

Syers relinquished command of the Perak police to Willis Douglas, who had been Superintendent of the Sungei Ujong police since 1881. There was a shortage of good men and Willis Douglas was probably the most senior candidate. Syers had known him since 1879 when Willis Douglas, son of Bloomfield Douglas, had lived at the Selangor Residency at intervals of taking short-term jobs. He may have wished to have a Chief Police Officer in Perak with whom he (Syers) could work during the period of running in the new police system introduced by Syers. But when all the objective factors have been considered, one is left with the impression that Syers was too kind to be ruthless in this as in other cases. Douglas' record in Sungei Ujong was undistinguished - "conscientious but unenterprising... he had neither drive nor initiative..." is Morrah's verdict. Douglas did indeed go on to become the third Commissioner of Police (1907-1916) but it was not a successful appointment.136 Douglas, like Syers, was a keen hunter of game, who kept a pack of dogs with which he hunted wild pig and deer. He also shared Syers' interest in horses. It would have been difficult for Syers to pass over an old friend and a senior colleague but one senses that in the interests of the service he perhaps should have done so.

Syers spent the early months of 1897 in Kuala Lumpur. He must have had arrears of paper work to overtake. He had also a new federal police head-quarters (in Bluff Road) to get into working operation. In May 1897 Syers set

off again southewards to Negeri Sembilan for a prolonged tour of inspection which revealed (as recorded in his subsequent report to the Resident General) that during the long tenure of Willis Douglas as Superintendent the police had lapsed into chaos and disorganisation. Morrah has written that "many of the police stations were dilapidated and dirty, while others were absurdly overstaffed: at Batane Malacca Svers found a corporal and three constables whose principal duty was to supervise the weighing of tapioca from surrounding estates, and at Selara three P.C.'s "apparently doing nothing". On the other hand in Tampin, one of the principal towns, there was nobody above the rank of sergeant-major, the men knew little about drill, and the administration was chaotic. In most cases the weapons were out of date and the uniforms ragged and untidy; many of the Malay police had no boots. At Kuala Jempol the Commissioner "inspected the magazine which contained several pieces of old iron as well as gunpowder, and among other things a parang which had been used for opening the barrels." Syers recommended the closing of a number of stations and the improvement of others, the appointment of revenue collectors to relieve the police of this kind of work, more attention to drill, redistribution of officers and a general reorganisation..."137 In fairness to Willis Douglas one should add that Douglas had been Superintendent of Police in Sungei Ujong (including Jelebu); until the mid-1890's. Sungei Ujong was a separate territory from the rest of Negeri Sembilan ("old Negeri Sembilan") which, following the final confederation of the minor States in 1889, had its own Resident at Kuala Pilah until 1895. The examples of maladministration in the passage cited above all come from old Negeri Sembilan and not from Sungei Ujong; accordingly they must have originated before the responsibilities of Resident (and Superintendent of Police) were unified. A second factor is that for many years the Resident of Sungei Ujong was W.F.B. Paul, a dignified figure and a good Malay linguist but a very slack administrator. 138 In addition to recommending reforms of the police in Negeri Sembilan (not all of which were implemented) Syers had to search out a competent candidate for the post of Chief Police Officer. The choice fell eventually (after Syers' death) on H.M. Hatchell.

The last of Syers. Ever since his early days in Selangor, when it was part of duties to destroy dangerous animals. Syers had been an enthusiastic hunter of big game. Swettenham, in his own memoirs, describes Syers as "the most daring and successful big game hunter in Malaya." "If was also a keen naturalist. He showed Isabella Bird the specimens which he had begun to collect in his quarters in the Fort at Klang. She also noted that he was studying "the flora, fauna and geology of the country". ¹⁶⁰ The same amateur interest in natural history contributed to his brief but obviously very harmonious relationship with the American naturalist, Hornaday. ¹⁶¹ In his last years he had a collection of specimens on show in a room set aside in his house and he presented one of the seladang he had shot to the Raffles Museum in

Singapore. 142 But there can be no doubt that the main reasons for his keen pursuit of big game were to exercise his skill in shooting and to satisfy a need for the excitement of taking risks. On this last point Syers himself has left an unusually full and explicit expression of his temperament in the form of a three-part article, entitled "Shooting in Sclangor" which he wrote for the Sclangor Journal. 143 He there tells a number of stories of narrow escapes which strike a slightly vain-glorious note, not least the passing comment that "it occurred to me that the danger of shooting scladang has been greatly exaggerated" though he goes on to say that on this he had later changed his mind.

The modern reader may find the destruction of seladang for pleasure unattractive but in Syers' day shooting and hunting of all kinds was an accepted and acceptable form of recreation. Syers was just more expert and more addicted to it than most. There is some conflict of contemporary opinion as to whether the seladang will attack a huntan being without provocation; Hugh Ciliford has a story which turns in part on an unprovoked attack on a sleeping Malay by a seladang; "de Gorge Maxwell, after giving a detailed and colourful description of these huge horned animats floop seurus), weighing up to a ton in weight, states that the Malays have "an exaggerated opinion of the savage disposition of the seladang... I have not heard of an authenticated case of an unprovoked attack." But Maxwell goes on —"A wounded seladang is probably the most dangerous of all big game. Not only will it charge, but it will hunt down a man with the utmost vindictiveness and tenacity of purpose." "48 All this Syers knew from experience better than most —and also that the first shot, even from a heavy game rifle, is more likely to wound than to kill outright these huge beasts. However skilld the hunter, the pursuit of seladang was by its nature a very dangerous sport — which is the reason why a man of Syers' temperament enjoyed it.

a Plotlowing his strenuous first year as Commissioner of Police Syers joined a Plotlowing his strenuous first year as Commissioner of Police Syers joined a Phang. They went after a herd of seladang. The most detailed account of what ensued is published in the Singapore Free press of 20th July 1897, based on Meikle's story at the inquest into Syers' death. "A live two men were following the tracks of a seladang which they had wounded when they came unexpectedly on another, unwounded bull seladang and fired at it. The aimfall was wounded, turned and retreated; Syers and Meikle followed it and after half an hour came upon it, hidden in a dense patch of undergrowth. Syers and Meikle separated and went round to opposite sides of the place where the seladang lay presumably this manocurve was to ensure that one of the two hunters could take unburried aim if the animal charged the other. The wounded seladang first charged Syers who put a shot into it from his .577 heavy rifle; the animal turned and went for Meikle who also fired and hit it; it turned again and charged Syers a second time; Syers discharged his second shot but the

seladang which by then had been wounded six times could not be stopped. It reached Syers, knocked him down, gored him and tossed him high in the air. Syers turned three complete somersaults and his head hit the branch of a tree which was found later to be 35 feet above the ground. When Syers fell to the ground the enraged seladang gored him again before Meikle was able to kill it with further shots. It is said that the seladang, for whose courage in facing two men armed with heavy rifles one must feel respect, had 15 shots in all put into it before it died. In dying it left Syers terribly injured by the repeated ripping of the flesh of his abdomen and stomach. Syers, the pain of his injuries relieved in part by the numbness of shock, was brought down to the river at Temerloh where he was embarked on a boat so that he might be carried to Pekan. It had taken almost twelve hours to reach Temerloh from the scene of the encounter; he died in the boat soon after midnight i.e. early on the morning of 14th July 1897. He was first buried with military honours at Pekan and later reinterred in the cemetery at Venning Road, Kuala Lumpur where his grave is still marked by a headstone, to which reference has already been made.

Sufficient has been said of the widespread mourning in Selangor of the passing of a respected and popular official. In his formal tribute to Syers Swettenham, as Resident General, referred to him as "a courageous, zealous and greatly valued servant, whose straightforward purpose and tactful consideration of others had secured his influence with all classes of the community." Other tributes paid to him are best taken in the final assessment of his personality later in this paper.

When the news of Syers' death was first received in Kuala Lumpur John Rodger, now Resident of Selangor, went himself to break the news to Mrs. Syers with a tact to which her second husband of later years (Robson) pays tribute.148 But Syers was dead and Mrs. Syers was left with three children and virtually nothing to live on. She wrote a letter (dated 27th July 1897) which was forwarded to the Colonial Office, setting out her financial problems. Syers, ever the optimist, had accumulated no capital... "I shall have barely sufficient to start life on in England in a small way after paying my husband's outstanding liabilities..." Syers had only just before his death begun to contribute to the government widows' and orphans pension fund and so Mrs. Syers' pension from that source would be less than £100 per annum. She had three children, aged between 14 (Tom Syers) and about 10 (two daughters), all at school in England. Syers' ambitious plans for giving his son a good education to fit him for a senior administrative or police appointment would have to be abandoned. The Colonial Office was sympathetic ("he was a very good officer" said Lucas) but felt unable to help beyond the ex gratia award of \$5,000 from which Mrs. Svers must meet the cost of her own passage back to England. Svers had not died in the course of duty and therefore no ex gratia widow's pension would be given. His own pension rights died with him. The administration of Syers' affairs in Selangor was entrusted to her brother-inlaw, Louis Stafford, a surveyor. 147 Thus Mrs. Syers disappears from the records until many years later (probably in the 1920's) she married Robson, founder of the "Malay Mail", a friend of Syers and of course prominent in the Kuala Lumpur business community between the wars. Robson dedicated his memoirs, published in 1934, to his wife as she was alive at that time. But in the book he says nothing of her though he wrote a study of Syers himself among his numerous character studies. 150

Syers' hopes for his son, Tom, aged nearly 15 at his death were not 10 be roselused in the way Syers had hoped. Tom did well at school and on 21st December 1900 Thomas Scott Syers appears in the army list as a newly appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 51st Battery, Royal Field Artillery, He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1903 and transferred to the reserve in 1905. He then served in the Canadian Mounted Police and he returned to active service (again with the Royal Artillery) as a Captain in October 1914. According to Robson, Tom 'served on three fronts in the Great War, did remarkably well and died just before peace was declared." He had indeed reached the rank of major and been awarded the Military Cross, only to die of pneumonia in November 1918. Ex-private Harry Syers would have been proud of Tom. 191

As police officer Syers' particular merit was that he grasped clearly - as none of his contemporaries did - that the police force in a Malay State must be predominantly Malay and that it must be integrated into the community which it is to serve as a civil instrument for the maintenance of law and order rather than held back as an alien striking force. Walker in Perak, Wagner who succeeded Syers in Selangor and Talbot (selected from the Malay States Guides to succeed Syers as Commissioner) took the opposite view. 152 But the subsequent history of the Malayan Police is evidence that Syers was right. Syers' opponents were critical of the standards of general efficiency which Syers accepted in maintaining a Malay police force. Syers, with his proficiency in the Malay language, his tact and his deep understanding of the Malay character, got much better results from his Malay police force than men like Lyons or Wagner could do, since they neither possessed nor presumably wished to possess, Syers' qualifications for that task. They simply argued that you could not make a good police force in his way. In its obituary of Syers the Straits Times damned him with faint praise - "his acquaintance with the Malay character enabled him to create a fairly efficient force out of doubtful raw material."153 It would be an anachronism to suppose that because the modern Malay demonstrably makes an excellent policeman (and soldier) the same result could have been achieved even by Syers a hundred years ago. In his earliest major report on the police written in 1878 Syers put his finger on the key problem in saying that "it is extremely difficult to get men of sufficient education and ability who are fit for promotion."154 With a decentralised police force dispersed into local police stations it was essential to have a strong cadre of non-commissioned officers at local level. For years it was impossible to select and train enough good men for that task. The other school of thought solved the problem by abolishing it; they opted for a concentrated military force in which rigid military discipline could be enforced. But that was not a police force in the proper sense. Perhaps the clearest statement of the dilemma is to be found in Swettenham's annual report on Selangor for 1888 where Swettenham first quotes Syers - "Malays who are called upon to perform ordinary police duties cannot be expected to drill like soldiers, the whole system of parades proves inksome to them and tends to drive them from the force in disgust. My experience is that the best policemen make the worst soldiers and that men who are excellent thief catchers become perfectly useless on parade." (on this last point 1888 was already showing an improvement over 1878). Let us leave the central issue of Syers' record at that.

In his general police work Syers was a sound and effective administrator and organiser. His handling of the crime wave of 1895 shows that he had learnt how to use the working methods of a police officer in combatting crime. He had had no police training and, in this like his contemporaries, he lacked knowledge of the technical methods then being developed elsewhere to improve the efficiency of police work — such as, for example, the central recording of fingerprints (introduced into Malaya by Conlay in 1905). ¹⁹⁶ In his training and use of the necessary paramilitary element, i.e. the Sikh contingent, in the police, and in the detection and suppression of Chinese sacret society lodges Syers showed more obstinacy than insight. On those matters sufficient has been said above.

In attempting to penetrate to Svers as a man I share Morrah's opinion that behind the genial and popular exterior of Harry Syers the raconteur and the convivial host which he showed to the world there was "a lonely man".157 Perhaps this was the inevitable result of his rise from humble beginnings to a very senior position in a class-conscious Malayan bureaucratic world. There are signs that as a young man he found European ladies of the middle-class, Emily Innes and Isabella Bird, rather daunting; he felt constrained with them and he took refuge (much more against Emily than Isabella - as one would expect) in reticence. The same motive imposed on him a notable silence concerning his personal history before 1875. It is likely that the same constraint affected his dealings during his police career with his colleagues. Morrah contrasts Talbot with Syers - Talbot could "meet and deal with leading officials and their entourage on their own terms."158 But if this was so Syers did not let any sense of inferiority, nor the occasional slights to his wife and himself, embitter him nor did he react by being awkward to deal with or too subservient. He was tactful, friendly and above all immensely efficient. By that means he earned respect and goodwill even from those who disagreed with him. "Syers was steady as a rock," commented Bloomfield Douglas, and trusted him accordingly. 159 He was not disposed to propound theories or policies. His strength was an instinctive soundness of judgment which led him to practical solutions to his problems as they arose. When he went to Pahang in 1889 he adapted his Selangor methods of police organisation and deployment to the different conditions of Pahang and did so without comment.

In his quiet and tactful way Syers could be obstinate. Swettenham was under the for many years to persuade Syers to introduce Sikhs into his Selangor police. Hornaday found him "tenacious as a bulldog." Tact was never weakness in Syers. In contrast to his general caution and pragmatism in his official work he had a streak of recklessness over his own safety or affairs. As a rider he risked, and sometimes suffered, bad falls. He risked his life — and in the end lost it — in hunting seladang. He risked the prospects of his family by assuming that he would live long enough to support them into adult life — and in the end left his widow almost penniless with three children in their early tens. With his friends, Willis Douglas and his Malay policemen, he was perhaps too ready to accept that the best a man could do was good enough.

When the news of Syers' death reached the Colonial Office they referred to a senior member of the Selangor civil service then on leave in London – Ebden, Chief Magistrate in Kuala Lumpur – for information of Syers' relatives in the United Kingdom. Ebden gave them the addresses of the three children and added:

"I am very sorry indeed about their father's death. He was one of the very few men who have worked their way up who was thoroughly fit for his place and I expect that his loss will be severely felt before he is forgotten." I cannot improve on that.¹⁶⁰

Acknowledgments

I acknowledge with thanks the permission given by George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Limited to reproduce (at p. 34) a passage from The British in the Far East by G. Woodcock and also the permission given by John Murray (Publishers) Limited to reproduce (in Appendix 2) extracts from letters written by Isabella Bird to John Murray in 1832-83. Mr. E. Douglas Potter, grandson of Bloomfield Douglas, has very kindly permitted me to have access to and quote from the Selanger diary of his grandfather.

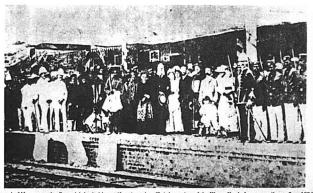
Two previous studies of Syers' period have been of great assistance. Patrick Morrah's "The History of the Malayan Police" contains a great deal on Syers and his place in the development of the Malayan Police. Chapter VIII (Law and Order) of Emily Sadka's book (Sadka 1968) first suggested to me the significance of the contrast in police organisation between Perak and Selangor in Syers' time. Mr. Morrah has very kindly helped me both in correspondence and in discussion. I have also had much appreciated help from Mrs. Barr, arising from her studies of Isabella Bird and of the Syers period in the Malay States, and also from Mrs. Sonia Cole, daughter of Tom and granddaughter of Henry Syers.

Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard, Hon. Editor of this Journal, has been inhickligable in pursuing on my behalf enquiries about Syers in Malaysia which I could not make from the United Kingdom. It was he who first suggested to me that Syers would be an interesting subject for a paper. In finding my way through army records etc. of the period my daughter, Sheila McClure, and her colleague, Mr. Charles Potts, both of the Library of the Ministry of Defence, have provided both information and suggestions which have been most helpful.

Lastly I should record the courtesy which is accorded to the enquirer at the Public Records Office, the British Newspaper Library and the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriage.s

For all this help I am most grateful. The mistakes which this paper may contain are of course entirely my own.

J.M.G.



Guard of Honour under Syers (right, in blue uniform), at the official opening of the Klang-Kuala Lumpur railway: Sept 1886. Sultan Abdul Samad and Sir F. Weld the Governor, are in the centre.





Memorial inscriptions on red granite above the grave of H. C. Syers in Venning Road cemetery, Kuala Lumpur

Appendix 1

SYERS' ORIGINS

The search for Syers' origins is impeded as much by apparent discrepancies as by the gaps in the information available.

His gravestone (Illustrated herein) gives his date of birth as 17 June 1853, but on enlistment in the army on 7 July 1870 he gave his age as 18, implying a date of birth in the 12 months from mid-1851 to mid-1852. If that were all it would be readily explicable as overstating his age on enlistment to qualify (at 18) for enlistment as an adult soldier.

When he left the army to enter the Selangor government service he 'about 23' (Sadka, op. cit., p. 243, drawing on Selangor Secretariat file 73/75 as the source). This is consistent with the age of 18 declared in 1870. As the Selangor government was in contact with his regiment over his discharge, he would have avoided giving an age (in 1875) which conflicted with that given to the army in 1870. His new appointment was probationery and depended on good character. Army records of discharge by purchase (before 1882) are no longer preserved at the Public Records Office.

Further doubt arises because, although registration of births in England had been introduced in 1837 some 15 years before his birth, there is no entry in the register of the birth of a Henry Charles Syers in the entire period 1850. S. Within that period there are only 15 entries for the births of males with the sumame of 'Syers' or 'Syer', and only one of them is near enough to be worth considering, this is Alfred Henry Syers, born on 15th April 1853, the son of a Southwark labourer.

That he may have been born Alfred Henry Syers is supported by the fact that Syers told Hornaday (op. ci., p. 503) that he was a Londoner 'only a little older than I' (Hornaday was born on I December 1854). Moreover his speech suggested to the refined ear of Emily Innes (op. cit., vol 1, p. 129 and p 33 herein) a touch of a mid-19th century Occkney use of aspirates. There are some other clues to be considered before pursuing this conjectural identification.

Although Syers had not given his true age on joining the Selangor service in 1875, subsequent factors may have induced him to do so. In 1882 he married – he would have had to give his age for entry in the marriage register and one may assume that he told his wife his true age and birthday. In the same year he, among other Selangor government officials, was granted pensionable status (Innes, vol. 2, p. 228) and this would have required that his exact date of birth should be entered in the records. On such important matters he could not afford to maintain a deception, if there was one, any further. It

would have been fairly easy, now that he was well established in his job, to say that the particulars of his age in earlier government records of 1875 were based on a clerical error in his army record of service.

But it is also necessary to consider his use of forenames. He may have been born Alford Henry or Henry Charles, but on enlistment he gave his forename merely as Charles. He may have done this to prevent the army picking up his true date of birth (if he was Alfred Henry) in the register of births, or to make it difficult for his relatives, if he had run away to join the army contrary to their wishes, to trace him and secure his ignominious discharge by showing that he was under minimum recruiment age. His apparent severance of all family connections on joining the army (p. 34 herein) gives this possibility some support.

From 1875, when he joined the Selangor service, he became known as Herry (see Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 303), or 'Harry' (on his gravestone). His full name was now recorded as Henry Charles - he could not abandon the forename Charles used in his army period but there is no sign that he was ever known merely as 'Charles' after he left the army. It may be deduced that Henry was the name used in his boyhood.

One must assume that his surname was indeed 'Syers'; to have given a false surname would have been a major, and risky, deception – and is quite out of character. Overstating his age at enlistment and using the forename Charles can be explained by reasonable conjectures.

The absence from the register of births in England (of the period 1850-55) of an entry for Henry Charles Syers can be explained in various ways. He may (like Stamford Raffles) have been born outside England but returned to it at an early age. If he was born into an English working class family in the 1850's, in which the parents were perhaps illiterate and the household in domestic turnoil there may have been a failure to register his birth.

A more complicated hypothesis is Syers was born in Southwark on 15th April 1853 and named Alfred Henry; he then juggled with his age and forenames as suggested above; and finally decided that, after indulging in mild but sustained deception, it was safest not to declare himself to be the Alfred Henry Syers born on 15th April 1853, but to adopt a date of birth close to his real birthday (so that there was no substantial and reprehensible deception over retirement and pension questions) and profess that – inexplicably – his birth on 17th June 1853 had not been registered.

Whichever of these suggestions seems least unlikely it is clear that his notable reticence was cover for at least a transient deception at one point over his age, and possibly over his name.

Appendix 2

THE SELANGOR CHAPTER OF "THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE"

It was Isabella Bird's practice when on travels abroad to write long letters to ber sister Henrietta at home. One her return Isabella edited these letters as material for her latest travel book. This (with a few interspersed general information chapters) is how the Golden Chersonese was written. The letters written from Singapore, Malacca and Perak have been preserved and are held by the present John Murray, as successor to his 19th century predecessor of the same name who was Isabella Bird's publisher. I am indebted to the present Mr. John Murray for giving me access to and permission to quote from this material.

A cursory comparison of the letters with the corresponding chapters of the book shows that (with the omission of some gossip and comment on people whom she met) Isabella reproduced the exact text of her letters in her published account of her time in Singapore, Malacca, Sungei Ujong and Perak. The Selangor letter however has not been preserved at all and there are references to what it contained, in her correspondence with John Murray about the book, which show that she had made very adverse comment in it on Bloomfield Douglas which she decided could not be published as her views on Douglas – some relevant extracts are given below.

On 16th November 1882 Isabella writes to Murray:-

"I must ask you to help me by finding out through the Colonial Office whether Mr. Bloomfield Douglas, the Resident, has resigned and whether his resignation has been accepted? and next, though of much less importance to me, whether his son-in-law Mr. Daly still holds an official appointment in any part of the Malay Peninsula. Sir Benson Maxwell wrote to me that he believed these persons have vacated their appointments but his information is not always trustworthy. At all events I am obliged to suppress a great part of my letter from Selangor. Mr. Douglas, I think the most fiendish human being I have ever seen. After close study I failed to find a redeeming point in his character. The misgovernment of the State was gross and brutal. I saw scenes in which the Resint was the chief actor of the most brutal description and heard more than I saw. It was a rule of fraud, hypocrisy and violence. As the guest of the S.S. government I "ate salt" with this man and would not under any circumstances put into print my opinion of him but if he has resigned I should not feel any hesitation in publishing some strictures on his administration for they are not stronger than those which appear in a recent Parliamentary paper from the pen of an official of the S.S. Government. If he has resigned (and I cannot see how

he could hold office after that report was made) his resignation proves the reasonableness of my depreciatory remarks – if not probably the whole letter which has certainly a degree of interest had better be suppressed."

The central passage of this letter with its violent attack on Douglas has been discussed above (va. p. 51). It is clear that Syern had to be wary in his most interesting and instructive conversation² with Isabella, while Douglas and Daly were ashore (Bird p. 226). In fact Douglas has been compelled to reasign (in August 1882) and Daly also had resigned (though he subsequently obtained a post under the Chartered Company in North Borneo). Isabella next wrote to Murray on 28th November 1882:-

"You may be assured of my caution regarding Mr. Bloomfield Douglas. Howard be a very "ugly customer". Now that he has been compelled to resign I shall no longer feel it my duty to expose him. In this case I am printing my letters literally without alteration except the making of a very few omissions and some suppressions as regards Selangor. At present I think them very superficial and wonder whether they are worth publishing. They seem to me to have less material in them than anything I have written before."

The next letter is dated 19th December 1882:-

"When you see this MS in proof you will kindly tell me whether you think it "libellous". I think not as I have omitted all my anathemas and have deleted many personal references. In fact acting on the vulgar provet "Never kick a man when he is down" I have let Mr. Douglas off very easily though a Blue Book which must be safe material (of last year) give a most disastrous character of his rule."

The official report published as a parliamentary paper to which Isabella Bird refers would presumably be Swettenham's audit report on the Malay State for 1879 published (with other Straits Settlements papers) in Command Paper C 3095 of 1881. It is not complimentary to the regime in Selangor but hardly supports what Isabella feared might otherwise be libelous. From a letter of 20th January 1883 and despite the author's misgiving ("I am anticipating the publication of my book with anything but pleasure. . . I think very poorly of the volume") it received generally favourable reviews. The review in the Whitehall Review angered Isabella because it purported to detect inaccuracy in her account of the river boats of Hong Kong. She said that she was being criticised for something which she had not in fact written, adding "the writer is probably Mr. Bloomfield Douglas". Douglas had served in the East India Company Navy in the Opium War in 1842 and had returned to Hong Kong for sick leave in 1879 - so it could have been him. But one feels that Isabella was becoming almost obsessive about Douglas. She had also been much concerned about making serious factual mistakes in her account of unfamiliar territory ("I knew nothing about these States before I visited them" - letter of 2 December 1882). On the contrary however Clementi Smith, with whom she had had friendly contacts in Singapore (where he was then Colonial Secretary) congratulated her and told her that the book contained "only 3 minor errors" (letter of 18th July 1883). Only the *Spectator* had reviewed the book as a whole in adverse terms.

One wishes that Isabella had preserved the original Selangor letter which caused her so much concern later. Apart from the predictable further allegations of brutality by Douglas it might have disclosed the sources rom which the information came. Secondly, the Golden Cheronese is so much a classic of 19th century Malayan history that it is interesting to see how much suppressed emotion was crowed into Isabella Bird's five days in Selangor. One wonder too whether Syers' reticence in talking to Isabella, which one can detect in her passages on him, was in part due to his realisation of her strong hostility to the Resident. Perhaps Syers read the book. He cannot have known when he was so politie and attentive to the author that she would write one of the few contemporary accounts of him at his work.

NOTES

The addition of these Notes is the main change in the text of this paper in comparison with the original. The purpose of the Notes is mainly to identify the source of material in the main text, rather than to add to it. However Appendix 1 ('Syers' Origins') has been rewritten to offer a closer analysis of the information available. Appendix III of the original paper on the Selangor Government has been omitted since, in t he context of a collection of papers on Selangor, it seemed unnecessary to retain it.

- An arrival at Klang by coastal steamer in the 1870's is described by Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi, The Voyages of Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi, trans. and ed. by A. Sweeney and N. Phillips, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 61-2, and by Isabella Bird, The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither, London, John Murray, 1883, p. 217. Since writing this passage I find that in stepping ashore from a tongkang, Syers fell into the mud. SJ 2, 1894, p. 288. What a beginning!
- Svers left his unit, 1st Bn 10th Regt, at Mclaka on 11 March 1875 (according to the muster roll) to go 'on furlough' ie temporary leave of absence. This continued until 13 December 1875, when he was discharged 'by purchase' from further service.
 - The muster rolls provide details of Syers' whereabouts and status during his army service from July 1870 to 1875.
- Bird. op. cit., :. 248. P. Morrah. The History of the Malayan Police Force, 'JMBRAS 36(2), p. 91. 'The best policeman... 'is quoted from Syers in AR Selangor 1888.
- Morrah, op. cit., pp. 90-2, and pp. 77-80 herein.
- See Note 147 herein.
- Morrah, op. cit., p. 93.
 - Bird, as Note 4, and W.T. Homaday, Two Years in the Jungle, New York, Sribner's Sons, 1885, p. 303. See p. 49 herein.
 - Memoranda by Swettenham dated 2 and 8 October 1875, enclosed with SSD 28 May
 - Morrah, op. cit., Chap. 11.
- 12 Muster roll (of 2/11th Regt.). WO 12/2741.
- 13 See photograph facing page 87 of this paper. 14 E. Innes, The Chersonese with the Gilding Off, w vols., London, Richard Bentley & Sons,
- 1885, vol. 1, p. 129 and p. 178 herein. J.H.M. Robson, Records and Recollections 1889-1934, Kuala Lumpur, Kyle Palmer, 1934, p. 35.
- The unpublished diary of Bloomfield Douglas, Resident of Selangor (1876-82), entries for 27 May 1879 and 3 September 1877. This is cited hereafter as 'Douglas diary' with the entry date.
- entry date.

 Homday, op. cit., p. 328.
- G. Woodcock, The British in the Far East, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969, p. 44.
- WO 12 2811 Muster rolls for second quarter of 1874.
- Straits Times 19 July 1897, quoting an obituary, by Robson, in the Malay Mail.
- Primary sources are the contemporary records printed in C 1320 of 1875. See C.N. Parkinson, British Intervention in Malaya 1867-1877, Singapore, University of Malaya Press. 1960, p. 177f for a narrative of the events.
 - 22 Bird, op. cit., p. 173.
- 23 From a report quoted by Parkinson, op. cit., p. 180.
- Instructions dated 20 January 1875 in Sel/Sec 3/75 reprinted in E. Sadka, The Protected Malay States 1874-1895, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, p. 392.

- F.A. Swettenham, Sir Frank Swettenham's Malayan Journals, ed. P.L. Burns and C.D. Cowan, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 111-4 and 125-6.
- Ibid., pp. 198 and 206.
- Bird, op. cit., p. 213.
- H.L. Talbot, Commissioner of Police FMS (1897-1908), contributed a passage on the FMS Police, to the chapter on the Malayan Police Forces in A. Wright and H.A. Cartwright, Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya, Lloyds Publishing Co. 1908. It may be presumed that this was drafted for Talbot by a member of his staff using the police records. This passage (op. cit., p. 298) states that Syers joined the police on I March 1875. See also Note 31 below.
- Swettenham, Journal, p. 208.
- The increase from \$50 to \$70 is recorded in a Selangor Secretariat file; the muster rolls (see Note 3 above) record an undated army decision in the July-September quarter of 1875 that he should be discharged by purchase, with actual payment of the required £18 on 13 December 1875.
- He was briefly 'in mess', ie on the ration strength, on 16 and 17 October 1875. WO 12 2813. On the grant of six months' leave initially see the article (probably by Syers) cited in Note 33 below.
- 32 Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi, op. cit., p. 72.
- 33 'An Account of the Selangor Police Force,' Selangor Journal, vol. 1, p. 85f, is the sole source for the passage in the text on Syers' initial reorganisation of Tunku Kudin's mercenaries and the main source for the account of the operations in Ulu Selangor to quell the rising led by Sutan Puasa, and the subsequent deployment of the police into rural police stations.
- Morrah, op. cit., p. 52, suggests that Ali Marnat and de Fontaine were the same man. The description of de Fontaine in 1872 is from Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi, op. cit., p. 62 (with an editorial footnote on his career). See also J.M. Gullick, 'Tunku Kudin in Selangor,' JMBRAS 59 (2), 1986, reprinted in this volume (and cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Kudin'), at p. 210 De Fontaine finally served in the North Borneo police and was killed there in 1885 in a clash with tribesmen. I. Black, A Gambling Style of Government, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1983, n. 45
- Report dated 22 February 1875 by Davidson, enclosed with SSD 27 April 1875 (C 1320);
- Swettenham, Journal pp. 200 and 169 and 209, for the various quotations.
- Innes, op. cst., vol. 1, pp. 92-4 and p. 173 herein.
- Davidson (as Note 35) and Swettenham, Journal, p. 278.
- Swettenham, Journal, p. 272. On Raja Kahar see also J.M. Gullick, 'A Careless Heathen Philosopher?, JMBRAS 26 (1), 1953, printed herein and cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Sultan, and Gullick, Kudin, at pp. 33 and 198 herein.
- S.M. Middlebrook, 'Yap Ah Loy', JMBRAS 24 (2), 1951, p. 69 (Sutan Puasa during the civil war) and Gullick, Sultan, p. 9 herein, on Davidson's suspicions, probably unjustified, of the Sultan's involvement.
- See Note 33 above.
- 41 Sutan Puasa was sent to prison but released, on bail of \$5,000, after serving 9 months of his term. He then settled at Gombak, near Kuala Lumpur. Douglas diary 29 May 1879.
- 42 Bird, op. cit., p. 218.
- Report dated 6 March 1879 by F.a. Swettenham, enclosed with SSD 6 March 1879 (C 2410), para 28. This was the first of three annual reports made by Swettenham (formally they were audit reports on the state government accounts) on administrative matters, for which he had supervisory responsibilities as Assistant Colonial Secretary (Native States) in the SS government in Singapore (1877-82).
- Innes, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 148. See p. 41 above.
- Morrah, op. cit., p. 102.
- 46 Robson, op. cit., p. 35.

47 Report dated 11 July 1878 on the Selangor Police by Syers forwarded, with a similar report from Perka, with SSD 1 August 1878.

AR Selangor Police 1895 (Hussein) and 1891 (Doraisamy).

49 J.M. Gullick, 'Selangor 1876-1882: the Bloomfield Douglas Diary,' JMBRAS 48(2), 1975, (reprinted herein and cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Douglas,') and other papers in this volume on Kudin, Syers and Emily Innes, sufficiently explain the background. For this reason Appendix III of the original version of this paper has now been omitted as

unnecessary. Douglas diary 23 and 28 June, 2 and 3 July 1876.

Bird, op. cit., pp. 237 and 241 and see Note 91 below.

52 Innes, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 129. 'Mr. Syers acted as interpreter' when Isabella Bird witnessed

a dialogue between the Sultan and Douglas. Bird, op. cit., p. 231.

He had had a bad fall, presumably when riding, in 1875, which had continuing after effects. 'Something like hemia' obliged him to see a doctor at Melaka (Douglas diary 15 Mary and 9 October 1876, and 3 September 1877). Inevitably he was laid up with bouts of fever (16-20 July 1876 and 13 and 26 August 1878). In 1881, after being sick for 3 weeks, he went to Singapore for two months (3 October and 1 December 1881); a Sel/Sec reference suggests that he had an enlarged spleen, presumably the result of repeated attacks of malaria. In his later years in Sclangor he seems to have had less illness, though his leave (1893-4) was extended from 12 to 15 months.

Innes, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 122, 129 and 167, and Douglas diary 28 March 1878.

55 Douglas diary 19 October 1878 (snipe); 5 September 1878 (elephant) and 11 September 1878 (shooting match). Bird, op. cit., p. 222. Douglas diary 10 September 1876 records one of the many Sundays

when Svers was among the handful who attended the service at the Residency.

Diary 28 August 1876 (launch); 26 December 1876 (sobriety); 27 May 1879 (horses). sa Ibid. 22 February 1879.

59 Gullick, Douglas, p. 116 herein, and Sadka, op. cit., p. 212.

60 Homaday, op. cit., pp. 302-31.

61 Bird, op. cit., p. 217f on Isabella's encounters with Syers; quotation at p. 248.

Bird, op. cit., p. 285; Morrah, op. cit., p. 57.

Bird, op. cit., p. 231. Ibid., pp. 218, 224 and 241

Ibid., p. 241.

Ibid., p. 239.

See Note 50 for an example. Bird, op. cit., p. 218 (police) and 240 (bugle). Innes, op. cit., vol. 2, Chap 5 (Pangkor

Bird, op. cit., p. 283; Morrah, op. cit., p. 62, and Chap 11 on Walker's regime.

Swettenham's memorandum, cited in Note 10, for the quotations, and Sadka, op. cit., p.

Report by Svers cited in Note 47.

⁷² Swettenham's report cited in Note 43, para 28, is the source of this and the next paragraph, except for state revenue and expenditure figures taken from F.A. Swettenham, British Malaya, London, John Lane Bodley Head, 1907, revised 1948, p. 223.

73 Swettenham's audit report (see Note 43) for 1879, dated 27 March 1880.

Note 99 below.

⁷⁵ Davidson, cited in Note 37 above.

76 P.L. Burns (ed.) in Swettenham, Journals, p. xxxii (see Note 25 above). Bird, op. cit., p. 221. See J.M. Gullick, 'the Growth of Kuala Lumpur and of the Malay

community in Selangor before 1880', JMBRAS 63(1), 1990, (cited hereafter as 'Gullick, KL to 1880') pp. 25-6, on the transfer of the administrative capital from Klang to Kuala Lumpur.

Gullick, Sultan, p. 11 herein.

79 Note 136 and the Douglas diary from September 1878 on the hunting pack.

Douglas diary entries for July/August 1881 (she died on 2 August), and Sel/Sec files of the period for subsequent correspondence about a post of 'Residency surgeon.' The two unmarried younger daughters (the two elder were married) were Bridie (Helen) and Mollie; both were with their parents in Selangor. One of them was disabled (Bird, op. cit., p. 241). But it is not possible to identify her by name; Douglas never refers to the disability. The daughter who died in 1881 was undoubtedly Bridie. Mollie may have been the disabled daughter, from diary entries it appears that Bridie led an active, normal life, whereas the are very few references to Mollie.

Douglas diary 5 October and 1 December 1881 (Syers' absence in Singapore); ibid. 20

October 1881 (Weld's visit).

82 Swettenham's comment is cited by P. Barr, Taming the Jungle - the Men who made British Malaya, London, Secker & Warburg, 1977, p. 71. Mrs. Barr (communication of 9 January 1978 for which I am indebted) believes that this comment came from a Sel/Sec

file of 1882 dealing with government quarters in Kuala Lumpur.

Morrah, op. cit., p. 94. Patrick Morrah wrote his history when he was the Press Officer of the Malayan Police, drawing on the personal recollections of retired Malayan Police Officers and also of Mrs. Stratton Brown (see Note 86 below). Morrah had been on the staff of the Malay Mail before the war, at a time when Mrs. Syers' second husband was still actively involved with the newspaper, of which he was part owner. But neither Morrah nor others then alive who had been members of the editorial staff at the time have any recollection of Mrs. Syers (who died in 1937). I am indebted to Mr. Morrah for his personal communication of 18 April 1979 on this subject and other information.

Personal communication from Mrs. Sonia Cole, daughter of Tom Syers (see Note 151

below), for which and other information I am indebted.

See Notes 150 and 160 below

86 E. Stratton Brown, 'Looking back on Selangor in the Nineties,' Fifty Years of Progress 1904-1954, a Malay Mail supplement of 1955. Mrs. Stratton Brown (then Miss Stratton) arrived in Kuala Lumpur in 1896 to become the first headmistress of the short-lived Kuala Lumpur Government English School for Girls. Selangor Journal, vol. 4, p. 386, 24 July 1896. She later married the Assistant Government Printer, and was still alive in Kuala Lumpur in 1954.

A.L. Keyser, People and Places: A Life in Five Continents, London, John Murray, 1922, p. 100 attributes the nickname to the mixed membership of the Selangor Club. J.H.M. Robson, the second husband of Mrs. Syers, Records and Recollections, Kuala Lumpur, Kyle Palmer, 1934, p. 42, quotes Keyser as the author of the name, which implies that the former Mrs. Syers confirmed the explanation given by Keyser rather than Mrs. Stratton Brown's. Keyser had first arrived in Kuala Lumpur in 1888 and Robson in the following year.

AR Selangor 1885 and 1886.

See Gullick, Sultan p. 11

The main sources for Syers' later years as chief of police are the published annual reports of the Resident of Selangor (from 1882) and of Syers himself, reporting on the Selangor Police, from 1889. The institution of a Selangor Government Gazette ('SGG'), in 1890, made possible the publication of department annual reports, including that of the Selangor Police. The Sel/Sec files at the Arkib Negara may well hold earlier police annual reports. Where a report, with its date, is cited in the text, it has not seemed necessary to add a Note to repeat the citation.

Middlebrook, op. cit., Chap 18 (based mainly on data extracted from Sel/Sec files by the author of this volume when completing Middlebrooks paper in 1950). The Douglas diary also contains much information on mining matters

Bird, op. cit., pp. 237-8.

Douglas diary 27 September 1877

See Note 10 above.

- 94 See eg AR Selangor Police 1890. Owing to a mining slump 1890 had been difficult year for the police.
- J.M. Gullick, 'Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895,' JMBRAS 2(4), 1955, especially pp. 78., 86 and

Straits Times 19 July 1897.

- 97 W.L. Blythe, The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya, London, Oxford University Press, 1969, Chap 12, 'The Malay States 1875-1900,' and pp. 192-3 on the mid-1870's.
- 98 Blythe, op. cit., p. 256. Gullick, Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895, reprints the principal op documents.

AR Selangor 1884. See Photograph herein showing the Sikhs on parade in 1897.

For a sympathetic character study of Rodger see Robson, op. cit., pp. 37-8, and for a harsh one R.O. Winstedt, Start from Alif, Count from One, pp. 44-6. E. Thio, British Policy in the Malay Peninsula 1880-1910, Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1969, pp. 93-4. and W. Linchan, 'A History of Pahang,' JMBRAS 14(2), 1936, Chap 11 on his performance in Pahang. On leaving Malaya in 1904 Rodger went on to a governorship in West Africa (and a knighthood).

101 The main sources for this passage on Syers in Pahang are Morrah, op. cit., Chap 8 ('Syers and Pahang') and 9 ('The Pahang Disturbances'). See also AR Pahang 1889-92 and AR Selangor Police 1889-92. SSD 29 August 1889 reports on a visit to Pahang by the

Governor. AR Pahang 1889, paras 24-5.

AR Pahang 1890.

- 104 Bulletins on recent events in Pahang in the early weeks of the rising (in 1892) were published in the Selangor Government Gazette. See issues of 22 and 30 January and 19 February 1892 on the involvement of the Selangor Police. In November 1892 the Governor came to Kuala Lumpur (to open the railway extension to Ulu Selangor) and, in the course of his visit, inspected a parade of the Sclangor Police and in his speech 'referred to the very satisfactory reports he had received of their conduct while on service in (Pahang). Selangor Journal, vol. 1, p. 50, 11 November 1892. See also Linehan, op. cit. p. 141 and (for Syers' commendation) AR Selangor Police 1892.
- 105 H.C. Clifford, Bushwhacking and Other Asiatic Tales and Memories, New York, Harper, 1929, pp. 51-2.

SSG 18 March 1892. 107 Ibid. 3 July 1891.

Morrah, op. cit., pp. 86-7, quotes from an account of the Jeram Ampai affair published in the Malayan Police Magazine in 1929 - presumably written by someone who was there. The only objective contemporary account is given by Jones Vaughan in his report (see Note 109 below).

The Jones Vaughan report was sent to London with SSD 4 December 1894.

110 AR Selangor Fire Brigade 1890, published in SGG 1 May 1891. See also 'the Late Captain Syers', Selangor Journal, vol. 5, p. 374, 23 July 1897, on his periods of temporary employment as an administrator.

111 SGG 4 April 1890.

Monthly report of DO Kuala Langat in SGG 12 December 1890. 113 Gullick, Douglas, p. 130 herein.

Bird, op. cit., p. 285. See also J.M. Gullick, 'Isabella Bird's Visit to Malaya - a Centenary Tribute, JMBRAS 52(2), 1979. p. 117, for some unpublishable comments on Maxwell -'very bumptious' and 'hated by his subordinates.' But Isabella Bird (see Note 65 for her comments on Bloomfield Douglas) tended to extreme likes and dislikes. See J.M. Gullick, 'William Maxwell and the Study of Malay Society,' JMBRAS 64(2) 1991, pp. 8 and 15

for a more balanced assessment. AR Selangor 1887

116 SSD 20 May 1889 – the Governor reporting on a visit to Kuala Lumpur.

- 117 Gullick, Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895, pp.7 and 115, and Selangor Journal, vol. 2, p. 8, 22 September 1893 (Lake Gardens); SGG 1890, p. 258 (Gymkhana Club). Maxwell, who was an enthusiastic amateur rider, disapproved of professional jockeys, Gullick, Maxwell,
- p. 33 n24. 118 SGG 30 May 1890; AR Selangor Police 1890; Gullick, Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895, p. 118. 119 SGG 7 March 1890 and 9 March 1891.

- 120 SGG 6 February 1891 (fire crackers); 16 May 1890 and Gullick, Kuala Lumpur 1880-1885, p. 73 (bakeries).
- 121 Gullick, Maxwell, pp. 14 and 18, and Kuala Lumpur 1880-1895, p. 17; Robson, Records and Recollections, p. 37; and Gullick, op. cit., p. 59, citing a report by the Commissioner of Lands Selangor in a Sel/Sec file of 1885.

122 Selangor Journal obituary cited in Note 110 above. 123 AR Selangor Police 1890, SGG 15 Mary 1891.

124 AR Selangor Police 1889, SGG 18 April 1890.

125 AR Selangor Police 1893.

126 See Note 109 (Jones Vaughan report); AR Selangor 1895.

AR Selangor Police 1893 and 1894 by Lyons and Syers respectively. AR Selangor Police 1895.

Morrah, op. cit., Chap 15.

- 130 SGG GN 573 of 29 August 1896 announced Syers' appointment to take effect from a date to be fixed. GN 700 of 4 November 1986 fixed the effective date as 14 August 1896.
- 131 AR FMS 1896 and 1897. The correspondence on Syers' appointment includes a letter of 15th July 1896 from Swettenham (CO 426/12:40) and papers in Sel/Sec files 4456/96 and 4945/96. It appears that Swettenham delayed announcing that Syers was to head the new FMS Police until arrangements for Walker's future had been settled. I am indebted to H.S. Barlow for these references, discovered in research into Swettenham's plans for senior staff in the new federal organisation.

132 Morrah, op.cit., p. 95. 'Disparaging minutes': Sadka, op. cit., p. 244, citing Sel/Sec 1546/98. AR FMS 1897 (Swettenham).

133 Gullick, Rulers and Residents, pp. 94-5; J.S. Sidhu, Administration in the Federated Malay States 1896-1920, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 44f. 134 Wagner was a lawyer who also spoke 'several Chinese dialects in addition to Hindustani

and Tamil.' Morrah, op. cit., p. 63. AR FMS 1896. Gullick, Rulers and Residents, p. 235; Morrah, op. cit., pp. 62 and 90.

136 Morrah, op. cit., p. 109.

137 Morrah, op. cit., p. 91.

- 138 R. Heussler, British Rule in Malaya: the Malayan Civil Service and its Predecessors 1867-1942, Westport Connecticutt, Greenwood Press, 1981, pp. 69, 82 and 105.
- 139 F.A. Swettenham, Footprints in Malaya, London, Hutchinson, 1942, p. 113. 140 Bird, op. cit., p. 248.

141 See p. 49 above.

- 142 W. Makepeace, G.E. Brooke and R. St. J. Braddell, (eds.), One Hundred Years of Singapore, 2 vols., London, John Murray, 1921, vol. 1, p. 561.
- 143 H.C.S., 'Shooting in Sclangor,' Selangor Journal, vol. 1, pp. 42, 90 and 252. Syers' remark on the dangers of shooting seladang at p. 91.
- 144 H.C. Clifford, The Further Side of Silence, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co, 1927, 'In the Valley of the Tenom,', pp. 77-102. ¹⁴³W.G. Maxwell, In Malay Forests, Edinburgh, William Blackwood & Sons, 1907, pocket

edition, 1930, p. 89. For a shorter version see the obituary in the Selangor Journal (Note 110 above).

¹⁴⁷ SGG extraordinary issue, reprinted in Selangor Journal, vol 5, p. 373, 23 July 1897. Swettenham also headed the procession of 6,000 moumers when Syers' body was brought to Kuala Lumpur for reburial in 1899. Malay Mail 10 August 1899.

Robson, op. cit., p. 36.

149 Straits Times 28 July 1897; Selangor Journal (as Note 147).

150 Stafford's appointment was notified in SGG; Ebden (Note 159) mentions that Stafford was Mrs. Syers' brother-in-law. Presumably Stafford had married her sister.

Mrs. Syers left for England, with her children, on 7th August 1897. Selangor Journal,

vol. 5, p. 384, 6 August 1897.

SSD 17 August 1897 records that Mrs. Syers was entitled to a widow's pension of £108 pa and a gratuity of \$5,000 (less the cost of her homeward passage - but this deduction seems to have been waived). Among these papers is a letter from Mrs. Syers dated 27 July 1897, setting out her hopes and plans for her childrens' education.

So far as is known she did not return to Malaya for quarter of a century, when she married J.H.M. Robson, who had been a friend in the 1890's. She died in Kuala Lumpur on 19 May 1937, leaving an estate in England valued at £2773, distributed among her grandchildren. In the will, made in 1934 at Southampton, she refers to herself only as the wife of J.H.M. Robson, and makes no mention of her previous marriage to Syers nor of her own family and origins.

Army List; Robson, loc. cit.; personal information from Mrs. Sonia Cole, (a

granddaughter) to whom I am indebted.

See Notes 127 and 134 above.

153 Straits Times 19 July 1897.

154 See p. 46 above.

155 AR Selangor 1888

156 Morrah, op. cit., Chap 18 ('the Criminal Registry').

157 Morrah, op. cit., p. 94. See also p. 32 above.

158 Ibid., p. 96.

159 See p. 49 above.

Letter dated 22 July 1897 from L.P. Ebden to Lucas in CO 273/229.

THE BLOOMFIELD DOUGLAS DIARY 1876 – 1882



W. Bloomfield Douglas

THE BLOOMFIELD DOUGLAS DIARY 1876 - 1882

J.M. GULLICK

The newly discovered private diary of Bloomfield Douglas covering most of his six years (1876-1882) as Resident of Selangor affords much additional material on the political and economic history of Selangor during that period. The first half of the 1870's in the western Malay States was a time of discord and upheaval. The reports and records of Hugh Low provide an adequate account of the process of settling down, of Anglo-Malay accommodation and of economic reconstruction, in Perak which followed the civil war period. For Selangor at this time we have the invaluable State Secretariat files¹ and The Chersonese with the Gilding Off by Emily Innes, whose husband was Collector at Kuala Langat in 1876 – 1878 and again in 1880 – 1881. To this material the Douglas diary, which extends to some 240,000 words, adds a good deal of detail. The present paper offers some selections from the diary mainly concerned with the situation and affairs of the Malay community in Selangor at this time.

Bloomfield Douglas was no Samuel Pepys; much of his diary is a monotonous record of the working routine of a brusque and rather unimaginative martinet who to the very end of his days in Malaya failed to master the Malay language.4 However he was an experienced civil servant who for twenty years (1854-1874) had filled senior posts in South Australia.5 His relations both with Sultan Abdul Samad and with Tunku Kudin the Viceroy of Selangor at one time, were much more friendly and frank than might have been expected. He saw the Sultan about once a month - each meeting entailed a long journey for Douglas from Klang and later from Kuala Lumpur to see the Sultan at Kuala Langat. Douglas also made a series of long and exhausting trips by pony, boat or on foot through the hitherto unexplored interior of Selangor. He notes the facts of many of the cases, criminal and civil, which he tried as "Judge". He gives an account of how his initial friendship with Emily and James Innes gradually deteriorated into the feud which ended with the resignations of both men; this throws some interesting sidelights on Emily and her book but limitations of space prevent their inclusion in this paper.

Selangor In 1876. The diary begins on 11th April 1876. Douglas, then Assistant Resident at the royal capital of Bandar Langat and a keen shot, takes out his gun early on a misty moming and returns to receive a letter from Klang informing him that the Resident, J.G. Davidson' is seriously ill and that Douglas must for the time being at least take his place at Klang —"I am elated at the news but I wish there was much promise of permanency about it"—in

fact he was to hold the post for the next six years.

The responsibilities which he took over were daunting and all the more difficult because Davidson had not kept him very well informed and the Viceroy (Tunku Kudin) was away in his native Kedah. Selangor had hardly begun to recover from the ruinous effects of a long and bitter civil war in which rival groups of Malay Rajas and Chinsee miners had compted for political power and the revenues which went with it. The Sultan's son-in-law Tunku dia Udin (usually abbreviated in English texts to "Kudin") and the Capitan China, Yap Ah Loy, had borrowed money from the merchants of the Straits Settlements to provide the sinews of war; Kudin had also hired troops from the Bendahara of Pahang. Against them were ranged most of the Selangor Rajas, led by Raja Mahdi and supported by the Chinese opponents of Yap Ah Loy, this party also had the patronage of the Maharaja of Johore, Kudin's coalition had worr, Mahdi and his principal lieutenants had gone into exile but it was known that they did not accept their defeat in 1873 as final.

In the civil war Sultan Abdul Samad had aimed to remain neutral and above the conflict. When Kudin, brother of the Sultan of Kedah, had married Abdul Samad's daughter, the Sultan had appointed him Viceroy of Selangor in the hope that an arbiter from outside the State acting in his name would be accepted by the rival factions. When this device failed and Kudin became embroiled in the civil war as leader of the group opposed to Raja Mahdi the Sultan indicated that he would accept whichever of the two sides might emerge victorious. When Sir Andrew Clarke installed a Resident in Selangor late in 1874 British policy was equally pragmatic but more decided. It was to promote stability by recognition and support of Tunku Kudin as de facto ruler of Selangor in the Sultan's name.

The first Resident, J.G. Davidson, took up his duties at Klang, the administrative capital of Selangor, where he could work closely with Kudin as Viceroy. Frank Swettenham, young and ambitious, was stationed at the royal capital of Kuala Langat as Assistant Resident, to observe and hold in check the intrigues of the circle around the Sultan. In 1875 Swettenham moved on to other duties and was succeeded by Douglas, who had recently obtained employment in Singapore as a magistrate. Douglas, then 53 years old, had begun his career abroad with James Brooke in his early days in Sarawak and had come back to Southeast Asia after many years in Australia. He had volunteered for service in the Malay States.

