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ASIA (c



HISTORY OF South-East Asia

1500-1945



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PREFACE

This book is a revised edition of A Short History of South-East Asia by W. Williams and Joginder Singh Jessy and has been specially written to follow the syllabus closely and in this way, serve the needs of those studying for Section B of the School Certificate Syllabus for History. It may also prove useful to students who are reading for South-East Asian history at Higher School Certificate level and to those who are interested in the past and present developments in South-East Asia.

This volume makes no claim to be an original survey of South-East Asian history; it is intended rather to serve the needs of pupils who are studying for an examination. Those readers who wish for a broader and deeper knowledge of the topics included may refer to some of the works listed in the Bibliography, and we ourselves wish to express our gratitude to the writers and publishers of these books, whose researches have provided the basis for the present survey.

Joginder Singh Jessy

Alor Star, Kedah.
1st. December, 1970.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

(1500-1945)

INTRODUCTION

ASIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 16TH. CENTURY

Before we go into a detailed account of the arrival of the Portuguese and the Spaniards in South-East Asia, it will be to our advantage to have a look at the general picture which Asia presented at the beginning of the 16th. century and thus provide the reader with a wider background which will help him or her to understand better the trend of events which took place.

(i) The Middle East

The Middle East, which occupied the western boundaries of Asia, was important because the two trade routes which connected Asia with Europe passed through it. The whole region was under Islamic control and in 1500 was divided into a number of small but warring states, the most important of which, as far as East-West trade was concerned, were Aden, Jedda, Ormuz and Basra.

Aden was described by Afonso d'Albuquerque in 1513 as a walled city. Although it had to import its food, a great disadvantage in times of war and conflict, it had a most favourable geographical position. Situated at the southern entrance of the Red Sea, it was in a position to control the trade that passed along this route. Further north was Jedda, the northern limit to which the ocean-going ships went and from there traders travelled by smaller vessels and caravans to Cairo and Alexandria. In 1500, Egypt was under the Mamluks who controlled not only the Red Sea and the sacred places of Islam, but ruled Syria as well.

To the east of Arabia lay the city of Ormuz. It was a principality under allegiance to the King of Persia and was located on a barren island. It produced only salt but, was important because of its geographical position, for it guarded the entrance to the Persian

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Gulf and, thus, like Aden, controlled an important land route between Europe and Asia. But it suffered from even a greater handicap than Aden, in that it had no supply of water.

At the head of the Persian Gulf, and at the southern entrance of the vale of Iraq, lay Basra. Another overland route began here. The position of Basra which in 1500, was an independent principality was not in any way inferior to that of either Aden or Ormuz.

Most of the rulers of these states had independent armies of their own which were financed by taxes levied on the trade that passed through their territories. However, the first two decades of the 16th. century saw an important political change in the Middle East. The whole territory fell before the advance of the Ottoman army, and by 1520, Egypt and the East Mediterranean coastal regions, including Syria, had come under Turkish control. The vale of Iraq, north of Basra fell in 1566 and, though Aden and Basra remained independent, they had in actual practise, also become dependent on the Ottoman Turks.

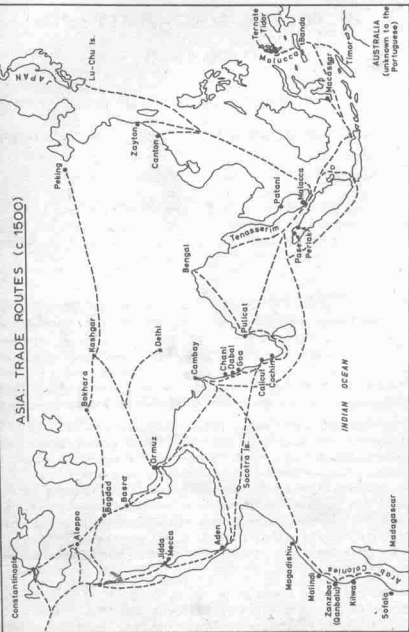
The conquest of the Middle East by the Turks meant that the overland routes were now under the control of the strongest military empire in the world at that time. Turkish soldiers were hardy and tough and their artillery world famous. The Ottoman state was organised on military lines and was under the control of a Sultan who demanded strict obedience. All land was in the Sultan's name and he used this to ensure that nobody became independent of his authority.

(ii) India

The end of the 15th. century was a period of decline for the old Sultanate of Delhi, which was then ruled by Ibrahim of the Lodi Dynasty. He was not only having his own internal troubles but Babur, the grandson of Timur, was waiting in Afghanistan like a crouched tiger to pounce upon the Punjab. This he eventually did in 1526, when he killed Ibrahim Lodi at the Battle of Panipat and laid the foundations of the Mogul Empire of India.

The same period also saw the last days of the Bahamani kingdom of the Deccan. This had been founded in 1347 by an Afghan officer, Hassan, and its days of glory had come during the reign of Muhammad

ASIA: TRADE ROUTES (c 1500)



Persian Abdur-Razzak, Ambassador of Shah Rukh, son and successor of Tamerlane, to comment in 1442, "Calicut is a perfectly secure harbour, which like that of Ormuz, brings together merchants from every country . . . security and justice are so firmly established in this city (that) the officers of the customs house take upon themselves the charge of looking after the merchandise, over which they keep watch day and night . . . every ship . . . when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels and has no trouble of any kind to put up with". (Quoted in "India in the 15th. Century", Hakluyt Society, London, 1857.)



Calicut

It was into this port then that Vasco da Gama was to sail on 20th May, 1498. At that time, there were two mosques in Calicut. In addition, there were some Christians but the religion was regarded as degrading because its followers came from the lowest rung of Hindu society. Arab and Gujerati Muslim traders, who carried on most of the Zamorin's trade, were accorded a prominent place in Calicut and there was an Arab community of considerable strength. Traders also came from Bengal and the Coromandal Coast. The Arabs maintained contact with Arabia and there was thus a good deal of traffic between India and the Middle East. At the same time, the Arabs had established colonies in the East African states, like Kilwa, Mombasa and Mozambique.

(iii) Malacca and the East Indies

To the east of India, lay the spice areas of South-East Asia. At the end of the 15th. century, Malacca was the most important centre

Shah III (1463-83). After his death, his kingdom, which then consisted of the five states of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Berar and Bidar, came under his son, "the pleasure-seeking debauchee," King Mahmud. Even before the death of the latter in 1568, the end of the Bahamani Dynasty was in sight, as the Sultan had lost all control of the five states, which declared themselves independent.

Of these five states, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were the more important, and occupied the western coasts of Peninsula India, where most of the trading ports, which played an important part in the economic structure of the Deccan, were situated. Of these, Goa was in Bijapur whilst Ahmadnagar had Chaul.

To the south of the Bahamani kingdoms, lay the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. It had been established in 1347 and had grown rapidly, especially when the Bahamani kingdom began to break up in 1485. King Krishnaraya Dewa (1509-29) was a great warrior and a tolerant ruler and Vijayanagar saw its heyday during his reign.

On the western coast of Vijayanagar lay Malabar. Geographically, it lay outside the sphere of India's internal wars. There was no central power and kingship was a position of dignity rather than of power. Power was invested in the hands of independent lords who owned their own territories and had their own forces, while the overlord seldom interfered with the business of his smaller lords. Malabar was a stronghold of rigid Hinduism. The most important of the social classes were the Nambudiri Brahmins and the Nayars. The Nambudiri Brahmins wielded social and political power, while the Nayars were the soldier class. In spite of the fact that by the end of the 15th. century, they possessed very little artillery, and that their military tactics were primitive, the Nayars exerted considerable influence on a prince, who depended upon them for his political power.

Though there was no supreme ruler in Malabar, the King of Calicut, called the Zamorin, was the most important. He had grown rich on the wealth that he had accumulated by taxing the trade that passed through his capital, Calicut. This prosperity was due in part to the manner in which the ruler dealt with the traders who visited his kingdom. It was this treatment that led to the learned

the control of Aceh, which gradually became the most important Muslim state along the Straits of Malacca.

To the south lay Palembang, once the proud capital of the Empire of Srivijaya. It had fallen under Javanese rule during the era of the Majapahit Empire and by the end of the 15th. century, its importance lay in the memory of its historic past.

The important states of Java lay on the northern shores of the island. These Muslim states, Grisek, Japara and Demak, had declared themselves independent after the decline of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, all that remained of which was Kediri. Grisek, Japara and Demak were important centres of the spice trade between the Moluccas and Malacca. The islands of the Moluccas themselves were controlled by no strong power.

Borneo was still unexplored though Brunei, on its northern shores, is said to have had a population of 20,000 which it probably owed to trade connections with China.

(v) China and Japan

The beginning of the 16th. century was a period of disorder in both the great nations of the Far East. In China, the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was passing through the middle period of its rule. The third Emperor, Yung Lo (1403-1424), gave Ming China a brief period of glory by despatching a number of fleets to the Southern Seas, but after his death, the throne passed into the hands of weaklings and the prestige of the dynasty fell rapidly. The Emperor Wu Tsung, who came to the throne in 1506, faced numerous revolts in the provinces, which he was able to suppress only with the greatest of difficulty. Yung Lo's admirals had established Chinese supremacy in the Indian Ocean, but this supremacy slipped from China's grasp in the days of his weak successors, leaving the area open to the intrusion of the Portuguese.

In 1500, Japan was ruled by the Ashikaga Shoguns, who had seized power in 1338 and maintained it until 1853. An Emperor still ruled in name, but all real power rested with the Shogun and his gōvernment. The Shogun's capital was the scene of great luxury, while in the provinces, numerous feudal lords, known as Daimyos, fought a continuous series of civil wars. In 1457, there were

of trade in this area. It was founded in about 1402 by a combination of refugees from Palembang and Proto-Malays living in the vicinity of the site. To rid himself from the threat of Siamese aggression, the ruler, Parameswara, put himself under Chinese suzerainty in 1409. Well-placed to control the trade that passed through the Straits of Malacca, the original settlement grew rapidly. In the days of its expansion the smaller states on the Sumatran side of the Straits fell under its control. This gave Malacca an even stronger hold on the trade that passed through the Straits.

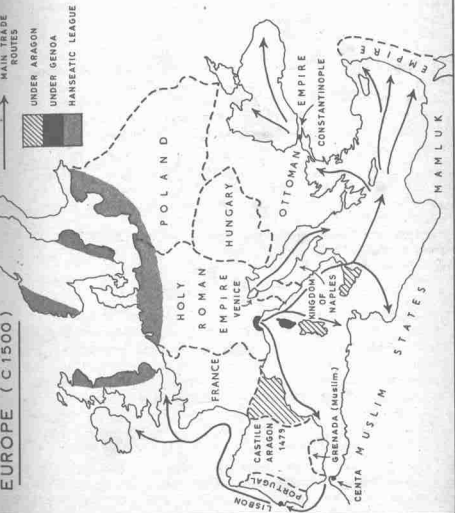
Malacca depended on Java for her supplies of rice and other staples from the eastern islands of the Archipelago. Thus Javanese merchants played an important part in the Malaccan Court. They lived in Upe, modern Tranquerah, to the north of the river and came under the direct control of their own headmen. Gujarati merchants were also prominent. They plied between Malacca and India and were regarded with no less respect than the Javanese. In 1509, there were about a thousand Gujaratis living in Malacca in addition to the many Chinese, Persian and Arab merchants.

In the early 16th. century, the Sultan of Malacca was not in a very strong position. He depended upon foreign merchants for his finances, most of which were collected in the form of customs duties, and these merchants were not always loyal to him. When d'Albuquerque attacked Malacca in 1511, the Javanese headmen Utimuti Raja secretly sent a present of sandalwood to the Portuguese, while an Indian merchant, Naina Chetu openly sided with the Portuguese and was made Bendahara when they captured Malacca. In fairness to these foreign traders, it must be said that, in one way, the Sultan and his officers were responsible for this state of affairs. The excessive taxation imposed on the traders not only resulted in alienating whatever loyalty they owed to the Sultan but also led to an exodus of these merchants to other ports like Aceh, Bantam, Patani and Brunei. The strength of the Sultan lay in his own ability and in the many ties of the chiefs of the subordinate states to their overlord.

iv) Other Malay States

On the north-east coast of Sumatra were Pedir and Pasai, both of which were Muslim states. By the beginning of the 16th. century, these had passed their period of importance and were now under

EUROPE (C1500)



nearly two hundred Daimyos in Japan, each with a private army of Samurai soldiers. This political chaos in Japan continued until the establishment of the strong Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603.

(vi) East-West Trade

The first direct contact between Europe and South-East Asia, since the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century A.D., was established by the Polos in the course of their famous journey to and from China in the thirteenth century. During his career as the envoy of Khublai Khan, the Mongol ruler of China, Marco Polo visited several parts of northern Burma and Laos, and in the course of his journey back to Venice, which began in 1292, his ship visited ports in north-eastern Sumatra, Java and Champa. At Perlak in Sumatra, he was a witness to the earliest stages of the spread of Islam in South-East Asia when he saw Muslim merchants trading at the port. After the Polos' successful expedition, several missionaries and merchants, mostly Italians, made the journey from Europe to the East in the hope of spreading Christianity or of developing trade. Prominent among them were the Franciscan friar, Odric of Pordenone, John Marignolli of Florence and the adventurous trader, Nicolo de Conti, all of whom visited parts of Java and Sumatra. In 1435 Conti visited Burma, which he called Machin or "Great China". The attempts of these travellers to implant Christianity and begin trade with South-East Asia all ended in failure. Direct contact of Europeans with the area remained on a personal basis and no permanent continuous links were established.

The difficulty of the journey between Europe and South-East Asia was in itself a sufficient deterrent to the establishment of permanent contacts between the two areas. Before the end of the fifteenth century, travellers were faced with a choice between a long overland journey along the perilous caravan trails of Central Asia, a route taken by the Polos on their outward journey to China, and a land-sea route which involved an overland journey across the Middle East and then a sea trip from a port on the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf to the coast of India. The overland route through Central Asia was rendered doubly difficult by the activities of barbarian nomads, after the collapse of the Mongol Empire in the fourteenth century.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the main trade routes between

PART ONE

SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE WEST

CHAPTER ONE

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE SPANIARDS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The Portuguese Voyages of Discovery

In one sense, the Portuguese voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a continuation of the Christian war of liberation fought against the Muslims in the Iberian peninsula. Spain had been under Muslim domination since the 8th. century, but the internal difficulties of the Cordova Caliphate during the early 11th. century, gave the Christians an opportunity to revive their power. From that time on, the Muslims were slowly pushed back, and, by 1248, they remained in control only of the kingdom of Granada in the far south. It was during this period that the Kingdom of Portugal came into being, and the Portuguese took charge of the war.

In 1415, a Portuguese expedition was organised against Ceuta, an Arab emporium on the north African coast, and for the first time the war against the Muslims was extended outside the peninsula. For the first time also, the interests of trade and religion became joined together in an unholy alliance. The conquest of Ceuta was as much an attempt to capture an important centre of trade as a crusade against the Muslims. The conquest is important for yet another reason. It provided the Portuguese with their first overseas possession and thus began the great movement of European expansion.

The geographical situation of Portugal favoured overseas expansion. Portugal had a long seaboard with excellent natural harbours for the small ships of the times at Lisbon, Oporto, Vianna and Setubal. Even before 1415, the Christian rulers of the country had encouraged the development of trade in the Mediterranean and with the nations of northern Europe, and as a result of this, Lisbon and Oporto were already important commercial centres before Portugal's eastward

Europe and the East were controlled by the Italians and the Muslim principalities of Ormuz, Aden, Jedda and Basra. Thus, the overland routes across the Middle East, and a major part of the trade between the Middle East and India were in the hands of the Arabs. The Italians controlled the Mediterranean end under an agreement that allowed them to distribute in Europe the merchandise from the East, which arrived at Constantinople or the ports of the Levant. It was by this route that the spices of the East Indies reached the dinner tables of the gentlemen of Europe. Spices were highly valued in Europe both to relieve the monotony of the rather dull European diet and as a means of curing the meat upon which many people lived during the winter. Italian merchants of Venice and Genoa were able to reap good profits from the sale of spices at European ports.

East of India, the spice trade was largely controlled by Javanese and Indian Muslim merchants. It was the Javanese who carried most of the spices from the Moluccas to Malacca, where these were collected by traders from Gujerat and other parts of the Malabar coast. Malacca, then ruled by a line of Malay Sultans, was thus the main entreport for the eastern spice trade. Italian and Muslim traders shared between them a greater part of the profits of a long trade route stretching from the Moluccas to Venice.

Portugal, a barren land, was dependent upon overseas trade and that Portuguese trade could expand only at the expense of the Muslims. His ultimate hope in this direction was to capture the spice trade, then a monopoly of Arab and Indian Muslim traders in the Indian Ocean and of the Italians in the Mediterranean. For these reasons, he organised a number of maritime expeditions along the coast of Africa both to destroy Muslim power in the area and in the hope of discovering a new sea route to the East. At the same time, he improved upon the design of Portuguese ships and developed the art of navigation so that Portuguese seamen were in a strong position to challenge all those who opposed them on the eastern seas.

By the time of Henry's death in 1460, Portuguese captains had pushed as far south as Sierra Leone and were ready to push further. A series of expeditions directed by successive Portuguese kings were capped with success in 1487, when Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope and set up a small wooden cross on the African coast. In May, 1498, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing a direct link between Europe and India when three of their ships under the command of Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut. The voyage of Vasco da Gama brought a revolution in the spice trade. The "ring fence" was broken through, and gradually the Portuguese took the place of the Javanese and the Indians further East. Venice and Genoa declined as Lisbon and Oporto grew prosperous.

D'Albuquerque and the Capture of Malacca (1511)

The next ten years of Portuguese activities in the East are dominated by the personalities of two men, Francisco d'Almeida and Alfonso d'Albuquerque, who, as the first two Portuguese Viceroy in India, laid the foundations of Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean and of a Portuguese empire in South-East Asia. The most impressive of Almeida's achievements was his defeat of the Egyptian and Indian fleets at the battle of Diu in February, 1509, which brought to an end the power of the Sultan of Egypt in the Indian Ocean. His rule as Viceroy came to an end in 1509 when he was replaced by Albuquerque.

Almeida had been an official of great ability; Albuquerque was a genius. While agreeing with Almeida that sea-power was the

expansion began. A merchant fleet had been built and the Portuguese navy took part in a Crusade in the 12th. century, with ships captured by Genoese mercenaries. One of these Genoese captains had reached the Canaries in 1336. It was natural that Portugal should advance towards Africa, for on the landward side the possibility of expansion was blocked by the existence of several Spanish kingdoms of which the strongest were Aragon and Castille.

The expedition to Ceuta had been accompanied by Prince Henry, the fifth son of King John I of Portugal, and for the next half century this able prince, better known as Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), directed a Portuguese policy of expansion along the west coast of Africa. Henry's motives were a strange mixture of religious zeal, political ambition and the scientific curiosity of a Renaissance scholar. Tales of the mysterious Prester John inspired Henry with the idea of linking his fortune with this Christian realm in the East. Henry's enterprises were carried out under the auspices of the crusading Order of Christ, of which he himself was Grand Master.

Henry was sufficiently realistic to know that the prosperity of



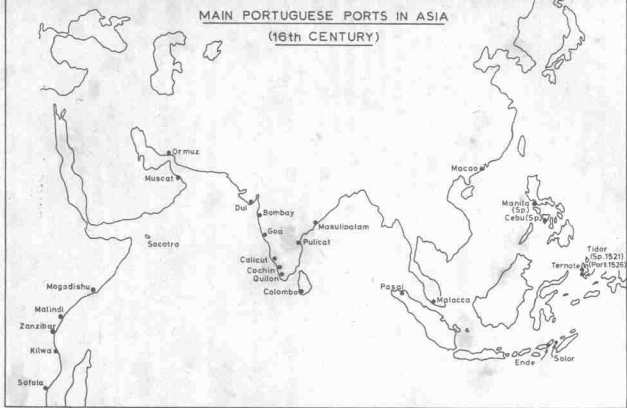
Vasco de Gama before the Zamorin of Calicut.

basis of the Portuguese position, Albuquerque realised that Portuguese sea-power in the Indian Ocean could not be secure until the Portuguese had established a string of fortified trading bases stretching from Africa to the Moluccas, which would control the entrances to the Indian Ocean and which might serve as garrisons in the areas where the Portuguese traded. At the same time, he realised that the task of the Portuguese was only half completed. The monopoly which the Arabs and the Indians held of the trade between India and Europe had been broken, but further east was the flourishing port of Malacca where Muslim traders could still obtain their spices. These two tasks, the establishment of strategic bases and the occupation of Malacca, formed a major part of Albuquerque's policy as Viceroy. He succeeded in accomplishing both.

Albuquerque's first action was to capture the city of Goa early in 1510. A fortress was built and Goa became the new centre of Portuguese power in India. While these events were taking place, Albuquerque had already made his plans for the conquest of Malacca. Malacca was then the centre of the spice trade, and Albuquerque knew that if he was to permanently undermine the position of the local traders and secure the supremacy of the Portuguese, Malacca, had to be taken. Moreover, like Ormuz, Socotra and Aden in the West, Malacca commanded the main means of access to the Indian Ocean. The conquest of Malacca must be regarded, therefore, not as the chance outcome of Sequeira's voyage but as part of Albuquerque's general plan.

On 20th. April, 1511, a fleet of 18 ships, with over a thousand men on board, left Goa for Malacca. Four months later on 24th. August, the city fell to the Portuguese after a long siege and Sultan Mahmud forced into exile. Albuquerque remained there until the following year, consolidating the Portuguese position. A rebellion fermented by Javanese merchants, (who feared the loss of their monopoly of the spice trade) was suppressed and a Portuguese fort, named *A Famosa*, was constructed near the harbour. Albuquerque also took steps (about which we will read later) to establish friendly relations with Siam, China and the Moluccas. On leaving Malacca in 1512 his ship the *Flor de la Mar*, was wrecked off the Sumatran coast, but Albuquerque was rescued and he returned safely to India in another ship.

MAIN PORTUGUESE PORTS IN ASIA
(16th CENTURY)



work of Japan and many other local products were carried from port to port in Portuguese ships, earning more profit at every exchange, and, finally the goods of the East were taken to Lisbon, to be distributed at further profit throughout Europe. Portugal took the place of Venice as the distributing centre for eastern goods, especially spices, to European ports. Malacca continued to be the main entreport in South-East Asia.

The system depended upon Portuguese control of the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca, and the consequent power to exclude Arab, Indian and Javanese merchants from a larger part of the eastern trade. While Portuguese bases in India, Africa and the Middle East secured their control of the Indian Ocean, the Straits of Malacca were closed to all traders except those who applied to Malacca for passes. Those who failed to comply with this latter regulation were liable to execution and the loss of their ships, whilst those who called at Malacca for passes were compelled to pay heavy duties on their goods. The Portuguese commercial system also depended upon the establishment of friendly relations with local rulers who controlled the ports at which the Portuguese traded. In normal conditions these relationships were maintained, but Portuguese rapacity and lack of tact often endangered the whole system.

The first Portuguese fleet to reach China arrived in Canton's Pearl River under the command of Raphael Perestrelo in 1516. The Portuguese were welcomed, and in 1517 a second fleet, under Fernando d'Andrada was sent from Goa to establish permanent commercial relations with the Court at Peking. While Fernando awaited a reply, his brother, Simon, engaged in acts of piracy against Chinese ships. Rumours of Portuguese activities in India had reached China by this time and Simon d'Andrada's behaviour seemed to confirm them. The Portuguese fleet was driven away, and when Alphonso de Mello tried to reopen negotiations in 1522, his ships were attacked by a squadron of war-junks. Official contacts between the Portuguese and China were not revived until 1557. Portuguese captains acting in a private capacity were allowed to visit Ningpo (between 1542 and 1544) and Ch'uan Chou in Fukien (between 1549 and 1550) but their piractical activities led to their speedy expulsion from both ports and the Portuguese earned the nickname Yang Kuei Tzu, the Ocean Devils.

While he had been away, Goa had fallen once more into the hands of the Sultan of Bijapur, and Albuquerque's first task was to restore the Portuguese position there, which he succeeded in doing in 1513. In the following year he captured Ormuz, but an attack on Aden failed. Before Albuquerque died at Goa in December, 1515, he wrote one last letter to the King of Portugal, his master whom he had served so faithfully. "I leave behind me, Sir," he wrote, "a son to perpetuate my memory. To him I bequeath all that I possess, which is very little, but I also leave to him what is due to me for my services, and that is a very great deal: the position of our affairs in India will speak on his behalf and on mine." (Quoted by Remy — Goa, Rome of the Orient. p. 104.) The conquest of golden Goa, Ormuz and Malacca, "the Venice of the East", had in fact placed Portuguese commercial supremacy in the East on a firm and lasting foundation. For the next century, Portuguese *caravels* and *caravels* dominated the eastern seas.



Alfonso D'Albuquerque

The Portuguese System of Trade

The Portuguese base, which Albuquerque established at Malacca in 1511 and left under the command of a Captain of the Fortress, became the centre of Portuguese power in South-East Asia and the centre also of a vast system of trade which linked Oporto and Lisbon with the ports of China and Japan in the Far East. The system depended upon the interchange of goods at various eastern ports and the sale of the remainder at a great profit in Europe. The textiles and silver of India, the spices of the Moluccas, the silks of China, the lacquer

a clash in the Philippines, and his last surviving ship was under the command of Sebastian del Cano. The intrusion of the Spaniards stimulated the Portuguese to strengthen their hold on the Moluccas, and in 1521, they signed a treaty with the ruler of Ternate by which they acquired a monopoly of the clove trade and which allowed them to build a fort. At the same time, they complained that Del Cano's voyage was a violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas by which the Spaniards and the Portuguese had defined their respective spheres of influence in 1494. While a committee of experts in Europe was deciding on the merits of the Portuguese complaint, the Spaniards sent out a small fleet to assert their claims. The Spaniards were welcomed by the ruler of Tidore and a short war developed between the Portuguese, in alliance with Ternate, and the Spaniards, allied with Tidore.

The Spaniards, however, did not receive the reinforcements and aid which they had expected from their bases in Mexico, and by 1527, they were driven out of the Moluccas. By the Treaty of Saragossa (1529), the Spaniards agreed to halt their explorations 17 degrees East of the Moluccas. In 1530 the ruler of Tidore was forced to give an annual tribute of cloves to the Portuguese as a symbol of his submission. Disregarding the treaty, the Spaniards made one more effort to penetrate into the Moluccas (in 1545), but their fleet was again defeated by the Portuguese. Thenceforth, the Spaniards concentrated their efforts on developing Manila in the Philippines and until the 1560's the Portuguese maintained an unchallenged hold on Ternate and Tidore. They built another fort on Amboina in 1566, and only the Muslim ruler of the Bandas refused permission for the establishment of a Portuguese base in his dominions.

In the 1560s, however, the Portuguese position in the Moluccas was threatened by the growing power of Sultan Harun of Ternate. In 1565 he had destroyed the Christian missions on Ternate and Amboina, and only the despatch of a Portuguese fleet from Goa had led to their revival. It was at this stage that the Amboina fort had been built to protect the missions as well as to act as a check on Harun's influence. Soon afterwards Sultan Harun accused the Portuguese of failing to share their commercial profits with him, and the Portuguese retaliated by having him murdered in 1570. Ternate rose in revolt under its new sultan, Baabullah, and in 1574, after a five year siege, the Portuguese fortress on Ternate fell. The Portuguese

In 1557, a compromise was finally arrived at. The Portuguese were allowed to establish a factory at Macao but they were to trade at no other Chinese ports. The Emperor considered that Macao was sufficiently far from his capital to discourage any Portuguese attack on China, but he took the additional precaution of having Macao walled off on the landward side. Relations gradually eased after 1557, however, and from 1575 the Portuguese were welcomed at Canton and other southern ports.

The Portuguese in the East Indies

In China the position of the Portuguese was jeopardised by the unruly behaviour of the Portuguese themselves. In Malacca it was endangered by the attacks of Muslim states whose rulers refused to acknowledge Portuguese control of the Straits of Malacca. From 1511 until they finally relinquished control of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641, the Portuguese remained under the almost constant threat of attack by one or other of the local rulers.

In the fabulous Spice Islands — the Moluccas of geography — the Portuguese position was equally insecure. The spices of the Moluccas played an extremely important part in the trade system of the Portuguese, who, from the time of their first arrival in Malacca had been trying to establish friendly relations with their rulers.

In 1512 Albuquerque sent an expedition to the Moluccas under Antonio d'Abreu with the object of making contact with the local rulers and developing Portuguese commerce with them. It was Albuquerque's hope that he could oust the Javanese traders who had previously monopolised the spice trade between the Moluccas and Malacca. D'Abreu reached the Banda Islands, but the loss of two of his three ships prevented him from going further to the important islands of Ternate and Tidore. A second Portuguese expedition in 1513 was more successful. The Sultans of Ternate and Tidore both welcomed the Portuguese and gave them permission to set up trading factories. These Sultans were in fact political rivals, and both welcomed the opportunity of obtaining Portuguese support.

For several years the position of the Portuguese in the Spice Islands appeared to be secure, but in 1521 this security was threatened when Magellan's ship, the *Victoria*, arrived in the Moluccas on its journey home to Spain. Magellan had been killed earlier during

inaugurated there a period of bitter rivalry between the Spanish and the Portuguese, each in alliance with a local ruler. The Portuguese position had at first appeared precarious and the King of Portugal had in 1525 considered withdrawing from the Moluccas to a new base in Java. But the Spanish fleets were not given the assistance they expected from Mexico and the war ended in favour of the Portuguese. The Treaty of Saragossa, signed in 1529, placed the Philippines as well as the Moluccas within the Portuguese sphere of influence.

The Treaty, however, did not prevent the Spanish from pushing their interests in the Philippines, in which the Portuguese had shown little interest and had established no bases. An expedition from Mexico under Lopez de Legaspi captured Cebu in 1564, Manila was taken in 1571 and the Spanish conquest of the Philippines was completed by 1576. Only the Moros, the Muslim inhabitants of the southern Philippines, continued to dispute Spanish supremacy.



The Death of Magellan on the island of Mathan

tried to salvage what they could out of the situation by building a new fort on Tidore, but their influence in the area was rapidly declining.

The arrival of Francis Drake at Ternate (in 1579), and the revival of Spanish plans to control the Moluccas seemed to augur the end of Portuguese supremacy, but they were saved by two events. In 1580, Philip II united the crowns of Spain and Portugal and immediately prevented the Spaniards from their proposed expansion, and in 1586, the Portuguese enemy, Sultan Baabullah, who had offered a treaty to Drake, died. At the same time, further west, the Achinese threat to Malacca temporarily ended, about which we will read in the next chapter.

The Spanish in the Philippines

While the Portuguese had been concentrating their attention on the discovery of a sea route to the East around Africa, the Spanish had been focusing their attentions on westward expansion towards America. The two largest Spanish kingdoms were united in 1469 by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and after their conquest of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, the Spanish were prepared for overseas development. Like the Portuguese, they had their eyes upon the profitable spice trade of the "Indies". The voyages of Columbus (1492-1504), a Genoese captain sailing under the patronage of Spain, had been undertaken with the object of discovering a western route to the Spice Islands, and although they had failed to achieve their object, they led to the discovery of the West Indies and of the coast of South America. Amerigo Vespucci followed up by exploring a large section of the South American coastline, and in November, 1519, Ferdinand Magellan reached the southern tip of America and thus discovered a route into the Pacific. His achievement must be ranked in importance with that of Vasco da Gama, for in discovering a "south-west passage", he had opened a new door to European enterprise in the East. The Spanish now took their place as competitors to the Portuguese. They were late in the field, however, for by this time the Portuguese had already established themselves in India, Malacca and the Spice Islands.

You have already read about how Magellan's fleet, proceeding westwards under Sebastian Del Cano, reached the Moluccas and

activity. The influence of the Church was beneficial to a good extent as new crops were introduced, old ones improved, schools and hospitals were built.

The civil administration which the Spanish introduced was simple without being very effective. A Spanish Governor ruled the islands with almost absolute power. At the end of his term of office, a body of royal officials, known as the *Audiencia*, was sent out to hear complaints about his activities, but otherwise there was no limitation on his authority. The Philippines were far from the centres of Spanish power, and Spanish officials enjoyed a great deal of independence which they frequently turned to their own advantage. At first the local administration was left to the Spanish landlords described in the previous paragraphs, the *ecomenderos* as they were called, but later they were replaced by judicial governors called *alcaldes*. Both the *ecomenderos* and the *alcaldes* were able to use their positions to acquire large personal fortunes. The village administration was placed in the hands of a local Filipino notability, usually the landlord or his agent, known as the *cacique*. The Spanish clergy exercised great influence at every level in the administration; so did the landlord class.