The civil war had devastated Selangor. As the tide of war approached, Malay villagers had deserted their smallholdings, many of which still lay neglected. The open-cast tin mines around Kuala Lumpur, which were the economic mainstay of the State, had become waterlogged; their waterwheel pumps, watercourses, buildings and works burnt or destroyed. The State government was burdened with debts to Kudin's backers equal to more than two years' revenue. The interior of Selanger had been overrun by the Pahang levies some of whom remained in occupation until payment for their services could be made. The depressed world price of tin greatly impeded

reconstruction and recovery.

The Malay Balance of Power. At the outset of his diary Douglas states his intentions as "I shall go on one policy, the advancement of the country without reference to individuals. The Raja element must come down and the real government must be the Sultan or his Viceroy and his Resident." It is not however the purpose of this paper to study this administrative policy in its sometimes clumsy execution by Douglas; rather to describe from his diary the complex distribution of power between elements of the Selangor Malay leadership as it existed at this time.

The sequence of extracts from the Douglas diary which follows is concerned with (1) the Sultan and his circle at Kuala Langat (2) Tunku Kudin the Viceroy of Selangor and his supporters (3) the faction headed by Raja Mahdi, now in exile in Singapore, and represented in Selangor by Raja Mahmud and his father, Tunku Panglima Raja and (4) the Malays from Menangkabau and Pahang who had begun settle in the interior of the State.

Sultan Abdul Samad. At this time the Sultan was over 70 and he had reigned, somewhat precariously, for almost 20 years. The accepted view of Sultan Abdul Samad owes much to the writings, official and literary, of Swettenham. It pictures the old man as a roi faineant living as a recluse at Kuala Langat withdrawn from and indifferent to the cares of government. But evidence points to a different view both of Malay political structure in general and of Sultan Abdul Samad as a ruler in particular. Douglas's comment quoted above "the Raja element must come down" is a recognition of the dispersal of power in the traditional Malay political structure which left to the Sultan a position more of symbolic and titular prominence than of effective authority. Neither in Perak nor in Negeri Sembilan did the Ruler of the State have real power before 1874. Sultan Abdul Samad, a professional survivor who in the end reigned for forty years through many changes of political circumstance and who died at 92, came to terms with the shifting realities of power over his long reign. On that account alone he repays serious study. To observe him playing on Swettenham's conceit or side-stepping awkward questions from a visiting Governor is to see a fine card player to whom fate has dealt a poor hand. As the Douglas diary will show he was far from being the irresponsible hedonist suggested by Swettenham's descriptions.10 On the contrary he continued throughout his long life to concern himself actively in the affairs of his State, to exercise influence and to give advice. Emily Innes, who lived at Kuala Langat for some three and a half years, gave this description11 - "He was a curiously withered-looking little old man, so thin that every bone in his body stood out in bold relief against a background of loose brown skin; he wore a coloured handkerchief on his head, and on high days and holidays a jacket of sprigged silk with diamonds over his kilt. As time went on we grew to have a feeling not only of warm friendship, but even of respect for him."

It is significant that Douglas, a strong-willed administrator, continued throughout his time as Resident to consult the Sultan on an immense variety of matters. As an example take the interview on 21st November 1881. Douglas

records it as follows:-

"AI Jugra at 11 conferred with Mr. Innes and had an interview with the Sultan. Introduced Mr. Hill and informed H.H. that Mr. Hill was a partner of Mr. Lister?" and I explained where the first plantation would be made. The Sultan expressed great interest in Mr. Hill's work and made many very intelligent enquiries in reference to the opening of a coffee plantation in the hills. It is evident the Sultan takes a very lively interest in planting and I proposed that H.H. should visit Ginting Bedee when the land was cleared and planted. This he promised to do. Mr. Hill was most favourably impressed by the Sultan's Kind and friendly manner.

"I consulted the Sultan and Mr. Innes about the Kuala Lumpur farms¹³ and they agreed with me that it was only fair to the Capitan China to give him

preference the tenders being equal.

"I conferred with the Sultan in reference to the release of the female convict Hamidah recently sent to Singapore. The Sultan had no objection to her release provided she is not permitted to return to this country."

"I informed H.H. that it was improbable the Royal Princes would accept the courteous invitation to visit this country; that I proposed attending at the reception of their R.H. at Singapore and represent the Sultan and express the regret felt at their R.H. not being able to honour the State with their presence.

The Sultan said he hoped I would do so and say everything that was courteous and respectful on the occasion.¹⁵

"After taking leave of the Sultan I noticed that Raja Abidin of Bernam was in the Istana. On making enquiries of Mr. Innes as to this young Raja's visit he informed me he had come from Singapore, that the Sultan thought it was better he should reside in Selangor and spend his pension here than in the Straits Settlements. This is all tyery well but R. Abidin receives no persion but an allowance out of the revenues received at Bernam to enable him to reside in that district and as an encouragement to develop it. If Raja Abidin is allowed to draw his allowance at Jugra and take up his residence there, there is no reason why Raja Hitam and the whole tribe of Bernam Rajas should not do the same. This would be quite ignoring the principle under which these allowances were granted on the collection of the Bernam duties being handed over to the Government in 1877.16

In other passages Douglas records the Sultan's interest in revenue matters, in the succession to the throne, in the adjustment of the state boundary between Selangor and Sungei Ujong, in the State debts incurred during the civil war, in health matters, in rebuilding his Istana on the move from Bandar Langat to Jugra, in review of court decisions and the grant of pardons, in the issue of authority (kuaza) to Malay heads of local communities, in loans both to Malay settlers and to Chinese miners, "in the proceedings of the State Council which were reported to the Sultan for approval, in the grant of pensions and allowances to Malay Rajas (on which the Sultan was usually a restraining influence), in the abolition of debt slavery, in religious affairs such as the building of mosques and the appointment of Imans, in the conduct of

members of his family and in agricultural development and the introduction of new crops.

One has the impression of an alert and well-informed ruler much concerned with Selangor affairs. He was of course a passive recipient of information, quite content to allow his overbearing Resident to have his way, returning his favourite remark, "Benar, benar," So long as Tunku Kudin continued as Viceroy there was at least a pretent for the Sultaria's seclusion. When Kudin resigned, an event to which we shall come later in this paper, Douglas felt it necessary to ask the Sultan whether he or his cledest son, Raja Muda Musa, should not now play a more active part. The interview took place on 21st June 1878. Douglas with a characteristically ponderous attempt at finesse approached the subject at the end of discussion of other matters. His account (216.1878) goes as follow:—

"Made fast to the bank and landed. Saw the Sultan on the following subjects.

"1. He approved the pensioning of Sheikh Mohamed Taib¹⁹ at \$50 per month and of Haji Mohamed Salleh at the same salary per month as head man of Kanching and Bandar.

"2. As to the supply of rice he requested me to get his 10 koyans through the agents Messrs. A.L. Johnston deducting the cost by instalments of \$500 per month.²⁰

"3. Informed him of what had taken place at Bernam." He approved of what I had done and expressed himself very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Raja Hitam. I said I should take no further action at present without orders from the Governor.

"4. I then in an ordered manner asked the Sultan that as Tunku dia Udin was leaving and did not probably require the house22 purchased for him should not he the Sultan think it advisable to reside at Klang I should be very pleased indeed to do all in my power to make him comfortable and make his residence there as pleasant as possible. The old man unhesitatingly refused. He said he was quite satisfied with the present arrangement. I was at Klang. Mr. Innes was at Langat with him. Other European officers collected the revenue, there were penghulus at the different stations and no one complained to him as to the administration of those things which he left to me. I then as it were incidentally asked if whether as Tunku dia Udin was about to leave and there would be no man of high rank at Klang with me and whom I might consult if I had not time to see him the Sultan, it would not be advisable that Raja Musa should reside in Klang, there would be a good house for him when Tunku dia Udin left. The Sultan replied there was no difficulty about my consulting him. I had a very fast steamer and could always get to Jugra in a few hours. He then spoke very strongly and said he had many times tried to make use of his sons in the government of the country but they had all made a mess of it. He had no desire that Raja Musa should live in Klang in any official capacity, he preferred his remaining at Langat to look after him and open up the country making plantations and thus setting a good example to the people."23

No doubt Douglas was given the answer which he wanted and expected (as the Sultan well knew).

Most of the Sultan's interviews took place at the Istana and sometimes in public. Weld comments "Malays are accustomed to carry on their discussions before a mixed audience and we were sitting on a raised platform accompanied by four or five Rajas, whilst around stood or squatted the general public."24 Although Douglas does not say so it must be assumed that the discussion of Raja Musa quoted above took place in decent privacy. But the opportunity of private discussion had to be deliberately requested or contrived. Such an occasion was the proposal that the Sultan should make a will. Douglas records the meeting as follows (28.5.1881):-

"Landed at Jugra at 6 a.m. Conferred with Mr. Innes. Mr. Ranking examining accounts from 1st January to 30th April last. Mr. Syers25 and I proceeded to visit the Sultan, an appointment made last night. On arriving at the Istana I saw Encik Behak26 and told him to give my respects to H.H. and say that if agreeable I should like to speak about the will, but if the Sultan had the slightest objection to touch on the subject I had no desire to allude to it. I merely wished to do exactly as the Sultan wished. Encik Behak went to the Sultan and returned immediately saying the Sultan would see me immediately and that he had every desire to have his will made.

"The Sultan made his appearance looking much better and stronger." He was very cheerful and in excellent spirits. We had some conversation in the Balai about the Kuala Selangor murder and the discovery of tin at Kuala Lumpur.28 I invited the Sultan to give his opinion as to the disposal of the tin trove. He said one moiety should go to the ruler of the country and the other to the actual discoverer; such was the Malay custom and H.H. ended by saying he wished I would send him the money. This put the Sultan in a still better humour. He likes a little windfall. I am sure he gets but very few considering his position in the country. I told the Sultan I thought a change of air would do him good and proposed that he should pay Kuala Lumpur a visit. He agreed to do so when stronger.

"The Sultan, Mr. Syers, Encik Behak and I then left the Balai and went into a private room. I apologised for giving him so much trouble and then opened the subject of his will. I told him that Encik Behak had informed me on my last visit that H.H. wished to make his surat wasiat and that I was now ready to offer my services to H.H. The Sultan without the slightest hesitation or disinclination said he thought it was a prudent thing to make his will when in health and that when sick he might not have strength of mind or purpose to do so; that other matters might occupy his thoughts. I told the Sultan I quite agreed with him, and further that H.E. the Governor was of the same opinion as to the desirability of making arrangements for the disposal of his property, so as to prevent confusion, uncertainty or unpleasantness. The Sultan seemed much gratified at H.E. having interested himself on his behalf. I remarked to Sultan that I did not consider it essential he should refer to any political matters or questions affecting the country. I proposed that the greatest privacy

should be observed, that it would be embarrassing if any interference was to take place in reference to the will. I then suggested that Encik Behak should make out a list of the Sultan's property, effects, debts due etc., that H.H. should have a draft will made out, that the draft should be sent to the Resident who would have the will properly drawn out in triplicate for H.H.'s approval and signature in the presence of witnesses, one copy to be sent to H.E., one to the Resident, and one to be kept by the Sultan, each copy to have the envelope sealed. The Sultan said he had no desire to touch on political matters in his will; he should leave the care of the country in the hands of the Governor and Resident. H.H. said he only wished to provide for the disposal of his property and to make provision for his wife and children. He agreed with me that provision should be made for the maintenance and education of his son Sah30a very wild boy indeed. The Sultan wound up by saying he was quite sure I would be his brother in this matter, that he had relied on me as acting for him in reference to the government of the country and that he had equal confidence in me as regards his private affairs.

"Altogether the interview was most satisfactory and pleasing. The old Sultan's face beamed with kindness, I might almost say with affection. I had rather dreaded broaching the subject but H.H. met me more than half way."

After the closing passage it is an anti-climax to record that the only further entry in the diary on the subject of the Sultan's will is "At Jugra at 6.30. Saw the Sultan. He said nothing about his will". Sultan Abdul Samad was an expert at sidestepping awkward issues.

By inclination the Sultan was not a man to stand on ceremony. Emily lines has left an unforgettable picture — "Now and then we came on the old Sultan, seated satride on a carpenter's bench, or else squatting on the ground, amid a crowd of dirty followers, watching a cockfight... He was usually dressed in nothing but a very scanty little cotton kilo, or a pair of still scantier bathing-drawers, and was at first sight hardly distinguishable from an old Malay peasant." As we shall see Douglas set out to dress up the old Sultan in fine raiment — with disastrous ultimate results for Douglas. Douglas himself had had the same informal encounters with the Sultan as had Emily Innes. On one occasion Douglas was in a great hurry to obtain royal approval for some decisions of the State Council:

"Arriving at the creek at 6. I landed and found the old Sultan on the road leading to the house. I told him my errand and apologised for asking him to hear the minutes read then and there. So my orderly, boats crew, barelegged Malays and H.H. innocent of anything but an old sarong squatted on the grassy side of the road at the foot of Jugra and the minutes were spelt out by Encik Behak. The old Sultan as usual saying "Benar" as I explained the purpose of each resolution. The scene was a funny one but I attained my object and the old Sultan gave orders for his big seal to be attached to the paper."

It is worth nothing that Douglas appears to have conducted this interview with the Sultan, who spoke no English, without the aid of an interpreter -

unless of course Encik Behak spoke English.

On another occasion the Chinese mines were in desperate financial straits

and Douglas decided to approach the Sultan:-

"The towkays landed and we all proceeded en masse to the Sultan who received us as usual in a very kind way. He seemed quite amused at the idea of his having "\$30,000 in two iron chests under his bed"31 and was very jocular on the subject."

There are other indications that hearty laughter was one of the Sultan's methods of turning aside a subject which he found embarrassing.32 In the end

he refused to make the loan.

Agriculture was the Sultan's absorbing interest. Douglas wrote in his

diary:-"Afterwards saw H.H. in a paddy field up to his waist in mud and water surrounded by a lot of women and children sorting out padi plants for planting."

"Tunku Panglima Raja called with Datuk Ali of Langat. The latter wants an advance to open up the country. I told him I had no funds at disposal but probably the Sultan might assist him... Haji Mustapha of Ulu Bernam called relative to the Sultan's loan of two koyans of rice which he agrees to let the Haji have to be paid by installments in 12 months."

Malay custom imposed on the ruler the public duty of providing capital to promote Malay settlement.33 But to the Sultan it was a source of satisfaction

also.

When Douglas and Emily Innes first knew Sultan Abdul Samad in 1876 his capital was at Bandar Langat of whose muddy squalor Emily has left a vivid picture.34 During the ensuing years the town, the administrative headquarters of the Kuala Langat district and the Sultan's Istana were rebuilt in the cleaner and more salubrious area of Jugra. Isabella Bird describes the new Istana as follows35:-

"The Sultan, Abdul Samad, has three houses in a beautiful situation, at the end of a beautiful valley. They are in the purest style of Malay architecture, and not a western idea appears anywhere. The wood of which they are built is a rich brown red. The roofs are very high and steep but somewhat curved. The architecture is simple, appropriate, and beautiful. The dwelling consists of the Sultan's house, a broad open passage, and then the women's house or harem. At the end of the above passage is the audience hall, and the front entrance to the Sultan's house is through a large porch which forms a convenient reception room... from this back passage a ladder with rungs about two feet apart, leads into the Sultan's house, and a step-ladder into the women's house."

Douglas was obsessed with the need, as he saw it, to fit out the Sultan to receive Western visitors in the style to which they were accustomed however alien to the Sultan's taste this might be. Accordingly Douglas obtained from Singapore uniform and also household furnishings for the Sultan and deducted the cost from the Sultan's monthly allowance. This was a flat contravention of orders given in 1880 and its discovery in 1882 was pert of the train of events leading to the enforced resignation of Douglas. The occasion of Isabella Bird's visit to Jugra was marked by the first appearance of the Sultam 'radiant in the new clothes made for him in Singapore'. "If Addul Samad were not Sultam, I should pick him out as the most preposessing Malay I have seen. He is an elderly man, with iron-grey hair, a high and prominent brow, large, prominent, dark yeas, a well-formed nose, and a good mouth. He is about the middle height. His dress became him well, and he looked comfortable in it though he had not wom it before. It was a rich black velvet baju or jacket, something like a loose hussar jacket, braided, flogged and slashed with gold, trousers with a broad stripe on the outside, a rich silk sarong in checks and shades of red, and a Malay printed handkerchief knotted round his head, forming a sort of peak."

Not all these receptions went off so well. Douglas has an anguished passage in his diary recording the fiasco of a visit to Jugra by Weld and his suite for which inadequate arrangements had been made at the Istana. Douglas blamed Innes for this affair, which he believed was deliberately contrived by Innes. It led on to the final rift between them ending with the resignation of both men from their posts in Selangor. 38

Something has already been said of the Sultan's eldest son and heir. Raia Muda Musa. He was a devout Muslim and also a strong Malay nationalist. Much of the information on his behaviour and temperament comes from unsympathetic European observers and must be somewhat discounted. But he does seem to have ben moody and largely ineffectual. At the start of the Selangor civil war he had held Kuala Selangor as Raja Muda of Selangor, But he was soon driven out and played no part in the ensuing years of struggle. After the war he submitted with unconcealed resentment to the assumption of power by his clever, westernised brother-in-law, the interloper from Kedah, Tunku Kudin. He found his consolation in religion and in agriculture, to which he gave real enthusiasm and effort. On the departure of Tunku Kudin in 1878 Raja Musa succeeded him as president of the State Council - but under the overbearing influence of Douglas the Council was not a real forum of consultation. As we have seen Douglas did sound out the Sultan on the possibility of Raja Musa taking the place of Tunku Kudin as nominal head of the State government at Klang. At other times it was proposed that Raja Musa should resume his pre-war post at Kuala Selangor but nothing came of this. One may surmise that Raja Musa could see that he had more influence at his father's court than elsewhere in the State.

It was one of Raja Musa's handicaps that he was so much a creature of moods. Here are some of the encounters between him and Douglas as recorded in the diary:-

"Raja Musa and his follower Raja Abdul Rahman returned in the Rosebud" from Langat and landed under a guard of honour. I received him and he took up his quarters with me. He is a dour sort of fellow but sharp enough in some matters. He walked through the town with me and expressed himself well satisfied with what he saw. He was gracious enough to say he hoped I would remain here as Resident"

"Started at 9 for Langat... Had a walk on the Appian Way and met Raja Musa who was superintending his Javanese coolies clearing and fencing the land for indigo cultivation. He was brusque as usual but civil to me".40

"Had a long yarn with the Tunku Musa who was very anxious for a European officer to replace Mr. Innes. What a change has come over this man. represented as he was as the great enemy of the orang putch.41 He is planting

away energetically - and has large tracts of paddy looking well."

"At 4.40 a.m. anchored at Bandar Langat, saw Tunku Musa and conferred with him about the Klang Imam. He distinctly recollects that it was the spontaneous act of the Sultan stopping the allowance; that the Imam gave so much trouble that it was hoped, as he would be paid by fees, he would endeavour to keep on good terms with the Klang people. Raja Musa said the payment of a salary or allowance was not in accordance with Malayan custom or Mahomedan law and that if one were paid all should be. Raja Musa was in one of his angelic moods, nothing could be nicer than his bearing today."

The improvement which Douglas senses in his relations with Raja Musa dates from 1878, the year of Tunku Kudin's retirement from his office of

Viceroy. 42 It may have improved Raja Musa's temper.

Of the Sultan's other sons the only prominent figure was Raja Kahar, who was a member of the State Council, a Magistrate and the titular administrator of the Ulu Langat district. He seems to have spent most of his time at Kuala Langat, as the references in the diary are mostly to meetings with him there. Douglas tried to persuade him to return to his duties at Ulu Langat - but without success. On one occasion he had been away from his post for eight months. Douglas was away on leave at the time of the scandal over Raja Kahar and so makes no direct reference to it in his diary.43 Kahar was an example of a problem of common occurrence in the Malay states at this time. He had grown to mature years in a society in which the wishes and interests of members of his class were without question accepted as the determining factor of local administration. Douglas visited Kahar's home base of Kajang and noted:-

"It is also pretty clear that Raja Kahar the Sultan's son in charge of the Ulu Langat district plays fast and loose with the people. He trades with them and it is very difficult for him to deal impartially between those who appeal to

him."

The Sultan's other adult son was Raja Yacob, also referred to as Tunku Alang, who is a very shadowy figure, but apparently of the same stamp as Kahar. Neither was a figure of any significance in the Malay world of Selangor except as a son of the Sultan. The unhappy start made by the youngest son, Raja Sah, has already been mentioned. In all the circle around the Sultan there were one or two cronies, notably Datuk Dagang Abu Said, headman of the Malay immigrants communities of Kuala Langat and a prominent businessman. He also had political interests of which neither Tunku Kudin nor Douglas approved; his retirement was contrived in October 1876. The special position of Encik Behak, the Sultan's private secretary, has already been mentioned.

Of all the events of the Sultan's reign in Douglas' time the visit to Kuala Lumpur was the most important. To that we shall come later in this paper.

Tunku Kudin, Viceroy of Selangor from 1868 to 1878 is something of a paradox. He was the victor in a long and bitter civil war without apparently possessing any of the military talents which might have been expected. But his staying power and gifts as a diplomat and organiser saw him through against more erratic enemies. Secondly he was by the standards of his time unusually westernised both in his education and in his way of life. Yet the attempt to work in harness with European administrators in Selangor was a failure.

In the investigation in 1882 which led up to the enforced resignation of

Douglas Weld sough an interview with Tunku Kudin in Penang:-

"His Highness who knows me quite well spoke quite freely and unreservedly. He said Mr. Douglas was hot tempered and that consequently he was sometimes "a little uncivil" to himself and others but never from malice or bad motives nor did it destroy friendship. The Resident conducted business with the Sultan direct, consequently Tunku dia Udin's occupation as Viceroy of Selangor was gone and he preferred taking his pension and returning to his own country where he had property and became Regent. He had no complaint against Mr. Douglas. He still considered him his friend and asked him for friendly services in regard to his shooting and hunting pursuits. "Med him for friendly services in regard to his shooting and hunting pursuits."

Kudin here makes a clear distinction between two issues viz. (1) whether Douglas was rude to him and (2) whether Douglas by his conduct of government business had contributed to Kudin's decision to retire from his post as Viceroy. 45 Kudin's answer to both questions was "Yes" but he dismissed the occasional "incivility" as quite immaterial to his decision to retire. Insofar as Douglas did, by dealing direct with the Sultan, contribute to that decision it has been pointed out46 that it was a reasonable and perhaps unavoidable course to pursue. Davidson had worked closely with Kudin at Klang in 1875. Douglas began with the intention of carrying on as Davidson had begun - "I am not at all disposed to suddenly or rashly interfere in the arrangements made by the Tunku and Mr. Davidson". But Douglas began without the decisive advantage of being a personal friend of Kudin and the latter was away in Kedah when Douglas arrived to take up his duties in Klang in April. Kudin, so far from returning, sent a letter "appointing me as acting Viceroy during his absence in Kedah". Douglas was in difficulty - "I conceive that the government of the country should simply be vested in the Sultan and the Viceroy and that the Resident should advise to the best of his ability". Douglas next proposed to Singapore that he should visit Kedah to confer with Kudin on current problems but this was vetoed. 47 Meanwhile Douglas went off to see the Sultan, with whom he had been in close contact previously as Assistant Resident.

When Kudin did return in October 1876 the pattern of direct dealing

between Douglas and the Sultan was already established. Kudin did not stay but went off to Singapore and came back to resume the reins of government in Selangor only in April 1877. One may surmise that Kudin, always a realist, saw on his first return how the situation had developed — and moved on. His second return was for the purpose of negotiating the terms of his retirement.

There was another factor which is not mentioned in Weld's note of his conversation with Kudin in 1882. Kudin's relations with the Selangor roval family into which he had married were already strained. Apart from Raja Mahdi, his avowed opponent, Kudin encountered suspicion and resentment among the Selangor Raias who had not fought openly against him. Here the relationship between Resident and Viceroy could have been of vital importance. Davidson, as a personal friend and supporter of Kudin, sought to establish his authority as Viceroy by drawing him into the working of the new regime. In this way his position as chief executive of the State Government could be established with his own people. Douglas, at this stage rather overwhelmed by his new responsibilities, was looking to Kudin for support and advice to be given to him (Douglas) - hence the proposed trip to Kedah. Douglas did not perhaps realise that Kudin had only such authority as British support gave him.48 By contrast the Sultan, whatever his limitations of mobility and activity, was a real centre of influence in the State which it was useful to the Resident to invoke.

In a paper which is concerned more with the Malay community in Selangor than with its relations with the British regime the position of Tunks Rudin in the Selangor Malay aristocracy repays analysis. The diary throws some useful light on this topic. When Kudin came back from abroad to Selangor he revisited the royal court at Kuala Langua after a considerable interval. The hostility was evident. Douglas noted:—

"The Sultan absent—the Tunku Muda did not attend at the reception of the Tunku or in any way take notice of him". Kudin's relations with his father-in-law cannot have been helped by the estrangement between him and his wife, the Sultan's daughter. European observers give an unsympathetic picture of the unhappy and embittered Raja Arfah. Douglas on first meeting her says:

"She is sulky and I am not surprised he is as gay as he is reputed to be"

Emily Innes, as another woman, could see the cause of their

incompatibility:-

"She having lived shut up and veiled in a Malay house all her life was thoroughly Malay in her ways and customs; her ideas which were the narrowest of the narrow, revolted against his, which, truth to tell, were not in all respects improved by contact with Europeans."

Emily Innes also gives an unsympathetic picture of Tunku Kudin who had outraged her domestic pride by coming to dimner with a retinue which included his own cook and his personal food-aster, who tasted every dish before his master, as a precaution against poison. She also says that his retinue of personal followers (exclusive of domestics) was forty strong. Douglas also has a passage in the diary on the personal guard:-

"The Tunku's orderly brought some small accounts which I objected to pass until I had seen the Tunku or Syed Zin. I wrote to the Tunku in reply to his letter about the wedding and in reference to the members of his guard. He is now employing 18 men in Kedah charging them to this State – there are only 12 men on the estimates.*

For all his western habits Tunku Kudin, partly perhaps from inclination partly from necessity, had need of a sizeable following as the recognised mark of status and strength in a Malay Raja. Fit stood astride the gap between two worlds in Selangor without having a firm footing in each. This was the reason why he was not an effective centre of power in the Malay community to whom the Resident could turn; for the same reason he decided to "cut his lossess" and return to Kedah.

On one occasion at least Kudin opened his mind to Douglas in a frank conversation about the difficulties of his position:-

"The Tunku and Syed Zin visited me. The Tunku is evidently in a very unsettled state of mind. It appears that Sir William Jervois sounded him as to annexation and the Tunku is favourable to it as he doubtless believes he would do better under such a form of government with a pension than in his present uncertain position. I questioned him as to the amount of pension he expected and he frankly said that he did not feel inclined to remain as Vicerov even with his present salary; that when the State debts were paid off he should expect much larger pay; that he had been here nearly ten years; that it was only in Mr. Davidson's time that he received any regular pay; that he left Kedah and larger emolument to join this government and that when he married he wished to return to his own country but was prevented from doing so by the Sultan; that his old post in Kedah is filled up by his brother, and he fears if he remains here he may lose the rice farm which is worth \$20,000 a year. But he gave me no answer as to what he expected should the question of his pension be entertained. He spoke of the Raja Muda and said he had had a conversation with him and he is sure he dislikes the Residential system; they spoke of the dry weather here and at Langat and Musa said "things were bad now, but before they would become better they would be worse." The Tunku applied this to our presence in the country. I am now very sorry Sir William Jervois did not have the treaty between himself and the Sultan drawn up before he left "61

The Selangor Malay Chiefs. We pass now from the royal circle of Sultan and Viceroy at the centre to the general body of the Malay Rajas of Selangor. They were a compact group descended from Bugis seafarers who had established themselves some 150 years earlier on what is now the Selangor coast. From the standpoint of our time one can see in retrospect that 1874 was a watershed in their way of life; it was never the same again. But this was not evident at the time. Malay Rajas who had grown up in the age before the British protectorate regime went on thinking in terms of the same values and aspirations as before even though their freedom to act was now fettered. Tunk Kudin, who had become more westernised than they, had

difficulty in maintaining a reasonable relationship with them although he too was a Malay of their class. The behaviour of Douglas in his dealings with them is to be explained by his anxiety, exaggerated but real, that the civil war which had ended less than five years before might break out again.⁵³

Sclangor differed from most other Malay States in comprising no less than five river valleys running down to the sea – from north to south these were the Bernam, Sclangor, Klang, Langat and Lukut valleys. With the decline after 1850 of the important tim times of Lukut the centre of political power in Sclangor shifted northwards to the Klang and Sclangor valleys where new and important mines were opened in the 1860's. Most of the fighting of the civil war (1868-1873) had been a struggle for the control of either end of these two valleys; at first the fighting was at the coastal forts of Kuala Sclangor and Klang and then after 1870 for the inland mining areas around Kuala Lumeur, then only a mining village, and Kanching in Ulu Sclangor.

The episode of the Tunku Panglima Raja, for which Douglas earned a put in chuke, should be seen as part of a sustained effort to establish effective control over northern Selangor and to snuff out any embers of local support for Raja Madni. Douglas tried to get Raja Muda Musa sent back to take up residence at Kusla Selangor and so recestablish a "royal presence" there:-

"H.H. was also of opinion with myself that it is essential Raja Musa should take up his residence at Selangor and I should invite him to do so. In the meantime I arranged I should send Raja Abdul Rahman³⁰ – as it is necessary a Raja should live at Selangor to assist the Collector. The Collector will be instructed to consult the Raja in all cases not connected with the actual collection of the revenue, or in judicial matters. It will be necessary to prepare a house for Raja Musa, probably he had better live in the fort. It is desirable that the Collector should live on the north Kampong opposite the fort."

"Raja Abdul Rahman seems to like residing at Selangor and if Raja Musa does not return I shall retain Abdul Rahman where he is. I was informed by Sheikh Mohamed Ali that if Raja Musa returned he would expect to have all the revenue collected at Selangor at his disposal. It will be as well to report this to H.E. to save any dispute should Raja Musa return." So

In the event neither of these Rajas did take up permanent residence at Kula Selangor. There was thus a political vacuum which a succession of unsatisfactory European Collectors sent to Kulal Selangor could not make good. Douglas satisfied himself with reducing the military significance of the old fort "I gave orders to spike the old guns and throw them off the walls") and a practice of visiting the town whenever he passed along the coast.

Bernam to the north was much more remote and difficult to supervise. Here there was a resident ruling family descended from the last Sultan but one and related to Abdul Samad by marriage. The head of the family and the ruling chief of Bernam was Raja Hitam. He had several brothers of whom Raja Indut and Raja Abdim are most often mentioned. The quarrels between the brothers and the general disorder in the district were a source of concern even to the carefree Sultan Abdul Samad. In the course of his visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1879 the Sultan "alluded in very strong terms to the disputes which had ruined the Bernam Rajas stating it was a great shame and disgrace for the brothers to quarrel, the more so when they allowed their disputes to be made public; that it was impossible the Bernam country could advance when its Rajas were quarrelling among themselves and distracting the people from developing the capabilities of the country. We will come to some of these domestic problems later.

The underlying cause of the events at Bernam leading up to the celebrated Tunku Panglima Raja affair was the fear that Raja Mahdi or his supporters might again raise the standard of revolt in that remote and troubled district which had been Mahdi's base during the civil war. Mahdi was an erratic figures whose near success in the civil war had owed much to the support of two other famous leaders. Syed Mashhor and Raia Mahmud. This trio, said Swettenham,58 were "to the western Malay States, what the Black Douglas was once to Scotland." Mashhor like Mahdi was still in exile from Selangor59 but Raja Mahmud had been allowed to return after his outstanding service in saving the life of Swettenham during the disturbances in Perak which followed the assassination of the Resident, J.W.W. Birch, in 1875. Mahmud had been given the small district of Sepang where he was well away from the uncertain northern half of Selangor. But he could not settle down to the quiet life of a gentleman farmer; restlessness often drew him away from Sepang.60 The mere report of his presence in Bernam caused much concern since Douglas was not convinced of his loyalty and made no secret of his doubts

Raja Mahmud was the son of Tunku Panglima Raja, who had married Sultan Abdul Samad's sister, though she was not Mahmud's mother.⁶¹ Tunku Panglima Raja is always referred to by that title (more or less "royal commander in chief" though there were no royal forces to command). His personal name and title were Raja Berkat bin Tunku Hussein. In his younger days he had been a famous fighter with a uste for piracy.⁴² Emily Innes however found him "one of the more civilised of the Rajas" and invited him to afternoon tea. She gives this description:—

"He was a very fine-looking old fellow, with large, bright, piercing eyes, a high forehead, and a good aquiline nose ... he wore a black slik handkerchief on his head, stilfened with rice-starch, and twisted into a tremendous erection, something like a bishop's mitre, but with the two ends sticking up like little horns on either side. The rest of his dress consisted of a jacket, buttoned only at the neck, and showing his brown skin from thence to the waist, and a sarong, the twisted part of which was stuck full of krises, that gave him a warlike appearance." Emily found that his favourite beverage was Bass's pale ale "in homeopathic doses" and gave it to him by the wineglass full. They discussed amicably whether it was more hygienic to eat with one's fingers in the Malay style or to use knives and forks of whose past use and cleansing one knew nothing.

Douglas was less sympathetic - "he is not a pleasant fellow but he has to

knuckle under, still it will not do to quarrel with him". Douglas twice records his suspicions that Tunku Panglima Raja was again involved in piracy and Emily Innes is more explicit. "I was quite sorry when the poor old Raja got into disgrace with the Government for wrecking a ship that came too near his little bit of the coast and helping himself to its cargo". Douglas quarrelled with him on other matters:-

"I met Tunku Panglima Raja on the boom and ascertained that he had been to Jeram interfering there in the Imam question, taking with him 30 men from thence to see the Sultan. I gave my friend the Tunku a warm reception and afterwards sent him a letter to which he returned a cheeky reply."

However Tunku Panglima Raja was a close confidant of the Sultan as well as his brother-in-law. He was penghulu of the small district of Kanchong; a member of the State Council and a Magistrate. He was the only prominent member of the Rajas who supported Raja Mahdi who had been drawn into the new regime. His cooperation was some sort of an assurance of the continued good behaviour of the younger men, notably his son. Douglas was not the only British official who feared that Raja Mahdi was planning a return to Selangor. Swettenham wrote of this possibility a few weeks after the affair that it was "an expedition which I do not doubt Mahdi would now make did he not fear to try conclusions with his Government." For the difference between Swettenham and Douglas was over the wisdom of putting the loyalty of Raja Mahmud to the test by humiliating his father and driving him into opposition into top

In April 1878 Tunku Panglima Raja left Kanchong for a visit to Bernam. Here tried to recover a debt of \$120 owing to him and a sword valued at \$15. In former times he would no doubt have asked Raja Hitam to exert pressure on the debtor. Under the new regime he turned to the Collector of Bernam, Louis Neubronner, for help and offered him \$40 if he as Magistrate "will receive that sum of money for me" i.e. \$135.56

At the same time Tunku Panglima Raja lent his support to a campaign then in progress in the Bernam district to obtain signatures to a petition relating to Raja Mahdi. One Datuk Daheman later gave a sworn statement which included the following passages:-

"I remember that about 20 days ago Raja Dollah bin Tunku Abas of Selangor came to my house at Hutan Melintang and showed me a paper and said he wished me to sign it. He also said "Try and obtain the signatures of nine other persons." I asked him what were the contents of the paper. He said. "It is to show that Raja Mahdi is the son of Raja Sulaiman." I told him to wait until I had read the paper as I was ignoram of the contents. I subsequently heard the letter read and found that the contents were not the same as stated by Raja Dollah. The substance of the letter was to the effect that the people of Bernam were troubled because Raja Mahdi had been deprived of his inheritance viz. "the State of Selangor"... At the time when Raja Dollah came to my house the Tunku Pangima Raja of Langat accompanied him and when Raja Dollah asked me to sign the letter the Tunku Pangima Raja advised me to do so saying. "You are asked to state that Raja Mahdi is the son of Sultan

Sulaiman. What harm can there be by you doing so?" I again refused to sign. *66

The story can be carried on from this point by extracts from the Douglas diary:-

"Having received information from Mr. Roberts⁶⁷ that Mr. Neubronner has written to him to say that Tunku Panglima Raja had offered him a bribe of \$4 to decide a civil debt case in his favour, and that Raja Dollah, Tunku Panglima Raja and others were endeavouring to get a petition signed to bring in Raja Mahdi as Sultan and depose the present man I made arrangements to leave at noon. Raja Hitam accompanied me, also Mr. Syers."

"Conferred with Mr. Neubrouner. It appears there is some evidence as to the complicity of Tunku Panglima Raja in the attempt to bring in Raja Mahdi either to upset the present government of the Sultan or to have him as interested in the present government of the Sultan or to have him as intending to investigate it on my return from Perals. But I had Tunku Panglima Raja brought before me on the charge of offering a bribe to Mr. Neubronner. The letter was produced and the Tunku admitted it as his writing, simply a plea of guilty but I imagined the unhappy chief thought it no wrong for he as a Malay to offer a bribe to a man of doubfull bangsa⁸⁰ like Mr. Neubronner appears. I remanded the case so far. In any case I intend to leave the decision to the members of Council whose opinion I think should be invited as to the conduct of one of their body. On obtaining this I shall lay whatever resolution is arrived at before the Sultan. The question of the attempt of the Mahdi to interfere I think but little but if there is any truth in the report the punishment should be heave.

Douglas was then away in Perak on a visit to Hugh Low for two days and returned to Bernam on 28th April:-

"Arrived at Sabak at 11.40. Conferred with Messrs. Syers and Neubromer. There was nothing fresh as to the Mahdi's case except that Syers got two depositions and the copy of the proposed petition. Raja Hitam stated that the charge of Raja Mahmud having detained Raja Dollah-against his will was simply a plant to throw dust in the eyes of the latter's creditors, the two Rajas living together on the best of terms". Douglas was now aware that Raja Mahmud was in Bernam tiving "on the best of terms" with Raja Dollah, who was organising the signatures on the petition. When his launch reached the mouth of the Bernam estuary Douglas stopped to "call for Mahmud but he had gone back to Sungei Lanchang hearing of my arrival. I told Indut to advise Mahmud to come and see me." But Raja Mahmud kept out of harm's way and thereby increased Douglas's suspicions. On his next visit to Bernam Douglas records that:-

"Raja Indut was very frightened of Raja Mahmud, the latter having been the means of arresting Tunku Panglima Raja." It appears Mahmud was at Hutan Melinitang when I visited the place on the 28th. He was hiding though they informed me he was at Sungei Lanchang, I cannot make out Mahmud at all. He has been very kindly treated by us, in fact I have really liked the man

and would have done anything for him if he would only go straight."

Douglas then decided to visit Mahmud's district of Sepang and to station a police detachment there as "an army of occupation" He told the Sultan "of my intention to visit Sepang and see what Raja Mahmud had been doing and that I should station the police there. He quite approved..."

On the next day Douglas, Syers and the police detachment set sail for

Sepang. He describes it as follows:-

"It is a miserable place only 6 houses and a population of 25 including women and children - Mahmud has done nothing, the place is a mere jungle clearing. I visited Mrs. Mahmud and Mahmud's sister, Tunku Alipa, they looked very dirty and careworn. Mahmud's wife has four nice little children and evidently feels her husband's desertion keenly. The poor thing expressed the hope that he would return to her, but I felt it was the best thing to do to undeceive her. Alipa was evidently aware that her brother had married another woman in Perak but she treated this very lightly saying it was his way, and that he had lots of wives. She rather surprised me by saying that Mahmud was of opinion he was such a friend of the orang putch he could do no wrong. She said we all liked him though sometimes we were angry with him. I told her that she was not so far wrong; that we still recognised his services In Perak in connection with Swettenham's escape but there was a limit to our patience and I thought as Mahmud had not appreciated all that had been done for him in reference to his allowance and kuasa71 for Sepang, had refused to attend when instructed by Mr. Innes and latterly by myself, and had cruelly deserted his wife and children, he must consider himself played out as far as Selangor is concerned. I then left ... Shortly after Mrs. Mahmud and Alipa came on board the tender and commenced begging for money to open up ladangs. Of course I refused but I gave poor Mrs. Mahmud \$5 and so we parted ... I shall keep my army of occupation in Sepang for a month or so." One can see why Douglas was not universally popular among the Selangor aristocracy.

While Douglas had been pursuing these measures to humble the clusive Minimud the charge against his father of bribery had taken its course. Douglas had brought the matter before the State Council on 1st May 1878; the diazy entry is very brief—"Council meeting for Tunku Panglima Raja and then saw the Sultan." The Council minutes record that (1) on the charge of bribery "Mr. Inness proposed that the Sultan be advised to dispense with the services of Tunku Panglima Raja as a member of the Council" and the Resident proposed that he should be bound over to appear before the court if and when called upon and (2) the petition in support of Raja Mahdi should be referred to Singapore for action by the police against Raja Dollah as the organiser. These motions were carried unanimously. The Sultan concurred as usual.

The course of events in Singapore and at the Colonial Office is outside the scope of this paper. There was consternation in Singapore and Douglas was ordered to reinstate Tunku Panglima Raja at once:—

"Saw the Sultan who agreed to reinstate Tunku Panglima Raja but he laid down the law pretty clearly. I don't think the old man cares much about the bribery though he alluded to it pretty strongly but he dislikes Raja Mahdi's attempt to get these letters signed. Raja Muda followed suit and then the Council and I had to give the old pirate a wigging and reinstate him."

Apart from acknowledging his letter to Neubronner when first haled before Douglas, Tunku Panglima Raja seems to have preserved a dignified silence from start to finish. Douglas shows no embarrassment in his subsequent references in the diary to his dealings with Tunku Panglima Raja. Bygones were apparently allowed to be bygoned.

Douglas was summoned to Singapore and stayed for five days at Government House. He presumably took part in the discussions which preceded the Governor's report to the Colonial Office. To Before this the

celebrated directive had been issued:-

"Residents have been placed in the Native States as advisers and not as rulers, and if they take upon themselves to disregard this principle they will most assuredly be held responsible if trouble springs out of their neglect of it." ⁷³

At first sight Douglas does not appear to have infringed that principle, i.e. he had taken his charges against Tunku Panglima Raja to the State Council and had then obtained the approval of the Sultan. But this of course was not the reality; a Colonial Office minute observes that Mr. Douglas's mistake consisted... "in taking the initiative so strongly against him in the mixed Council." It is also a fair inference from subsequent events that in the eyes of his superiors in Singapore at least Douglas's fault was in acting provocatively towards the leaders of the Mahdi party in Selangor. It is otherwise difficult to explain the remarkable indifference of Singapore to equally high handed behaviour by Douglas only a few weeks after the directive had been issued. On 6th August 1878 Douglas summoned Raja Hitam of Bernam on board H.M.S. "Fly" (whose commander he had persuaded to call at Bernam for this purpose) and on the deck of the warship in the presence of 87 people rebuked Raja Hitam "hot and warm" for alleged toleration in his district of debt slavery; Douglas went so far as to threaten publicly to depose Raja Hitam from his district. For this behaviour Douglas received - "a very kind note from H.E. - I was wrong in taking the Fly". Raja Hitam was a much less dangerous man to provoke than Raja Mahmud seemed to be; therein presumably was the difference

The difficulties which arose between Douglas and Raja Hitam are referred to in numerous, mainly fragmentary passages in the disay. Taken together they afford an interesting picture of a Malay Raja of the old school coming to a modus vivendi with the new regime. First, there were some problems of general status and authority. In 1876 Raja Hitam was still collecting for his own use the revenues of his district. But he submitted without demur to an arrangement by which the revenues would be collected by the Collector now to be stationed at Bernam and a fixed proportion handed over to him. In January 1879 Raja Hitam and his brothers agreed to a new system by which they would each have a fixed allowance (\$100 pm. for Raja

Hitam and \$40 p.m. for each of his four brothers; it was recknoed that local revenues amounted to \$500 p.m. and so the Selangor Government would have to find say \$100 p.m. in addition from central funds). In the early part of 1877 there are intriguing but incomplete references to Raja Hitam obtaining a "very objectionable kamas" apparently by the unauthorised use of the Sultan's seal—Raja Muda Musa "approved of the action I had taken with reference to Raja Hitam, as to putting the Sultan's seals under lock etc." **

There was constant friction between Raja Hitam and the local Collector

and the Resident. One such affair is related at length:-

"At Sabak anchored at 5.45. Mr. Neubromer came off and reported that Raja Hitam's conduct had been so oppressive as to almost cause a descrition of the place by the Chinese. It appears that his, Raja Hitam's son, Raja Kechil, a very nice young fellow who has always been a very great friend of mine and a lad whom I considered one of the most promising of the anak Raja laid an information before Mr. Neubromer that a Chinaman named Poo Tay had stolen three rings from him, a warrant was granted and the Chinaman, a respectable trader, was locked up but eventually got bail. The case was heard and the young Raja swore that the Chinaman had called for money and during the absence of Raja Kechil, who went into an inner room of his house, opened a sirch box and stole the three rings; the evidence was supported by two of Raja Hitam's followers.

"Flor the defence Poo Tay proved an alibi and Mr. Neubronner very properly dismissed the case and on the application of the Chinaman charged the Raja and his two witnesses with conspiracy, taking bail for their appearance before me. After this Raja Hitam's two followers came to Mr. Neubronner and stated that they had acted on the orders of their chief, and begged that the matter might be dropped as they were afraid of being brought before the Resident. Subsequently poor Kechil came to Mr. Neubronner and asked on his knees that no further proceedings should be taken. In the meantime Mr. Neubronner received information that Raja Hitam was indebted to the Chinaman in the sum of some \$93; the creditor being clamorous for his money Raja Hitam conocceted this little affair to stop his mouth.

The first consequence of this case being brought against the Chinaman was the shutting up of all the shops and the stoppage of the sale of rice. This however was got over on the Chinaman getting bail and Mr. Neubronner with Indut's brother, Raja Hitam, promising the people that justice would be done in this as in other cases. On my arrival Raja Hitam wished to come off and talk the matter over but I made the casual excuse about bathing, so that I could meet the people without having any conference with their chief. On landing at 10 there was for Berman a very large concourse of people – Rajas Hitam, Indut and Salleh among them, also Abu Bakar and several other men of position. It was evident there was a good deal of excitement and as the Raja's son was one of the accused I took a few obvious precautions in the case of any sudden outbreak on the part of the Prince's not too scrupulous followers. I took my seat in court with Raja Hitam on my left and Mr. Neubronner on my

right.

"Raja Kechil appeared and I really pitied the poor lad, he looked so dejected and miserable, whilst his father with his knitted brows and singularly wrinkled forehead held his head down with a hangdog expression of face. Occasionally a savage grin appeared when I spoke and I felt how much would have been his satisfaction if he could have put a kris in my fat side. I opened the proceedings by stating that usually my visits to Bernam had yielded me much pleasure; that I was always glad to see the people; to find them happy and contented but latterly I found trouble and that things were not going on well. I said the case before me was a most painful one; that I had always made a friend and companion of Raja Kechil and therefore I was very sorry to find him in such a degrading position. I explained that I did not sit there as the British Resident to try this case which was a most unfortunate one but that I acted as the Judge of Selangor appointed under the seal of the Sultan; that the law in a case that was before me was clear, and that justice must be done whatever might be the position of the accused. I was for some time dwelling on these points and from time to time turned round to Raja Hitam and asked his opinion on what I said. He assented with a grin on his mouth but his eyes gleamed with hate and rage. After some further remarks as to the bad effect a case like this would have on the Chinese to whom they must look for capital and energy in opening up their country I read the charge to the prisoners and asked them what they had to say. They simply pleaded guilty and said that the statements they had made in evidence were altogether false and without foundation.

"I then said I considered the case a very important one and that I hardly felt justified in dealing with it myself. I thought it better to report the proceedings to the Governor and the Sultan and take their decision in the matter. On this Rajas Hitam, Indut and Salleh, the Imam and Syed Abu Bakar begged and implored me to give my own decision and judgment as to the prisoners. The poor fellows also requested me to deal promptly with them and not to keep them in suspense. I replied I had a very great pity for them and would act as they wished it. I then gave the following judgment. Raja Kechil fined \$50 in default the Sultan to decide what punishment should be inflicted. Maka \$20 in default two months r.i. Mat Dawan \$20 - the penalties to go to the Chinaman Poh Tay. Raja Kechil to be bound over for 12 months for his good behaviour in the sum of \$500 with one surety, the other two \$200 each. I had but little to say to Raja Kechil but there was a great demonstration of satisfaction among the people. Rajas Indut, Salleh, Abu Bakar, the Imam, the others all came to me, shook hands and thanked me with evident relief that the case had thus terminated. Poor Raja Kechil's face beamed with delight when he heard his sentence and his two fellow prisoners absolutely thanked me for the sentence I had inflicted on them. I heard that Raja Kechil and of course the others expected 5 or 7 years imprisonment. I then embarked and left at 11.45 with the last of the ebb." It should be noted that this trial fell in the interval between the Tunku Panglima Raja affair in May 1878 and the Fly affair in

August.75

The other main problem at Bernam was the prolonged disputes between Raja Hitam and his brothers apparently about their shares of the local revenues and also the dispute between Raia Hitam and Raia Mahdi arising out of the civil war. In his first encounter with Raja Hitam Douglas had been told that Hitam retained for himself 3/6 this of the Bernam revenues and paid over the balance to be shared between his brothers; but the latter denied that they received anything. Whether over these matters or others there was a long and bitter quarrel. As we have seen the easy going Sultan Abdul Samad was prepared to say publicly that these disputes were a scandal and ruinous for the Bernam district. One at least of the claims had no merit. The dispute between Raja Abidin and Raja Hitam was eventually referred to Douglas for investigation and settlement:-

"Raja Hitam had arrived on the 18th as I am informed. Haji Mustapha and all the material witnesses were present. We opened the case at 10 and sat till 5. Not one tittle of Raja Abidin's case was proved, his own witnesses flooring him most completely. I told the parties no judgment would be given until I had reported the proceedings to H.E.; after the court I had an interview with Tunku Ngah, Raja Bidin's mother. She was very angry with him; says he is addicted to gambling and has squandered her money away." In due course the acting Governor approved Douglas's decision in this case. The other

claims were then abandoned:-

"One of Raja Abdullah's followers came off and said his master had been detained on account of some debt or claim - I knew this to be an untruth as I had given orders that no process should issue against Raja Abdullah pending the present cases being settled. As none of them made their appearance I started and was afterwards informed by Raja Hitam and Syed Abu Bakar that Raja Abdullah had abandoned his claim and that he was going to Sungei Ujong; and that Raja Abidin and Syed Alwi were both going to Singapore and that Abidin had publicly stated I had cheated him in my decision and that I had led him to believe his claim against Raja Hitam would be allowed - all most abusive."

The dispute between Raja Hitam and Raja Mahdi had obvious political overtones and it was decided that it must be tried in Singapore - though Douglas had great difficulty in persuading the witnesses to travel down from Bernam. Douglas, who does not give a complete account of his activities while on duty in Singapore, records that he spent the period 1st to 12th April 1879 in Singapore and was concerned with Raja Mahdi's claim on Raja Hitam on several occasions. The decision went against Raja Mahdi. Let Sultan Abdul Samad have the last word:-

"I laid before the Sultan the papers in reference to the case between Rajas Mahdi and Hitam and explained to H.H. the nature of the advice I had tendered to H.E. the Administrator on my having heard the evidence on both sides. The Sultan stated very plainly that he considered that both Raja Mahdi and Raja Hitam were at the time in rebellion against the Government he had authorised at Klang and they must both abide the consequences which were caused by the disturbances they had caused the country. The Sultan said they both stood to lose or win – they lose and no claim existed between them as from one to the other respectively."

We turn now though more briefly to the districts on the coast south of Kuala Langat. In connection with the Tunku Panglima Raja affair Douglas had visited and reported adversely on Raja Mahmud is the sad story of a man whose occupation viz fighting came to an end in 1874 leaving him lost in an alien world. Swettenham who accepted his surrender in 1874, and then owed his life to him a few months later, became his friend and has left a vivid portrait of Mahmud in the days of his glory:—

"I have good reason to remember Raja Mahmud as he walked into my dialipatient stocked at the head of a dozen men who, like their master, feared God, but had no sort of fear of man. I suppose he was under thirty years of age, of average height for a Malay, very well built, and extraordinarily alive. He had a fine open face, looked you straight alt fearlessly in the eyes, and you realised that he always spoke the truth, because the consequences of doing so were beneath consideration. He was very smartly dressed, whith silk trousers and a silk sarong, a fighting-jacket, a kerchief deftly and becomingly tied on his head, and in his belt the flamous kris Kapak China. His jacket. ... had short sleeves to me elbow, fitted rather tightly to the body, and was made of a thick silk in narrow stripes of white and red, while over it in every direction were printed, the heavy black, texts from the Koran in the picturesque Arabic characters..."

Through Swettenham's influence Mahmud was allowed to return to Selangor in 1876. On being told of the decision taken in Singapore "the Sultan replied that he would act as H.E. directed but he wished that Raja Mahmud would write me a letter pledging himself to be loyal, keep clear of all disturbances and not enter into correspondence with the enemies of the country." Douglas, never very sensitive to the feelings of others, required of Mahmud that he "made a pledge of loyalty and paid homage to the Tunku [Kudin]". It cannot have been easy for this proud warrior to abase himself to the interloper Viceroy who had been his bitter enemy for years. But he did as he was required. He was given an allowance of \$50 p.m. and a grant (kuasa) of territory at Sepang. We have seen how this charge and the care of his family were neglected. Anyone who has seen the old-style smallholder clearing of jungle land, in the era before the arrival of the bulldozer, will realise what a depressing outlook it must have been - the tangle of felled treetrunks too large to burn, the swampy ground, the green wall of jungle around the small clearing. In time such land can be converted into the neat and flourishing aspect of the established Malay kampong; but it is the work of weary years. Mahmud fled from it. He may have been implicated in the campaign of Mahdi's supporters in Bernam in April 1878; he certainly avoided a confrontation with Douglas. There were further troubles over money

after that. Then in 1879 he turned a new leaf:-

"He confessed he had been very foolish in leaving his station so long but that he now intended to settle down and attend to the development of Sepang. He stated he had introduced Chinese from Sungei Ujong to prospect for tin his district; that he had seen Captain Murray who had given him a kind reception but would not interfere as to Sepang as the boundary line had been fixed by survey. Under these circumstances he had decided on coming to Klang and invite me to again place my confidence in him.

"He acknowledged he had neglected his wife and family but excused him as to the charge of not giving them sufficient to maintain themselves by saying he had entered into an agreement with a party catching rhinoceros to supply his people with food etc. These men, he said, had absconded and he was a great loser by them. Mahmud confessed that he had taken to himself a new wife in Perak, another in Klang and was affianced to another at Kuala Lumpur. He hardly excused himself for thus adding to his responsibilities hinting that the ladies know all about his circumstances and that they preferred poverty with him to riches with others. He said they could leave him if they liked. I gave such advice as was obvious and applicable and it was, as is always the case with Mahmud. civility received.

"I told him to keep on good terms with the Sultan and promised him that Mr. Turney should see him frequently and advise him in developing his district - I instructed Mr. Turney to pay him \$25 as he said he was without funds to pay necessary supplies for his children. A good deal more was said to the same effect, lots of promises made and I have now some reliable hope that after Mahmud's long sowing of his wild oats he will settle down to his work." "Raja Mahmud as usual was away. There are only four families, Raja Mahmud's own people and followers, the kampong is simply Mahmud's dwelling place. One man is cutting firewood. The hill which was cleared of timber in February 1880 and was ready for planting is now covered to a great extent with lallang. There are some areca plants and a few fruit trees but there is no evidence of any attempt being made to develop the place. Raja Mahmud, like any other small Raja, has simply sat down with his few followers on the best site on the river and they grow sufficient fruit and vegetables for their own consumption. I saw no paddy that is grown at Sungei Hitam near Langat." Alas, these promises proved no more enduring than before. When Douglas revisited Sepang in June 1881 he described it thus:-

In October 1881 however it was planned that Raja Mahmud should move to Kuala Selangor to take up the position there which had been vacant since Raja Muda Musa had been driven out during the civil war. He thus passes out of the time span of the Douglas Diany. Douglas was succeeded in Selangor as Resident in 1882 by Swettenham, the friend a patron of Mahmud. But the change did not greatly affect his fortunes. He was simply not in tune with the times. On the death of his father he succeeded to the office of Tunku Panglima Besar but and was appointed to the State Council. In 1890 he became involved, with characteristic inconsequence; in a futious row about a political

question which can have been of little direct interest to him viz the choice of a new Captain China in Kuala Lumpur. It was suspected that the bitterness of his animosity reflected jealousy of the young Raja Muda Sulaiman (son of Raja Musa who had died in 1884). As Mahmud persisted in his opposition he was sent into exile for a second time. ⁷⁰

Further south from Sepang was the village of Luku under its chief Raja Bot. A generation and more before Lukut had been the largest tin mining centre in Selangor, perhaps in Malaya. Now it was a ghost town, empty shops and buildings and waterlogged mines to mark the fact that its tin deposits were worked out.

In this shadow of old prosperity lingered Raja Bot, his temper not improved by the negotiations conducted over his head, and in the teeth of his opposition, for an adjustment of the Sclangor-Sungei Ujong boundary by which Sclangor was to cede its narrow strip of coastline, including Lukut, from Sepang southwards in exchange for inland territory to be given up by Sungei Ujong. The effect was to straighten boundary and make it run more or less at right angles from the coast inland instead of parallel with it. But the change put Raja Bot and his worthless patrimony outside the boundary of the only State in which he had a recognised position. In later years he became one of the leaders of the growing Malay community of Kuala Lumpur.

Finally let us look at Jeram a thriving Malay community under its headman. Datuk Putch:-

"The Datuk states there are 400 persons settled in Jeram. Two years ago there was not a single person there. All the inhabitants are employed fishing... There are plenty of elephants at Jeram who prevent people settling inland. The elephants destroy fruit trees. The hill where the Jakun live is called Bukit Din, a day's journey in a sampan up the Buloh. The river is obstructed by trees and only poles can be used. The country in the vicinity of Jeram and near the hills is almost impassable from swams."

In spite of the local difficulties at Jeram agricultural settlement was gathering momentum after the devastation of the civil war:-

"I decided that any old occupant could return to his plantation if still unoccupied by payment of the lease fee and rent – others to pay 10% of the estimated produce of the trees."

"Haji Sulaiman from Sabak Bernam came on board to see me. He states that he and a hundred men and women – thirry families – wish to leave Sabak and settle at Sungei Buloh to work at mining, planting and getting rotan and gutta. I fold him to write me a letter and in reference to the mining to give the usual notices, that he must state where he wishes to settle and what extent of land he requires. He asked for a remission of rent but I fold him that would require some consideration; I would do what I could for him as I wished to see the river and adjacent country opened up."

At the start of this long and discursive account of the condition of the Selangor Rajas it was stated that they were men coming to terms, with difficulty, with a new environment. The old occupations of government and fighting, in the mode familiar to them, had passed and they found it difficult, Rajas Hitam, Mahmud and the others, to adapt to the new regime. A generation was to pass before the vision of Sultan Idris of Perak and of R.J. Wilkinson was to be realised in a new institution, the Malay College at Kuala Kangsar, for the training of sons of Rajas for government of their own country in the new style. Meanwhile they were cut off by old habits and ideas from the expansion of Malay agriculture which began with the restoration of peace and order. A Malay Raja might supply capital and organisation for the development of his district by new settlement, but it was not a close involvement. He provided the resources and others used them. It was possible but rather eccentric to go down into the fields with the peasants as Sultan Abdul Samad and his son, Rais affusa, did.

There was another institution interposed between the Rajas and their subjects. Many of the rayat were immigrants from Sumatra, Rawas, Mandilings, Menangkabau, or even from Java. Apart from the rigid distinction of class between Raja and peasant there were differences of dialect and of social organisation between the Bugis who had originally settled on the Selangor coast and the new settlers, not all of whom were agriculturalists, some were traders and miners. Ever since the Malacca Sultanate period the pattern of Malay political organisation had interposed headmen between the Rajas and their foreign subjects. For the Chinese mining communities there were Capitan China. For the immigrant Malay communities the Rajas appointed headmen with the title of "Datuk Dagang" (headman of foreigners). There were at least three of these officers in Selangor at this time; Douglas had his brushes with them as with the Rajas. We have seen that Douglas and Tunku Kudin eased out the Datuk Dagang of Kuala Langat, Abu Said, because as a crony of the Sultan he was from their point of view an unsatisfactory influence. There was also a Datuk Dagang of Klang, Haji Mohamed Tahir, who played a prominent part in the intrigues of the civil war period; he was a trader and a planter. In Kuala Selangor there was a Datuk Dagang Nikodah Alang of whose troubles with a young wife Douglas tells a story. 80

The drawback of these arrangements was that it put Malays of many different groups under the control of Datuk Dagang who might be as alien to many of them as the Raja of the district. It was a problem which came to the attention of Douglas in the course of his journey through Ulu Selangor to which we shall come shortly.

The remainder of this paper is concerned with the interior of Selangor, i.e. its growing metropolis of Kuala Lumpur, as yet out of the control of either British or Malay State authorities, and the remote areas of the interior, north of Kuala Lumpur, visited by Douelas in 1876.

The Malays of Kuula Lumpur. At least ten years before the period of the diary begins in 1876 Sultan Abdul Samad had withdrawn from the centre of Selangor affairs, then at Klang, and had lived in seclusion during the civil war period at Kuula Langai. The Bugis founders of the Selangor Sultanate had been seafarers whose concern was to control the castal zone of their State. Accordingly neither Sultan Abdul Samad nor apparently either of his two immediate predecessors had ever visited the interior of Selangor. Yet the development of inland tin mines from the 1850's onwards had shifted the economic centre to the interior, drawing in with it an increasing population, both Malay and Chinese. The majority of Malay settlers in the interior were not Bugis; hence cultural differences as much as remoteness interposed a barrier between them and the ruling Malay aristocracy of the coast. Douglas, in other matters often insensitive to Malay feeling, had realised that the personal appearance of the old Sultan among his subjects of the interior would help to bridge the gap. The Sultan was at this time well over seventy years of age and, as we have seen, not easily induced to leave his retreat at Kuala Langat. But Douglas persuaded him to agree to visit Klang and Kuala Lumpur "after the paddy harvess" in 1879⁴⁴

The Sultan arrived at Klang by steam launch on 5th May 1879. With him came Raja Muda Musa and his son, the future Sultan Sulaiman, then a boy; Turku Panglima Raja and his son, Raja Mahmud of Sepang, and vatious other notables. The visit to Klang cannot be recounted from the diary in full. Douelas begins.

"A few minutes after the arrival of the Tender the Sultan landed under a strong guard of honour, a full salute and three rousing cheers. All the ladies attended at the landing and my daughter presented the Sultan with a bouquet which he did not seem very well to understand what to do with. The Sultan looked extremely well, bright and very pleased at his reception. He wore his gold-laced suit of clothes and was attended by umbrella, sword and spear-bearers nicely dressed; altogether the whole thing looked very nice. The landing place was very beautifully dressed, the road up to the Fort covered in with an awning supported by shrubs and plants and surmounted by flags. The steamers in harbour were all dressed with bunting and the Telegraph fired a royal salute from her one gun in fair time.

"Before taking the Sultan up to the Fort I drove him round a portion of the town thus giving time to shift the guard to the Fort gate and enable the people to assemble there..."

In the afternoon there was a tennis party at which the young Raja Sulaiman had his first initiation into the game. The celebrations finished with a Residency dinner party with loyal toasts followed by fireworks. The Sultan then retired to spend the night at the Fort.

On the following day the party went up the Klang river by launch as far as Damansara, where it ceased to be navigable, and then on to Kuala Lumpur by the newly built "Damansara road":-

"We found five more ponies at Damansara, a large sedan and some mountain chairs with bearers so that with two bullock drays we had good means of transport. The heat was something fearful, the coolies complaining most bitterly. We stopped at the Datuk Mangku's and had some refreshment. At the 6th milestone at the Klang Company's plantation we made another halt and there I introduced to the Sultan Syed Salim, a brother-in-law of Syed

Mohamed Alsagoff and Mr. Zimke's successor. He was invited by the Ruler to accompany him to Kuala Lumpur and did so.

"There was some little hitch when the bullock drays arrived at the end of the made road about three miles from our destination.1 was obliged to press into service thirty or forty of the Captain China's road coolies. On the rising ground above Kuala Lumpur large parties of Malays – Sclangor, Mandiling, Menangkabau men etc. – met the correce, paid homage to the Sultan and then fell into the rear. As we neared the town we could not fail to admire the beauty of its site, the nice appearance of the bridge and the decorations so profusely exhibited in honour of the Sultan's visit. At the foot of the first rise we met a number of Chinese towkays who saluted H.H. and took their place in the procession.19

On arriving near the bridge the Sultan left his sedan chair and took my hand—we had previously sent the horses off the line of the road and proceeded on foot. Ifelt the poor old man's hand tremble with excitement but his face was lit up with pleasure and I think some degree of pride at the reception accorded to him. The Captain China and Towkay Ah Shak? next appeared in mandarin or at any rate very gorgeous array and gave a very welcome greeting to H.H. We then advanced, all sorts of barbaric music clanging around the Sultan, the crowd which was very dense shouting and cheering at the top of their voices—and then we crossed the bridge and entered the shed leading from the river to the Captain's extensive premises.*

Here was stationed a strong guard of honour under a canopy or roof of wheel colth, adorned at the sides with many gorgeous banners. A salute of 1 don't know how many guns was fired" and we passed beyond the ordinary entrance to the Captain's house and the market place to the shed leading towards the other half of it. We stopped at a very nice gateway and entered the Captain's kampong, all nicely decorated and certainly on this occasion most scrupulously clean. There was a strong bamboos fence all round the quarters prepared for the Sultan which we were glad enough to see him safe into. Senties were placed at all the gateways and I took my leave of the good old Sultan, congratulating him on his safe arrival and the strength with which he had borne up against the faisigues of the day, better indeed than most of the people who one and all complained greatly of the heat. The day was a scorcher and no mistike.

We English retired to the old quarters¹⁷ and found an excellent dinner awaiting us. The Captain and others came in and we spent a pleasant evening so far, but our baggage not arriving until nearly ten we dined and turned in bathless, feverish and warm enough in all conscience. None of us got much sleep from the intense heat, suffiness and smells, the two latter always features in our hospitable friend's abode. There was also a wuyang going on and other excitement about the place till nearly 2 a.m. which rendered repose until nearly noming almost an impossibility."

"Up early and heard that the Sultan like ourselves had not spent a very good night - visited the Fort⁸⁸ and saw Raja Shaaban and Datuk Sati, a great

man among the Menangkabau men - it is stated he has a following of nearly a thousand men whom he asked permission to take before the Sultan. I told him I had advised the Sultan to visit Kuala Lumpur as the great centre of his country in order that his people might see him and bring their complaints and wishes before him and that I did not intend to attend the reception today as I wished the Sultan to be perfectly free to hear every one without any interference on the part of myself and others. This is the tone I have taken in reference to this visit, the Sultan being always too apt to refer to me when I am present even on small matters. Any appearance of dictation or influence on my part as coming between the Sultan and his subjects on an occasion like this would be a very grave mistake and take away much of the benefit which I hope may accrue from placing the Ruler in the midst of his people. For any matter of importance I am now quite confident the Sultan will as usual always seek my advice before compromising himself or the government. The Datuk Sati quite understood me and seemed pleased at the decision I had arrived at. Raja Shaaban 89 who is superintending the building of the Fort was very anxious the Sultan should formally place the first pillar or post and I promised to arrange this if possible.90

"On my return Messrs. Daly, Turney, Syers, "the Captain China and myself formed ourselves into a committee to get up some sports for the amusement of the people and indeed ourselves in the aftermoon; subscriptions were invited, the Sultan liberally giving-Mr. Turney \$50 so that the total amounted to \$160. So we arranged - the Kusala Lumpur Devih, the Celestial Plate and a Consolation Handicap and also foot races, jumping touch races, greasy polse set. After this was put in hand I saw the Sultan and told him I should not be present at his reception giving my reasons. H.H. quite approved of my absenting myself seeing my intention in its proper light.

About 1 p.m. there was a large concourse of people who tendered their homage to the Sultan. Some thousands were present – I should say from 5,000 to 7,000 persons were congregated in the towns some estimated the number at 10,000 but this is excessive in my opinion. The Malays first paid their respects, then the Chinese. The Sultan wore his state uniform and a very possible precaution was taken against treachery or the cut of any of the half-whited opium smokers. And so all passed off very well without a hitch or the slightest appearance of anything but normal devoted Joylly to the Sultan.

On seeing Syed Abu Bakar of Ulu Bernam who lately visited Singapore with me in connection with Raja Abidin's, Abdullah's and Mahdi's claims against Raja Hitam⁵⁰ the Sultan alluded in very strong terms to the disputes which had ruined the Bernam Rajas...

Douglas goes on to give an account of the sports - "Raja Musa I am sure never laughed so much in his whole life..." The day ended with the Sultan attending a Chinese wayang as the guest of the Cantain China.

On the following day Douglas continues:-

"At an early hour we accompanied the Sultan and his attendant Rajas and

suite to the Fort where he placed the first pole of the new building, courhouse and resthouse combined, with Malayan ceremony, a wreath was fastened to the top of the pole and it was then smeared with "minyak atal" a short prayer was said, the pole raised and adjusted in its position and the Sultan addressed a few words to those present including six light sentence convicts. He said that in thus raising the pole of a new hall of justice he hoped its use in that respect would be limited, that it was better to work hard and even live poorly than to commit a crime, small faults such as all men may be guilty of could be passed by but men breaking the law and committing serious crimes must expect punishment, a second offence would always be more severely dealt with. Having previously advised H.H. to do so — he called the six convicts before him and said that as their cases had not been grave ones and most of their short sentences had nearly expired he would pardon them. This took them very much by surprise but they all dropped at the Sultan's feet and I believe expressed in their act of homage the gratitude they felt.

We returned to bathe and breakfast. After which a very large number of Selangor headmen, Penghulus, Menangkabau, Mandiling, and Rawa and Batu Raharu sent a message to me by Raia Hakim asking for an interview. This of course was granted at once and they were received, Panglima Garang (or Perang),95 the Penghulu of Ulu Selangor being the spokesman. He spoke well and fluently stating he was desired by those present and the whole of the Malays who had attended on the occasion of the Sultan's visit to Kuala Lumpur to thank me for having brought the Yang di-Pertuan among them; the speaker stated that the people in the interior area - many of those in the room - had often heard that there was a Sultan of Selangor but owing to the frequent changes of government in the State and of Rajas at Klang who assumed control of affairs and the disturbances which had occurred in the country, one Raja fighting against another for power and all professing loyalty to a Sultan, they could hardly credit the existence of such a Ruler. He went on to say that it was more than a hundred years since any Sultan had visited Kuala Lumpur⁹⁶ and that great honour was due to H.H. Abdul Samad for coming thus far from his adopted home at Jugra to visit his people and make himself acquainted with them and their circumstances. Panglima Garang said that the people felt that this great event would never have occurred had I not taken the responsibility of bringing H.H. among them and that it was for this they wished to thank me..."

We need not follow Douglas through the four pages of the diary which record his speech in reply. He and his colleagues returned to Klang later that day. The Sultan and his suite, escorted by Syers and Turney, set off for Ulu Langat and a return to Jugra down the Langat valley. Syers' account of his thirteen day trip is as follows:

"They had some difficulty with the Sultan's grasping followers, particularly Raja Musa and Turku Panglima Raja, but the Sultan conducted himself most satisfactorily throughout. He had visited Ulu Langat, Kajang and Rekoh and was quite pleased with all he saw. At Ulu Langat he sent for a large

number of the Sakeis and told them not to fear oppression from the Malays in their presence and that of Raja Kahar and a large concourse of Malays and Chinese. H.H. told Raja Kahar that it was his duty to protect the Sakeis and prevent them being oppressed.**7

The Villages of Ulu Selangor. On becoming Resident in April 1876 Douglas's responsibilities were widened from Kuala Langat to the whole State of Selangor. It was natural that he should widen the field of his first-hand knowledge by visits to other parts of the State. In this way he made a trip through Ulu Selangor in July 1876 to see for himself the condition of its people.

In the final phase of the civil war this part of Selangor had been overrun by Malay levies from Pahang. When the war was over some of them remained to collect the local revenues which Tunku Kudin had perforce to assign to them in payment of his debts for their services. We have already encountered Panglima Garang among the Malay leaders who welcomed the Sultan at Kuala Lumpur in 1879; he had been one of the Pahang commanders and was now penghulu of Ulu Selangor but shared his powers with another Pahang leader, Haji Mohamed Noor. Apart from the Pahang men the other major Malay community were the Menangkabau men; they too had their own headens such as Haji Mohamed Salleh of Kanching.

In the years just after the civil war these local leaders were remunerated by a tax on local tin production but this was later commuted to fixed allowances. For example Panglima Garang had originally shared with another Pahang headman an impost of \$3 per bahara of tin; later this was commuted to an allowance of \$80 p.m. to Panglima Garang alone. Douglas, when he had had time to judge the system by a year or two's experience, reported on it adverselv—

"Having given careful consideration to the question of leaving the interior in the entire charge of Penghulus most of whom are liens — Panglima Garang and Encik Mat Saman being Pahang men and Haji Mat Sallen & Menangkabau man — I have come to the conclusion that no reliance can be placed on these Native Officers in cases of importance neither can faith be in matters in which they have any interest such as land, the making of mines etc. These men are also much influenced by class prejudices — thus a Selangor" man has no chance whatever in making a complaint to a Menangkabau or Pahang Penghulu against their countrymen. The Menangkabau men are clannish to a degree — in fact I have had a good deal of difficulty in keeping these men quiet when either their interests or that of any individuals were assailed. It is not long since Sheikh Mohamed Taib proposed that the Menangkabau men should proceed to Rembau to get satisfaction for an alleged murder of one of their countrymen, the late Sheikh Mohamed Ali coming to me and suggesting this course as the proper one to adopt ...—1000

Douglas may have been prejudiced in his views and he was leading on to the conclusion that European administrators should be placed in charge of the inland districts of Selangor. But the problem of the mixed cultural origins of the Malay villagers and the relations between them appears in other contemporary records. 101

In July 1876 Douglas had come on his first visit to Kuala Lumpur. He made a brief reconnaissance of Ulu Langat and then on 21st July set out northwards:-

"At 6.10 a.m. started from Kuala Lumpur en route to Ulu Selangor taking with me Ah Eng, the Capitan China's head panglima, ¹⁰⁷ Unar Sheikh Mohamed Ali, im y guard of twelve men, two servants and seven coolies – our baggage weighted two pikuls fifty kaits, the guard only carrying their arms and ammunition. Mr. Angus⁵⁰³ and Mr. Syers⁵⁰⁴ left for Damansara. I took advantage of a lift on one of the Capitan China's ponies as I had blistered my foot in walking yesterday in thin shoes and I was afraid it might become worse before I completed the journey to Bernam.

At 6.47 crossed Sungei Gumut. Fine land cultivated in many places. At 7.40 arrived at Sungei Batu, a navigable branch of the Klang. Passed an old kubu formerly held by the Datuk Mentri. At Sungei Batu the headman is Encik Mohamed Saman 100 who has twenty followers. This is one of the cleanest little villages I have seen, altogether a very pretty place. It would form a very good site for a police station being approachable from land and water. A Chinaman blazed away a salute out of a long lela106 on my approach. At 9.30 we dismounted from our ponies - mine had carried me very well - as we had to ascend the high hill over Kanching. I noticed a large number of fish in the mountain stream at the foot of the hill and I have no doubt they would rise freely to the fly. At 10.41 we reached the summit of the hill, the aneroid giving its elevation 810 feet above Kuala Lumpur. The view from the west side of the Kanching hill is very interesting - the fine, quartzy, rocky cliff on the west side of the valley standing out in noble relief against the dark hills of the adjacent ranges. The valley itself is very beautiful and its appearance not spoiled by the mining establishments and works - the pathways between the different mines running along the aquaducts are not only a convenience but add to me beauty of the scene.

"We arrived at the Capitan China's house at 11.20 and were most courteously received. Tea and fruit made their appearance and good they were. Although our reception was most courteous 1 must say of all the stinking places 1 ever visited that Chinaman's was the worst. Whether the odour was human or porcine 1 cannot say but it required a strong resolution and stomach to even tackle fruit in such an atmosphere. There are about six hundred Chinese working mines in Karehing and about seventy Malays. Mohamed Salleh, the agent for Sheikh Mat Taib, made his appearance. The latter with Encik Embok is in charge of this station and at Bandar and the two receive S3 per bahara on all tin produced here. Towkay Eng How and a very intelligent Chinese clerk are the representatives of the Capitan China here. ¹⁰⁷

I could get no reliable information of the quantity of tin produced but I guess it at fifty or sixty baharas a month. The Capitan China had sent on champagne, wine, beer etc. but I contented myself with a half-bottle of malt

which was good enough for me. We left Kanching at 2.20 and found the road to Bandar fatiguing enough among the hills – which were not of very great elevation, the highest by aneroid being 410 called Bukit Kapor Mandi. We passed some trees from which camphor was oozing out. On enquiring why this article of export was not obtained, Sheikh Mar Ali and Ah Eng gravely told me the trees were hantuled or haunted and it was certain death to attempt working there.

Bandar Kanching is on the right bank of the river, a small kampong with a mixed population of Chinese and Malays. Encik Embok, the head man here, received me with a salute and a large number of the inhabitants turned out in their holiday attire to receive me. I had a delicious bath in the river and after dinner had a grand reception in the house attached to the Capitan China's store. All sorts of questions were asked and answered, but there was one topic they never ceased to dwell on - the desirability of the Resident seeing for himself the state of the country and the advantages, which are every day made more manifest, of British influence in the government of the country. The conversation turned on the execution of Panglima Kakab and how well he deserved his fate. 109 Bandar Kanching is said to be a day's journey for a sampan to its kuala and then two days and one night to the mouth of the Selangor. In the course of conversation Encik Embok said he would prefer being paid by salary than by collection of chukai as already stated. He ridiculed the idea of a Malay refusing a salary. I shall be glad to find this opinion more general than I have been led to believe as I am much inclined to recommend that the collection of duties be transferred to the officers at the seaports.

We heard the 8 o'clock "dusk gun" at Klang – 8.12 by my time; the distance being twenty miles would give about 92 seconds difference in time – so I expect to find the Klang time, as usual when I am absent, very incorrect. There was a dispute between Encik Embok and a Chinaman but I did not hear it, preferring the Chinaman should bring his case before the Selangor court. I see no advantage in going in for an itinerary justice especially as no witnesses were forthcoming – but I believe the disputants will settle the case amicably without reference to the mugistrates.

I slept outside – Encik Embok alongside me on one side and another chief on the other side – besides orderlies etc. Nothing could exceed the kindness of these people or the care they took of me. All along there appears to have been a sense of self-imposed responsibility on them to avert any possibility of danger occurring to me. I encouraged and showed my appreciation of this honourable feeling by moving about with them unarmed and as unattended as was consistent with my position. Nothing astonished them so much as my taking this long journey on foot. I was too old – I should never arrive at Ulu Bernam – no one knew the road – it would take three days walking etc. etc. But Encik Embok altered his toone afterwards when we walked together."

A cool cloudy morning. Ah Eng took leave of me here but I was accompanied by Encik Embok. At 6.15 started generally in a N. Easterly

direction; the walking was very fatiguing among low hills none exceeding two hundred feet. Towards non it was very hot indeed and all the party, natives and coolies included, seemed to feel the oppressiveness of the weather. Large quantities of very fine bamboos along the track. We came on the place where a tiger had been discussing durians. Elephant tracks appeared in several places. Leeches numerous and troublesome. At noon we heard the gun at Selangor. At 1.25 arrived at Battang Yam which we crossed. Sultan Kamalal' and some of his followers met our party. We were received with the greatest courtesy and conducted to an opensided house where mats, pillows and curtains had been arranged for our accommodation, and glad enough we were to avail ourselves of them.

This is a colony of Rawa people, three hundred of whom are settled here under Sultan Kamala. A nice little township has been built, with a line of shops and large quantities of land have been cleared for paddy fields. But the principal part of the men are engaged in collecting gutta. It was very graifying to see how well these people are progressing. It was a wise step of Mr. Davidson arranging the settlement of this industrious and well conducted people and I should do my best to assist in their further immigration. ¹¹² Sultan Kamala and Panglima Mua both informed me that about two hundred Rawa men wished to leave Perak but that Tunku Chik, who holds a kausar under Syed Mashhor, ¹¹³ demanded from them a chukai of 55 per head. Not being able to pay this extortionate demand the unfortunate people had not been able to leave. I told Sultan Kamala there was no such poll tax in force in Perak and if it was demanded it should be resisted at any risk. Mr. Davidson is aware of this complaint and arranged before he left that Sheikh Mat Taib should make enquiries respecting it.

"A Chinese towkay, Ah Sin, made application for permission to open a mine. I told him to write in the usual manner giving locality, area etc. Imam Perang Malim" and Sultan Kamala applied for a further advance in the shape of rice. Informed them if they sent me a joint letter at Klang I would let them have two more koyans. "Is Sultan Kamala informed me that the women obtained tin by hand washing. A man of the name of Gindir Sultan stated that the boundary between Perak and Selangor was the Batang Bay which debouches at the extreme of the promontory formed by the Slim and the Bernam. This information does not coincide with that given in Raja Hitam's kusas which names the river Runkub. 116

"Then I turned in, Sultan Kamala and his head men charged themselves with my safety by remaining on watch all night. The night was cool and

pleasant."

"Turned out at 4. It felt cold with the thermometer at 73°, At 5.45 started. And gutta trees — wanton destruction of fine trees, both Encik Embok and Sultan Kamala who accompanied me agreed to the necessity of having a law to prohibit the cutting down of trees for the purpose of obtaining gutta. They stated that ordinary tapping as for other gums would suffice and the trees would yield annually. Of their opinion it is a very great pity so many trees

should be destroyed. It was quite evident that much of the gutta was left in the trunks of the fine trees I saw lying about in all directions.

We reached the left bank of the Selangor at 7.55. The country was undulating with fine soil in many parts. A fine stream, Sungei Rening, fir was crossed before arriving at the Selangor. We reached the town at 8.37. The distance from Batang Yam settlement being about seven miles. As my party approached we were met by Panglima Garang, 118 one of the chiefs in charge of Ulu Selangor and on crossing the river (a ford) Haji Mohamed Noor, 119 a Pahang man in joint charge with the Panglima, received me. The people turned out and a salute was fired as usual. We took up our quarter's at the Capitan China's agent, Towkay Ah Lin. Here a large concourse of people assembled and it was some time before I was allowed to have a bath and a change of clothes. Fruit was literally there in heaps, and varied and excellent it was. There is evidently no month or time of the year so propitious for travelling as the latter end of July, 120 when the jungle teems with thirstalleviating fruits of all kinds, and for the natives the strength-sustaining durian on which they can make long journeys independent of the staff of life to a Malay.

After breakfast I held a court and discharged a man who had been artisted for stealing \$5000 - \$346 of which were found buried - the evidence was of the vaguest description. After this I became the centre of a concourse of people who put questions to me as they thought fit. I fet! like an Australian candidate for the legislature who is bound to answer any question put to him and some queer replies are often given.

Haji Mohamed Noor consulted me on the following subject. He stated that two years ago one Sultan Bencoolen was condemned to death by Tunku dia Udin for some political offerse, but at Haji Mohamed Noor guaranteeing did did udin for some political offerse, but at Haji Mohamed Noor guaranteeing did did about twelve months ago: he had two falken wises who had two children. These had been retained by Haji Mohamed Noor. I advised that the women should be allowed to see me. I thought however it would be as well that they should remain with Haji Mohamed Noor but of course they could do as they desired.

Shortly after, Tabor, a girl about 18 came and wished to be released from the charge of one, Sulaiman; Haji Mohamed Noor stated he had placed the girl in Sulaiman's charge. She was the daughter of Malim Penghulu who had lived in Haji Mohamed Noor's house for three years and that she had hand-worked tin, giving the proceeds of her labour to Haji Mohamed Noor. Haji Mohamed Noor stated that the girl owed him \$148 for keep. The girl states she does not wish to remain with Sulaiman but wishes to follow Bebur, the wife of Tunku Raja, a most respectable Rawa man, to Klang. Sulaiman then made the statement that the girl Tabar was placed in his charge by her father. At this juncture Tunku Raja came forward and Haji Mohamed Noor said that as he was his friend he wished to settle the case amicably, an arrangemen! I was glad to accede to as I had no wish to do aught that might bring any sexandal on

Haji Mohamed Noor - and so I allowed the matter to be settled between the two men. 122

I gathered the following information respecting the population at Ulu Selangor – Chinese about a thousand, Malays about a thousand, mines at work – six. All the Chinese work at mining and there are about fifty Malays at the same occupation. The other Malays are collecting gutta and working at plantations. ¹⁰ Haji Mohamed Noor states that the gutta collectors would not be satisfied with tanoing the trees.

This was a most fatiguing day. There was no respite whatever. The strain on one's patience and endurance was very great indeed. I was glad to have some Jakuns come in who seemed on good terms with the Malays. I received an invitation to dine at Haji Mohamed Noor's, sending my servants to prepare my dinner. Before proceeding to the Haji's house I visited the mines and then walked along the right bank of the river. The scenery was really good and the river reminded me of many a good stream I had fished in earlier days. From what I have seen of the rivers and fish I am quite confident good sport could be thad in many of them when the waters are in proper order. The fish certainly rose at the fly and I believe good heavy fish could be taken. The natives spoke of really large fish but whether they would rise I cannot say. But I saw good herring-sized ones evidently on the look-out for anything in the way of food coming down the stream. I intend to solve this piscatory problem if I can.

"Arriving at Haji Mohamed Noor's house, a sort of half-fortified place on a hill about a mile or less, for I was tired, from the town, I was received with a salute from two guns and my host came out of his household (the male part) to welcome me. I then found that the party was to be a large one. But I was honoured by a table all to myself with my own equipage and the guests sat round in a verandah It was very stupid – there was no conversation as the people were too far from me and latterly the Haji got into a very bad temper because Tunku Raja sent a message by Sultan Kamala that his wife wished to have Tabor sent to her that night as they were to leave the next Ay. The Haji showed a good deal of animosity against the Rawa people and a good deal of his own hand at the same time. Of course I was his guest and I remained civil determining that Tabor should be given up. Shortly afterwards I left begging the Haji not to disturb himself in the morning. The fact is I did not want his company to Ulu Bernam, where I wished to form my own opinion unembarrassed by shoes expressed by others.

"Two guns honoured my departure and I returned to my quarters to hear a string of complaints made against both Haji Mohamed Noor and Panglima Garang for demanding 53 per bahara on newly opened mines instead of \$2.1 told the Chinaman what the law was, and not to pay 53 unless a written authority was produced. Knowing none such existed I felt pretty sure I had stopped the squeeze. Several complaints had been made before against both Haji Mohamed Noor and Panglima Garang, one only a few days before I left Klang for having demanded \$50.12 a bahara for placing a chop on all the tin

sent down. This I alluded to and both the Haji and Panglima assured me they would not attempt to enforce it again. The more I reflect on the fiscal system of this country, the more necessary it appears to me that all duties should be levied at the poor of export.

"I slept in a sort of cellar-like room surrounded by heaps of fruit. Neither Haji Mohamed Noor nor Panglima Garang showed the same anxiety for my personal care as in the other places. To say the truth it was a luxury to sleep only attended by our guard."

"Turned out at 4 and after some difficulty about getting coolies who coveted to be assured of a supply of chandu on the road started at 6.15 a.m. -North by East past the mines. They extend for about a mile on this side of the town. Then low hills and clayey soil. From thence we travelled in a northwestwards direction over very low hills with tufts of bamboos, some very large and tall. We crossed a small stream, the Sungai Kombong; above us was an old tin mine, not worked at present. It may be stated as a general rule that every hill stream between this and Ulu Langat has indications of tin. After travelling for a couple of hours we came to a very bad part of the track in crossing a watercourse named Sungei Dapi. The path was among bogs and twisted, general roots, making progress difficult and most fatiguing. I never met a worse track but I believe it would be avoided by keeping nearest the ranges to the right. Imam Jakun 124 reports many buffaloes have been lost in crossing this swamp. At 8.50 we reached Sungei Yari, a small stream, and at 9.15 arrived at Sungei Kerling, 125 a more important stream. The Imam Jakun and forty Rawa men are settled here; there are four houses, the little colony being engaged in planting paddy and collecting gutta. We saw large quantities of gutta lying on the ground rotting. The natives state that fruit is so plentiful this season that it is impossible to consume it. The river Kerling is navigable for small boats and it takes two days from here to Kuala Selangor.

"We found our present lot of coolies very lazy. This was explained by their not being Sichkehts or newcomers. Here Haji Mohamed Noor and two Chinese Panglimas with long swords and revolvers joined the party – the Panglima to take care of me; other followers joined so our party was rather a numerous one. I cannot say I was glad to see Haji Mohamed Noor. Before we proceeded on our journey we had a good meal of fruits, some very good rambutans; the men gorged themselves with durians. Crossed the river at 9,50. Large numbers of elephant exist here feeding on the fallen durians. We saw several of their careening places, also rhinocros tracks. The elephants we probably disturbed as the tracks were recently made and the durian husks lying about were quite fresh. The soil here is very good and continues to be so.

"At 11.45 arrived at Sungei Gumut, an affluent of the Bernam. There is a mine about two miles above our camping place. Durians and other fruits were plentiful. Elephants are evidently numerous because there is a shed built in the fork of a large tree overhanging the river in which durian collectors can sleep in safety from interference by elephants. I pitched my tent and had a good tiffin and a nap. We had a slight shower. At 2 proceeded in a West-North.

West direction – the soil very good. Elephant tracks abundant; the bamboos pulled down in every direction by them in their liking the upper parts of the bamboos leaves and shoots. At 2.35 left a track to the left which all the party wished to take as it led to the mines, those on the Sungel Sirian and it was stated it would be impossible to reach Ulu Bernam tonight. I was of a different opinion as I had seen a hill from our camping place which was stated to be close to the Ulu. So I determined after a good deal of opposition to push on. The track to the left bore to the South West while our proper course was West-North-West.

At 3.29 recrossed the Gumut by a very narrow batang. The river was deep and apparently not fordable. At 3.55 came upon the bones of a dead elephant. At 4.15 an old ladang, At 4.31 Sungei Inki^{15e} a branch of the Gumut; we kept along its left bank. At 4.45 among old plantations, good soil. At 5 arrived at the first houses of Ulu Bernam and then proceeded towards the main kampong, crossing the river Sungei Gading¹²⁷ at the confluence of which and the Bernami is the settlement.

Haji Mustapha and Syed Bakar the two headmen in charge of Ulu Selangor¹³² received me most kindly, guns were fired and the whole male – and some of the ladies distantly – turned out. After a short talk I retired and enjoyed the luxury of a most delicious bath and then took up my quarters with my guard at Haji Mustapha's. A sort of bed place with carpet, mats and hanging stuffs had been prepared for me in one corner of the room, and I was accommodated with a small table and a stool. The house was small but it was evidently capable of holding lots of visitors as I found during my visit. In front of the house to the westward is a hill called Bukit Asahan¹²⁹ on which the natives stated keramat or ghostly flag was displayed in honour of my coming. I saw smoke at the summit which I believe proceeded from Jakuns clearing or collecting suttle.

"I dined in public - some fifty natives seated round me and afterwards I sat on my bed and had long yarns with them on all sorts of subjects. Haji Mustapha, a Rawa man, seems a very decent fellow, quite nice mannered and cordially pleased I should have visited him. 130 He holds a kuasa from Raja Hitam; not so Syed Bakar, a Pahang man; but they both appear on excellent terms not only with each other but with the people around them. 131 There seemed to be no suspicion, jealousy or the common unfriendly spirit so general among Malays with these people. They assured me that they were all comfortable and doing well. Indeed this is borne out by all I saw around me. I told them how glad I was to have seen them and the beautiful country they lived in; that I felt it was a great honour I had gained in being the first European who had made the journey from Ulu Selangor to Ulu Bernam; that having done so I should certainly visit them again. I really felt great pleasure in being the first European who had seen this lovely spot. After a long talk and a good many civil speeches on both sides I asked for permission to retire under my curtain and I soon forgot the natives and my fatigue in a most refreshing sleep. The night was comparatively cold."

"A fine morning. A glorious bath and then a walk through the village which is pretily situated, clean comparatively and there are a few shops. Arranged for boats for proceeding down the river.\(^{13}\) Hajj Mustapha told me that there are very large numbers of elephants not far from the kampong and that he should like to have a gun he could depend on for shooting them. So I gave him one of the old class Snider and 20 rounds of ball cartridge. He told me that it would be a very profitable occupation to shoot made elephants for their tusks but that the extortion practised by the Raja under Malay 'adat rendered the profit too small for the risk run. The present law is that on a native killing a male elephant for the risk run. The present law is that on a native killing a male elephant for the risk run to the rendered the proposed that I Sper cent would be a reasonable rate, at which Mustapha stated it would pay to shoot elephants; the risk of course with such indifferent shows is great.

"I gathered the following information from Haji Mustapha and Syed Bakar. There are three hundred Rawa men, women and children in Ulu Bernam, two thirds are working at plantations; forty eight at gutta and forty at mines. Menangkabau men etc. - there are about forty working plantations and gutta. Pahang men etc. - about fifty making gutta. Samitan (sic) in Sumatra and Kampar - about twenty or thirty making gutta. Bernam men under Datuk Mantri - about sixty working mines; a few goldsmiths. I was informed that the country at present does not produce sufficient rice for the population. I most strongly advised the Haji and others to run their attention to this branch of industry.133 At the present time three and a half koyans are required monthly; the freight on this from the kuala alone is \$40 per koyan. I pointed out to them what a saving this freight alone would be to the community besides the difference of the prices between the rice produced here and that at the kuala. There is no duty whatever on rice. The tariff appears to be as follows. Tin - \$3 per bahara paid to Haji Mustapha and Syed Bakar besides the 10 per cent paid to Raja Hitam at the kuala. Gutta - \$00.50 per pikul. No duty on rotans. No opium. ..."

Douglas then goes on to catalogue the export of produce by localities, giving totals of thirty one baharas of tin per quarter; 1,500 rotans per month; gutta one and a half koyans per month. He continues:-

"It rained heavily for three or four hours and I was requested to believe that this was a special mark of the approbation of the Deity in reference to my visit. They had been praying for rain to get their paddy in but their prayers had not been answered until my arrival. I am also to participate in the advantage of the rain as without it the river would be almost impassable. The "Rosebud" would leave Klang either yesterday or today and I hope to meet her at Simpang Tujoh – a large swamp with many channels after which the river widens considerably and is deep. I am informed it will take one night to reach Slim junction and two nights or three days and two nights to reach the steam launch."

Here we leave Douglas on his journey down the Bernam and also bring to a close the extracts from his diary.

Appendix

BLOOMFIELD DOUGLAS

A Biographical Note

William Bloomfield Douglas was born at Aberystwyth in Wales on 25th September 1822. Although the Douglas clam is Scotiish, as is well-known, the family from which Bloomfield Douglas came was settled in England. Among his immediate forebears the only prominent figure was his grandfather, Rev James Douglas (1753-1819), who was a pioneer of British field archaeology and a noted artist and man of letters. James Douglas held a sequence of country livings in the south-east of England, but his clerical activities were somewhat perfunctory. He secured the mears to pursue his other work by the aid of patrons and relatives. Among other perquisites he was one of the chaplains to the Prince Regent (the future Gorogi IV).

The father of Bloomfield Douglas, the youngest son of James Douglas, was Richard William Glode Douglas. At the time of Richard's birth James Douglas was apparently hard-pressed for money. This may explain why the infant Richard Douglas, in the charge of a much older sister, was sent to be trought up in the home of Sir Richard and Lady Glode of London; Lady Glode was a maternal sunt and apparently the Glodes were well-to-do but had no children of their own. It is believed that as a youth Richard passed through the Millitary Academy at Sandhurst before becoming an ensign in the Highland Regiment. His elder brother, a younger James Douglas, had also obtained an army commission. Both young men—it appears—were helped by the financial support of the Glodes. Richard Douglas joined the army in the last years of the Napoleonic War, he rose to become a captain in the 72nd regiment. But in the retrenchment which followed the end of the war, he retried and then, at various times, lived in Wales (where Bloomfield was born), Kent and then in Scotland before emigrating to Australia in 1852 (see below).

Bloomfield's mother was Mary Johnson, a sister of a Somerset clergyman who had married Emma Brooke, ister of James Brooke, the future founder of the celebrated Sarawak dynasty. Bloomfield's parents were using another family the in naming him Bloomfield, A nicce of Rev. James Douglas, Harriet Douglas, had married Benjamin Bloomfield, who was a prominent member of the Prince Regent's circle, becoming the first Baron Bloomfield. There is no evidence that this baptismal gesture yielded any advantage to the boy. But when Bloomfield himself had children he christened his eldest daughter, the wife of Dan Daly, Harriet.

These family particulars serve to put Bloomfield Douglas in his social context. His family were respectable, with a disposition to enter the church and the armed services. Apart from the relatives already mentioned they were

connected by marriage with two admirals of the wartime period. But they had insufficient money, so that the sons had to make their way in the world by skilful use of connections with wealthier and more influential people. This was the world so well described by Jane Austen, particularly in her Mansfield Park. A Malayan historian has noted (Sadka, op. cit., p. 204) but most of the Residents came from the professional middle-class and small gentry'. The expansion of the British Empire in the second half of the 19th century created new opportunities, 'adventures and experiences which were to lead finally to government service in the Far East.' (Ibid.) In that respect Bloomfield Douglas was a typical man of his times.

There is no direct information of the childhood and upbringing of Bloomfield Douglas. In adult life he wrote good if ponderous English; on one occasion (v.p. 110 above) he makes a classical allusion which may indicate that he had had a conventional public school education of the period. He learnt to navigate and to do survey work, for which a grounding in elementary mathematics was essential. When he came to choose a career the navy rather than the army seemed the better choice in the early 1840's. As mentioned above the family had distant connections with senior naval figures who may have helped. At all events in January 1842 Bloomfield joined H.M.S. Wolverene, which carried him to Hong Kong on his first voyage. His appointment of 'captain's steward' was probably in the personal gift of the captain, serving as a 'holding post' until a permanent vacancy for a junior midshipman could be found, to start him on the long, slow career of a regular naval officer. Alternatively it may have been a purely temporary expedient to get him most of the way to Sarawak without having to pay the cost of a passage out.

In Hong Kong Douglas was within reach of Sarawak, where his kinsman James Brooke was at an early stage of making his kingdom. In one of his (somewhat unreliable) obituaries it is said that James Brooke 'persuaded him to give up his (naval) commission.' However that may be, Douglas left the navy and Brooke gave him a post as second mate of his schooner 'Royalist'. Later Douglas was for a short period master of the vessel and did some survey work on the coast of Borneo. Keppel (The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido, 2 vols, London, Chapman & Hall, 1846, vol 2, pp. 16 and 41) mentions Douglas as one of the half dozen Europeans with Brooke in Sarawak in mid-1843, who joined Keppel's crew in operations in boats against the Saribas Dyaks. (At p. 51 Douglas (not named) was among the boat's crew which landed first under fire). A few weeks later Belcher, commander of H.M.S. Semarang, used Douglas, described as 'Mr. Brooke's naval aide,' to pilot the ship up the river towards Kuching (Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang during the years 1843-46, 2 vols, London, Reeve, Benham & Reeve, 1848, vol 1, p. 21). But in his account of the near disaster in which the vessel, going down river, grounded, turned on its side and flooded, Belcher does not say whether he had a pilot on board and if so who it was (loc. cit. p. 37).

Douglas appears to have left Sarawak in late 1843 or in 1844. In a letter written on 3rd September 1843 (J.C. Templer, ed., The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke etc., 3 vols., London, 1853, vol 1, p. 253) James Brooke mentions that he had 'given command of "Royalist" to young Douglas.' He then goes on, without naming anyone, to deplore European obstinacy and arrogance in dealing with natives. This is a slender clue, but in view of Douglas's failings (Bird, op. cit., p. 241) in Selangor, it is possible that here lies the explanation of Douglas' departure from the service of the Brookes. In his time in Selangor Douglas mentions (diary 22 November 1877 and 22 August 1878) sending personal letters to 'Brooke'; it would have been to Charles, not James, at that point, if indeed the 'Brooke' addressed was one of the Sarawak dynasty.

Between his Sarawak period and his return to England in 1847 there is a gap in the known story of his career. 'He claimed to have served in a steam frigate in the Indian Navy' (Burns biographical article cited below) but the list of HEIC naval officers for that period does not include his name. One of the newspaper obituaries (see below) includes a statement that 'in India too he was intrusted with very responsible work.' Douglas himself (diary 7 Mary 1876) records that he was in Mauritius 'many years ago', being there long enough to have 'known' the person whom he mentions. It could be that during a spell in Mauritius (if it was in the mid-1840's) he was appointed locally to

command an HEIC patrol vessel based at Port Louis.

Late in 1847 he became a chief coastguard officer (equivalent in rank to a lieutenant of the Royal Navy) and he served in this capacity until 1852 in the north of England and in Scotland. While stationed in Northumberland in 1848 he married Ellen Atkinson, aged 18 and a farmer's daughter. At the wedding five witnesses signed the register but only one of them was from the bridegroom's family; this was James Richard Alexander Douglas, who may have been a brother of the bridegroom. It is one of the signs of his estrangement from his father that the latter was apparently not present. Bloomfield and his 'Elli' had at least two sons and four daughters (one of whom was severely disabled). This first wife appears to have died in 1883. On the Malayan career of elder son, Willis, see Gullick, Syers, at p. 79 herein; the younger son entered the Sarawak government service.

In 1852 Bloomfield Douglas went back to sea in the merchant marine and served as an officer on the "Bosphorus" and on the "Hellespont", sister ships employed mainly on voyages to South Africa. These were sailing vessels of about 500 tons with auxiliary steam power. Douglas became master of the "Bosphorus" in February 1854 for a voyage to South Australia. His diary of the voyage is an interesting account of three months at sea in a ship hastily and inadequately fitted out to carry emigrants.

On arrival Douglas seems to have decided to remain in South Australia. He was appointed Harbour Master of Port Adelaide at the end of 1854. He also held the posts of "Naval Officer", Chairman of the Harbour Trust, President of the Marine Board, Master of the local Trinity House and (from 1858) Collector of Customs. As a local bigwig he moved in high government circles. Several governors of South Australia became personal friends; his eldest daughter, Harriet, married Dan Daly, nephew and side-de-camp to Sir Dominic Daly. Two printed pamphlets on local merchant marine matters written by Douglas at Port Adelaide are extant. There is also a journal of a trip along the coast of South Australia in search of suitable harbour sites.

In 1870 the Government of South Australia was under some pressure to establish an administration in its newly acquired Northern Territory. Douglas became first Government Resident of the Territory and served at Palmerston (now Port Darwin) from 1870 to 1873. His journal for the year 1872 records a working life in a rough and disorderly environment and a voyage of exploration along the coast to the Gulf of Carpentaria. But he was not a success in this post and resigned in 1873.

An interesting fact which has recently come to light is that in 1852, two years before Bloomfield Douglas settled in Australia, his father Richard Douglas, had emigrated there. Richard Douglas had married a second time in 1830, when Bloomfield was only 8 years old. Presumably he was by then a widower. His second wife, like the first, was the sister of a clergyman, but this time from Essex. In Australia Richard Douglas held minor civil service appointments, first in Sydney, New South Wales, and later in Queensland, where he died in 1862. By his second marriage Richard had eight children; through their mother they eventually inherited a sufficient fortune to finance the purchase of a 10,000 acre ranch in northern Queensland. Bloomfield and his father were separated by the wide spaces of Australia, but it is noteworthy there is no sign of any contact between them. It seems likely that in his boyhood or later on, Bloomfield became estranged from his father, step-mother and half-brothers and sisters. He was of course abroad for some years (1842-47).

The other point to note at this stage is that after 1854 Bloomfield Douglas never again served on a sea-going vessel, either naval or merchant marine. When he left the Royal Navy he had not even reached the status of midshipman and in the coastguard (1847-52) his rank was only the equivalent to naval lieutenant. But on the strength of his command of small ships (not of the navy) and possibly of an East India Company naval vessel in the mid-1840's, he described himself as "Captain Douglas"; one of his photographs, the illustration at the beginning of this paper, shows him in the uniform of a Lieutenant Commander. It was not a successful substrefuge against those who disliked him – Emily Innes (op. cit., vol 1, p. 263) observed that 'his career was an mystery.

In 1874 Douglas went to Singapore to explore the possibility of recruiting Chinese labour for the Northern Territory of Australia. However he obtained a post in Singapore as a stipendiary magistrate which he held until November 1875 when he volunteered to replace Swettenham as Assistant Resident of Selangor. He became Resident in April 1876 and served in that post until his enforced resignation in August 1882. (He then went to London in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Colonial Office to review and reverse the decision on his case). He married a second time to Kate Clunch by whom he had a daughter born in 1884. Soon afterwards he seems to have joined his eldest daughter Harriet and her husband, Dan Daly, in North Borneo and he remained there for some years returning briefly to London in or soon after 1887. He then went off to spend the remained of his life in Canada.

In Canada he settled in Nova Scotia, first at Sydney and later at Halifax. With his Australian experience he secured employment in placing 'tidal stations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence' and later he became 'Naval Assistant' (an inspector for the Ministry of Marine) at Halifax, where he died on 6th March

1906. In 1889 he married a third time (in Canada).

Two writers, Emily Innes and Isabella Bird, have given their account of Douglas in Sclangor. Emily Innes was very hostile because of the quarrel between her husband and Douglas; Isabella Bird did not find him a sympathetic type. Both picture him as a loud-voiced martinet. From the Douglas diary as a whole there emerges a picture of an energetic, irascible and at times intolerant Victorian Scotsman who over the six years of his time in Selangor probably outlasted his physical and mental capacity to do a demanding job in very difficult circumstances. The distressing death of one of his daughters in 1881 may have demoralised him somewhat. He was devoted to the welfare and interests of his children (his references to his first wife "Elli" suggest that by this time they had little in common - "a dignified and gracious woman, with a sweet and plaintive expressing of countenance" is Isabella Bird's description of a perhaps downtrodden wife). (op. cit. p. 218) In his Port Darwin period Douglas had given way to bouts of drinking and Emily Innes hints at the same failing. Sir Frederick Weld, the Governor who felt obliged to remove Douglas from his post in Selangor wrote to the Colonial Office:-

"As Resident of Selangor Mr. Douglas, a man of warm heart and strong impulse was not without his merits as well as his faults. He was more active than most men of younger age, courageous, energetic and zealous in many directions; and I still believe that personally his loss will be regretted by the Sultan and by a great part of the Malays". (SSD 24th August 1882 in CO 273/115).

In addition to registers of births, deaths and marriages, and army and navy lists, a major source of information is the article on Bloomfield Douglas by P.L. Burns in the Australian Dictionary of Biography (1851-1890). The author of this note is much indebted to Paul Williams, for most of the information on Richard Douglas, father of Bloomfield.