Unlike the Portuguese, the Spaniards did not use their base in the Philippines as a centre for the creation of a commercial empire in South-East Asia. After the Treaty of Saragossa, the Spaniards made one more attempt to establish themselves in the Moluccas in (1545), but the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1580, permanently restrained their efforts in this direction. The fiery Dominican missionary, Fray Diego Advarte, advocated the conquest of Cambodia at the end of the sixteenth century, and the Jesuit priest, Padre Alonso Sanchez, pressed for the conquest of China at about the same time, but neither project came to anything. The ideas of Sanchez were not accepted by the Spanish crown, while Spanish intervention in Cambodia (1596-1599) produced no permanent results. It is interesting to note that both projects were thought of as a means of spreading Christianity rather than of developing trade. The bulk of the trade of the Philippines was with China, and a large Chinese mercantile community the *Sangeleyes*, grew up at Manila. The Spanish made no attempt to develop the regional trade of South-East Asia as the Portuguese had done to their great advantage. The reason was partly religious, for the Spanish authorities in the Philippines frowned upon commercial intercourse with the Muslims

The Spanish conquest of the Philippines was rendered easier by the absence of strong opposition. No strong political units existed in the Philippines to obstruct the Spanish advance and the Chinese, who had earlier established contact with several Filipino ports, took no effective action against the new intruders. Admiral Cheng Ho had exacted tribute from the petty chieftains of Lingayen Gulf, Manila Bay, Mindor and Sulu early in the fifteenth century, but soon afterwards the Chinese Government had lost interest in the area. Opposition to the Spanish, apart from the Moros, came from Chinese pirates who had previously used bases in the Philippines. The powerful pirate leader, Limahon, landed in Luzon in 1574 but was unable to make any headway. Later in the century, Koaxinga, the famous Chinese pirate with his headquarters in Formosa, planned an attack on the Philippines. The Spanish authorities defended Manila in anticipation of a large-scale invasion, but Koaxinga died before his plan reached fruition. Within the Philippines, Christian missionaries helped to prepare the way for Spanish occupation of the greater part of the islands.

The Spanish did not reap the same commercial advantages from the Philippines as the Portuguese did from the Moluccas. The islands were too remote from the centre of Spanish overseas power and from Spain itself, and the Spanish were content to despatch only one trading expedition each year from Manila to Acapulco in Mexico. The Philippines became, instead, a centre for missionary activity. Spanish missionaries not only met with great successes in the Philippines themselves, but also used the islands as a base for work in Japan, China and Indo-China. A majority of the Filipinos, apart from the Moros, were converted, and Christianity became the channel through which Spanish culture spread in the Philippines during the long period of Spanish rule from 1571 until 1898.

On the whole, the Philippines benefitted from the long period of Spanish rule. But one aspect of Spanish policy is, however, open to criticism. Large areas of land were given to Spanish noblemen and missionaries under a system which gave the landlord complete control over his serfs. In fact, the Church in the Philippines gradually acquired an immense amount of power and influence during the period of Spanish rule. The Filipino *barrio*, or village, fell almost completely into the hands of the missionaries, who organised agriculture and education, initiated welfare services and stimulated commercial

CHAPTER TWO

ACHEH AND THE WESTERN POWERS

We have read about the geographical position of the Malay Peninsula and the part it played in the trade between India and China more than a thousand years before the founding of Malacca. Not only did it lie in the path of the monsoons; but the Straits of Malacca, protected as it was from the ferocity of the monsoons by the mountain ranges on either side, provided the ideal location for the half-way house, which both the Chinese and the Indian traders needed. One of the most suitable of these places was Aceh or Lamuri as it was called during the Srivijayan period. Located at the north-eastern tip of Sumatra, it was the last port of call on the route to India, and while waiting for the winds to change, the captains of the numerous ships that lay anchored in the harbour, replenished their stocks of food, water and other necessities. Apart from this, the ports of Pedir and Pasai were renowned for their pepper and it was, therefore, by no accident that Aceh grew into a large and prosperous port. It was this prosperity that resulted in its being one of the targets of Rajendra Chola and the port was destroyed by the invader in his eastern campaign of 1025. But this was not the end of Aceh because this baptism of fire resulted in the emergence of a state which not only revived its commercial position but was destined to play a leading role in the propagation of Islam in the decades that followed.



Marco Polo at Aceh.

to the south. One result of this negative policy was the decline of Sulu which had been a centre of Muslim trade before the Spaniards arrived. For most of their period in the East, the Spaniards relied on their westward route to Asia and neglected the alternative route around Africa which was used by the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch. In 1765 a Spanish company was set up to trade with South-East Asia via the Cape of Good Hope, but it met with little success.

One is naturally inclined to enquire into the main reason which led to this rapid spread of Islam, which was originally brought to Aceh because of its trade. The 13th. and 14th. were centuries of Muslim trade when most of the ships and trade in general was in Muslim hands. Local rulers, princes and chiefs were anxious to keep these traders at their settlements because of the prosperity which followed the trade that they brought with them. One of the methods adopted to ensure their permanent stay was marriage. When these Muslim merchants married daughters of the local aristocracy, they gradually persuaded their relatives by marriage to adopt the new faith. As the influx of Muslim merchants grew in the 14th. century, many Hindu merchants became Muslims to enable them to establish better relations with the Muslim ship owners, on whom they were dependent for the transport of their goods.

The two areas in India that were closely connected with Aceh were Bengal and Gujerat. Thus the period saw the arrival of Muslim missionaries, who helped in the spread of the new religion and also the ceremonies that were followed in the courts of the Muslim rulers in India. And together with this came the political marriages that have been conducted throughout history between rulers, small and big. But one must not overlook the important part that the ruler played in the propagation of Islam. These were days when the ruler performed most of the functions of state and controlled foreign trade, which he conducted with the help of a Shah-Bandar or Harbour Master, who was normally a foreign trader and a Muslim by religion. During the 13th. and 14th. centuries, trade relations were normally best conducted with those rulers who were co-religionists and many rulers became Muslims because of this reason. A good example of this is in the case of Parameswara, ruler of Malacca.

Thus by the end of the 14th. century, Aceh became a centre of Muslim learning and culture. The Court of the Ruler was modelled on those of the Muslim kings of India and teachers, missionaries and those associated with the religion were welcomed from as far as Arabia. To the many who made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, Aceh took on a new significance, in that it was the port from which they left for the Holy Land. Even in Mecca, the fame of Aceh grew and its rulers were bestowed titles and honours from the authorities there for the part they played in spreading the teachings of Islam in this part of the world. And side by side with religion

Acheh as a centre of Muslim learning and trade

Documentary evidence suggests that Sumatra had the first Muslim community in South-East Asia and that this community came into being during the second half of the 13th. century. Chinese records mention that an embassy, led by two Muslims (Sulaiman and Shamsuddin) reached the Mongol or Yuan Court in 1281, while Marco Polo, who was obliged to wait till the change of the monsoon for five months at Samudra, mentions that Perlak, he called it Felech, had a Muslim community in 1292. Five years later, Samudra, which was not Muslim at that time, was converted, as evidenced by the tombstone of Malik al Saleh, the first Muslim ruler, who died in 1297. In time, the whole coastal region was converted.



Tomb of Sultan Malik-al-Saleh.

(a) Religious

We have seen how, with the conversion of Malacca, the latter became the religious centre and was responsible for the spread of Islam to the islands of South-East Asia up to the Philippines. Malacca lost this position when it fell to the Portuguese and the centre of Islam thus first reverted to Sumatra and then passed on to Java. But Aceh soon recovered a good part of its lost glory and established contacts with the Muslim powers in India and Western Asia and, in this way, procured the aid of Turkish and Arabic men and materials in its fight against the Portuguese. But this does not seem to have retarded Aceh, Perak, Johore and Pahang from their individual political ambitions, and these states spent a good part of their time and resources in waging war against one another instead of joining hands, especially at times when victory against the Portuguese was virtually in their grasp. It would not be wrong, therefore, to say that during the 16th. century, religious zeal was forced to recede to the background in face of the military threat that the Christian powers posed at the very existence of the local rulers, who used every means that they had at their disposal to keep their kingdoms intact. The 16th. century, therefore, saw a temporary lull in Achinese efforts to propagate Islam. But this was not so in the case of their political aims because Achinese energy was all geared to their Holy War or Jihad, against the hated Portuguese and their burning desire to drive them out of Malacca and the East.

(b) Political

Sultan Mahmud, who was forced to leave Malacca before the superior arms of the Portuguese, never became reconciled to the loss of his capital and, with the resources of the rest of his Empire behind him, made many attempts to recover it, but without success. The Portuguese, on the other hand, struck a decisive blow when his capital at Bintang was taken in 1525 and the Sultan forced to retreat to Kampar in Sumatra, where he died, a lonely exile, in 1528.

The death of Mahmud, however, did not release the Portuguese from the fear of attack because the security of their hold on Malacca was threatened constantly by the invasions of their many enemies, especially Johore and Aceh. The Sultanate of Johore was founded by one of Mahmud's sons, who was hailed as Sultan Alauddin

came trade and prosperity.

The conversion of Parameswara in 1414 and the resultant shift of the Muslim traders transferred Malacca into an emporium and a centre of Islamic knowledge and led to the decline of Aceh from the position that it had occupied for nearly two centuries. But the Achinese, though pushed by Malacca to second place in religious and commercial status, were not caught unawares as far as their political status was concerned. Thus, in spite of the fact that trade went on almost uninterrupted between Aceh and Malacca, the latter was not able to extend its boundaries to include Aceh, though an attempt to do so was made by Tun Perak when he restored the deposed ruler of Pase, in the hope that he would accept the suzerainty of Malacca. The Sultan of Pase refused to do this but joined up with Aceh, most probably aware of the hornets' nest that he would kindle in accepting the suzerainty of Malacca.

In any case, a great change began to take place in the affairs of the great city, especially after the death of Bendahara Tun Perak in 1498, when his vigorous leadership came to an end. The foreign traders, who had brought Malacca its wealth were so heavily taxed that by 1500, many of them began to move their business to other centres, including Aceh, which began to grow at the expense of Malacca. The prosperity which Aceh enjoyed at the beginning of the 16th. century may be judged from an account given by the Bolognese traveller Ludovico di Varthema, who left Europe on a voyage which lasted for five years from 1502 to 1507. Varthema writes about the flourishing pepper trade of the Achinese area, which sent between 18 to 20 ships to China, and refers to the trade and prosperity of Pedir by mentioning the 500 money-changers that he saw in one street alone. Gold, evidently from Minangkabau, silver and tin were used as mediums of exchange in this city which produced fireworks, silk and benzoin in addition to pepper and boasted of a ship-building industry as well. But this prosperity was negligible when compared to the gains that Aceh made when Malacca fell to the Portuguese in 1511.

Aceh in the 16th. Century

The history of Aceh during the 16th. century may be broadly discussed under three main sub-headings — religious, political and commercial.

It would have been easy for the Achinese to push on to the territories which lay beyond and under the control of Johore, but Sultan Ali was faced with another threat when the Portuguese began a naval blockade of his kingdom. The Achinese were not only able to thwart the efforts of the Portuguese but began a campaign against the other native kingdoms that lay on the western coast. Thus by the time Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah died in 1530, he left a strong kingdom which had been consolidated almost under the shadow of the powerful Portuguese. It was because of this that his famous successor, Alauddin Riayat Shah al Kahar, who came to the throne in 1537, after the seven-year reign of Sulauddin Ibni Ali, was able to play an important role in the affairs of the kingdoms that lay along the coasts of the Straits of Malacca, and harass, both the Portuguese and Johore, in the triangular warfare which went on practically unabated till the arrival of the English and the Dutch towards the closing years of the 16th. century.

(ii) The Triangular War

After the death of the exiled Sultan Mahmud in 1528, his son Alauddin sought to revive the Empire of Malacca from his new headquarters in Johore. He attacked Malacca in 1533, but this effort was no more successful than those of his father, and the Portuguese held out. In 1536, they attacked Alauddin's capital and forced the Sultan to come to terms.

The first Achinese attack on Malacca was launched without warning in 1537, four years after the invasion of Alauddin, but was beaten back. After severe fighting, during which their losses were heavy, the Portuguese managed to repel the new attackers. The attack was followed by ten years of calm for Malacca because the Achinese suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Johore, Perak and Siak in 1540. In 1547, the Achinese returned laid siege to Malacca and advanced as far as Perlis to cut off supplies and reinforcements from that quarter. It was during this siege that St. Francis Xavier prophesied the arrival of reinforcements from Patani. The fulfilment of this prophecy was largely responsible for saving the city. Once relieved, the Portuguese, with a small fleet, were able to defeat the Achinese in the Perlis River. The importance of this victory may be judged from the fact that Johore, Perak and Pahang had amassed a force of 300 ships and 8,000 men ready to take

Riayat Shah II soon after his father's death. He established his capital at Johore Lama on the Johore River and there he tried to restore some of the lost glory of the Malaccan court. Another of his sons became Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Perak, while relatives of the Sultan of Malacca also ruled in Pahang. Alauddin was thus able to call on the aid of Perak and Pahang in his attempts to recover Malacca.

Meanwhile, another threat to Malacca was arising from across the Straits where Aceh was developing into a strong power, and with its rise, the Straits of Malacca was, during the 16th. century, the scene of an almost constant struggle for supremacy between the Portuguese, the rulers of Johore, and the Achinese.

The political activities of the Achinese may be broadly divided into two episodes:

(i) Union of Aceh, Pasai and Pedir.

We read in the last chapter about the commercial policy that the Portuguese followed regarding keeping on friendly terms with those local rulers who traded with them. They began things on the right foot, when they established friendly relations with Pasai and obtained the Sultan's permission to build a factory, in return for military help. Realizing the advantages of securing the local spice trade the Portuguese began to interfere in the internal and foreign affairs of the Ruler. So much so that by 1519, the throne was occupied by their own candidate, who granted his supporters a complete monopoly of his kingdom's pepper trade. Happy with the success that they had achieved in Pasai without any real effort, the Portuguese repeated the same story in Pedir, this time sending armed detachments of troops. It was this action of the Portuguese that was the last straw and made Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah of Aceh aware of what the Portuguese were really up to. Realizing that the alarming success of the Portuguese would endanger his own position next, Ali Mughayat Shah went to the aid of the deposed Sultan of Pedir and against tough opposition, drove the Portuguese out in 1521. He followed this success by attacking Pasai two years later, where the Portuguese fort was besieged and later burnt. This victory, thus brought under the control of Aceh, its two main rival ports of Pedir and Pasai and almost the entire control of the pepper-producing areas in Northern Sumatra.

Johore Sultanate was revived with a new capital on the Johore River, but its rulers could not muster sufficient strength to attack the Portuguese. The defeat of Johore had so impressed the Achinese that they too desisted from further aggression and Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, who became ruler of Aceh in 1589, adopted a peaceful policy with regard to both his rivals. It was his reign that saw the arrival of a new force into the area — the Protestant Dutch and English.

(c) Commercial

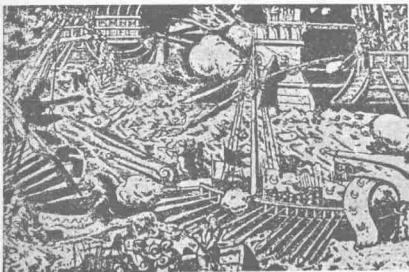
We have read about the gradual movement of foreign traders from Malacca, during the closing years of the Sultanate, to Aceh and other rival ports. As far as the Muslim traders were concerned, the process became complete with the fall of Malacca and those who visited the latter did so due to Portuguese pressure or as a last resort. As mentioned above, the Portuguese failed, not only to keep Pedir and Pasai under their own control but to prevent their subjugation by the Achinese. This was to have a serious effect on Portuguese trade because the real secret of their commercial success was not the capture of Malacca but their ability to control the trade of the area and force it to Malacca. Thus their inability to check the growing power of the Achinese was the Achilles heel in the web that they were trying to weave and Aceh grew into a commercial centre in spite of all the opposition of the Portuguese. Achinese trade was given a real boost when trouble began after 1519 between the Portuguese and the Chinese.

But it is not correct to suppose that Aceh became the successor to Malacca, because it never reached the position that Malacca held during the height of its glory. And one cannot blame the Achinese for having not attained that status because the conditions during the 15th. and 16th. centuries were totally different. In fact, much credit is due to the Achinese for the success that they did achieve in spite of all the odds that they faced and one admires the guts and bravery of these determined people who remained a thorn in the side of the Portuguese — the adventurers who had given commendable proof of their own qualities in the manner in which they faced and overcame obstacles, which seemed almost impossible to surmount.

Another fact that one must also bear in mind is that the importance

advantage of any reverse in Portuguese fortunes. Undaunted, the Achinese returned in 1551 in alliance with the Queen of Japara, but again they were defeated.

In 1564, the Achinese turned on Johore Lama, took the city and exiled its ruler to Aceh, where he died. The Achinese then attacked Malacca once more in 1568, this time with the support of Indian and Turkish allies but again they were unsuccessful. After the failure of two further attacks in 1570 and 1573, the Achinese invaded Perak and brought that state and its rich trade in tin under their control in 1575.



A Portuguese - Achinese sea-fight off Singapore.

Since the failure of Alauddin's attack of 1533, the rulers of Johore had made no attempts on Malacca, but in 1586, they struck once again, with the aid of the Minangkabaus of Naning and Rembau. The attack failed, and the Portuguese followed up their success by invading and sacking Johore Lama in 1587. The ferocity of the Portuguese counter-attack under Paolo de Lima is perhaps explained by the fact that Johore Lama was rapidly becoming a rival trading centre in the Malacca Straits.

The destruction of Johore Lama was followed by a period of calm for Malacca which lasted until the turn of the century. The

CHAPTER THREE

THE DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

After the discovery of the all-sea route to India by the Portuguese, Lisbon replaced Venice and Genoa as the European distributing centre of Asian goods. But as the Portuguese needed all their heavy ships for the sea-voyages to the East, they were unable to re-ship these goods to the markets of Europe. The work of distribution was taken over by the Protestant Dutch who soon built a profitable intra-continental carrying trade. Although Portugal, like Spain, was a Catholic nation, the Catholic-Protestant religious quarrel did not end trade relations between the Portuguese and the Dutch. It was only in 1594 that the situation changed.

The Coming of The Dutch

In the early sixteenth century, Holland was a part of the empire of King Philip II of Spain. As a result of religious quarrels, however, the Dutch Protestants revolted against Spanish authority and, by 1581, they had created an independent nation — the Republic of the Netherlands. This was one year after King Philip II had conquered Portugal in an effort to pool the resources of the Catholic nations in preparation for his invasion of England. The subsequent defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 led to a proclamation in 1595 by King Philip II declaring the closure of the doors of Lisbon to his rebellious Dutch subjects. This cut off supplies to the Dutch and their carrying trade was very badly hit.

When King Philip refused to allow the Dutch to trade with Lisbon, they sought direct access to the spice-producing areas of Asia. Their chief motive was commercial, but at the same time, they planned to use the profits of their trade to finance their national struggle against Spain.

When the Dutch decided to come to the East, certain factors worked in their favour. The extensive fishing trade that they had developed provided excellent training for their seamen. This was an advantage as they could draw on this naval reserve whenever the need arose in their fight to gain naval supremacy from the Portuguese in the East.

of the Straits of Malacca as being "a must" in a sea-voyage to China and the East was also to undergo a change with the use of the alternative Sunda Strait route by which the Dutch by-passed the Portuguese-controlled Straits of Malacca. And with this Aceh was naturally effected. But it must not be presumed that the arrival of the English and the Dutch was the end of the Achinese, because the first few decades of the 17th. century saw the rise of the Achinese to a position which, in normal circumstances, one would have thought impossible because of the presence of the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch. We will read about this in the next chapter.

information regarding the trade and the navigation of the Indian Ocean. Equipped with this knowledge, the Dutch were prepared to venture East. The proclamation of 1595 provided them with a final push.

In April 1595, the first Dutch expedition, consisting of four ships, set out from Texel under the charge of Cornelius de Houtman. A year later, after calling at Aceh, he reached Bantam, where he was well-received. However, his arrogant behaviour resulted in his imprisonment. He was released a month later after the Dutch had bombarded the town and paid a ransom. Houtman visited Jakarta, Madura and Bali before returning home after an absence of two and a half-years. Though only three ships and 89 of the crew of 259 returned home, the voyage yielded a profit of about 80,000 florins.

Houtman's success heralded the organisation of several other companies and between 1595 and 1601 nearly sixty-five Dutch ships visited the East and soon nearly every port of importance was visited by Dutch ships, and Dutch factories were established all over South-East Asia — at Patani, Grisek, Johore, Banda, Amboina, Aceh, Ternate and Bantam. Native rulers welcomed the Dutch because they were rivals of their Portuguese enemies and they hoped that Dutch-Portuguese rivalry would give them a better bargaining position for their goods.

Of the early Dutch expeditions two were specially important. The first of these was the arrival of the *Liefde*, in Japan in April 1600, via the Straits of Magellan, and under the command of Jacob Quaeckerneck. Though from the financial point of view it was a miserable failure, this was the beginning of Dutch connections with Japan. By July 1609, the Dutch were granted permission to set up a factory at Hirado and their ships began regular trade journeys to Japan. The other significant expedition consisted of eight ships and was led by Jacob van Neck in 1598. He was far more tactful than Houtman and soon established good relations with the Sultan of Bantam. His ships visited Jakarta, Tuban, Grisek, Amboina, the Banda Islands and Ternate and collected cargoes of mace, nutmegs and cloves. The expedition was a great success and yielded a profit of 400 per cent.

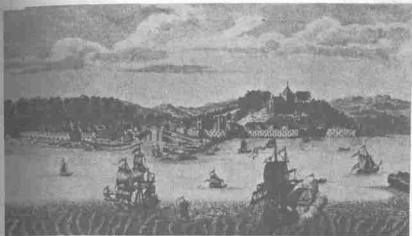
At first the Dutch were unable to bring about any significant

As a result of their distributing trade Dutch traders had gained valuable experience as middlemen. Brussels and Antwerp had grown into great centres of trade, just as Venice and Genoa had done centuries before. Many a Portuguese expedition to the East was to be financed with money loaned to the King of Portugal by Dutch merchants, who not only had the necessary capital for investment but had developed the most up-to-date financial methods in Europe.

Before Philip's proclamation, the Dutch had hesitated to travel to the East, largely because they did not have sufficient knowledge regarding the navigation of the Indian Ocean, which the Portuguese had kept as a closely guarded secret. In 1592, this obstacle was partially overcome when Jan Huygen van Linschoten, who had been Secretary to the Archbishop of Goa, returned to Holland with first-hand information of the position of the Portuguese in India and the East. He revealed that all that was needed was a little initiative on the part of the Dutch and the rotten structure of the Portuguese Empire in the East would crumble. He also published two books, including his famous *Itinerario*, which provided the most up-to-date



Van Linschoten



Malacca

an alliance with Johore was necessary, and this could be achieved by going to the aid of Johore against its old rival — the Portuguese.

In 1603, the Dutch beat off a Portuguese force attacking Johore, much to the pleasure of the Sultan. Two years later, in May 1605, Cornelius Matelieff de Jonge left Holland with a powerful fleet. His intention was to capture Malacca. On the way, he met van der Hagen who informed him that Johore was being harassed once again by the Portuguese. Matelieff hastened to ally himself with Johore and in May, 1606, the first Johore-Dutch treaty was signed. Matelieff agreed to help the Sultan capture Malacca. If their efforts were successful "the town and fortress are to be given, in completely free ownership, to the States-General (i.e. the Dutch E.I. Company), with liberty to increase the fortifications." However, the attack failed, as a result of disagreement between the allies. The Sultan of Johore may have realized that, in the long run, he had little to gain from the capture of Malacca. On the contrary, he would be exchanging the weak Portuguese for the more powerful Dutch. Matelieff went ahead alone, but he was forced to raise the siege, when a powerful Portuguese fleet arrived from Goa. However, in later naval engagements, he inflicted telling blows on Portuguese naval power in the East.

After his unsuccessful attack on Malacca, Matelieff left for Batu Sawar where a new treaty was signed with Johore in September,

change in the position of the Portuguese in the East. This was because there were too many Dutch companies operating and there was no real unity and strength. In March, 1602, a momentous step was taken when all these separate companies were united to form the V.O.C. (Vereenigde Ostindische Compagnie) — the Dutch East India Company. The new company had a financial backing of $6\frac{1}{2}$ million guilders and was in a strong position to tackle any rival, with the support of the Dutch Government behind it.

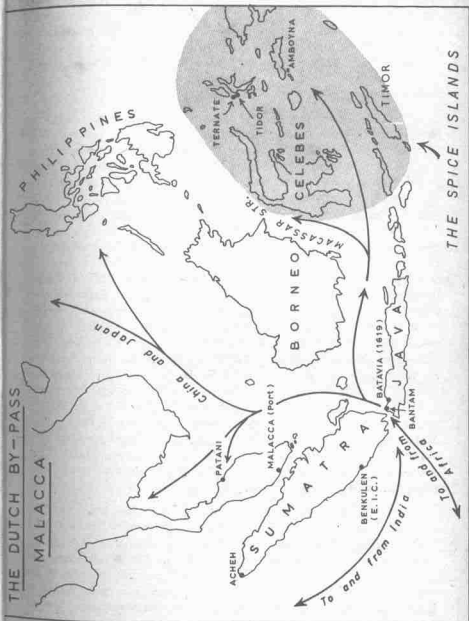
(i) Beginning of Dutch-Portuguese Rivalry

Right from the beginning, the two aims of the Dutch, as far as South-East Asia was concerned, were to drive the Portuguese and the Spaniards from the spice producing areas and to secure a monopoly of the spice trade to Europe. The first of these aims was to be achieved by exploiting Portuguese enmity with native rulers in an attempt to gain allies for an all-out war against the Portuguese. The second could be achieved in one of two ways — either by outright conquest or by agreements which ensured the Dutch of the exclusive delivery of the produce of the area.

The most valuable prize in South-East Asia was Portuguese Malacca, which was potentially a perfect headquarters for the Dutch in the East. The Dutch knew that Lisbon was in no position to send any help to Malacca because the English fleet was blockading it to frustrate Spanish attempts to repeat the 1588 invasion of England. The Portuguese in Malacca would have to depend therefore entirely on the limited forces that Goa would be able to provide.

As early as 1597, the Dutch had tested the defences of Malacca but were driven off. The Portuguese, aware of the seriousness of the Dutch securing a hold at Bantam, sent a fleet of thirty ships under Furtado de Mendoza to attack them. But Wolphert Harmensz, with only five ships, secured a spectacular victory and thus secured command of the Sunda Straits. The Dutch followed up this success by securing control over the more important Straits of Malacca.

In 1602, Dutch ships unsuccessfully attempted to blockade Malacca under Steven Van der Hagen. It was probably during this action that the Dutch realized that Malacca would easily fall if they could cut off supplies arriving from the hinterland. For this purpose



1606. Under this treaty, the Sultan granted a piece of land to the Dutch company "where it can land its goods and ammunition, recuperate its men and establish a residence as it would have done at Malacca." At the same time, Matelieff's second-in-command concluded a treaty of alliance with Aceh, under which both sides agreed to join forces against the Portuguese and the Spanish. It is quite obvious that the Dutch, by making treaties with both Johore and Aceh, were trying to avoid taking sides in the conflict between these two Muslim states.

In 1608, Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff visited Johore and insisted that according to the September treaty, the Sultan had given the Dutch permission to build a fort at Batu Sawar. The Sultan not only refused this flatly but declined to aid the Dutch in any attack on Malacca, unless they were prepared to help him against Aceh or Patani. As the Dutch refused to do this, their relations with Johore deteriorated rapidly.

Meanwhile the Portuguese, realizing the gravity of their position and worried by losses suffered at sea, began to make friendly approaches to Johore. With Johore on their side, Malacca could be supplied from the hinterland and the loss of naval superiority would be rendered less serious. Johore, disappointed by the refusal of the Dutch to help them against Aceh or Patani, made a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese in October, 1610. This treaty brought to an end the initial contacts between the Dutch and the Malay States.

As for securing a monopoly of the spice trade with Europe, van der Hagen signed the first treaty with an Amboinan chief in 1600 by which, in return for protection, the Dutch were given a monopoly of the cloves produced in his kingdom. In 1602 Banda gave the Dutch a nutmeg monopoly under the same conditions to be followed by Ternate, Bachian, Makian and most of the Bandas. In 1609, the Dutch established Fort Nassau, and brought the spice islands under their control.

Probably the most important event of 1609 was the decision to appoint Pieter Both as Governor-General of the Indies. According to the instructions given to him, his main task was to establish a base which would serve as the headquarters of Dutch commerce in South-East Asia. The Dutch had failed to take Malacca, and an



because when Iskandar Thani died in 1641, he was followed by a succession of queens and the overseas empire of Acheh, with the exception of Perak, collapsed.

By this time, it was quite apparent, that the position the Portuguese had attained during the early decades of their arrival in the East Indies, had taken a change for the worse and that by the end of the 16th. century, they had almost completely lost the commercial

alternative was to be chosen as a matter of great urgency. Both was also to ensure control of the Moluccas, the Bandas and Amboina. Native vessels were to be prevented from shipping the produce of these islands to Java. In addition, Both was instructed to try to secure the profitable sandalwood trade of Timor and Solor.

The Rise of Aceh, 1610—1641

From the above account it is easy to assume that the decline of Portuguese power had begun, especially in the areas in Malaya. The Dutch could well have stepped into the political vacuum which they had helped to create in the Straits of Malacca. But instead of that, this opportunity was seized by the Achinese under the leadership of Mahkota Alam (or Iskander Muda) who came to the throne in 1607. Angered perhaps by Johore's treaty with the Portuguese, whom he hated, Mahkota Alam began his attack on Aru, a vassal of Johore and captured it in 1612. In the following year, he surprised Batu Sawar and carried the Sultan and his family to Aceh. Though a compromise was reached and the Sultan's brother, Raja Bongsu, restored to the throne, relations deteriorated when Raja Bongsu became friendly with the Portuguese. Mahkota Alam sent a larger force, destroyed the capital of Johore and forced the Sultan to take refuge in Bintang, where he was captured and death followed soon afterwards. Mahkota Alam placed his brother-in-law, Raja Abdullah on the throne, but the latter fared no better because his friendly attitude towards the Dutch resulted in his exile and ultimate death in 1637. In the meantime, Mahkota Alam brought Pahang (1617), Kedah (1619) and Perak (1620) under his control. Portuguese Malacca was thus surrounded by territories under Mahkota Alam. On the seaward side, his fleets besieged Malacca for two years (1627-29) and finally attacked the city with a great force, but the Portuguese, though faced with heavy odds, held out.

Mahkota Alam died in 1636. Having no male heir, he had adopted a son of Sultan Ahmad Shah of Pahang whom he had carried off to Aceh in 1618. This boy took the name of Iskandar Thani and was the last of the great kings of Aceh. Johore took advantage of the death of Mahkota Alam to declare itself independent, and, as a precaution against Iskandar Thani, signed a treaty with the Dutch. Though an attempt by Pahang to do the same was crushed by Iskandar Thani, the end of Achinese supremacy was at hand,

In the event, the colonial administration of the Portuguese was cumbersome, top-heavy and placed unnecessary restrictions on individual enterprise and initiative. From 1514 Portugal's colonial trade was a royal monopoly and it was organised by royal factors on behalf of the royal family. In 1516 the *Vedores da Fazenda* was set up in Lisbon to prepare outward cargoes for the King, and to receive the commodities which came back from the East. This body also recruited troops and administrators for overseas service. The *Vedore da Fazndna* was incapable of the immense amount of work necessary for running Portuguese trade and bases and it also failed to establish an effective administrative system in the overseas dependencies. Officials were chosen for their connections with the Portuguese court rather than for their abilities. Private traders were allowed to ply between Goa and Lisbon but only by paying excessive dues on their cargoes. The system of royal monopoly and royal control must be regarded as another reason for the internal weakness of the Portuguese empire. The empire was also far from the seat of authority in Lisbon, and this made it difficult for the Crown to check abuses in Portuguese stations overseas. The corruption discovered by St. Francis Xavier amongst the Portuguese fidalgos, private trade and individual cruelty all went unchecked.

In 1580, by a dynastic accident, Philip II united the crowns of Spain and Portugal. The result was fatal to the Portuguese. Spain's enemies, especially the Dutch and the English, became the enemies of Portugal, and the slender resources of the Portuguese were used to finance Spain's wars. The Dutch and the English were swift to take advantage of the situation and, allied with local rulers, they broke the back of the Portuguese Empire. But inspite of all the above, one cannot help but admire what the Portuguese achieved.

The Achievements of the Portuguese

The greatest achievement of the Portuguese was the establishment of a great commercial empire based upon their control of the route to India around the Cape of Good Hope, and upon a number of strategic bases established by the first Portuguese Viceroys. The Portuguese empire, based on a strictly-imposed monopoly of the eastern trade, opened up South-East Asia to western enterprise and was the precursor to the later commercial dominions of the Dutch, who learnt a great deal from the example of the Portuguese. The

supremacy which they had established earlier. It was during the first half of the 17th. century that the Dutch, and to a small extent the English, put an end to a structure that was already crumbling for some time from internal decay, for reasons which are given below.

Reasons for the Decline of the Portuguese

The reasons for the decline of Portuguese power are many. The harsh methods and piratical activities of the Portuguese alienated the Muslim rulers upon whose support the Portuguese position ultimately rested. In Malacca, therefore, the Portuguese were ringed by Muslim enemies who were only too ready, at a later stage, to throw in their lot with the Dutch. In the Moluccas, the Portuguese alienated the powerful ruler of Ternate. It may be doubted whether Muslim rulers would, in any case, have reconciled themselves permanently to the Portuguese monopoly, but, in the event, Portuguese methods hastened their own downfall.

A more fundamental weakness of the Portuguese position was the inability of Portugal to keep up the supply of men and money needed to maintain their missionary, military and commercial establishments. We must remember also that the Portuguese had other commitments in Brazil, Morocco and in East and West Africa. Portugal was a small country with a population of perhaps one and a half-million, quite insufficient to supply the necessary manpower to its overseas posts. The income of the Crown, moreover, did not suffice to cover the expenditure of the empire. Even in the early days of Malacca, the government had fallen behind in its payment of salaries to its troops, encouraging many to seek their fortunes as adventurers. The Portuguese position was not helped by those who took advantage of the remoteness of Lisbon to engage in corruption at the expense of the royal income. The private trade of the Portuguese captains, who bought cheaply and sold dearly, and expected 'presents' at every port of call, further helped to alienate local merchants. A majority of Muslim traders, already alienated by the Portuguese monopoly system, resorted to ports like Aceh and Brunei which lay outside the Portuguese orbit.

The Portuguese were unfortunate in being the first Europeans to build an empire in the East. They could not look to the experiences of others for guidance and were forced to experiment for themselves.

Portuguese words, copied Portuguese methods of warfare and absorbed some of the superficial aspects of Portuguese life, but their culture remained essentially unchanged, and the same is true of other South-East Asian peoples.

Portuguese Missionary Activity

The Portuguese had established what was, essentially, a commercial empire held together by the Portuguese fleet and a string of fortified trading bases. But one must not forget the part that their crusading zeal had played in stimulating early Portuguese voyages. In South-East Asia also, the Portuguese combined missionary work with the pursuit of wealth. Sometimes, as in the Moluccas, the Portuguese tried to bolster up their insecure position by encouraging missionary endeavour. Most of the opponents of the Portuguese were Muslims, and the best way of securing friends appeared to be through the work of conversion. The conversion of the ruler of Amboina, for example, had helped the Portuguese to establish their position there in the 1560s. But if Christianity was sometimes used as an instrument of Portuguese policy, the missionaries themselves were men of high ideals and less earthly motives.

Among the missionaries who worked in the Portuguese empire, the name of St. Francis Xavier was most renowned. St. Francis Xavier was born at the Chateau of Javier in Navarree, the son of a Basque nobleman. In his days as a student he had met another young Spanish nobleman, Ignatius Loyola, and he had been with Ignatius when the Society of Jesus was born in an underground cellar of the ancient abbey of Montmartre. The Society of Jesus was recognised by the Pope in 1540 and its members, the Jesuits, bore the brunt of the Church's missionary work during the century which followed. Xavier was chosen for missionary work at Goa and in other parts of Portugal's eastern empire. He arrived in Goa as Apostolic Nunico on 6th. May. 1542, and for the next ten years, the last years of his short life, he travelled through India, Japan and the Moluccas trying to "extend the Kingdom of Jesus Christ."

These early days set the pattern for St. Xavier's work and the account above might equally be a description of his activities in Malacca or Amboina. As Xavier travelled through the Empire, however, he became increasingly disgusted with the rapacity of Portuguese officials and launched vigorous attacks against them. At the same

attempts of the Portuguese (in Pasai and the Moluccas, for example) to intervene in local dynastic disputes, as a means of establishing their supremacy, were followed by many other European powers down to the end of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese empire collapsed not so much because it was based on any unsound policy as because Portugal lacked the resources with which to maintain it permanently. The political failures of the Portuguese simply aggravated this situation.

The Portuguese were able to establish themselves in Malacca and the East Indies both because their ships and firearms were superior to those in use in South-East Asia and because there were no strong kingdoms to dispute successfully their share in the spice trade. The Chinese, who, under the Ming Emperor Yung Lo (1403-1424), had made an attempt to establish their commercial and political supremacy in the Indian Ocean through the expeditions of admirals like Yin Ching and Cheng Ho, withdrew from the area in the middle of the fifteenth century into their traditional isolation. The Achinese and the Johore Malays who together might have been able to dislodge the Portuguese were never able to agree for long enough to organise any united action. A similar lack of unity enabled the Portuguese to establish their sway over the rulers of the Moluccas. Only in Indo-China, Siam and Burma did united kingdoms exist which were capable of expelling the Portuguese and, partly for this reason and partly because these areas did not promise commercial advantages, the Portuguese had little official dealings with the rulers of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The Portuguese themselves contributed to the disunity of the Malay world. They destroyed the Malacca Sultanate in 1511 and their presence at Malacca helped to prevent the rise of a Muslim successor in the Straits.

The Portuguese were interested in trade rather than in an empire and for this reason they did not attempt any extensive territorial conquests in South-East Asia and remained content with the possession of coastal bases. The influence of the Portuguese on South-East Asian cultures was, therefore, very largely peripheral. Missionaries met with some minor success but not on nearly the same scale as the successes of Islam a little earlier. It was, in fact, the spread of Islam which proved the greatest obstacle to the implanting of Christianity as well as stimulating opposition to Portuguese commercial enterprise. The Malays adopted a few

CHAPTER FOUR

ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY TILL 1623

General Background

While the Portuguese and the Spaniards were busily engaged in their voyages of discovery in the last decade of the fifteenth century, the English also dreamt of reaching the spice-producing areas of Asia. At first they concentrated their attention on the North-West and North-East passages to the East. Whilst Vasco da Gama was on his way to India, John Cabot left Bristol in May, 1497 and reached the coast of Labrador in the following month. The quest was taken up again about fifty years later by Sebastian Cabot in an unsuccessful attempt in 1549. Although many other expeditions were fitted out in the quest of a North-West passage, there appears always to have been a shadow of doubt about the possibility of finding such a passage. For this reason simultaneous attempts to find a North-East passage were made. In 1553 Richard Chancellor reached the White Sea and made his way to Moscow. Although trade was established with Russia as a result of this expedition, the goal of finding a passage to the East remained as remote as ever.



Sebastian Cabot before Henry VII

time, his missionary work did not meet with spectacular success in South-East Asia. Portuguese possessions were, anyway, limited to coastal areas and afforded little scope for missionary work inland, and Islam was almost everywhere a solid barrier to Christian penetration.

St. Francis Xavier visited Malacca three times in the course of his travels (1545, 1550 and 1553) but he never remained there long and was outspoken in his criticism of Malacca's Portuguese officials. He did have time, however, to establish a Christian school on St. Paul's Hill and to have several Christian prayers translated into Malay. His projected journey to China in 1553 was held up at Malacca by the ambitious and unscrupulous governor, Alvaro de Gama, who refused to recognise his powers as Nunico and incited the people

against him. When St. Xavier did sail at last, the saint reached only the island of Sanchian off the Chinese coast, and died there on 3rd. September, 1553.



St. Francis Xavier

Other missionaries, Dominicans and Franciscans as well as Jesuits, followed St. Xavier to the east to preach to the Portuguese garrisons and carry the Gospel to the local inhabitants. Many were as disgusted as St. Xavier with Portuguese officialdom. Two Dominicans who had entered Burma in 1544 left three years later, proclaiming that they would rather teach pigs than the Portuguese privateers they found there.

In 1558 Goa became an Archbishopric and Malacca then became the seat of a Bishop. These two ecclesiastical officers had charge of the many churches which stood in the shadow of Portuguese forts throughout South-East Asia.

a commodity which could not find a market in tropical countries to pay for spices and other goods of the East. The only alternative was to export silver to pay for these goods but this was something which could not be done. England was a poor country at this period and instead of risking capital in financial voyages of several thousands of miles, Englishmen preferred to use their energies in raiding Spanish treasure ships. In addition, the 200-ton English ships were suited for war and not for long trading voyages. Longer journeys would necessitate large carracks of over one thousand tons such as the Portuguese used.

However, their hopes of taking part in the eastern trade were fired by the glowing reports given by Drake, who signed a trade treaty with the Sultan of Ternate during his voyage of circumnavigation. As proof of the profits that could be made, Drake captured the San Felipe, a Portuguese carrack with a cargo worth over \$100,000.

In the following year, Thomas Cavendish returned to England,



Capt. Lancaster at Acheh (1601)

The other alternative was to take the old overland route through Muslim dominated Syria. But the hazards that traders were liable to face on this route were well-known. These were once again revealed by Ralph Fitch who arrived at Ormuz in 1588, only to be arrested by the Portuguese authorities and sent to Goa. Thus for all practical purposes, this route was also useless. The English now had no alternative but to use the routes that were controlled by their rivals — Spain and Portugal.

The rivalry between Spain and England developed out of the private affairs of Henry VIII, when the latter divorced Catherine of Aragon, daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain against the wishes of the Catholic Church, and secretly married Anne Boleyn. When the Pope protested, Henry VIII broke away from the Catholic Church and established the Church of England with himself as its head. The Pope's protest was backed by the King of Spain.

Anglo-Spanish rivalry continued with even greater fury during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and ultimately developed into open war. It was during this struggle that England established that naval supremacy which was to change the future history of the country and of the world. Englishmen also began to challenge the supremacy of Spain and Portugal on the high seas and brought down the prestige of Spain as a naval power.

The English in the East

It was on one of his piratical raids against Spanish shipping that Francis Drake sailed round the world — the first Englishman to perform such a feat (1577-80). By this voyage he showed that the Spanish and the Portuguese were not as strong as was supposed. One man had sailed through the empires of both these countries in days when ships had to wait for wind changes, food supplies and water. On his return, when Queen Elizabeth knighted him, she openly supported what he had done. It was this recognition of the "sea dogs" that increased the morale of the Englishmen and angered Spain even more and led to the despatch of the Spanish Armada in 1588 in an effort to crush the power of England. The defeat of the Armada marked the beginning of English naval supremacy.

When the English decided to come to the East, they suffered from certain handicaps. In the first place, England produced woollen cloth,

and reached Amboina on February 10th, 1605, where it was well-received by the Portuguese Governor. However, the next day, the Dutch arrived under van der Hagen and captured Amboina. A treaty was signed by which Amboina acknowledged Dutch suzerainty in August 1605, while Captain Middleton remained a silent spectator. In 1607, Ternate was also brought under Dutch control. Though he was able to procure a cargo of mace and nutmegs, Middleton was forced to return to Bantam without having established a factory in the spice islands.

David Middleton and William Keeling, who commanded the third and fourth of the Company's voyages, met with the same opposition from the Dutch, who were bent on making the spice islands their own preserve with the help of a powerful fleet under Admiral Verhoeff. In 1610 David Middleton, on the fifth voyage was ordered out by the Dutch Governor of Banda-Neira, who threatened to use force if necessary. It was becoming clear to the English that only force could break the hold of the determined Dutch. However, the *Globe* was despatched in 1611 to establish trade relations with places in the areas of the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam and factories were established at Patani and at the Siamese capital, Ayuthia. Not only would these factories supply local produce, they would also serve as stepping stones to the East.

To the south a factory was established at Sukadana in South-West Borneo. This was followed by another at Maccassar in the Celebes the following year. In Sumatra, 1614 witnessed the opening of three more English factories at Aceh, Jambi and Priaman whilst others were set up at Jakarta and Japara.

Meanwhile, the English were not long in realising that their woolen cloth would not pay for the spices that they needed. The answer lay in Indian textiles which were in great demand in South-East Asia. For this purpose Captain William Hawkins went to the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, and obtained permission to establish a factory at Surat, which was opened in 1612. This roused Portuguese jealousy but the English defeated the Portuguese in two naval battles at Swally Roads near Bombay in 1612 and 1615. These victories gained much prestige for the English and led to the despatch of Sir Thomas Roe by King James I as Ambassador

having repeated what Drake had done. He claimed that trade could be carried on with the spice islands in spite of Portuguese and Spanish opposition. In 1591, Ralph Fitch returned home to reinforce the claims made by Drake and Cavendish.

It was under these circumstances that a group of London merchants organised an expedition of three ships in 1591 under Captain James Lancaster who, like Houtman, had spent part of his life in Lisbon. Though the trip was a financial disaster in that Lancaster lost all his ships and had to return home in a French vessel with only eighteen of his men, he had visited North-East Sumatra and Penang, from where he raided Portuguese ships. The information he brought home was most valuable. Meanwhile another Portuguese carrack the *Madre-de-Dios* had been captured by Drake in 1592 with a cargo of \$140,000.

Then came the voyages of Houtman and other Dutchmen to the East, especially that of van Neck, which yielded a profit of over 400 per cent. All these fired the ambitions of English traders. In 1598, an English translation of Linschoten's *Itinerario* revealed the information which had helped the Dutch to venture East. But probably the factor that was most instrumental in the decision of English traders to enter the eastern trade themselves was when the Dutch, in 1599, increased the price of pepper from 3 to 7 shillings a pound.

The Formation of the East India Company (1600)

The first hurdle was cleared when Queen Elizabeth granted a Royal Charter to the East India Company on 31st. December, 1600, with a monopoly of the trade between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan for an initial period of fifteen years. Without much delay an expedition was prepared under the command of Captain James Lancaster. Leaving England on January 24th. 1601, Lancaster reached Aceh on June 5th, 1602, where he was well-received and presented the Queen's letter. He then left for Bantam, which was chosen as the headquarters of the Company in South-East Asia, four years after the Dutch had been there. Captain Lancaster reached England in November 1603, with over a million pounds of pepper.

The second expedition of the E.I.C., under Captain Henry Middleton, was sent not to Sumatra and Java but to the Moluccas

the Hague) failed to achieve the desired effect and English traders decided to go ahead to strengthen their position in the spice islands where they believed the E.I.C. had as much right as the V.O.C.

The first steps in this direction were taken by John Jourdain, who was the most bitter enemy of the Dutch at Bantam and had been instructed to establish a factory in the Moluccas. If he had hoped to receive support from the local population, who were suffering great hardships under Dutch rule, he was greatly disappointed because the fear of Dutch reprisals numbed the local chiefs of Amboina, Ceram and the other islands. On the other hand, he was openly opposed by the Dutch in his efforts to purchase spices. Jourdain had no option but to return to Bantam with the small supply of cloves that he had managed to obtain. On the way back, however, he touched at Macassar, where the king gave him permission to establish a factory in 1613.

Two years later, two ships, the *Concord* and the *Speedwell* made another attempt to open trade with Ceram and the Bandas. On their arrival, they met Governor-General Reynst with a powerful Dutch squadron. When the English went ahead in spite of a warning from Reynst, the Governor-General decided to conquer the island of Wai. However, the natives of the island, encouraged by the presence and the help of the English, resisted strongly and forced the Dutch to leave. When Jourdain in Bantam heard of what had happened he decided to back the chiefs of Wai and, despite the fact that he had inadequate forces at his disposal, sent a force under Samuel Castleton to their help in January, 1616.

The Dutch retaliated by sending Commander Lam with a strong force. He forced Castleton to accept humiliating terms, which included a clause to the effect that the English would not help the princes of Wai in case of a Dutch attack. This naturally infuriated the English agent at Wai, who instead of deserting the princes in their hour of need, asked them and their neighbours at Run, to hoist the English flag. But if he had thought that this action would save them from Dutch occupation, he was certainly mistaken for not only did the natives flee before the invading forces but the agent himself only just managed to escape with his life to Macassar and later managed to reach Bantam.

When Jourdain heard what had happened he sent another

to the Court of Jahangir, where he stayed from 1615 to 1619. Though he was unable to obtain a treaty, he was able to strengthen the English position in India. Meanwhile in South-East Asia relations between the Dutch and the English were becoming more and more strained.

Anglo-Dutch Rivalry till 1623

It did not take long for the Dutch to realise that free access to the spice islands by other European powers, especially England, would have disastrous effects on the spice trade. Not only would open bargaining in the East push up the price of spices but an uncontrolled supply would flood the European market and put an end to the profits of the lucrative clove trade. This could be avoided only by establishing a monopoly and excluding European competition. The possibility of using force to achieve this end was not excluded, and in this lay the root cause of Anglo-Dutch friction in South-East Asia, which began almost from their arrival at Bantam in a series of incidents in which the Dutch were not shy to use force. The East India Company, aware of the opposition that faced it, and probably also of its own weakness, tried to rally the support of the English government in an appeal to the directors of the V.O.C. The two conferences that followed in 1613 (at London) and 1615 (at



The Governor of Batavia's Palace.

right to guard this monopoly zealously, by the use of force if necessary. Native rulers who broke their promise of supplying their products to the V.O.C. did so at the risk of severe punishment.

From the political point of view, Coen realized that the V.O.C. in their attempt to enforce a monopoly of the spice trade would have to face not only Spain and Portugal but also the English. To enable the V.O.C. to gain the upper hand in the control of this area, Dutch settlements were to be established at strategic centres. These settlements would not only help to extend Dutch political control but trade as well. At the same time, a powerful fleet would help to check the power of Spain and Portugal and, if possible, drive them out of the area. A strong force of Japanese mercenary soldiers was to be used to help in this plan.

This then was the situation that faced John Jourdain when he returned at Bantam as President of the E.I.C. in November 1618. During his stay in England, Jourdain had persuaded the Directors of the E.I.C. that a more vigorous policy had to be adopted in dealing



Jan Pieterszoon Coen

expedition under Nathaniel Courthope not only to Wai and Run but also to Lonthor and Rosengijn in December 1616. Courthope arrived at Run determined to defend it against the Dutch. At the same time he went through formal ceremonies of cession at both Run and Wai, though the latter was under Dutch occupation, and signed agreements with Rosengijn and Lonthor. This resulted in open warfare with the Dutch, during which the English fared rather badly, losing both their important ships, the *Swan* and the *Defence*.

It was at this period that the new Dutch Governor-General Laurens Reael arrived on the scene. He agreed to return both ships on condition that Courthope left Run. The latter, however, not only refused to agree to this but made preparations to resist to the bitter end at Nailaka. Reael was unable to attack Run without reinforcements and, while waiting for these, he ordered the E.I.C. President at Bantam to withdraw his forces from Run or face the consequences of a Dutch attack. Though Jourdain had gone on leave and his successor was not in a position to send help to Courthope, he refused to consider a withdrawal from Run.

Jan Pieterszoon Coen

It was during this period of strained relations that Jan Pieterszoon Coen became Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in June, 1618. Born in 1586 at Hoorn on the Zuider Zee, Coen went to Rome at the age of thirteen and stayed there for six or seven years learning book-keeping and other business methods. On his return to Holland, he joined the V.O.C. at the age of twenty-one.

On his first voyage to the spice islands, Coen witnessed the murder of Admiral Verhoeff in Banda during an encounter in which the English helped the Bandanese. It was probably this event that resulted in his anti-English attitude, which grew as time went on. On his second voyage to the East, Governor-General Both appointed him Chief Book-Keeper and Director of Commerce at Bantam at the early age of twenty-eight.

From the very beginning, Coen believed that the Dutch had every right to monopolize the spice trade as it not only brought prosperity to the nation but hit hard at their enemy — Spain. The signing of treaties and outright conquest gave the V.O.C. the right to enforce a monopoly in the areas that came under their control. It was their

awaited them in case they fell into the hands of Ranamanggala that gave them greater determination to fight on. The garrison held out until it was relieved by a strong force under Coen on 28th. May, 1619. Two days later Jakarta was captured and completely destroyed. In its place, Coen laid the foundations of a new town — Batavia.

Trouble in the Spice Islands

Apart from the establishment of his new headquarters and defeating the forces of Bantam, Coen was happy at the deteriorating of English-Bantam relations, which had resulted in Dale and Admiral Pring, who was in Bantam when Dale arrived, leaving for India for repairs. Jourdain was himself forced to leave for the north to relieve Patani. Coen saw his chance, and his ships caught Jourdain off Patani and killed him in the short battle that followed.

This was not the only Dutch success, for before the English ships could return to the East Indies, the Dutch had scored another naval success off Sumatra. To cap it all, Dale died in August 1619. The task of leading the English squadron thus fell on Pring, who met an English ship on 8th. April, 1620 bringing news that an Anglo-Dutch Treaty had been signed on 17th. July 1619. It is probable that the Dutch government had signed this agreement to appease King James of England who had protested against the actions of Coen. King James had said of Coen: "You have a man in the East India who deserves to be hanged."

The treaty was signed with a desire to put an end to Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East. Both sides agreed to free prisoners and restore captured ships. No new forts were to be built. In the Moluccas, Amboina and the Bandas, the E.I.C. was to be given a third share of the trade whilst pepper was to be divided equally. A campaign was to be undertaken against the Portuguese and the Spaniards under a joint Council of Defence. Both parties were to subscribe ten ships each in a fleet to be prepared for this purpose.

Coen's reaction to the clause which gave the E.I.C. a third of the share of the spice trade was one of disgust at the intelligence of the Directors of the V.O.C. who had agreed to this suggestion. His respect for them may be judged when he wrote to them: "I swear

with the Dutch. He believed, quite wrongly, that the Dutch were only bluffing and that they would not risk getting involved in an all-out war against the English. His appointment suggested that the Directors were inclined to accept his advice. With a squadron of six ships under Sir Thomas Dale, Jourdain sailed to Bantam.

During his absence, the situation had changed considerably. Attempts to relieve Courthope had resulted in failure and even in Bantam, Englishmen were assaulted on the streets. The battle for Jakarta was about to begin. It was to be a four-cornered fight between the Dutch under Coen; the forces of Bantam under its Chief Minister Ranamanggala; the English under John Jourdain and Mataram under Sultan Sunan Agung. The latter had ascended the throne of Mataram in 1613 and claimed to be successor of the Emperors of Majapahit, which had ruled most of modern Malaysia and Indonesia during the 14th. century.

The struggle began because of deteriorating relations between Ranamanggala and the Dutch at Bantam. Coen decided that it would be in the interests of the Dutch to move their headquarters to their factory at Jakarta. To make his position safer, Coen began to fortify the Jakarta factory against the strict instructions of the local ruler or Pangeran. It was this action which led to open conflict.

Meanwhile at Bantam, the arrival of Dale had strengthened the naval position of the English and probably to emphasise this, Dale seized a Dutch ship, the *Zwarte Leeun*, on its arrival from Patani on 14th. December, 1618. Trouble began when the Dutch vessel accidentally caught fire and was destroyed. In Jakarta, Coen destroyed the English factory in retaliation. This was followed by a naval battle in which Coen was forced to retreat to Amboina. Instead of following him and at the same time relieving Courthope, Dale decided to help the Pangeran to capture the Dutch fort. At the last moment when the Dutch fort was about to surrender, Ranamanggala appeared at Jakarta and demanded that the Dutch fort and the prisoners be handed to him. Dale refused to agree to this condition, for in the negotiations with the Dutch, he had promised that the English would guarantee the safety of Dutch prisoners in the event of a surrender. Disgusted, he retreated to Bantam. The Dutch force had no option but to fight to the end. It was probably the fear of the fate that

The Amboina Massacre of 1623

Before he left Amboina, Coen made it clear to the Governor that interference was not to be tolerated from the English traders there. This may have been interpreted by the Governor as authority to wipe out the English factory at Fort Victoria Castle, for he arrested 18 Englishmen, 11 Japanese and 1 Portuguese in February, 1623. Under torture they confessed that they had plotted the overthrow of Dutch authority and the whole affair resulted in the execution of the chief factor and nine other Englishmen, ten Japanese and the lone Portuguese. This event has been described by British historians as the Amboina Massacre.

It has been generally believed that the Amboina Massacre was the climax of English activities in the spice islands, but there is now enough evidence to suggest that this was not the case, and that the English had already decided to leave the spice islands before the massacre took place.

As we have already seen, Anglo-Dutch rivalry did not come to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance in 1619. Dutch interference had hit the English factories rather hard and many were not making money. Even the factories at Patani, Ayuthia and Hirado were going through a period of financial loss. Thus in the middle of 1622, it was decided to close these factories and retain the one at Batavia only. Orders were given that Ayuthia and Patani were to be definitely abandoned in February, 1623.

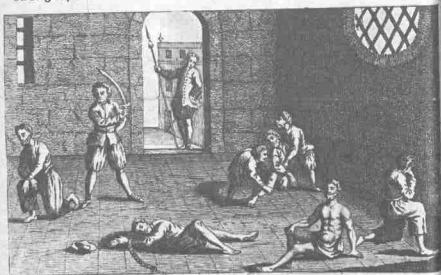
In January, 1623, Coen was informed "that we intend to remove all our people from thence (Ternate) and ye other factories in Banda and ye Moluccas until such times as we hear from our masters." This was nearly two months before the Amboina Massacre in February 23rd. 1623. Thus it would not be correct to suggest that it was the massacre at Amboina alone that was responsible for the evacuation of the E.I.C. from the spice islands. It cannot be denied, however, that this event did expedite the evacuation.

When the news reached Batavia in June, the English decided to evacuate the factory to a safer place. A search was conducted in the Sunda Strait and the E.I.C. finally decided to transfer its headquarters to Pulau Lagundy on December 1st. 1624. The site chosen was not a favourable one; sickness and the intolerable climate began

that no enemies do our cause more harm than the ignorance and stupidity existing among you, gentlemen." Coen had no intention of implementing the clauses of the treaty and it was his obstruction that was responsible for its failure.

On the other hand, Coen decided that the Bandas were to be captured as quickly as possible on the pretext that the chiefs were dealing secretly with the Spaniards at Tidore. Once again, the position of the English there was not a very happy one because before the news of the treaty reached the English factory at Nailaka, Courthope was killed by the Dutch. In any case, he was not in a position to oppose Coen when the latter appeared with a strong fleet early in 1621. Lonthor and Run were captured though the E.I.C. factory at Nailaka was left alone. The atrocities committed on the people during the conquest of Lonthor were most inhuman: thousands were deliberately killed or carried off to slavery. Coen's drastic and merciless action even came as a shock to his own superiors.

The same tactics were repeated at Ceram. Amboina and the Moluccas hurriedly signed treaties recognizing Dutch suzerainty to escape a similar fate. The Dutch left Tidore alone only for fear of strong Spanish reaction.



The Massacre of Amboina

CHAPTER FIVE

DUTCH RELATIONS WITH MATARAM AND BANTAM

One of the chief factors which had led the V.O.C. to adopt an aggressive policy was its desire to enforce a monopoly of the spice trade of the East Indies. To achieve this end, it had firstly to eliminate European competition in the European market. This was to be done by denying other European traders access to the goods which they either purchased directly from the spice producing areas or bought from local traders and smugglers in their depots in South-East Asia. That they were not shy to use force to achieve this end has been illustrated in the last chapter. The next phase of the Dutch plan was to bring the various kingdoms of the East Indies under their control by negotiating treaties in which native rulers promised not to trade with anybody except the Dutch. Those who were reluctant to accept these terms were to be ousted and their territories annexed outright. Two of the first states to clash with the Dutch were Mataram and Bantam in Java.

(A) MATARAM

Though nothing definite is known about the early history of Mataram, King Sanjaya is credited with laying the foundations of the kingdom during the 8th. century. He and his successors, not only built some of the most magnificent monuments which bear testimony to the standard of their workmanship but were the first to extend the boundaries of the kingdom beyond Java into the neighbouring island of Bali and the southern areas of Borneo. This action soon earned for them the hostility of Sri Vijaya and Mataram came under a series of attacks from their more powerful neighbours. But the kingdom survived these attacks and went through a period of prosperity between 1019 and 1042, during the reign of King Airlangga. This was, however, followed by civil war and the kingdom was split into two. With the rise of Singhasari during the 13th. century, Mataram was completely dominated and ceased to exist except in name only. The Mataram, about which we will read in this chapter, emerged as a result of the fall of Majapahit. Torn by decades of civil war, the

to take a heavy toll. Ultimately, there was no option but to return to Batavia, with Dutch assistance, in May, 1625. The Englishmen would have preferred Bantam to Batavia but as relations between the English and Ranamanggala were strained there was no chance of taking this alternative. It was only when Ranamanggala died in 1626, that the English transferred their base to Bantam two years later. Bantam remained the headquarters of the E.I.C. until it was captured by the Dutch in 1682. Three years later, the E.I.C. moved to Benkulen in Sumatra.

brought the territory between Cheribon and Balambangan under his control. Thus by the time of his death in 1601, Senapati Suta Vijaya had begun the revival of the old kingdom of Mataram and put it on a sound footing by bringing the powerful state of Demak under its control.

Senapati has been described in not very creditable terms by some of his biographers. This was probably because of the uprisings that his successors had to face. But one cannot belittle his achievements, especially in face of the great difficulties that faced him. The personal inability of his immediate successors is amply illustrated by what Rangsang was able to do when he came to the throne in 1613. But before we go on to that let us have a look at the political organization of the state of Mataram.

Political Organization

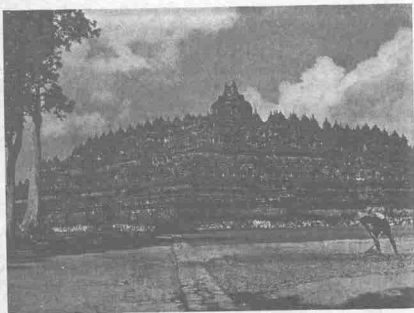
The political organization of the state revealed that Mataram was not created by a gradual process of growth but in a short time by the efforts of an individual who now made himself king and head of state. Broadly speaking, the kingdom was divided into three main parts — the capital; the immediate surrounding districts and states; and the distant provinces. The capital came under the direct rule of the monarch, while the immediate surrounding districts and states were handed over to subordinate princes and other members of the monarch's family, over whom he could have some indirect control. The third group was made up of the provinces which were far from the capital and sometimes even beyond the seas. These were normally handed back to some member of the conquered dynasty who now swore allegiance to the King of Mataram. He took the title of Pangeran, and became a sort of subordinate king, while the government was run by a cabinet headed by a Chief Minister, called the Pateh. The central authority was represented by the presence of a Governor.

The King made three appearances a week — to administer justice, hold council and attend to other functions of state which needed his presence. Officers of State and other dignatories were obliged to attend these functions under pain of death and other severe punishment because office was held at the pleasure of the monarch and terrible consequences could follow acts which displeased the King.

ancient Hindu kingdom was given a final blow between 1513 and 1528, by a combined force of the Muslim states of Madura, Surabaya Tuban and Demak. Of the four, the latter emerged the most powerful and soon exerted its control over a number of smaller sultanates, including one named Padjang.

The beginning of modern Mataram is closely connected with the personality of Kjai Gede and the quarrel that existed between the rival Sultans of Jidpang and Padjang. For his loyalty and service, the Sultan of Padjang made Kjai Gede overlord of Mataram, which at this time had been reduced to a small district. Kjai Gede settled the district, introduced a system of land tenure, and a Code of Laws, but the real foundations of Mataram were laid by his successor Suta Vijaya (1528-1601).

Soon after Suta Vijaya's succession, his overlord bestowed upon him the title of Senapati or Commander-in-chief. This honour seems to have fired the ambitions of Suta Vijaya, who not only proclaimed his independence but embarked on a career of conquest which



The Borobudur Shrine, Central Java, Indonesia.

September, 1627. You will remember that just prior to the Amboina Massacre, Coen had been succeeded by Pieter de Carpentier who had held office for four years.

On his return, Coen found Bantamese forces attacking Batavia. He reorganized his defences, drove back the invaders and then prepared to face his more formidable foe — Mataram. The Susuhunan's land and sea attacks, which began when the Dutch were attacked by about sixty prahus and a land force of over ten thousand men under the personal command of the Susuhunan, were supplemented by large reinforcements and the Dutch had to fight with everything they had before these were crushed after two years of desperate fighting, hunger and disease. Though Coen also succumbed to an attack of cholera during the siege, his heroic stand not only saved the Dutch but re-established the old friendship of the Dutch with the Sultan of Bantam, who, realizing the serious consequence of a Dutch defeat, had sunk his differences and made peace with Coen.

After his defeat by the Dutch, Sultan Agung turned his attention to the Hindu kingdoms of Balambangan and Bali that lay to the East of Mataram. Declaring a Holy War or Jihad against these kingdoms, he conquered Balambangan and deported most of its population. But he failed to register the same success against Bali. Thus by the time of his death in 1645, almost the whole of Java, excluding Batavia and Bantam was under the control of Mataram.

Anthony Van Diemen

We may also note here that the last nine years of Sultan Agung's reign coincided with the Governor-Generalship of Anthony van Diemen, who took office in 1636. Van Diemen owed his promotion entirely to Coen. As he was a bankrupt, van Diemen adopted a false name in order to join the services of the V.O.C. When the Directors discovered this, they ordered Coen to arrest him and send him home. But Coen, realizing the capabilities of the young man, ignored the order and began to grant him rapid promotions instead. Coen's confidence in van Diemen was not misplaced for he was to emerge, next to Coen himself, as the V.O.C.'s most successful Governor-General in the East.

Van Diemen's greatest achievement was the capture of Malacca,

Two special commissioners were appointed in charge of the provinces and they, in turn, had their own "hunting dogs", who were found everywhere and wielded a good deal of power. They were in addition to the officials who were appointed to collect taxes and help in the general administration of the towns, states and provinces. A significant feature of the whole set-up was the power that was held by individuals — from the king down to the thousands of spies that were found everywhere. Nobles at the royal court rushed to obey the command of the King in the same way as the rural folk jumped to fulfil the request of a minor official. And with this, in the background, let us now turn to the reign of Rangsang or Sultan Agung.

Sultan Agung (1613-45)

Senapati's successor, Mas Djolang, who took over the ambitions of his father as Sultan Kraphak was not able to make much progress due to the rebellion he had to face from his own brothers, which he did eventually suppress. Then he got involved in a war with Surabaya, which he was unable to execute effectively and left this as a legacy to his successor, Rangsang, who ascended the throne in 1613 as Sultan Agung.

Sultan Agung, considered himself the successor to the emperors of Majapahit and had dreams of extending his frontiers to the extent of the great Hindu kingdom of the 14th. century. With this goal in view, the forces of Sultan Agung began a campaign of conquest, as a result of which Tuban (1621), Grisek (1622), Succadana, in Borneo (1622), Madura (1624) and Surabaya (1625) were brought under the control of Mataram. These early conquests resulted in the ambitious Sultan Agung, taking the title of Susuhunan (or Paramount Ruler), and proclaiming himself ruler of the whole island. This claim, which was refuted by the Dutch at Batavia and by the Sultan of Bantam, was ultimately to lead to war.