It is clear that in his old age Bloomfield Douglas fascinated his listeners in Halifax, Nova Scotia, with somewhat inaccurate reminiscences of his varied life. Whether he or the reporters are more at fault, it is not now possible to determine. But the two obituaries in Halifax Morning Chronicle and the Halifax Herald (both of 6 March 1906) are, except for the details of his official nots in Nova Scotia, very unreliable. As examples - the former states

that Douglas met James Brooke in the West Indies and the latter that he had been married only once (in fact twice) before his arrival in Canada. But, making allowance for conventional eulogy, we may believe that the old man "a familiar figure on the streets of Halifax' was 'kindly and courteous and ... liked by those with whom he came in contact."

NOTES

The original paper was written and published (in JMBRAS 48(2)) in 1975 to make known the discovery of the Bloomfield Douglas diary and to illustrate its contents with substantial excerpts. The background information on Selangor (and the notes to identify subjects referred to in the diary), were added to put the diary material in context. However in a volume which includes subsequent papers on Tunku Kudin, Syers, and Emily Innes and a revised version of the character study of Sultan Abdul Samad, originally published in JMBRAS 26(1), 1953, the reader has fuller studies at hand of many related subjects. But, although a xerox copy of the entire diary has been deposited at the Rhodes House Library, at Oxford (and a copy may have been made for the Arkib Negara also), the diary is unlikely to be published in printed form. Hence this paper still serves its main original purpose of providing lengthy extracts of some historical interest. The opportunity is taken to acknowledge with thanks the permission given by E. Douglas Potter, grandson of Bloomfield Douglas and possessor of the original diary, to quote from it (and to make the above-mentioned xerox copy).

As compared with the original version the text of the paper has been little changed, though the opportunity has been taken to incorporate (see Notes 8, 19, 53, 54, 71, 78, 80, 98 and 111) some valuable comments (MBRAS 48(2), p.51) by Professor Dato Khoo Kay Kim on the original version. The notes have been completely rewritten to bring them up to date and to provide references to passages in other papers in this volume. Additional material provided by Paul Williams has been incorporated in the biographical note at the end of the paper.

In compiling this paper use was made of notes made from the Sclanger Secretarias ("SclSee") like for another purpose, many years ago, and of E. Sada, The Protected Maday States 1874-1895, Kuala Lampur, University of Madays Press, 1968, which dräws extensively on that source. But of a munch as Douglas was the main contributor to the SclSee files during his six years (1876-82) as Resident, those files contain a wast amount of material about his activities and to some extern his personal affairs. However Douglas was monitoriably reticent in his official papers about difficult matters, such as the Tunku Parallima Rais affair face to herein?

E. Irmes, The Chersonese with the Gilding Off, 2 vols, London, Richard Bentley & Sons, 1885, reprinted (1 vol) with an introduction by Khoo Kay Kim, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1974. See also J.M. Gullick, 'Emily Innes 1843-1927,' JMBRAS 55(2), 1982, reprinted in this volume.

References herein are to 'Diary' with the date of the entry cited.

It is not correct that 'Douglas could not speak Malay' (Sadka, op.cit., p. 188) although he made regular use of a staff interpreter (See Note 103 below) or of Syers (see Innee, op.cit., vol 1, p. 129, and Note 25 below). But of an after dinner speech by Douglas in Malay he notes 'They say I spoke very well, much better Malay than they gave me credit for' (Diary 20 October 1876).

See biographical note on the career of Bloomfield Douglas at the end.

On becoming Resident Douglas inherited instructions, dated 12 July 1875, issued by the Colonial Secretary in Singapore to Davidson that he should at fortnightly intervals send to

Singapore his official journal. Sadka, op. cit., p. 142, n2, citing Sel/Sec 72/75.

It was the regular practice of European administrators to keep 'journals', especially when on tour. See, for example, F.A. Swettenham, The Malayan Journals of Sir Frank Swettenham 1874-76, ed P.L. Burns and C.D. Cowan, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975. Douglas himself kept such records, some of which survive, of various episodes in his long Australian career. But a distinction has to be made between an official journal and a personal diary, which might nonetheless serve as raw material from which to write up the official journal.

The Douglas diary is the personal diary of Douglas which contains much material on personal and family affairs and in places remarks which were certainly not intended for the eyes of higher authority. Eg he describes (Diary 2 November 1876) Governor Jervois as 'a shifty, undecided little man.' The official journal dealt in detail with important discussions and actions, and above all tours of outlying areas, but only briefly (eg 'office

routine') with paperwork.

On Davidson see J.M. Gullick, 'Tunku Kudin in Selangor 1868-1878,' JMBRAS 59(2). 1986, n129, reprinted herein, cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Kudin' and Sadka, op.cit., p. 387.

On the Selangor civil war (1867-73) see C.D. Cowan, Nineteenth Century Malaya: The Origins of British Control, London, Oxford University Press, 1961, chapter 3: C.N. Parkinson, British Intervention in Malaya 1867-1877, Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1960, chapter 3; Khoo Kay Kim, The Western Malay States 1850-1873: the Effects of Commercial Development on Malay Politics, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1972, chapter 6; and S.M. Middlebrook, 'Yap Ah Loy,' JMBRAS 24(2), 1951.

R.O. Winstedt, A History of Selangor, 'JMBRAS 12(3), 1934, chapter 4, deals with the Malay dynastic background to the struggle. Wan Mohamed Amin bin Said, Pesaka Selangor, ed by Abdul Samad Ahmad, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pesaka, 1966, was one of Winstedt's sources, and gives a first-hand account of the siege of Klang, since the author, then a youth, was present at that encounter. Another valuable Malay source on the later stages of the civil war is the Hikayat Pahang (see Note 98 below). Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi author of The Voyages of Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi ed and trans by A. Sweeney and N. Phillips, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, came to Klang in 1872, as interpreter to C.J. Irving, and wrote a vivid account of Kudin's civil war headquarters and its garrison.

Diary 14 April 1876. J.M. Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya,

London, Athlone Press, 1958, revised 1988, chapter 3, on the role of the Ruler.

J.M. Gullick, 'A Careless, Heathen Philosopher?,' originally published in JMBRAS 26(1). 1953, reprinted herein in revised form (cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Sultan') is a character study of the old Sultan. For typical comment on his character see F.A. Swettenham, British Malaya etc., London, 1906, John Lane, Bodley Head, 1906, revised London, Allen & Unwin, 1948, p. 129.

Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 39-40.

12 Heslop Hill and Ambrose Rathborne were partners from about 1880, originally as coffee planters, later as tin-miners and contractors. At this time their main operations were in Sungei Ujong, where Martin Lister managed one of their coffee estates. Lister had come earlier in 1881 to Selangor to select sites for experimental coffee planting. Heslop Hill was making a follow-up visit, which led to the establishment of coffee estates in Selangor.

On Hill and Rathborne see J.C. Jackson, Planters and Speculators: Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya 1786-1921, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, index entries 'Hill, Thomas Heslop,' and A. Rathborne, Camping and Tramping in Malaya, London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Martin Lister had begun his career as a coffee planter in Ceylon; he gave up planting to become an administrator in

1884 and died in service, as Resident of Negeri Sembilan in 1897.

On tax farming, ie letting the right to collect taxes (for 3 years at a time) at a fixed rent see Sadka, op.cit., p. 333. In awarding the contract it was normal practice to give preference to the leading local capitalist (Yap Ah Loy in this case) since he had the power to enforce

collection of taxes and would promote development (and increase revenue) to enlarge his

profit margin on the contract. 14 Hamidah had been convicted of 'gross perjury' in connection with the murder of her husband and sent to serve her sentence in Singapore, as Selangor had no separate prison accommodation for women. She suffered from dropsy. Diary 22 October 1881.

Two of Queen Victoria's grandsons were to visit Singapore in 1882.

16 A later passage from the diary (p. 119) illustrates the antipathy between Douglas and the Bernam Rajas. He had fallen out with Raja Abidin while acting as arbitrator on Abidin's claim against his brother, Raja Hitam (see p. 122), and had failed to persuade Abidin to return from Singapore to Selangor. It is probable that Abidin's unexpected presence at Jugra was the result of a covert arrangement by Swettenham (in Singapore); see Gullick, Sultan, p. 25 n83 herein.

17 See p. 108 of the main text of this paper for an example.

- 'I mean right from their point of view not mine,' Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 130. See also Gullick, Sultan, at p. 3 herein.
- 19 Sheikh Mohamed Taib had been in the service of the Menteri of Larut before he came to Selangor, where he became a headman in Ulu Selangor. See Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., p. 77, n2, and p. 131 of the main text of this paper.
- 20 In 1880 an order was issued from Singapore forbidding deductions from the Sultan's allowance, but Douglas professed not to understand that this ruling applied to cases such as this. It was one of the matters leading to his enforced retirement in 1882. See Gullick. Sultan, at p. 11 herein.

21 Douglas refers to his public reprimand of Raja Hitam on the deck of HMS 'Fly'; see p.

119 of the main text.

22 'In an ordered manner' is a typical Douglas clue (unintentional) to a ponderous and devious manoeuvre. With Kudin's return to Kedah the substantial government house in Klang allocated to Kudin (as Viceroy) fell vacant and Douglas wished to make it over to his son-in-law, Dan Daly. But first he must offer it to the Sultan, as a royal residence in Klang, knowing that the Sultan never stayed in Klang. The Sultan was astute enough to see what the Resident was after and was very willing to let him have his way.

See p. 109 of the main text on the temperament of Raja Muda Musa.

SSD 27 October 1882. See further in Gullick, Sultan, p. 12 herein.

- On Syers see J.M. Gullick, 'Syers and the Selangor Police 1875-1897,' JMBRAS 51(2). 1978, reprinted herein and cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Syers' This was one of the occasions when Syers was used as an interpreter; see note 4 above.
- Behak was the Sultan's private secretary, who had charge of his seal and correspondence. A 'slow-moving and lethargic clerk' is Munshi Ibrahim's picture of him (op. cit. p. 80). Although a commoner his position made him more of a confidant of the Sultan than any of the Ruler's sons. It was tactful to take soundings through Behak as intermediary before broaching the matter with the Sultan in person.
- On the last visit Douglas (diary 11 May 1881) 'saw the Sultan who looked very thin and wom; he is recovering from his late severe illness... before I saw the Sultan Encik Behak informed me that when H.H. was at his worst he had expressed regret that he had not made his will; that he wished to have it deposited with the Governor or Resident.

As the Sultan did not in the event make a will (at any time down to his death in 1898) the interesting question of testamentary powers did not arise. See Note 29 below on the technicalities.

In the case of the Selangor succession it was accepted that Raja Muda Musa was the heir apparent, by virtue of his office, but 'his accession seemed to be rather dreaded by the Resident, Isabella Bird, The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither, London, John Murray, 1883, p. 226, (for reasons explained at p. 109 of this paper). Douglas may have been hoping that by his will the Sultan would at least express a wish that his successor should continue the existing arrangements with Britain. The elaborate disclaimers of any intention to 'touch on political matters' indicate that they were very much in the minds of both men. The Sultan presumably thought that it was best to avoid making a will which he might then be asked to modify in the sense desired by the Resident. Raja Muda Musa's death in 1884 resolved the problem for the time being, and the ultimate successor (Sultan Abdul Samad's grandson, Sultan Sulaiman, son of Raja Muda Musa) was a man of a very

different and more accommodating temper.

Douglas had been at Kulal Schanger on the previous day and presided, as magistrate, at the preliminary hearing of charges against Malays who wer alleged to have murdered a Chinese at Tanjong Karang to rob him of \$50. On 17th June Douglas tried the case at Kulal Schanger, with a jury of two Europeans, three "respectable" Malays and two Chinese. The accused were acquitted and the principal prosecution (Malay) witness was subsequently convicted of perjuny. The Chinese trader at Kulal Schanger were "mach excited" and threatened to decamp if 'murder was not punished. 'But Douglas talked them round. The two Chinese jurymen were from Klang and the thought that this had added to their dissatisfaction. Dirty 27 May and 17-18 June 1881. The case is an interesting that the continues complete cases with which Douglas as experienced magistrate.

21/2, pixuls of tin ingots, bearing marks indicating that they had been smelted by Thai miners, had been dug up at Kulat Lumpur. Douglas noted (diary 18 Mg 1831) that 'many years ago... some Siamete miners came via Pahang to this country', but it has not been possible to trace that interesting episode (and the author is indebed to Dr. Kobkus Sawannathat Pian for confirmation that in the san ot come across it in her research into the archives in Bangdook.) The Sulan odly received his fall share for the research words.

26 June 1881.
A trust watiful was a term applied to gifts at death to charity; R.J. Wilkinson, Malay-English Dictionary (Romanized), 1932, 2 parts, Mytllene, Salavopoulos & Kinderlis, 1932, part 2, p. 647, Sec J.M. Gullisk, Rulers and Residents: Influence and Power in the Malay States 1870-1920. Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 304-5, 111, for discussion of the validity of a Ruler's testamentary disposition of the succession.

³⁸ Raji Sahi (Abunusah) was the Sultan's youngest son. At one time Douglas thought quite well of him — 'Raja Sah is turning out a nice lad', and there were plans to send him to be educated in Singapore. Diary 27 February 1879. But this came to nothing. By 1881 the young man had developed a precocious taste for brandy. Diary 18 July 1881. Emily Innes, says that he gree up "rude, pastionate and huist!", linnes, op. cit., vol. 1 p. 185.

31 say's that he grew up 'ruoe, passionate and britial.' Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 183. Diary 19 June 1881 (Silence on his will), Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 38 (like an 'old peasant'); diary 13 June 1877 (State Council minutes); diary 13 May 1878 (iron chests under his bed.) See also Swettenhum, British Maloya, p. 128 for more on these themes. The underlying question, explored in Gullick, Sultan, is how far the Sultan was

deliberately exaggerating if not inventing these foibles.

32 See p. 12 herein.

³³ Diary 2 October 1878 (padi planting) and 21 July 1878 (loans for development) See J.M. Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems, pp. 128-31, and Rulers and Residents, p. 212, on the tradition of royal encouragement of agriculture and Note 133 below for an example.

Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 18, and see Gullick, Sultan p. 8 herein on the move to Jugra hill.
 Bird, op. cit., p. 230. It was an istana built in the traditional form of three linked buildings.

See Note 20 above and Gullick, Sultan, p. 10 herein.

Diary 4 February 1879 (radiant in new clothes) and Bird, op. cit. p. 37. When, in 1882, Douglas made his defence (enclosed with SSD 24 August 1882) he mentioned that one Governor's lady, during a visit to Jugra, had tried on the 'gold braided jacket' and that during another such visit the Tunku Ampuan had displayed this fine raiment to the visitor.

³⁸ Diary 22 October 1881. Emily Innes makes sarcastic, but veiled reference to this episode. Innes, op. čit., vol 2, p. 217. It seems reasonable to sarume that, instead of helping the Sultan in preparing to entertain this European visitors, James Innes – under marital pressure – left the istans and its royal master to do what they could without his sid, with predictable and dissarrous results.

39 'Rosebud' was the Selangor government launch at this time. In the course of his local leave in Hong Kong at the beginning of 1878 Douglas supervised the construction of a

new launch, 'Abdul Samad', which became the apple of his eye.

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⁴¹ 'A rigid Mohammedan who is known to have said that when he becomes Sultan he "will drive the white men into the sea". Bird, op. cit., p. 236, reporting Bloomfield Douglas. It has to be remembered that only a few weeks before this remark was made, one of Douglas' colleagues, Captain Lloyd, his wife and their guest, Emily Innes, had been

attacked and Lloyd had been killed, at pangkor, Innes, op. cit, vol 2, chapter 5.

Diary 7 September 1878 (Musa planting energetically) and 11 May 1881 (Imam's fees). On the latter subject see J.M. Gullick, Malay Society in the latte Nineteenth Century: the Beginnings of Change. Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 280.

Like the Sultan and Tunku Kudin, Musa did not desert Douglas in 1882 in the hour of his downfall. Governor Weld reported that 'when I last saw him he (Musa) appeared to be on excellent terms with Mr. Douglas who was assisting him with seeds and plants for some

farming operations.' SSD 24 August 1882.

Diary 12 May 1877 and 22 August 1879. It appears that Kahar was convicted on a charge of abstring hits on in a case of rape and abduction and was fined \$100. Sadks, op. 61, p. 250. Later Douglas mentions that a considerable body of Malays had moved from Langat and settled near Tanjong Karang (Kuala Sclangor) because the Sultan fined Raja Kahar's son for abducting a woman. Diary 12 May 1873.

Long before this incident Swettenham on tour in Ulu Langat in March 1875, noted that "they are very discontented, talk of leaving the place, and evidently very much dislike R. Kahar." Swettenham, Malayan Journait, p. 215. See also Gullick, Kudin, at p. 198 herein

on Kahar and Yakob.

Diary 15 October 1876 and Gullick, Rulers and Residents, p. 37, on the dismissal of Datuk Dagang Abu Said.

44 Gullick, Kudin, p. 223 herein deals more fully with Kudin's limited role in Selangor at this

time. The interview with him at Penang is reported by Weld in SSD 24 August 1882.

Sadka says that Douglas 'had been accused of driving Tengku Zia' uddin out of Selangor' by reason of a personality which was 'entirely distanteful to the Malays.' Sadka, op. cit., p. 211. Isabella Bird was horrified at his abuse, and possibly physical violence, towards

Malay boatmen. Bird, op. cit., p. 241.

But Kudin's remarks to Weld, and the attitude of the Sultan (Gullick, Sultan, p. 12
herein) and of Raja Muda Musa (Note 42 above) suggest that in his dealings with Malays

of the Raja class Douglas was careful to observe normal civility.

46 Hit "by-passing" of Kodin, to go straight to the Sultan, is to some extent explicable by Kudin's protinged stoneses from Selangor. See Gullick, Kudin, p. 224 herein, and P. Loh Fook Seng, The Malay States 1877-1895; Political Change and Social Policy, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 16. Loh argues (see pp. 26-77) (the evidence is not entirely convincing) that Douglas was merely be victim of a plot by Swettenham to enforce his retirement (so that Swettenham might inherit his job), and that his shortcomines have been much exagerated.

In the circumstances Kudin had become redundant; 'the services of Kudin were no longer required' was Swettenham's verdict (memorandum on Kudin's retirement enclosed with SSD 18 June 1878). Kudin knew it and he saw greater opportunities of advancement to the throne in Kedah than now existed in Sclangor, Douglas contributed to this situation.

but was not the sole author of it.

47 Clarke's nomination of Davidson as Resident of Selangor at the end of 1874 was 'very

questionable' in the eyes of the Colonial Office, owing to his financial connections with Kudin, but it was approved. Cowan, op. cit., p. 220. Meanwhile Davidson had been acting informally as Kudin's adviser in Selangor since early in 1874. Gullick, Kudin, p. 222 herein, notes 129 and 149.

Quotations from the diary 9 August 1876 (Douglas to follow Davidson's practice): 7 June 1876 (Douglas temporary Viceroy); 27 May 1876 (basis of government); 3 and 21 August 1876 (proposed visit to Kedah).

Gullick, Kudin, p. 224 herein.

Diary 18 April 1877 (Musa ignores Kudin's return); 23 April 1877 (Raja Arfah); Innes, op. cit., vol 1, pp. 87 (Raja Arfah) and 177 (Kudin).

Syed Zin bin Mohamed Putch (mentioned in this diary entry of 13 December 1876) was a Malay of Arab descent from Penang who had been Kudin's chief of staff throughout the Selangor civil war. Gullick, Kudin, p. 215 herein. He continued to be a close associate in the period 1874-8, being head of the embryo public works department and also a member of the Selangor State Council from its establishment in 1877. Sadka, op. cit. p. 179. He retired from public office in Selangor in 1878 when Kudin withdrew, but they went on to promote joint plantation enterprises in Selangor in the next few years. Ibid, p. 344, n2, and J.M. Gullick, 'Tunku Kudin of Kedah,' JMBRAS 6092), 1987, p. 83.

Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems, pp. 97-8, on the significance of a Malay chief's following.

Diary 24 April 1977. Apparently Jervois did not report to the Colonial Office on his discussion with Tunku Kudin. Jervois had been engaged in acrimonious exchanges with the CO in which he argued that he had inherited (in the Pangkor Engagement) 'a system which necessitated the power of control' (SSD 10 February 1876, para 62) but he denied (para 68) that his implementation of it amounted to 'annexation' (see Parkinson, op. cit., Appendix C, for the full text of the despatch). To have admitted to the CO that he had (in the words of Douglas) 'sounded (Kudin) as to annexation' would have blown this aggressive justification of his policy clean out of the water. 'A shifty undecided little man' indeed (see Note 4).

On the terms of Kudin's retirement in 1878 (likewise the subject of disagreement with the Colonial Office) see Gullick, Kudin, p. 226 herein.

52 Winstedt, op. cit., chapter 2.

⁵³ The Residency at Klang had 'the appearance of an armed post amid a hostile population.' Bird, op. cit., p. 218. On similar aspects of the Residency at Kuala Lumpur in 1880-82, see J.M. Gullick, 'The Growth of Kuala Lumpur and of the Malay Community in Selangor before 1880, JMBRAS 63(1), 1990, p. 28. But Birch had been killed in 1875 and Lloyd in 1878 (see Note 41 above).

In the original version of this paper (JMBRAS 48(2), p. 17) a geographical distribution of supporters and opponents of Raja Mahdi and Tunku Kudin was proposed, but Professor Khoo Kay Kim (ibid. p. 51) doubted this hypothesis, because Raja Mahdi himself came from Klang in the centre of Selangor. The passage has therefore been omitted from this

Raja Abdul Rahman is described in an earlier diary entry (see p. 109 above), as a 'follower of Raja Muda Musa. He was a son of Raja Abdullah, chief of Klang until his expulsion by Raja Mahdi in 1867, and a half-brother of Raja Ismail, who led the attempt to recapture Klang in 1869, but was later displaced, as leader of the anti-Mahdi forces, by Tunku Kudin. See Gullick, Kudin, p. 204 herein.

Until late 1876 Douglas treated Abdul Rahman as a reliable aide and included him in his original list of members of the new State Council (see Gullick, Rulers and Residents, p. 91). But Douglas retracted that proposal, demonstrating to the Sultan (diary 25 November 1876) that Abdul Rahman's 'most objectionable conduct' made him unsuitable. It may have been something done by Abdul Rahman, while residing at Kuala Selangor in mid 1876, which caused this drastic change in the attitude of Douglas towards him. However just before that change occurred. Abdul Rahman was at the Residency three times in one week for unspecified purposes (diary 18, 24 and 24 October 1876). It is characteristic of Douglas (see Note 6 above) to avoid recording in his diary matters which he found awkward or embarrassing. It is clear from the brief references to him in the diary after 1876 that Douglas never restored him to his former position of trust.

Diary 4 and 17 August 1876. On Sheikh Mohamed Ali see Note 108 below. Diary 22 November 1876 (spiking the guns). It appears that Raja Hitam and his brothers were grandsons of Sultan Ibrahim (d. 1826), and that their mother was a sister of Sultan Abdul Samad.

Diary 8 May 1879.

- Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 129, Gullick, Kudin, p. 199 herein for an assessment of
- Mahdi. He died in exile in Singapore in 1882. Mashhor came back to Selangor when Swettenham, who had known him in Perak in the mid-1870s, became Resident of Selangor in 1882. He was for many years penghulu of Kerling in Ulu Selangor, and in time became a member of the State Council, from which he retired in 1916 as he was by then 'no longer capable of attending to business'. AR Selangor 1916, para 7. See F.A. Swettenham, Malay Sketches, London, John Lane Bodley Head, 1900, 'A Silhouette,' for a vivid picture of Mashhor in the 1880's when his reputation as a warrior made him still a much feared figure.

See diary extracts below and Gullick, Malay Society, pp. 81-4, and Rulers and Residents, 61 Raja Mahmud, son of the Tunku Panglima Raja, has to be distinguished (Loh, op. cit., p.

p. 330-1. Raja Mahmud died in 1919.

20. fails to do so) from Raja Mahmud, son of Sultan Mohamed, whose claims to succeed his father in 1857 (see Winstedt, op. cit., p. 19, and Gullick, Sultan, p. 2 herein) were defeated when Raja Juma'at, secured the throne for Sultan Abdul Samad. This Raja Mahmud became the long-serving penghulu of Beranang in Ulu Langat, despite his paternity he was an undistinguished figure. A Raia Mahmud and a Raja Berkat were among the Malay leaders of the Mahdi forces

which clashed with the British at Kuala Selangor in July 1871 in the 'Rinaldo incident'. Parkinson, op. cit., p. 50. It is tempting to suppose that these were the Tunku Panglima

Raja and his son. See also Gullick, Sultan, note p. 25 herein.

Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 100-3; diary 12 April and 19 September 1876, 10 August 1878, and 19 October 1877 for the sequence of quotations.

Swettenham's anxiety that Mahdi might be planning another incursion was expressed in a memorandum enclosed with SSD 18 June 1878. As Assistant Colonial Secretary (Native States) Swettenham obtained political intelligence through various channels (Note 16 above). One of these was the Malay lodging house in Singapore run by Mohamed Said and used as a social centre by Malay exiles (Gullick, Sultan, note 83 at p. 25 herein). See also V. Matheson Hooker, 'Swettenham's Manuscript of the Hikayat Hang Tuah, JMBRAS 64(2), 1991, pp. 83-4, for an interesting indication of possible direct contacts between

Swettenham and Mahdi in Singapore.

64 The papers recording the early stages of this celebrated affair were sent to London as enclosures to SSD 13 June 1878, and laid before Parliament, with the famous directive to Residents, as C. 2410 of 1878. Neubronner, Douglas and his superiors treated the proposal made to Neubronner as the offer of a bribe, although the writer did no more than ask the magistrate to 'receive' the \$135 owed to the Tunku Panglima Raja. However the offer of \$40 to a magistrate was improper - in British eyes - but not so grave as to justify the action taken by Douglas. The translation of the Malay letter to Neubronner was made by Swettenham.

Raja Sulaiman was a son (by a secondary wife) of Sultan Mohamed (r. 1826-57) and had been chief of the Klang district until his death in 1850, when Raja Mahdi's hereditary claims had been rejected and Raja Juma'at had secured the Klang district for his own

brother, Raja Abdullah, thus sowing the seeds of the civil war.

Datuk Daheman was invited to sign the petition on the basis that it sought redress for Raja Mahdi who had been denied his immediate inheritance, ie the Klang district. He refused to sign it on discovering that it supported a claim by Raja Mahdi to the throne of Selangor, on the implied basis that, as a grandson of the previous Sultan, Mahdi had a better claim to the throne than Sultan Abdul Samad. The later was a grandson of Sultan Ibrahim, who had died in 1826, and so had not been in the direct line at the time of his accession in 1857, although he was the son-in-law of the deceased Sultan as well as his nephew, see Gullick, Sultan, p. 2 herein.

As Note 64 above.

67 Roberts was the Collector at Kuala Selangor.

68 Neubronner was a member of a Eurasian family prominent both in business and in the government service. Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., p. 60.

Diary 24-28 April 1878.

Raia Indut was the only one of the Bernam brothers with whom Douglas was on friendly terms. A few months later Douglas 'personally presented Raja Indut with the watch I bought for him in Singapore. It cost \$30 - I said I had great pleasure in presenting Raja Indut with the watch on behalf of the Selangor Government, that he had always given me great assistance, particularly during the last few months. Diary 8 February 1879.

It was the practice in Selangor to issue to district chiefs a written letter of authority granting them power to govern their districts. Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems, p. 95. The earliest recorded example of the practice was the grant of Lukut to Raja Juma'at: see Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., p. 72. Later (see Gullick, Sultan, p. 1 herein) there was a dispute as to whether a grant could bind the grantor's successors, as the Lukut grant purported to do.

Quotations from diary entries of 15 and 25 May 1878 on Mahmud's wife and the State Council meeting to reinstate Tunku Panglima Raja respectively. The Governor's report (see Note 64 above) was SSD 13 June 1878.

Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements to H.B.M. Residents dated 17 May 1878 (in C. 2410). On Hugh Low's vigorous response to instructions which he considered unrealistic see Sadka, op. cit., p. 103.

Diary 6 and 25 August 1878 on the 'Fly' affair. Sadka, op. cit., p. 212, cites Sel/Sec 244/78 for Douglas's report on this incident.

The sequence of quotations on other encounters with Raja Hitam are from entries in the diary 13 August 1876; 4 January 1879; 30 January 1877 and 8 February 1877. Diary 18 June 1878. Raja Kechil was perhaps the son's title (junior Raja) rather than a personal name. In some places in this long passage he is referred to as 'Raja Estam' (which may have been his name). To avoid confusion the transcription uses Raja Kechil

throughout. The sequence of quotations (on the dispute between Rajas Hitam and Abidin) from the

diary are (by date) 23 March, 16 April, 17 April, and 16 August 1879. Swettenham, British Malaya, p. 191. But see Gullick Syers, p. 41.

Diary entries on Raja Mahmud dated 4 August 1876 (return to Selangor); 25 October 1876 (formal homage); 1 June 1879 (apologia to Douglas); 19 June 1881 (Douglas visits Sepang).

Sadka, op. cit., p. 305 on Mahmud's downfall in 1890. On his career generally see Note 60 above. On the death of his father, the Tunku Panglima Raja, Raja Mahmud inherited the title of Tunku Panglima Besar. This was the title held previously by Raja Abdullah, the father of Sultan Abdul Samad, and by the Sultan himself before his accession. See Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit. p. 19 (citing Sel/Sec 2334/1889) and Gullick, Sultan, p. 2 herein. No explanation has been found of the reason for giving to Raja Mahmud's father a different title from that which was recognised and maintained by custom.

Diary 13 February 1879, 27 September 1877 and 8 October 1881 for the sequence of quotations on Jeram. W.T. Hornaday, Two Years in the Jungle, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885, pp. 304-13, gives an entertaining picture of Jeram, where he was

the guest of the Datuk Putch, in mid-1878.

The first attempt to educate the sons of Rajas for the government service in a special institution was the Selangor Raja School established in Kuala Lumpur in December 1890.

However this was not a success and it was merged in the Victoria Institution (open to boys of all communities) when the VI was founded in 1893. R. Stevenson, Cultivators and Administrators: British Educational Policy towards the Malays, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 184-55.

Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems, chapter 7 on economic help for the rayar.

On the Selangor office of Datuk Dagang see Sadka, op. cit., p. 14. See Gullick, Kudin, p. 3 herein, and Malay Society, p. 175, n70 on Haji Tahir. Diary 30 May 1879 on Nikodah

Alang.

SI Diary 1 January and 26 February 1879 (preliminary discussions), and 5-9 May 1879 for

the lengthy account of the royal journey to Kuala Lumpur and home again.

20 On the Damansara road Gullick, Growth of Kuala Lumpur, p. 23 and Appendix A. Ibid. p. 25 on the bridge. At this time the entire village of Kuala Lumpur was on the east bank of the Klang river.
8 Yan Ah Lov, the Capitan China, and Yap Ah Shak, headman of Petaling, were the

recognised leaders of the Chinese miners of the upper Klang valley and the largest

employers. Middlebrook, op. cit., chapter 17.

Yap Ah Loy's house stood on the south side of what is now Pasar Leboh Besar (Old Market Square). In more recent times the Mercantile Bank building stood on this site.

Bouglas who had begun his career with brief service in the Royal Navy was punctilious

over guards of honour, salutes of guns and other ceremonies.

The Sultan was fearful of assassination. Gullick, Sultan, p. 3 herein.

47 As the Sultan attended (see below) the ceremony of placing the 'first pole' of the new courthouse building (see Gullick, Growth of Kuala Lumpur, p. 26). Douglas and his colleagues were presumably accommodated in the part ('the old quarters') of Yap Ah Lov's house which they had used during previous visits.

The Fort' was probably the stockade on Bukit Nanas which, since the early years of Kuala Lumpur, had been the headquarters of the senior Malay figure in the town. See

Gullick, Sultan, p. 15 herein.

- Gullick, Sulfan, p. 15 oeren.

 Raja Shaban had been a upporter of Tunku Kudin during the civil war. He had shown Douglas the pits at Klang dug during the siege of the Klang fort in 1869-70. Diary 30 September 1878. So he may have been with Kudin's forcer at that time. Soon after the Sultan's visit Shaban was appointed penghulu of Ulu Klang and Ulu Langat. He died in 1881
- 90 W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic etc., London, Macmillan, 1900, pp. 143-7, describes this traditional ritual of erecting a building.

traditional ritual of erecting a building.

Paly (son-in-law of Douglas) was head of the lands and survey department; Turney was

Collector at Kuala Langat; Syers was head of the Selangor police.

⁹² In July 1876 the Capitan China had estimated the population of Kuala Lumpur at 1,000 Chinices and 400 Malays. Darry 14 July 1876. It had not increased much in the ensuing years of low tin prices; the boom began only in the autumn of 1879. The estimate given here of 5-7,000 people can only be correct if, as is likely, large numbers had come in from surrounding villages and mining campts to join to celebrating the royal visit.

93 See n 1

⁹⁴ This was a yellow arsenical paste, believed to have magical properties and also used as a

colouring material. See Wilkinson, op.cit., hartal.

95 See Note 118 below.

See Gullick, Growth of Kuala Lumpur. The Bugis rulers of Selangor kept to the coast. Until tin mining on a substantial scale began in the late 1850's, there was nothing to bring them into the interior.

⁹⁷ Diary 23 May 1879. On Raja Kahar see Note 43 above.

⁵⁸ W. Linehan, 'A History of Pahang' JMBRAS 14(2), 1936, chapter 8, is the best account of the Pahang troops' activities in the Selangor civil war. It draws extensively on the Hikayat Pahang (see Note 8 above), written by an unknown author c. 1932, and edited for publication by Kaltum Ieran (Petaling Jaya, Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1986). 99 A 'Selangor man' here means one of Bugis descent.

100 Diary 24 July 1879. On Sheikh Mohamed Taib see Note 19 above. His brother, Sheikh Mohamed Ali, headman of Ulu Klang and Ulu Langat until his recent death, was

succeeded by Raja Shaban (see Note 89 above).

101 See, for example, J.F.A. McNair, Perak and the Malays: Sarong and KRis, London, Tinsley Bros, 1878, reprinted Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1972, charter 13. 102 A panglima could mean a subordinate commander or a personal bodyguard; the same men performed both roles on occasion. Yap Ah Loy had raised considerable local forces during the civil war, and still had a standing guard to maintain his authority.

Angus was the government interpreter - an essential aide to Douglas. See Note 4 above. Douglas trusted Syers who was a frequent companion both in official tours and

recreations such as shooting. See Gullick, Syers, p. 48 herein.

There are a number of favourable references in the diary to this headman.

A long-barrelled swivel gun, such as had been used during the civil war, of which it was probably a relic.

This is almost certainly the Encik Ambo, a Pahang commander mentioned in Linehan (op. cit., pp. 85 and 99). He had been one of the Malay notables who accompanied the Sultan on his trip to Kuala Lumpur. He was useful to and trusted by Douglas who on one occasion placed him in charge of the local treasury ar Bernam when the Collector was sick. Diary 22 November 1881. There are 16 references to him in the diary.

108 Skeat, op. cit., pp. 212-14 on Malay beliefs and rituals in connection with camphor, an important species of 'jungle produce' at this time. See also Gullick, Malay Society, p.

109 See Gullick, Malay Society, p. 239. He was a professional killer who had been convicted of a murder, committed for a fee of \$6.

Diary 21 July 1876. Douglas was 53 at this time but at 60 still 'more active than most men of younger age. SSD 24 August 1882.

Douglas spells the first name 'Sultan', but this was an incorrect form of a common Rawa name 'Sutan'. See also Note 121 below on Sutan Bangkaulu.

112 The invading Pahang forces had waged a war of revenge against the Rawa and Mandiling men who had previously invaded Pahang. Linehan, op. cit., p. 95.

At this time Syed Mashhor (see Note 59 above) was still in Perak. 114 His kampung was four miles downstream. Diary 23 July 1879.

In fact only one koyan was supplied. Diary 2 August 1876.

116 It is impossible to interpret this passage exactly. The Bernam and Slim rivers meet at Kampong Kuala Slim. The modern State boundary goes with the Bernam river upstream as far as the junction with the Sungai Behrang. Perhaps this is Douglas's 'Batang Bay."

Quotation from diary 22 July 1876 at this point. Douglas spells the river name as Recyning'; the Rening joins the Selangor river near the site of the modern Rasa.

Panglima Garang Ishak is mentioned by Linehan, op. cit., pp. 87 and 97. He was apparently less prominent that Haji Mohamed Noor among the Pahang leaders.

Haji Mohamed Noor was 'one of the Sultan's favourites from Pekan,' (Linehan, op. cit., p. 92). He had proved his prowess in fighting against the Sultan's opponents (and their Rawa allies) in 1868. Ibid. He went on to play a prominent part in the Pahang operations in Selangor. After the war was over it was arranged (Linehan, op. cit. p. 100) that Haji Mohamed Noor would remain in Ulu Selangor to collect the local revenues, to which the Sultan of Pahang was entitled (as payment for his war expenses).

When he returned to Ulu Selangor in 1879 Douglas again chose July for his tour. The long passage quoted here is from the diary entries for 22 and 23 July 1876.

Douglas again misspells the name, which should be 'Sutan Bangkaulu' (see JMBRAS 48(2), p. 51).

On 'debt-slavery' (an emotive subject for Victorian Englishmen) see Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems, pp. 98-104. In Selangor it had been abolished by letting it be 'quietly dropped and ignored', on the Sultan's advice, without formal abolition. See report dated 28 May 1878 by Douglas among the slavery papers in C. 3285. The drawback to that shrewd policy was that, as in the case here described, it could be disregarded on the

pretext of ignorance.

122 As subsequent quotations show Douglas had latter to give peremptory orders for the release of the girl and eventually he was notified that this had been done. Diary 7 August 1876. But the Pahang headmen continued to be a problem for Douglas. Soon after this affair they were suspected of conniving in e murder of an aborigine by a Pahang Malay who escaped to Pahang. Douglas commented that 'if it is proved to my satisfaction I shall deport Haji Mohamed Noor and he had better go back to Pahang." Diary 23 November 1876. Whether willingly or not he did return to Pahang. In 1887 Clifford mentions 'Haji Mohamed Nuh' among the royal favourites (report enclosed with SSD 15 October 1887 in CO 273/148, p.229) and he was still prominent in 1888 when Rodger arrived as the first British Resident - 'a clever but most mischievous man' who was very unpopular. Report enclosed with SSD 15 October 1888. See also Linehan, op. cit. p. 113.

Although the leaders may have returned to Pahang, many of their followers settled in

Ulu Sclangor.

123 'Plantations' here means smallholdings, ie areas planted with crops.

124 Imam Jakun later fell out with Douglas for soliciting a subsidy for development and not carrying it out - 'Irnam Jakun delivered himself up. I cancelled his kuasa and informed him unless he paid the \$50 I advanced him I should have to order proceedings to be taken against him for cheating.' Diary 22 September 1876. But later 'released Imam Jakun on Haji Mustapha's intercession and guarantee of the \$50 I advanced to Imam Jakun towards opening up the Kerling River.' Ibid. 29 November 1876.

125 In the original diary the spelling is 'Kulim' but the Kerling river is the only name which

fits in this local context. 126 Again it seems reasonable to correct the original spelling of 'Ingie' to 'Inki.' It has not

been possible to identify the 'Sungei Sirian'; in 1879 Douglas refers to 'Sungei Sunan' which may be a variant spelling of the same name.

127 Here the original, always difficult to read, appears to be 'Somoropa' but Sungei Gading is

the obvious choice.

128 Elsewhere (diary 27 July 1879) Haji Mustapha is described as penghulu of Ulu Bernam. Ulu Selangor here my well be a mistake for Ulu Bernam. There are a number of other sympathetic references in the diary to Haji Mustapha. He applied to Douglas and to the Sultan for a subsidy towards the opening up of his district. He was one of the witnesses at the arbitration on the dispute between Raja Hitam and Raja Abidin (another clue to suggest that his district was Ulu Bernam). See Note 76 above. Douglas had another colourful stay with him in July 1879, noting that he was a Pahang man whose kampung was Taniong Malim. Diary 28-29 July 1879.

129 It may be the modern Bukit Asa.

130 Haji Mustapha is here described as a 'Rawa' but (see Note 128 above) in 1879 Douglas states explicitly that he was a Pahang man. It is of course possible that he was of Rawa origin and culture but came from the Rawas settled in Pahang.

131 The note of surprise that Syed Bakar 'a Pahang man' was on excellent terms with Haji Mustapha lends support to the indication (see Note 130 above) that they were of different tribes, even if both had migrated from Pahang.

132 Diary 24-25 July 1876. The boats were to take Douglas and his party down the Bernam

river to Sabak Bernam where his launch was awaiting him.

133 This homily does not seem to have led to any growth in local rice production. Two years later Haji Mustapha was arranging to have a loan of rice from the Sultan. Diary 6 July 1878. The Sultan obliged; see Note 33 above.

EMILY INNES 1876 – 1882

Authoress of 'The Golden Chersonese with the Gilding off.'



EMILY INNES

"The Chersonese with the Gilding off" is a forthright title which asserts that is the plain truth about Malaya (in 1880 or thereabouts). It is also a comment on Isabella Bird's Golden Chersonese published two years previously. But - with more courtesy than she usually showed - Emily stated that Isabella Bird's "account is perfectly and literally true. So is mine. The explanation is that she and I saw the Malayan country under totally different circumstances." (27A2 - throughout this essay I refer to Emily Innes' book by volume and pase number, ic. 27A24 means Yol II p. 242.)

But is Emily's account "perfectly and literally true?". In his introduction to the modern reprint Professor Khoo Kay Kim accepts that her "descriptive information" is a valuable source of data but adds (and we would all agree) that "her bitter experiences unavoidably clouded her vision." Professor Heussler in his recent study of British administrators in Malaya observes that her book "bears the mark of acute paranoia" (Khoo too notes that her "language is stark, brutal and almost abusive")3 If we are to assess the facts presented to us by Emily Innes we have to make allowance for the distorting effect (in some passages) of getting them through the refractory lens of a strong and unhappy personality. In attempting to get at the objective truth one can sometimes compare Emily's words with the parallel narrative of another person. This is particularly appropriate in tracing the story of her deteriorating relationship with Bloomfield Douglas, Resident of Selangor, whom she came to detest. Unknown to Emily Innes Douglas was keeping a private diary which has recently come light.6 It is also easier to understand Emily if one knows her personal background since she brought to her life in Malaya the values and prejudices of her upbringing. My purpose in this essay is to search for insight into this classic account of life in the Malay States a century ago by use of the sources just referred to.

Family Background. Emily Anne Robertson was born on 5th March 1843 at Boxley near Maidstone in Kent. She was the third of the six children born to James Craigie Robertson and his wife Julia (nee Stevenson)⁹ Emily was to live at home with her parents until, almost at the age of 32, she married James Innes and came out to Southeast Asia. So her parents, especially her father,

were a considerable influence on her character.

James Robertson had been born in 1813 at Aberdeen, the son of a merchant of the town and his wife, Jill Craige, described as a restless person whose inability to settle down disrupted her childrens' education. When he was in his late teens Robertson came to Edinburgh to study law. This did not last long but in the small world of the Edinburgh legal fratemity young Robertson may well have made the acquaintance of a rising lawyer (later to be a Professor of Law). Cosmo Innes – to whom we will come later.

Robertson gave up the study of the law and decided to enter holy orders

in the Church of England. For that purpose he became a student of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1831. Among his Cambridge friends was Richard Stevenson (later a Fellow of Trinity) and in 1839 Robertson married Stevenson's sister. He spent his vacations in Germany and became fluent in the German language.

James Robertson was ordained in 1836 and became a curate, first in Gloucestershire and later at Boxley in Kent where Emily was born. The Church of England was at this time awakening from a long period of torpor. The clergy were concerned to observe the proper rituals and practices, such as the use of appropriate vestiments etc. But many of them were at a loss in these matters since past practice had been lat. The young curate James Robertson wrote a book entitled flow shall we conform to the Liturgy? which appeared in the year of Emily's birth. In his book Robertson divided the clergy into those who conformed literally to everything enjoined upon them, those who were indifferent, and the large majority who "wish to do their duty in this respect to the best of their ability, while this wish is accompanied by some perplexing uncertainty as to what their duty really is." With an impressive display of scholarship Robertson explained what were the historical traditions and observances of the Christian church. The book met a real need and was an immediate success.

Literary fame brought Robertson to the vicarage of Bekesbourne near Canterbury in 1846. This country vicarage was Emily's home until she was 16. Her father had apparently inherited a little capital from his father but he was hard pressed to support his growing family. He got some literary work, book reviewing tect, but it was miserably paid. So in 1848 he wrote to the eminent London publisher, John Murray, to enquire whether there was "some means of getting a few pounds by my pen." This was the beginning of an association which lasted thirty years and matured into a close friendship. The house of John Murray has a large number of Robertson's letters, mainly on literary matters, in its archives.

Robertson became the leading historian of the Christian church. His reputation rests on his eight volume history of the church and his life of Thomas a Becket of Canterbury. He has the wrote a great deal more besides. In 1859 he was appointed a caron of Canterbury (and also the Cathedral librarian this was a major task since the library was moved into new buildings in his time). In 1864 he was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London (which he combined with his work at Canterbury). He was also elected a member of the Athenaeum Club. He was now a real establishment figure.

Emily was 16 at the time of the move into the canon's lodgings in the cathedral precinets at Canterbury. She may well – like so many girls of her class and time – have been cleated at home. But she had a good education. We should not read and admire her book if it were not written in good, clear English with considerable powers of description. One is always a little suspicious of authors who "throw off" a phrase or two in a foreign language.

But if one can rely on those signs Emily had command of idiomatic French -"en garcon" (1/1) and "plantes la" (1/216) are two examples. During her weary days at Kuala Langat she studied Malay from books (1/73). On her marriage the family gave her a piano "made expressly for a tropical climate". The move of the piano up the hill to the new house at Jugra required the combined efforts of forty Malays - "Their mode of going up the hill was to take a rush of two or three steps and then a rest, all the way up, uttering, as is their wont when carrying trees or any heavy weights, the most awful shrieks and groans" (1/235). The "piano, or 'singing box' as they called it" fascinated the Malay women who came to see her and "they teased me to play on it" (1/75). But she makes no reference to playing it for her own amusement There is an eloquent lament about the books and newspapers which did not arrive (1/35). They may not have been serious reading matter but evidently she was a reader - she mentions Punch and the Saturday Review (1/269). The diatribe against Kuala Langat in 1880 includes "bookless" (2/176) among its many deprivations. It all suggests that she had a lively and active mind which became frustrated and bored if not occupied.

In Canterbury the young Robertsons were on the edge of a social world but not really part of it. Robertson's letters to Murray mention that "Dean Hook has been here for three days, with wife and daughter, and we got on very merrily together." (3 Dec 1861) or "engaged to dine at the Deanery here with the bigwigs who are assembled for a consecration of colonial bishops" (30 Jan 1867). 11

The three Robertson girls no doubt had admirers. In this strategically important part of England there were numerous military units. One of Ennily's sisters married a regular officer (whom we shall meet many years later). Among the more sentior military men around Kent in this period was the War Office expert on coastal defence who was buxy designing new fortifications for the Medway and the Thames estuary. This was Colonel William Jervois who appears in a different capacity in the opening sentence of Ennily's book. It is interesting to speculate whether he was an acquaintance of the Robertsons at Canterbury.

The weekly newspaper, the Kentish Gazette, gives a picture of the local excitements. For example "an illustrated lecture on South America" by a missionary with the Bishop of Dover (who was a family friend – he officiated at Emily's wedding) presiding. We have an announcement of Mr. Charles Dillon "and his histrionic company" (but actors are so disreputable, dear). On another occasion a local concert is advertised for which "a considerable array of talent has been engaged." 12

In spite of all this there were long periods of tedium at home. Emily's brothers went out into the world to earn their living. One is heard of in Australia and another "established on a high stool in the City" – but he too got away to Durban in the end. Emily's two elder sisters got married in 1865 and 1869 when they were still in their 20's. 13

As the youngest daughter Emily was expected by the convention of the

day to stay at home, remain single and act as companion to her mother. In a letter written to John Murray in 1870 Canon Robertson regets that he is unable to stay for the evening in town as Emily is away with friends and so he must "come home to dinner on Thursday that my wife might not be left in solitude." Thus I have no time to see any of my friends in London". But most of the time it was Emily who kept her mother company while the Canon dined at the Athenauem or elsewhere.

Sometimes Emily could persuado her mother to take her on a visit to London. Then she worked on her father. With a sigh Canon Robertson put aside for a moment the manuscript of the latest volume of the history of the church and wrote to Murray (25 June 1857) "Mrs Robertson and one of my girls are now at 16 Bury Street ... If you can help them to any sights which are generally accessible your kindness will be very welcome." Whatever Murray was able to provide (his reply is not extant) it was all over too soon. Then back to Canterbury and a life which was very dull.

In 1870 Emily was away from home for three months on an extended stay in Scotland. Nothing is known of this tirp. James Innes was possibly at home in Edinburgh before going out to Sarawak. The clues are all so slender — was there a Robertson-Innes connection from law student days forty years before? Certainly Canon Robertson had a brother in Scotland. We will come back to the stay in Scotland later on. At all events James Innes did come home from Sarawak in the autumn of 1874 to marry Emily with remarkable celerity in Canterbury Cathedral on 28th January 1875. The bridgeroom was 40 and the bride almost 32. Emily had escaped. But with home and to what

James Innes and his family. James Innes, born in 1834, was one of the large family of Cosmo Innes. The Innes tradition meant a good deal to James; his will disposes of family portraits, silver and other heirlooms. It was a tradition which was to draw Emily into Scotland in the second half of her lifte. Another staunch upholder of the family tradition was Katherine, the eldest daughter of Cosmo Innes, who wrote a "memoir" of her father at his death in 1874. Some of what follows is taken from this memoir. If

Cosmo Imnes, born in 1798, came of a family which had pretensions to be lairds (landed gentry) in Morayshire, north of Inverness. However Cosmo's father was ejected from the old manor house at Durris "on a question of entail law." Cosmo had therefore to make his way in Scotland by his talents as a lawyer. This career kept him in Edinburgh for most of his life but for a time he was sheriff of Moray (i.e. a district judge) in his own part of Scotland. He married a wife who came of a family "of somewhat superior social position to his own" established at Kilravock Castle in Nairn, east of Inverness. Cosmo Innes rose to become Principal Clerk of Session, i.e. a senior official of the HIgh Court of Scotland, in Edinburgh. He also became the greatest living authority of his day on Scotlish charters and mediaeval documents. This was recognised in his appointment as Professor of Civil Law at the University of Edinburgh. He lectured at the University at 9 a.m. on six days of the week in term and then went on to work from 10am to 4pm at the courts (when they

were sitting). He was a man of nervous volubility, rather a time-server, but genuinely a distinguished scholar and teacher. An elder brother of Cosmo, James Innes "was in China trading in tea and opium, gaining large sums and losing them again", says the memoir.16 This was the time when a small group of British traders, mainly Scots, were breaking the monopoly of the East India Company in trade with China through Canton and breaching the Chinese government's ban on the importation into China of opium, which was the mainstay of their trade. To avoid expulsion by the EIC these interlopers arranged to have themselves appointed consuls in Canton of some European power such as Prussia or Denmark. James Innes the elder first came to prominence in 1825 by refusing to resort to the farce of consular papers. He defied the EIC to expel from Canton all the British traders (many of them Indian), stating that he "contradicted in the most decided manner" the suggestion that he had come to Canton secretly. He got away with it. In 1833 the monopoly of the EIC was ended and the British Government sent out Lord Napier as its first "Superintendent of Trade". When Napier died the British merchants attended his funeral. Among them were Jardine (of Jardine Matheson) and "another great opium runner James Innes." At his death (about 1840) James Innes the elder left nothing to his family in Scotland except a tradition and entree to the trade with China. The British merchants of this period formed loose and shortlived partnerships - one of them re-formed in 1832 was "Fairlie, Clark, Innes & Co". The significance of the career of James Innes the elder was that his nephews had his example to follow and were the more easily admitted to the very clannish circle of Scottish businessmen in Hong Kong because their uncle had been a famous pioneer in the trade.19 Cosmo Innes is described by his daughter as "an excessively indulgent, overindulgent parent, to sons especially, shrinking from exercising any authority over them at all"20 James Innes (Emily's future husband) was one of the four sons who grew up to adult age. The eldest died young in India where he served in the Indian Army. Another went out to China where he contracted a wasting disease of which he died in Scotland.21 The youngest, Cosmo Innes the younger, defied his father's wishes and went off to build railways in India. Of the third brother, James, Katherine says nothing until, in his late 30's, he gets an effusive compliment on his position in Sarawak.22 Yet Emily discloses (1/67) that Mr. Innes had picked up a smattering of medical knowledge in China. He must therefore have been in China before he came to Sarawak in 1871. The obituary notice of James Innes in The Scotsman also summarises his career from Sarawak onwards but passes in silence over his time in China.23

It may be that the time in China was too trivial to deserve mention. But there are clues which suggest that this reticence was due to embarrassment. The first clue is a remark by Hugh Low in 1879. Low had been having a great deal of trouble with James Innes who was not only incompetent but was also rousing his European colleagues in Perak to non-cooperation with Low in his policy of gradualism in the suppression of Malay debt-bondage. In a letter to

the Governor Low refers to "useless loafers... insolent, broken-down bankrupts, or drunkards, who all think themselves entitled to have, and to express opinions, contrary to the views of Government." In citing this remark Sadka (p. 233) says that "it was obviously directed at one man – James Innes." If it was (and lagree over this) the significant word here is "bankrupt". Low had been in Labuan from 1848 to 1877 and would have known of Innes' reputation in Sarwawk (possibly in China also since Hong Kong was the local metropolis for Borneo). He would not have used the word "bankrupt" without having some foundation of fact.