Susuhunan's quarrel with the Dutch began during his conquest of Surabaya, when he requested the Dutch to help him in the campaign. When the latter refused to get involved, Susuhunan broke off relations, suspended all exports of rice to Batavia and made preparations for an attack on Batavia. His plans might have achieved some measure of success had it not been for the timely arrival of Coen on his second term of office as Governor-General in

especially when a peaceful royal succession was an unheard of phenomenon in Mataram.

The Susuhunan, on the other hand, was quite bitter after his defeat at Batavia and even during the period when his forces were devastating the kingdoms in Eastern Java, he never compromised with the Dutch, and looked upon them as intruders who had unlawfully settled in Java. On their part, the Dutch were in a way alarmed at the territorial successes of the Susuhunan, who had now extended his territories along nearly the whole of the northern coast of Java, while far-off kingdoms like Succadana, Palembang and Jambi sent embassies to his court carrying tribute. At the same time, the Susuhunan was already in the process of rebuilding his navy under the Laxamana of Japara and had made contacts with the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa for a joint attack against their common enemy.

When Portuguese Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641, Governor-General van Diemen was convinced that the Susuhunan would be forced to change his attitude since this not only put an end to the possibility of a joint Portuguese-Mataram attack, but left the latter with no alternative but to seek an outlet for its rice and other produce in cities which were now under the control of the Dutch. But van Diemen had underestimated the almost fanatical hatred of Susuhunan for the Dutch, and try as he would, was unable to procure the release of some Dutch prisoners at Mataram. It was under these circumstances that the Dutch also became determined that, just as in the case of Malacca, there was no alternative but to put everything into the war against Mataram. But the situation was changed abruptly when van Diemen died in April 1645 and was followed by the Susuhunan, a few weeks later.

Amangkurat I (1645-1676)

When Sultan Agung's son, Sunan Tegalwangi, succeeded to his father's throne as Sultan Amangkurat I, it became clear to him that his father had been Susuhunan in name only, because by this time, the Dutch had become very powerful indeed, specially after the capture of Malacca. Fearful of the customary bloodbaths that were about to begin, he adopted a pro-Dutch attitude and began his reign by sending an embassy to Governor-General van der Lijn at Batavia in which he expressed his desire for peace, proof of which was in his

which the Dutch had been trying to take without success, from their first appearance in the East. It was only in the middle of January 1641, that the great Portuguese fortress fell. This event was to bring many significant changes in the position of the Dutch because after 1641, the V.O.C. had almost complete control of the Indonesian seas, and went ahead to tighten its grip upon the Moluccas. The Dutch forbade any voyage from Malacca to either Macassar or Mataram.



Anthony van Diemen

As far as the V.O.C. was concerned, its relations with Mataram were based on a policy which was in sharp contrast to that which it adopted in dealing with Bantam or Macassar of which we will soon read. Unlike Bantam and Macassar, Mataram was not a serious commercial rival, but a source of rice and timber which the V.O.C. needed. Thus contrary to the cases of Bantam and Macassar, where the Governor-General was always waiting for an opportunity to strike a decisive blow, the situation as regards Mataram was that the V.O.C. wanted to keep on peaceful terms with the ruler. Then again unlike Bantam and Macassar, Mataram was not a maritime kingdom with a main port which could easily be controlled or captured outright, but a kingdom which had extensive inland territories. Thus, in the case of Mataram, the aim of the V.O.C. was to be patient and try to obtain control by exploiting the internal dissensions amongst the different factions of the ruling family,

ideal for plots and counter-plots and the most serious one which Amangkurat had to face was closely connected with one of his four sons, who were abiding their time to strike for the succession to the throne.

The Revolt of Trunojaya

The background to the trouble lay in the Dutch conquest of Macassar in 1669 after a two year war, during which many of the local inhabitants who were uprooted from their homes as refugees, turned pirates and began to attack the coastal towns in Eastern Java. A local Madurese prince, Trunojaya, who claimed to have also descended from the royal family of Majapahit, joined the rebels and became their leader. Trunojaya was closely linked with a conspiracy at Amangkurat's court which concerned his son Adipati Anom and a local nobleman, Kajaran, who had suffered from much injustice. The plan was to capture Madura, and then march on to the capital, where the other two and their supporters would join the rebellion.

The Dutch on their part, were watching these developments with passive interest, though they could have easily intervened, especially when Trunojaya, joined up with the Macassans, who were the enemies of the Dutch, and began to occupy the coastal towns in East Java. But more important than this, the real reason which prompted Governor-General Johan Maetsuycker to send limited help to Amangkurat was the ease with which the whole rebellion could become anti-Dutch and the twist that the ruler of Bantam, who was equally hostile, could give to the whole uprising to his own advantage. But the only success that the small Dutch squadron achieved was when it defeated the naval forces of Trunojaya but it refused to get involved in any land campaigns and withdrew to Batavia.

Meanwhile, in October, 1676, Trunojaya with a force of 12,000 Macassans and Madurese under him, attacked the Mataram army, five times as large as his own, defeated it and pushed along the coast to the outskirts of the Dutch garrison at Japara. He sent an embassy to the commander of the garrison requesting the Dutch to remain neutral in the fight. But he was probably not aware that the Governor of Japara had already requested help from Batavia, and that the Dutch, now aware that it was not just an uprising of pirates in far away Eastern Java, but something much more serious, decided to

willingness to release some Dutch prisoners which he held. This led to the signing of a peace treaty in 1646, which lasted for thirty years.

The Treaty of 1646

According to its terms, the V.O.C. agreed to:

- (a) send a yearly embassy to the Court at Mataram bearing gifts as a formal act of homage;
- (b) provide transport and other facilities aboard its ships to whomsoever the King of Mataram wished, particularly for the pilgrimage to Mecca;
- (c) release all subjects of Mataram held as prisoners, in response to similar action from the King of Mataram;
- (d) supply military aid in case the King was attacked by a mutual enemy;
- (e) permit merchants from Mataram to trade freely in its domains, with the exception of the Bandas, Amboina and Ternate. Special passes were also required by those wishing to visit Malacca.

It is easy to see from the above that the Dutch had given in a good deal to gain the friendship of Amangkurat, especially when this was closely associated with the prospects of a profitable trade. In fact even after this, the V.O.C. put up with Amangkurat's whims and fancies quite a bit. For example, in 1655, Amangkurat for reasons best known to himself, forbade all Europeans, including the Dutch, to enter his ports and two years later, just as unexpectedly, reversed his decree. He repeated this in 1660 and in the process, destroyed the Dutch factory at Japara. A few years later, when he expressed his wish that the person chosen Dutch Ambassador should have a good command of Malay, the V.O.C. agreed to the request almost immediately. But they were not able to get Amangkurat to join them in the war against Macassar in 1654. Yet in spite of this, the Dutch did everything they could to be in his good books.

As far as his own subjects were concerned, Amangkurat was nothing short of a tyrant and the atrocities that he committed were so inhuman that even the noble families closest to him had grievances which resulted from some of their members being called to the royal presence and killed for no rhyme or reason. The atmosphere was thus

recognise the suzerainty of the latter, which Trunojaya refused to do. Speelman then attacked Surabaya, an action which led to very heavy fighting, and though he took Surabaya, Trunojaya simply retreated to Kediri in the interior and made it his new headquarters.

Though fully aware of the danger of committing his limited forces into the interior, Speelman found it difficult to retreat now, but he made another attempt to open negotiations with Trunojaya. It was at this time that he received orders that a part of the army would have to be sent to help Amangkurat who had now come under attack. But before this could be done, he received information that Amangkurat had fled and died while retreating towards Japara, and that he had nominated Adipati Anom, who had somehow made up with his father, as his successor. Speelman also received strict orders that he was not to undertake any campaign into the interior, and he saw no way out but to abandon Surabaya and Madura so as to strengthen the garrison at Japara. He then invited Adipati Anom, who took the title of Amangkurat II, to Japara, the only area which was under his effectual control, the rest of Mataram being under the control of Trunojaya. Seated on chairs and dressed in the fashion of the Dutch, Amangkurat II signed a treaty with Speelman in July, 1677.

The Speelman-Amangkurat II Treaty.

Its main terms were:-

- (a) The treaty of 25th. February 1677 signed between Speelman and the Governor of Japara was confirmed.
- (b) It was decided that according to the financial provisions of the above treaty, Amangkurat II was indebted to the V.O.C. for 310,000 rials. He was required to pledge the revenues of all his ports between Krawang and the end of Java against the above debt and agreed further to surrender to the V.O.C., all the rice that he received as sovereign and his monopoly of the sale of Indian and Persian silks and opium.
- (c) Amangkurat II also ceded the territory which lay between Krawang and Pamanukam.

Two years later, by another treaty, Amangkurat II, ceded Samarang to the V.O.C. and, in addition, granted it a monopoly of all the sugar that was produced in the areas around Japara.

give active support to their ally, Amangkurat. Cornelius J. Speelman was chosen to lead the Dutch forces numbering about one thousand to reinforce Japara but he was instructed to try to settle the dispute without getting himself involved.

Cornelius J. Speelman

The choice of Speelman was not a hasty one because he was well-aware of the situation that faced the Dutch. In fact he had earlier proposed to Governor-General Maetsuycker that Mataram be requested to exclude all foreign traders in return for V.O.C. help. But the Council of India, rejected this as it was anxious for conciliation and not profit. Speelman, however, had his own set ideas and signed a treaty with the Governor at Japara by which the Susuhunan was to pay 350,000 rials in three instalments as initial costs for Dutch help till July, 1677, and 20,000 rials per month thereafter. The Susuhunan was also to grant the V.O.C. permission to trade without paying any tolls, build factories wherever it liked and supply 8,000 tons of rice yearly to Batavia at the current market price. Jacob Couper was sent on 4th. March, 1677 to Amangkurat with the treaty for ratification.

Speelman then turned his attention to Trunojaya, who had now established himself at Surabaya and requested him to send his representatives for negotiations to Japara. Trunojaya refused to do this because such action, on his part at that time, would make it appear that he was seeking V.O.C. support to preserve his recent conquests. He also rejected the idea of signing a treaty with Amangkurat because he was extremely confident of his own ability and chances to win the war.

Couper returned to Japara on 25th. March, 1677 with Amangkurat's signature on the treaty which his Governor at Japara signed, with a promise that the Susuhunan would abide with its provisions. Couper also informed Speelman of the quarrels that were going on amongst the sons of Amangkurat as to who was to succeed to the throne, and that the treasury at Mataram was empty, which meant that Speelman would be extremely lucky if he could get even a fraction of the money stipulated in the treaty. Faced with this, Speelman made another attempt to bring about a compromise between Trunojaya and Amangkurat and requested that the former

prosperity was the cause of much rivalry with the Dutch, especially after the establishment of Batavia in 1619, and, ultimately led to the subjugation of the kingdom in 1682.

We have read about the four-cornered fight between the Dutch under Coen; the English under John Jourdain, Mataram under Sultan Agung and the forces of Bantam under its Chief Minister Ranamanggala, the destruction of Jakarta and the beginning of Batavia in its place. Ranamanggala died in 1626, and with his death the situation in Bantam seems to have quietened down quite a bit.

This situation remained so till December, 1628, when indications appeared that Bantam was inclined to re-established friendly relations with Batavia. On his part, Coen saw no point in permitting the English to have the trade of Bantam all to themselves. Thus in March, 1629, Adrian Bloef Maerteusz was sent to pay a courtesy call on the Pangeran, with presents which included an Arab horse. Though no mention was actually made, it was understood that the Dutch would soon be given permission to return to Bantam.



Market scene in Bantam

To keep his side of the bargain, Speelman began the campaign against Trunojoyo but it failed miserably and at the end of 1677, the Governor-General ordered him back to Batavia. It was at this juncture that Maetsuycker died on 4th. January, 1678, and was succeeded by Rijkloff van Coens, who sprang into action immediately on taking office. Preparations were begun for the fight against Trunojaya and Buginese, Macassan and Amboinese auxiliaries were recruited in addition to the Dutch soldiers and put under the command of Anthony Hurt. By November, 1678, the Dutch stood before Kediri. Though Trunojaya escaped during the war that followed, the town was taken together with the treasury, including the golden crown of Majapahit, which Hurt himself handed over to Amangkurat II.

Trunojaya was finally captured on Christmas Day, 1679, and handed over to Amangkurat II, his old ally. The latter granted him half of Madura but stabbed him to death on 2nd. January, 1680. Kajoran was also hunted down by a force under Captain Hoot and beheaded by a Buginese. Pangeran Pugar, brother of the Susuhunan and his chief dynastic opponent, also agreed to submit to his brother. Thus in August, 1680 it looked as if peace had at last come to East Java. But this was not to be the case because Puger failed to appear at the appointed place and it took almost a year before he finally surrendered in November, 1681, and was reconciled with his brother. Thus by 1682, the Dutch had brought the old empire of Majapahit under their control.

(B) BANTAM

Like Mataram, Bantam was also founded during the 16th. century by one Hassan Udin in 1568. But unlike Mataram, which was an inland kingdom in the eastern section of Java, Bantam was located on the north-western coast and thus open to foreign trade. Soon, the kingdom not only extended its control over the western section of the island but became a famous centre for the purchase of pepper and attracted traders from India and China. Its location was such that traders from the west could reach it by avoiding the Straits of Malacca route and, in this way, by-pass Portuguese Malacca completely, and it soon became a rival to the latter. It was, therefore, no accident that both the Dutch and the English visited Bantam in their initial voyages, established cordial relations with the Sultan and began their original bases there. Unfortunately for Bantam, its

make common cause against the Dutch. Sultan Agung, however, found new ground for grievance at the treaty which Speelman had signed with Amangkurat II because he feared that the latter was coming too much under the influence of the Dutch. He now laid claim to the territory of Cheribon, which was under Dutch protection, and warned them that war would follow if they interfered in his plans.

The Treaty of 1684

However, before he could make good his threat to meet any V.O.C. interference with force of arms, he was threatened by his eldest son Haji, who on returning from Mecca and finding his inheritance taken by his younger brother, organized a palace revolution with Dutch help and forced his father to abdicate, at a period when the latter was about to attack Cheribon. The treaty of friendship that Haji signed with the Dutch lost him many followers and enabled Sultan Agung to rally support against his son. But his cause failed, due to Dutch support, and Sultan Haji handed his father as a prisoner to the Dutch, under whose custody he died nine years later in 1692.

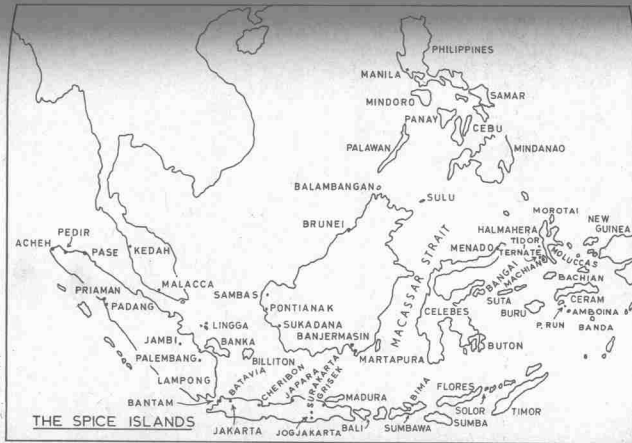
In 1684, Sultan Haji signed a treaty with the V.O.C. by which he acquired the status of a puppet, just like Adipati Anom had done earlier. He agreed to grant the V.O.C. complete trading rights in his kingdom; to pay an indemnity of \$600,000 and to forbid all Europeans, except the V.O.C., to settle at Bantam. The V.O.C. then began the construction of a strong fortress at Bantam to ensure that the Sultan would keep to the terms of the treaty.

The Bantam-Dutch War of 1633

However, trouble soon began between the two, because the Bantamese were trading secretly with Ceram, contradictory to the monopoly which the Dutch were trying so hard to enforce. In the end, the Dutch declared that any Bantamese ships found in the area would be lawful prize and this led to a renewal of the Dutch-Bantam war which broke out in November, 1633. The Dutch began a naval blockade of Bantam, bombarded the town heavily and even extended the action to Tanakara and the Lampongs while the Bantamese raided Dutch shipping wherever possible. This was the situation when Governor-General Brouwer was succeeded by van Dieman in January 1636. The blockade was still maintained and overtures for peace made by the Dutch had been met by the Sultan demanding freedom to trade with Ceram and the Bandas. Though he had been urged by the Council of India to follow a peaceful policy, van Dieman believed that Batavia's rise would come from the ruin of Bantam and that the V.O.C. should not make Bantam too small nor the Susuhunan too great.

A truce was called in July 1636, during which the possibilities of negotiations were kept open and the Bantamese at Ceram were told to withdraw. But van Dieman had more urgent matters on his hand and does not seem to have bothered very much with Bantam. He was prepared to maintain peace, even if it meant suffering some losses. And just before his death was engaged in negotiations with Bantam for the signing of an uneasy peace in September, 1645. However, the situation took a marked change a few years later when Abul Fatah ascended the throne in 1651 as Sultan Agung.

The Sultan was a strong ruler whose ambition was to restore the past glories of the Sultanate, especially as a commercial centre. This was in contrast to the plans of the V.O.C. and soon trouble broke out between the two in 1656. The Dutch then enforced a blockade of Bantam which was so tight, that the Sultan was forced to make peace after three years in 1659. But soon after the lifting of the blockade, the Sultan readopted his past policy and granted permission to the English, French and other traders to do business in his kingdom. The Dutch were not very happy to see Bantam growing into a serious rival but were too involved in Mataram and were trying their best not to give Bantam a chance to join with the rebels in Eastern Java and



THE SPICE ISLANDS

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONQUEST OF THE SPICE ISLANDS

The map on page 79 shows the Spice Islands — the Moluccas of geography. Located on the eastern-most section of the East Indies, these islands have captured the imagination of people for centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th. century. In this chapter, we will divide the area into two — firstly, the Moluccas and, secondly, the Celebes with its capital Macassar and deal with each separately.

(A) THE MOLUCCAS

As early as the 13th. century, the Indians and the Arabs who traded with Java, came to know of the Moluccas — the home of cloves, nutmegs and mace and these islands were also mentioned in the Nekarakertagama, as being under the rule of Majapahit. Thus we see that from the beginning, the trade of the Moluccas was closely connected with Java and it was because of this that the Moluccas became Muslim towards the end of the 15th. century, to be followed by Macassar in 1603.

The Portuguese and the Spaniards

European connections with the Moluccas were established after the fall of Malacca when Albuquerque sent Antonio de' Abreu to establish friendly relations with the rulers of these islands and was specifically ordered not to receive gifts but to offer gifts in order to achieve the above objectives. D'Abreu left Malacca in December, 1511 but he met with little success for he lost two of his three ships and visited the Bandas only, where he got a cargo of cloves and nutmegs. The Portuguese soon saw that these spices, which were valued so highly in Europe, were so abundant and cheap, that the only way that they could keep these prices at that level, would be by establishing a monopoly.

It was during their second expedition, two years later, that the Portuguese visited the islands of Ternate and Tidore, the main clove producing centres, and soon became aware of the intense rivalry that

the first Governor-General, the task of implementing his instructions that "the possession of the Spice Islands was of the highest importance to the Company and that all competitors must be excluded from them" had already begun.

We have already seen that local rulers had received the Dutch gladly as they saw in them the chance of an alliance against the Portuguese, who had been lording it over them for almost a century. They also saw the possibility of getting better prices for their commodities, which would result from competitive buying. But no ruler in his wildest dreams could have guessed the effects that the arrival of the Dutch would have in a few decades to come and how that, in time to come, they would probably be cursing the day when they first set eyes on the Dutch. This was because from the very beginning, the Dutch saw the limits to which the European market could consume spices and that a glut there, would result in prices tumbling down. At the same time, competition from other European traders would tend to push up the prices of the commodities in the Spice Islands. To them, the solution lay in the establishment of a strict monopoly by fair means or foul, including the use of force if necessary. The manner in which they set about to accomplish the above, illustrates the determination of the V.O.C.

Beginning of Anglo-Dutch Rivalry

The European competitors to whom reference has been made above, were the English because by this time, the V.O.C. had practically eliminated the commercial threat that the Portuguese had once imposed, though they still held Malacca. The English, on the other hand, felt that they had as much right to be in the East Indies as the Dutch, and secondly, being fellow-Protestants, they expected the Dutch to be more co-operative and accommodative. The English thus ignored the restrictions which the Dutch were placing on foreign vessels entering the Moluccas, as may be seen by the arrival of Captain Henry Middleton at Bantam in 1604, with instructions to proceed to Amboina and the Bandas and open direct negotiations with the chiefs there. In fact, Middleton arrived at Amboina before the Dutch and began negotiations for permission to trade with the Portuguese he found there. It was at this juncture that Steven van der Hagen appeared with a powerful fleet under him, gave Middleton no opportunity to trade there and forced the Portuguese to surrender.

existed between the two Sultans, each of whom granted the Portuguese permission to establish factories, which the latter did not do as they were satisfied with procuring the cloves that they needed without building factories. It was the arrival in 1521 of Magellan's ship, the *Victoria*, that led the Portuguese to take sides in the dispute and they allied themselves with the Sultan of Ternate, who granted them a monopoly of his clove trade. Three years later, Tidore had offered the same conditions to the Spaniards. As far as the Bandas or the southern islands were concerned, the Portuguese were not able to repeat what they had done at Ternate because of the strong influence that Java had with the rulers there. It was only at Amboina that the Portuguese were able to make some headway and the friendly relations that they established with the ruler enabled St. Francis Xavier to visit the islands in 1546.

The Arrival of the Dutch

Dutch connections with the Moluccas began in 1598 with the expedition of Jacob van Neck. After touching at Bantam, two of his officers, van Heemskerck and van Warwijck made their way to Amboina. From there, van Heemskerck proceeded to the Banda Islands where he established a factory at Lonthor and made his purchases, while van Warwijck visited Ternate before they returned home. The goods that they brought were so much more valuable than those purchased by their commander, who had returned with four ships laden with pepper, that the profits jumped up four times. This visit was followed by Steven van der Hagen who visited Amboina in 1600, established a factory and signed a treaty, the first of its kind, with its chief which granted the Dutch a monopoly of the cloves produced in his kingdom. The Portuguese tried their best to fight the Dutch threat with all that they had but to no avail. They were simply swamped by the numerical superiority of the Dutch and it was their inability to check the initial advance of the Dutch that spelt doom for them, because once the V.O.C. was established in 1602, the Portuguese had no earthly chance of standing up to a rival of the financial standing of the V.O.C. By 1605, the Portuguese fortresses at Amboina and the other islands of the Moluccas group had been taken, while four years later the Dutch occupied the island of Banda-Neira and built Fort Nassu, which sounded the death-knell for the Portuguese. Thus by the time Pieter Both was appointed as

under the protection of the English. But the Dutch, wise to these tactics, invaded Wai, and the inhabitants ran in terror to Run, while Hunt made his way to Macassar. Jourdain, meanwhile, sent a fresh force under Nathaniel Courthope with orders to offer protection to Lonthor and Rosengijn.

Courthope reached Run in December, 1616 and re-enacted the ceremony by which Run and Wai ceded to the English and made agreements of protection with Rosengijn. After this, he began immediate preparations for the Dutch attack which was not long in coming. He was caught at Nailaka and both his ships fell into Dutch hands. Governor-General Reael, who soon arrived on the scene, offered him the same terms as Castleton which he refused to accept. On the contrary, he suggested that talks be held either at Bantam or in Europe. Reael then ordered the English to evacuate Run or face the strict reprisals that the Dutch were already planning. The English reply to this was defiant and relations between the two had deteriorated to quite a good degree when Coen became Governor-General in June, 1618, with instructions to make the Spice Islands a Dutch preserve. He was ordered to search and remove all spices from enemy ships and to use force, if necessary, to achieve this end.

The Atrocities of Coen

It was at this juncture that John Jourdain became President of the E.I.C. at Bantam. When he heard about the capture of Courthope's ships by the Dutch, he ordered Sir Thomas Dale to Run to help Courthope, who was later killed in a Dutch ambush. But soon news came of the Anglo-Dutch Peace Treaty which was signed in July, 1619 in an attempt to put an end to the undeclared war that had begun between the V.O.C. and the E.I.C. in the East. When Coen heard that his government had agreed to give $\frac{1}{3}$ of the spice trade of the Moluccas, Amboina and the Bandas to the English, he was furious, deliberately sabotaged the treaty and made ready for an all-out attempt to bring the areas under his control. Claiming that the Bandanese were supplying spices to the Spanish at Tidore, he left Batavia in January, 1621 with a force of twelve ships and began a campaign of conquest in March when Lonthor was taken and Fort Hollandia Castle built. He then overran Run and forced the English out. It was then that a revolt against the Dutch began in Lonthor, with the hope of English aid, which never came.

Middleton went on to Tidore, where he saved the Sultan and a few Dutch traders but was once again followed by the Dutch, who captured Tidore in May, 1605. Middleton was followed to Ternate and not given the opportunity to begin negotiations with any ruler for the starting of a factory. But he was able to get a shipment of cloves at Ternate and mace and nutmegs at the Bandas.

But the E.I.C. was determined to get a factory and kept sending its ships there though the Dutch frustrated all its attempts, as in the case of Banda Neira, where in 1610, the Dutch Governor ordered Captain David Middleton out of the area. Three years later, John Jourdain arrived at Hitu on the north coast of Amboina in 1613, with instructions to start a factory. He found that the Dutch had been paying only half of the market price for cloves. But though unhappy, the chiefs were too scared to permit him to establish a factory. It was here that he met Coen and from the very beginning, the two hated the sight of the other.

Relations became so strained that a series of conferences were held between 1613 and 1615 at Government level. But try as it would, the E.I.C. was not able to get the V.O.C. to yield an inch. After the failure of the talks the struggle began once again in March 1615 when the English ships, Concord and Speelwell reached the Neira-Bandas, to learn that Governor-General Reynst had arrived there for an outright conquest of the islands. He forbade the English to trade there but the latter went ahead and obtained what they wanted from Wai. This was followed by a skirmish in which the natives joined the English and defeated the Dutch. The chiefs then sent a representative to Bantam requesting aid against the Dutch, in response to which, John Jourdain sent a squadron under Samuel Castleton in January, 1616. The Dutch heard of this squadron at Neira and immediately sent a force under Commander Lam to drive the English out of the area. Lam was crowned with immediate success when the weak Castleton opened negotiations with him and agreed to leave the area, provided the English factors there were not harmed, and then made his way to the Moluccas and visited Tidore.

In the meantime, Richard Hut, the English factor at Wai, surprised at the behaviour of Castleton, thought of a plan by which he could protect the natives from the Dutch. He persuaded the chiefs of Wai and Run to hoist the Union Jack, thus signifying that they were

follow their instructions. But Sultan Hamzah secured their release and signed a new treaty with the V.O.C. in June 1683. By its terms:

- (a) The Sultan recognized the monopoly of the V.O.C. to all the cloves in his domains, including Ceram.
- (b) The price of cloves was fixed at 60 rupiahs per bahar.
- (c) No attempts at conversion were to be made by both parties.
- (d) The V.O.C. agreed to pay 4,000 rupiahs per year to Sultan Hamzah.

The signing of the above treaty did bring about better relations between the Sultan and the V.O.C. But it also heralded an internal revolt against the Sultan, led by the Kimelahas Luhu and Kakiala because they felt that he had betrayed them. So they defied his authority and once again began selling cloves and other spices to foreign traders and requested help from the Sultan of Macassar, who had officially already signed a treaty with the V.O.C. in 1637. But unofficially much aid was given to the rebels and the rebellion went on till it was crushed by Anthony Caen in June 1643, when Kimelaha Luhu was executed outside Fort Victoria. And with his death the smuggling of cloves was practically wiped out and the Dutch took steps to consolidate their position.

The Hongi

The next step was taken when the Directors of the V.O.C. issued the "*General Instructice*" to their Governor-General in 1650. Emphasizing on the commercial character of the Company and the importance of buying cheap and selling dear, they recommended that Amboina and its neighbouring islands specialize in the production of cloves while mace and nutmegs be confined to the Bandas. Smuggling was to be strictly controlled and trees that grew in areas which were difficult to patrol were to be destroyed.

Actually the practice of cutting down trees had already been introduced the year before by Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn when he led a fleet of praus (called hongi) to Ceram and completely destroyed its clove industry because of its trade with Macassar which the Dutch considered illegal. They only stopped when the clove industry of the Moluccas was completely destroyed, and the people were told to plant rice and sago instead. Revolts were put down mercilessly and Sultan Mandar Shah of Ternate was exiled to Batavia,

The measures that Coen took to suppress this revolt were intended as an object lesson as to how the Dutch would deal with revolts and rebellions. The islands were devastated with hundreds carried off to slavery, while thousands were transported to other areas. The leaders were caught, tortured and executed. The atrocities he committed were so inhuman that even his own country-men were shocked. Thousands of natives who had taken to the hills died of starvation rather than fall into his hands. He repeated the same tactics at Ceram and Run where nearly the whole adult population was killed and their lands given to Dutch planters. The chiefs of Amboina accepted Dutch authority in order to avoid what had happened in their neighbours. It was only in the Halmaheras that, because of the presence of the Spaniards at Tidore, Coen was not able to repeat his actions, which stand out as one of the blackest records in the history of colonial rule in Asia.

The story of what happened at Amboina has already been described in a previous chapter. Suffice it to say here that, the Dutch allowed neither friendship nor religion to deter them from the course on which they had set and seem to have been in no way sorry about what they had done at Amboina in 1623. Rightly or wrongly, they just refused to share with the English, co-religionists or not, what they claimed they had obtained by force of arms from the Spaniards and the Portuguese. To them it was the end that mattered and not the means and this they accomplished when the E.I.C. decided to close all its factories and return to Bantam.

Sultan Hamzah—V.O.C. Treaty

In face of all that has been described above, one would have expected the inhabitants of the Spice Islands to submit passively to the control of the V.O.C. But this was not to be the case because trouble soon began again in the 1630's, and when van Dieman became Governor-General, one of his first acts was to leave for Amboina with a strong fleet in December, 1636, punish the inhabitants and force the chiefs to renew their oaths of allegiance to the V.O.C. But when van Dieman left in June, 1637, the Kimelaha Kakiala requested assistance from Macassar, and once again foreign traders moved in. Hearing of this intrusion the Governor-General reappeared the following February, (1638), ordered the foreign traders to leave and arrested the Kimelaha and those who refused to

who would come and soon Portuguese, English (who opened their factory in 1613), Chinese and other merchants flocked in large numbers and, in this way, bought the spices that the V.O.C. was trying to deny them. This resulted in the smuggling of spices from the Moluccas islands and soon Macassar became the centre of this clandestine trade. It may be noted here that though the Dutch also had their own trading post at Macassar, they were not happy to trade in an open market but wanted the whole trade to themselves.

The Dutch withdrew their factory in 1616 and a virtual state of war began between the two. The position became worse when Coen began the devastation of the Bandas and forced many inhabitants to flee to Ceram and later seek refuge in Macassar where they were received with the sympathy that their plight necessitated. Macassar was, at this time, undergoing an expansionist phase and making its presence felt in Ceram, Aru, the Lesser Sunda Islands and the island of Buton, over which the Dutch also claimed suzerainty. Thus by 1626, the areas where the Dutch claimed to have a monopoly, were, in fact, doing a flourishing smuggling trade with Macassar, where the Danes arrived in 1625 and joined the Javanese, Spanish, English, Portuguese and the others who were already there.

We must, however, not get the impression that the Dutch were not worried about all that was going on because in 1625, the Governor-General, aware that the existing stalemate was not doing them any good, had been seriously considering the prospects of making peace with Macassar, and in this way, enable Fort Victoria Castle to assert its control over the Amboina area. In fact, in July, 1625, Herman van Speult had been ordered to proceed from Amboina to Buton, maintain cordial relations there and then proceed to Macassar as Ambassador. Once there, he was to demand payment of the debts that the Sultans of Macassar owed the V.O.C., since 1616; that the smuggling trade to Ceram be discontinued and that all trade with Amboina be restricted to Fort Victoria Castle. As expected, Speult was not very successful with the demands that he presented. In any case, the Sultan made it clear that he felt it below his dignity to deal with a body of merchants.

In the meantime, trouble began afresh between Macassar and its old enemy the Sultan of Ternate. In January, 1630 Macassan junks appeared off Sulue and Banggai and launched an attack on the

and allowed to return only after he had signed a document in which he supported the action of the Dutch. The result of this merciless policy was that the Moluccas which had once been prosperous and the dreamland of European traders, were ruined and instead became the home of pirates. The final chapter of this sad story began in 1663, when the Spaniards evacuated Tidore and the Dutch moved in. Speelman forced the Sultan to recognize Dutch sovereignty and in this way gave the V.O.C. the complete mastery of the Moluccas.

(B) MACASSAR

As is clearly evident from a look at the map of the Spice Islands, Macassar owed its importance to its geographical position. Situated in the south-western portion of the Celebes, this port became an ideal half-way house between Java and the Moluccas. It produced rice, which the islands of the Moluccas needed and the spices that the traders of Macassar sold brought in great wealth, especially in the form of gold. It was the capital of the Kingdom of Gowa which became quite powerful during the early years of the 17th. century. This was due to the intense rivalry that existed between Ternate and Tidore because the former, which had exerted much influence in the Celebes, became weak due to the meaningless wars it fought, especially after the intrusion of the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Dutch. Soon the Kingdom of Gowa spread its frontiers to include East Borneo, Menado, Boelang, Sumbawa, Boni and Talaja, areas which had once been under the influence of the Sultan of Ternate.

Trouble with the Dutch

The Dutch established a factory in 1601 and then, as we have already seen, brought Amboina and the Banda Islands under their control, kingdoms which had once been the dependencies of Ternate, and were ruled by the Kimelaha or Deputy Ruler. Thus when in 1607, the Sultan of Ternate came under their suzerainty, the Dutch claimed that their authority also extended to the former dependencies of Ternate. But as many of these had by now become a part of the Kingdom of Gowa, misunderstanding soon began between Macassar and the V.O.C. What troubled the Dutch more was not the control of the territories mentioned above, but the way in which Macassar was sabotaging the monopoly that they were trying so desperately to impose on the Moluccas. Macassar threw its doors open to all

The Treaty of 1637

The main terms of the treaty were:

- (a) The Dutch were given permission to visit and trade in Macassar. But they had to leave with their ships and not stay there permanently. During their stay, the Dutch were not to harm any Macassan under any pretext.
- (b) The subjects of the Sultan were not permitted to visit the "unfree waters" (Malacca and the coast of Ceram) and those caught doing so, were to be considered enemies and treated as such.
- (c) Macassar harbour and its roads were to be a conflict-free zone and the Dutch agreed not to violate this status. The Sultan guaranteed that the Dutch would also be treated in the same way.
- (d) The V.O.C. and Macassar were not obliged to help each other in case one of them went to war.
- (e) The signatories were to respect each other's religion, restore cast-aways and help keep their relations cordial in every way possible.

Though the Sultan observed the 1637 Treaty, the circumstances of the period were such that relations between the V.O.C. and Macassar could not remain amicable for long. The first of these was the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1641, which had the effect of making the Sultan doubly cautious as to the true intentions of the Dutch because his turn could come up next. Secondly, he found it very difficult to detach himself completely from the rebellion that was in progress in Amboina against the Dutch, and his subjects were, in fact, helping the rebels by supplying them arms and other aid. Though Macassans found in the Amboina area were to be treated as enemies, the Sultan positively connived with these expeditions because his prosperity depended on the trade with the eastern islands. But despite his aid, the revolt of Kimelahu Luhu was crushed by Anthony Caen and he was executed outside Fort Victoria Castle in June, 1643.

Sultan Mandar Shah

Sultan Hamzah of Ternate died in May, 1648 and was succeeded by Sultan Mandar Shah. In March 1651, a terrific rebellion broke

islands which were a part of the domains of Ternate. The Sultan ordered his fleet to eject them and also aid Buton, where the Macassans had occupied Torobuku. Though the invaders were soon repulsed, the defenders expected the Macassans to counter-attack and had called the Dutch to help them. But there was difference of opinion amongst the V.O.C. as to the course that the Dutch should follow. One section believed that it was in the interests of the Dutch to keep peace with Macassar, and procure their requirements of rice and cloth from there instead of from Mataram in Java. The second party was of the opinion that Macassar was the greatest obstacle that the V.O.C. had had to face in the Spice Islands, and there was every possibility that Macassar would join Ternate and present a strong united front against the Dutch. Its smuggling activities with Ceram, Amboina and Banda had increased to such proportions, that the Sultan might even have plans to bring these areas under his direct control. They believed that the threat from Macassar had to be eliminated once and for all.

On 26th. November, 1633, the Governor-General resolved on the latter course and gave orders that a force be sent to Macassar to cripple its smuggling activities and stop its trade with Malacca, Macao and Manila. So a blockade was established in February, 1634. Not only did the initial force fail to prevent the Macassan capture of Buton, but the reinforcements that arrived in 1634-5 did not achieve anything. The situation in Amboina and Ceram was also critical and the Governor there was desperately demanding reinforcements, when Bachian and Makian were threatened by the Spanish from Tidore. All this made Sultan Hamzah of Ternate apathetic.

This then was the position when van Diemen became Governor-General in 1636. Aware of the need to salvage the reputation of the V.O.C., he sailed for Amboina on 30 December, 1636 with 17 ships and 2,000 men. By May, 1637 van Diemen had brought the situation under control, renewed the old oaths of allegiance, promised to look into the grievances and reinstated the Kimelaha Kakiala. Van Diemen then sailed into Macassar on 22nd. June, under a flag of peace and got the good offices of two ambassadors from Acheh to open negotiations with the Sultan. After three days of discussion, a peace treaty was signed on 26th. June, 1637.

Macassan envoys were on their way to Batavia, and under the shadow of a Dutch attack with an army that was poised for action at Panukukang, signed the following treaty.

The Treaty of August, 1660

Its main terms were:-

- (a) The Sultan of Macassar or his subjects were not to interfere in the affairs of Buton or Menado and establish peaceful relations with Ternate, Tidore and Bachian. The Sultan was not to interfere in the affairs of Amboina, which was under the Sultan of Ternate.
- (b) The subjects of the Sultan were not to visit the islands of Banda and Amboina under pain of death or slavery. (The treaty went on to name the islands which made up the Amboina group.)
- (c) As far as trade was concerned, no mace, cloves or nutmegs were to be sold in the markets at Macassar, as these spices were a monopoly of the V.O.C.
- (d) The Sultan was to banish forever the Portuguese from his domains in one year and undertake not to help the enemies of the V.O.C.
- (e) Dutch traders were to be permitted to reside at Macassar, pay no heavier tolls than they formerly did and have their disputes at Macassar settled by Batavia and not by the local courts. Any misunderstanding between the Macassans and the Dutch was to be settled by a joint commission.
- (f) Finally, the Sultan was to pay the costs of the war and the Dutch garrison at Panukukang would only be withdrawn after the payment of this debt.

It is not difficult to see that the terms of the above Treaty were such that only a miracle could have prevented a breach of the terms. The Sultan was not a man who could have been expected to change overnight and under these circumstances the Treaty of 1660 may be considered as the excuse for the final blow that the V.O.C. was planning to strike. The Portuguese were still seen in Macassar while trouble continued with Buton when some shipwrecked Dutch sailors were found murdered. Another cause of trouble was the flight

out once again in Amboina against his authority, and once again Macassar sent aid to the rebels and this strained the relations between the two and led to war in 1653. But relations were restored two years later by a treaty which was signed in December, 1655. The Sultan claimed that he was only responsible for preventing his own subjects from visiting Amboina, Banda and Ternate but could not give any guarantee to that effect on behalf of the foreigners who were staying in his country. The Dutch also had to agree that the enemies of the V.O.C. were not necessarily the enemies of the Sultan. Thus the treaty was regarded by the V.O.C. as unsatisfactory and only a temporary measure. The Dutch had other grievances too. The first of these was that, inspite of the treaty, nearly 40 Macassan smuggling ships had appeared in the Amboina area in 1656. Secondly, the Dutch were unhappy at the treatment that they were receiving at Macassar, because they were the only Europeans who were requested to leave Macassar each year. Thirdly, the open trade at Macassar, especially the large imports of Indian cloth, was having a serious effect on Batavia. On his side, the Sultan was equally unhappy about the fort that the Dutch had built at Menado.

It was under these circumstances that the V.O.C. sent Commissioner Bastigh to negotiate a fresh treaty with the Sultan. The Sultan pointed out that the inhabitants of Ceram, Buro and Amblau, though they were subjects of the Sultan of Ternate and thus under Dutch protection, had requested the protection of Macassar and that the V.O.C. should stop molesting them and interfering with their religion. He demanded that the Dutch garrison from Menado be withdrawn and he be allowed freedom of action against the Sultans of Ternate, Tidore and Bachian.

Faced with this, the Dutch decided to take the offensive themselves. In January and February, 1660, Johan van Dam and Johan van Truytman were instructed to proceed to the Amboina area, gather all the reinforcements that they could and proceed to Macassar and withdraw the three Dutch residents from there. They were then to attack Panukukang, the southern castle of Macassar, conquer it, and force the Sultan to sue for peace. Van Dam reached the harbour of Macassar on 29th. May, 1660 with about 2,500 men and 32 ships, and began an undeclared war by destroying six Portuguese ships that he found there. By June 2, the castle of Panukukang was captured and the V.O.C. fleet lay anchored near the walls. Soon

negotiations by a show of force, failing which he was to conduct raids on coastal towns. After this, Speelman was to proceed to Buton, reach an agreement with its king and then visit Ternate, where he was to establish cordial relations between the two rival Sultans of Ternate and Tidore, which the Spanish had evacuated in 1663. Speelman was then to return to Macassar, via Amboina, Bachian and Banda and then blockade the roads and bombard the town. He was told not to make a landing as this might prove too risky.

Speelman reached Macassar on 19th. December, could not make any headway and declared war, after which he proceeded to Buton, Amboina, the Bandas, Ternate and Tidor where he forced the Sultan to accept Dutch sovereignty and establish friendly terms with the Sultan of Ternate. Then ignoring his instructions, Speelman gathered all the men that he could muster and made his way for the final showdown at Macassar. Sultan Hassan Udin was contemplating peace, in view of the defeat of his forces by Speelman at Buton, but he was opposed by the other members of his Council, who, according to the Dutch, were encouraged by the English with their verbal promises of support, and preparations were made to repulse the coming Dutch attack.

Treaty of Bongaya (1667)

The Dutch force arrived on 13 July, 1667, occupied the roads and Speelman refused an offer made by the Sultan to come to terms. Six days later, the Macassans opened fire, much to the surprise of Speelman, who had not expected the Sultan to take the initiative. The war had begun. By 26 August, the Dutch overcame the last resistance with the help of the Buganese chief of Boni, Aru Palakka, whose family Sultan Hassan Udin had murdered. Negotiations began three days later between the V.O.C. and Sultan Hassan Udin which resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Bongaya on 18th November, 1667. Its main terms were:

- (a) The two treaties signed in 1660 (of 19th. August and 2nd. December) were confirmed, and the Sultan agreed to expel the Portuguese from his kingdom and pay compensation for the murders of shipwrecked Dutch sailors and their goods. He also agreed to bring the

to Macassar of Calamatta, a brother of the Sultan of Ternate and a sworn enemy of the Dutch. He soon began negotiations with Tidore in the hope of getting it to join in an anti-Dutch alliance and personally led an attack on Sula Bessi, which was under his brother.

It was in the face of these developments that the V.O.C. passed a resolution on 5th. October, 1666, appointing Johan van Dam, to lead the operation against Macassar, but van Dam refused the offer. The V.O.C. then appointed Cornelius Speelman "Superintendent, Admiral, War Commander and Commissioner for the Eastern Quarter, Macassar, Ternate, Amboina, Banda etc." in November, 1666 and put him in charge of a fleet of 21 ships, 600 Dutch soldiers and other auxiliaries. He was instructed to proceed to Macassar and open



Cornelius Speelman

CHAPTER SEVEN

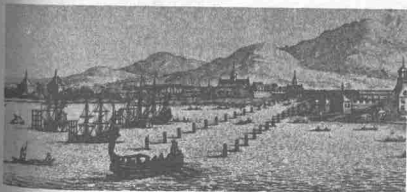
THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

The V.O.C. as Paramount Power

As we have seen in the last chapter, the 17th. century saw the rise of the V.O.C. to the zenith of its power. Not only were all the important kingdoms of the East Indies brought directly or indirectly under its control but the commercial activity of other rival powers, both Asian and European was checked in an area which the Dutch considered as their own preserve. In the achievement of this position, the V.O.C. had not been shy to use methods which were most unbecoming of a people who took pride in calling themselves civilised. But to them it was the end, a complete monopoly of the spice trade, and not the means that mattered.

Towards the end of the 17th. century, in both Eastern and Western Java, the Sultans of Mataram and Bantam had signed treaties with the V.O.C. by which they accepted Dutch sovereignty. They owed the company huge sums of money as war reparations, which the Dutch were prepared to waive off in case of good behaviour on the part of the Sultans.

Having assumed a position of paramount power, the Dutch, like the British in India towards the end of the 18th. century, could not



Batavia, c. 1665

- murderers to trial.
- (b) The Sultan agreed to expel all Englishmen and refuse admission to any other Europeans except the Dutch.
 - (c) The trade monopoly of Macassar passed, completely free of tolls, into the hands of the Dutch, while local trade was to be conducted under a pass system. Dutch coins were to be used throughout Macassar.
 - (d) The Sultan promised to demolish his fortresses except Sambopo Castle; hand over the King of Bima to the V.O.C., refrain from interfering in his affairs in future; return the Sula Islands to Ternate, and all captured subjects and the King of Buton. He was also to pay a quarter of a million Rix dollars as the cost of the war and permit the Dutch to occupy his main fort, Joupandan, renamed Fort Rotterdam.

Though a great change came in the commercial position of Macassar by the Treaty of Bongaya, the final curtain fell a few months later, when the Dutch accused the Sultan of evading the terms of the Treaty by his failure to hand over the King of Bima to the V.O.C., and blamed him for the murder of some Dutchmen. Macassar was occupied, the Sultan pensioned off and the country placed under the charge of a Dutch Governor, with his headquarters at Fort Rotterdam. And with this came the political collapse of Macassar and the complete domination of the Spice Islands by the V.O.C.

of Amangkurat and in November, 1685 the Governor-General sent a mission under Major Francis Tack with instructions to:

- (a) demand the surrender of all foreigners at the Court of Mataram;
- (b) reassert the cloth and opium monopoly of the V.O.C.;
- (c) confirm certain privileges for the V.O.C. against which compensation would be paid in reductions of his debts;
- (d) restore friendly relations between Madura, Cheribon and Mataram.

Meanwhile, the local governor, who was jealous of Surapati's popularity at Surakarta got in touch with Major Tack and made plans for his capture. But Surapati was warned even before Major Tack left Batavia and escaped in good time. When the Dutch tried to follow him, Surapati ambushed them, killed the Major with 73 of his men, while the remaining 248 retreated to Japara. This deed brought much prestige to Surapati who, in February, 1686, moved to East Java, where he established himself as ruler of Passuruan, in territory which was once a part of Mataram. Surapati soon began to expand his kingdom and this, in turn led to trouble with Amangkurat II, who in 1690, ordered the Governor of Surakarta to put an end to the upstart. But Surapati turned the tables on the Governor and massacred his whole army and captured Balambuang in 1691.

Meanwhile the V.O.C. blamed Amangkurat II for the death of Major Tack and expressed the opinion that the steps that he took against Surapati were just a part of a plot to attract the Dutch into the interior and then ambush them. Thus they refused to commit any troops beyond Japara and Samarang and though Amangkurat sent a number of missions to Batavia, they just turned a deaf ear to him until 1702, when it looked as if the last days of Amangkurat were drawing near, and the Court of Mataram would soon become the scene of succession disputes and intrigues. This, indeed, did happen and upon the death of Amangkurat on the 3rd. December 1703, there began the first of the three Javanese wars of Succession.

The First War of Succession

The Dutch became interested in the succession disputes because the most likely candidate, Sunan Mas, was known for his anti-Dutch feelings and was on friendly terms with Surapati. There were rumours

avoid being involved in events which took place in the East Indies. They were obliged by the treaties they had signed to come to the aid of their allies and help put down rebellions against their authority. The most serious of these broke out during the 18th. century in Mataram and Bantam.

MATARAM

The Rise of Surapati

In spite of the signing of the treaty between Sultan Haji of Bantam and Governor-General Johannes Camphuijs in 1684, resistance against the Dutch continued in the Preanger areas under Pangeran Purbaya, the younger son of Sultan Agung and brother of Sultan Haji. The Dutch, in addition to their own troops, had employed a company of Balinese mercenaries, under the command of one Lieut. Surapati, in the hunt for Purbaya. Previously known as Oentoeng, Surapati was a slave and a prisoner in Batavia, but had escaped from jail, organized a gang of cut throats and eventually joined the services of the V.O.C. in 1678.

In January, 1684 Purbaya surrendered to Surapati but a young Dutch lieutenant, tried to take over Purbaya so as to claim the credit for his capture. In the quarrel that ensued, Surapati and his followers killed the Lieutenant and 28 of his men, released Purbaya and vanished into the hills. Though Purbaya gave himself up a few days later, Surapati made his way to Amangkurat II at Surakarta, where he was given a hearty welcome. The reason for this welcome was that Amangkurat was also having many grievances, real and imaginary, against the V.O.C. The first of these was that the Dutch were demanding that Amangkurat dismiss all foreigners (including Surapati) from Surakarta. He also objected to the presence of the Dutch guard at his palace as he was uncertain whether they were there to protect or spy upon him. And then came the debts which now stood at 4,600,000 florins and against which Amangkurat was forced to pledge the revenues of Samarang to the V.O.C. Lastly came the feeling of dejection that the once powerful King of Mataram owed his position to the mercy of a corporation of traders.

On their part, the Dutch were also getting irritated at the behaviour

then deported to Ceylon in the same year. The bands of Surapati made one more effort to seize power in 1712 but were no match against the troops of the V.O.C. and by 1719, these remnants were finally liquidated. And thus ended the First Javanese War of Succession.

The Second War of Succession

Paku Buwono I died in 1719 and was succeeded by his son who became Susuhunan and took the title of Amangkurat IV. Simultaneous to this began the customary quarrels as his brothers rose to contest the succession and rebellions broke out against his authority. But the Dutch went to the aid of their candidate and by 1723 most of the rebels were rounded up and exiled to Ceylon and the Cape Colony. This brought the V.O.C. to the zenith of its power. But the period also witnessed the outbreak of a serious rebellion by the Chinese community of Java.

The Chinese had been living in Java long before the arrival of the Portuguese. By the end of 1700, nearly 10,000 of these settlers were living near Batavia, cultivating sugar and engaged in other trades, including smuggling which had made many of them extremely wealthy and powerful. The period also saw a further influx of Chinese and the situation became so bad that those who were not able to get employment organized themselves into roving gangs of beggars, so that the Dutch had to ban the entry of undesirables in 1706. This does not seem to have brought much change into the situation and the Government took other measures of transporting the Chinese to the neighbouring islands, but to no avail. In some cases, the gangs took to robbery and other deeds of violence. The situation became so serious that in July, 1740 the Council of India passed a law by which all unemployed Chinese were to be transported to Ceylon to work in the cinnamon gardens there. Much abuse crept into the whole operation because of greedy officials, followed by a rumour that once out at sea, many were thrown overboard. This started a panic and many potential departures ran away from Batavia and joined anti-Dutch gangs. Meanwhile those in the city also began to make preparations for any emergency and mistook an accidental outbreak of fire as the 'zero-hour' for an uprising against the Government. This preparedness and action infuriated the non-Chinese population of Batavia and anti-Chinese riots which lasted for over a week

that a great anti-Dutch alliance was in the making and would materialize on the accession of Sunan Mas to the throne of Mataram. Dutch fears became true when Sunan Mas informed the Governor-General on 3rd. December, 1703 that his father was dead and that he had ascended the throne as Amangkurat III. In the letter which was sent by an ordinary messenger, no mention was made about the contracts and treaties that had been signed with the V.O.C. and it appeared as if the customary procedure had been deliberately put aside. The Dutch were not able to quickly check the new Susuhunan because the V.O.C. was also undergoing a succession crisis, since the death of the Governor-General van Outloorn in 1703, and that it was only in July, 1704 that Joon van Hoorn was named successor. Then came the news that Pangeran Puger, Amangkurat's uncle had fled from Surakarta and taken refuge at Semarang, and was seeking the protection of the V.O.C. Aware of his pro-Dutch leanings, the V.O.C. decided to back him as their candidate and on 6th. July, 1704 informed him that the V.O.C. recognized him as the new Susuhunan of Mataram and ordered that his nephew, Sunan Mas make his submission to his uncle. Puger took the title of Paku Buwono I and began his reign in the midst of a civil war which dragged on till 1705 and resulted in the capture of Surakarta by the Dutch army in September, 1705. Sunan Mas was forced to retreat to Passuruan, where he joined forces with Surapati.

The following month, on 5th. October, 1705 Paku Buwono I and the V.O.C. signed a treaty by which the Susuhunan:

- (a) granted the V.O.C. complete sovereignty over Preanger, Cheribon and a half of Madura;
- (b) firmly established the cloth and opium monopoly;
- (c) was not to admit any foreigners to his territories, unless with a pass from the V.O.C.;
- (d) was absolved of all his debts as long as he honoured the terms of the treaty. But he was obliged to sent 1,600 tons of rice to Batavia for 25 years and permit other concessions as quotas.

Having done the above, the Dutch opened their campaign against Surapati and Sunan Mas in 1706. Though the attack on Passuruan failed, Surapati was wounded by a hand grenade and died in October, 1706. Sunan Mas, now left alone, fought till July 1708 when he was forced to surrender. He was brought to Batavia and

out between Paku Buwono II and his brother Mangku Bumi. His poor handling of the situation resulted in the latter taking up arms against both his brother and the Dutch. In a way, this was most unfortunate because Paku Buwono became ill a few months after the quarrel began and on his death-bed, and through the influence of the Dutch, ceded his kingdom to the V.O.C. instead of his rebellious brother. Thus after his death, his successor, Paku Buwono III did not receive his crown as a successor to the kings of Mataram but from the Dutch as their puppet. This naturally infuriated the chiefs and the populace and they refused to recognize Paku Buwono III but only Mangku Bumi as the new Susuhunan. Thus instead of just being a dynastic quarrel, the revolt took a new shape as the people of Mataram rose enbloc to liberate their kingdom from the control of the V.O.C. The Dutch, who were also involved in Bantam at the same time, faced a really great threat in 1751 as Mangku Bumi and his men began to occupy a large portion of the North Coast Province.

Fortunately for the Dutch a quarrel between Mangku Bumi and his nephew Mas Said began at this juncture and Van Imhoff who died in 1750, was succeeded by Jacob Mosse as Governor-General. The latter realizing the unenviable position in which his predecessor had placed the V.O.C., decided to partition the province amongst the contestants. This would not only satisfy the rivals and bring about peace but also enable the Dutch to save their face. This led to the signing of a treaty in 1755 by which the kingdom was divided into two — the eastern half under Paku Buwono III and the western half, with its capital at Jogjakarta, under Mangku Bumi. Mas Said, who was subdued after another two years of fighting, agreed to become a vassal of the V.O.C. when he was given the territory of Mangku-Negoro by the Treaty of Salatiga signed in 1757.

BANTAM

In Bantam, trouble began when the Sultan's favourite wife, Fatima, influenced the ruler to change the succession from Pangeran Gasti to her own son-in-law. The Dutch Governor-General van Imhoff supported this scheme and in 1748, this arrangement was put into effect and Pangeran Gasti was exiled to Ceylon. This led to a rebellion against the Dutch and Fatima, who had assumed the duty of Regent. In an initial engagement, the Dutch and Fatima were defeated.

turned into a blood bath. Even Governor-General Valkenier ordered the massacre of all Chinese prisoners and lost all control of his troops.

When order was restored a few days later, many refused to take advantage of the amnesty offer by the Government but organized themselves into roving bands who took revenge on Europeans and finally laid siege on Samarang. It was during this period of chaos that Paku Buwono, who had succeeded Amangkurat IV to the throne in 1725, decided to join the rebels and assert his independence from the control of the V.O.C. The garrison at Kartasura was seized but the Dutch saved Samarang while the Madurese refused to join Paku Buwono but went to the side of the Dutch. This unexpected turn of events opened the eyes of Paku Buwono to the predicament he had put himself into and he soon made up with the V.O.C. This action was likened to that of a weakling and lost him the support of most of his chiefs who now proclaimed an exiled grandson of Sunan Mas as their leader. Then for some reason, the rebels were split into two because of a quarrel that began between the Chinese and their Javanese allies. Taking advantage of this, the Dutch recaptured Kartasura and reinstated Paku Buwono II as ruler of Mataram. In the treaty that he signed in 1743, he ceded the north coast of Java, including Madura to the V.O.C. The Susuhunan built a new capital at Surakarta while the Dutch created a North Coast Province from the ceded areas with its capital at Semarang. Soon after the signing of the above treaty, a war broke out between the Dutch and their Madurese allies. The latter had deserted Mataram and joined the Dutch because they had hoped to gain their independence. Thus they were very disappointed with the 1743 treaty and were only subdued by the Dutch after much fighting. Thus ended the Second War of Succession.

The Third War of Succession

The outbreak of the Third War of Succession is closely associated with Governor-General Van Imhoff who took office in 1743. He had been a severe critic of the manner in which Valkenier had handled the Chinese question and when the Directors of the V.O.C. had Valkenier put on trial, they chose Van Imhoff to that high office. Van Imhoff who came out with some brilliant methods with which to check the financial decline of the V.O.C., proved no better than Valkenier when it came to dealing with a quarrel which had broken

Cheribon, East Java and the Cape of Good Hope, which they had secured by much blood and money, the factories showed a permanent loss throughout this period.

The Main Causes:

In Holland, however, no signs of this weakness were evident and at Amsterdam, the Directors continued to declare remarkable dividends throughout the eighteenth century. One of the ways by which they were able to do so was by borrowing heavily. They were in fact bankrupt but nobody apart from the Directors, were aware of this. What then were the main causes for the financial crisis that faced the V.O.C.?

(a) Corruption and Dishonesty

In trying to explain the cause which led to a drop of one half in the demand for cloth in East Java between 1696-1703, the Dutch Governor-General blamed the interloping French, Portuguese, Muslims, Armenians, local noble-men and the English, whom J.S. Furnival had accused of "following the Dutch around the archipelago, pursuing them like gadflies." The Directors, however, scornfully refuted this excuse as applicable no longer, but openly put the whole blame on the corrupt V.O.C. servants in the East. This corruption was in fact the first cause of the financial crisis that faced the V.O.C.

The pay that these men received was miserably low whilst the temptations open to them were fantastic. Sometimes a part of the officials' pay was held back or paid partly in goods on which the V.O.C. made a profit. This alienated their loyalty to their employers. Senior officials, instead of checking this practice, set the ball rolling themselves. It is incredible that officials who received a salary which never exceeded 160 florins a month could have sent home sums like 160,000 florins at the end of their contracts.

The first of the means by which additional sums were acquired was by private trade. Though officially forbidden, private trade was extensively carried out with the assistance of the captains of the V.O.C. ships, who also received a share. The second was by taking advantage of the fact that the weight of the picul varied from place to place. Local agents often collected far more than was entered

The trouble was brought to an end once again by Jacob Mossel, by extending Dutch support for Pangeran Gasti instead of Fatima. In 1753, when he became Sultan, Pangeran Gasti recognised the suzerainty of the Dutch. This brought the whole of Java under V.O.C. control.

The First signs of Decline

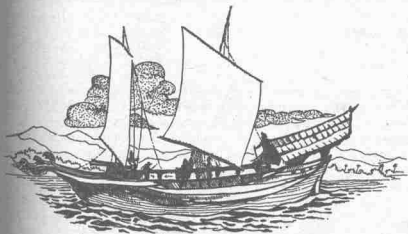
As far as other European powers were concerned, the Dutch had achieved what they had set out to do — the elimination of competitors from the East Indies. The economies of the native kingdoms of Java, Macassar, the Spice Islands, the pepper kingdoms of Sumatra and some of the kingdoms of Borneo were under the control of the V.O.C. by 1709. To all intents and purposes, everything was well with the Dutch. This was only the outward picture, for internally the financial position of the V.O.C. was chaotic.

In 1705 and 1708, the Governors-General, in their reports to the Directors, tried to point out the serious weaknesses in the trade policy of the V.O.C. Joon van Hoorn, in comparing the trade of 1673/75 to that of 1702/04, pointed out that whereas the expenditure had shown a considerable increase, the revenue had remained practically stationary. He emphasised that in 1673 there were still many independent kingdoms whilst by 1705, there were practically none of any importance. In figures, the expenditure in 1702 had increased from that of 1672 by 216,000 florins whilst the revenue for the same period had fallen by 256,000 florins.

These figures do not seem to have made any convincing impression on the Council of India and another statement of cost and receipts for the years between 1681 and 1706 was sent by the Governor-General. It plainly pointed out that in only seven years had returns been greater than expenses and that after 1690, the V.O.C. had made no profit in any year. This was despite the twenty-three factories which the V.O.C. maintained between 1683 and 1710. Of these only the factories in Japan, Surat and Persia showed a constant profit. Bengal and Coromandel showed a profit most of the time whilst the seven factories in Siam, Tongking, Malacca, Sumatra, Ceylon and Malabar showed a loss most of the time with only a small profit occasionally. In the areas where the Dutch had an unshakable monopoly — Amboina, Banda, Ternate, Macassar,



A Lanun



A Bugis Boat

into the Company's books. For example, on one occasion at Cheribon, though the people brought in 1,210 piculs of pepper, they were officially paid for only 600. The rest had been sold privately and the proceeds had gone into the pockets of the officials. Falsifying the amount of goods lost through wastage and pilage was also another way of cheating the accounts. Equipment for soldiers and V.O.C. cloth was also sold whilst bribes from local rulers or their agents was another form of corruption.

As early as 1684, the Directors of the V.O.C. had become aware of the seriousness of the situation and had appointed Hendrik Adrian van Rheede as Commissioner-General with powers to inspect the factories in the East and punish offenders. He worked himself to death up to 1691 in India, but was able to touch only the fringe of the problem. Immediately after he left a factory, corruption sprang up again. Others took harsh measures, like Governor-General Zwaardekroon who beheaded twenty-six officials in one day for corruption in 1722. In 1731, a Governor-General and three other high-ranking officials were dismissed for failing to remedy the situation.

In 1742, the Directors took another step in this direction when they sent van Imhoff with instructions to carry out sweeping reforms. He was given powers to increase salaries in an attempt to remove temptation. Though he did introduce a number of reforms, van Imhoff left the problem of corruption and private trade almost untouched.

(b) The Evils of the Monopoly System

We have seen above that in the spice areas, where the V.O.C. held a tight monopoly, the factories were not making any profit. This clearly indicates that something was basically wrong with this method of trade. Though some of the servants of the V.O.C. had the courage to point this out to the Directors, the latter were not prepared to admit that their policy was wrong and instead blamed the servants in the East for not fulfilling their duty. In 1708, Governor-General Hoorn openly laid blame on the system of trade when he wrote "time had indicated enough . . . of what a disastrous effect on the Company's trade the many forced monopoly contracts and actions against the native merchants on Sumatra's west coast, Ceylon, Malabar, Siam, Macassar, Malacca and others had been and still are."

Trees were cut down in disgust. But the V.O.C. insisted, after 1728, that every family had to grow ten coffee plants. The same sad story of the Directors sticking doggedly to a system which had failed, was repeated in the case of indigo. Under these circumstances, the economic position of the V.O.C. could not make any real recovery.

(c) Revolts against the authority of the V.O.C.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the V.O.C. was engaged in a series of wars in one area or another. Even when the chief kingdoms had come under its authority, the V.O.C. had to maintain a strong force to suppress the number of revolutions that broke out against its authority. Surapati's revolt is only one example. Even more serious than this was the revolt of the Chinese.

All these wars and revolts, of which there were many more, were a severe drain on the resources of the V.O.C. and a contributory factor to its economic decline.

(d) Piracy

Another chronic problem was that of piracy, which was regarded in local eyes as an honourable profession. It is true that it was rife before the Dutch came into South-East Asia but the monopoly system adopted by the Dutch contributed greatly to its increase. As the fleets of local rulers were checked in their missions of honourable trade, they had no option but to resort to piracy. A good example in this connection is that of the Bugis.

Prior to the capture of Macassar in 1667, the Bugis were honourable traders. Francis Light describes them in these words: "They are the best merchants among the eastern islands The great value of their cargoes either in bullion or goods, with quantities of opium and piece goods they export, make their arrival much wished for by all mercantile people." (Quoted by H. P. Clodd, "Malay's First British Pioneer." p. 100.) It was the capture of their homeland by the Dutch, in an attempt to put an end to the free ports which the Bugis established, that led them to roam far and wide. They were expert seamen, good fighters and very brave — qualities which made them successful pirates. Before long the Bugis had established settlements in the western fringe of the Archipelago

To bring about an increase in the trade, the V.O.C. introduced a system of forced deliveries and contingencies. By it local rulers had to deliver a certain fixed quota against a definite price. It is rather surprising that the V.O.C. officials failed to see the grave disadvantages of this system. The Javanese producer had no longer any incentive to grow goods for export purposes because the V.O.C. was the only buyer. Even this payment was uncertain as all transactions had to be done through the regents or village headmen, who were not averse to retaining a portion of the money for their own private purposes. Thus the population became poorer and was not able to buy the expensive monopoly imports of the V.O.C. Not only production but also consumption began to decline as a result of this vicious circle.

As the old commodities of the monopoly system were no longer profitable, attempts were made by the Dutch to develop new crops like sugar, indigo, cotton and coffee on a large scale. But once again, though the crop was changed, the Directors refused to change their method of trade and thus these noble attempts were destined to fail in the long run. This may be seen in the case of a few products.

Sugar, cultivated by the hardworking Chinese in the districts around Batavia and Japara, had reached the one million pounds mark in 1662. By the beginning of the 18th. century, more areas were coming under sugar production. But the Company refused to change its methods of trade and by 1710 sugar production had declined for lack of incentive. Appeals to the Company for an increase in price and freedom to sell their crop to anybody, once the V.O.C. quota was delivered, fell on deaf ears. The Directors refused to allow an increase in the number of cultivators or the price and by a system of taxes and tolls limited the areas of production to the vicinity of Batavia.

The same was also the case with coffee, which first reached Holland in 1661. The first consignment of plants sent from Surat to Batavia died in 1699 but the second one survived and, a few years later, plants were sent to the regents in Preanger, Batavia Hills, Cheribon and Kartasura in 1706. Fifteen years later coffee production stood at 200,000 pounds and increased three years later (1724) to over a million pounds.

Then without warning disaster struck when the Directors cut the price the V.O.C. offered to the cultivators from 21 to 5 dollars.

the exiled William V opened the way for English occupation of the empire of the V.O.C. in the East. The Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Malacca, Amboina and the Bandas came under the control of the E.I.C.