The second clue is found in the will of Cosmo Innes. Late in life his wife had "a considerable accession of fortune" by inheritance under her mother's marriage settlement. Cosmo and his wife made a joint will (dated 22 May 1871) by which after the death of them both their fortune was to be divided between the three daughters and two surviving sons; it appears that each share was likely to be about £5.000 (a considerable sum at that time). The other children were to get their shares outright – although the money given to the daughters would under the law in force in 1874 pass under the control of their husbands. But the share given to James was to be held in trust to pay him the income only on the basis that neither income nor capital should be "affectable for his debts or deeds nor sublect to the dilitemence of his creditors of these controls."

A codicil to the will (dated 21st December 1872) removes the trust restrictions on the share given to James Innes and states that "the circumstances which induced us to impose the conditions and restrictions... have now ceased to exist."

The inference to be drawn from these arrangements is that in 1871 James Innes was insolvent, possibly a bankrupt, but by the end of 1872 he had discharged his debts or obtained a release from his creditors which freed him from the threat of their claims. Possibly his father used part of the inherited money to reach a settlement of his debts. Since Low was aware of Innes' financial difficulties they must have arisen in China. One cannot otherwise fit the pieces together.

With this problem behind him James Innes entered the Sarawak service on 20th September 1871 as Assistant Resident at Sibu. But within six months he had been promoted to be Treasurer (to the Government of Sarawak) on 1st March 1872. A little later he was also appointed liquidator to the Sarawak Sugar Company. It was perhaps decided to draw on his knowledge of insolvency procedure.

In the memoir Katherine makes her first reference to James at this point. Cosmo Innes was "gratified" that "his now eldest surviving son James" was "Chancellor of Exchequer in Borneo". One wonders what the autocratic Charles Brooke would have made of that rather enthusiastic version of the appointment. **

The Marriage. On 1st September 1874 James Innes was granted home leave. He would have reached England in October. At the end of the following January he married Emily Robertson and they arrived back in Sarawak on

26th April 1875.

Af first sight it looks like the familiar story (one of Somerset Maugham's themes) of the bachelor approaching middle-age who comes home from the tropics in search of a wife, and marries a young woman herself in slightly despairing search of a husband. It may have been so in this case also. But there are facts which suggest a different scenario.

The wedding took place in Canterbury Cathedral. The service was conducted by the Bishop of Dover assisted by the Dean of Canterbury; inevitably there was an announcement in The Innes. It looks like a grand affair. If so the issue of invitations and the arrangements for the wedding and the reception would have begun a couple of months at least before the wedding. On that assumption there is remarkably little time between the wedding. On that assumption there is remarkably little time between the arrival of James in October and the plan (in November) to get married. Can one suppose that a young woman who had strong views on the proper way of doing things allowed herself to be wooed and won within a month? It may be so – they did not have much time.

There is another factor. James Innes took his home leave after less than three years service in Sarawak. Ten years service between leaves was more normal practice in Sarawak at this time. In Selangor, Syers, the superintendent of police only took home leave twice in 22 years service in the Selangor police. But one may assume that James Innes would have been allowed to take half-pay leave at his insistent request (the other half would go to the colleague who acted for him in his absence).

Why then did James Innes decide to come home so soon? One possible reasons is that his father, Cosmo Innes, died on 31st July 1874. James Innes was the eldest surviving son though he was not an executor of the will. As his mother survived to enjoy the income of the estate there was not a great deal to do with it at that stage. It is also not very likely that the news of his father's death (on 31st July 1874) reached Kuching (even if sent by cable to Singapore) in time to permit James to make arrangements to go on leave one month later (on 1st September 1874).

In my view – pure guesswork of course – the more likely explanation is that James and Emily became engaged, formally or informally, before he took up his post in Sarawak in 1871. As already explained they could have met when she was in Scotland in 1870. They could not get married at once because James Inness was then in deep financial trouble and had to make a fresh start in Sarawak. As we shall see Canon Robertson, like Cosmo Innes, had his doubts about James's ability to manage money. He may have insisted that the marriage be postponed. If it was so Emily, who was 28 in 1871, cannot have welcomed a three year engagement. But she had to wait.

Emity and James. The marriage lasted 26 years until the death of James Innes in 1901. The years in Sarawak and in Malaya were part of their married life – which also encompassed the writing of her book in 1885. Obviously the relationship between them must be considered in seeking an insight into the book.

On this subject, as on so much else, the evidence is scanty. In her book Emily never writes a word of disparagement or reproach against a man who had many failings. There are signs however that she sometimes had to keep her strong temper under control and suffer in silence. For example James insists on taking a long walk over swampy ground - for which he is more appropriately clothed and shod than she is. Her "idiotic frilled skirts" become clogged with mud; as darkness falls they get lost; Innes becomes "impatient ... calling us to make haste". But although his idiocy inflicts hardship on her (temporary deafness) she does not - on the printed page at least - make any complaint - though the facts speak for themselves (1/137-142). There is the same absence of reproach when he is stupid over the clear risk to their safety of being waylaid by a tiger (2/42) or when in her absence he sells her treasured piano (2/160). Her self-respect required that her marriage should be perceived as a success - by herself as much as by others. But when she flames out against other people, especially official superiors, for lack of consideration or unfairness she may be releasing the tensions of married life.

Her convention did not permit her to recognise sexual attraction (or its satisfaction in marriage). It is unlikely that it was a love match on either side. But on Emily's side there does seem to have been more than just wifely duty. There is a note of affection, mixed with suppressed exasperation, but affection nonetheless. When, for example, lance is away for three months (acting as Resident at Klang) and Emily is left-alone at Kuala Langat she comments that:—"it makes an enormous difference... whether you have someone to talk to ... though only in order to grumble" (1/211). In the obituary notice of 1901, possibly written or shaped by Emily, Innes is described as a man of "kindly and courteous disposition." ²³

In reading the book we become very conscious of the hard side of Emily's nature. But she could be charming. When Bloomfield Douglas first entertained her at the Residency at Klang he noted in his diary "Mrs. Innes very pleasant". As we shall see he continued to enjoy her company for some time thereafter.

There is no extant portrait, photograph or even verbal description of Emily. On James Inness we do have Isabella Bird's unflattering comment "a man with a feeble, despairing manner and vague unfocussed eyes – I found Mr. Innes a very dreary and unintelligent companion." This of course was written in a private letter to Isabella's sister. In the Golden Chersonese (p. 276) Isabella is more restrained — "Mr. Innes was in dejected spirits, as if the swamps of Durian Sabatang had been too much for him." It may well be that Isabella Bird met James Innes for this one and only time (she never met Emily) at a moment of unusual depression. They were travelling together on a launch from Penang to Perak. Innes, like the other senior administrators from the Malay States, had been to Penang to wish the Governer doe nowqueg on his homeward voyage (on leave). Innes had obtained no encouragement over his personal future and he had probably drunk too much. The "vague, unfocussed eyes" may have been the outward and visible sign of a cracking hangover. He

also knew that he would find Emily at Durian Sabatang in low spirits and perhaps distraught - it was one of the worst periods of their time in Malaya.

There are too many references to Innes' undue indulgence in alcohol to be ignored – though most of them come from hostile sources. Low, as we have seen, called him a "druhkard". Turney (the detested "Eurasian" of Emily's book – see for example 2/177 and 2/220) spoke of "the whisky soddened brain of Mr. Innes". But none of them refer to any wild bouts of drinking; one suspects that he just absorbed day by day more than was good for him.

The key to Innes' character (and to his performance of his official duties) is found in Emily's disclosure (2/9) that among the Malays he was "the Tuan Senang, which means easy-going, comfortable and contented." If one refers to Wilkinson's dictionary one finds illustrations of "senang" to indicate being left in peace, being easily taken in, making little effort – these aspects too appear in his record. But his easy-going manner did help him in his dealings with Malays – "quitefy listening, cigar in mouth, while they talked at, not to, each other" (1/52). On another occasion – "Mr. Innes knew the country and the people too well to refuse." (2/31).

He could of course be imitable and impatient (1/139-140). But no one took it very seriously. Emily threatened a disobedient servant with the wrath of the absent Tuan, being careful to tell the reader that the threat of a beating "was an empty one" (2/18). Innes clashed with his superiors occasionally. Weld, for example, told the Colonial Officer 'I had to reprimand Mr. Innes for provoking his superior officer by studied insolence in writing, in one case at least." But he may have been persuaded, perhaps goaded, into this by Emily.

She was much the stronger character but preferred not to admit it. But it slips through in the use of the word "we". The decision to apply for an entertainment allowance was "the more easy for us to take" (1/265) etc. In the final anguished days when they were deciding whether to leave Malaya for good Emily contends that she tired but failed to persuade her husband not to resign (2/223). She admits however that she herself was at a loss what to do—"I could only repeat my vague belief that what he meant to do was a mistake" (2/223). A couple of years later she was prepared to come out into the open and fight his battles with the Colonial Office on his behalf."

The bond which kept them together was their need of companionship which they found in each other. Things idd not go well for them but the strain did not break up the marriage. Their numerous emenies never suggested that they quarrelled or were unkind to each other. Emily stuck by her Mr. Innes; he respected her and relied on her sheer guts.

A Year in Sarawak (1875-1876). In her book Emily makes very few references to the year in Sarawak which preceded her life in Malaya. She learnt some Malay – though she found that it was a different idialect (17/8). She had been out and about and remembered the ordeal of balancing herself while crossing "Bawyak tree-tunk bridges "like rope dancing" in primeval jungle (1/5). The servants whe came with them to Kuala Langat had been enphoyed by James Inness in Sarawak before his marriage though in due

time they fell out with Emily, a stricter employer, and left.30

Since James Innes was Treasurer stationed at Kuching they must have spent most of that year in the society of Kuching. Emily says nothing of the small group of European and Malay officials and their wives whom they joined. But another young woman, also newly married, had arrived in Kuching only a year or two before and she left a vivid account of the social scene. ³¹ This was Margaret Brooke, who had married Raja Charles Brooke in England when she was only 20 and come out to Kuching in 1870. Her position as the very young wife of the Raja made Margaret very vulnerable to the jealousy of the older wives of the senior Sarawak officials. She wrote "never shall I forget the first official luncheon" at which the Resident's wife (Mrs. Crookshank); and the wife of the local manager of the Borneo Company discussed precedence – "my husband," said Mrs. Crookshank, "is the Rajah's prime minister and prime ministers' wives always take precedence over bishops' wives."

This remark was made with reference to the newly arrived wife of Bishop Chembers who proved to be even more of a battle-axe than the old hands. Her nickname became "Mrs. Proudie", a reference to the domineering bishop's wife in Anthony Trollope's Barchester novels. Margaret Brooke soon withdrew from this grim circle, locked in endless battles over status. They conveyed to Margaret that although she was the wife of the Raja "ti would be wrong to call you Rance" (e. etc. Instead she made her circle of friends among the wives of the senior Malay officers of her husband's government of whom she has left a fascinating picture.

As the number of European women in Kuching increased by the arrival of younger wives Margaret found it easier to mix with them. But she says that "I lived in two different worlds - the world of my stilted conventional English friends and the world of my warm-hearted Malay women". She must have known Emily since they were both in Kuching in 1875 but she does not mention her. It may well be that Emily enjoyed herself in the stiff society of the European wives. Although she jeers (2/22) at the fashionably dressed ladies of Singapore she had friends there and enjoyed their company during her local leave in the great city (1/170). Again when she visited Taiping in 1878 - where "there were several Europeans, even including two ladies"; it was "most enjoyable. . . one of the few bright gleams in my dreary jungle life" (2/128). Emily was by nature a sociable person and among women whom she regarded as her equals she was happy. It was her misfortune that at the two places to which she went (Kuala Langat and Durian Sabatang) she did not get any such society. In Kuching she had an easier situation than Margaret Brooke since (in spite of impressions to the contrary in Edinburgh that James was Chancellor of the Exchequer) she was the newly wed wife of an official junior in rank to the leaders of Kuching society. Emily had grown up in the cathedral precincts among the clergy wives, for whom a dean's wife ranked above a canon's etc. She knew the rules.

Above all the first year in Kuching had all the novelty of being a married

woman with her own house and servants, the colour and interest of a strange country etc. Living conditions were a great deal better than she was to endure in Malaya.

Alast Things soon went wrong in a different way. James Innes was not equal to running the Sarawak Treasury efficiently. His successor said that he "found nothing but chaos in the Government accounts, no system, no supervision and, above all other discouragements, a tendency to dishonesty in his subordinates." This last allegation was a reference to an episode which Emily herself was later to describe as - "a half-caste elerk of the name of Lewis had absonded from the Treasury in Sarawak, carrying with him a few hundred dollars of Sarawak revenue." Innes was so much blamed for this defalcation that some suspected that he was "in some way implicated in the clerk's misconduct." But it was simply the slackness of Tuan Senang.

The situation reached crisis when it became apparent that Sarawak revenue for 1875 would fall short of expenditure by about 7 per cent. On 14th February 1876 Raja Brooke ordered the Cashier acting with the Resident to take over the Treasury account books from Innes and to take charge of the department. Presumably there was then an investigation and perhaps some consideration of posting Innes to a non-financial position. But on 31st March he was "ordered to resign." 27 his decision does not seem to have caused as much ill-feeling as Innes' voluntary resignation from Selangor in 1882. Years later when writing to the Colonial Office Emily stated that she had obtained from Raja Brooke a letter "which gives an unconditional denial to Mr. Low's insinuations" (about the Lewis affair at the Sarawak Treasury). She adds — "This was very easily done by a reference to the Raja of Sarawak." 33

The Years in the Malay States (1876-1882). So Emily and James left Kuching to try their luck elsewhere. This must have been a period of despondency. Later on Emily was to give her chickens the names of her acquaintances in Kuching and Singapore (1/114); that is the only reference to it. In announcing at the very beginning of her book that James' new post in Selangor was offered to him by Sir William Jervois Emily is seeking to strike a note of achievement. It has already been suggested that Jervois might have been an acquaintance from the old days at Canterbury. If so Emily may have been able to make use of the connection. We simply do not know how James Innes came to get the nost.

It was not easy to recruit good administrators for service in the Malay States. Apart from adventurous and ambitious young men like Swettenham and William Maxwell the serving members of the Straits Settlements Civil Service were not attracted to the hardships of the Malay States. Emily Sadka describes the temporary officials who were recruited to fill the posts below those of Resident as "a strange assortment of people... a number were simply drifters in the Straits Settlements in need of a job... some of them were educated men, betrayed by alcoholism or other weakness" (p. 233). "It is not too remarkable that Innes got another chance in the Malay States despite failure in Sarawak (and nethans in China before that). Although the failed vet

again in the Malay States he was a decent man, who did his honest best and who left of his own accord at the end. In that respect he was a great deal better than many others.

For the historian the most valuable part of Emily's book about the experiences of the next six years is her description (which makes up most of Vol 1 and extends intermittently into Vol 2) of the Malay Rajas and villagers whom she knew. Beginning with the smattering of Malay which she had learnt in Sarawak she applied herself methodically to "trying to teach myself to read or write Malay" (1/21). She had no teacher - "what little I knew of the language was gleaned entirely from books" (1/73). She practised on her visitors - "I was too much taken up with trying to learn Malay from them to notice how they wore their krises" (1/214). She also tried to make friends both with Malay villagers and with the Rajas. In this she was not altogether successful - the curiosity and intrusion on her privacy of the Malay village women tried Emily's patience - she was not endowed with the common touch (1/27). Some of the Rajas - Sultan Abdul Samad, Raja Muda Musa and above all others Tunku Panglima Raja - became friends. But some of the others -Tunku Kudin and his wife, for example, are etched in vitriol (1/87 - 97; 1/173 - 180).

On the surface what she writes about the Malay way of life and about individual Rajas is first-rate reporting. She can often see below the surface and explain the real motive. Thus she concludes a lively pen-picture of two Malay Rajas bringing a dispute to lines for a settlement "they were probably disposed to agree with each other before coming... having relieved their feelings by having it out', and salved their dignity by letting each other's followers see that they met on equal terms, and that neither chief had given in, they were quite willing to be friends again' (1/33). Sitting with her sewing next-door to James Innes holding court in the same bungalow Emily did not miss much. In one passage (the story about a tiger – 2/44) the implication is that by the end she knew Malay better than he did. The weakness of her reporting is an intolerance of people whose standards were not up to hers. This was not racial prejudice – she is equally unkind about Europeans whom she considered inferiors. She was just by nature an elitist. In her observant, systematic study of her subject she was very much her father's daughter.

What she writes is all description. She gives no analysis of the structure of authority, such as it was, in the circle round the Sultan. One sees Malay behaviour in the village but not the village community as a functioning entity. A clergyman's daughter in the mid-Victorian period was not taught sociology.

Emily was also a conscientious housewife who gives us a blow by blow account of the adversities of keeping house in the back of beyond - the food, the servants, the dirt, the uncomfortable houses. One suspects that she plays up the disasters and did in fact cope with it all - in the early years at least - with competence. One of the discoveries of married life was that James Innes, if not the world's best financial manager, was "a genius for cooking" and could devise palatable dishes from local foodstuffs when the larder of imported

materials was exhausted (2/29).

Finally in Chapters V and VI of Volume 2 Emily gives a graphic account of the murder of Captain Lloyd at Pangkor Island in which she (as well as Mrs. Lloyd) were left for dead.

All through the book she tends to emphasise the hardships but she never whines. Intelligent, hard and intolerant at times, but always practical, matter of fact about it all.

Emily herself divides her six years in Malaya into three distinct periods. There was the first two-year stint at Kuala Langat. It was uncomfortable to begin with but in time they got on top of their problems—food, inconsiderate callers—both European and Malay, heat and discomfort. In the second half of this period when they had moved to the new house which they had built on the side of Jugra Hill. Emily recognises that "the most haleyon period of our whole stay in the Native States" had begun (1/238). ³⁵

The first period ended with the government decision that Innes should be posted (in mid 1878) to act in the more senior post of Superintendent of Lower Perak at Durian Sabatang (Telok Anson). Here they were back in a poor house on the mud-flats along a river - "from that ill-omened move to Durian Sabatang date all our subsequent misfortunes" (2/58). Emily fell ill and was invited to stay with the Lloyds at Pangkor. There she witnessed the murder and was herself a victim of the attack. After that came the Christmas visit to Taiping and Kuala Kangsar and the open and bitter quarrel with Hugh Low. In spite of that she manages to express her appreciation of Low's consideration for her comfort (2/129). It is interesting to note how Low quickly saw that Emily had a better brain than her husband. If he could persuade her to his point of view he would prevail over James. he "gave me an enormous pile of official-looking documents. I felt much flattered at this. . . I read the papers straight through in their order attentively. . ." (2/137). But she was not to be persuaded. The second period ended in 1879 with the departure on home leave first of Emily and later of James Innes, due in both cases to deterioration in their health.

The third and final period was the second posing to Kuala Langat which began in 1880. It was a return to the splendid house on the hill at Jugra – but in poor spirits. Emily was ill and unhappy. James was passed over for promotion (2/215) and even before that had been disposed to throw in his hand and seck his fortune in Australia (2/195). Above all the Innes were at daggers drawn now, both in social and official life, with the Resident, the other officials and their framilies in Selangor. Significantly Emily entities Chapter IX of Volume 2 "Boycotting". This feud led in the end to the resignation of Innes from the Selangor service.

This deterioration in morale and in relations with the people around them was the product of many causes. It is probably the most distorting factor in the second half of the book. It is necessary to see how it happened.

One reason is probably diet. An entire chapter II (of Vol 2) is entitled "Food". In it Emily describes how much of the tinned food which they are had deteriorated in transit "this hot climate was quite a touchstone for butter...
on opening the tin we generally found the upper half full of oil, and the lower
half of grey or white fat..." (2-30). Again "the tins rusted and leaking, and the
hams etc. damp and rattling about in a half-empty chest" (2/27). The doctors
who treated Emily and Mrs. Lloyd for wounds suffered in the Pangkor attack
noted (2/144) that both women were "below par - the consequence of our
having for some years lived chiefly on timned meats". (2/145) If, as Emily
asserts, Douglas vented his spite by deliberately holding up tinned food
consigned to the Innes (2/178) - "keeping our stores in the ware-house at
Klang until they rotted" he had much to answer for.

A second factor in the steady deterioration of Emily was boredom which runs it like a leitmonic through the entire book. "Like a prisoner with his mouse or his spider I tried to make interests for myself" (173). When they got away on three weeks local leave in Singapore they crowded every minute of it—lawn tennis parties, lunches, balls and dances, dinners, theatres. If there was time to fill they simply drove around Singapore in "a carriage hired by the weeks" (1/170). Above all they ate "fresh beef and mutton instead of the eternal fowl." But it was all the worse when they came back to Kuala Langat—"We had only been a year in the jungle but it seemed like ten. I used to maintain that in Langat the days were longer, and there were more of them in the year, than anywhere else in the world". (1/169).

In the second year at Kuala Langat there was the stimulus of planning and building the new house up on the hill. Then Innes had to go off to Klang for three months to act as Resident in place of Douglas who was away on sick leave. ¹⁶ As the Douglas family still occupied the Residency at Klang Emily could not (so she says—we will come back to that later) go with James to live in Klang. She stayed behind alone at Kuala Langat (Chapter VIII of Vol 1 is headed "Alone"). Emily rated this "the dreariest time for me of all my stay in the East" (1/211). The stress led her into conflict with the servants who had faithfully come with them from Sarwak. From then on Emily had servant troubles to add to her woes—though at times she could see the funny side of it (27–24). But always there was "the dull stagnation of Langat" (1/262).

As we have seen she tried in various ways to relieve her boredom. Her Malay friends, although few, were one of her solaces. Here is her description of encouraging the Tunku Panglima Raja, the Sultan's brother-in-law and a retired pirate, to play tennis with her:-

"He was very active, and flew about the ground with his petticoat tucked up, but had not much notion of the game, hitting the ball straight up into the

air as high as he possibly could being his idea of playing" (2/6).

The Tunku Panglima Raja was a great favourite. He was an original — "a very fine-looking old fellow, with large, bright, piercing eyes, a high forehead, and a good aquiline nose. ... a black silk handkerchief on his head, stiffened with rice starch, and twisted into a tremendous erection, something like a bishop's mitre, but with the two ends sticking up like little homs on either side" (1/100).

Emily invited him to tea and discovered that "his favorite beverage was not but Bass's pale ale, which however he took in homeopathic doses. He would never have more than half a wineglass of it in one day, but declared that that quantity did him a great deal of good as a pick-me-up when tired." He explained to Emily that it was more hygienic to eat with one's fingers since one could ensure that they were clean, than with a spoon and fork which a slovenly servant might have failed to wash properly since its last use. She conceded that "the had rather the best of the argument" (J101).

There are equally vivid and memorable pictures of the eccentric Sultan Abdul Samad, his son Raja Muda Musa and his daughter Raja Arfah (or "Chi") and her husband, Tunku Kudin. The latter in his semi-westernized style of life (dining in what he conceived to be "Gubbarment House" fashion) is not

a sympathetic portrait (1/175).37

Above all else Emily relied on the magazines, journals, family letters which arrived – or did not arrive – from the outside world to relieve her boredom. The failure of Douglas to bring such things with him (he was the only regular visitor) "left us heartsick and indignant" (1/264).

Returning to Kuala Langat in 1880 Emily bursts out against the place "butcherless, bakerless, tailorless, cobblerless, doctorless, bookless, milkless,

postless, and altogether comfortless jungle" (2/176).

One must remember too that she was at all times in physical discomfort to an extent which we can hardly imagine. The mosquitoes bit her. When she travelled it was difficult to get a bath and there were grave embarrassments in finding a way of relieving the calls of nature with the privacy which her upbringing made essential. The story of the first 24 hour boat journey from Klang to Kuala Langat in the company of eight Malay boatmen contains no reference to this delicate subject. But it must have been an embarrassment and discomfort — "This was my first experience of a long voyage in a native boat; it was so uncomfortable that I resolved it should be my last." (1/10). She kept to this resolve — "thus lossing many an expedition which might have varied the monotony of my life." Her morale would have been a good deal better if she had been disposed to go out and about with her husband on his tours.

Unsuitable clothing was an additional discomfort. "The European style of dress, ugly and inconvenient enough in Europe, is doubly so in the East" (2/22). She may have abstained from the silliest examples of Singapore fashion – "whalebone and steel, killer plaitings and angular frills", skirts which almost reached the ground and soon became drity "from sweeping across the stone or wooden floors of jungle bungalows." But she went on wearing her "idiotic frilled skirts" (1/137). In an interesting passage she discusses possible alternatives. The Indian woman's sari struck her'as "a far more beautiful sight" but sh" did not "dare to recommend its adoption" (2/23). The lighter Maly costume was cooler – "he were nothing at all but a sarong" (1/107) – "showing his brown skin from thence to the waist" (1/101). She noted that some Europeans had adopted Malay dress but "the twisting of the sarong in such a manner as to keep it safe and tight for any length of time

seems to be an art unattainable even by Malays" (1/111). She also rejected as "ungrateful and cumbrous" the "bad imitation of Malay dress" worn by Dutch women in Java (2/23). The only concession to a tropical climate was "my sleeping costume" (2/206). Here she is at pains to explain that European women wore heavier night atties since they did not sleep under any sheets or blankets; thus there was nothing indecent in appearing before one's servants in a sort of dressing gown. With Emily – and she is not alone in this – convention was king. She could never have followed the example of Isabella Bird who donned "masculine habiliments" i.e. pantaloons in order to ride astride a mule or a pony.

One senses another great cause of unhappiness - that she had no children. She refers with unusual gentleness to Malay children - "some of the children, however, were beautifully dressed, their little fat necks, arms and legs being encircled by rows of brightly coloured and golden beads, and their little turbans and robes being of silk or fine muslin" (1/110). Again the future Sultan Sulaiman of Selangor was "a bright, gentle-mannered and amiable boy of eleven" (1/158); he was contrasted with the unattractive youngest son of the Sultan, Raja Sah - "a little tyrant ... rude, passionate and brutal" (1/185).39 When Emily went for walks she "used generally to be surrounded by from half a dozen to a dozen little brown children asking for flowers" which she brought for them - it became an established routine (2/5). Towards the end of her time in Malaya she went off to Singapore for three weeks' medical treatment and brought back with her "a most lovely and fascinating puppy" (2/201). The final sign of stress on this subject is the reaction to the news, which precipitated the resignation of Innes, that he was to be replaced at Kuala Langat by the detested Turney. Turney's furniture was sent in advance "to be followed in a few days by the whole Eurasian family, babies included." Again "the threatened invasion of Eurasian babies (2/227). This is Emily at her most unattractive.40

The conclusion to be drawn is that over a period, but especially during the final two years at Kuala Langat, Emily's attitude to the people and events which she describes was becoming distorted by savage resentment due to increasing stress. There is further evidence of this to be found in the Bloomfield Douglas diary to which we will come shortly.

Isabella Bird. There is no evidence that Isabella Bird ever met or corresponded with Emily Innes, either before or after the publication of their respective books. 4 When Emily's book appeared Isabella's husband, John Bishop, was slowly dying of a wasting disease. Isabella was much too preoccupied and distraughi over that to pay attention to the book. When Bishop had died she went off on a long trip to Tibet and Iran.

Emily's approach to writing a book which presented a rival picture of the Malay States was, as we have seen, expressly to disclaim any intention of contradicting Isabella's book — "perfectly and literally true" (2/242). Emily just wished to present her picture based on entirely different experience.

Even when Emily's narrative does bring her to a topic also covered in

Isabella's book she makes no reference to it and abstains from pointing out the contrast between them.

It is however instructive to contrast one or two such passages. Isabella describes Sultan Abdul Samad as "the most prepossessing Malay that I have seen. He is an elderly man, with iron-gray hair, a high and prominent brow, large, prominent, dark eyes, a well-formed nose, and a good mouth. The face is bright, kindly, and fairly intelligent" (p. 231). Now Emily - "He was a curiously withered-looking little old man, so thin that every bone in his body stood out in bold relief against a background of loose brown skin" (1/39). The extant group photographs which include the old Sultan (some years later in the 1890's when he was about 90) suggest that Emily's portrait was nearer the truth. Isabella of course saw the Sultan on a formal occasion when he was wearing the ceremonial uniform which Douglas had obtained for him. Emily often met him "seated astride on a carpenter's bench, or else squatting on the ground, amid a crowd of dirty followers, watching a cockfight" (1/38). Certainly she gives a much more vivid picture of him.

Bloomfield Douglas made an unfavorable impression on both authors so far as one can judge from what they wrote in their books. As we shall see the earlier encounters between him and Emily were more friendly than she later allows to appear. Both comment on his loud voice and hint at his disposition to physical violence when his anger was roused (Bird p. 241 and Innes 2/167). Isabella disliked "the appearance of an armed post amidst a hostile population' at Klang (p. 218); Emily had seen the Lloyd's betrayed by the rabble of "police" retained by Captain Lloyd at Pangkor and took a different view.

One may also contrast the two authors' accounts of the Sultan's balai at Kuala Langat. Isabella describes how "the balcony of the audience-hall, which has a handsome balustrade, was full of Malay followers in bright reds and cool white. It was all beautiful... the floor covered with fine matting nearly concealed by handsome Persian rugs." (p. 231). Emily records "We were received in a bare wooden shed, which was called the balai, or hall of audience. It was a square building, with a tiled roof, a wooden floor, and a low wooden railing; there was no furniture in it but a few well-worn mats and a European chair or two in very bad repair." (1/91). Two very different occasions - but one notes how Isabella's "handsome balustrade" is Emily's "low wooden railing". In all impressions much is in the eye of the beholder.

Bloomfield Douglas. 42 In explaining her husband's position in Selangor Emily is at pains to emphasize that "he was next in rank to the Resident" (1/2). Kuala Langat was the place where the old Sultan had his royal capital. The Resident made frequent visits (from Klang and after 1880 from Kuala Lumpur) to see the Sultan and incidentally to shoot the plentiful snipe along the Langat estuary. Hence there were in the first period of the Innes' residence at Kuala Langat many meetings of which both Douglas (in his diary) and Emily in her book have given their respective accounts.

To explain what follows a brief note on Douglas and his family is

necessary. Douglas (born in 1822) had been at sea for much of his early adult life – in vessels of the Royal Navy, the Indian navy, the merchant marine, in James Brooke's yacht' "Royalist" (of which Douglas had been first mate and then briefly master in the early 1840's when Brooke was fighting in Sarawak.) His only justification for claiming to be "Captain RNR" was that he had been in the coastguard service (in a grade which carried the honorary rank of naval lieutenant) and he had commanded small merchant ships; Emily of course has some sarcasms on this point — "his career was a mystery" (1/263). In 1854 he settled in South Australia where he served the government first as Harbour Master and Collector of Customs at Port Adelaide and later (from 1870) as the first Resident of the Northern Territory at Planterston (now Port Darwin). This last assignment ended in his enforced resignation for incompetence. Douglas then moved on to Singapore where he did well as Police Magistrate. In 1875 he had been appointed to the post later held by Innes and in 1876 he had been promoted to the position of Resident of Selangor at Klans.

During his coastguard service in Northumberland Douglas had married the daughter of a small famer. They had six children. When the Innes knew Douglas in Selangor his two elder daughters were married. His wife had gone home to England in 1874 when Douglas came to Singapore and she did not rejoin him (with the younger daughters – the sons were at school in England) until mid 1877. The eldest daughter, Harriet, was married to a surveyor, Dan Daly, who had come to Malaya at about the same time as Douglas. Later Douglas was able to secure for his son-in-law a post in Selangor as head of the survey, public works and lands department. For the first year of their acquaintance with him the Innes knew Douglas as a lonely grass widower. When his wife and family joined him in 1877 it included Harrier Daly and her husband and two younger daughters, one of whom was physically handicapped.

Emily says that during their first year at Kuala Langat Douglas paid them "frequent visits ... sometimes two or three times in a week, while sometimes a whole fortnight would elapse without our seeing anything of him" (1/19). This is an exaggeration since Douglas notes his visits in his diary; he came to Langat to see the Sultan about once a month - though his stay might last overnight. She mentions his loud voice — "tones that would have done admirably for giving orders during a storm at sea" (1/263). Her picture of him as a brusque martinet tallies well enough with that of Isabella Bird — "a tall, vigorous, elderly man ... a strong voice heard everywhere in authoritative terms" (p. 217).

The impression given by Emily is that these frequent visits by Douglas, without prior warning, were an unwelcome and disruptive disturbance of domestic routine. But Douglas was Resident. It was necessary that she and James Innes should submit with a show at least of civility and good manners. She adds that Douglas was "very hospitable himself and constantly invited us to go and stay with him and his wife and family at Klang. We went sometimes but the result was to make us feel that the less the two families saw of each

other, the more likely they were to remain friends ... I do not mean that there was at this time a quarrel, or even a coolness, between us and the Resident. I only mean that we were fariad if we became very intimate with him and his wife there might be" (1/267). This account condenses a relationship which changed a good deal over the two years of the Innes' time at Kuala Langat (1876-1878).

Emily concedes that they "went sometimes" to Klang. These trips (often occasioned by meetings of the State Council of which lanes was a member) were a break in the monotony of "the dull stagnation of Langai" (1/262). One might expect to be told about them – but we are told nothing. Such reticence on the part of Emily is often a sign that she is concealing something.

The entries made by Douglas in his diary show that he took an instant liking to the Innes. Of his first meeting with James Innes he wrote "I like him" and called in the workmen to the Residency "preparing bathrooms for the expected arrival of Mrs. Innes". When Emily arrived he found "Mrs. Innes very pleasant indeed". She stayed for a few days in Klang while James went on to prepare the house at Kuala Langat for her. "Mrs. Innes and I walked to the garders which were quite destroyed" (by elephants). Of his visits to Langat, when he stayed as their guest, he noted more than once "a very pleasant evening" "it was quite a relief to enjoy ladies society." Then (of a visit on 4th August 1876) — "in the evening Mrs. Innes had a large reception of ladies and their attendants. I was very pleased to mark the progress both Mr. and Mrs. Innes have made in the friendship of the natives. The selection of Mr. Innes for this post has been a very fortunete one."

There were a number of visits to Klang. Douglas (in marked contrast to his offhand treatment of Isabella Bird) took Emily for walks or they got out a boat and were "pulled up the river". He encouraged her to take up shooting a boat in the short of the state of the short of the

Douglas was sometimes an insensitive man (it is clear from the diary that he had no idea of the intense dislike which Isabella Bird had for him). But it is difficult to believe that his friendship with Emily and James Innes would have developed as it did if they on their side had not wished it to. Emily may have dissembled a little to please her husband's superior officer. But she put herself out to make him welcome in a way which she does not disclose in the book. By then it no longer suited her to do so.

The same amicable atmosphere continued for a time after the arrival of Mrs. Douglas and her daughters in July 1877. Emily was particularly nice to one of the younger Douglas daughters, Bride (Helen). Douglas took Bridie down to Kuala Langat and noted – "The Innes received Bridie very kindly indeed. We spent a pleasant evening" or on a later occasion "long walk with Bridie, Mr. and Mrs. Innes." 82

It did not last long. Douglas was in poor health and towards the end of

1877 he went off to spend three months sick leave in the cool season at Hong Kong (where his second married daughter lived with her husband). This was the occasion when Innes acted as Resident for three months. Emily explains (1/209) that she could not accompany James to live with him temporarily at Klang since Mrs. Douglas and the family were still in occupation of the Residency (which had been rebuilt and enlarged in 1877). But she had stayed at the Residency on at least one previous occasion (in October 1877) when the whole Douglas family was there. One concludes that they could have found her a room (after all James was occupying one) but she no longer wished to go.

The explanation is that Emily (as she hints in the passage quoted above) wished to keep at her distance from the Douglas women. She tells us absolutely nothing about either Mrs. Douglas or her daughters - reticence by Emily always portends trouble of some kind. Isabella Bird however took a great liking to "gentle Mrs. Douglas... a lone woman... a vision of sadness... her dignified hospitality" (p. 241). Eleanor Douglas had been a Northumberland country girl (her father was described as a "yeoman" on her marriage certificate) and she no doubt retained something of her north country ways. She gave Isabella Bird tea, scones and fresh butter for breakfast - which Isabella, always a hungry person, much appreciated. But these country ways did not appeal to Emily. The daughters had grown up in Australia and probably had the forthright manners of a new country. Harriet Daly, the eldest, was a young woman of some talents; much later in life she was the London correspondent of an Australian newspaper, the author of a book on her early life in Australia and she helped Admiral Keppel (a friend of her father from Sarawak days) to write his memoirs. 46 There was no reason why Emily should have treated these women as her social inferiors - but apparently she did. Emily was a snob. She thought it fair game to jeer at Syers, the superintendent of police, because he was "a policeman of the rough and ready sort... with his "h's" decidedly in the wrong place" (1/129).

There were other factors which led to the estrangement. While Douglas was away in Hong Kong he received a letter from his wife informing him of "a most unpleasant misunderstanding with Bridie and Innes". He does not give any details but on his return to Klang he wrote a letter about it to Innes who was at the time still under his roof at the Residency. These were the first signs of the open quarrels which were to become more bitter as time went by. The most savage of these was about the government launch. When Douglas had been stationed at Kuala Langat he had been allowed to keep control of the launch. When however he moved to Klang to become Resident he took it with him. The Innes objected — not unreasonably — that without a launch they were very isolated. Emily contended that the launch should go with the job at Kuala Langat (1/129). Douglas was prepared to send the launch down the coast to fetch them but he would not give it up. In the early days of cordial friendship lnnes had suggested to Douglas that he (Innes) should write a letter to the Governor (to be forwarded through Douglas) setting out the case for a second

launch to be maintained at Kuala Langat. But Douglas snubbed him saying that "he could not act independently of me and that if he attempted it it would be war a l'outrance" (prophetic words)." The launch was a particularly sore subject with Emily because she could have travelled much more freely if she had been able to rely on a relatively rapid transit (for reasons already explained).

These differences so alienated Douglas that he was glad to get rid of the Innes when the chance came. W.F.B. Paul who held the more senior post of Superintendent of Lower Perak was going on leave and it was proposed that Innes should act for him in his absence. Emily believed (255) that Paul had fixed this unwelcome transfer. It may have been so. But her bile would have increased if she had read the diary entry made by Douglas after he had discussed it with the Governor and given his consent — "What fun for Low who I believe hates the very idea of Innes going". The malice of the remark (Douglas disided Hugh Low as well as Innes) is clear enough!

The move to Durian Sabatang was the occasion of a further quarted about the launch, In brief Douglas agreed that the Innes might use the launch to make a direct trip from Kuala Langat to Durian Sabatang on the Perak River. But he vetoced a request that it should tow their possessions in a "proa" behind it. Yet in a later diaye entry Douglas mentions using the launch himself in just in Yet in a later diaye entry Douglas mentions using the launch himself in just in Yet in a later diaye entry Douglas mentions the great properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the later of

this way.49

Thus the Innes and Douglas were separated for almost two years. It is not known how the decision was taken that Innes should return to Selangor in 1880 after his home leave. Emily says that Douglas "had represented that he could no longer carry on the Government without Mr. Innes's valuable servicest" (2/162). The volume of the Douglas diary covering this period is missing. He insisted that James Innes should return to take up his post at the precise expiry of his leave; this entailed a rip from Singapore in "a filthy little Chinese-owned coasting steamer." (2/164), "8

Emily says that on arrival at Klang "we did not find any of our fellow officials in the sweetest of tempers" (2/176). Douglas recorded the situation in

a later diary entry as follows:-

"On Mr. and Mrs. Innes landing at Klang in May last year during my absence they were entertained by my wife and then alast daughters for two or three days. The steam tender was placed at their disposal and Mr. Hawley was specially appointed to see them located at Jugra giving them every assistance they required. Before my wife's guests had digested the salt they had eaten in my house they had commenced to endeavor to lessen the respect Mr. Hawley I am glad to say has always accorded me. On Mr. Innes taking upon himself his duties at Jugra he indulged in a most offensive criticism of the acts of his locum tenens Mr. Turney and subsequently by his conduct to the other officers in the service made himself obnoxious to the whole of them. Although I am supposed to have a room at the Collector's quarters for my accommodation I have never used it for the last 18 months and have never on any occasion been invited by Mr. Innes to do so. My daughter in taking a craise with me at

first called on Mrs. Innes out of respect to her position at Jugra but as no response was made by that lady this cold sort of civility soon fell through... In a government like this with a very small number of British officials it is indispensable for the good of the service and for the sake of appearances before the natives that they should be on friendly terms. Mr. Innes has thought fit to ignore this principle and he must abide by what he has done."51

Whatever the rights and wrongs of these petty quarrels it resulted in a situation which Emily herself calls "Boycotting" (the title of Chapter IX of Vol 2). During almost two years she had only five European visitors. The second of these was a formal call by the Douglas ladies - "The second occasion was when the daughters of the Resident called and solemnly deposited the cards of their papa and mama. This proceeding amused us a great deal; I suppose I ought to have sent our cards in return by native boat but the fact was we had none with us, as we should as soon have thought of taking cards to the Desert of Sahara as to Langat" (2/188). This contemptuous rejection of an olive branch sufficiently illustrates Emily's mood. It is not surprising that she was ostracized and left in the wilderness. One is reminded of Moliere's Le Misanthrope "avec mon noir chagrin".

It is unnecessary to trace in detail how Innes provoked Douglas by deliberately not organising a lunch at the Sultan's Istana on the occasion of a visit by the Governor.52 Douglas responded by acting on instructions from Singapore to move his administrative staff around so that the Innes would have to leave their fine bungalow and the senior post at Kuala Langat to live in "a wretched habitation" (Isabella Bird's description quoted by Emily - 2/221) at Kuala Selangor. After some hesitation Innes resigned. He was infuriated to discover later that a decision had been taken to make the administrative posts in Selangor pensionable - so that he had given up a pension at retirement.

This final imbroglio does afford one more example of Emily's penchant for wrapping up her meaning in words of studied vagueness. There is a passage in the book (2/216) about the practical difficulties and uncertainties of preparing to entertain a visiting Governor. She herself had been twice disappointed (1/190 and 2/35). On the occasion of the visit on 22nd October 1881 (to which she does not refer expressly) the Sultan's domestic staff were just left to make a mess of it - which they did. There is a long and anguished passage on this in Douglas's diary. Sadka (p. 147) quotes part of the report which Innes wrote afterwards, shifting the blame on to the Sultan's household.

Hugh Low. The feud between the Innes and Hugh Low became much more important after Innes had resigned and left Malava than it probably was during James Innes' time in Perak. As Douglas well knew Low did not welcome the posting of Innes to Durian Sabatang even as a temporary replacement for the absent Paul. Later when Paul was promoted (in 1881) to be Resident of Sungei Ujong it was proposed that James Innes should become substantive Superintendent of Lower Perak. According to the letter which Emily wrote to the Colonial Office in 1884 Low himself threatened to resign if Innes was foisted upon him.53

At the time when they were in Perak Emily's attitude to Low was ambivalent. She supported her husband in the dispute over the policy on Malay debt-bondage (2/138) but she was grateful for Low's personal kindness to her (2/129) and she admired his style of living (2/133).

At this time she probably underrated Low's capacity to be vindictive towards a colleague – which appears very clearly in the feud between Low and John Pope Hennessy in Labuan years before (as told in James Pope Hennessy's biography of the latter). Low could not afford to let the dispute over slavery be the occasion of linnes' resignation or exclusion from Perak – it was too emotive. Accordingly it had to be demonstrated that Innes was a poor administrator. Hence the remark about "useless loafers... bankrupts or drunkards" cited earlier in this paper and the mischief made by Low over James Innes' enforced resignation from his post as Treasurer in Sarwak.

Aftermath in London. Over the years 1882-1884 James Innes tried unsuccessfully to obtain official recognition that his resignation had been forced upon him by the autocratic behaviour of the two Residents (Douglas and Low) under whom he had served. He might then be able to obtain some financial compensation. Since resignation was on the face of it a voluntary act he had to demonstrate that both Douglas and Low had been much at fault, that lnnes had stood out against them, and that they had victimized him.

The attack on Low took the form of a letter published in the London and China Telegraph in which Innes alleged that Low had given "practical encouragement" to debt-slavery in Perak. He presumably selected this paper because it was a trade paper which specialized in news from China and the Far East. Innes may have had some influence with the editor. The letter attracted no comment in the paper but it caused a flurry of correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Governor in Singapore⁵⁵ It may well have been a move in the campaign against British policy in the Malay States which was being waged by Sir Peter Benson Maxwell who had retired from the post of Chief Justice, Straits Settlements, in 1871. Maxwell had written a book (Our Malay Conquests) published in 1878 to rebut the official Blue Book version of events in Malaya from 1874 onwards. It is notable that Innes refers to Maxwell in his letter and so does Emily in her book (2/233). There was a general review of progress in ending debt-bondage in the Malay States going on in 1882. The intervention of James Innes had little effect. It certainly did him no good with the Colonial Office.

His attack on Douglas was a more complicated matter. It took the form of a letter to the Colonial Office which was again referred to Singapore for investigation and report. Douglas was compelled to resign in August 1882 but it is clear that the Colonial Office came to its decision mainly because of irregularities in land affairs in Selangor of which Innes had no knowledge. All but one of the charges made by Innes against Douglas were dismissed as unifounded. The only one which was upheld was a charge that Douglas had disobeyed orders by deducting from the monthly allowance paid to the Sultan (from Selangor government funds) amounts owing for articles (clothing, from Selangor government funds) amounts owing for articles (clothing.

furniture etc.) which Douglas had procured for the Sultan's use. It was not alleged that Douglas made any profit on these transactions but it was suggested that the Sultan had been obliged to pay for many things which he did not want. It was the habit of the old Sultan to avoid trouble by agreeing with every proposal made to him. It was therefore impossible to demonstrate clearly that he did not wish to have them. Emily puts it that "The Sultan said that he did not mind paying for these things". (they included such articles as a piano which he could not play and portraits of the British royal family)... though they were not of the slightest use to him, if the English Tuans thought it necessary for his dignity to have them; all he wished was that these expenses should be kept within moderate bounds" (2/193).*

This is a more balanced statement of a disputed issue than one usually finds in Emily's book. She may have been aware that Douglas had asserted that Innes himself had foisted on the Sultan a pair of candlesticks which he did not want - he had plenty already.³⁷

The charges against Douglas therefore ended in more discredit for Innes, They certainly did not advance his claim to compensation for loss of prospects and pension rights.

There was then an interval of two years. In 1884 Innes wrote to the Colonial Office again. He had apparently been informed—the information was innacurate—that on his enforced resignation. Douglas had obtained better financial terms than Innes. Innes now claimed three months' leave pay plus one month's pay for each year of service—a total (in sterling) of £337.14.0. The Colonial Office refused to reopen the matter of his resignation. **

Emily then joined in the fray. She called at the Colonial Office and asked to see Meade, a senior official. Her request was refused. She then wrote a long letter setting out again her husband's case. It was an attack on the two Residents – 'The first, Captain Douglas, was displeased at Mr. Innes's interfering to protect the richer natives from being despoiled and the poorer ones from being assaulted and beaten; ... The second, Mr. Low, was displeased at Mr. Innes's refused to sign warrants for the recapture of runaway slaves.' The only new point which appears from this letter is the allegation that Low had made "libelious" statements to the Governor in 1881 to justify Low's refusal to have Innes back in Perak as successor to Paul at Durian Sabatang. This leads Emily to recount the story of the defalcation at the Sarawak Treasury in 1876 (said to have benre peated by Low).

A Colonial Office official noted that the letter was "essentially and intensely private" and suggested that "it would be unwise and dangerous to commit ourselves to the keeping of a woman, and to embark with her in a private crusade." Meade had the old flies brought up for review but had no difficulty in deciding to refuse Emily her request that the whole matter should be referred back to the old Sultan of Selangor who she believed (with every list and the self-size of the presence to pay money to her husband from Selangor funds if it appeared that this was what "the English Tuars" now desired.

This letter of 1884 is a clear statement of the Innes case. In its latter part it

displays a sophisticated knowledge of civil service procedure which may owe something to another hand (Peter Benson Maxwell?). It also contains examples of Emily's prevailing weakness, an inability to restrain her sharp tongue. "I will take it for granted," she tells Meade, "though perhaps I am sanguine in doing so, that you recollect that Mr. Innes served under two Residents successively in the Malay states". She also threatens to take legal advice on the possibility of an action for libel against Low (on statements of which she had no positive evidence at all). This is not the way to persuade a capable and careful bureaucrat to think again about the merits of a dispute.

The Book. It may be (as Professor Khoo has suggested) that the failure of the approach to the Colonial Office in 1884 persuaded Emily to publicize her husband's case through a book. 60 There is a good deal to that effect in the final pages. But essentially it was Emily's record of her experiences to set against Isabella Bird's.

The book had to be written from memory since most of her letters home had been lost or destroyed (2/244). One should not reproach her with minor inaccuracies - such as the frequency of the visits of Douglas to Kuala Langat mentioned above. For the same reasons she omits dates and other details. But the book is written in a clear chronological sequence (after the opening account of Malay habits and personalities). One can date most of the events to which she refers from other sources. Sufficient examples have been given of her practice of making only oblique references to matters which she found awkward. She does not name many of her husband's European colleagues. But they too can be identified without much difficulty.

The choice of Richard Bentley & Son as her publisher is interesting. One might expect her to go to John Murray who had been a family friend as well as her father's publisher. But Murray could hardly publish a book which - by its very title - declared itself a form of rebuttal of a book he had published (written for him by an established author of higher standing than Emily Innes). Her father had died soon after her return to London in 1882 but her brother John, as his father's literary executor, continued to correspond with John Murray down to 1916 (complaining tediously that as the years passed and more up-to-date books appeared his father's masterpieces produced less and less in royalties). 61 Emily herself (in 1902) had occasion to write to John Murray on another matter.

The house of John Murray has no record in its archives of any enquiry by Emily about the possible publication of her book. But if John Murray advised her informally that he could not publish it for her he may have helped her with an introduction to another publisher. In Bentley she certainly picked another very prestigious firm; they are described on the title-page to the 1885 edition as "Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen". The firm closed down in 1898 but its records have been preserved and show that they numbered many of "the great and the good" among their authors. 62 They are not as full of personal information however as the Murray archives.

Among the Bentley records is a standard agreement in printed form dated

24th April 1885 between the firm and Mrs. Emily Anne Innes of 45 Tavistock Square in London. The basis of the agreement is that after the expenses of publication (and a small allowance for bad debts) have been charged against revenue, the publisher and the author will share the profits equally. The agreement stipulates that "in the event of the Author being a married lady, this Agreement shall be signed by the Husband." So James Innes signed as well.

It seems that Emily had previously published an article in a journal entitled "Two days at the Seaside" (presumably recounting her experiences at Pangkor). She had to obtain permission from this journal to reproduce that material in her book.

Although George Bentley accepted the manuscript for publication it is class that he had his misgivings about the possibility of lible. (It is an interesting parallel that Isabella Bird and John Murray looked very hard at Isabella Bird's equally harsh comments on Bloomfield Douglas when dealing with The Goldaton Chersoness, "The Richard Bentley letterbook (Vol 86 of the Bentley microfilm records) has a memorandum headed 'Query passages in "The Chersonese with the Gilding Offi." This entry is undated but comes between entries dated 29th May and 4th June 1885. It comprises about thirty topics, very briefly identified but with references to the numbered sheets of Emily's manuscript (which has not survived). Against these topics very brief comments have been made in another hand to record the conclusions reached.

A number of the comments indicate an alteration to be made in the original text. For example the original note "Resident and "French Comu" a forger" (a reference to 1/201-204 of the primed book) has a note "alter name". There is no record that any letter was written to Emily to raise these queries. It seems more likely that she was invited to an interview, the upshot of which is noted against the various topics. For reasons which are too complicated to explain here I surmise that the published text was a considerably modified version of the original manuscript. §

That however was not the end of it. When the book was in proof form Bentley sent it to his "professional adviser" (presumably a fawyer) to read. This led to a further query – only three weeks before publication – on the key question of deductions from the Sultan's allowance (2/192-194). However Emily was able to satisfy Bentley on this point. Publication date was 19th October 1885.

The cost of producing the book was about £200. This included a fee of seven guineas for "drawing and engraving". Presumably a professional engraver used drawings provided by Emily to produce the two frontispice illustrations. The print run was 500 bound copies plus unbound sheets from which to make an additional 125 copies if required. The retail price was apparently 15 shillings. In the ensuing years Emily's share of the profits was £41-9-0. In 1887 James Innes wrote to enquire and was told that only 30 bound copies remained. Sales had then dwindled to almost nothing. The book does not seem to have attracted any attention. § I have been unable to trace any reviews in the literary journals.

Forty Years On. Emily lived on for more than forty years after the publication of her book. It was an uneventful second half to her life. She did not accompany James Innes when he revisited Selangor in 1894. There is no record in the index at the British Library that she ever published any other book.