Financially, this was the last straw for the V.O.C. Her debts in 1781 stood at 25 million florins. Three years later this figure became more than double and was still rising. A Commissioner appointed in 1793 to reorganise the structure failed to achieve anything. Thus on the last day of 1799, the decision was taken to wind up the affairs of the V.O.C., whose debts stood at 140 million florins. It was taken over by the Dutch Republic.

and had begun to interfere in the kingdoms of Borneo, Johore and Sumatra. Their fleets became so daring as to attack the Dutch at Malacca. Other pirates were the Lanuns of Northern Borneo, who were in no way inferior to the Bugis.

To maintain their trade monopoly in the area, it was imperative that the Dutch block any loopholes which might appear in the fabric that they were weaving. But as the control of the V.O.C. grew weaker, piratical activities grew even stronger. The inability of the Dutch to control piracy hit their trade very hard and was one of the factors which led to the collapse of the V.O.C.

(e) Foreign Competition

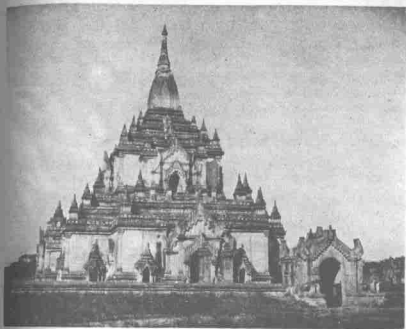
Though the Dutch had ousted other Europeans from the East Indies, they were not able to control their activities outside their "ring fence." In India, the English had gained a strong foothold in the Coromandel and Bengal. The Dutch were ousted from Bengal two years after the Battle of Plassey and thus lost their Bengal trade in opium and textiles.

During the American War of Independence, when the Dutch cast in their lot with the colonists and France against England, this opened their colonies to attacks by the latter. The damage done to the Dutch navy was so severe that trade between Holland and the East came to almost a stop. This was at the time when the V.O.C. was facing other troubles in the East. In the peace treaty that followed, the Dutch were forced to grant free trade in the East.

Attempts by the English to establish trading ports as far South as the Rhio-Lingga Archipelago, illustrate how weak the Dutch had become as this was an area which stood in the heart of their preserve. The establishment of Penang in 1786, clearly illustrated the weakness of the V.O.C. and signalled the beginning of a second period of English participation in the affairs of South-East-Asia.

(f) The French Revolution

The final blow to the tottering structure of the V.O.C. was given by the outbreak of the French Revolution and the capture of Holland in 1795, when the country was renamed the Batavian Republic and made into a French protectorate. The signing of the Kew Letters by



View of Gawdawpalin Pagoda of Pagan.

tribes from the north who came sailing down the Menam Chao Phya. Some of these tribes moved across into the Irrawaddy delta, made their settlements there, and soon made contacts with the Telegus of southern India, from whom they acquired Indian culture. Because of this, the Burmans of Central Burma began to refer to the Mons as Talaings and from the very early days, a struggle began between the two.

The Burmans of Central Burma were divided into a number of small states, each under its own ruler. It was the ruler of Pagan, King Anawratha (1044-77) who brought unity to the Burmans by bringing these states under one control and made his capital into a splendid city by constructing many magnificent buildings. He conquered the Mons and in this way introduced Buddhism into his state. However, after his death, the Mons revolted and killed Anawratha's successor Sawlu (1077-84) but they were soon subdued once again by King Kyanzittha (1084-1112) who sent embassies to both China and India and kept on good terms with his

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MAINLAND KINGDOMS TO 1600

The countries that make up the mainland section of South-East Asia today are Burma, Thailand and Indo-China, the last of which is made up of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. But the picture in 1500, when we begin our study of the region, was as is shown in the map on the front inside cover page. Let us first trace the historical background of the region as a whole up to the 15th century, and then deal with each of the three countries separately.

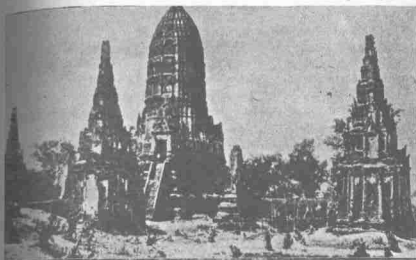
Background

From the earliest days, the rivers that drain this region and run from north to south, have played a most significant part in the histories of the kingdoms that were located and grew up in their valleys. These are the Irrawaddy, the Salween, the Menam Chao Phya, the Mekong and the Red River, and the first important part they played was when the earliest inhabitants sailed down their courses to form the earliest settlements.

(a) BURMA

As far as its historical background is concerned, the country can be divided into Lower Burma comprising of the coastal regions of Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim, and Upper Burma, which the British annexed in 1886. The earliest inhabitants of whom we have historical records, were the Pyu, who settled in the lower region of the Irrawaddy and had their capital at Serikshetra, near modern Prome. They had contacts with Nan Chao, which was established during the 7th century by the Thai tribes that were staying at this period in Yunnan. From the beginning of the 9th century, the Pyu sent tribute to Nan Chao and the Emperors of China but relations between the Pyu and the Thais became strained later and, in 822, the latter invaded the Pyu and carried away a good part of the population to Nan Chao. About three decades later, the Burmese began to move from the north into Central Burma and absorbed the remainder of the Pyu, who disappeared completely after this.

The 9th century also saw a movement of the Mon and Khmer



Ruins of Sukhothai

Burma while the Thais who moved down the Mekong into the territories of Kambujadesa formed the states of Muong Swa (near modern Luang Prabang) and Xieng Khouang to the east. Meanwhile, the tribes which were pushing south soon came into contact with the kingdom of Dvaravati, another dependency of Kambujadesa situated in the Lower Menam Valley and it was conquered by King Rama Khamheng (1283-1317) of Sukhothai. After the death of King Rama, the Thais underwent a period of decline but the 14th century saw the establishment of Ayuthia by Rama Tibodi in 1353 and soon this became the capital of a kingdom which not only brought the Malay Peninsula under its control by capturing Temasek in 1349 but in 1431 captured Angkor the capital of Kambujadesa. Then King Trailok (1448-88) put Ayuthia on the way to progress by organizing a government which was the most advanced amongst the countries of South-East Asia, by dividing the functions of government into departments and putting Governors in charge of the outlying provinces, instead of the traditional vassals. In this way, the Thai rulers were well organized to face the changing situations which came with the arrival of the Portuguese during the 16th. century.

neighbours till he was murdered by his own son. The period of trouble that followed also saw the capture of Nan Chao by the Mongols, who slowly began to make their demands on Pagan and when these were not met, the Chinese marched into Burma and by 1287, Pagan was in Mongol hands. But the Chinese left the country sometime after this, and the Shan tribes in the north, began their attacks on the Burmese, and it was they who brought the break-up of the Kingdom of Pagan, when they killed King Kyawswa, sacked the capital and left it in ruins.

It was during this period of upheaval that the Burmans established a new state at Toungoo while the Shans set themselves up at Sagaing. The Burmans and the Shans were reunited by King Thadominbya, (1364-1368) Chief of Sagaing who followed this by building a new capital at Ava. But the enmity with the Mons, who had by now established a kingdom of their own, with Pegu as its capital, continued. Meanwhile, other Shan tribes began to move into northern Burma, established a kingdom of their own at Mohnyin, attacked Ava in 1527 and killed the king. This forced the Burmans to flee to Toungoo and brought about the rise of a new dynasty with which we will deal soon.

(b) THAILAND

The upheavals that went on periodically in China as dynasties challenged each other for power, had the effect of causing a southern movement of many other Thai tribes from Nan Chao and they moved west into Northern Burma and Assam, and along the Menam Chao Phya and the Mekong in three groups — Shans (in Burma); Thai (Menam Chao Phya) and the Laos (along the Mekong). The Thais did not displace the original inhabitants of the areas they moved into but settled and mixed freely with them. In 1096, they established the kingdom of Payao and in 1238 captured Sukhothai, which was a principality of the Khmer kingdom of Kambujadesa, with its capital at Angkor Wat. Then came the Mongol conquest of Nan Chao in 1253 and the Thais moved out in force to form the kingdoms of Chiengrai, Chiengsan and in 1290 captured Chieng Mai, which had also been a dependency of the Khmers.

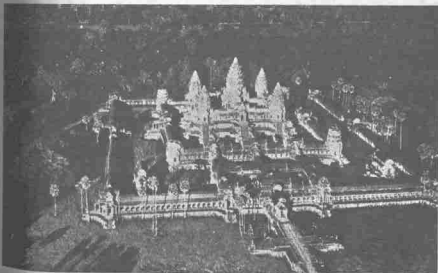
While this was happening along the valley of the Menam Chao Phya, the Shans began to move west and soon overran northern

China. But the Vietnamese fought back under Le Loi, who recovered Hanoi after ten years of fighting and in 1428 proclaimed himself King of Annam (pacified South).

Annam was lucky to have good and able leaders and it began to expand under King Lee Thanh Ton (1460-97) and annexed Champa in 1471, though it was allowed to survive as a tributary state. In 1478, Lan Chang was invaded and the capital Luang Prabang captured, while Xieng Khouang saved itself from invasion by agreeing to send tribute. Thus when Lee Thanh Ton died in 1497, he left a powerful kingdom but trouble soon broke out when his successors were not able to follow what he had done. Thus the beginning of the 16th century saw the country in much disorder.

(d) CAMBODIA

The real history of this kingdom, called Kambujadesa, began in 802 when the two states of Chenla and Funan were conquered and united by Jayavarman II, who came from Java and was a prince of the Sailendra Empire. He founded the Angkor Dynasty and ruled the kingdom till 854, during which period he broke away from the Sailendras and set the kingdom on solid foundations. His successors,



Angkor Wat Cambodia

(c) VIETNAM

The third region of the area, which comprises of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, may be divided roughly into two parts, the boundary being the Annamite chain. Laos and Cambodia to the west have had close cultural and religious relations with Thailand, Burma and India, while Vietnam to the east has been influenced by China. Nam-Viet or Vietnam, the name by which the country is called today, was at this time divided into two parts — (a) Tongking, the area of the Red River and Annam, the coastal plain and, (b) the kingdom of Champa, which lay to the south. The people of Vietnam have their origins in Southern China and the kingdom of Nan-Yueh or South Vietnam was created in 208 B.C. by a Chinese general. From that time on, the political connections between Vietnam and China have been close and at many times troublesome. Probably the most serious of these invasions took place during the 13th. century when Mongol forces occupied Nan Chao in 1253 and sacked Hanoi, four years later. King Tran Thanh Ton (1258-78) made peace with Kublai Khan who seems to have been quite satisfied with the promise of tribute. But this was not the case with the kingdom of Champa, to the south, who refused to send tribute to China. The Mongol army made plans to attack Champa by land, but the Vietnamese refused them passage through their territories and the Mongols, therefore had no option but to attack Champa by sea.

The Mongol attack of 1281 under General Sogatu was a dismal failure in which the general was killed and Togan, Kublai Khan's son, was forced to retreat. Angry with the Vietnamese because of the help they had given to Champa, the Chinese attacked Hanoi in 1287 and occupied it and only left it when the Vietnamese began to send tribute. But the Vietnamese had to face fresh trouble from Champa, as they began to move south because of their increasing numbers. In 1312, the inevitable clash occurred and the Vietnamese invaded Champa and carried away its king. But the trouble went on and this in turn created unrest amongst the people who had become weary of war. Therefore in 1400, General Ho Qui Li, revolted and overthrew King Tran Thieu De, the members of whose family now appealed to the Ming Emperor for help. It so happened that at this period, the Ming Emperors were embarking on an expansionist programme to the southern areas, and the appeal gave them the necessary excuse to invade Vietnam, after which they decided to incorporate it with

(a) **Burma under the Toungoo Dynasty**

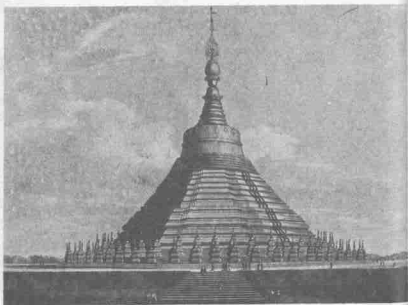
We have seen how many Burmese nobles left the capital of Ava and sought refuge in Toungoo to escape the terrible onslaughts of the Shan tribes from northern Burma. Toungoo thus became the stronghold of the Burmans. Its founder, King Minkyinyo (1486-1531), threw back the attempts that both the Shans from the north and the Talaings of Pegu made from time to time to conquer Toungoo and when the Shans finally occupied Ava in 1527, many Burman chiefs fled to join up with King Minkyinyo. This added strength to his kingdom and he became the most powerful ruler in Burma. In 1531, while he was preparing for the conquest of Pegu, King Minkyinyo died and was succeeded by his son Tabinshwehti.

King Tabinshwehti (1531-1550)

With a chosen band of his most loyal followers, Tabinshwehti began his reign by a gesture of great audacity in carrying out his ear-boring ceremony under the very nose of King Takayatpi of Pegu, and in this way illustrated the defiant spirit of the man with whom the king of Pegu was to deal shortly. This was because Tabinshwehti knew that the delta region was the richest part of the country and secondly because of the ease with which contact could be made with the Portuguese, who not only had the most powerful weapons at that period but were willing to offer their services as mercenaries. But first he made sure that the Shans would not attack his kingdom while he was away. Having done this, he attacked Pegu, which fell in 1539, when the king fled to Prome, where he died. The next year, Tabinshwehti moved his capital to Pegu and this soon brought him in touch with the Portuguese and he soon recruited a force of them under him. He then pushed on to Martaban, Moulmein and Tavoy and starved Prome into submission in 1542. The way to Central Burma up the Irrawaddy River was now open to him. In 1544, Tabinshwehti was crowned King of Burma at the ruined city of Pagan and he repeated the ceremony two years later, using both Talaing and Burmese rites, at Pegu, which he made his capital. Thus after three centuries, Burma was under one king, who claimed to have re-united Burma — claimed because the actual task of having one unified Burma was accomplished by Bayin Naung. Tabinshwehti could have done this by consolidating his conquests but he failed to do this.

not only brought most of modern Thailand, Laos and Cambodia under their control but built the magnificent city of Angkor and a remarkable system of canals and reservoirs. It was this territory of the Khmers that the Thais infiltrated when they began to move south from Yunan. Their constant attacks from the west and those of Champa from the east resulted in the weakening of Kambujadesa, and it was not able to do very much against the Thais when they moved into Ayuthia in 1350 and began to attack the capital, Angkor which fell in 1431, and was ruled by a Thai prince. The Khmers fought back, freed Angkor and Prince Ponha Yat (1432-59) became king. But the days of Angkor were a thing of the past because the Thai attacks had damaged the canal system so much that the whole region became unhealthy and malarial. Thus in 1434, Phnom Penh was chosen as the new capital and Angkor given up to the jungle until rediscovered by the French explorer, Henry Mouhot in 1861.

With this as the background, let us have a brief look at the histories of each of these kingdoms during the 16th century in this chapter and the 17th and 18th in the next.



Shoemadoo, the Great Temple of Pegu.

later had brought the whole of Upper Burma, Manipur, the Shan States, Chieng Mai and Vien Chang under his control. And then began the attacks on Ayuthia, the conquest of which seems to have been a mania with all the Burmese rulers, though apart from the pride of having achieved this, there was not much gain. In 1563, Bayin Naung returned from Ayuthia bringing with him the much coveted white elephant and the King as a prisoner. This brought him great prestige and the King of Ceylon married his daughter to him and gave him the Buddha's tooth, both of which are supposed to have been false.

There is no doubt that Bayin Naung was a great conquerer but the same cannot be said about his claim to have unified the country, though he did bring all of it under his control. It was more of a military occupation and Bayin Naung had no time to consolidate the tremendous gains he made because of the time and energy he spent towards unproductive ends, excessive ostentation and murderous conquests. In fact he has even been referred to as a glorified bully and the moment he died in 1581, the unification that he claimed to have given Burma, collapsed like a house of cards. But there is no doubt that Bayin Naung tried his best to put an end to the evil of race distinctions which existed in Burma by appointing a Talaing, Binnyadalla, as his commander-in-chief. Though he did shed a lot of blood during his campaigns, Bayin Naung did all he could to promote his religion, by building many pagodas and other monuments. The splendour of his Court can be judged from the description given by the Venician Caesar Fredericke who wrote in 1567 — "The King sittith everyday in person to hear the suits of his subjects . . . aloft in a great hall on a tribunal seat, with his barons round about. On the ground, forty paces distant are the petitioners with their applications in their hands . . . and for the people, dominions, gold and silver, he far exceeds the power of the Great Turk in treasure and strength." He had a guard of 400 Portuguese musketeers and took the title of "King of Kings."

Nanda Bayin (1581-99)

Bayin Naung was succeeded by his son Nanda Bayin in 1581, who ruled for eighteen years, followed the path laid by his father in organizing yearly campaigns which were made possible by getting

For example, when he had conquered the Talaing kingdom, he did not appoint Burman governors to administer the region but permitted Talaing lords and chiefs to carry on in their fiefs, provided they had submitted to him in time. This policy did get Tabinshwehti a large following of Talaings, but the extent to which he could rely on them was always a doubtful issue.

Tabinshwehti attacked the kingdom of Arakan in 1546 and the campaign was in its second year when news came that the Thais had attacked Tavoy. He abandoned the Arakan campaign and in 1547 advanced against the Thais up to Ayuthia but was not able to capture the capital mainly because of the Thai artillery, which was also manned by Portuguese mercenaries, frustrated all the Burmese attacks. So Tabinshwehti was forced to return home, and though only thirty-two years of age, lost his morale, became a drunkard and the kingdom that he had made with so much sacrifice began to fall apart. In 1550, the Talaings rebelled, murdered Tabinshwehti, seized the throne at Pegu and Thamindut of the old royal family became king. To the north, Prome and Toungoo also declared their independence. But they did not retain this status for long, because Bayin Naung, who succeeded Tabinshwehti, tackled the problem of the break-away provinces immediately on taking office.

Bayin Naung (1551-81)

Bayin Naung was a brother-in-law of Tabinshwehti and also his very able commander-in-chief. During the days when Tabinshwehti was drowning the sorrows of his unsuccessful Ayuthian campaign in wine, Bayin Naung took control of the kingdom as Regent and in spite of all the instigation, remained loyal to his king and refused to take over the throne, which he could easily have done. Bayin Naung saw that though some states had broken away, the situation was by no means hopeless and within a year of Tabinshwehti's death, Bayin Naung had recovered the lost territories and sat on the throne at Pegu. A born leader of men, he was tireless and always pressed home an advantage and in this way never gave the enemy an opportunity to reform his troops. His soldiers were fired by his personal example and, like Napoleon's men, followed him wherever he led them.

In 1554, Bayin Naung began his attack on Ava and five years

began to attack Thailand on the return of the Burmese.

When Nanda Bayin succeeded to the throne at Pegu, he was quick to see the qualities of the young Pra Naret and smell the possibilities of future revolts under his leadership. The king, at this time, was undertaking a campaign against the rebels from Ava and summoned Pra Naret to help him with a contingent of Thai troops. Meanwhile plans were secretly made to have him killed. Pra Naret escaped because the would-be assassins, a few Mon chiefs, told the latter of the plan and so infuriated him that he was on the verge of attacking Pegu when news arrived of Nanda Bayin's victory at Ava and he retreated to Ayuthia freeing many Thai prisoners on the way. Hearing of this Nanda Bayin sent his troops after him, but they were defeated by the Thais. Thus began the struggle which was to result in the five Thai invasions of Nanda Bayin, in which the Thais under Pra Naret fought against heavy odds but held the invader at bay.

King Narasuen

Pra Naret succeeded his father in 1590 and took the name of Narasuen. His accession was marked by the last of the five Burmese invasions which began in 1592, and during which Narasuen killed the Burmese heir apparent in a personal combat. And with the defeat of the Burmese, the scales were turned and Narasuen made plans to attack them instead. But he dealt a paralyzing blow to Cambodia first, so as to make sure that the home-front would be safe during his intended invasion of Burma, released thousands of Thai prisoners there and deported thousands of Cambodians to the depopulated areas in Northern Thailand. Narasuen then moved against Burma and in 1593, brought Tavoy and Tenasserim under his control. He next went to the aid of the Mon Governor of Moulmein and also drove the Burmese from Martaban. The capture of these ports gave Narasuen access to the Bay of Bengal and the west. This victory was a signal for a revolt in Chieng Mai, to organize which the King procured aid from Ayuthia and placed his country under Thai suzerainty.

Narasuen reached the gates of Pegu in 1595 and thus gave the rivals of Nanda Bayin the chance for which they had been waiting

recruits through forced conscription and led to the death of thousands. But unlike his father he was neither a born leader of men nor a good diplomat and soon shattered the good relations that Bayin Naung had established with the Talaings, by humiliating them in every way he possibly could, apart from the executions that he sanctioned. So much so that the oppressed Talaings began to leave their homes and their fields and migrate into Thai territory. In addition to the above, the vast numbers of men that he forced into the army, resulted in a shortage of manpower to till the fields while those that were planted were attacked by large numbers of rats. Crops failed and the people suffered terrible privations in these semi-famine conditions.

In Ayuthia, to conquer which he had led five expeditions, the Thais rose against the Burmese and under Crown Prince Pra Naret, drove the Burmese out of their country, while a joint force of Arakanese and Talaings invaded Pegu and forced Nanda Bayin to surrender. Then the kingdom which Bayin Naung had organized with so much hard work and sacrifice was split asunder only a few years after his death. Numerous petty kingdoms were set up, Syriam went under the control of Arakan whilst the country which lay south of Martaban was conquered by the Thais. The rulers at Toungoo, Prome and Ava also took advantage of the situation to declare themselves independent monarchs.

(b) Thailand

When Bayin Naung captured Ayuthia in 1564, he took King Maha Chakrapat as prisoner to Pegu and placed his son, Mahin, on the throne as a vassal, under the watchful eye of The Raja of Pitsunolok, who was pro-Burmese. The dethroned Chakrapat became a monk in Pegu, and after some time was granted his liberty by Bayin Naung. He returned to Siam, threw his yellow robes off, and together with his son, Mahin, attacked the Raja of Pitsunolok who was saved by the aid of Burmese troops. Hearing this Bayin Naung returned to Thailand but was only able to take Ayuthia with the aid of treachery, after a siege during which King Chakrapat died. The Raja of Pitsunolok, Maha Tamaraja was placed on the throne while Prince Mahin who was made a prisoner died on the way to Pegu. Pra Naret, the new ruler's eldest son, was taken as a hostage to Pegu. But soon after, he was allowed to return to Ayuthia, where the 'Black Prince' took a leading part in pushing back the Cambodians who

as his successor and in this way, brought about a dynastic Nguyen-Trinh quarrel especially with the younger Nguyen Hoang, whom Trinh Kiem himself had appointed to govern the southern provinces. Nguyen Hoang was soon able to rally the people of the south with him and then began to build himself a force with which to establish himself on his throne. Thus when Trinh Kiem died in 1570, Vietnam was divided into three parts, Tongking with Hanoi as its capital under the Mac; the Trinh mayors for the Le family, in the centre with Tay-do as the capital; and the Nguyens in the south with their capital at Quang-Tri.

Meanwhile in 1592, a quarrel began in the north and Trinh Kiem's successor, Trinh-tong captured Hanoi and drove the Mac to the Chinese border. The following year, the puppet Le family and the capital were moved to Hanoi. In the south, Nguyen Hoang made plans to capture Hanoi but it soon became clear to him that the Trinh had come to stay in the North and that he would have to reconcile himself to that fact. But bitter rivalry grew between the two factions which led to war in 1620, of which we will read in the next chapter.

(d) Laos

We have seen how Lan Chang was attacked by Emperor Le Thanh Ton of Vietnam for aiding his enemy the Ming Emperor, when the latter sent a force to bring the kingdom under his control. Actually the ruler of Lan Chang, Kam Deng, had sent his troops to help the Vietnamese leader Le Loi but unknown to him, his contingent went over to the Chinese. The Vietnamese never forgave the Laotians for this treachery and try as he would, King Sai Chakrapat, was not successful in getting the Vietnamese to forget what happened half a century earlier. The attack finally came in 1478, and the capture of Luang Prabang and the devastation that followed this act of revenge took more than twenty years and the reigns of two kings to repair the damage that was done. But things did take a turn King Visun (1501-20), not only built many beautiful monuments but also married a princess from Chieng Mai and established friendly relations with his western neighbours. He was succeeded by his son Pothisararat who also laid claim to the throne of Chieng Mai when it fell vacant in 1545, because of his maternal connections with the state, and his son was crowned king at Chieng Mai three years later.

so long and revolutions broke out at Ava, Toungoo, and Prome, which were governed by the King's own brothers, and of whom we have already read above. The Arakanese also attacked in conjunction with Toungoo and robbed Narasuen of the pleasure of destroying Pegu and dealing with Nanda Bayin, who was taken as prisoner to Toungoo, where he was killed. Narasuen reached Pegu, which was burnt to the ground and when he learnt of the whereabouts of Nanda Bayin he attacked Toungoo to lay his hands on Nanda Bayin and bring him back as a prisoner to Siam but he was forced to retreat and return to Siam. Thus the turn of the century saw Ayuthia free itself from the fear of the Burmese and under the leadership of Narasuen who had spent his whole life, fighting for the independence of his country.

We may mention here that both the Burmese and the Thai kings had Portuguese soldiers in their armies. They were privateers who placed their skill in the use of firearms at the services of local rulers and were permitted to reside at Ayuthia, Pegu and many other smaller towns in both Burma and Thailand. It is interesting to note that 120 Portuguese fought for the king of Ayuthia in 1538 while, others like Philip de Brito, of whom we will read later and Sebastian Gonzales Tibao wielded a good deal of power in Burma and Arakan. Even the famous traveller and writer Ferdinard Mendes Pinto claimed that he fought in the wars in Burma.

(c) Vietnam

As far as Vietnam is concerned, we have seen how Le Thanh-Ton threw off Chinese control, captured Champa before he died, and improved the administration of his kingdom. But his successors were weaklings and trouble began when many rival families began to fight for the throne, which was ultimately captured in 1527 by a usuper, the mandrin Mac Dang-Dung, who abdicated in favour of his son two years later. This seems to have brought the powerful Le family into the picture, and through their influence, the Macs were driven out of Annam and the Le family restored in 1533, with the aid of Nguyen Kim, who became Mayor of the palace. Mac was assassinated in 1545 though his family retained control in Tongking till 1592.

In the south, Nguyen Kim appointed his son-in-law, Trinh Kiem

The same year also saw the accidental death of King Pothisarath, and his son, the King of Chiang Mai, now claimed his father's throne and was crowned King Setha Thirat. It was at this time that Bayin Naung had annexed the Shan States and the absence of the king from Cheng Mai gave him a good opportunity and the Burmese captured it in 1556. It was the threat from Bayin Naung that caused him to move his capital from Luang Prabang to Vien Chang and sign a treaty of alliance with Ayuthia in 1560. He fortified the capital and built the great shrine, That Luang, the temple that once housed the Pra Keo or Emerald Buddha, which he brought from Chiang Mai and, in turn was removed by the Siamese, in 1778, to Bangkok where it now rests.

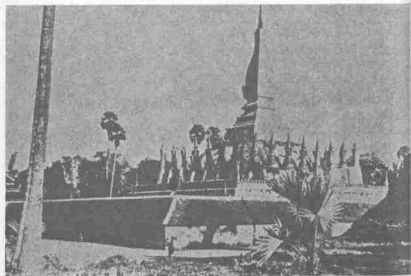
Bayin Naung invaded Ayuthia in 1563 and soon forced it to surrender. He was, however, not able to register the same success in Vien Chang, but the surrounding areas remained hostile and it was this that led Bayin Naung to permit King Chakrapat who had become a priest to return to Ayuthia in the hope that this act would be taken as a gesture of friendship and bring about peace in the Thai area. The revolt that followed, saw Bayin Naung embark on his second attack on Ayuthia, which fell through treachery in 1568. But his exhausted troops were not able to retake Vien Chang which remained free till the death of King Settha Thirat in 1571. As his successor was still a minor, a regency was established under General Sen Surinta but he was not to reign for long because the Burmese attacked in 1514, captured both the boy prince and the regent, carried them off to Burma and put their own candidate on the throne at Vien Chang. This arrangement survived through the disorders that followed the death of Bayin Naung in 1581 and Laos remained under Burmese control till the accession of Nanda Bayin in 1591. He freed the boy prince No Keo Koumane, crowned him at Vien Chang and, in this way helped him to regain not only his lost heritage but also his territories. And by the time King No Keo Koumane died heirless in 1596, he left a kingdom which included Luang Prabang, while Xieng Khouang (Tran-Ninh) paid him tribute.

(e) Cambodia

During the Thai attack and capture of Angkor in 1431, the Khmer King Dharma Soka was killed and the Thais put their own candidate on the throne. But his reign was destined to be of a



Th'at Luang at Vientiane



Vat Ch'eng Tong at Luang Prabang.

seige which Nanda Bayin had laid on the capital three years earlier, was still on. But this proved to be a costly mistake because the Thais, who had reorganized themselves under Pra Naret held out. And when the Burmese retreated, Pra Naret, instead of following them, decided to teach the Cambodians a lesson.

He invaded Cambodia in 1594, soon after taking over as King Narasuen. Lovek was captured, plundered and much booty taken away in a war of vengeance. King Chettha and his sons were forced to seek refuge in Laos where he died shortly. A Siamese garrison was left at Lovek and by the end of the century, Cambodia had become a Siamese dependency.

short duration because the Khmer struggle against the Thais was carried on by Ponha Yat, son of the late ruler. In fairness to the Thais, it must be said that they were not able to concentrate their main strength in Cambodia, as they were also involved, at this time, in other wars in Chiang Mai and against Malacca. The Siamese were thus not able to face up to the stiff resistance of Ponha Yat and his followers and were slowly forced out of the country. Having achieved this, Ponha Yat decided to move his capital as Angkor was now considered unsafe because of its proximity to the Thai border and unhealthy, due to the serious damage that the invasion had done to its water supply and canal system. He chose Phnom Penh where a new palace and other buildings were built and in 1441 Ponha Yat was crowned King Surya Varman.

During a reign which lasted till 1459, King Surya Varman gave Cambodia peace and he was successful in restoring some of the past glory of the kingdom. He then abdicated in favour of his second son Sri Raja whose reign coincided with that of King Trailok of Ayuthia. The latter spent most of his years in fighting against one enemy or another and according to Coedes, he attacked the Cambodians and in 1473 took the king as a captive and held a temporary hold on the provinces of Chanthaburi, Korat and Angkor. The resistance against the Siamese was thus taken up by Ponha Yat's third son Dharma Raja, who drove the invaders out after three years of hard fighting. When he died in 1504, a succession struggle ensued after which a nephew, Ang Chan became king. He decided to move the capital to Lovek, where palaces were built and he reorganized his armed forces and the government. It was this that enabled him to withstand a serious Thai threat at Pursat, after which he had a peaceful reign till his death in 1506.

On succeeding his father, King Boromo Raja (1566-76) carried on the reorganization and strengthening of his armed forces with added vigour and the hope of carrying the war to Ayuthia. The possibilities of doing this seemed good because Bayin Naung had invaded Ayuthia for the second time in 1568 and conquered it. Thus when the Burmese retreated, the Cambodians attacked Ayuthia in 1571 and did whatever damage that they could to the city that had already fallen twice to the Burmese in the space of five years. His son Chettha I, who came to the throne in 1576 repeated what his father had done, when he attacked Ayuthia in 1587, while the

CHAPTER NINE

THE MAINLAND STATES DURING THE 17TH. & 18TH. CENTURIES—I

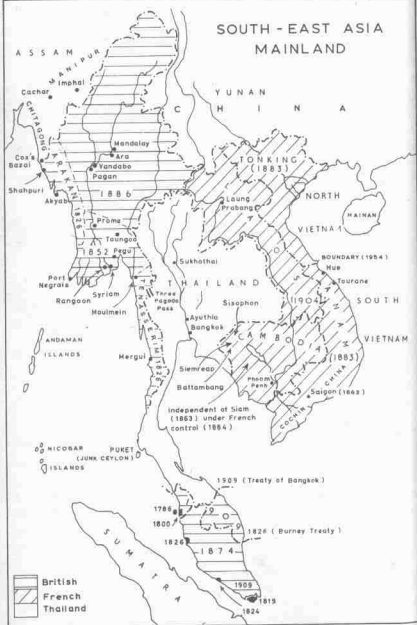
(A) BURMA

King Anaukpetlun

In the last chapter, we read about the closing years of Nanda Bayin's reign and the breakup of the empire that Tabinshwehti and Bayin Naung had established. Fortunately for the Toungoo Dynasty, the campaigns that Nanda Bayin had conducted against Ayuthia and his rivals in the country itself, had led to so much destruction, that no one person was strong enough to take advantage of the plight of the tottered dynasty and make a bid to replace it. These circumstances thus made it possible for Nyaungyan, one of the sons of Bayin Naung, to restore some of the lost position of the dynasty and, by the time he died in 1605, he was able to subdue the Shans, who with the aid of Pra Naret of Ayuthia, were already attacking the Burmese. Nyaungyan was succeeded by his son, Anaukpetlun, who took over from where his father had left and completed the task of restoring the Toungoo Dynasty. Anaukpetlun knew that he faced a two-fold task — to deal, firstly, with the Burmese, Talaing and Shan chiefs that opposed him and secondly to put an end to the threat that the Portuguese at Syriam presented to him. He gave the latter his immediate attention. Many Portuguese deserters had joined the service of the King of Arakan as mercenaries in the 1550's and had helped him in his wars against both the Mughals in Bengal and the King of Burma. They were based at Dianga, about 20 miles south of Chittagong and began to indulge in piracy and slave-trading. The most famous of their leaders was Philip de Brito. He joined the service of King Min Razagyi of Arakan and was stationed at Syriam, where he soon made a name for himself, and hatched a plan to make himself ruler of the place, which was to be put under the authority of Goa.

With the help of the Portuguese garrison under him, he expelled the Arakanese governor, built fortifications and made himself King of Syriam. De Brito then left for Goa where he not only obtained official recognition of his new status but the hand of the Viceroy's

SOUTH - EAST ASIA MAINLAND



which much was done as far as social reorganization is concerned. The capital was transferred back to Ava in 1635. It was during his reign that the *Manusarashwemin*, the first Law Book, was written and a Doomsday survey undertaken.

The first factories of both the V.O.C. and the E.I.C. were established at Syriam during the reign of King Thalun. But V.O.C. connections with the country first began in Arakan when King Min Razagyi (1593-1612) requested Dutch help to suppress the "feringi", as the Portuguese freeboaters were called. As we have already seen above, Portuguese soldiers who had originally joined the services of the king had later, begun to play for higher stakes and challenged the authority of their former employer. As the Dutch were heavily committed in the Spice Islands, they were not willing to make any promise of help against Syriam. The V.O.C. did however, decide to open a factory in Arakan and this was established at Mrohaung in 1610. Two years later, Min Razagyi died and was succeeded by Minka Maung, a king who was even more eager to put an end to the Portuguese. We have seen how de Brito's reign at Syriam was brought to a horrible end when he was caught and tortured to death. The Portuguese retaliated by sending a fleet of fourteen ships to attack Mrohaung. When this force was defeated with the help of only one Dutch ship, which happened to be there, Minka Maung requested further aid. Rather than get involved, the Dutch closed their factory in 1617.

Trade with Arakan, however, did not come to an end, and Dutch ships visited Arakan in their quest for slaves and rice. This led to the re-establishment of the Mrohaung factory in 1625, in a second venture which was only of a short duration and the factory was closed on the orders of Coen two years later. A third attempt to open a factory in Arakan also failed and in 1631, the V.O.C. finally decided to withdraw and leave the slave and rice trade of Arakan to private Dutch traders. As far as Burma is concerned, the factory that the Dutch established at Syriam in 1635 was a venture undertaken from Pulikat in India, rather than from Batavia. The main motive behind the scheme was to procure a monopoly of the trade in Indian textiles to Burma. This they were unable to achieve because King Thalun refused to order the Indian merchants, with whom he had been dealing for so long, to leave his country. It was only the fear of an

daughter and six ships laden with stores and equipment as well. In his absence, his assistant Salvador Ribeyro gave De Brito a good start when he defeated raids made by both the Arakanese and the Burmese and cultivated matrimonial relations with Binnaya-Dala, the strongest Talaing chief who was ruler of Martaban, which at that time was under Ayuthia. This made de Brito's position very strong, and his prestige soared even higher when he defeated a large Arakanese attack and captured the heir-apparent who commanded the force. In 1604, a joint Arakanese-Toungoo attack was also defeated and the rulers forced to come to terms. This seems to have given a sense of importance to De Brito who, instead of consolidating his position, began to attack the Mons and forced them to accept Christianity — an act which alienated the feelings of the Mons, who would have made valuable allies, in the fight against the Burmans, which had not begun as yet.

Meanwhile, in the north, Anaukpetlun who was slowly bringing the rival chiefs under his control, attacked Prome (1608) and Toungoo (1610) and forced them to acknowledge his overlordship. The action of the latter was regarded as treachery by de Brito, who attacked Toungoo with the aid of Binnya Dala of Martaban, looted and burnt the palace and captured the ruler before retiring. Brito's action further strengthened the determination of Anaukpetlun to wipe out the Portuguese stronghold at Syriam and final preparations were made immediately. The attack began in 1613, and the fort of Syriam was captured after a month. De Brito was impaled on the top of the fort for all to see, his officers slaughtered and most of the men deported to the depopulated areas in the Chindwin region.

King Thalun

Anaukpetlun then turned his attention to Chiangmai and brought it under his control in 1615. But he did not venture on a war against Ayuthia at this stage because he wanted to restore the old capital Pegu to its former glory and made it his headquarters in 1628. From this we can see that he had the invasion of Ayuthia at heart but was not able to implement this as he was assassinated in 1628 by his own son, whom the King had sentenced to death. This led to much confusion from which his brother, Thalun emerged victorious and took over the kingdom and ruled it for nineteen years. King Thalun did not embark on any wars but brought peace to the country, during

signalled a Mon revolt at Martaban. King Pindale was so rattled during these years of trouble, that his supporters lost their patience, overthrew him and placed his brother Phye on the throne. The new king was lucky in that the Thais were more interested in Chieng Mai than in invading Burma and the trouble slowly petered out on its own. The final act to the Chinese trouble saw the expedition of the Manchu Viceroy of Yunan, with a demand for the surrender of Yung-Li, whom King Phye handed over and the Viceroy later strangled him at Yunanfu. And with this, and till the end of the Toungoo Dynasty in 1752, the history of Burma may be referred to as a period of stagnation, which saw the reigns of a number of weak kings who became pawns in the hands of intriguing ministers and generals. The last ruler at Toungoo, Maha Dhammaraja Dipti (1733-1752) was nothing more than a prisoner in his own palace, while outside, the country lay disintegrated as the Shans, Talaings and raiders from Manipur fought for power. The most successful were the Talaings under Talaban, who in 1751, captured Ava together with the royal family and in this way brought the Toungoo Dynasty of Tabinshwehti and Bayin Naung to an end.

ALAUNGPAYA and The KONBAUNG DYNASTY

The ease with which the Talaings took Ava gave them a false sense of strength and instead of consolidating their position there, the heir-apparent left Talaban to deal with the Ava chiefs and returned to Pegu. Meanwhile the Burmese though disunited were far from defeated and under the leadership of Alaungpaya, the son of a village headman, had in fact cut to pieces a detachment of Talaing troops at Moksobomyo about sixty miles to the north. The heir-apparent heard about this massacre while still at Ava but instead of taking it seriously, seems to have just brushed it aside and left Talaban to deal with those responsible for it. What he failed to realize was that a Burmese resistance movement was in the making, the strength of which was to grow daily and ultimately put an end to the passing phase of Talaing supremacy. In 1752, Alaungpaya received a great boost to his prestige when he defeated a force which was led by Talaban in person. He then prepared himself for the role he was destined to play by claiming royal descent and changed the name of Moksobomyo (the town of the hunter chief) to Shwebo (the town of the golden leader) and built a palace to suit his newly-acquired status. Thus in 1755 began the Alaungpaya or Konbaung, the last Burmese dynasty and

English takeover that prevented the V.O.C. from closing its factory at Syriam in 1647.

As far as the English are concerned, their connections with Burma began as a result of the capture of Chieng Mai by King Anaukpetlun in 1615, when one Thomas Samuel of the E.I.C.'s factory at Ayuthia was amongst the prisoners that the king brought to Pegu, where he died. When news of his death reached Masulipatam, two Englishmen were sent to Pegu to recover the goods that the late Thomas Samuel had with him. King Anaukpetlun saw in this mission, an opportunity of forcing the E.I.C. to establish a trading post at Pegu. He thus detained the two traders as hostages and began negotiations with the E.I.C. in India, but when it became clear to him that the E.I.C. had no such plans, he released the hostages and instead wrote to the E.I.C. requesting it to open a factory at Pegu. But the request was never met.

The first step to open trade with Burma by the E.I.C. was taken when a factory was opened at Syriam in 1647, because of rumours regarding the fabulous V.O.C. profits there. But the factors became aware of the competition that they were due for when they saw how well the V.O.C. had established itself there. Whatever chances of success that the E.I.C. had, were nullified with the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War in 1652, when the Dutch soon exerted their control over the Bay of Bengal. Under these circumstances the E.I.C. decided to withdraw temporarily from Burma, which it did in 1657.

King Pindale (1648-61)

King Thalun died in 1648 and was succeeded by his son Pindale, whose reign coincided roughly with the fall of the Ming Dynasty in China. In face of the Manchu onslaughts, the last Emperor, Yung-Li fled to Yunan in 1644. But in 1658, the Manchus captured his strongholds in Yunnan and drove him into Burma, where he took refuge with his men at Bhamo. The Burmese disarmed him and then permitted him to stay at Sagaing. This treatment of their leader angered Yung-Li's supporters and they made numerous raids in attempts to rescue him and even defeated a Burmese army which was sent against them. The raids lasted for three years and the Chinese ravaged the country up to Ava.

The involvement of the Burmese in the north seems to have

Meanwhile, Dupleix arrived in Pondichery in 1720 and immediately saw the need of having a station in Burma and also chose Syriam, where the French built their dockyard in 1729. But both the English and French dockyards were destroyed during the great Mon uprising against the Toungoo Dynasty of which we have read above. As soon as order was restored, the Mons sent a mission to Dupleix in 1750 as they wanted an ally who could supply them arms and ammunition. This saw the arrival of Sieur de Bruno in Pegu in July, 1751 and was followed by the signing of an agreement, in which, apart from the commercial concessions, the French decided to take sides in the Mon-Burmese war that was about to begin under Alaungpaya. The English also sent a mission to Pegu, but when their attempts to obtain similar concessions came to nought, because of de Bruno, they forcibly occupied the island of Negrais in April, 1753, and unhealthy as it was, decided to hold it as long as the French were in Pegu. The E.I.C. seemed to be on a good wicket when Alaungpaya expressed his willingness to cede Negrais to them, in return for arms aid. This was done in 1757 and included a site at Bassein as well.

Meanwhile in Upper Burma, Alaungpaya having beaten back the initial attacks of the Talaings, laid siege to Ava in December, 1753. When the defenders lost all hopes of being relieved, they made good their escape secretly at night and robbed Alaungpaya of another chance to inflict heavy casualties on the Talaings. Alaungpaya was not able to follow the retreating Mons because he had to deal with the Shans first. It was at this juncture that King Binnya Dala of Pegu ordered an attack on Ava. He was a little too late, because if this attack had come before the retreat of the Talaings, then the outcome would have been a different one. But the Mons had lost their chance and try as they would were not able to check the Burmese, who forced them to retreat to Prome in May, 1754.

This caused much discontentment amongst the Mons and when it was rumoured that an attempt would be made to reinstate the last Toungoo king, the captive Maha Dammayaza Dipati, the latter and his family was executed. This resulted in a revolt amongst the Burmese who stayed in the delta region, and they took Prome and even defended it against the retreating Mon forces from the north, till relieved by Alaungpaya in 1755. This was followed by another terrible clash between the Burmese and the Mons and Alaungpaya

which was to remain in power till ended by the British in 1866.

Just like King Anaukpetlun, Alaungpaya had also to deal with the Europeans who were making their way into Burma since the middle of the 17th century, a brief reference to which had already been made above. The V.O.C. had been seriously considering abandoning their factory at Syriam but had held on in the hope that the intrusion of the Chinese might open up trade with the interior of China. But when hopes of this faded and chaos set in, the V.O.C. decided to pull out in 1679. Meanwhile, the English who had withdrawn in 1657, in the face of strong Dutch opposition, saw the necessity of having connections with Burma especially after the founding of Madras in 1639 and their later involvement in the affairs of the Carnatic. They needed saltpetre and lead for making ammunition, which Burma produced, and the prospects of establishing trade with the latter looked bright in the face of the recent withdrawal of the Dutch from the country. Another reason for getting a footing in Burma was the hold that the pro-French Constant Phaulkon was exerting on King Narai at Ayuthia. Unable to do anything at Ayuthia, the best that the English could think of was to get a foothold in Burma. So an envoy was sent for that purpose in 1680 to Ava by the Governor of Fort St. George.

In the negotiations that followed, it soon became clear that the Burmese would not permit the export of either saltpetre or lead. As for the other goods the Company could get all it desired from privateers, which included the English, who were operating from the island of Negrais. Meanwhile English relations with Ayuthia, about which we will read soon, were severed and the E.I.C. decided to capture Negrais and make it their base for operations against the Thais at Mergui. But the attempt failed and the E.I.C. then turned its attention once again to Syriam, because it could be used as a naval base to defend their factories on the western shores of the Bay of Bengal. Negotiations were begun with Ava by the Governor of Madras in 1695 through an agent Edward Fleetwood and resulted in the opening of the Syriam dockyards, under a Chief who was to have jurisdiction over all English traders in Burma as well. A Resident was appointed later, but there were soon doubts about the standard of workmanship and costs of ships that were built there and in 1741, a decision was made to have this done at Bombay. Syriam was to be used for repairs only.

(8) VIETNAM

In the last chapter, we have seen that by 1600 the two rival families of Trinh and Nguyen were each supreme in its own sphere, but began to prepare for the inevitable war which broke out in 1620 and went on till 1674, when Trinh Can finding the Nguyen resistance unconquerable, called off the invasion and the senseless struggle ended with the Trinh in Tongking and the Nguyen in the south. The Nguyen, who by the middle of the 18th. century, had expanded their control down to the Mekong Delta, tried many times to secure recognition from China as independent rulers but without success, because of the existence of the legitimate Vietnamese Dynasty which was at Hanoi under the control of the Trinh.

In 1765, Vo Vuong died and his minister, Trung Phuc Loan seized power and proclaimed himself regent. Unrest followed and in 1773, in the district of Tayson, a revolt began organized by the three Nguyen brothers, Van Nhac, Van-Lu and Van-Hue, who though they used the family name of Nguyen, were not connected with the ruling dynasty. This revolt speedily attained formidable strength and the brothers seized the capital Qui-Nhon and defeated the government troops that were sent against them.

Nguyen Anh and Pigneau De Behaine

While the Nguyen army was engaged with the rebels, the Trinh attacked and in 1775 they seized Hue, and held it against the attacks of Van Nhac, one of the Tayson brothers. The Taysons seem to have made up for this defeat by capturing Saigon, though it was soon retaken by Mac-Thien-Tue of Ha-Hien, who was pro-Nguyen. In 1777, the Taysons again captured Saigon and hunted down the Nguyen, killing three of them. Nguyen Anh helped by Pigneau de Behaine, a French Catholic priest escaped to Pulo Panjang, and for the time being, the Nguyen cause appeared to be lost. It was against these odds that Nguyen Anh then only 15 years of age, had to struggle for nearly twenty-five years before he was able to recover his inheritance.

Pigneau de Behaine was sent to Cambodia in 1765, when he was only 25 years of age. He joined the College at Hon Dat in Ha-tien which had been set up by missionaries from Ayuthia who had been forced to flee during Alaungpaya's attack on the capital. In 1769, the

won the encounter by celebrating his victory in the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, which he renamed Rangoon, *the end of strife*, and planned to make it the chief port of the kingdom. Here Alaungpaya hesitated because he knew that Pegu and Syriam were too well-defended especially with the help of French troops under the brilliant de Bruno, of whom mention has already been made.

In the meantime, trouble had broken out in the north, where the Manipuris were again on the move and there was fear that the Shans would do the same. Alaungpaya, returned to deal with the insurgents in the north and then left for Rangoon with additional Chin and Shan soldiers. He attacked Syriam in February, 1756 before reinforcements from India could reach de Bruno, captured the town and the latter in a surprise attack. De Bruno was killed but not before he had helped Alaungpaya to capture the French ships. This gave him much needed help in men and materials, which he used to capture Pegu in May, 1757. With the expulsion of the French, Alaungpaya deemed it necessary to have the English in Burma and in spite of their inability to supply him aid during the attack on Pegu, permitted them to stay at Negrais and also granted them land for a factory at Bassein, which became their centre for the trade in timber. But the Directors of the E.I.C. decided to abandon Negrais and retain only a skeleton staff, who met a terrible death at the hands of Alaungpaya when he suspected that they had helped the Mons in an uprising while he was away on a campaign in Manipur during 1758-59.

Having achieved the unification of Burma under his rule, Alaungpaya embarked on the invasion of Ayuthia, which was besieged in April 1760. But the following month, Alaungpaya was seriously wounded due to the explosion of a gun. The siege was abandoned but Alaungpaya died on the way home and his body brought back to Swebo for burial. Thus died a man who was not only a genius as far as military matters were concerned but wise in diplomacy. He was shrewd as could be and a ruthless enemy when the occasion demanded.

Alaungpaya was succeeded by his son, Naung Dawgyi in a short reign which saw the English withdraw from Burma for about thirty-five years, under circumstances which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Saigon. Do-Thanh-Nhon was also successful in destroying the rebel fleet at Gia-Dinh and the Tayson brothers feared him greatly. But Nguyen Anh, probably fearing treachery, engineered the murder of Do-Thanh-Nhon and sparked off a rebellion in his own ranks, which so badly weakened him that the Tayson brothers again took Saigon. Pigneau escaped to Cambodia whilst Nguyen Anh took refuge in Phu-quoc island (in 1781). The following year, one Nguyen Man, recaptured Saigon and Nguyen Anh and Pigneau returned, but in the counter offensive of 1783, the Taysons inflicted very heavy losses on Nguyen Anh killing Nguyen Man. Nguyen Anh first ran away to Phu-quoc, and then to the island of Koh-rong. When his sanctuary was discovered, and the island was surrounded, a typhoon blew up and in the confusion, Nguyen Anh again escaped. This seems to have given him extra confidence that he had the Gods with him.

Pigneau had also taken refuge at Chantabun in Thailand in August, 1783, and whilst there, received an invitation from Nguyen Anh asking him to join him. The following year, Nguyen Anh procured some Thai help but was unable to make any headway. Finding practically all their resources at an end, the two friends thought of a plan to enlist French support for their cause. In 1787, Pigneau, accompanied by Nguyen Anh's young son and some soldiers, returned to France where the mission was well-received and Pigneau was granted an audience at the French Court. But Pigneau was not able to obtain anything more than paper promises, though as the diplomatic agent of Nguyen Anh, Pigneau, on November 28th. 1787 at Versailles, did obtain the signature of the French Government to a Treaty of Alliance.

Although the pre-revolutionary financial embarrassments of the French Government, coupled with the termination of France's alliance with the Dutch, ruled out any serious intention that Paris may have entertained to honour the Pigneau treaty, its terms nevertheless constituted an important landmark in French relations with Annam. France agreed to assist Nguyen Anh by sending 1200 infantrymen, 200 artillerymen and 250 Indian troops, in return for sovereignty over Pulo Condore Islands and control over Hoi-nam in Tomnane Harbour, including facilities for commerce and shipbuilding. French subjects would enjoy liberty of trade in Annam to the exclusion of other European traders and were to be given protected access to



The Court of Louis XIV at Versailles.

missionaries were attacked by Chinese pirates who killed many of them and burned down the buildings, but Pigneau and some pupils made good their escape and reached Malacca and from there made their way to Pondicherry in 1770. He set up a seminary (at Verampatram) and in 1774 was consecrated Vicar of Cochín-China and left for Macao to collect his personnel to re-establish the Ha-tien Mission.

De Behaine arrived in Ha-tien in 1775, when Mac Thien Tu, taking up the Nguyen cause, had attacked the Tayson brothers and re-captured Saigon. However, when the Tayson counter-attacked two years later, Mac Thien Tu, thinking everything was lost, fled from Ha-tien to Siam. Nguyen Anh, was hiding close to Pigneau's seminary at Can-cao when this happened and both of them escaped to Pulo Panjang.

The following year, a devoted supporter Do-Thanh-Nhon gathered an army around him and Nguyen Anh joined him to retake

fell to Prince Canh. But a sad event occurred when Pigneau, who at 58, had actually been overworked, died of dysentery. His death was greatly mourned by Nguyen Anh who buried him with high honours.

Though the Nguyen had taken Qui-Nhon, there was much fighting and the town changed hands twice, before the strength of the Taysons was broken. Hue finally fell on 1st. June 1802, and Nguyen Anh proclaimed himself Emperor of Vietnam and assumed the title of Gia Long, after nearly 25 years of fighting. The Emperor of China, Kia K'ing, gave him formal recognition in 1803.

the interior on the strength of passports issued by the French commander at Tomnane. Native troops could be enlisted for the defence of French establishments but not beyond the Straits of Malacca.

Pigneau's party was accompanied by French war vessels on its return journey via Mauritius and Pondicherry but obtained little assistance beyond that point. Governor de Conway at Pondicherry acting under discretionary orders from Paris, denounced the proposed adventure as "expensive, romantic and dangerous". He foresaw inevitable British hostility and the almost certain closing of the Malacca Straits in time of war. However, Conway finally provided the frigate "Meduse" to repatriate the mission but no amount of argument could persuade him to implement the treaty alliance. Pigneau nevertheless managed to equip a private force recruited mainly from French officers in India at his own expense. This group was augmented by the 125 crew men of the frigate 'Meduse' and several score other French adventurers who drifted in later from Northern Annam and the China coast. In all, Pigneau managed to gather about 360 men.

Whilst Pigneau was in France, Nguyen Anh remained in Thailand and served with distinction against the Burmans who invaded Ayuthia under Bodawpaya. He was still there when the Tayson brothers pushed to the North and in 1786 took Hanoi, and proclaimed Van Hui as Emperor, the previous Emperor having fled to China. Seeing that the military strength at Saigon had been reduced by their invasion of the North, Nguyen Anh attacked Saigon with Thai aid and recaptured it on 7th. September, 1788. It was at this crucial period that Pigneau arrived with his valuable force, which helped to turn the scales in his favour. The exploits of the French volunteers in Annam during the ensuing decade constitute a saga of daring achievement. They established a mint, organized a navy, built fortifications and made the most of their bluff that more French assistance was on the way. Pigneau who excelled as organizer, administrator and military leader acted as Chief Minister and did such a good job that, by 1792, Nguyen Anh was ready to take the offensive. In the same year, the Tayson fleet was destroyed at Qui-Nhon, which was believed to be impregnable, and Van Hui died, to be succeeded by his son. Taking the offensive, the force of Nguyen Anh struck a decisive blow when, in 1799, Qui-Nhon

turned the tables on the invaders from Luang Prabang and soon restored peace. It was at this juncture that an English ship "*the Globe*" arrived at Ayuthia with a letter from King James I and in spite of Dutch opposition, the King granted permission to the E.I.C. for the establishment of a factory at Ayuthia in 1612.

Soon after this, the Siamese were involved in the perennial problem of Chieng Mai and in 1618, were forced to accept Burmese suzerainty over it. Taking advantage of the Siamese involvement in the west, the Cambodians made a bid for their independence and repulsed Siamese attempts to reassert their control there. King Songtam's attempts to recruit Dutch or English aid against Cambodia also did not materialize because both the rival companies were involved in a serious clash at this time during which John Jourdain was killed in 1619. The decision of the E.I.C. to concentrate only at Bantam led to the closing of the factory at Ayuthia in 1622. This left the V.O.C. supreme in Ayuthia till 1659, and the King granted it a monopoly of his country's trade in hides, in addition to extending preferential treatment to all Dutch citizens resident in Siam.

King Prasart Tong

On King Songtam's death in 1628, his son Jetta succeeded to the throne but he was nothing more than a puppet in the hands of Pya Sri Worawong, who usurped the throne two years later with the help of Yamada and ascended the throne as Prasart Tong, King of the Golden Place. Soon trouble began between the usurper and Yamada, which resulted in the massacre and deportation of the Japanese from Thailand. Secretly helping Prasart Tong were the Dutch, who were now permitted to build a landing place on the Menam Chao Phya at Ayuthia in 1634. But these friendly relations did not remain for long because of Dutch uncertainty in helping Prasart Tong against the Queen of Patani, during the war which began between the two in 1632 and 1634. Though the Dutch did bring about a reconciliation between Ayuthia and Patani, their own relations with the former deteriorated when two of their factors at Ayuthia were arrested for some shadowy rice deals. They were saved from being trampled by elephants in the nick of time by heavy bribes. Relations remained cordial till 1649, when the Dutch threatened to attack Ayuthia because the King had ignored certain claims that were made against him. These Dutch moves seem to have misfired and led in-

CHAPTER TEN

THE MAINLAND STATES DURING THE 17TH. & 18TH. CENTURIES—II

(C) THAILAND

We have seen how Narasuen freed Ayuthia from the grip of the Burmese during a life-time of warfare and, when he died in 1605, left an orderly kingdom to his brother, who succeeded him as King Eka Totsarat. A man of peace he did not pursue the advances that Narasuen had made in the Shan States, which slowly drifted back under the control of the Burmese. Eka Totsarat was, however, keen in establishing trade relations with foreigners as these would improve the economic position of his country. Though his reign lasted only five years it saw the V.O.C. establish a factory at Ayuthia in 1608, in addition to the one they had begun at Patani six years earlier. Apart from their trade with Siam, the Dutch were desirous of making the Ayuthia factory, their base of operations to get into the trade with Japan, and were obliged to adopt this procedure because the period saw a persecution of Christians in Japan and many Japanese converts were forced to seek asylum in Siam, where Eka Totsarat permitted them to establish their own settlement under their headmen Yamada. In spite of this, relations between Siam and Japan remained friendly. At the same time, cordial relations were maintained with the Dutch and King Eka Totsarat sent an embassy to the Hague, which was received by Maurice of Nassau in 1609.

King Songtam

The king died the following year and was succeeded by his son Inta Raja or Songtam (the Just). The accession also witnessed an uprising by the Japanese, in protest against the arrest of their Siamese patron. After sacking Ayuthia, the Japanese marched into Petchaburi, where preparations were made for the inevitable siege and war that would follow. Taking advantage of this, the King of Luang Prabang attacked Siam under pretext of coming to repulse the Japanese. But Songtam rose to the occasion, conquered Petchaburi and put an end to the Japanese uprising. Strangely, he treated Yamada with honour and even reinstated the Japanese in his body-guard. He then

of the country in 1659. The year also saw the arrival in Mergui of Bishop Lambert de la Motte, who was on his way to Annam. He belonged to the *French Societe des Missions Etrangeres*, which was founded in 1659, for missionary work in China, Annam and Tongkin but was in no way connected with the Jesuits, who naturally opposed it from the very beginning. Bishop Lambert had to change his original plan of reaching China by way of Burma because of the Chinese trouble in the north and he decided to proceed to Ayuthia instead and from there make his way to Annam. He was shipwrecked some time after leaving Ayuthia and forced to return there, when he heard of the anti-Christian wave in Annam. In view of the friendly disposition of King Narai, the Bishop, who had been joined by Bishop Pallu and other priests in the meantime, decided to make their headquarters at Ayuthia and build a church there.

The Dutch were naturally not happy at the manner in which the King had received the English and the French and forced King Narai to grant the V.O.C. many additional facilities, while their fleet enforced a naval blockade. The King and the Siamese never forgave this high-handed action of the Dutch and he made overtures to the English, but the latter failed to take advantage of the situation. Meanwhile, the French priests were writing exaggerated and, in many ways, false accounts of the prospects of converting Thailand to Christianity and in 1673 Bishop Pallu returned from a visit bringing a personal letter from King Louis XIV to King Narai. He received it with great enthusiasm because of the possibilities it contained of a Franco-Siamese alliance against the Dutch. And the person who was to implement this was a Greek named Phaulkon.

Constant Phaulkon and the French

Son of an inn-keeper, the adventurous Phaulkon became a cabin-boy on an English ship and soon joined the service of the East India Company at Bantam. He was amply rewarded for his bravery in saving the magazine there and he decided to try his luck in Thailand. He accompanied Richard Burnaby, who was sent to Ayuthia by the Bantam Council in 1678, to find out why the English factory, which had been re-opened at the capital four years earlier, was not doing so well. At Ayuthia, Burnaby soon came to know about the anti-Dutch sentiments of King Narai and, together with George White, a private trader in the services of the Company, whom Phaulkon had known

stead to the arrest of all the Dutchmen in their factory. Fed up, the Dutch decided in 1654, to close their factory and leave because trouble began when they refused to help Ayuthia against Singgora, which had also rebelled. The decision seems to have sobered Prasart Tong and there was no further trouble as long as he lived till 1656.

King Narai

Prasart Tong's death witnessed a short period of trouble when two successors were murdered within the year and the succession then passed to Narai, a younger son of the late king. From the very beginning, King Narai was unhappy about, firstly, the problem of Chieng Mai which had cost Burma and Siam so dearly in human lives, misery and money and, secondly, the commercial control that the V.O.C. had on his kingdom, to break which his father had tried so hard and failed. King Narai's decision to breakaway from the latter resulted in his reign witnessing an intense struggle between the European powers to bring the kingdom under their control — both politically and commercially.

As far as Chieng Mai was concerned, King Songtam had, in 1618, agreed to its being under Burmese suzerainty. But the situation changed in 1658, when the last Ming Emperor, Yung Li was forced to make his way to Bhamo and seek refuge there. Fearing for its own safety, Chieng Mai appealed to Ayuthia for aid, which King Narai answered by leading a large force in person in 1660. But by this time, the situation had changed for the better and Chieng Mai negotiated for the King to retire to Ayuthia. Soon news came of a Burmese invasion from the south which the Siamese beat off without much difficulty and probably fearing a repetition of the same, this time from the north-west, King Narai attacked and captured Chieng Mai in 1662. But the Siamese were not able to consolidate their hold on the province and two years later, Chieng Mai was able to free itself from their control, and sought the overlordship of Ava instead and remained under it till 1727.

As far as foreign trade was concerned, King Narai gave a warm welcome to the East India Company when its factors, who had been in Cambodia since the E.I.C. began operations at Lovek in 1654, were forced to seek refuge in Siam in the face of an Annamite invasion

1685 and negotiations soon followed in which Phaulkon played a leading part. In return for French military alliance, King Narai agreed to grant the French many commercial and religious concessions, and cede Singgora for the explicit use as a French garrison town. Two months later, Chevalier de Chaumont returned to France accompanied by Kosa Pan as Ambassador to Versailles. The latter was kept completely in the dark about the French reaction to the proposals that he had brought, and plans were made to station troops not in Singgora but at the capital itself and Mergui, which was to be turned into a naval base. It is certain that Kosa Pan would have broken off negotiations if he had known about the true intentions of the French.

In September, 1687, a French squadron of six warships, carrying 636 soldiers under Marshal Desfarges arrived at Ayuthia and their demands immediately threw Phaulkon into a dilemma. He, however, soon found a way out of the tricky situation into which he had been placed and insisted that the French troops swear allegiance to King Narai and become his mercenaries. And with this French troops were stationed at Ayuthia and occupied Mergui with jurisdiction over all the islands within a ten-mile radius. In the meantime, the Dutch sensing the winds of change and the fact that their days in the kingdom were numbered, closed their factory in 1686, and left for Batavia.

We must mention here that the close association of Phaulkon with King Narai and the influence that he began to exert in the affairs of the Court, was not liked by the local ministers and other officials. But the action that really made Phaulkon unpopular was the stationing of French troops at the capital and under the leadership of Pra Petraja an anti-foreign movement took shape with the avowed purpose of putting an end to their influence at the Court of Siam. Their opportunity came in March, 1688 when King Narai became seriously ill at Lopburi and Pra Petraja was appointed Regent. Before Phaulkon knew what was happening, he was arrested while the French garrison, which came under very heavy attack, was not able to come to his aid. Phaulkon was tortured and publicly executed in July, one month before King Narai died. Pra Petraja, who usurped the throne, opened negotiations with Desfarges, and the garrison was permitted to leave for Pondicherry, the following month. Then followed a spate of anti-French feeling during which missionaries were dealt with severely and many lost their lives. But conditions soon

for a few years, hatched a plan by which Phaulkon, who spoke very good Thai, was to join the service of the King and try to sabotage the position of the Dutch from within. There was no fear of Phaulkon joining in with the two bishops, Lambert and Pallu, because he was a Jesuit and thus very much against the new Society that the two represented.

Phaulkon thus joined the services of the King as an interpreter in the Treasury and soon rose to become Superintendent of Foreign Trade. But the plan that Burnaby and White had made soon misfired because Potts, who was in charge of the factory in Ayuthia, quarrelled with Barnaby and engineered his recall to Bantam while White resigned to go into private business. Unfortunately for the English, though Potts was aware of the new status that Phaulkon had acquired, he picked up a quarrel with the Superintendent over a minor debt. Relations between the two became really strained when the English factory was burnt down and Potts became convinced that the hand of Phaulkon was behind the accident. He thereby allowed a golden opportunity to slip from his hands, and Phaulkon in spite of all his pro-English sympathies, slowly drifted into the French camp. In actual fact, this would have happened in any case because the Directors of the Company had never had any real interest in Thailand. Their main motive of opening the factory at Ayuthia was to procure Thai help in re-entering Japan and when these hopes faded and no local markets were found for English manufactures, they resolved to withdraw. Their decision to do so seems to have been a wise one under the circumstances, because the Directors were aware that their factors in Ayuthia were deeply involved in private trade at the expense of the Company and they could scarcely be expected to continue the trade for the benefit of their servants simply on the strength of Phaulkon's promise. Orders were thus sent to leave Ayuthia in November, 1679; March and August, 1680; January, 1681; February, 1682 and put into effect in January, 1684, when the factory finally closed its doors.