For ten years or more after their return from Malaya Emily and James lived in London and he worked in the London tea trade. Emily says that had he retired in 1880 they would have been spared "two dreary years" and "Mr. Innes would have been two years further advanced in his present occupation as a tea-merchant" (2/163). If, as has been suggested above, he did spend his early adult years in the family business in China he would have been equipped to trade in tea in London. It was one of the characteristics of China tea that it was a smallholder crop of uneven quality - for that reason it was losing ground in the London market to Indian, Ceylon, Japan and Java tea, which were produced in controlled conditions on estates. The merchants who shipped China tea back to the United Kingdom used to visit London to promote sales. A man who had had experience of the trade in China, even if a long time before, had something to contribute in a trade where quality is all important. The phrase "further advanced" used by Emily in 1885 suggests that James was making only slow progress in 1885. Although his brief return to Selangor in 1894 may have been a business trip, it seems likely that, when he inherited some money at his mother's death in 1891, he gave up active involvement in London tea-broking. Low's verdict that he was 'utterly inefficient as a man of business' was justified on his record at all times.66

When Emily married in 1875 her father settled a small sum for her as a marriage settlement. When he made his last will in 1879 he gave an immediate legacy of £1,000 to each of his three daughters as an addition to their respective marriage settlements. On the death of his wife his estate was to be divided equally between his two surviving sons and three daughters. But by a codicil made in April 1880, just after Emily and James had gone back to the ill-fated final two years at Kuala Langat, Canon Robertson provided that Emily's share of the residue was to be held in trust for her "independent of her husband". No such restriction was applied to the shares of the other two daughters. The implication is clear - like Cosmo Innes, Canon Robertson lacked confidence in the ability of James to manage money. Something must have happened while James was at home on leave which prompted the Canon to alter his recent will to impose a safeguard.67

When Emily wrote to the Colonial Office on 12th July 1884 she used black-edged notepaper. She could hardly have been still in mourning for her father, who had died two years before. If her mother also had now died she would have had an income increased by the distribution (into the trust) of her share of her father's estate. 68 She was not wealthy but she had some money of her own. 69

When James Innes revisited Selangor in 1894 the editor of the Selangor Journal invited this old-timer to contribute an article. What he got is a curious, rambling effusion, a mixture of recollections of the past (with some inaccurate history in it) and rather banal impressions of Selangor in 1894.

He did include in his itinerary visits to coffee estates in the company of his associates. This was the period when the Selangor coffee boom was at its most hectic. It may well be that Innes, as an 'old han' came out to look into the possibility of investing in coffee cultivation.

In the course of his brief visit he met and 'shook hands' with Willis Douglas, son of Bloomfield and now head of the Negeri Sembilan police. He went to Kuala Langat and stayed in the guest room of the Collector's bungalow on Jugra hill, recalling that he had 'chosen the site, planned the bungalow and supervised the building myself.' His host was none other than Turney who, with his wife, 'treated us right royally.' In the absence of Emily old feuds were laid to rest. Innes also went to see the Sultan who seemed to him to have grown younger and happier with the passing years. 89

On the death of his mother James Innes became emitled to his share of his parents' estate.²⁰ He and Emily then retired to Scotland and settled at Inverness. Neither had any personal connections with this part of Scotland. But through both parents James Innes could claim to be a member of the landed gentry in a region where ancestral connections still determined status. He died in 1901. Emily presumably had a hand in his obituary in The Scotlana. It states — quite inaccurately— that he left Malaya "owing to his disinclination to be responsible for the capture of fugitive slaves". It also enumerates the more prestigious family connections of the deceased. ³¹

Emily may then have come south for a few years. She wrote a letter from Ostoria in 1902 and made her will while staying at a hotel in Canterbury in 1908. The two letters from Oxford were an attempt to persuade John Murray to publish the reminiscences of her brother-in-law, General Sir Edward Brabant, who had spent most of his career in South Africa in the local forces and later in political life (he had been a member of the Cape Parliament). There is a passage in the letter to Murray which is vintage Emily Innes and deserves quotation:—

"I beg you to be so very kind as to tell me, in the strictest confidence-Firstly, what is the reason why you think the book will not be a success? Is it the occasional bad grammar (which here in Oxford could easily be remedied,) or the free criticism of our military methods; or, in short, anything that could be altered before I ask some one else to print it? Or is it the frequent repetition of the pronoun "I"— or the rather trivial and personal nature of some of the "Reminiscences"." But it was a lost cause— as Emily probably well knew, 2"

At some time (not later than 1916) Emily moved back to settle at Naim, a seaside town to the east of Inverness. This was the home county of her late mother-in-law. But the attraction was almost certainly another Innes connection. The youngest sister of James Innes had married a young barrister, Robert Bannatyne Finlay, then making his way at the Bar in London. Finlay went into politics and was successively Solicitor General and Attorney General between 1895 and 1905. When Lloyd George formed his wartime

coalition government in 1916 Finlay became Lord Chancellor. After the war he was the British member of the International court at The Hague. Throughout his distinguished career Finlay retained his connection with his family home at Nairn where he used to spend his holidays playing golf. He was a man of great if rather ostentatious learning who quoted Homer in Greek and read Dante to while away his early days in chambers before he became a busy lawyer. He is said (in his Times obituary) to have had a "stately yet happy manner" and a "habit of prolix argument" But he was a peer of the realm and a man of great distinction. There is evidence in Emily's will that she clung fairly closely to this most eminent of her remaining connections.

She died at Nairn on 9th November 1927 at the age of 83. Her will disposes of her treasures among her relations.74 One supposes that Aunt Emily away in Nairn was an awesome figure to her nephews and nieces. But perhaps a little less tense than the young housewife of Kuala Langat. One hopes so.

I have failed by newspaper advertisement to contact anyone in Nairn who remembers or has a photograph of Emily Innes. She is now forgotten - except by those who have read her book. If you have not read it may I respectfully suggest that it is worth doing so.

NOTES

The original text has been reprinted with only a few corrections of details, a minor addition (James Innes' return to Selangor in 1894) and the insertion of serial numbers to refer to these notes. The text includes numerous internal references to passages in the books by Emily Innes and also Isabella Bird; these have been retained as in the original format.

¹ E. Innes, The Chersonese with the Gilding Off, 2 vols. London, Richard Bentley & Sons, 1885, reprinted (1 vol), Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1974, with an Introduction by Khoo Kay Kim. See vol 2, p. 242 for the reference to *The Golden* Chersonese. See also Lim Teck Ghee, 'The Two Faces of the Chersonese,' Peninjan Sejarah 2(1), 1967, pp. 30-5.

L Bird (Mrs. Bishop), The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither, London, John Murray, 1883, reprinted, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1976.

"The Aurea Chersonesus of Ptolemy the "Golden Chersonese" of Milton, the Malay Peninsula of our day." Bird (op. cit., p. 1) thus explains her title as an allusion to the name by which the ancient Greco-Roman world knew - vaguely - of Malaya, believing that its Mount Ophir was the mountain of that name in which King Solomon had his gold mines. Innes, of course, merely borrowed the word to link her book with Bird's.

3 On the life and writings of Isabella Bird (1831-1904), a famous Victorian lady traveller, see A. Stoddart, Isabella Bird, London, John Murray, 1906, which is the 'authorised' biography by an author who had been her friend - though never her travelling companion. P. Barr, A Curious Life for a Lady, the Story of Isabella Bird, London, Macmillan and John Murray, 1970, is the outstanding modern study, J.M. Gullick, 'Isabella Bird's Visit to Malaya - A Centenary Tribute, JMBRAS 52 (2), 1979, relates her contemporary letters, written from Malaya to her sister, to her published text.

Isabella Bird landed at Singapore on 18th January 1879 (the opening chapters describe her voyage from Hong Kong) and she sailed from Penang on 25th February, 1879. Her book is therefore based on a stay in Malaya of less than six weeks, though in that time she visited Melaka, Sungei Ujong (Negeri Sembilan), Sclangor and Perak (as well as Singapore and Penang). She did not meet Emily Innes, but she stayed with Bloomfield Douglas, travelled briefly in the company of James Innes, and visited Jugra, where she met Sultan Abdul Samad.

Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii.

R. Heussler, British Rule in Malaya: the Malayan Civil Service and its Predecessors 1867-1942. Westport Connecticutt, Greenwood Press, 1981, p. 67.

J.M. Gullick, 'Sclangor 1876-1882 - the Bloomfield Douglas Diary,' JMBRAS 48(2),

1975, reprinted in this volume and cited as Gullick Douglas. See especially p. 144.

On Rov. James Craigie Robertson (1813-1882) there is an entry (by W.H. Fremantle) in The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Sidney Lee, London, Smith Elder & Co, vol 48, 1896. See also obituaries in The Times 10 July 1882, and in the Kentish Gazette 11 July 1882. I am indebted to Mrs. Virginia Murray for access to Robertson's lengthy correspondence with his publisher, John Murray and the letters of Emily Innes to the firm (and for permission to reproduce extracts from both) and to the archivist of Canterbury Cathedral for personal information from the cathedral archives.

J. Robertson, How shall we conform to the Liturgy?, London, Pickering, 1843.

Letter of 21 July 1847. See Note 7 above on this source.

The History of the Christian Church from the Apostolic Age to the Reformation, 8 vols, 1864-78, and his Becket: a Biography, 1859, both published in London by John Murray. See Note 7 above.

12 Kentish Gazette, 5 January 1875.

Robertson's letters of 15 January 1866 and 11 September 1875 to John Murray. Ibid. Letter of 11 April 1870. This was also the time of Emily's absence from home for 3

months mentioned below. The formal announcement of the wedding in The Times 30 January 1875 gives the names of the fathers of the spouses, both eminent figures, thus enabling the author of this paper

to trace the families of Emily and James. 16 Cosmo Innes, like James Robertson, has an entry in the DNB (vol 29, 1892 – see Note 7).

written by Warwick Wroth.

17 Memoir of Cosmo Innes. Edinburgh, William Paterson, 1874, bears no author's name, but the Edinburgh University Library (communication of 28 August 1981 from the Keeper of Special Collections - to whom I am indebted) attributes it to Katherine Burton, who was his eldest daughter and wife of John Hill Burton. In the text Mrs. Burton refers to herself in he third person as 'his eldest daughter.' (p. 59).

Burton, op. cit., p. 17. Professor D.M.E. Evans of the School of Law, University of Hong Kong (communication of 22 February 1983 for which I am indebted) found the gravestone of the elder James Innes (d. 1841) in the Protestant Cemetery at Macao, bearing a Latin verse which states that this Innes was much tried by lawsuits (litibus multo vexatus). This may be a reference to the family 'question of entail law' in Scotland, or to the stormy local career of James Innes in Hong Kong. See Professor Evans' letter in the South China Morning Post of 20 February 1983, asking - apparently without success - whether any reader could provide more information.

19 M. Greenberg, British Trade and the Opening of China 1800-1842, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1951, pp. 32-3.

Burton, op. cit., p. 74.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 59-60. See Note 26 below.

The Scotsman 16 August 1901.

E. Sadka, The Protected Malay States 1874-1895, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, p. 233, citing SSD 5 June 1879 (Co 273/99). This comment was made at the



Drawing of the District Officer's bungalow at Langat (1876)

time (see Note 50 below) when both Low and Douglas were disparaging Innes, since neither of them wished to have him on their establishment.

Will and Codicil of Cosmo Innes - ref C742, pp. 823-857, at the Scottish Record Office. I am indebted to the Curator, Muzium Sarawak (communication of 22nd August 1981 to the Hon Editor JMBRAS) for almost all the information in this paper concerning the career of James Innes in Sarawak, including the Pearse reminiscence (Note 32 below) and the obitpary in the Sarawak Gazette (Note 71 below).

'Chancellor of the Exchequer'. Burton, op. cit., p. 61.

He had begun his Sarawak service on 20th September 1871 as Assistant Resident of Sibu and became Treasurer on 1st March 1872.

See Note 23 above.

See Note 59 below.

30 Innes, op. cit., vol 1, p. 223.

M. Brooke, Good Morning and Good Night, London, Constable, 1934; reprinted London, Century Publishing, 1984, p. 45; p. 63 (Mrs. Proudie) and p. 102 ('two different worlds'). Margaret Brooke arrived in Sarawak in April 1870 and went on leave in September 1873. She returned in June 1875; by then Emily Innes was living in Kuching. While in Kuching the Brookes had dinner parties, which followed a set pattern (Charles Brooke was a man of very regular lifestyle). To these dinners the whole European community of 15 or 16 were invited. Ibid., p. 52. Moreover 'every Tuesday afternoon all the Europeans... came for tea and polite conversation' at the Istana. C.N. Crisswell, Rajah Charles Brooke: Monarch of All he Surveyed, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 105.

32 The Cashier, who replaced Innes at the Treasury, was C.S. Pearse, then a young man of 22. He proved an able treasurer over the next 24 years. S. Baring Gould and C.A. Bamfylde, A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, London, Henry Sotheran, 1909, p. 426. The quotations in the text on the situation in the Sarawak Treasury, when he took charge, are from the reminiscences of Pearse, published in The Sarawak Gazette, 1 October 1898, at the time of his retirement. On the source of this material (including a

copy of Brooke's terse letter of dismissal to Innes) see Note 26 above. 33 On Emily's 1884 letter see Note 59 below.

M See Note 24 above.

as Plate 1. showing the first house at Kuala Langat, is reproduced from the frontispiece to Emily's book, and is presumably based on her drawing - rather stiff in style. See also Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., p. xv. Swettenham said that in 1874-5 he lived in a 'Malay hovel in the swamp' (British Malaya, London, John Lane Bodley Head, 1907, revised 1948, p. 128) which tallies with Emily's description - 'an ordinary Malay wigwam' (vol 1, p. 15). It was the low-lying swamp as much as the house which was so depressing.

The new house on Jugra hill was of wooden, clapboard construction, b rightened inside and out with 'three coats of white paint' (Innes, vol 1, p. 238) but its supreme attraction was its position on high ground with an air flow and a view over the sea. See also J.M. Gullick, 'A Careless, Heathen Philosopher?', reprinted in this volume, p., on the move to

Jugra hill in 1878. It was probably during his period as acting Resident that Innes visited Kuala Lumpur, described in J. Innes, 'Selangor - Past and Present,' Selangor Journal, vol 3, p. 5; see Note 69 below.

See J.M. Gullick, 'Tunku Kudin in Selangor,' and 'A Careless. Heathen Philosopher,'

both reprinted in this volume on these Malay personalities.

38 Isabella Bird, op. cit. p. 110, is no less critical of Singapore European lifestyle. Emily might have followed the example of Margaret Brooke. (op. cit., p. 69) in wearing 'humble Malay dress' for comfort, in the house at least, but the comments on Dutch women in Java below show that she was constrained by a prejudice against 'going native.'

Raja Sah had a precocious taste of brandy. Douglas diary 18 July 1881.

Turney's, name is mispelt 'Ferney' by Bird, eg. at p. 227. Turney had replaced Innes (transferred to Perak) at the time of Isabella Bird's visit to Jugra; hence she missed meeting Emily in Malaya.

- As both had contacts with the publisher, John Murray, (Notes 2 and 72) a meeting could easily have been arranged if they had desired it.
- See Gullick, Douglas, at p. 140 herein, and also P.L. Burns' essay on Douglas in the Australian Dictionary of Biography.
- Douglas diary entries of various dates between May and September 1876.

Hibid. entries in the period from October 1876 to April 1877.

45 Ibid. entries of 24 July and 29 October 1877. 46 Mrs. D.D. Daly, Digging, Squatting etc. in the North of South Australia, Clowes 1887.

Douglas diary 8 December 1876. 48 Ibid. 30 June 1878.

49 Ibid. 28 July and 3 August 1878.

50 With SSD 19 December 1879 the Governor sent reports on Innes by Douglas and by Low (quoting Kerr). Douglas wrote that Innes' 'official conduct' had been 'generally satisfactory'... 'he has fair abilities but a great want of energy. His method of keeping accounts gave much trouble and was reported on by Mr. Swettenham after auditing the accounts of the State for 1877. I attribute Mr. Innes' alleged ill-health to his imprudence and indulgence in stimulants but not to my knowledge to the extent of intoxication.

The Low/Kerr verdict was that 'Innes is utterly inefficient as a man of business which I knew before.' Low added that he would object strongly to Innes being reposted to Perak on his return, and so Innes went back to his substantive post (he had only been acting at Durian Sabatang) at Kuala Langat. See also Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., pp. ix-x, for longer

quotations.

51 Douglas diary 26 November 1881. 52 Ibid. 22 October 1881,

35 See Notes 50 above and 59 below.
54 J. Pope-Hennessy, Verandah: Some Episodes in the Crown Colonies 1867 – 1889. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1964, subject index entries for 'Hugh Low,'

55 London and China Telegraph, 30 May 1882. A copy of Innes' letter was sent to Singapore on 2 June 1882 and the Governor replied by SSD 9 July 1882, forwarding a letter from Low. These exchanges were published in Further Correspondence respecting Slavery in the Protected Malay States (c 3429 of 1882). On Low's policy see Gullick, Rulers and Residents, pp. 43-4. Innes had also alleged that as a magistrate in Perak he had refused to issue warrants for the arrest of runaway 'slaves' fleeing from maltreatment. Low responded that Innes had 'expressed to me his disinclination' to carry out the government policy, but neither Innes nor any other Perak official had ever reported to Low maltreatment such as Innes now alleged; Weld commented that Innes had failed in his duty if he had not reported at the time any such cases of which he had knowledge.

See Gullick, Sultan p. 11. The piano is an example of Emily's disposition to misrepresent and exaggerate. Mrs. Turney had given the piano to the Sultan and certainly the itemized accounts of deductions from his monthly allowance do not include paying for a piano. Note dated 30th June 1882 of Swettenham's discussion of these matters with the Sultan.

enclosed with SSD 24 August 1882.

Letter of 23 August 1882 from Douglas, setting out his defence to the charges made against him, enclosed with SSD 24 August 1882. The sale of the candlesticks had occurred late in 1881 when the Innes were packing up to depart from Selangor, but Douglas also said that earlier in April 1881 Innes had sold champagne to the Sultan - and for this there is a confirmatory item (\$25.50) in the accounts of deductions from the Sultan's monthly allowance. But the implication of the Sultan's favourable comments to Weld on Innes is a denial. SSD 27 October 1882.

St Letter of 25 June 1884 in CO 273/132 p. 285.

Letter of 12 July 1884 in CO 273/132 p. 288.

Khoo Kay Kim, op. cit., p. viii.

It begins with a letter of 1 August 1883 in the John Murray achieves.

Addl MSS Misc B 53/99-214 on microfilm at the British Library. See Bentley Letterbooks 3, 35; 40, 216; 41, 207; 63, 3 and 5; 86, 65 and 79.

63 See J.M. Gullick, 'Syers and the Sclangor Police Force 1875-1897', JMBRAS 51(2), 1978, at p. 90 herein, for Isabella Bird's exchanges with John Murray on the risk of a libel action

by Douglas, who was however otherwise preoccupied at the time. The sequence of topics in the publisher's notes on the manuscript (identifying passages by

their page numbers) does not correspond with the sequence in the book itself. Movever Florence Caddy, visiting Singapore early in 1889, notes that she and some of her companions had read the book (and also Isabella Bird's) and that Emily's account is 'regarded here as truthful.' I Caddy, To Siam and Malaya in the Duke of Sutherland's Yacht 'Sans Peur', London, Hurst and Blackett, 1889, p. 278.

See Note 50 above.

67 Will dated 14 September 1879 and Codicil dated 16 April 1880 in the Probate Registry at Somerset House, London.

Ganon Robertsons estate was valued at £15,855. Emily might have inherited say £2,000 when her mother's life interest terminated. See Note 74 below.

69 J. Innes, op. cit., (Note 36 above).

On the occasion of the marriage of James and Emily in 1875 (as with the marriages of their other children) Cosmo and his wife Rose Innes made a marriage settlement. After the death of Rose Innes in 1891 a sum of £4,000 was transferred from her estate to augment this settlement (Scottish Record Office C 2042 and C 2042/2, p. 66). The capital of the trust would not of course have been included in the value of the personal estate of James Innes at his death in 1901 (a mere £405 - Scottish Record Office C 1382 pp. 62-2) since he only received the income. Insofar as one can interpret the documents, Emily (who had the income of trusts established by her father) did not receive any income from the Innes marriage settlement after the death of James (see Note 74 below).

Obituary of James Innes - see Note 23 above.

Letters in the John Murray archives. For the career of Major-General Sir Edward Yewd Brabant, KCG, MLA, CMG, see Who was Who, vol 1, (1897-1915). He had spent much of his military and subsequent career in S Africa, where he was living (in Cape Province) at the time of his death in 1914.

73 The Times 11 March 1929, p. 21. When she made her Will dated 23 May 1908 (Scottish Record Office C 1371, pp. 201-5), she declared her address as a Canterbury hotel and appointed as one of her executors William Lochee JP, living near Canterbury, which was of course her family home. The other executor was her widowed sister, Julia Chapman, living at Oxford, from which Emily had written to John Murray in 1902 (Note 72 above). The Codicil dated 3 October 1916 gives her address as Fairley, Naim, Scotland. In the Codicil she replaces Lochee as executor by William Finlay KC (a son of Lord Finlay). He died in 1945 and is described in his obituary (The Times 2 July 1945) as 'dignified, (with) perhaps a shadow of pomposity." At some time after 1908 and before 1916 Emily had moved to Naim to join the Finlays.

Her estate, mainly investments, was valued at just under £10,000, and she had a share in the income of family trusts (Note 70 above). By the standards of the 1920's this was

'comfortable circumstances' for a widow.

TUNKU KUDIN IN SELANGOR 1868 – 1878



Fig. 1 and En. Imbi (right) and two attendants, at Klang.

TUNKU KUDIN IN SELANGOR (1868 – 1878)

For a decade (1868-1878) Tunku Kudin (Dhiauddin) of Kedah held deby virtue of which British officials styled him 'enero') At the most he shared power – with his opponents in the civil war, with the Chinese miners and the phang Malays who were his turbulent allies, and finally with British administrators. He was an influential but never a dominant figure. In the end he recognised that there was no place for him and returned to his native Kedah.

This paper is not an account of the civil war and its aftermath, although Kudin played a central role in those events. It is an attempt to study the personality of the man in the context of his times. The Malay aristocratic class in Kudin's period was under pressure of external influences, including an alien lifestyle. The reaction of some rulers, in Terengganu and in Selangor for example, was to sustain, and almost to exaggerate, traditional Malay habits of their class. Others however, notably the rulers of Kedah and of Johor, responded by adapting to the European way of life, in its externals at least. Kudin, like his elder brother, the Sultan of Kedah, habitually wore European clothes; they also drank alcohol. In these practices they may have been influenced by the Siamese royal family, with whom they had regular contacts in the course of visits to Bangkok. However it was an uneasy compromise. Kudin, like other Malay aristocrats of his kind, stood with a foot in two different worlds - and was not secure in either. Yet their weakness was also their strength. The Kedah Rajas, like Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor and Sultan Idris of Perak, were a bridge, a kind of interpreter between two cultures.

Kudin shared with his brothers the charm and good-looks which they inherited from their mother, who had been a celebrated beauty in her day. Emily Innes, who was not easily moved to favourable comment, described Kudin as 'young and good-looking, not much darker, if at all, in complexion than an Italian or a Spaniard'. In photographs taken in 1874 Kudin appears as a composed, rather pensive figure, with a trim moustache. He is neatly dressed in a jacket, buttoned to the neck, and trousers over which he wears, as Malay decorum demanded, a sarong. He is shod in European boots, perhaps clasticisted, and is seated on a chair. Another source tells us that he had a pleasant smile when animated in conversation.

Kudin came to Selangor in 1868 at the invitation of the Sultan to marry Ray Arfah (also called Tunku Chi), the ruler's daughter. In his own state he had at least one wife and several children and the high office of Raja Muda, which made him deputy to his elder brother, Sultan Ahmad Tsjuddin II. The Selangor marriage was a political gesture. Links of that kind between the

ruling dynasties of different states were not unprecedented though they generally marked some rather special situation. In this particular case there had been intermittent contacts between the two families for over a century and Sultan Abdul Samad may have met Kudin's parrents when they lived in exile at Melaka in the 1830's." The unusual feature of Kudin's marriage to Raja Arfah was that he intended it to be, as indeed it was, a stepping stone to participation in the royal government of Selangor. In Kedah he had been prominent in the unpopular project for the construction of a road to Singgora (Songkhla), which had caused much suffering among the rakyar, and he might expect to lose ground in power and influence as the young sons of his brother, the Sultan, grew up 3 It was time to find new outlets for his ambitions.

It may be that, before the summons to Selangor arrived, Kudin had begun to look abroad. Colonel Man (Resident Councillor of Penang 1860-67) had a project, which however came to nothing, for relieving land hunger in Province Wellesley by new settlement in the Dindings, to which the Straits Settlements laid claim. He wrote afterwards that "directly my object was known, an official of rank from Kedah asked to join my party, offering to bring 2 or 300 followers to settle on the spot." The "official of rank" cannot be identified but few other Kedah Rajas besides Kudin had a motive for leaving Kedah, combined with sufficient influence at court to obtain troyal permission for a substantial draft on the manpower resources of Kedah. Later when Kudin took 500 men to Selangor he had to obtain the Sultan's permission for mobilising this group in Kedah."

When he decided to come to Selangor Kudin must have been aware of the growing chaos in Selangor (and Perak) which was the talk of Singapore and also of Penang, where Kudin was a frequent visitor. The immediate occasion of his marriage was that Sultan Abdul Samad had fallen out with Raja Mahdi, who had recently seized Klang by force of arms and now refused to continue the payment of \$500 per month from the Klang revenues to the royal exchequer. The Sultan then broke off the engagement of his daughter to Raja Mahdi and looked for a husband for her outside Selangor. ¹⁰ There might well be more fighting for Klang, through which tin was exported from the important inland mining centre of Kuala Lumpor.

Sultan Abdul Sarnad himself was in very insecure occupation of the throne of Selangor. Although disinclined to assert his authority, lest it provoke his assassination, he was in need of help. Swettenham wrote later that "he had cause to fear... it was even at one time proposed to murder the Sultan-"il The waskness of his position was that he had come to the throne in 1857 as a semi-usurper. He was the nephew and son-in-law of his predecessor, Sultan Mohamed, but the latter had a young son by a royal wife, who had been passed over on account of his youth, and other sons and descendants by accondary marriages – notably Raya Mahdi, who was a grandson. Abdul Samad owed his position to the support of Raja Jumaat, the chief of Lukut and the power behind the throne in his day – but Jumaat had died in 1864 and his successors at Lukut were incompetent.¹²

The Sultan reacted to his situation of impotence and threats of violence by avoiding all involvement in disputes which might trigger off defiance of his authority or worse. This strategy drew him into an elaborate deception. In his early years - he was already 63 in 1868 - he had been a resolute man of action. As far back as 1854, when he was chief of the Langat district, the British regime at Melaka charged him, in his absence, with responsibility for an act of piracy and described him as "a notoriously bad character."13 Swettenham said of him in his old age that "he was supposed to have killed ninety-nine men with his own hand and did not deny the imputation."14 He raised to a fine art the concealment of his real character and motives. This habit produced to crop of bons mots by Europeans who called him "a rather careless heathen philosopher", "a dispassionate hedonist" and adapted a Latin tag to describe the Sultan's life as "opium cum dignitate". 15 He himself promoted this view by making remarks such as "they were both young men and might fight it out between them" (of the struggle for Klang), and that piracy was "the affairs of the boys (meaning his sons) I have nothing to do with them".16 Thus he established the image of a Malay Nero, fiddling while Selangor burned, and evaded responsibility for situations over which he knew he had no control

He did not however deceive everyone. The first British Resident, J.G. Davidson, wrote that the Sultan "is not the weak, unthinking old man he has been described to be, but is a very stread, money-loving man with the full use of his faculties." Another observer, meeting him for the first time in February 1875, wrote that the Sultan "seems sharp and intelligent enough, only showing a certain weakness of character by an indecisive manner of walking up and down when he is required to make up his mind, and fidgeting with his headdress, which he constantly takes off and puts on again." His survival to die at the age of 93 (in 1898) surely rebust the stories that he smoked opium to excess. He was also eccentric in appearance "hardly distinguishable from an old Malay peasant" said Emily Innes." But he could be dignified on a public occasion — Isabella Bird, who saw him in his balai, found him "the most prepossessing Malay I have seen." When he felt safe he could even be decisive."

The complexity of the old man's character, combined with his disposition to dissimulate, made it difficult for his Malay and European contemporaries – and for the modern historian – to discern what was his real relationship with Tunku Kudin. It is clear that he was much attached to his daughter and so the disaster of her marriage to Kudin tended to estrange the two men. Swettenham, who met Raja Arfah in the early years of her marriage described her as "compley and intelligent". When Emily Innes came to Langa later, Arfah had begun to put on weight through over-eating but she was still "tolerably good-looking". However she and Kudin "lived a cat-and-dog life when together (which was seldom)." ²Emily Innes' account of Arfah's savage and violent temper and her abhorrence of her husband's European habits come later in the story.

The Sultan must also have been influenced by the obvious threat of Kudin's ambitions to the prospects of the Sultan's sons, with whom Kudin had strained relations from the outset. It may be that when Kudin first arrived and began to assert his authority against Raja Mahdi, who was an obvious threat to the Sultan and his issue, the three adult sons of the Sultan felt some relief at this counterbalance to the formidable Raja Mahdi. But Kudin was thoroughly uncongenial to them. The Sultan's eldest son, and heir apparent, was Raja Muda Musa, who was a serious, religious, moody, ineffectual man.23 As Raja Muda he was the titular chief of the old royal capital of Kuala Selangor and at times Musa lived in the fort at the mouth of the Selangor river. Kuala Selangor was a position of strategic importance second only to Klang, since the tin produced in the Ulu Selangor district was exported down the Selangor river. Kudin tried to reach an understanding with Musa by which each would support the other against Mahdi.24 It is unnecessary to trace the ups and downs of Musa's relationship with Kudin.25 When Mahdi ousted him from control of Kuala Selangor in July 1870 Musa was perforce on Kudin's side; even in July 1871 the two men met "on friendly terms" at Klang. The final break seems to have come in disputes over the control of Kuala Selangor, in late 1871, after Mahdi had been driven out by British intervention - as will be related later. Rebuffed by Musa, Kudin used his influence with the Sultan to get Musa replaced by his younger brother - "Yakob is the only one on my side."26 But this was a misjudgment. Kudin was not merely a cuckoo in the nest; he also became the embodiment of the threat of European intervention in Selangor. All the Sultan's sons wished to preserve the independence of the state. Musa in particular was a patriot as well as a devout Muslim. THe was too irresolute to be an effective opponent of any man.

The other two sons of the Sultan, Raja Kahar and Raja Yakob (also called Raja or Tunku Alang) were even less effectual than Raja Musa. Kudin's momentary belief that he had an ally in Yakob was soon dissipated by Yakob's brief tenure of the Kuala Selangor fort in 1872. By 1874 he was one of the most forthcoming of Kudin's enemies in the circle around the Sultan.28 The other son, Raja Kahar, "though probably a worse character, had a certain air of bonhomie."29 So the Sultan's sons remained for the most part at Kuala Langat in the royal court and joined in the intrigues of Mahdi's overt supporters to alienate the Sultan from him. They repeated "his reputed speeches in disparagement of his father-in-law."50 The Sultan was also disturbed by reports, as the financial problems of the protracted civil war grew more acute, that Kudin "was borrowing large sums of money without his permission to carry on a struggle in which he [the Sultan] had no decided sympathies."31 The estrangement between the Sultan and Kudin became worse when Kudin imposed a blockade of the Sclangor coast, including Kuala Langat, to prevent the inflow of supplies to Raja Mahdi and his supporters. The revenues collected at the Sultan's custom house diminished - and this was a serious matter to a "a money-loving man". As a result of the estrangement and the presence of his enemies at Kuala Langat, Kudin stayed away from the

royal capital for some two years (1872-74) while the struggle was at its height. As will be related later, this situation led to British doubts as to whether, by early 1874, Kudin retained the Sultan's confidence and goodwill to any degree at all.

The Sultan and his circle were at all times passive. At worst, Kuala Langat, the royal capital, was a centre of antipathy and intrigue against Kudin. His main problem was to be the active and forceful opposition of Raja Mahdi and his allies. Before coming to the narrative of Kudin's career in Selangor, beginning with his success in driving Mahdi out of Klang, it is worth considering the character of this formidable opponent. History is unkind to a loser and so there has been general acceptance of Governor Ord's verdict on Mahdi - "one of the most crafty, energetic and mischievous chiefs in the Peninsula - a thoroughly bad man capable of any treachery. 32 Mahdi and those who fought with him have left no account of their side of the struggle. But a modern study argues that Mahdi was essentially a Malay Raja of the traditional type whose purpose was to maintain the independence of Selangor threatened by Kudin.33 Mahdi had a respectable claim to be chief of Klang since his father, Raja Sulaiman, had held the position down to his death in 1850. In his view he had then been dispossessed of his patrimony by the influence of an earlier foreign interloper, Raja Jumaat of Riau and later of Lukut.34 Then when his opportunity came Mahdi had re-taken what he considered had rightfully belonged to him. But Kudin, another intruder, appeared first to marry the Sultan's daughter to whom Mahdi had been affianced, and then (in 1870) to drive him out of Klang. Ord's condemnation suggests that Mahdi could be ruthless and perhaps bloody in his pursuit of his ends. But in this he was no worse than many another Malay Raja of the traditional type. His ally in the war, Raja Mahmud, was no less murderous he boasted in later years of having killed two hundred men - "not including Chinamen" - and yet Mahmud was the personal friend of Swettenham and of Clifford, both of whom depict him in sympathetic colours.35

On his record one must accept that Mahdi was a dominant personality and an an appring leader. Both Syed Mashhor and Raja Mahmud, men of courage and strong character, loyally served under Mahdi during the civil war. When he returned to Selangor from abroad in 1872, without munitions or even the conventional number of followers, his mere arrival galvanized his supporters to fresh action and raised their battered morale. **

After this outline of the complex situation which Kudin entered, on his marriage to the Sultan's daughter in 1868, the main part of this paper deals with Kudin's story over the years from 1868 to 1878. After his marriage Kudin obtained from his father-in-law a letter of authority which was the basis of his actions in Selangor and the mainstay of his successful pretensions, which British officials recognised by according to him the title of "viceroy." Kudin himself told Clarke in 1874 that "The Sultan, seeing Tunku Kudin doing nothing, said to him, "Why do you remain idle? What would you like to do?" The Tunku answered that he had not been brought up to business

(meaning trade) but that he used to help his brother the Raja of Quedah in carrying on the government of his country. The Sultan said that he was pleased at that, as he could help him (the Sultan) in the same way... but the Turhu complained that as a stranger he had not the same authority as he had in his brother's country, and asked the Sultan to give him a writing, which he could show if his authority was challenged.³³⁷ We will come to the text of this letter shortly.

There are other episodes in Kudin's career in which he went to some trouble to attribute to others an initiative taken by himself. "The story of the letter of authority of 1868 was probably such a case. Swettenham says briefly that Kudin' 'persuaded' 'the Sultan to "appoint him Viceroy of Selangor." Pasqual gives a detailed account of a plot against Raja Mahdi to which Kudin was a party and for which he required the letter. Mahdi had been encouraged to attack Klang because he was promised the support of the Bau Bahara leader, Mohamed Akthe." Akth however was killed in an ambush during the flighting at Klang in 1867. "The leadership of the Bau Bahara men then devolved on the dead man's brother, Nonggok, who was known after his pilgrimage to Mecca as Haji Tahir. In the records of the 1870's he is always referred to as the Dauk Dagang of Klang and Kuala Lumpur; he proved to be one of the outstanding Malay leaders in Selangor in his time."

In his bargain with Mohamed Akib Mahdi had promised to reward him with the grant of authority to collect and retain local taxes at Kuala Lumpur, in place of the detested Datuk Bandar Yaseh. But when Mahdi had taken Klang he did not keep his promise to Akib's successor. Ill feeling between them was further inflamed by Mahdi's refusal to give redress for the killing of a follower of the Datuk Dagang by one of Mahdi's own kinsmen. The Datuk Dagang then decided to change sides and drive Mahdi out of Klang. However Malay etiquette did not permit a mere commoner to joust with a Raja — "scruples appear to prevail... as to the propriety of resorting to an appeal to arms, except in cases where the contending Chiefs are of equal rank." Moreover it would be necessary to obtain the formal approval of the Sultan. **

So the Datuk Dagang secretly "interviewed Tunku Kudin and said to him that if he would take upon himself the responsibility of the war they would do all the fighting. Tunku Kudin agreed to take the responsibility (mengaku) on his head. Then Tunku married Raja Arfah and this incensed Raja Mahdi more than arrything lest. "The word "then" reveals that the conversation took place before the Sultan issued his letter of 26 June 1868 to Kudin, since the conversation came before and the letter came after the wedding. Kudin was already a party to the plan to drive out Mahdi when he obtained the letter.

The Sultan was a shrewd man who must have realised that if he gave to a convergence interloper like Kudin an express grant of wide powers of government in Selangor he would be poking a stick into a homet's nest contrary to the accepted proverbial wisdom. But it was not the Sultan's way to reject outright a request of this kind. So he issued a letter which was vague and indeed ambiguous in its terms. In this he probably did not deceive Kudin

who characteristically accepted what he could get and exploited its lack of precision for his own ends.

The Sultan's letter only survives in English translation. There can be no doubt that there was a Malay original which was genuine despite the allegations of Raja Mahdi and others that the letter was a forgery. So will be related later the original letter was produced to two British officials in 1871 and then acknowledged by the Sultan and resealed by way of confirmation. The ambiguity and indeed possible deception lies in the terms of the letter, the material part of which reads in English as follows:—

"...we give up the country with its dependencies to our son, Tengku Dia Odin, to govern and open up so as to bring it into proper order for us and our sons... and for all the inhabitants of the country also so that they may receive a course of justice in all matters. And fine is Jempowered to do whatever may be effectual towards fostering our country and causing profit to us. No person must oppose our son's proceedings. And now we confirm as to this place Langat that it is our gift to our son Tunku Dia Odin to be the place where he should carry on our business as aforesaid."

The final sentence is clearly a grant to Kudin of authority to administer the district of Langat which was the Sultan's personal fief. As will appear, it was resisted by members of the court circle who lived at Kuala Langat. But the intention here is clear and in the end it did not matter a great deal since almost immediately Kudin went off to Kedah and on his return he laid siege to Klang and took it, giving up Langat in exchange for Klane.

The enigma lies in the earlier passage which relates to the state of Selangor as a whole. Winstedt wrote that "the purport of this was that Zia'u'ddin was appointed Viceroy of the whole State."⁵² Wilkinson called it a "curious document" which "went even further" than the direct grant of Langat. Downan — and I agree — characteries it as "an ambiguous document... an expedient which was typical of the man", by which Kudin was able to secure European recognition as "Viceroy", adding that "in practice (Kudin) was left to make what he could of this power, without any help from the Sulan." ⁵²

Apart from the reference to economic development ("fostering the country and causing profit to us") and "proper order" what can one make of the words "give up the country... to govern"? If in the original Malay, "govern" was merajai the grant was quite unconstitutional; a ruler's position was ceremonial and essentially personal to himself, daulat (majesty) could not be delegated. "Govern" may have been memeratush (or — less probably—annequasai is to exercise kausa or authority). But again both constitutional theory of this period and actual reality of the distribution of power would make this meaningless. Execut a Langat (significantly the subject of a separate sentence) executive authority (perentain) had been delegated to or seized by district chiefs. The Sultan could not give again what he had already parted with.³⁰

Later C.J. Irving, Kudin's staunchest supporter among the European

officials in Singapore, wrote that "the Sultan then gave him the "full powers" referred to above and commissioned him not to support one side against another but to obtain possession of the country in the Sultan's name." In this context the words "to obtain possession of the country in the Sultan's name" could only mean that Kudin was to assert such royal authority over district chiefs, in the role of peacemaker ie promoter of the "King's peace", as by established practice and convention the Sultan already had and could delegate. It was not authority to establish a new structure of power by force of arms. Yet in driving Mahdo ut of Klang his is what Kudin in fact did.

Even at Langat the royal grant of authority met with defiance from the Datuk Syahbandar who refused to recognise that Kudin might issue orders to the master of a Melaka vessel then in the local port. ³⁷ This episode, which Kudin reported to the Sultan, showed that even in Langat he could not govern in the Sultan's name without armed men at his bidding. If he relied on the uncertain loyalty of the Datuk Dagang and called in Sumatran supporters it would provoke a clash in this Bugis stronghold. So Kudin decided to return to Kedah to raise an armed force there. By coincidence he had just received news that his mother, Wan Masheran, was very ill. This was an additional and perfectly genuine reason for his return to Kedah in October 1869.

However before leaving for Kedah he first went south to Melaka and there had an interview with Baba Tee Yee, "the richest merchant in Malacea" and the financial backer of the Datuk Dagang. Kudin and the towkay made a bargain that Kudin was "to wrest Selangor from Mahdi" in exchange for Tee Yee's support. As an earnest, Tee Yee paid over several thousand dollars for delivery to the Datuk Dagang for munitions etc. The latter was still lying low at Klang where the unsuspecting Rajia Mahdi was in control."

Kudin was away in Kedah for about a year from late 1868 to the same season of 1869. At this time or later he was able to persuade his mother to make him an advance of \$60,000 towards his war chest. 59 He had to plan and then prepare his expedition - which took time. But it was also necessary to synchronise his preparations with the course of events in Selangor. When Kudin later told his story to Clarke in 1874 Braddell formed the impression that Kudin's visit to Kedah was "caused or extended in time" by his judgment of the opportune moment for making his re-entry on stage in Selangor. It is uncertain whether he had already begun to raise troops, or whether he was still concealing his intentions, when the news reached him of Raja Ismail's impending attack on Raja Mahdi; but then, if not before he began to mobilise men and supplies in Kedah for use in Selangor. 60 He would have had to discuss with his brother, Sultan Ahmad of Kedah, his plan to raise a force in Kedah. We do not know whether he disclosed to the Sultan his intention to use his men as a striking force against Raja Mahdi. He may well have told his brother, as he later told Clarke, that half his force was to be stationed at Langat to maintain a firm political base there and half would accompany him in his visits to other parts of Selangor as a personal bodyguard. 61 As will appear later Kudin's actual use of his Kedah contingent caused the Sultan of Kedah some

embarrassment, whether or not it came as a surprise to him.

To recapitulate (if one may rely on Pasqual's version of events) Kudin was a party to a plan hatched by the Datuk Dagang for an attack on Raja Mahdi at Klang, Raja Ismail, with the Sultan's blessing, was to strike the first blow and then Kudin would join him. For this purpose Kudin needed to raise a force in Kedah in time to be ready to move to Klang when required. The "cover plan" for this mobilisation and then intervention was the sotensible role of the Kedah force to support and protect Kudin acting under the vague terms of the Sultan's letter of authority as a mediator in the conflict.

In addition to recruiting men in Kedah, Kudin assembled transport to move them by sea to Selangor. It is said that his flotilla comprised the chartered steamer "Rembau" and 72 praus and junks. The expedition took only personal weapons and a few cannon since the main stores and ordnance would be provided by purchase, using Baba Tee Yee's money. 62 When Kudin returned to Selangor in October 1869 the first phase of the operation against Mahdi was proceeding according to plan. In August Raja Ismail made a surprise attack with 100 men and captured one of the two outer forts which, on either side of the estuary, controlled the approach to Klang town. He then trained the guns of the captured fort on the other stockade across the river. This was garrisoned by Batu Bahara men who persuaded Mahdi's commander to move up-river in Mahdi's schooner "Sri Lingga". As soon as he had gone they surrendered the fort to Raja Ismail who thus obtained control of both banks and cut off Mahdi from the seaward side. Upstream from the town of Klang at Bukit Kuda the river was closed by throwing an iron chain across from one bank to the other. The Datuk Dagang held this area from a stockade in the vicinity. The blockade had begun.64

Mahdi however was a resolute leader and his situation was far from hopeless. His Mandilling men built rafts on which Mahdi could move men and cannon up and down the length of the river which he still controlled. He held the advantage of a central position from which, using this mobility, he could launch surprise attacks on the besiegers around the periphery. This was the situation of stalemate at the time of Kudin's arrival, when the siege had been in progress for about two months. Madin's arrival, when the siege had been in progress for about two months. Madi could not drive off the besiegers; they could not storm his main position.

In keeping with the Sultan's instructions "to obtain possession of the country... without supporting one side against the other" Kudin at first assumed the role of mediator. He sent off about half his Kedah force, some 250 men, to Kuala Langat where they would make a useful show of strength at a time of delicate political maneuvre. St Kudin then made overtures to Raja Ismail who came at once to see him and acknowledged his authority. At the same time Kudin sent a copy of the Sultan's letter of June 1868 to Raja Mahdi who declared it to be a forgery and declined to accept Kudin's authority to intervene. Kudin duly reported these developments to the Sultan and recalled 200 of his 250 men from Kuala Langat in order to concentrate his force at Klang. He then threw in the Kedah men to Join the siege – ostensibly to

In the long and meandering course of the Selangor civil war there were many local and minor events – skirmishes, deceptions, betrayals and encounters. Only two contests were of strategic importance. The first was the siege of Klang by which Kudin secured a firm base which he retained for the rest of the war. The other was the long and bitter struggle for control of the important mining district of Kuala Lumpur in 1872-1873.

In the context of this paper the siege of Klang is of special interest since it was the only campaign in which Kudin took direct command of his forces. It also happens that two Malay participants, one on each side, have left an account of their experiences. Wan Mohamed Amin, who was a youth in the town of Klang at the outset, lived to write a history of Selangor in his old age. Penghulu Hamzah of Padang Terap in Kedah, who came to Selangor with Kudin, told his story to Pasqual many years later. Kudin himself left no account of the siege but he told Irving of the months spent "in boats among the mud swamps of Qualla Klang, some of his dearest friends lost their lives in the bush fighting, and his own private means were spent and forestalled (sic) in carrying on the struggle." But however desperate the situation "the feeling of shame at the idea of abandoning a task to which he had pledged himself" kept him in the field.⁶⁷ This last remark is revealing; Kudin's strength was his sheer determination, working on his pride as a Malay Raja. There is indeed no sign that he had any military talents either as a strategist or as a leader in battle. He lacked the dashing gallantry, the spasmodic energy, which inspired Raja Mahdi and his lieutenants, who were Malay captains of the traditional type.

Although the besiegers could not impose a total blockade of Klang, Mahdi knew that he must be starved into surrender in time unless he could drive them back. First he sent his boats to smash a way through the chain across the river at Bukit Kuda. That attack failed but he then sent a parry by night with files to cut through the chain in spite of the heavy fire directed at them by the besiegers. A flotilla of boats with sorely needed supplies then passed down river to Klang. But this was only a temporary respite since the Datuk Dagang held the valley above the town of Klang.

There were sorties against the besiegers' posts and the young Wan Amin went with the attackers on two or three occasions. Just as infantry in a modern war "dig in" to consolidate an advance against the risk of counter-attack or aerial bombardment, the standard Malay tactics were to move forward under cover to a position from which they could threaten the supply line of the enemy's stockade, and then erect a temporary defence, which might be no more than a fence of logs facing the expected line of attack. The normal response of the defenders, as soon as they were aware of the attackers' new position, was to sally forth in order to dislodge them before they could strengthen their position. Thus each side tried to outmanoeuvre the other and take them by surprise or in ambush. In these encounters the fighting men used long grass or undergrowth as cover or moved seathily from behind one tree

to the next. Amin tells of a fight in a ecconut grove in which the two parties were no more than 20 or 30 yards apart, each man taking cover behind his tree. The casualties of half an hour's mutual stalking were one killed and another wounded. But in the end the party which had originally advanced was forced to withdraw since their hastly improvised stockade of runks of banas trees did not keep out the bullets. The firing, said Amin sounded like the crackling of rice in a frying pan. The two unded, and the bodies of the dead, were carried off in slings made by using their sarongs as improvised stretchers.

Each side made use of the river as a supply line to their outposts. The lighters were covered over with a canopy of mahang wood, to shield armed men within, and towed by boats past the enemy positions under cover of darkness.

Mahdi made effective use of his stretch of the river by mounting cannon on rafts which floated down on the tide, opened fire on Kudin's main positions and then withdrew out of range as the tide turned. Although the guns were sometimes mounted on trolleys it took time to alter the direction of their fire. Like modern arillery they needed to find their range on to the target by observing where the shots fell. So Mahdi's floating batteries (kota berjatan) had hit and gone before effective counter fire could damage them. Penghulu Hamzah said that "our stockades were continually under severe fire... especially when the rafts were made fast to the bank of the river and raked us at close range with such fatal results that we had to dig ourselves in trenches."

Kudin was well provided with cammon of various kinds. Some which had a primitive form of "rilled" barrel could carry for up to 240 yards. Others fired heavy cannon balls of three hands span in circumference. To improve his counter-bombardment Kudin switched Penghulu Hamzah from his duise as quartermaster, which included "cooking" the opium for the fighting men on their return from the field, to artillery spotting. Hamzah was sent up a tower (langkangan) with a pair of binoculars to direct the gunners. He says however that "the keramat (charm) of the enemy was so potent that many a time our cannon balls went wide of the mark although fired almost point blank at the rafts." But these cannon were loaded with charges of black powder rammed down with coornul thusk; on top of this went the shot; and then more econut husk. The modern reader may make his choice between technical and supernatural factors to explain why Hamzah's gunners missed at close range.

Although Mahdi could bombard the besiegers he could not follow up his advantage. The enemy could not storm our stockades," says Hamzah, "because of the ranjaus (sharp stakes driven into the ground to pierce the feet) made of bamboo and as sharp as razors. We were well armed and had plenty of ammunition. The stockades were protected by logs of wood, stacked round them in pig-sty fashion three fathoms in width."

As the siege dragged on the inexorable pressure of the blockade on the town of Klang became more and more severe. Mahdi, taken by surprise at the start, arranged with Edward Bacon, a Penang trader, for the shipment of

\$30,000 worth of supplies to Klang.⁷² But there is no mention of any large convoy of foodstuffs actually getting through. In the town of Klang small quantities of rice smuggled in by night were fetching a famine price of \$1 a cunak.⁷⁹

The decisive stroke against Mahdi was made by Kudin's European military aide, De Fontaine, who had learns his trade as a midshipman of the French navy. De Fontaine loaded 18 pound carronades on to sampans, as improvised sledges, which parties of men dragged by main force up the slopes of higher ground overlooking Mahdi's fort at Klang. The plunging fire of this battery altered the military balance in Kudin's Favour. ³⁴

So Mahdi sued for safe conduct out of a position which had become hopeless. When Klang fell at last to Kudin's forces Penghulu Hamzah says that "the scene that met the eye baffled description. Men were howling and wailing and women weeping and shricking. It was the despairing wail of human beings who had staked their all on the fortune of war and were now being turned adrift into the world without home or any earthly possession. They were not molested but allowed to carry what few things they had. There was no looting. The Kedah Malays had strict injunctions to take no spoils." The victors did not find Raja Mahdi who had fled during the night to Sungei Buloh up the coast, leaving his followers to their fate. Not for the last time Mahdi showed his elusive skill in escaping from a hopeless situation. Throughout the adversities of the ware he was never taken captive in the field.

Klang fell to Tunku Kudin in March 1870. There was now little pretence that Raja Ismail had recovered Klang, though he stayed on as Kudin's ally. Since Sultan Abdul Samad had authorised Raja Ismail to fight it out with Raja Mahdi he could hardly complain that Ismail had recovered Klang, with the aid of Kudin to whom the Sultan had delegated vague authority to act in his name. At all events the Sultan accepted the result with apparent good grace. Kudin was more acceptable than the turbulent Mahdi as the local ruler of Klang. It was agreed between the Sultan and Kudin that he would relinquish his local powers at Kuala Langat, under the Sultan's letter of 26 June 1868, in return for similar powers at Klang.

Far-reaching consequences flowed from Kudin's new position in control of Klang. First and most obvious he had the opportunity to develop the economy of an important district of Selangor. He did what he could to recall the Malay population of the Klang area who had flod from the fighting of 1869. Most of them however preferred to remain in the quieter conditions of Kuala Langar." The local Malay supporters of Raja Mahdi were still hostile and the Sultan later issued a letter dated 25th August 1870 which indirectly recognized Kudin's title to rule Klang and instructed that "no towkay shall assist the Mandiling people... and all Chinese and Malays engaged in commerce in the interior shall assist Tengku Kudin." But this merely afforded an illustration of the Sultan's lack of real influence since it was the defection of the Sumatrans from Kudin in 1872 which turned the tide of the war assains thin.

Nonetheless Kudin's regime was a success.⁷⁹ He built roads to improve communications with the inland mining districts and he established a satisfactory relationship with Yap Ah Loy, the Capitan China of Kuala Lumpur. This mutual confidence remained unshaken by the reverses suffered by both men in 1872-73. The peace restored in the Klang valley drew in at least 15,000 Chinese to work on the mines.⁸⁰ Favourable reports of Kudin's administration reached the Straits Settlements where, if one excepts Penang, he was still an unknown quantity. Perhaps for that reason there was some initial hesitation among officials and businessmen; Kudin might be just another figure in the rapid succession of local rulers at Klang. It was better to wait and see. The decisives swing in Straits Settlements opinion of Kudin came a year later when J.W.W. Birch and C.J. Irving, senior officials of the Strait Settlements government extracted from the Sultan confirmation of Kudin's position as "Viceroy" – an episode to be related later in this page 1

However Kudin's capture of Klang did have one immediate effect in his relations with British officials. In April 1870, within a few weeks of the victory, the acting Lieutenant Governor of Melaka, came to see for himself what was the situation in Klang. It was quite natural that he should do so since Selangor was within the area over which Melaka kept watch. In this way Kudin first met C.J. Irving who became a strong and influential supporter of Kudin in the critical period down to 1874, in which the official hierarchy in Singapore was trying to make up its mind whether or not to support him in

Selangor.

Irving said later that, at the time of his visit, the town of Klang, devastated by the siege, "could not be said to exist". But under Kudin's government "the revenue grew apace and debts were being liquidated." A close study of Irving's career and personality offers some clues to Kudin's success in his relationship with him. Unlike most of his colleagues Irving had not begun as an army officer or a colonial administrator. He had spent the first 12 years of his working life as a junior official in the Colonial Office - Ord described him as "a clerk" - and had then moved on to a relatively humble position as an auditor in Mauritius. From Mauritius he had been "promoted to the high office he now holds", said Ord, i.e. Auditor General Straits Settlements. In Singapore he "exhibited great zeal" and was considered to "entertain a strong sense of the value of his services as a government official" but these were "overestimated." He served on innumerable government committees, including many which had no bearing on financial matters. He learnt Malay and reckoned that he was proficient in it up to the interpreters' standard required of men, like Swettenham, who were originally recruited as administrative cadets. He made himself useful to Ord by going on missions to the Malay States, on which he accumulated a considerable knowledge. He wrote background memoranda on Perak and Selangor, which are invaluable to the modern historian; characteristically he compiled one of these lengthy summaries in his spare time while on local leave. But, for all his assiduity, he was unable to satisfy himself that his own merits were recognised. Unsure of

himself he was not at ease with his colleagues when off duty—"not much of a society man" even late in his career. ⁵² Irving had his opportunity in late 1875 when, in the crisis following the murder of J.W.W. Birch, Irving acted as Colonial Secretary in Singapore and was link man between Jervois in Perak and the authorities elsewhere. Parkinson characterises Irving's telegrams to Jervois as "drivel". He certainly over-reacted, on the basis of unreliable information supplied by others. Kudin's skill in handling, one might say manipulating, Irving for his own ends will appear from their encounters in July 1871 and April 1872, to be described later.

Meanwhile the lull, the calm before the storm, which followed Kudin's capture of Klang in March 1870, affords an opportunity of a brief review of the factors which influenced events over the next two or three years. The strength and weakness of Kudin's position at Klang was that Klang was the port, through which supplies were imported for the Chinese miners up-river around Kuala Lumpur, and tin was exported. Yap Ah Loy, the formidable Capitan Cina of Kuala Lumpur, was to be a staunch ally of Kudin throughout the struggle. But over in Ulu Selangor were Ah Loy's bitter enemies, the Kanching miners, who drew their supplies and exported their tin down the valley of the Selangor river through Kuala Selangor. Within a few months of losing Klang, Mahdi led a force of 200 men in a successful attack on Kuala Selangor. Kudin despatched a force against Mahdi's new position under the command of a celebrated fighting captain, Syed Mashhor, but some involved events left the hapless Raja Muda Musa "almost a prisoner in the hands of Mahdi at Selangor" and caused Mashhor to defect to Mahdi's side. "The loss of Mashhor was extremely damaging since he proved himself the best commander on Mahdi's side and probably the architect of the sequence of events which led to the loss of Kuala Lumpur to Mahdi's forces in August 1872. This disaster however was the outcome of a protracted struggle in the interior of Selangor (1870-1872). In the early part of the campaign Yap Ah Loy had the support of the Sumatran miners, whose main stronghold was Ulu Langat. As Mahdi himself had learnt, the Sumatrans were fickle allies, whose main object was always to be on the winning side - and in the dark days of mid-1872 they changed sides and made it possible for Mashhor to capture Kuala Lumpur. 85

In Pahang however there were events in train which in the end would give Kundin the upper hand. In his time at Klang Mahdi had given help and refuge to exiled opponents of Bendahara Ahmad of Pahang, who was therefore disposed to align himself with Kudin. It was the Pahang levies who swept through the interior of Selangor in 1872-73 to give victory to Kudin and Yap Ah Loy.

Mahdi's shrewdest blow against Kudin was to suggest to the Siamese and through them to the Sultan of Kedah—that the presence of a Kedah force in Selangor could be an infringement of the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1826. The Sultan put a stop to the despatch of reinforcements from Kedah, which Kudin urgently needed to build up his forces in Selangor depleted by sickness and casualties. He would only send more men, said the Sultan, if the Siamese government authorised him to do so. Siam replied that it must have British consent. That consent was given but Siam, adept at procrastination remained mute. Kudin's operations in Selangor offered no advantage to Siam and his presence might in time be a source of embarrasment. As Irwing said in 1871, "the question goes round and round." In the event no further reinforcements were sent to Kudin from Kedah.

The Sultan had other grounds for anxiety over the Kedah force in Sclangor, Kudin wrote later on that "many of our men from Kedah were killed during the disturbances and their families are now living in Kedah and it is Redah and it is Medah and it is desarty that they should receive a pension from us." *B However Kudin, under growing franneial pressure, was unable or unwilling to meet this obligation. As we have seen, he had been reproached in 1865 with neglect of the welfare of the men who worked on the construction of the road to Singgora. It was also alleged against him in 1871 that "he allowed the Kedah army to fend for themselves as best they could. Some returned to Kedah while others went to Muar, and a few settled down at Klang. Those who returned to Kedah womplained of Kudin's shameful neglect and had treatment of an army that went to fight for him. *B'' All this discontent must have been embarrassing to Sultan Ahmad, since he had authorised the despatch of the expeditionary force of 500 men in 1869, and it was also damaging to Kudin's reputation in

The men who remained with Kudin at Klang were left idle and got into mischief. Malay warfare was usually an affair of rapid raids and equally prompt withdrawal. Malay levies were not trained to act as a static garrison. Kudin, absorbed in diplomacy and financial arrangements, was not the man to attend to their needs and keep them occupied. So it is hardly surprising that some of them "finding the war was over after the stockade [i.e. the Klang fort] was taken stole some of the Tunku's boats and seized a small vessel belonging to Penang."61 Later the British gunboat "Algerine" intercepted them off the Sembilan islands and they surrendered without "the slightest attempt at resistance." Their story was that, while at sea, they had met a party of Batu Bahara men from Mahdi's forces, who had just captured a trading vessel from Penang. With the camaraderie of seafarers the latter invited the Kedah men to share the spoils and "owing to their being present during the piracy they had been compelled to take some of the loot (piecegoods, sarongs etc.) in order to prevent them from telling any tale and so as they should appear to participate in the affair." The Batu Bahara men also were captured and the combined party was brought to trial at Melaka in mid 1871 before Sir Peter Benson Maxwell; it was his last case before he retired from the position of Chief Justice. The Batu Bahara men were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment but the Kedah men, as mere accessories, had a sentence of three years only.92

This episode too was very damaging to Kudin. One can recognise the clash of European and Malay "values" which recurs in Kudin's career. A British commander would have acquiesced, however reluctantly, in the trial of

his men before a civil court in a case such as this. In any event, Kudin had no means of extricating his followers from British custody nor of securing a remission of their punishment. Yet it was part of the Malay tradition that a Raja protects his followers from the consequences of their wrong-doing. For example Clifford said that in Pahang in 1887 a complaint against the budad raja (the ruler's followers) would not be received at all as such men are "licensed to commit any act of oppression." The Kedah men surrendered, without resistance to the British gumboat, presumably because they relied on Kudin, who was known to be on good terms with the orang putch, to get them out of this little scrape. When their expectations were disappointed, the odium against Kudin was such that the affair was still remembered at the time of his death in 1909. One should perhaps set against these specific instances the negative evidence of Kedah Malays who told their story to Pasqual without any mention of neglect by Kudin of their interests and welfare.

Denied his dependable "praetorian guard" of Kodah men, Kudin had to rely on his allies in Selangor. Few of the native Selangor Malays of Bugis origin supported him. They had either fled from Klang to some more peaceful district or they rallied behind their chiefs who were hostile to Kudin. In the allimportant mining district of Kuala Lumpur Kudin could count on the steadfast Capitan Cina, Yap Ah Loy, to fight on his side to the bitter end. They seem to have trusted each other and they were in the same boat, since Ah Loy's Chinese opponents were supporters of Raja Mahdi. But it was costly in lost output to withdraw the miners from the production of tin to fight battles. They could only be used in the defence of their own territory in the interior. Sumatrans were found in both camps and for a time Kudin had the uncertain support of Raja Asal, leader of the miners of Ulu Klang.

initiative with the guns had turned the tide in the siege of Klang. He was given the task of raising a force of mercenaries in the Straits Settlements to fight in Selangor. At the end of the war the pay of these troops was heavily in arrears but it is doubtful whether at any time they were worth employing. **In the "sepoys" were Indian and Malay flotsam and jetsam from the ports of the Straits. Settlements and their officers were unwantbask that

Kudin's principal military aide was the Frenchman, de Fontaine, whose

Straits Settlements, and their officers were unemployed Europeans in desperate search of a livelihood. These included Van Hagen, a former officer of the Dutch colonial forces who had been cashiered, Cavaliero, an Italian whose business ventures had failed and Pennefather, a former British army sergeant.³⁹ We will come later to Ibrahim Munshi's contemptuous description

of this motley force, untrained, ill-equipped and disciplined.

The mercenaries would be no maich for Mahdi and his lieutenants, with their Malay fighting men, in a war of movement. However they served to strengthen the static garrisons of the keypoints – Klang, Kuala Lumpur and Kuala Selangor, while this last fort was held by Kudin. Kudin's local levies, Sumatran and Chinese, would keep open the lines of land communication between strongpoints unless the tide of war turned decisvely against him. Yet it was all very precarious and this explains why later on, in 1872, Kudin

devoted so much effort to obtaining military aid from Pahang.

In 1871 the main centres of military and political conflict were Kuala Selangor to the north and Kuala Langat to the south of Kudin's central position at Klang. In agreeing that Kudin might keep Klang, Sultan Abdul Samad had insisted that "the Selangor should to to Raja Musa and Raja Yakob"6 But, as related above, Mahdi and his allies simply moved in on the hapless - helpless - Raja Muda Musa. Then followed a casual act of piracy at Kuala Sclangor leading to British intervention and a minor clash in which H.M.S. "Rinaldo", a British naval sloop, bombarded the fort at Kuala Selangor. 97 Mahdi withdrew to Bernam and thence to Sumatra to buy munitions, paying with the loot which he had collected before leaving Klang in the previous year; after a short stay in Perak Syed Mashhor returned to Ulu Selangor to lead the forces opposed to Yap Ah Loy. Kudin deployed his new mercenary forces as garrisons at Kuala Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. 98 As it was necessary that one of the Sultan's sons should remain in titular control of Kuala Selangor, Kudin persuaded the Sultan that as "Moosa was not fit to command" Raja Yakob should be put in charge "with power to collect the revenue, pay the troops and expenses, and keep the balance for himself'. Yakob however found that the presence of Kudin's troops, under a European commander, Sgt. Pennefather, rather cramped his style of government, and within a few months Yakob withdrew again to Langat, so that Kuala Selangor was in the sole charge of Kudin's detachment.99

The acting Governor, Anson, then sent J.W.W. Birch, Colonial Secretary Straits Settlements, and C.J. Irving on a mission to the Sultan of Selangor, with the object of inducing the Sultan to declare his real intentions in delegating authority to Kudin. Irving introduces his report of the mission with "I have always held a strong opinion that one of the first and most essential points to be attended to was the bringing about of an interview between Tunku Dia Odin and the Sultan of Salangore and the verification of the document purporting to appoint the Tunku the Sultan's: "Wakil Mutalak' or agent having full powers." "I have always have been examined. It suffices here to repeat that the extant English version, which is all we now have, does not contain the word "agent". The expression "viceory," "wakil mutalak" (agent with plenipotentiary powers), was Irving's contribution to the ensuing discussion at Kuala Langau. Whether consciously or not Irving is here giving a false impression of the sense of the letter, which prejudges the whole issue. ¹⁸

Birch and Irving did not go immediately to Kuala Langat. They came in the government launch "Pluto" northwards to Kuala Selangor, and joined forces with H.M.S. "Teazer" which escorted them down the coast to the royal capital. At sea off the coast of Selangor, on the evening of the 18th July 1871, they met Kudin in a small steamer. He was apparently on the point of visiting Singapore to see Anson. Birch and Irving informed him of their intention to enquire into "the authenticity of the powers he claimed from the Sultan" and Kudin expressed "his willingness to accompany the expedition." It was

obviously in his interest to reappear at the royal capital in the company of two senior British officials supported by a warship. He would be able to observe and perhaps influence the course of the discussions. In view of Irving's declared purpose of arranging a confrontation between Kudin and the Sultan one wonders whether the meeting at sea was the fortuitous event which it is made to appear. As will be seen later in connection with Irving's visit to Klang in 1872. Kudin was able on occasion to induce the complacent Irving to cooperate in a carefully staged presentation of Kudin's plans as an initiative by Irving. The joint visit to Kuala Langat in July 1871 may have been another such case - though there is no evidence on the point. This surmise is consistent with another clear indication that, on this occasion too, Kudin was concerned to present his position in a favourable light. Irving says that in agreeing to come with them to Kuala Langat Kudin persuaded them that he should take with him two Malay leaders from Kuala Selangor "with a view of showing the Sultan (as I understood) that he was not without influential adherents among the Salangore people."

When the party reached Kuala Langat the "Teazer" trained its guns on the town to cover their landing. In view of the recent clash at Kuala Selangor, in which there had been British casualties, it was perhaps a reasonable precaution. Yet it made the outcome of the discussions with the Sultan very suspect, since he was negotiating under duress. To condense the sequence of exchanges, Birch, determined to achieve a clear-cut result congenial to his autocratic temperament, may well have exceeded his instructions from Anson. 102 Instead of enquiring what were the Sultan's intentions in issuing his letter of 1868 to Kudin. Birch demanded that the Sultan should now concede full powers to Kudin. The Sultan responded with a proposal - "a very curious and suggestive

document", said Irving - that Kudin should share such powers with the Sultan's nephew, Raja Bot and his brothers. Raja Bot, son and successor of Raja Jumaat of Lukut, was the nearest approach to a neutral to be found

among the Selangor Rajas. Obviously the Sultan was trying to restore the original arrangement of 1868, which Irving himself understood required that his commissioner(s) should "not support one side against another". 103 Kudin was too much embroiled in fighting Mahdi to rank as an impartial arbitrator if he continued to act alone.

There was discussion of the letter of 1868 concerned mainly with its authenticity. The Sultan readily confirmed that it was genuine and bore his state seal affixed with his authority. He also disowned Raia Mahdi and his supporters; they had not acted with royal authority in their resistance in the Rinaldo affair. However the Sultan's new proposal for power-sharing implied either that the letter of 1868 did not confer unrestricted powers on Kudin or that, if it did, the Sultan now wished to associate others with Kudin in the exercise of those powers.

Birch had come to Singapore only the year before, after long service in Ceylon. Whatever his impetuous disposition he relied on Irving for advice on Malay affairs and Irving clearly wished to associate Kudin in the negotiations. When the Sultan handed over his letter, Birch, without pausing to consider and discuss it, handed it over to Kudin "and asked him to take it away and consider it at his leisure." As the letter was addressed to Birch this was hardly courteous but Birch was insensitive on such points. Kudin in due course demurred at the Sultan's proposal. He said that he himself would bear the responsibility but he would be required to share with others the decisions, on what action to take. In the end it was agreed that, instead of any new delegation of powers, the Sultan should merely re-seal his letter of 1868 to confirm its grant of authority – undefined – to Kudin.

At this point the Sultan tried to sidestep the issue by his familiar ploy of using his smaller privy seal on a state document to east doubt on it. 100 On this occasion however it did not work. "I happen to have had a conversation about the seals only the day before", said Irving in his report. Although Irving does not say so the conversation can only have been with Kudin. Objection was raised by Irving, and Birch "suggested" to the Sultan that to avoid "misunderstandings" he should re-seal the letter with the larger state seal. This was done.

After the sealing Kudin "raised the question of what his title was" — which sufficiently indicates that the Malay text was not explicit enough. Irving continues, "The Sultan was for postponing the question for future consideration; but Mr. Birch pointed out the inconvenience that would result if the Tunku had no distinctive title by which the English government could address him, and I was appealed to make a suggestion. I could have wished that Tunku Dia Odin had raised the question before, so that it might have been properly considered. As it was the only title that occurred to me as being safe to propose, as not involving troublesome territorial and constitutional questions, was that of "Wakit Yam Tuan", or Sultan's Viceroy. The idea was received with general acclamation."

This episode appears to be the origin of Kudin's title of Viceroy, with all its implications, which British officials thereafter applied to Kudin. If Irving really believed that it movied on "troublesome territorial and constitutional questions" he was very naive. He mentions that Kudin did not discuss the matter with him afterwards. Kudin was no doubt content to leave well alone. The title of Viceroy was a British creation. ¹²⁰

There was a risk that when British pressure was relaxed the Sultan, under the persuasion of Kudin's opponents, might find the means of casting doubt on what he had just done. To counter this possibility it was arranged that Kudin should go up the coast to Sungei Buloh and Kuala Selangor to amounce that his authority had been renewed. At each place he landed with a naval party, assembled a gathering of local headmen and displayed the letter with the Sultan's seal. We

One may doubt whether this affair made much impression on Malay opinion in Selangor. However it had considerable effect elsewhere. In the eyes of the Straits traders Kudin had been given official British recognition and

support. They were encouraged to give him credit and to send him supplies on the steamer "Felgraph", which had been placed at his disposal. Anson and his officials were so much preoccupied with criticism in London of the rashness which had led to the Rinaldo incident that the impropriety of foisting a Viceroy on to a reluctant Sultan Abdul Samad was lost from view – for the time being at all events. That aspect was to re-surface in 1873 when Kudin's whole position in Selangor secued likely to crumble. ¹⁸⁷

Before passing on other matters it is worth citing the impressions of Bloomfield, the commander of H.M.S. "Teazer", who was in close company with Kudin for several days. He wrote that "The Tunku has European tastes and professes to be desirous of taking the Maharajah of Johore as his model, and no doubt is sincere, but his natural good-natured indolence will probably, without firm advice and assistance, allow matters to relapse into their original condition... and a few years might see his own displacement by one of the envious Rajas, sons or relatives of the Sultan. "On Kudin's habit of using other people, notably Syed Zin who was with him throughout the voyage, to get things done did not escape the cool observation of the watchful British naval officer.

From this time on Kudin was a figure of some consequence in the Malay states generally. In 1871 he was in correspondence about the Perak-Selangor boundary and he became marginally involved in the Perak succession dispute. In August 1873 he is found attending a conference of Perak chiefs at Penang convened by Artson – but he may have been in Penang on his own business. ¹⁸⁹ When his opponents began to ship in supplies up the Linggi river Kudin entered into negotiations with the chiefs of Sungei Ujong and Rembau. ¹⁸⁰ Of more consequence to Kudin's position in Selangor was the support of Bendahara Ahmad of Pahang and the incidental hostility of Maharajah Abu Bakar of Johor to any ally of Ahmad. ¹¹¹ We will come to that later since it did not bear fruit until mid-1872.

Although he had growing financial problems Kudin's fortunes continued to prosper until mid-1872. He had some success in developing the Klang valley and British officials came to regard him as a congenial and useful ally in their efforts to preserve stability by indirect means - since the Colonial Office would not countenance direct intervention. Most of them liked him. When Brackenbury, Clarke's aide-de-camp, met Kudin in February 1874 he said "I was much taken with him after my first introduction."112 Swettenham. who took a much more detached view of Kudin, paid tribute later on to "his many good qualities and his implicit trust in and obedience to this government."13 Anson said that he was a more enlightened prince than any in Selangor."114 Irving said of him that "he appears to me to have European ideas about his government."115 I have emphasized what seem to me the key words in the unspoken assumptions of British officials about Kudin. They needed and he supplied - a willing cooperation in attempting to achieve the objectives which they had set themselves. Swettenham's "obedience" is not to be taken to indicate total subservience. Kudin could hold out against a strong-minded

governor such as Ord. But he could do it in such a way that Ord still felt that Kudin shared his general views. 116

Since they were backing Kudin at this stage the British officials wished to see him succeed. Irving, who was a financial administrator by training, could see even in July 1871, that Kudin was drifting into difficulties over money." I also advised him to endeavour to get a clear insight into the state of his finances, to draw up a statement of his outstanding liabilities and frame a rough estimate of his revenue and expenditure, and said that, either privately or officially. I should be very happy to give him any advice or information that might suggest itself to me." 13 Ord returned from a year's leave in March 1872 and resumed his governorship. He agreed that Irving, ever eager to be of service, should visit Klang again to review the situation there.

The incidental bonus of Irving's trip is that we have a vivid and detailed account of Klang under Kudin written by Ibrahim Munshi whom Irving, for all his vaunted proficiency in Malay, took with him to act as interpreter. Ill brahim, an official of the government of Johor, had absorbed some of the same European ideas and values as his master. the Maharja, But essentially we see Kudin and his regime through the observant and often critical eye of a conventional, rather prim, Malay official.

Syed Zin had become more indispensable than ever, both as an adviser and as an executive aide. At the time of the visit Zin had just brought in some reinforcements for the garrison, 18 sepoys and 30 Malays, pressumably from Singapore or Melaka. There was a report that a local Malay headman had defected to Madnić; Zin would arrange for the seizure of this rice stocks. If the British visitor was upset by "the harsh and callous treatment of prisoners" Zin would explain and put it right. There were other Malays working for Kudin sa "Secretariat". Birch who visited Klang in April 1874 found them "intelligent and marn young fellows" and took a group photograph. 19

Kudin's place of work was European in style - "made of attap thatch and contained a square table with pen, ink, writing materials on it. Around the table were four or five chairs, and by the walls a number of wooden benches."120 Irving was soon on to his favourite subject. Kudin's finances, about which the latter was distinctly vague. But Zin came to the rescue by producing a ledger in which had been entered the revenues obtained from an import duty on opium and an export duty on tin. Although Ibrahim did not know it, there was another Malay historian at work on these figures. The young Amin was now an apprentice clerk working for one of Kudin's Malay supporters, Raja Abdul Rahman, who had charge of the collection of customs duties and the issue of passes to vessels entering and leaving the port. In this way Amin, learnt to read and write, taught by his master, and he prepared the receipts and the passes. 121 In addition to financial records, Syed Zin was also able to produce a town plan of Klang from which Ibrahim noted with disgust that all the streets had been given English names - obviously borrowed from Georgetown, Penang - "Beach Street", "Chulia Street" etc.

As Kudin lived next door to his office it was clean and tidy. Elsewhere

Ibrahim saw the office of Raja Ismail in a stone building in the town. It too had writing tables and chairs but everything was "in a filthy and chaotic state."

The fort was the heart of Kudin's government. At the time of this visit them as repair work in progress since the fort had become dilapidated. Within the fort men were at work excavating a pit in which to make an underground gunpowder store lined with stone walls. "Nearby was a flagstaff from which flew a flag chequered red and white with one white star at the top inner corner. This was the standard of the ruler of Selangor." ¹²² Ibrahim noted that "all round the interior of the fort were many attap houses in rows, long sheds for the sepoys and their superiors, an armory and an animunition store."

On their first arrival "the fort on the hill fired a number of rounds in salute". Sped Zin and two or three European officers of the mercenary force received Iroing when he landed. A sepoy guard of honour presented arms but "it was done raggedly, because they were still raw and inexperienced." The place had the air of a military encampment. Men were coming in from the Straits Settlements and detachment were being sent off to outstain. The mercenaries made a poor impression. The officers were "drifters who had failed to get work in Singapore." "I However de Fontaine was a resplendent figure — "he were a sword and a jacket with gold thread. He was quite handsome, young, not yet bearded, but with a moustache." I Prahim adds that the officers were "all terrified of Tengku Khii dudin and Syed Zin."

"The sepoys were composed of Southern Indians, Bengalis, peranakan, and Malays ... some were thin and sickly, and they came in all shapes and sizes... they were all shabby and dirty, some wore trousers, some sarongs; some wore jackets, others did not." Syed Zin explained that uniforms were being made but had not yet been received. 19

Ibrahim also noted Kudin's charm – "courteously and with a pleasant smile the Tengku invited us to sid down." We are also told of his characteristic deviousness. By now Raja Musa and Raja Yakob, the Sultan's sons, were back at Kuala Selangor and Kudin wished to get rid of them. He asked Irving, who was going on to see the Sultan, to urge him to recall them adding – "but don't disclose that these are my words. Let it appear to the Yam Tuan that they are your own view." Irving readily agreed but as he was about to depart Kudin reminded him about it. "you are nevertheless better able to put the matter to the Yam Tuan, so that it will not be apparent that it it is my idea."

Above all else Ihrahimi was shocked and repelled by some of Kudin's personal habits. "At the rear of the house I saw tied up a large dog of an English breed, with light brown fur, and on the verandah of the house there was another English dog, chained to the table-leg... huge in size, with a jet black coat... Syed Zain immediately unchained the dogs which then rushed to greet Tengku Khia'uddin, licking and snuffing him... My face revealed signs of unease because I feared being licked by these unclean beasts." Me when the party returned from a walk round the town "exhausted and thirsty from walking in the intense heat" Kudin offered sherry and eigars to Irving and the others. Ibrahim declined and was given rose syrup instead. At an earlier stage

Kudin had served us each "a cup of tea with milk, biscuits and cheroots."

In some places in his narrative lbrahim mentions the presence at their discussions of Tunku Yakob of Kedah, Kudin's younger brother, but without making any comment on him or indicating that he took any part in the conversation. ¹²⁹ It is reasonable to assume that the Sultan of Kedah had sent Yakob either to confer with Kudin or to report on a situation which was causing him concern. Ibrahim also mentions that there were only "a small number of Kedah people" at Klang – confirmation that by this time Kudin had only a small remnant of his original Kedah contingent though some may have been away with Pennerdaher at Rulan Scalagnor.

It was probably just before Irving's visit that Kudin had entertained another visitor from Singapore. This was James Guthrie Davidson who was going up the Klang river in search of evidence which he hoped to find at Kuala Lumpur to use in the defence of a Chinese client in Singapore. Davidson brought with him a young friend, Frank Swettenham, on local leave from his civil service duties. [28] We do not know what they discussed with Kudin. But Davidson was a wealthy businessman, as well as a successful lawyer, connected with the Singapore merchant firm of Guthrie & Co - his mother was the sister of James Guthrie, second of the dynasty. Whether by accident or design Davidson had the opportunity during his visit of observing Kudin's regime at Klang and Yap Ah Loy's mines around Kuala Lumpur. Guthrie's had been supplying cannon and other munitions to Kudin. Kudin's connection with Davidson was thereafter an important factor in his situation. By the end of the war he owed Davidson \$78,4000, second only among his creditors to Lim Tek Hee of Malacca whose debt was \$105,118. Moreover Davidson had obtained from Kudin a vast mining concession in Selangor with momentous consequences for Colonial Office policy as will be related later. 129

The good fortune which had attended Kudin for the past two years, since the capture of Klang, now deserted him. Raja Mahdi, driven out of Klang in 1870 and of Kuala Selangor in 1871, made his long-awaited counter-attack and cruelly exposed the inherent weakness of Kudin's position. Early in 1872 Mahdi was gathering munitions at Bengkalis on the east coast of Sumatra. In April the indefatigable Syed Zin slipped across the Straits and returned with the news that Mahdi now had three barges loaded with guns, muskets and ammunition.130 At Kudin's request Ord wrote to the Dutch who impounded Mahdi's military stores. Mahdi, with his usual quick reaction to a threat to his own safety, escaped to Johor. By mid 1872 he was back in Selangor and the scene was set for the final round of the struggle. 131 Even in April 1872 Kudin had concluded that "things did not seem to be going well" and it was decided that envoys should be sent to Pahang to invite the Bendahara to send troops to strengthen Kudin's forces against the impending attack. Kudin himself went to Singapore to see Ord and his enemies spread rumours in Selangor that Kudin was "out of favour with the government and even under detention."132 The reality was quite otherwise; Ord and Kudin went off to Pekan to see the

Bendahra. The Pahang troops crossed the main range to Selangor in August 1872 – but not in time to save Kuala Lumpur, which was under attack both from the north and from the south, owing to the defection of the Sumatran leaders, headed by Raja Asal, in Ulu Langat. Kuala Lumpur fell and Yap Ah Loy fled through the jungle to appear before Kudin at Klang "wearing only a piece of underwear of Siamese make." ¹³³ Kudin, imperturbable in a moment of crisis, "tried to calm him, and said that he would send him to Kedah with a headman's position if he thought no more of taking revenge on the enemy in Kuala Lumpur. ¹³⁴ However Yap Ah Loy too was a man of resolution. He quickly recovered his composure and was back in the field within a month. For both men the recovery of Kuala Lumpur was the only means of restoring their fortunes in the war.

However the tale of disaster was not yet finished. Soon after the fall of Kuala Lumpur treachery at Kuala Selangor enabled Syed Mashhor to take the fort and kill Pennefather and his garrison of 50 men.

Kudin's enemies and their supporters now controlled almost the whole of Selangor except his main has as a Klang. Ulu Selangor had always been their strongpoint. They could bring in supplies both through the Langat valley and via Kuala Selangor. Over-confidence and blind hate led them to devastate Kuala Lumpur and its surrounding mines rather than take it over as a centre of production. It was hardly necessary for Mahdi to intimidate the Sultan and his entourage at Kuala Langat. Sultan Abdul Samad's object was as always to survive but the men around him were in sympathy with Mahdi against the detested interloper Kudin. The chiefs of Bernam and Luku were passive observers of the struggle, but the chief of Bernam was in sympathy with Mahdi. The only bright spot was the small enclave in the foothils controlled by the Pahang levies, formidable fighters but impeded, by difficulties of supply and communication, from making a rapid advance.

Exagerated reports of Kudin's reverses reached the Straits Settlements and caused panic among his creditions. "fills credit was for the most part exhausted, those who had lent were clamouring for the payment of monies which they hardly hoped to recover." "May Years later Irving wrote that a "wave of murder and destruction once more swept the whole place up to the walls of Pancallan Batu" (this was the traditional name of the town town of Klang derived from its stone jetty). Me In fact there is no evidence that Kudin's opponents were able to get beyond Petaling nor was there an immediate prospect of the fall of Klang, yet with his credit cut off and no further supplies of tin coming down the valley to Klang, Kudin's position was desperate. The Straits Settlements government decided to review its policy towards Selanger.

The precipitate action of J.W.W. Birch in July 1871 had committed the government to backing Kudin as the best means of stabilising Selangor. Ord, who had been on leave at the time, had stood by Kudin on his return (in March 1872) but he was beginning to have his doubts. He came to see Kudin at the end of October 1872 and put to him "the apparently precarious nature of his position" in which he had only "the nominal support of the Sultan". The

interview is an interesting demonstration of Kudin's better qualities—resolution, tact and clear-thinking. He did not seek to rebut Ord's points but conceded that "his last chance" was the possibility that his Pahang allies would turn the tide in his favour. If that did not happen he would give up and return to Kedah." Years afterwards he told Irving that he was impelled to go on by "the feeling of shame at the idea of abandoning the task to which he had pledged himself." ³³

The tide did turn, as Kudin had predicted. Bendahara (later Sultan) Ahmad of Pahang was the most talented Malay field commander of his age—an organiser as well as a tactician. In winning the Pahang Civil War (1857-1863) he had fashioned an effective military force from raw peasant levies. The parallel with Cromwell's Ironsides comes to mind. Hence the Pahang troops sent into Selangor in 1872 were good fighters led by experienced captains—Imam Perang Rasu, the Orang Kaya of Chenor and Haji Mohamed Nor. In March 1873 the Pahang forces recaptured the ruins of Kuala Lumpur. In November 1873 a Pahang force sent round by sea retook Kuala Selangor, Raja Mahdi's last stronghold in Selangor.

While his military fortunes were on the mend Kudin granted to Davidson and an associate, by a concession dated 8th March 1873, exclusive mining rights over a large part of Selangor. He may have been too preoccupied with fighting the war to give it much thought - or to consult the Sultan over it. It is doubtful if he understood the significance of the concession and of the letter which he was later asked to sign in connection with it. In 1874 he told Swettenham that "he had put his signature to a document of the contents of which he was not at all aware... it had been imperfectly translated to him. "139 Davidson's purpose in obtaining the concession was to assign it to a public company to be floated on the London market. The negotiations in London were entrusted to Seymour Clarke who approached the Colonial Office in November 1873 with a view to securing, if he could, official backing for the flotation. The Colonial Office pointed out that the concession did not seem to have been granted by or with the authority of the ruler of Selangor. This evidently caused consternation. Seymour Clarke later told the Colonial Office that Davidson had gone off to obtain the Sultan's ratification. 140

The element which caused most concern at the Colonial Office was a letter dated 3rd June 1873 in which Kudin had raised the question whether "the English, or any other government, would interfere in any disturbance that might arise in the territory of Salangore from wicked persons..." An eminent modern historian has described the letter as "an ultimatum, hinting that if the British Government did not act, then the promoters of the Selangor Tin Mining Company would see to it that some other power would be invited to do so." He goes on to draw the conclusion at the "letter was the factor which precipitated a change of policy" i.e. the authority given to Clarke to explore the possibility of stationing a Resident in each of the western Malay states." In spite of its political impact the concession came to nothing. The Colonial Office declined the promoters' invitation to give official sponsorship to the

flotation. Later Clarke insisted that the rights given under the concession must be non-exclusive – and that decision effectually killed the project.¹⁴²

While Kudin was winning his battle in Selangor there was a change of regime and of policy in Singapore. Clarke succeeded Ord as governor with authority to take a more active line, which resulted in the Anglo-Perak Pangkor Engagement of January 1874. Clarke then turned his attention to Selangor. On 16th November 1873 a Malacea trading vessel had been attacked near the Jugra river, where the Sultan lived, and all its passengers and crew except one survivor had been massacred. The survivor had been tiredinified nine men from Langat as the pirates and they had been arrested while visiting Melaka. Clarke decided to make a display of naval force at Kuala Langat as a means of inducing the Sultan to punish the pirates and their patrons – the Sultan's son Raja Yakob was suspected of complicity. At the same time an effort must be made to resolve the uncertainty over the regime in Selangor, there should be no peace or stability without effective coverments.

It is unnecessary to pursue the well-known story of the negotiations at Langat in February 1874 through every stage. Clarke's senior adviser was Braddell, who was very knowledgeable and inclined to reflect the views of the Maharaja of Johor, who was no friend of Kudin. Neither Birch nor Irving was in Clarke's party and their decision to impose Kudin on the Sultan as Viceroy in July 1871 was in Braddell's view "not free from objection." Me Moreover the desperate struggle of 1872-73, from which Kudin had emerged victorious only with the aid of the Pahang invaders, had cast doubt on his authority and influence in Selangor. However he was likely to be "a strong ally against the pirates". It was therefore decided to invite Kudin and Davidson to come to Langat. But Kudin did not – as in July 1871 – travel with the official party and their naval escort. He arrived in the small steamer "Luzon" and was kept out of the discussions "till it was ascertained what his real position in the country was, a matter not quite free from obscurity."

After hearing bitter complaints against Kudin from the Sultan's son, Raja Yakob, Clarke enquired of the Sultan "if there was any ill-feeling on his part against Tuanku Kudin... to require that his authority as Viceroy should be cancelled." No one can know what passed through the Sultan's mind as he prepared to answer the question. It was not a case in which he could resort to his favourite device of giving his nominal support to everyone. If he disowned Kudin the British would probably withdraw their recognition also and Kudin must perforce depart from Selangor, where he had few friends and many enemies. Kudin's departure would encourage Mahdi to reassert his lain to Klang. Once back at Klang, Mahdi would dominate Selangor though he might well quarrel with his supporters over the division of the spoils. His mere presence would cause difficulty in the Sultan's relations with the British, and might lead to further fighting against the Pahang forces, which were still occupying Ulu Selangor in strength. Kudin was the lesser evil. The Sultan therefore dismissed the evidence of their estrangement by saying that "the Tuanku had not for two years past, brought his wife, the Sultan's daughter, to

see him; but that, excepting this, he had no complaint, and was very well disposed to the Tuanku." The Sultan then said that he would be "delighted" to see Kudin and "his sons and Chiefs expressed their willingness" (a significant change of tone) to see him. In the presence of the ruler his subjects could not dissent from his views without breach of etiquette.

Clarke sent his ADC, Brackenbury, off to H.M.S. "Midge" to which Kudin had been transferred from the "Luzon". Brackenbury relates that "Captain Grant told me that the Tunku had been far from easy in his mind all morning and he saw that there was something in the wind at once on seeing us. "Tunku," said Captain Grant, "the Governor wants you to come off and see him and the Sultan." "Where? on board his ship or on shore?" "On shore." said Captain Grant. "Very well," said friend Tunku after a moment's hesitation, "then let me take the revolver." However Grand did the civis Romanus sum business, and assured him that he would take him off and bring back again in safety."145 It was one of the rare occasions when Kudin showed signs of strain. Even in this moment of crisis however he was able to exert his charm - "I was much taken with him", added Brackenbury.

The Sultan also was under strain. While the party in the balai awaited Kudin's arrival "it was observed that the Sultan became excited and was unable to sit quietly. He got up just as the Tuanku appeared, and went behind the curtain leading into the inner apartments and there beckoning to the Tuanku with every appearance of delight, took him inside where the ladies were and in a little time brought him back to the audience looking very much pleased." Whether by design or not the Sultan thus obtained the opportunity of a short discussion with Kudin in private before resuming his dialogue with Clarke. The general result for Kudin was a renewed confirmation of his position. 146

Next came the famous or infamous trial of the pirates, over which Kudin presided with two Malay chiefs and a Chinese headsman as members of the court, and Davidson and Mcnair as advisers. Eight men were charged and convicted and all but one were executed in the Malay fashion by order of the court. Davidson, a much respected lawyer whose Singapore practice had given him wide experience of Malay and Chinese clients and witnesses, in fact conducted the trial. 147 Although it was a fair and careful trial, years later Swettenham asserted publicly for the first time that it had been a miscarriage of justice since, owing to a mistake of identification or perjury on the part of the one survivor of the crew of the Melaka vessel, eight innocent men were convicted and the real offenders escaped.148 There is nothing to suggest that Kudin was aware of the truth at the time of the trial. A man who felt it necessary to take a revolver with him on going ashore at Kuala Langat is unlikely to have had much personal contact with local Malay society.

For the next two years from February 1874 until March 1876 Kudin lived and worked in Selangor, mainly at Klang, in joint efforts with Davidson and Swettenham to maintain the peace and restore the economy of the state. Both proved to be difficult tasks which took a long time to complete. Davidson did

not become British Resident until January 1875 but he was at Klang at the time of J.W.W. Birch's visit in April 1874 and there are several references to him in Swettenham's Selangor journals covering the latter part of 1874.16 Clarke was awaiting approval from the Colonial Office of the arrangements which he had reported (for Perka and Selangor) and then had to nominate the new Residents. The Colonial Office was very reluctant to approve Davidson as Resident in Selangor since he had substantial business interests and was a major creditor of Kudin, or of the new government of Selangor, in respect of advances made during the war. For the same reason Davidson was prepared to devote a lot of his time to Selangor before taking up his new position.

There is very little information of Kudin's activities during this period. That fact of itself is informative since it suggests that Kudin was already beginning to fade into the background. It is clear that Davidson made a conscientious attempt to work closely with Kudin. Indeed in 1874 Davidson had no official status and could only act as adviser and aide to Kudin as Viceroy. However towards the end of 1874 there was a "serious misunderstanding" between them which prompted Davidson to write to Kudin (from Singapore) "to tell him that he will have nothing further to do with him" Inevitably it was the indispensable Syed Zin who was dispatched to restore the peace; the dispute was probably over financial matters. When Davidson was appointed Resident he took Kudin with him to Kuala Langat to call on the Sultan. ¹⁹⁰

During the civil war Kudin and his family had occupied a house within the walls of the Fort - 'a large attap house with plank walls' according to Ibrahim. In the more peaceful times after the war he lived in a substantial house in the town (the exact whereabouts are not givern). When, in 1878, Kudin planned to return to Kedah for good. Bloomfield Douglas marked the house as suitable for his daughter and son-in-law (Dan and Harriet Daly). One may assume therefore that it was spacious and well-built by the standards of the time. Isabella Bird said that in 1879 the whole of Klang was shabby and had 'seen better days. ⁵¹⁴

The return of peaceful times in Sclangor did not alter Kudin's habits. Throughout the war he had preferred to remain at the centre of things – when not out of Sclangor altogether – rather than visit the outposts. In the period of post-war rehabilitation however the task required that those in authority should be out and about dealing with local problems. Kudin's characteristic passivity – what Bloomfield had called his "natural good-natured indolence" – keep him out of the mainstream of activity. When Swettenham first took up his post as British representative at Kuala Langat in August 1874 he found it useful to draw on Kudin's wide knowledge of local affairs –" 11g oth is opinion on every subject of interest I could think of" and "was very glad of this opportunity."

However this need of information decreased as Swettenham became familiar with the complex intrigues and relationships in Selangor and travelled around the state to see the situation for himself. To judge from various entries in his Journal both he and Davidson found it more useful to approach the Sultan if they needed orders given to Malay notables. Again one must infer that Kudin, the Kedah interloper, was becoming isolated and lacked influence.

This sense of losing touch and having no role to play must have been galling to Kudin who had been at the centre of crisis and activity for so long. The clearest expression of the problem appears in a conversation between Swettenham also and a single mail, who was in much the same position as Kudin since Ismail was regarded as a Riua Raja not an indigenous product. There had been a dispute over the allowances paid to Raja Ismail and his brothers as heirs of Raja Abdullah, the former chief of Klang. Ismail conceded that in a time of financial stringency he would have to be content with his present salary but "he said that he would like to do something, as if a man had no work he must in time lose the little intellect he possessed." Swettenham wrote later that "since the advent of a Resident, Tunku Kudin's position has become a very curious one, indeed it was that before, but English protection has certainly complicated it." I living too reported that Kudin had "a sore feeling that having borne the burden and heat of the day he is being got rid of now he is no longer wanted in 18781."

There was some alarms in Selangor, mainly arising from the fear that Raja Mahdi, in exile in Singapore and Johor, would strike again. A second piracy at Kuala Labu in mid-1874 led to the appointment of Swettenham to keep watch at the royal court at Kuala Langat; trouble in Sungei Ujong in November 1874 owed much to the intervention of Raja Mahmud, Mahdi's lieutenant during the civil war. Finally in October 1875 there was a short-lived rising in Ulu Langai ted by Sutan Puasa, one of the local Sumatran leaders who had defected to Mahdi in 1872 with Raja Asal. May Kudin was only marginally involved in these episodes. It is perhaps significant that in the first of them he took a small but active part; in the two later affairs he remained at Klang.

Kudin's most pressing problem during these two years (1874-75) was money. Yap Ah Loy was finding it difficult to restore production in the tinmines around Kuala Lumpur since by ill-chance the world price of in had fallen abysmally low. 156 Nonetheless the revenues of Klang amounted to perhaps \$10,000 per month - about half what they had been a few years before. But Kudin's creditors were pressing him hard to pay off his debts and charging him 18% interest meanwhile. 157 He had to keep the local administration going and pay allowances to associates such as Raja Ismail. Swettenham, who had inspected and reorganised Kudin's accounts, says that he took only the minimum for himself and did all he could to discharge his debts. Irving, who was Resident Councillor at Melaka at various times, said that Kudin had an enviable reputation there as a man who stood by his bargains. 158 When Davidson took control of state revenues in 1875 Kudin was given a fixed allowance of \$1,000 per month, of which \$700 represented the revenues of Klang which he had surrendered. 159 The day to day administration of revenue and expenditure at Klang had been in the hands of a European

called Denholm. He got the books into a muddle and later in his career in Selangor was dismissed for corruption. Late in 1874 Swettenban spent some time going through the records and trying to establish a better system of financial control. ⁵⁰ This was part of an arrangement by which Baba Tek Ee, the largest creditor, was to act as financial administrator. The total war debts taken over by the Selangor government were of the order of \$3 - \$400,000. ⁵⁰ There was disagreement as to how far, if at all, the state government should refund to Kudin the amount which he claimed to have expended from his own fortune in fighting the war. In the end he was issued with \$30,000 in Selangor government bonds so that he should be repaid to that extent along with other creditors who had advanced money during the war. ¹⁶²

In April 1876 Davidson was replaced as Resident of Selangor by Bloomfield Douglas, a brusque, autocratic, rather insensitive man. Years later in 1882, when Douglas had been forced to resign, Kudin was asked to comment on the charge that Douglas had ousted him from all real participation in the Selangor government. Kudin replied with restraint that "the Resident conducted business with the Sultan direct, consequently Tunku dia Udin's occupation as viceroy of Selangor was gone... He had no complaint against Mr. Douglas. He still considered him his friend." He added that Douglas although without malice had sometimes been "a little uncivil" to him. ¹⁶⁰

It is clear from the personal diazy of Bloomfield Douglas that he began with the intention of working in harness with Kudin—"the real government must be the Sultan or his Viceroy and the Resident." He wrote to him in Kedah on Selangor business when Kudin was away. But in time Kudin's growing indifference to Selangor prompted the comment "The Tunku's only idea is to get as much out of the government as possible, he has ceased to have any interest in the country and his presence here is no advantage."

In Singapore Kudin was still regarded as a man of consequence in Selangor. Jerovis tested his reactions to a scheme for the outright annexation of Perak and Selangor. Douglas made the cynical comment that "the Tunku is favourable to it as he doubtless believes that he would do better under such a form of government than in his present uncertain position." Me Kudin became President of the Selangor State Council when it was formed in 1877. But Douglas lacked the sympathetic insight which made the Perak State Council so successful and "a wonderful safety valve" under the guidance of Hugh Low 167 The Selangor State Council did not flourish and Kudin was often absent from its meetings. Indeed Kudin was now much more often in Kedah than Selangor. During the last 27 months of his tenure as Viceroy (April 1876 – July 1878) he was absent from Selangor for a total of 1812 months. 164

He was also ill at ease in the royal circle at Kuala Langat and did not offer go there. It was true that he could now pay a visit without the protection of an armed following. 189 But his marriage to Raja Arfah had virtually broken down and this fact alienated him from his father-in-law, the Sultan. The relationship between Kudin and his vife fell under the observant eye of Emily Innes, who came to live at Kuala Langat in mid-1876 as the wife of the

Collector. Raja Arfah "was a tolerably good-looking woman," wrote Emily Innes, "... and was dressed rather like one of Raffaele' Madonan's, with a gauze veil of merald or 'arsenic' green, covered with gold spangles, falling half over her forehead; to complete the likeness, she had a small child in her arms... she kept her eyes down, and looked the picture of modesty and gentleness during this interview; but she was reputed to have the temper of a tigress." The mily goes on to illustrate that reputation by telling stories of maltreatment of domestics and messengers."

Raja Arfah was a conventional Malay lady of her time. Emily Innes came to "respect and admire" her as "a stronger character than that of either her husband or her father." Yet she was by the circumstances of her upbringing utterly alienated from her husband's world. She "hated the English, very naturally with all her heart; for she said it was they who had taught her husband to forsake the ways of her ancestors... she having lived shut up and veiled in a Malay house all her life, was thoroughly Malay in her ways and customs; her ideas, which were the narrowest of the narrow, revolted against his which, truth to tell, were not in all respects improved by contact with Europeans."172 Emily adds that Kudin would have liked to end a stormy relationship by a divorce but, as Raja Arfah was the Sultan's daughter, he dared not. Kudin told Bloomfield Douglas that he had tried to draw his wife out of the backwater of Kuala Langat by taking her on a visit to Kedah after their marriage but the Sultan would not agree. Later on she did make the experiment of living in Kedah but was not a success and she returned to Kuala Langat when Kudin relinquished his position as Viceroy in 1878. In the meantime Raja Arfah lived with Kudin in the house provided for him at Klang but she kept her own company and would not mix socially with the European wives. 173

Kudin's habit of drinking brandy shocked Raja Arfah who had been brought up as a strict Muslim. Everything about his lifestyle was alien. She even raged against his "mouthful of white teeth 'like a dog,' instead of filing and blackening them according to good old Malay custom." The from another source we have a list of Kudin's supplies from Singapore – a meerschaum pipe, tobacco, two boxes of havana cigars, toothbrushes and toothpaste, a gold cycglass, a dozen collars, six flannel shirts, a length of tweed, a bottle of port wine, corksertw, a microscope and a cheese."

He was more at home with his European colleagues. Both Swettenham and Douglas have numerous references in their respective journals to dining with Kudin. When he returned from a long absence in Kedah in October 1876 he came to Kuala Langat, where he had deposited Raja Arfah to stay with her relations. Domestic arrangements at the Sultan's istana were rather old-fashioned even by traditional Malay standards and so it occurred to Douglas to suggest that Kudin should stay at the Collector's bungalow as the guest of that nice Mrs. Innes – Douglas and Emily were still on the best of terms at this stage. ¹⁷⁸ It was a disaster.

Emily's vivid if embittered account of Kudin's stay with her is worth

quoting as vintage Emily Innes. It also serves to illustrate how much Kudin. despite his European habits, was a man of two worlds hardly at ease in either. 177 He came to stay in a European household but "the Tunku expected, when visiting us, to be treated as he would have been treated by a Malay Raja." He arrived on Emily's doorstep with no less than 43 followers. It was a stately procession - "Tunku Dia Udin, the Viceroy of Sela 1gor, after putting down one foot, used to remain poised on it for many seconds while he slowly swung the other, together with the second half of his body, round in front of it. His twenty or thirty followers, who walked en queue behind him according to their rank, all imitated this strut more or less in their degree." Emily nonetheless found Kudin "goodlooking" and "very pleasant when he chose," adding "he did not always choose." The Innes did not object to Kudin's taste for alcoholic refreshment; James Innes himself also liked a drop or two. 180 The trouble began at dinner. Emily, a good housekeeper, soon discerned a disastrous decline in performance among her domestic staff - "dirty knives and forks, smeared glasses, and half-wiped plates." A rapid reconnaissance below stairs revealed to her that Kudin's men had evicted her faithful Tain from his kitchen, without a word to her, and had taken over the catering. She did not wish to offend Kudin and so she compromised by insisting that her staff should wait on her even though Kudin's followers continued to attend on him. 181 By enquiry afterwards Emily discovered that "it was his invariable rule to have all his food cooked for him by his own cook, and tasted for him by his own taster before he ate it; this was for fear of poison." These precautions may well have been due to Kudin's apprehension of the hostility towards him which was widespread in Sclangor - especially at Kuala Langat.

So they struggled on for a couple of days. Emily became increasingly exasperated with Kudin's followers — "not one of them ever did a stroke of work. Their whole occupation seemed to be to cover themselves with krises and other weapons, and lie about in the shade of the house, or swagger down to the bazara."

It must have been an uncomfortable experience for Kudin also. He never stayed with the Innes again but preferred to go to the istana. 182 When Douglas invited Kudin to dine at the Residency at Klang he noted that if the Innes also were to be there the invitation was invariably declined. 180

It was time for Kudin to leave Selangor. He opened negotiations for retirement on acceptable terms in 1877. British officials did not seek to dissuade him. However there was disagreement on the financial arrangements. It was "less a question of money than of honour and dignity," said Irving, "his present position as an applicant for money is a highly distasteful on for him"; "harson, who was acting Governor in the interregnum between Jervois and Robinson, was always hanhanded. He negotiated terms with Kudin before obtaining Colonial Office guidance. ¹⁸⁵ The Colonial Office insisted that a final resolution of the matter must await the arrival of Sir William Robinson. This decision delayed Kudin's retirement by nine months to mid 1878. It also led to a consultation between the new Governor and his Malayam experts.

which yielded some very detailed information from Swettenham, Irving and Anson about Kudin's history and circumstances since his first arrival in Sclangor in 1868. Whith reluctance Kudin eventually settled for a pension of \$500 per month for himself plus \$200 per month for Raja Arfah, to be continued after her death to her daughter by Kudin, Tunku Marhum, who later married Sultan Sulaiman. Kudin's claims on Selangor in respect of wartime expenditure were settled by the issue to him of \$30,000 in government bonds to be repaid over the next few years. ¹⁶⁷

In mid-1878 — without any significant ceremony — Kudin relinquished his position as Viceroy and returned to Kedah. His hopes of achieving power in Selangor had ended in failure. In Kedah however the prospects were more attractive. His elder brother, the Sultan, was in failing health and the Sultan's sons were still only boys. Kudin no doubt foresaw that he might become — as in fact he did for a short time — Regent and the power behind the throne. It is another chapter in his life of intrigue and finally of failure. But that is a story to be recounted on some later occasion. ¹⁸⁸

NOTES

¹ This paper is a continuation of two earlier ensays on Kedah history between 1820 and 1879, which have appeared in Vel 56(2) of JMBRAS and are cited in these notes as "JMG Kedah (1)" and "JMC Kedah (2)" repectively. The reader is referred to these earlier papers for an account six birth, updringing and career in Kedah down to 1868. The striet has been completed with installment on Kodah (1)" and the local to 1868. The striet has been completed with installment on Kodah (1)" and the local to 1869, and the life in earlier in Perang, and occasionally in Selangor, until his death in 1909, JM, Gullick, "Tunks Kodan of Kedah, "JMRAS SOG).

Selangor, until his death in 1909, JM, Gullick, "Tunks Kodan of Kedah, "JMRAS SOG).

There are several excellent accounts of the history of Selangor, the civil war (1867-1873) and the venut leading up to the imposition of British rule in 1874. R.O. Winstedt "A History of Selangor", JMBRAS-12(5), 1934, chap d "Civil War", incidentally draws on the Malay history subsequently published at Wan Mohamed Anini bin Wan Mohamed Said, Petaba 5 afforcy, insued in Java in 1973 and in Rouni in 1956 (citied below at Annia"), Annin was Dattik Annar di-Raja, Penghalul Istiadast (Court Chumberlain), at the court of Sallan Solaiman (1889-1938) with whom he had gone to shool as a boy, in Winteed 'a list of sources (p.34) Annin is listed as "Dato' Annar". The particular value of Annia's account is that he was an eye-winters of Kudin's nie ged Klang in 1870.

W. Linchan, "A History of Phane," JMRAS 14(2), 1936, Chap 8 The Selangor Was*, recount the final stages of the fighting around Kuala Lumpur in 1877-1873, in which the Phane, levies played a decice from the first that of this centary to record the Pahang, written by an unknown study in the first half of this centary to record the traditions of Sultan Ahmads count. Hikayar Pahang, cediate by Kultham Pann, Petaling Lyap, Penerbit Figar Basti, 1988.

Haji Buyong Adil, Sejarah Selangor, 1971, is a good general history, written in Malay and making full use of contemporary Malay sources (other than J.C. Pasqual's informants - see below).

S.M. Middlebrook, "Yap Ah Loy", JMBRAS 24(2), 1951, is the leading authority on the role of the Chinese in the civil war. Middlebrook used Chinese chronicles written by or

based on information supplied by leaders who had served with Yap Ah Loy, then Capitan Cina of Kuala Lumpur.

J.C. Pasqual wrote an article on the Schapper civil war for the Singapore Sunday Times of 14 Oct 1934, and another on events in Kedals, for the same newspaper, 28 Oct 1934. For a note on Pasqual in Schapper see Middletbrook, p. 126. He was later a planter in Kedah and a personal friend of Tunku Bhadur, a son of Kudin Opk his Kedah marriage and at warious times Impector General of Police (a court sinecure) and Aide-de-Camp to Sultan Abdul Hamid. Pasqual alto obtained information from Penghul Hamzah of Padang Terap and other veterants of the Malay force which served under Kudin in the siege of Klang. Pasqual admits that some of the information obtained is confused — and indeed some of it is plainly inaccurate – but parts of the Malay testimony, used in this paper, are invaluable firstshand accounts.

C.D. Cowan, Nineteenth Century Malaya – the Origins of British Control. 1961, is the leading modern academic study in this field. Khoo Kay Kim, The Malay States 1850-1873 – the Effects of Commercial Development on Malay politics, 1972, studies the links between Straits Settlements, mainly Chinese, commercial interests and events in Selangor (and also Penk and Sungei Ulong).

Many years ago the author received (and acknowledges with thanks) a note from the Sclangor Astana secretariat stating that in a letter written by Kudin to Maxwell (presumably W. E. Maxwell who was in Sclangor from 1889 to 1892) Kudin said that he married Raja Arfah on 13 June 1868.

³ Mid-June 1868 as a date for the wedding seems consistent with other known facts. Mahdi had capmed Klang in October 1867; Khoo p. 154. Into the rusting nine month fits the break between the Sultan and Mahdi over the payment of \$500 p.m. from the Klang revenues; the overtures to Kedah for a substitute bridgegoren, and the arrangements for the wedding. The marriage cannot be placed much later since it was followed, on 26 June 1868, by the Sultan's letter granting authority to Kudin.

Emily Innes, The Cheromete with the Gilding Off, Vol. 1, 1855, p. 173, for the description of Koulu's appearance. The photographs are reproduced in J.N.W. Birch, The Journals of J.W.W. Birch. - First British Resident to Peruk 1874, 1875, cel P.L. Burns, 1976, as they were taken on the occasion of Birch's visit to Klang in April 1874. Institution, who came with Irving to Klang in April 1872, commented on Kudin's courtesy and pleasant untils, as related hereafter.

* Rodin had at least three sons and a daughter by marriage(s) in Kedah: Pasqual 28 Oct 1934. Tunku Abdul Rahman Plara al-Haj, Kodin'i Sgraten-repelve, recollects that "Tunku Kudin had many concubines": Viewpoints, 1978, p. 18. One son was Tunku Bahadur (see entry or Pasqual in Note (s) above), Another was Tunku Bahadur (see entry or Pasqual in Note (s) above), Another was Tunku Eda, later headman of the Klain Intan district: EE. Birch, 'My Visit to Kliza Intan', JSBRAS 54, 1910, p. 145. The daughter was presumably Tunku Mariam, who is described as Kudin's daughter when her pennion of \$100 pm. was discussed by the Kedah State Council at its meeting in April 20 pm. as discussed by the Kedah State Council at its meeting in April 20 pm. as discussed by the Kedah State Council at its meeting in April 20 pm. as discussed by the Kedah State Council at its meeting in April 20 pm. as discussed by the Kedah State Council at its meeting in April 20 pm. as discussed to the pranching and subsisted of a State, its Subar 20 pm. as Challenge and the April 20 pm. as a state of the A

JMG Kedah (1) p. 47.

5 JMG Kedah (2) p. 114 and p. 121

⁸ by the Anglo-Perak treaty of 1826, negotiated by James Low but never ratified by the East India Company, Perak (cede) to the Straits Settlements "Pulo Diading", it the island of Dinding, However Dinding is a strip of mainland coast; there is no Dinding island. The Pangkor agreement of 1874 included a clause to remove the doubt. J. de V. Allen, AJ. Stockwell and L.R. Wright, A Collection of Treaties and other Documents affecting the States of Molaysia 1761-1963, Vol. 1, 1981, pp. 370, 377 and 391. Cowan pp. 55-56.

Pamphlet in CO 273/24. On the background to Man's project SSD 14 July 1869 and a letter of 26 April 1863 from Lord Stanley of Alderley to Lord Grenville (CO 273/35 p.

429). It seems unlikely that Man, who had served as Resident Councillor Melaka (1855-57) and then Penang (1860-67), would have applied the expression "official of rank" to a village headman. However in 1867 Haji Mohamed Akib, a Kedah Malay, applied to Man for permission to settle at Pangkor and obtained a grant of 100 orlongs. "Akib ... induced a few other people to join him but most of them went away again": E.M. Merewether. "Outline of the History of the Dindings", JSBRAS 23, 1891.

SSD 24 Feb 1874 covering a report of 18 February 1874 on the negotiations at Kuala Langat in February 1874 by Thomas Braddell, Attorney General, Straits Settlements (cited

hereafter as "Braddell"), para 51.

Mohamed Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Mohamed Arshad, Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah, 1968 (Rumi edition), p. 223 - "berulang alek-lah duli Tengku Dhiauddin ka-Pulau Pinang" (Tunku Kudin visited Penang frequently). This work is cited hereafter as "Hassan"; see JMG Kedah (2) p. 123 Note 3 on Hassan as a source on events in Kedah. 10 Amin p. 64.

11 F.A. Swettenham, "Some account of the independent native states of the Malay peninsula," JSBRAS 6, 1880, p. 96. Although updated to 1880 for publication this essay by

Swettenham appears to have been written about 1875, perhaps for official use.

Winstedt, p. 19, on the controversy of 1857. Buyong, p. 59, says that in 1864 the kinsmen of the late ruler pressed Sultan Abdul Sarnad to honour an alleged understanding that he would stand down in favour of the young heir of the late ruler; but the Sultan declined. The young son of Sultan Mohamed was Raja Mahmud, who later in life was penghulu of Semenyih under British rule. He should not be confused (P Loh Fook Seng, Theh Malay States 1877-1895 - political change and social policy, 1969, p. 20) with the more famous Raja Mahmud bin Tunku Panglima Berkat, who was an ally of Raja Mahdi and later a friend of Swettenham and of Clifford - see Note (35) below. On Jumaat see L.D. Gammans, "The state of Lukut," JMBRAS 2(3), 1924, pp.291-95 and the Selangor histories cited in Note (1) above and p. 3 above

India Office Library B.C. 2605/163367 letter dated 26 Sep 1854 and JMG Kedah (1) p.

F.A. Swettenham British Malaya - an account of the origin and progress of British influence in Malaya, 1948 ed. p. 128. But Skeat, who was district officer at Kuala Langat in 1897, says that the Sultan had categorically denied the story and explained that it related to a "keris or state dagger, called (in Sclangor) berok berayun or the "Swaying Baboon"" which had been used as an instrument of execution on 99 occasions: W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic etc., 1900, p. 40. It was Malay practice to keep a record of the number of deaths caused by a kerir as a measure of its magical potency: G.C.G. Williams, "Suggested origin of the Malay keris etc., JMBRAS, 15(3), 1937, p. 136. When the Malays convicted in the Selangor piracy trial in February 1874 were executed the keris of execution was "sent down by the Sultan during the night": enclosure 6 to SSD 24 Feb 1874 (Report of the Commissioners... in the late case of Piracy etc), para 9. One may assume that in the bad old days the Sultan was playing one of his little deceptions on Swettenham. In the 1890's, when such things were no longer laughing matters, the Sultan gave a credible explanation to Skeat.

Braddell, para 84: Winstedt, p. 29: F.A. Swetteham, Malay Sketches, 1895, p. 104. In his Selangor Annual Report for 1888, para 78, Swettenham, writing in an official capacity, is careful to apply to the Sultan the correct Latin tag - opium cum dignitate - from Cicero's De Senectute (as far as I remember), meaning dignified leisure. Again the passing of time made it advisable to discard a disreputable quip. See J.M. Gullick, 'A Careless Heathen Philosopher?, at p. 1 herein (a revised version of a paper first published under the same title in JMBRAS 26(1), 1953), cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Sultan.

Braddell, paras 50 and 84.

Report of 27 Oct 1875 in CO 882/3 and p. 23 n65 herein.

18 R.H. Vetch, Life of Lieut General Sir a Clarke, 1905, p. 102, quoting Lieut Brackenbury, ADC to Clarke, who met the Sultan at the time of the negotiations at Kuala Langat in

- February 1874.
- 19 Innes, Vol. 1, p. 173.
- 20 L Bird, The Golden Chersonese and the way thither, 1883, p. 231.
- ²³ At the Selangor State Council meeting at 16 February 1884 the Sultan formally distented from a boundary adjustment within had been proposed on the authority of the governor. E. Sadde, The Protected Medicy States 1874-1893, 1968, p. 187, Note 2. On an earlier occasion when his too, Raji Yakobo, had twice falled to come when summoned to appear and answer, questions by a British visitor, "The Sultant then premymorally ordered him to be a substantial to the common of the property of the sultant of the Park Javanta, p. 50, ensy for 5 April 1874."
- 22 Innes, Vol. 1, p. 88.
- Minder, Vo. 1, p. 2004. Mass ibni Sultan Abdul Samad," Peninjua Sejarah 1(1), 1966, is a short bat igaresting character study. J.M. Gullick, "Selangor 1876-1882. Bloomfield Douglas days," MeRAS 48(2), 1973, pp. 11-12 quaste passages from the discuss of the British Resident (1876-1882) on the temperament of Raja Musa, who died in 1884. Cited hereafter on 'Gullick, Douglar's. See, Di Oh berein.
- Memorandum by C.J. Irving enclosed with SSD 6 July 1871 (C. 466).
- Braddell, para 53-64 gives an account of Muta's erratic conduct during the civil war. See also Khoo pp. 179-187; in particular the suggestion that the "overt support" given to Kudin by Birch and Irving in July 1871 destroyed Muta's confidence in Kudin's intentions. It may well be that this led to the clash over Kuala Selangor a month or two later.
- Mohamed Ibrahim Munshi bin Abdullah, The Voyages of Mohamed Ibrah Munshi, trans and ed A. Sweeney and N. Phillips, 1975, p. 65. This source is also cited in its earlier Malay version (e.g. in Khoo) as Mohamed Said bin Haji Sulaiman, ed, Kisah Pelayaran Mohamed Drahim Munshi, 1956. Cited herein as Ibrahim.
- The great enemy of the orang putch" [Europeans] was Douglas's opinion (cited in Gullick Douglas, "A rigid Mohamedan who is known to have said that when he becomes Sultan he will drive the white men into the sea". Douglas to Isabella Bird (p.226).
- Like Raia Musa, Raia Yakob was at first on good terms with Kudin, But Raia Kahar was "jealous of the power given to him by the Sultan" from the start: Braddell para 52. There are mixed reports of Yakob's temperament. When it was clear to Kudin that Musa had joined his opponents Kudin "went up to Langat to see the Sultan, and told him that Musa was not fit to command, as he had allowed [Kuala Selangor] to be surprised before, and asked to have Yakoob appointed, which the Sultan agreed to." Braddell, para 58: Ibrahim p. 64. But by April 1872 Kudin had concluded that Yakob "finds it very difficult to oppose Raia Musa or restrain him from his actions, because Raia Musa is his elder brother. So he simply keeps quiet." Ibrahim p. 65 (Kudin speaking to Irving). The upshot was that Kudin replaced Yakob by De Fontaine in command at Kuala Selangor, though later the command devolved on Pennefather. There is some uncertainty as to whether Yakob voluntarily relinquished control or was displaced by Kudin's intervention - see Note (99) below. In contrast to this picture of an ineffective man one has Braddell's statement (para 85) that at Kuala Langat in February 1874 Yakob "left an unfavourable impression on everyone as the type of lawless cruel chief who would exercise power ruthlessly". Moreover he was "vehemently suspected" of having instigated the act of piracy which led to Clarke's intervention in Selangor, ibid.
- Braddell para 85. His maladministration of the Ulu Langat district in the mid 1870's led to
- complaints from the rakyat: Gullick Douglas, p. 110.
- Swettenham 1880 p. 174.
- SSD 18 June 1878, memorandum by Swettenham, para 8.
- 32 SSD 24 Oct 1872. Ord recognised nonetheless that he had no evidence of Mahdi's
- 30 momplicity in the attack which led to the Rinaldo incident at Kuala Selangor in 1871.
 30 Mohamed Amin Hassan "Raja Mahdi bin Raja Sulaiman," Peninjau Sejarah 1(2), 1966.
 There are some brief but interesting references to Raja Mahdi and his wife ("the eleverest)

woman I believe in the Malay peninsula, and a great political plotter" - p. 354) in their years of exile in Singapore in A. Lovat, The Life of Sir Frederick Weld GCMG, 1914, pp. 278, 2285, 319-320 and 354. Weld arrived in Singapore in 1880, when Mahdi was dying by degrees - of tuberculosis. Despire the "old warrior's" reputation, Weld found him subdued - "quiet as he looks" (p. 278). But when in better health he intrigued and manoeuvre for permission, which Weld refused (p. 320 - interview on 6 Nov 1880), to return to Klang as a private citizen.

Khoo, p. 73: Winstedt, p. 19: Amin p. 7: Buyong, p. 56: on the background. Raja Abdullah, brother of Raja Jurnaat, took control of Klang in 1850 and, by promoting tinmining up-river around Kuala Lumpur (which dates from about 1857), greatly increased the revenues of the Klang district. Mahdi received an allowance and engaged in trading in Klang until 1867. The next tax farmers, appointed by Abdullah, then exasperated Mahdi by demanding \$100 opium import duty which he said he had already paid: Middlebrook p. 25. At this time Raja Abdullah also fell out with Sumatran tin-miners of Kuala Lumpur. These events were the spark which set alight the dry tinder of Mahdi's frustrated and resentful claims to rule the Klang district. With his Sumatran allies he besieged and

expelled Raja Abdullah from Klang in 1867. H. Clifford, A Corner of Asia, 1899, p. 198. Clifford, In Court and Kampong, 1927 ed. autobiographical preface, p. 16 calls Mahmud (the Raja Haji Hamid of several of Clifford's stories - ibid p. 30) "one of the staunchest friends that any man ever had".

Swettenham, 1948, p. 191.

SSD 6 Nov 1872

Braddell, para 48. He adds that "the Sultan was at this time at Klang" but later, when Kudin was in Kedah he heard that "the Sultan had returned to Langat" (ibid, para 50) after authorising Raja Ismail to attack Klang. It may be (Khoo p. 155) that the Sultan moved to Klang after the wedding to give Kudin opportunity to establish his authority in Langat as permitted by the Sultan's letter. But as soon as it became clear that there would be more fighting at Klang the Sultan moved back to Langat, which had been his base since his accession in 1857, and, before that, his personal fief as a district chief.

See Note p. 216 herein on the conversation with Irving

Swetteham, 1948, p. 129.

Note (34). Amin, p. 16.

After vicissitudes in the Sclangor civil war, in which he deserted Kudin and ended on the losing side, Haji Tahir engaged in various business enterprises. He pioneered the planting of coffee in the Klang district in the 1880's and was consulted as the leading authority on suitable soils etc. in the 1880's: Sadka, p. 360: Selangor Gazette 1896. p. 255; AR Selangor 1895. In Selangor it was the normal practice for the Sultan to confer the title of Datuk Dagang on the recognised headsman of each local Surnatran community. Haji Tahir was Datuk Dagang for the Klang valley - but there were others appointed to similar positions at Kuala Langat and at Kuala Selangor: Sadka, p. 14, n 4.

Buyong, pp. 64-65.

P.J. Begbie, The Malayan Peninsula etc., 1834 reprinted 1967, p. 139, referring to the Rembau war of 1812. In the Pahang civil war of 1857-63 Wan Ahmad, a mere younger son of the late Bendahara Ali, declared himself to be "acting under the authority of the ex-Sultan of Lingga" in opposing his elder brother who was their father's acknowledged heir: A.C. Milner, Kerajaan - Malay political culture on the eve of colonial rule, 1982, p. 60,

as "The curious thing was that each party in turn and each individual leader made periodical visits to the old Sultan, complained bitterly of the other side and... to all corners, from whatever quarter, the Sultan seemed always to signify his approval": Swettenham, 1948, p. 130. It was hardly possible for Kudin, in the role of mediator, to apply to the Sultan for authority to make war on Mahdi. It fell to Raja Ismail, son of the ousted Raja Abdullah, to make the first move towards hostilities by obtaining the formal leave of the Sultan. The ruler's response was that "they were both young men and might fight it out between

them": Braddell, para 50.

Pasqual, 14 Oct. 1934: my emphasis added. Pasqual says that the appointment of Kudin as "viceroy" came a month after the wedding. See Note (2) above on the likely chronology of these events.

Sarang tebuan jangan di-jolok. C.C. Brown, Malay Sayings, 1951, p. 193.

- 48 See Note (45) above. The Sultan had other methods of veiling his attitude in ambiguity, eg he might have a state document sealed with his privy seal to cast doubt on it: Gullick, Sultan, p. 12 herein and the resealing of the letter of authority at the instance of Birch and Irving described below.
- When Irving visited Klang for the first time in April 1870 "Raja Mahdi's people" told him it was a forgery; SSD 6 July 1871. Kudin mentioned the allegation of forgery to Clarke in February 1874: Braddell, para 51.

50 See Note (104) below: SSD 6 July 1871.

51 SSD 28 July 1871. Winstedt (p. 21) gives a slightly different English version with "districts" for "dependencies" and "develope" for "open up". Nothing in the English translation suggests that the Malay original conferred on Kudin the authority of an agent plenipotentiary (wakil mullak) of the Sultan. When Buyong re-translated the English into Malay in his history (p. 65) he did not use wakil mullak, nor even wakil. Yet as soon as Birch and Irving had returned to Singapore after their visit to Kuala Langat in July 1871, at which the 1868 document had merely been re-sealed without alteration - Note (104) below - the Straits Settlements government announced that "His Highness the Sultan of Salangore has ... appointed Tunku Dia Odin to be his Wakil Mutalak or Regent...": SS Gazette Notice 180 of 11 August 1871 (CO 276/3 p. 394). Viceroy/wakil mutlak is entirely the invention of Irving as related below.

52 Winstedt, p. 21.

53 R.J. Wilkinson, History of the Peninsular Malays, 1923, reprinted in Papers on Malay Subjects, ed P.L. Burn, 1971, p. 122. In his earlier version, Events prior to the British Ascendency, PMS 1908 reprinted 1924, p. 55, Wilkinson wrote that the Sultan "allowed himself to be influenced by a stronger will than his own and surrendered all true power into the hands of his son-in-law," This is a fair comment on the construction which Kudin put on his appointment by his conduct. But it is not what the letter says and one may doubt whether it was what the Sultan intended. But, as ever, he let matters take their course.

Cowan, p. 71.

55 Milner pp. 42 and 102 describes the ruler as "the organising principle" with "ceremonial rather than practical" functions. See also J.M. Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya, 1958, pp. 44-45.

SSD 14 July 1871 encl. 6. Emphasis added.

57 Braddell, para 49.

Pasqual 14 Oct 1934. One may reasonably identify this Baba Tee Yee with the Baba Tek Ee of Melaka to whom Kudin owed \$100,000 in 1872: Ibrahim, p. 68. By 1873 he had become Kudin's principal creditor to whom Kudin owed \$300,000 out of his total war debts of \$400,000: Winstedt, p. 32. Khoo Kay Kim, "Biographical sketches of certain Straits Chinese involved in the Klang war 1867-1874", Peninjau Sejarah 2(2), 1967, p. 47, identifies him as Lim Teik Hee; see also Khoo, 1972, pp. 205-7, for the commercial background and in particular the links with Tan Kim Cheng - the "highly intelligent Chinese gentleman" with whom Kudin's brother, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II, had dealings in his negotiations with Ord for adjustment of Anglo-Kedah differences: JMG Kedah (2), p. 118. Song Ong Siang, One hundred years of the Chinese in Singapore, 1923 reprinted 1967, thought it probably that Tan Kim Cheng "was a power in the Hokkien branch of the Ghi Hin" secret society - possible "the head of the triad in Malaya": C.M. Turnbull, The Straits Settlements 1826-67 - Indian Presidency to Crown Colony, 1972, p. 125. Coming nearer home it was Tan Kim Cheng who, in partnership with W.H. Read, had obtained the Klang tax farm from Raja Abdullah: Khoo, p. 143. To find a way through this maze requires expertise in Chinese affairs but one senses that the influence of Chinese

commercial interests and secret societies in Kedah (JMG Kedah (2), p. 111) played its part

in Kudin's political alignments in Selangor.

Soon after obtaining the Sultan's letter of authority Kudin received news that his mother was "very ill": Braddell, para 49. Hassan, p. 230, records her death much later in May 1879. Although she had been an influential figure, eg in the arranging of Kudin's match with Raja Arfah, nothing is heard of her after the illness of 1869. She may have survived but in an enfeebled condition. Anson (SSD 18 June 1878) wrote that Kudin had spent on the Selangor civil war "his own mother's fortune stated to have been about \$60,000". He concludes his memorandum with a recommendation that (in 1878) Kudin should receive a lump sum, partly to enable him to repay what he owed to his mother - with the implication that she was still alive. Swettenham provides another clue with an entry in his Journal for 14 June 1875 that "I hear the Sultan of Kedah speaks of stopping T. Kudin's allowance, \$10,000 a year, as he is doing no work for Kedah. The Tunku told me also that in the war he had pledged some ornaments of his own and his brothers, and is anxious to redeem them if possible": F.A. Swettenham, Swettenham's Malayan Journals 1874-1876, ed P.L. Burns and C.D. Cowan, 1975, p. 250. Kudin may have persuaded his mother. weakened by illness, to let him have "ornaments" which were family heirlooms. These were pledged as security for m money borrowed for war expenditure, then or later. If the Sultan of Kedah, and Kudin's younger brothers, gave their consent it was on the understanding that Kudin must redeem these valuables, which were common property. By 1875 Kudin was still financially hard-pressed and the Sultan contemplated withholding Kudin's allowance of \$10,000 as a means of funding the repayment of the oan and the recovery of the heirlooms. There is a parallel here; in 1836 Kudin's grandfather, the exiled Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin I, had pledged various gold ommanets as security for hisill-fated escape to Bruas: JMG Kedah (1) p. 46.

60 Braddell, pair \$0,0 states that after Kudin had been in Kedah some three or four months he received news that "the Sultan had returned to Langar" (presumably from Klang - see Note (77) above) and had "authorised Rajs Immil... to attack Rajs Mahdi, in Klang". Only then did Kudin seek his brother; permission to raise a force of 500 men to exort him back to Kedah. He waited until the plan for the attack on Rajs Mahdi, concerned with his saying that "on his arrival at Alor Say" (from routine into account. If Pageal is right in saying that "on his arrival at Alor Say" (from routine men account. If Pageal is right in fighting captains of the day with a view to recruiting men it is clear that Kudin, came to Kedah with a definite intention of raising a force for service in Schappor as soon as his.

allies were ready to strike. He bided his time.

Braddel; para 51. JMG Kedah (2), p. 121.
 Pasqual 14 Oct 1934; Amin p. 30.

Middlebrook p. 41-42; Cowan pp. 72-73; Winstedt p. 21 on these events.

4 Amin p. 32; Buyong p. 72: Winstedt p. 22.

Braddell, para 51.

67 Irving's memorandum enclosed with SSD 18 June 1878.

68 Amin p. 47.

Olifford, Studies in Brown Humaniy, 1897, p. 184, tells of a muderout attack—then Wan Bha and his people set to work and reated on till they had constructed an efficient stockade ... and awaited the attack of Wan Ngah and Wan Jehah. Again "Matays theilty conduct their warfar from behind stockades, the attacking party constructing their rude works at a safe and convenient distance from those of the enemy"; p. 231. The object was to win at minimum cost in lives — a score of mer killed in battle was regarded as "great slaughter". Clifford, In Court and Kampoor, 1903 reprint, p. 116. Amin, p. 47, mentions "Eubary ploakhru siap satu pranspange", if defence work just completed and

Penghulu Hamzah's account of the siege as told to Pasqual.

facing only one way).
Amin, p. 47.

⁷² Winstedt, p. 23. But Syed Zin only reported Bacon's activities to the British authorities -

with a view to reprisals - in November 1870, long after the siege was over. If Bacon's supplies had got through to Mahdi in quantity, information of them would have been obtained long before.

73 Amin p. 32. A cupak is a measure of volume equal to half an empty coconut shell - a

quarter of a gantang.

Naval Report of 6 Aug 1871 in C 466. See p. 40 herein on De Fontaine.

73 Pasqual 14 Oct 1934 - presumably from Penghulu Hamzah though the style is European rather than Malay.

⁷⁶ Winned J., 22: Buyong, p. 76. There does not appear to have been any formal great to Kudin of the Klang district - the proclamation foce Not 78 Jbs. and defeased to the inhabitants of Klang. Braddell, pars 51, notes that the capture of Klang. "appears to be the origin of Tunku Kudin's title to hold Klang." The Sullam may have bestitated to energy Mahdi further by making an express grant of Klang to Kudin. If Kudin undertook to pay a monthly sum from the Klang revenues to the Sullam - see Not (2) above-tilize clame of it. Birch, Journal, p. 312, noted (9 Aug 1875) that the Sullam "is very hadly treated and ever had been by Tunku dia Udin in never having any money given him."

78 Buyong p. 76. In later years the population of Kłang was mainly "foreign" Malays, ie Kedah men who had come in with Kudin, Sumatrans and Javanese. The penghulu of Klang in the 1890's was Syaikh Abdul Mohet, a Javanese who had served in Kudin's forces: Steat. Malay Magic, pp. 391-4.

78 Winstedt p. 23.

79 SSD 18 June 1878, Irving's memorandum.

so SSD 22 July 1872 forwarding reports on the "blue book" material (official statistics) for 1872; information from the Lieut Governor of Melaka.

11 As Note (79).

12 Ord made some sharp observations on Irving* limitations in commenting on his application fin 1869) for the vacant post of Colonia Scertary, SSD 17 Dec 1869. The comment on his absence from society is made in SSD 18 April 1879. It is significant that W Makepeace, G.E. Brocke and R.S. I. Braddell, Done handred perer of Singapore, a storchouse of the personal and social life of Singapore in the 19th century, has only one reference (Vol. 1, p. 55) to Irving—a schaimman of the Museau Committee. Ord (SSD 17) GC 1872) in commenting on Irving* a spirations for promotion gives a picture of an immensely industrious bureaures, ever busy with committees and official reports, but rather out of his depth in Singapore official society. The fact that he was lame (Ibrahim, p. 53) may not have helped his confidence.

C.N. Parkinson, Braish Intervention in Malaya 1867-1877, 1960, p. 274. However Irving went on to become Resident Councillor of Penang in the 1880's. He retired in 1887 with a CMG and died in 1917.

Braddell, paras 53-54.

Middlebrook, pp. 47-77.
Middlebrook, pp. 78-83. Linehan, Chap 8.

Winstedt, p. 23. Explained in JMG Kedah (2) pp. 121-2.

88 SSD 6 July 1871.

Letter from Kudin dated 14 July 1877 enclosed with SSD 26 Oct 1877 dealing with the financial terms of Kudin's retirement from his post in Selangor. Bendahara Ahmad made the same point in pressing for payment of the agreed reward for his aid in the Selangor civil war SSD 5 June 1875.

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj, p. 16-17.

91 SSD 19 Oct 1871.

⁸ Much of the detail of this episode is found in the obinuary of Kudin in the Pinang Gazette of, 26 May 1909. This suggests that there was continuing bittemess against Kudin in Kedah which the newspaper picked up many years afterwards from some local informant. The editor may of course have had some file of cuttings on Kudin, a prominent figure in Penang society down to the time of his death, or have tapped the recollections of Pasqual,

then a planter in southern Kedah.

Report by Clifford enclosed with SSD 15 Oct 1887.

J.M. Gullick, "Syers and the Selangor police 1875-11897," JMBRAS 51(2) 1978, p. 9, citing from an article, perhaps by Syers, in the Selangor Journal Vol. 1, p.83, 1892. Reprinted herein and cited Reafter as Gullick, Syers. See p. 40 herein.

Swettenham, Malay Sketches, pp. 103 and 108.

As in Note (89).

The official papers on the "Rinaldo" affair and its aftermath are in C 466 of 1872, Papers

relating to Selangore. See also Cowan, pp. 85-98.

- Braddell, paras 55-57. Musa was still "on friendly terms" with Kudin up to this point but may well have been estranged by Kudin's part in his supersession. Mahdi's loot, with a which he escaped from Klang in march 1870, was believed to comprise \$100,000 in notes "squeezed out of the place": Irving's note with SSD 18 June 1878.
- Braddell, paras 58-59: Cowan p. 103. This is Kudin's account of the matter given to Clarke 21/2 years later in February 1874. However Ibrahim reports a conversation between Kudin and Irving, at Klang in April 1872, ie only shortly after the Rinaldo incident, which gives a very different picture: Ibrahim p. 75. Kudin urged Irving to take the initiative, when he saw Sultan Abdul Samad, in proposing, as Irving's suggestion not Kudin's, that the Sultan should send a letter to recall Musa and Yakob from Kuala Selangor. They may have decamped on being superseded in 1871 but returned later. But it seems more probably that they stayed on at Kuala Selangor until Kudin's intrigue effected their recall by royal command. This episode, as much as any, explains why the Sultan's sons became so hostile to Kudin.

100 SSD 29 July 1871. The passages quoted in the text, giving an account of the exchanges in the discussion at Kuala Langat are from Irving's report unless otherwise stated. 101 See Note (51) above. Once established the expression wakil mutlak became generally accepted - in British official circles. Swettenham uses it in his memorandum on Kudin's position in Selangor enclosed with SSD 18 June 1878.

Cowan (p. 93) examines the documents and notes that Anson also gave Birch "verbal instructions" of which there is no record. Anson certainly approved afterwards of what Birch had done

The other question raised at this point in the main text is whether Kudin's meeting at sea with Birch and Irving was by chance or by pre-arrangement. Peter Benson Maxwell, who was still in Singapore (as Chief Justice) at the time of Birch and Irving's departure for Selangor, wrote later (Our Malay Conquest, 1878, pp. 33-34) that in 1871 Kudin was "a frequent visitor to Singapore" and "remarkably successful in ingratiating himself." He went on to observe that the meeting at sea was "a curious coincidence" - and that Kudin "had somehow met Mr. Birch halfway" (letter to The Times of 13 Sep 1871). Clearly Maxwell was suspicious - an experienced judge has a nose trained to scent such deceptions. It is also worth noting that after Kudin had joined the mission they did not proceed direct to Kuala Langat but stopped at Klang. Here Kudin and Irving could show Birch what Kudin had achieved as an administrator and the three of them could discuss

the impending dialogue with the Sultan. SSD 14 July 1871 encl 6. See Note (56) above.

104 See Note (48) above and p. 12 herein.

105 Lord Stanley of Alderley said in the House of Lords on 10 July 1876 that "after pressure and interference by the Straits authorities he was established as Viceroy of Selangor." Maxwell, p. 34, wrote that the Sultan had been required "under threats of the most serious and immediate consequences to appoint his suspected son-in-law, Tunku Kudin, to be his viceroy". Both were severe critics, but well informed on the course of events.

Naval report of 6 Aug 1871 in C 466.

Later on in 1872 when it seemed likely that Kudin would be driven out of Selangor and his backers were "clamouring for the payment of monies" (Swettenham's note with SSD 18 June 1878) they argued that they had been led to believe that Kudin had British

backing: SSD 6 Nov 1872. On Kudin's supporters in the Chinese business community of the Straits Settlements see the sources summarised in Note (58) above. On Anson's tergiversations when the storm broke in England see Birch Journal, p. 10 (editorial note by P.L. Burns)

108 Naval report of 20 Sep 1871 in C 466.

109 SSD 24 Feb 1874: Khoo p. 162-164: Cowan p. 120: Winstedt p 87. When Sultan Abdullah of Perak was in Penang he was the guest of Tunku Yusof, Kudin's younger brother and political ally: Birch Journal, p. 18 (editorial note).

110 After his success in obtaining British support through the Birch/Irving mission of July 1871 Kudin tried again by proposing that "a trustworthy man from the British government" (Irving?) should adjudicate on disputed boundaries between Selangor and Negeri Sembilan of which Kudin had "no certain knowledge": SSD 24 Oct 1871. But

Anson, already in trouble over the Rinaldo affair, would not rise to the bait.

See Note (86). Kudin's dealings with Bendahara Ahmad of Pahang had significant "knock-on" indirect consequences. Bendahara Ahmad, a strong ruler of the traditional school, is unlikely to have had ideological sympathies with Kudin, but supported him because Raja Mahdi had given aid to Ahmad's Pahang opponents: Note (86) above. Ahmad was also at odds with Maharaja Ahu Bakar of Johor over a disputed boundary. This factor may explain why Abu Bakar, who did share Kudin's European tastes and ideas, gave succour to Mahdi, when the latter was on the run in early 1872, although Mahdi was a very different type from Abu Bakar. However the Maharaja had to tread delicately in support of Mahdi since he could not afford to embarrass his relations with Ord, who was generally sympathetic to Kudin. Ord used Abu Bakar as an intermediary in an attempt to persuade Mahdi to accept a financial settlement to his claim to Klang and call off the struggle - but Mahdi refused and returned to raise the standard again in Selangor: SSD 24 Oct 1872 tells much of this story. Thomas Braddell, Attorney General Straits Settlements, was permitted to engage in private legal practice and in that capacity was adviser to Maharaja Abu Bakar: Cowan p. 103. Hence Braddell tended to be critical of Kudin, as an opponent of Abu Bakar, Braddell was also justifiably skeptical of the validity of Kudin's pretension to be the trusted "viceroy" of the Sultan of Selangor. As will be related later, when Clarke came to Kuala Langat in February 1874, with Braddell as his adviser, there was an initial coolness towards Kudin.

112 Vetch p. 159. See Note (18) above.

113 SSD 18 June 1878. Elsewhere (Independent Native States, p. 171) Swettenham refers to the "enlightened views" of the Kedah royal family.

114 SSD 18 June 1878.

115 SSD 6 July 1871.

116 Note (137) below: SSD 6 Nov 1872. 117 SSD 29 July 1871: Irving's report para 16.

118 Ibrahim pp. 62-76 is the source of the quotations below except where otherwise stated.

119 Birch Journal p. 49 (3 April 1874/ and Plate 11 in Burns ed. "Syed Zin bin Mohamed al-Habshi, a Penang Malay of Arab descent" (Sadka, p. 27) was the brother of the Malay captain of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin's schooner (JMG Kedah (2) p. 115: Hassan p. 223). He was closely associated with Kudin down to the early 1880's. An astute and hardworking

man of business.

The use of chairs was still uncommon among Malays. Clifford tells how a Malay visitor after "many half-hearted curtseys in the direction of the floor at last consented to seat himself in one of my few chairs": In Days that are Dead, 1926, p. 287. See also J.M. Gullick, "The Tampin succession", JMBRAS 49(2), 1976 p. 8, for another contretemps over the use of chairs.

Amin p. 42.

112 JMG Kedah (2), p. 111, considers Wynne's theory that the Red and White Flag Malay secret societies, which undoubtedly took part in the Penang riots of 1867, were involved in the restoration of the Kedah royal dynasty in 1842. It seems an odd coincidence - if it was one - that Kudin, surrounded by Syed Zin and other Malays with Penang connections, displayed a red and white flag at Klang.

123 Ibrahim p. 72. Swettenham, Malay Sketches, pp. [103-111, and p. 210 herein. 124 Ibrahim p. 62. De Fontaine served in the Perak war of 1876 and later became an Inspector in the Straits Settlements Police: Gullick, Syers, p. 40 and Ibrahim p. 62 Note 6. He then

moved to Sabah to serve in the police there from 1883 to 1885, when he was killed in a clash with Bajau tribesmen: K.G. Tregonning, A History of Modern Sabah, 1965, p. 199. Ibrahim p. 72. The situation did not improve over the next few years. When Syers took

over in March 1875 the survivors of this force were "an undisciplined mob, badly armed and without any uniform whatever": Gullick, Syers, loc cit.

Syed Zin misunderstood Ibrahim's reaction to dogs and assured him that they would not bite him. Kudin may have kept the dogs to raise the alarm if some intruder came stealthily to attack him by night. As will be seen, he kept a loaded revolver at hand - Note (145) and took precautions against being poisoned - Note (181). E. Innes voli p. 176.

Ibrahim pp. 63, 66, 74, 76 and 82. At p. 66 Kudin and Irving discuss a possible occupation of Bernam by Kudin's forces and Kudin suggests that his brother, Yakob, should have command of the detachment to be sent to Bernam. However nothing came of this suggestion and Ibrahim gives no other indication that Yakob was taking any active part in Kudin's arrangements in Selangor. There is no subsequent mention of his presence after April 1872 and he became Raja Muda of Kedah, in succession to Kudin, early in 1873: Hassan p. 224.

128 F.A. Swettenham, Footprints in Malaya, 1942, pp. 19-22. Writing seventy years after the event Swettenham is confused about the date of this visit. He wrote that it was in "early 1872" (p. 19), which is probably correct. Later in his narrative however Swettenham implies (p. 21) that the visit was after the death of Van Hagen and Cavaliero, whom Kudin had sent to command his detachment in Kuala Lumpur - see Note (95) above. Kudin's Kuala Lumpur garrison attempted to break through the ring of besiegers in August 1872, but were intercepted and slaughtered near Petaling. The town fell and Yap Ah Loy fled to Klang to meet Kudin (see Note (134)). Yap Ah Loy did not regain Kuala Lumpur until the spring of 1873. It follows that Swettenham's account of his reception by

Yap Ah Loy must be placed not later than July. 'Early 1872' is much more probable. 129 Davidson was "one of the foremost men in Singapore" who was several times invited to accept appointment as an unofficial member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council: C.B. Buckley, Anecdotal History of Singapore, 2 vols, 1902 reprinted 1965, p. 731. In recommending him later to a reluctant Colonial Office as first British Resident of Selangor, the Governor said that Davidson had a flourishing legal practice with clients among the local communities - "much sought after by Malays and Chinese ... great confidence is placed in him by the people of both races here": SSD 28 May 1875. He and J.S. Atchison were the leaders of the Singapore Bar in the 1860's: Buckley, loc. cit. In spite of his many professional and business interests Davidson was able for three years (1872-1875) to "dedicate himself entirely" to Kudin's cause... "not only being frequently present with him in the field but also assisting him very freely with funds": SSD 30 Dec 1874. When the Sclangor was debts, incurred by Kudin, were settled in 1877 by the issue of state bonds, the largest creditor was Lim Tek Hee for \$105,118 (see Note (58) above) and the other major creditor was Davidson to whom the amount owing was \$78,400: Swettenham Journal, p. 127 editorial note. See also S. Cunyngham. The Traders, 1971. pp. 152-157 on Davidson's career. He was killed in an accident in 1891. It says a good deal for the character and ability of Kudin that a man of Davidson's calibre gave him

outstanding of Kudin's supporters in the official and business world of Singapore. 130 Khoo pp. 185-6. On Mahdi's funds Note (98) above.

131 SSD 24 Oct and 6 Nov 1872 give the ups and downs of Mahdi's attempt to ship munitions from Bengkalis in Sumatra and his refusal of the proposal for a pension if he would abandon his claim to Selangor. This proposal was put to him while he was being sheltered

financial support and was a personal friend. After Irving Davidson was perhaps the most

by Maharaja Abu Bakar of Johor, from whose territory he slipped back to Selangor before

Syed Zin's men could trap him. Cowan p. 102: Khoo pp. 185-6.

132 SSD 18 June 1878 Irving's memorandum. It was these reports, as much as anything; which induced the Sumatran leaders in Ulu Langat to abandon Kudin and join Mahdi's forces. Their decision tipped the military balance against Yap Ah Loy and led to the fall of Kuala Lumpur: Middlebrook pp.71-77. Kudin's gloomy assessment (tiada juga maju nampak-nya): Amin p. 41.

133 Middlebrook p. 77 citing a Chinese source. The histories cited in Note (1) give full

accounts of the complicated events of this period. 134 Middlebrook p. 77.

135 SSD 18 June 1878 Swettenham's memorandum.

136 SSD 18 June 1878 Irving's memorandum. Irving was prone to over-react to crises - see Note (83) above. Kudin's opponents were not strong enough to attack Klang from the interior, as Irving suggests, nor is there any mention of such military action. But by cutting off Klang from the mines of Kuala Lumpur they could make Klang untenable.

SSD 6 Nov 1872. Ord's account of his discussion with Kudin gives an interesting insight into Kudin's skill in dealing with an overbearing man of Ord's type. He admitted the force of Ord's arguments but continued to assert his intention of holding out as long as he could. See JMG Kedah (2) pp. 118-9 for Ord's encounter a few years before with Kudin's

elder brother, another man of determination. 138 SSD 18 June 1878 Irving's memorandum

139 Swettenham Journal p. 174. Conversation on 11 Dec. 1874.

The correspondence with Seymour Clarke, from 25 June 1873 to 7 Jan 1874, is No's 18, 20, 22, 23, 51, 63 and 64 in Eastern Pamphlet 11 (Co 882/2), followed by SSD 18 Mar 1875 (No 26 In Eastern Pamphlet 15) to which the CO gave its approval (No 31 thid dated 17 May 1875). At the time of Swettenham's conversation with Kudin on 11 Dec 1874 the concession had ceased to be a major political problem, but it was still an impediment to the economic development which Selangor so badly needed. In his despatch of 18 Mar 1875 Andrew Clarke said that he could not advise the Sultan to ratify the concession unless it was deprived of its exclusive right to mine in Selangor: moreover Davidson, now Resident of Selangor, must sever all connection with the company which had acquired the concession in July 1874 - and which was now seeking to raise capital on the London Stock Exchange; Won Lin Ken, The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914, 1965, p. 39.

It is reasonable to assume that Swettenham broached the matter to Kudin in December 1874 to establish how this "monstrous concession" (Swettaham's words) gave "the exclusive right to work all the land in Selangor." Kudin's reply quoted in the main text is not unreasonable. The concession is written in prolix Victorian legal style which would have defeated the understanding of a native-born Englishman, if not a lawyer. But Kudin's explanation was an aspersion against Davidson who had a moral duty to ensure that Kudin understood what he was asked to sign. As will be seen - Note (150) below -Davidson was extremely angry with Kudin over some unidentified matter at about this time. It could have been a consequence of official enquires about the origins of the concession and Kudin's response.

141 On the long and involved political and commercial history of the concession see Cowan pp. 166-9, Khoo pp. 105-6 and Wong pp. 36-40. The quotation is from Cowan, p. 168. There is an extensive literature on the factors which led to the British change of policy to intervention in the Malay states in 1874. I find Cowan's conclusions (loc. cit.) the most persuasive. On Seymour Clarke see Cowan p. 167 note 74.

SSD 18 Mar 1875 - see Note (140) above. Presumably Swettenham was instructed to investigate and collect material for Clarke's despatch and that was the occasion of the discussion with Kudin in November 1874.

143 See Note (111) above on Braddell. Gullick, Sultan, p. 21 N44.

144 Braddell para 26. Quotations here from Braddell paras 25-87 unless otherwise stated.

145 Vetch p. 160. Lord Palmerston had used the phrase ("I am a Roman citizen") to justify armed intervention following an assault on a British Cypriot.

¹⁴⁶May I correct – and apologise for – an error in Gullick, 1953, p. 94; there was no formal treaty with Selangor parallel with the Pangkor Agreement with Perak. There were various ad hoc documents for particular arrangements - see J de V Allen et al, Treaties, Vol 1, p. 445-7. and Swettenham, 1948, p. 220. I am obliged to Cowan, p. 191 for drawing attention to this point. See Gullick, Sultan, pp 6-7 for other aspects of this meeting.

The examination of the witnesses was at the request of the court undertaken by Mr. Davidson": SSD 24 Feb 1874 encl 6 para 7. Davidson wrote careful notes of the evidence given by each witness. Although the accused denied their guilt, none appears to have raised the defense of alibi implicit in Swettenham's information given in his Journal cited below. In retrospect one can see that there should have been a detence advocate versed in

the unfamiliar trial procedure.

In his Journal entry for 28 Aug 1875 (Swettenham Journal p. 290) Swettenham gives details of the alibis which the accused might have - but did not - produce in evidence. He also gives the names of the men who were guilty. Swettenham does not disclose the untested source of this information but one must assume that he made thorough enquiries. In his account of the Malay states published in 1880 - see Note (11) above - Swettenham does not mention the discovery which (on the evidence of the Journal entry) he made in 1875: Swettenham 1880 p. 186.

Although Swettenham wrote his journal entry in 1875, the journal was not published in his lifetime. He first told the story in public in 1900 (in The Real Malay, London, John Lane Bodley Head, 1900, p. 70, where he says that he made the discovery 'not very long'

after his arrival in Langat - in fact a year had elapsed).

Davidson had died in 1891. It does not appear that Swettenham mentioned the matter to Davidson at the time, although Davidson was Resident and Swettenham Assistant Resident of Selangor in 1875. But he may have mentioned it to McNair who, like Davidson, had been a member of the court which convicted the alleged pirates, and who was a colleague of Swettenham in the civil service. In 1878 McNair asserted that there had been 'a great deal of corroborative evidence... sufficient to prove the facts without doubt (J.F. McNair, Perak and the Malays, London, Tinsley Bros, 1878, p. 286). McNair may just have been unaware of Swettenham's story; alternatively, he may have heard and disbelieved it and, naming no names, have sought to scotch it when writing his book. See Gullick, Sultan, Note 53 at p. 22 herein, for discussion of the probability of the two conflicting versions.

After the first revelation in 1900 Swettenham repeated his assertion in 1906 (British Malaya, p. 184).

Birch Journal p. 47, 2 April 1874 and Swettenham Journal p. 121, 28 Aug 1874. See also SSD 30 Dec 1874 quoted in Note (129).

150 Swettenham Journal p. 157, 25 Nov 1874; the passage quoted here comes immediately after an analysis of Kudin's transactions with his largest creditor, Lim Tek Hee, and may relate to Kudin's debt to Davidson. But see Note (140) for an alternative explanation. On the trip to Kuala Langat Swettenham Journal. p. 197, 20 Feb 1875.

On Kudin's house in the Fort, Ibrahim, p. 70. On the house in Klang town Douglas Diary 15 June 1878. Douglas then manoeuvred the Sultan into disclaiming all interest in the house as a Klang residence for himself or for his eldest son, Raja Muda Musa: ibid., 21

June 1878. On the rundown state of the Klang buildings: Bird, op. cit., pp. 219-21 152 Swettenham Journal p. 127, 18 Sep 1874. "During the next fifteen months I travelled

fifteen hundred miles - by water and on foot - making as close an examination as I was able of the State, its villages, mines, plantations and rivers": Swetteham 1942 p. 42. Swettenham also mentions that Kudin at least once paid a visit to Kuala Lumpur where he "had a great reception... had 400 men to meet him at Damansara and was very nearly burnt to death by the crackers at Q. Lumpor": Swettenham Journal pp. 231-2, 4 April 1875. This visit was clearly a special occasion for which Yap Ah Loy, ever adept at receiving distinguished visitors in style, made suitable arrangements.

153 Swettenham Journal p. 154, 21 Nov 1874.

154 SSD 18 June 1878.

155 Raja Asal had been the Sumatran leader who deserted Kudin in 1872 with such momentous consequences - Note (132). By this time Asal had rejoined the winning side and was away in Perak where his services to Swettenham earned him a large mining concession near Kinta: SSD 29 Sep 1877.

136 Middlebrook Chap 17 deals with this crisis in the affairs of Yap Ah Loy, which lasted until 1878. In the previous period of comparative prosperity the London price of tin per ton had ranged between \$123 and \$153 (over the period 1869-1873). It now fell to \$90 (in 1875), \$80 in 1876, \$73 in 1877 and \$66 in 1878: Wong Lin Ken p. 243. Unlike the

Menteri of Larut Kudin collected his tin export duty in metal.

157 Clarke to SS Legislative Council on 15 Sep 1874 (SSD 5 Nov 1874) on Klang revenues: Swettenham Journal p. 156, 25 Nov 1874, on the rate of interest - which was charged compound with half-yearly rests.

158 SSD 18 June 1878.

159 SSD 26 Oct 1877.

160 Swettenham Journal pp. 152-7, 21-25 Nov 1874. The root of the trouble was that expenses were sometimes paid out of revenue receipts without entering the gross receipts and then the expenditure in the books. This was a practice which Kudin had learns in Kedah: JMG Kedah (2) p. 116. In straightening out the accounts Swettenham was able to make a substantial reduction in the amount stated to be owing to Lim Tek Hee.

161 See Note (129) above on the sums owing to Lim Tek Hee and to Davidson. Different round figures appear in the contemporary references to the total war debt. In 1877-78 Douglas (diary entry 19) June 1877) and Swettenham (memorandum with SSD 18 June 1878) give a global figure of \$400,000. But by 1880 the figure had fallen to \$300,000:

Sadka, p. 36. It was being gradually paid off.

- In discussing the financial settlement to be made with Kudin at the time of his retirement in 1878, Swettenham advised against making any payment to Kudin on account of his personal expenditure during the war. Kudin had told Douglas that he had spent \$35,000: Douglas diary 19 June 1877. Swettenham argued however that Kudin had spent the money for his own personal advantage to defend and advance his position as "viceroy" Secondly from 1870 to 1875 - see Note (157) above - Kudin had received the local revenues of the Klang district, say \$10 - \$20,000 n.m., but had defrayed from them the expenses of government. It was always difficult to assess what was the net personal income of a Malay ruler or chief, since he did not distinguish personal and public expenses in his accounts (if any).
- SSD 24 Aug 1882. On the relationship between Kudin and Douglas see Loh pp. 14-17 and

Gullick Douglas, p. 111 herein. 164 Douglas diary 14 April 1876:

165 Douglas diary 9 April 1878. By this time Kudin was "on the way out" of Selangor.

166 Douglas diary 24 April 1877. This discussion may have taken place between Jervois and Kuding at their first meeting - at Klang - on 21st June 1875 - "He spoke to him of Klang and Pahang and Che Wan Da. Mahdi. Musa etc. He was very impressed with him" Swettenham Journal p. 254, 21 June 1875. It is unlikely that Jervois would have raised such a delicate subject with Kudin or any other Malay after the explosion in Perak in

November 1875. 167 Swettenham, About Perak, 1893, p. 16. He adds - "to be a member is considered a very high privilege." On the Selangor State Council Sadka pp. 177-182 and her paper (pp. 98-

119) in K.G. Tregonning, ed, Papers on Malayan History, 1962.

168 His absences were Mar-Sep 1876: Mid-Nov 1876 to mid-April 1877: mid-Sep 1877 to Mar 1878. Dates derived from entries in the Douglas diary. See also Sadka p. 27. 169 SSD 23 Mary 1875. He may have stayed away to avoid reproches over money matters -

see Note (76) above.

170 Innes, Vol 1, pp. 91-2. J.M. Gullick, "Emily Innes 1843-1927", JMBRAS 55(2), 1982 reprinted herein and cited hereafter as 'Gullick, Innes' is a study of the life and personality of this gifted but bitter woman - and her book. The child was Tunku Marhum, later to wed Raja Muda (later Sultan) Sulaiman, son of Raja Muda Musa.

171 Innes, Vol 1 pp. 92-95. Gullick Syers p. 41 quotes from Innes on this episode with reference to the role of Syers of the Selangor police.

172 Innes Vol 1 p. 88.

Innes Vol 1 p. 90. Douglas diary 24 April 1877.

174 Innes Vol 1 p. 90. Elsewhere (p. 93) Emily Innes writes that "the Tunku took the cigarette leisurely out of his mouth, smiled sweetly, and replied, with an air vainqueur ..." in the episode referred ton Note (171). Sadka p. 27 citing Sel Sec 235/76.

176 Douglas diary 12 Oct 1876. On relations between Douglas and Emily Innes, which degenerated later into a savage feud, see Gullick Douglas, p. 112 and Innes p. 170 herein.

177 The passages quoted are from Innes Vol 1 Chap 7.

178 In this passage Emily Innes may well be indulging her prejudice and exaggerating. H. Clifford, The further side of silence, 1927, p. 256 describes the Sakai moving through the jungle in this deliberate fashion. Sultan Abdullah of Perak once came to dinner with 40 followers: Swettenham Journal p. 60, 11 April 1874. 179 Innes Vol 1 pp. 171 and 179.

180 Gullick, Innes, p. 167 herein

181 Among Europeans in Malaya at this time it was quite normal for a guest to bring his own servants to assist in waiting at a meal: J.G. Butcher, The British in Malaya 1880-1841. 1979, pp. 59 and 244.

182 Innes Vol 1 p. 178.

183 Douglas diary 24 May 1878.

184 SSD 18 June 1878.

185 SSD 26 Oct 1877.

186 As the frequent citations in Notes above will show these memoranda are the major source of information on Kudin's affairs during his time in Selangor. The other important source is Braddell's record (paras 47-65) of Kudin's own account given to Clarke at Kuala Langat in February 1874. Finally there are useful, if fragmentary, pieces of information in the contemporary Douglas diary and Swettenham Journal See Note (162) above.

188 JMG, Kedah (3).