The same month also saw the despatch to France of two envoys from Siam, where they were given a great welcome by King Louis XIV who reciprocated by sending Chevalier de Chaumont as Ambassador to the Court of King Narai. De Chaumont and his entourage which included many priests for the possible conversion of Thailand to Christianity, from the King downwards, arrived at Ayuthia in October,

pretender who claimed to be a brother of King Narai and secondly, rebellions by the governors of Korat and Nakhon Sri Tammarat, which were put down by the King. He was succeeded by his son Prachao Sua, meaning King Tiger, who proved to be a tyrant in a reign which lasted for six years during which nothing worth recording was achieved. His son, Tai Sra who came to the throne in 1709 and ruled till 1733, spent most of his time in helping Cambodia to resist Vietnamese advances against its frontier. When he left the scene, a succession feud broke out between his brother and his second son, who emerged victorious and, calling himself King Boromokot, ruled till 1758 in a period, which has been referred to as a 'golden age', during which much religious contact was maintained with Ceylon. His son Boromoraj (1758-67) was the last king to rule from Ayuthia because his reign saw Alaungpaya's invasion of Siam and the siege of Ayuthia, reference to which has already been made above. His death gave Ayuthia only some breathing space because the attacks were begun by Alaungpaya's son Hsin Byushin (1763-76) with renewed vigour and resulted in the fall of the capital in 1767, after a long siege. The city was sacked and Ayuthia never regained its importance.

General Pya Taksin

Though the capital was taken and hundreds were carried off as slaves, the Siamese carried on the fight against the Burmese invaders, this time under the leadership of General Pya Taksin. The latter was also in the besieged capital when Burmese reinforcements began to arrive to strengthen the position of the invaders. Taksin, who had already quarrelled with the King because of the latter's incompetency under these trying circumstances, decided to get away from the besieged city while he still had a chance. So with a force of five hundred men, he broke through the enemy lines and raised the standard of revolt against the Burmese. Thousands flocked to him and in 1768 he retook Ayuthia though Bangkok was made the new capital. By 1776, Taksin had driven the Burmese out of Thailand except for the Tennasserim region, placed his own nominee on the throne of Cambodia, conquered Vientiane, forced Luang Prabang and some of the provinces to the south to pay homage.

Having achieved all this in a short time, Taksin was rather unfortunate in not having had the chance to enjoy the fruits of his



The reception of Chaumont by King Narai
Phaulkon is seen kneeling in front of French Ambassador.

returned to normal, which brought an end to this fantastic episode in the history of Siam. A new treaty was signed with the V.O.C. in November, 1688 by which its monopoly of hides and tin was restored but the position was not the same as that it had enjoyed before. As far as the E.I.C. was concerned, it was officially at war with Thailand from August 1687 when an attempt was made to capture Mergui. The Company made a claim of £65,000 against the Thais which the latter refused to entertain, but its inability to back this with the customary use of force, meant that the war just petered off.

• The Destruction of Ayuthia

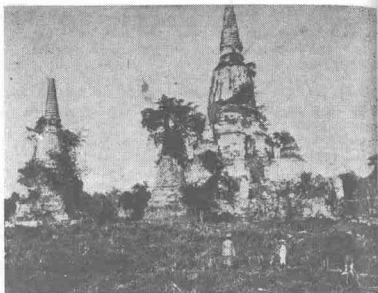
Pra Petraja's reign of fifteen years was a period of unrest which witnessed firstly, an unsuccessful attempt to grab the throne by a

peace and prosperity that followed saw the establishment of friendly relations with his neighbours, which were only interrupted in 1651, when he refused to give his daughter in marriage to the King of Xieng Khouang, and replied to the threats of the latter by invading his country and forcing the would-be aspirant to pay tribute. His reign is also remembered for the visits of the Dutchman Gerrit van Wusthoff who sailed up the Mekong River to the "land of gumlack and benzoin" in 1641, and thus became the first European to do so and the Jesuit Father J.M. Leria (1642-47). Both, however, were not successful in their respective missions.

King Soulingna Vongsa's death in 1694 was followed by the perennial war of succession because both his grandsons were too young and the throne was usurped by one of his ministers, Tian Tala, who in turn, was murdered in 1700. The struggle for the throne then began between one of his nephews, Sai Ong Hue, who was born in Vietnam. With Vietnamese support he established himself at Vien Chang and soon brought Luang Prabang under his control by forcing the two grandsons of King Soulingna Vongsa (Kit Sarat and Intasom) to retreat to the north. But they soon gathered enough support to recapture Luang Prabang, where Kit Sarat was proclaimed King in 1707. This was followed by an announcement that the brothers had no designs on Vien Chang, provided Sai Ong Hue would make a similar declaration. This saw the partition of Lan Chang into the two kingdoms of Luang Prabang and Vien Chang, whose histories will be discussed separately below.

(i) *Vien Chang (Vientiane)*

King Sai Ong Hue, who reigned for twenty-eight years till 1735, soon faced trouble in his own camp when his brother, Chao Soi Sisamout laid claim to a share of Vien Chang and established an independent kingdom to the south called Champassac in 1713. In addition to this, misunderstanding also began with the Vietnamese because of rival claims and as both began to demand tribute from Xieng Khouang. These troubles made King Sai weak and he thus had to forgo any plans that he might have entertained of recapturing Luang Prabang. This then was the state of affairs which he left to his grandson, Ong Long, who succeeded him in 1735. The latter attacked Xieng Khouang soon after and brought King Chom Pon as a captive and only released him when he agreed to pay tribute.



Ruins of Ayuthia.

labour, because he became insane and a serious rebellion broke out in Ayuthia against him and in favour of putting General Chakri on the throne. In the trouble that followed Pya Taksin was also killed at the young age of forty-eight and the throne then passed to General Chakri, who assumed the title of King Rama I and began the Chakri Dynasty in 1782.

(D) LAOS

When King No Keo Koumane, (1591-96) died without a son, he was succeeded by a cousin Vongsa, who ascended the throne as King Karat. Apart from a raid that he made into Siam in 1612, the remainder of his reign, which lasted for twenty-six years, saw the beginning of an unfortunate quarrel between the king and his son, who had the backing of the army, and ended by the death of the father at the hands of the son. But the latter also soon disappeared from the scene and the kingdom fell into a period of upheaval, which saw the rise and fall of five dynasties. It was only in 1637 that Prince Souligna Vongsa seized the throne and began a rule which lasted for fifty-seven years till 1694. He ruled with a firm but just hand and the

help were also sought from Emperor Gia Long of Annam. King Anou visited Bangkok in 1825, where the funeral rites of King Rama II were performed and picked up a quarrel with the Thais when they refused his most unreasonable request that the descendants of deported Laotians of the previous century be permitted to return to their country. King Anou saw in this refusal a convenient excuse to put an end to Thai suzerainty. But what prompted him to action was a rumour that the English had blockaded Bangkok and opened hostilities as a result of the failure of the mission of Captain Henry Burney, who reached the capital in 1826. Without ascertaining the true position, the Laotians made their move. The Thais, though initially caught by surprise, recovered quickly, crushed the revolt and brought an end to Vien Chang in a matter of days. King Anou, who sought refuge with Emperor Minh-Mang at Hue, and later carried on the struggle for some time, was ultimately handed over as a prisoner to Bangkok by Emperor Chao Noi of Xieng Khouang, where he died four years later in 1835. This action of King Chao Noi proved fatal for him because a Vietnamese army was ordered by the Emperor to bring him to Hue, where he was publicly executed and his kingdom taken over and renamed Tran Ninh.

(ii) Luang Prabang

When King Kitsarat ascended the throne in 1707, one would have imagined that he had done this with the full support of his brother, Intasom. But just like King Sai Ong Hue of Vien Chang, he faced a challenge from his brother who did not want just a part of the kingdom but had plans to seize the throne at Luang Prabang. To do this he had not only to face his brother but also a cousin Khamone Noi but he accomplished these feats in 1767 and 1727 respectively and began a reign which lasted almost forty years. During this long period he tried to cultivate friendly relations with China and sent two missions to Peking in 1729 and 1734 but the real danger to him came from Alaungpaya and the Burmese, the story of which has already been related above. But though the Burmese sacked Luang Prabang and he faced constant threats from Vien Chang, King Intasom never gave up and good fortune did smile on him when his allies, the Thais under Taksin turned the tables on the Burmese and Vien Chang.

King Ong Long was a clever ruler who seemed to be aware of the effect that the rise of Alaungpaya in Burma would have in Siam. Thus he adopted a pro-Burmese policy, which would not only keep his own kingdom safe from a possible Burmese invasion but he also saw the prospects of making use of their support to crush his pro-Siamese enemy at Luang Prabang, something he eventually did when Alaungpaya invaded the country and laid siege to Ayuthia. Though he died some time before the Burmese were forced to retreat due to Alaungpaya's wounds in 1760, his son, Ong-Boun who succeeded him, carried on the pro-Burmese policy of his father. Thus when Hsin Byushin invaded Siam through the Shan states, took Chieng Mai and over-ran Luang Prabang, he not only saved his kingdom once again, but got Burmese help to wade off an invasion from King Inta Som. But this spell of good fortune was destined for a change soon, because though Hsin Byushin destroyed Ayuthia in 1767, the Burmese were soon locked in a struggle of their own against the Chinese forces that began to invade their country and they lost their hold on Thailand, which soon revolted. Vien Chang was thus left stranded and was soon attacked both by Luang Prabang and the Thai resistance forces of Pya Taksin. Vien Chang was conquered in 1778, and though the king escaped, much booty was taken, which including the Emerald Buddha to Dhonburi, the new capital of Pya Taksin.

The Siamese occupation of Vien Chang lasted only for four years because when General Chakri took over from Pya Taksin in 1782, King Ong Boun made a formal submission to him. Chakri permitted the former king's return to Vien Chang, and the installation of his son Chao-Nam as king. The latter soon forgot the new status that he had acquired, reactivated the old enmity against Luang Prabang and taking advantage of a dynastic quarrel there, soon brought it under his control. But the bitter reminder of his vassal status soon came when King Rama I replaced him by his brother Chao-In, who remained loyal to the King of Siam till his death in 1805.

His brother Chao Anou, who succeeded him has been described as a man of outstanding ability and it did not take him long to see the resentment that the Laotians had in them against their Thai overlords. So he soon began secret moves to strike for their independence and sent out feelers to Luang Prabang, and a secret alliance against Siam was made with Luang Prabang in 1820. Promises of military

a Thai vassal state. King Chettha, who was forced to retreat into Laos died there in exile and the kingdom was plunged into deeper trouble as succession disputes broke out for the throne. The Thais, on their part, installed their own candidates on the throne and the period seems quite confused till 1618 when King Chettha II came to the throne and made his palace at Oudong. This king, aware that the Thais were once again involved in troubles of their own, against the Burmese in Chieng Mai, drove the garrison out of Lovek and declared his independence. King Songtam of Siam made an attempt in 1622 to regain Lovek and, when this failed, he tried to enlist English and Dutch support for the purpose but without any success.

The Founding of Saigon

In the meantime, King Chettha began to cultivate the friendship of his Vietnamese neighbours and in 1620, married a daughter of King Sai Vuông of the Nguyen family. One of the results of this marriage was that he agreed to establish a customs house at Prei Kor, near modern Saigon in 1623. This in turn led to the opening up of the Mekong delta region and gave a chance to the Vietnamese to move into the area of the future Cochinchina. In fact, the infiltration of the Vietnamese into these parts of Cambodia had begun long before when undesirables of all descriptions, who had been banned from their own villages, established new villages there. They were soon joined by those whom the Nguyen government sent there from the less productive parts of the country and they even granted lands as an added attraction to ex-service men, in territories which were under the King of Cambodia. With the setting up of the customs house at modern Saigon in 1623, the King of Cambodia not only laid the foundations of modern Saigon but also created the presence of another force that his successors would have to contend with.

King Chetta's reign, which came to an end in 1625, was followed by three rulers in quick succession and in 1642, Prince Chan, a son of King Chettha from a Laotian princess, came to the throne of Cambodia, as a result of a palace revolt and took the name of King Ramadhipati. Shortly after this, he became a Muslim and came under the influence of some Javanese officials at Court, who were not happy to see the Dutch traders, in light of the events that were taking place in Java at this period. At the same time, other members

The treaty of friendship with Thailand was renewed when his son Sotika Kuman became king in 1776. But when King Chakri invaded Vien Chang in 1778, he forced Luang Prabang to recognize Thai suzerainty also. King Sotika Kuman was unhappy at this latest development which had robbed him of his independence. But this was not so serious as the revolution he faced in 1781, as a result of which he was forced to abdicate in favour of his brother, on whose sudden death, trouble set in. It was this that prompted King Chao Nam of Vien Chang to invade and capture the capital in his short-lived dramatic reign. The leader who resisted this attack, King Intasom's second son, Anou-rout was forced to seek refuge in Bangkok. But he soon returned, when the King of Thailand ordered Chao Nam out of Luang Prabang and was crowned king in 1793. He then set about rebuilding his capital and ruled till 1817 and then abdicated in favour of his son, Monta-Tourat.

King Monta-Tourat, who was an elderly person and forty-two years of age when he came to the throne, resigned himself to the fact that he was a vassal of the King of Siam, and resolved to reign peacefully. He therefore refrained from joining King Chao Anou of Vien Chang when he revolted against the Siamese and in this way, saved his kingdom from the terrible fate that befell its neighbour. Towards the end of his reign he did send two missions to Hue in 1831 and 1833 offering homage and tribute. But if King Monta-Tourat had expected aid from Emperor Ming Mang to regain his independence from Siam, he was due for a good deal of disappointment because nothing came out of these. And when he died in 1836, the Siamese openly illustrated their control of Luang Prabang, in taking three years to instal as his successor, his son Sonka-Seum, who was living as a hostage at Bangkok, during the reign of his father.

(E) CAMBODIA

We have seen in the last chapter how King Narasuen, angered by King Chettha's attack on Siam in 1571, while Ayuthia was under siege by the Burmese under Nanda Bayin, invaded Cambodia in a war of vengeance in 1594. The capital Lovek was captured and plundered, and the country devastated as thousands of people were uprooted from their homes and forced to move into Siam and settle in areas which had been depopulated by the Burmese. Lovek was put under the charge of a Thai garrison and Cambodia reduced to the status of

under their leader Mac Cuu. Soon a number of settlements sprung up as more migrants flowed in, the most important being Kampot. It was at this time that another succession dispute broke out at Lovek when in 1714, King Thommo Raja was driven from the throne by his uncle Ang Em, with Vietnamese support. The former made his way to Ayuthia and the Thais began their invasion of Cambodia. After three years of sporadic fighting, Ang Eng managed to secure peace by submitting to Ayuthia and nothing further is heard of King Thammo Raja. In the meantime, the Thais also attacked Ha Tien and forced Mac Cuu to seek refuge at Hue, and put himself under the protection of Emperor Minh Vuong (1691 - 1725). The latter took Ha Tien under his protection and appointed Mac Cuu as Governor, on whose death in 1735, the post was invested in his son Mac Thien Tu. The province grew very prosperous under the latter, who successfully defended it against a Cambodian attack four years later. Cashing in on this, the Vietnamese intervened and forced the Cambodians to cede territory which gave them the control of the Mekong Delta, as their price for putting an end to the Ha-Tien — Cambodian dispute.

Thus we see that by the middle of the 18th. century, Cambodia was caught in the middle of two powers, Thailand and Vietnam. But while the former were locked in a life and death struggle with their traditional Burmese enemies under Alaungpaya (1752-60), and Hsinbyushin (1763-76) the Nguyen had the field all to themselves and made headway into Cambodia. The change, however, came with the successor Pya Taksin. One of the first to taste his wrath was Mac Thien Tu, who was involved in an intrigue to put a pretender on the throne of Ayuthia. Ha Tien was thoroughly sacked and left in ruins in 1769. Taksin then turned his attention to Phnom Penh where a contest for the throne was in progress once again between the two rival princes, Ang Nong (Thai) and Ang Tong (Vietnamese). Taksin drove out the latter. The Vietnamese soon came to his aid, defeated the Thais and reinstated him on his throne, but he voluntarily retired in favour of the Thai candidate Ang Nong in 1773. But civil war broke out in 1779 during which Ang Nong was killed and Ang Tong's son, Ang Eng put on the throne. The Thais were not able to do much during this crisis because of Pya Taksin's insanity, and General Chakri was forced to leave the field open to the Nguyen. But it was at this time, that the latter had to face a serious threat to their own position, of which we have read in the last chapter.

of the aristocracy also became jealous of the link that the Javanese were establishing with the King. They gathered around the two princes, who were sons of King Chettha II and the Vietnamese princes, secretly procured Nguyen help for their cause, and waited for a chance to reexert their own influence at Court. This came when a massacre of the Dutch broke out which included the death of Pierre de Regemortes, the chief factor. With the aid of a Vietnamese army, the brother captured the capital in 1658, and the elder of the two ascended the throne as King Paduma Raja. This was also an opportune moment for the Nguyen to advance their position further and, they took Mo-xoai (modern Baria) followed by Saigon, and began openly to interfere in the affairs of Cambodia. They got even a better chance when another succession dispute broke out in 1673. It ended with the Vietnamese installing two candidates — one at Udong and the other at Saigon. A few years later, the ambitious King of Saigon, Ang Nam, made an attempt to capture the throne of Cambodia, but was forced by the Siamese forces who came to the aid of their ally, to seek refuge in Annam in 1671. In this way, he got another opportunity to make a bid for the throne.

Just as in the case of Burma, groups of Chinese Ming sympathizers began to leave their homeland in the face of Manchu successes and about 3,000 of them arrived at Tourane. The Nguyen ruler, Hieng Vuong, saw in the arrival of the defeated Ang Nom, not only a way of getting rid of the Chinese but also the opportunity of exerting more influence in Cambodian affairs. They were divided into two groups under their own officers, Yang and Yeng, and they made their settlements at Mytho and Bien Ho respectively under the overall command of Ang Nom. But the latter soon found them to be a troublesome lot and had to call in Vietnamese help to control them. The Vietnamese not only did this, but also took the opportunity of forcing King Ang Sor to recognize their overlordship and with this, the Saigon area came under Nguyen control.

The Cambodian-Ha Tien Dispute

The Vietnamese were given another opportunity of exerting some more control in Cambodia, once again through another group of Chinese refugees who settled in the Ha Tien region on the sea coast.

PART TWO

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA DURING THE 19TH. CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The map of South-East Asia was completely altered by the powers of Europe during the 19th. century. The Europeans slowly advanced their political control over the area so that, by 1914, the whole of South-East Asia, apart from Siam, had fallen under colonial rule. Colonial administrations were established in which the people of South-East Asia played little part and the economies of the colonial territories became closely linked to, and dependent upon, the nations of Europe.

The Dutch started the colonial race at an advantage, in that they had already secured their hold on Java by the end of the eighteenth century and had established trading bases throughout the Outer Islands by a series of treaties with the local Sultanates. During the nineteenth century, they slowly strengthened their hold on the Outer Islands, but not without facing some stubborn local resistance to their advance, particularly in Bali, North Sumatra, and Aceh, where they were involved in a long and costly war between 1873 and 1903. While the French in Indo-China and the British in Burma established systems of direct rule by colonial administrators, the Dutch preferred to rule indirectly and left a good measure of authority (however unreal) in the hands of local rulers.

The British advance in Burma began with the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, after the first Anglo-Burmese War. A second struggle between the British and the local Burmese rulers developed in 1852, when the Burmese were defeated for the second time and Pegu (Lower Burma) was annexed. Finally, the remainder of Burma was brought under British rule in 1886 when the last Burmese ruler of the Kongbaung Dynasty was exiled to India. Burma was incorporated into India as a new province and the administration was closely modelled on the British system in India.

Cambodia-A Thai Protectorate

Left alone, King Ang Eng sought refuge at Bangkok where he was proclaimed King of Cambodia and he remained a vassal of King Rama I till his death in 1796. With a Thai army to protect him, he began to rule the province of Battambang, which now became a part of Thailand. After his death, the end of the 18th. century saw the Thais incorporate the provinces of Mongkol Borey, Sisophon and Korat as a part of their own kingdom.

under British protection. The process was completed when the Sultan of Johore accepted a British Adviser in 1914.

In the early pre-1815 period, the Europeans had been mainly interested in trading in indigenous products for sale in Europe, especially spices, and they had not been concerned with extending their political control in South-East Asia. The motives of the Europeans slowly changed with the Industrial Revolution, and after 1815 they became more interested in securing markets for their manufactured goods and sources of vital raw materials, and the achievement of these aims led them to advance their political dominion. The opening of the Suez Canal, which brought dramatic changes in communication between Europe and Asia, not only accelerated European expansion but also rivalry between the European powers. You will read that Anglo-French rivalry was one of the main causes of British advance in Burma and of French expansion in Indo-China. Neither nation was willing to allow any economically-important area to fall into the hands of its rival.

One of the most important economic motives which stimulated British and French interest in South-East Asia after 1815 was a desire to take part in the trade of China, which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been virtually a monopoly of the Dutch, because the markets of China compared favourably with those of the more thinly populated countries of South-East Asia. British trade with China expanded rapidly towards the end of the eighteenth century, based largely upon the export of textiles and opium from India. This expansion was further speeded up by the Industrial Revolution which led, increasingly, to the export of manufactured articles. The British occupation of Penang (1786) and Singapore (1819) was the result, very largely, of a need for bases on the route to China. The later annexation of Pegu (1852), with its port of Rangoon, may owe its origin to a similar need. The possibility of an overland route to China from the Indo-Chinese peninsula, which would make it possible to reach China's markets through the 'back door', stimulated French advance in Indo-China and British expansion into Upper Burma, and produced a bitter era of Anglo-French rivalry. From the middle of the nineteenth century, explorers had been investigating the route to Yunan and, by the time the project was proved futile, it had already played its part in stimulating European expansion.

The main stages of French expansion in Indo-China are equally clear. The French annexed the eastern provinces of Cochinchina in 1862 when the ruler of Vietnam refused to guarantee the safety of French missionaries and to discontinue his vigorous persecution of Christians. In 1867, the western provinces were grabbed when a revolt against French rule was directed from them. A rebellion in Tongking enabled the French to declare a protectorate over Annam and Tongking in 1883, giving the French control over the whole empire of Vietnam. In 1863, the French established a protectorate over Cambodia and, finally, in 1904, Laos came under French rule. The various kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese peninsula were united as the Union Indochinoise under French control. The French administration was rigidly authoritarian and no attempt was made to introduce any real measure of self-government. Neighbouring Thailand escaped from colonial domination, but not without the loss of important border territories.

The government of the United States had, throughout the nineteenth century, been outspoken in its criticism of European expansion both in China and in South-East Asia, but in 1898, as a result of the Spanish-American War, the Philippines passed into American hands and the United States joined the small band of "colonial powers". The Philippines were in a rather different position from the other countries of South-East Asia. Three and a half centuries of Spanish rule (1571-1898) had left a veneer of western culture and many Filipinos had adopted, among other things, the nationalist ideals of the West. A revolutionary Filipino nationalist welcomed the Americans in the hope that they would grant independence to the Philippines, only to be disappointed when the Americans introduced a paternal regime of their own to replace that of the Spaniards. South-West of the Philippines, meanwhile, the British had completed their expansion in North-Borneo, when in 1888 protectorates were declared over the territories of North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. The island of Labuan had become a British Crown colony in 1846.

Although the history of Malaysia lies outside the scope of this work, it is as well to remember that the advance of British interests in the Malay Peninsula was going on during this period. The Treaty of Pangkor (1874) gave the British the right to send a Resident to Perak, and the other states of Malaya soon fell, one by one.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE REVIVAL OF DUTCH POWER IN INDONESIA-I

THE EXTENSION OF DUTCH RULE (1815-1918)

In accordance with the Kew Letters, which were issued by the exiled Dutch Stadhouder, William V, in 1795, British troops occupied many Dutch colonies in the east to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. When a temporary peace was patched up between the British and the French by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, most of these territories were returned to the Dutch, but they were reoccupied when war broke out again in the following year. But although the British were able to occupy the Dutch bases in western Sumatra and the Moluccas, they were unable to take Java. An attempt to do so had been made by an English squadron in 1800, but it had not been successful. In any case the occupation of Java would not have been of a long duration because apart from Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, all Dutch possessions were returned two years later.

Daendels as Governor of Java

British anxiety over Java grew in the years after the Treaty of Amiens. It became known that Napoleon, who had become Emperor of France in 1804, had hopes of using the island as a base for an attack on India. Through his brother Louis, the new ruler of the Netherlands, Napoleon appointed Marshal Daendels as Governor of Java with full powers to reform the administration and strengthen the military installations. A lawyer by profession, Daendels had played a leading part in the struggle against the Stadholdership, and when the latter was restored, took refuge in France, where he joined the army. He returned to Holland, when the French took over in 1793, and was made a Marshall by Napoleon. Daendel's admiration for the latter may be judged from the fact that though an ardent revolutionary himself, he supported the military dictatorship of Napoleon, and it was this 'loyalty' that procured for him the Governorship of Java.

Daendels arrived in Java on New Year's day, 1808 and set about

At the same time, it would be overstating a case to suggest that colonial expansion was brought about by economic reasons alone. In the case of France, for example, national pride played its part. A contemporary French writer suggested that the French occupation of Cochin-China in 1867 was brought about, partly, to make up for the loss of French power in India at the end of the eighteenth century. In the early years of his rule in France, Napoleon III was obsessed with the idea of restoring French glory. After his humiliating defeat by Bismarck in the Seven Weeks War (1871), French imperialism "was largely a matter of compensation for enforced acquiescence in German pre-eminence in Europe" (East and Spate: *The Changing Map of Asia*, p. 17). Colonial expansion was brought about by a variety of causes, as the detailed histories which follow should indicate.

But whether the causes of colonial expansion were always economic or not, the advance of the European powers was everywhere followed by some form of economic exploitation. The South-East Asian colonies were expected to supply raw materials, such as rubber and tin, to their "mother countries" and to receive imported goods manufactured in the factories of Europe. At the same time, the nations of South-East Asia became rich fields for the investment of European capital. For these reasons, the Europeans did little to introduce manufacturing industries into their overseas territories, although communications were everywhere developed for administrative as well as economic purposes.

On the positive side (if such a weighing up of pros and cons is possible), the colonial administrations took important steps to improve the education and welfare of the peoples of South-East Asia.

Lastly, a few words about the arrangement of chapters in this part: Chapter 11 and 12, entitled "The Revival of Dutch Power in Indonesia", have been arranged so as to deal separately with "The Extension of Dutch Rule" and "The New Economic Policy", which the Dutch introduced during this period, while Chapter 13, 14 and 15 trace the histories of the mainland countries and the Philippines. This arrangement has been preferred to a strictly chronological survey of colonial expansion in South-East Asia as a whole, but it must not be forgotten that the advance of the Europeans was going on at the same time in the different territories of South-East Asia.



H. W. Daendels

his appointed task with great enthusiasm. Communications between Java and France were poor and Daendels was, therefore, in a position of almost complete independence. He built new factories for the production of arms and ammunition, a fleet of small but fast ships to replace the navy that was destroyed in 1806, constructed a thousand kilometer road between east and west Java, set up a chain of hospitals, and increased the strength of the French army in Java by local recruits. The civil administration was run on military lines under the direct control of Daendels at Batavia and the Javanese peasant was forced to work in slave-like conditions and under the strict discipline of the Governor, whose dictatorial and stern measures soon earned for himself the title, Tuan Besar Guntur, the Great Thundering Lord.

As far as the administration was concerned, Daendal's plan was to centralize the administration, and he began to do this by putting

DUTCH EXPANSION IN INDONESIA

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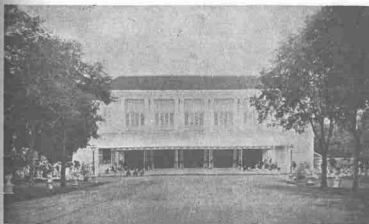
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probably overshoot his bolt and, inspite of all that he did, King Louis had no option but to replace him with General Jan William Janssens, who took over almost on the eve of the British attack.

The British Occupation of Java, 1811 - 1814

In the meantime, Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, who was aware of Napoleon's plans and Daendels' activities had himself begun to formulate plans for a British invasion of Java. In 1810, Stamford Raffles who was appointed as Minto's "agent" in the Malay States, with his headquarters in Malacca, was given the task of making the final preparations for the attack on Java, which began in August, 1811, when an expeditionary force, made up of a hundred ships carrying 12,000 men, sailed for Java under Lord Minto's personal command. As we have seen above, Daendels' dictatorial methods had earned his recall to France shortly before this, and the defence of Java was led by the new Governor-General Janssens. There was no more than a token resistance and Janssens surrendered on September 17th, and Java fell under British control. The young Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

Before he left for India, Lord Minto outlined the main principles on which the new administration of Java was to be run. Reforms were to be introduced to improve the lot of the Javanese, who had suffered under the strict rule of the Dutch. "While we are in Java,"



Governor's Palace, Samarang. (Built by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, 1811)

an end to the North-East Coast Province and dividing the whole island into nine divisions and a number of regencies. He put an end to the Dutch method of ruling indirectly through local rulers and native chiefs, and transformed them into paid officials of the Government with military ranks. Everybody, including the former Residents, took their orders from Batavia. He overhauled the decadent judicial system and introduced a new one in its place by which the local population came under laws which were closely connected with customary usage or adat. This way broke them away from the Dutch-Indian law, which in future was to be continued in courts meant for foreigners and not the natives of Java. It is surprising that Daendels did not take any steps to put an end to the compulsory cultivation of coffee and system of forced deliveries and, instead, increased the areas under coffee by almost three-fold. But he tried to help the peasants by putting an end to official corruption, which to him was the basic reason for all their poverty and hardships.

Faced as he was with the problem of money, Daendels sold land for about two million guilders and began to issue his own paper currency against this amount, which unfortunately for him, did not work out according to his plans and he soon was compelled to use tactics by which forced loans were floated and banks forced to exchange their coins for his paper money. In addition to this, trouble broke out between the Governor and the Sultan of Bantam, because of the former's excessive demands for labour, which led to the murder of the Dutch commandant of the Sultan's guard and some of his men. Daendels retaliated by leading the attack in person, during which he shot the Chief Minister, banished the Sultan to Amboina, took over the state in the name of the King of Holland, and put an end to its independent status. Daendels also took stern measures against Sultan Amangku Buwono II of Jogjakarta, when the latter increased his army without the Governor's permission and deposed him in favour of the heir-apparent. It was not only the local population that suffered from his stern attitude because his wrath was also turned upon his fellow-Europeans as well, as in the case of the French Colonel, Filz, who was court-martialled and shot because he had surrendered Amboina to the British in 1810. No consideration seems to have been given to the fact that Colonel Filz was forced to do this after having struggled under impossible conditions for which Daendels was partly responsible. It looks as if Daendels in his over-enthusiasm,

were withdrawn, restored territories seized once again and the Susuhunan reduced to the status of a mere puppet.

Trouble also awaited Raffles when he tried to establish his authority over Palembang. Sometime before the actual invasion of Java, Raffles had begun writing secretly to the various rulers inciting them to revolt against the authority of the Dutch, one of whom was the Sultan of Palembang. When the latter learnt of the British invasion of Java in 1811, he rose up in revolt, massacred the Dutch garrison and their families and declared his independence, and refused to accept British overlordship from Raffles, who he claimed had encouraged him all the way to independence. Caught in a web that he himself had helped to weave, Raffles took the easy out of "might is right" by ordering Gillespie to march on the capital in April, 1812, replaced the Sultan with his brother, and grabbed the islands of Banka and Billiton in the process. But after he had established his authority, Raffles turned his attention to improve the administration and help ameliorate the economic position of the local population.

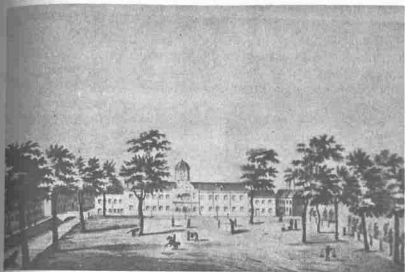
One of his most important reforms was the introduction of a land-rent system to replace the Dutch policy of forced deliveries and compulsory services. Instead of delivering a portion of their produce to the government, the peasants were now allowed to pay a land rent, which was collected by the headmen of the villages, or *desas*. The tax levied was to be proportional to the yield of the land and it varied from one half for the more productive to one third for the less fertile fields. The cultivator had full rights over his own part of the crop and had the option of paying his tax in cash or in produce. The hold of the local chiefs was reduced by this system, for they had previously acted as middlemen for the delivery of produce. The new tax was paid directly to the Residents. Steps were also taken to control piracy and to put an end to debt slavery, which had been an age-old custom amongst the local people. Laws were passed which prohibited the police to help owners exert their authority on their slaves. He also brought about judicial and financial reforms and changed the administrative framework of Java by dividing the island into sixteen Residencies and promoting direct rule by the Residents. This acted as a further blow to the Dutch system of indirect rule through local chiefs.

British rule in Java was destined to be brief. In 1813, as Napoleon's power in Europe waned, a rebellion against French rule

Minto told Raffles, "let us do all the good we can." Dutch officials, who elected to remain in Java, were to be allowed to join the British administration. Thus for the next three years, Raffles was left to do what he could to introduce liberal reforms on the lines which Minto had suggested and, in which, he himself believed, with the aid of an Advisory Council made up of the Commander-in-Chief Gillespie, and two Dutchmen, Cranssen and Muntinghe, especially the latter who had served with distinction under Daendels, had an expert's knowledge of the Indies and was a man of great ability.

The first task that Raffles had to undertake was to establish his control over Java because many of the local rulers had made plans to take advantage of the overthrow of the Dutch to reassert their own independence. They were soon to learn that the British had not occupied Java to help them gain their independence but only change one colonial master for another. In Bantam, Raffles threw his support, much against the advice of his agents, behind Sultan Mohammed whom Daendels had installed, and banished his rival, Pangeran Ahmad, to the Bandas. Much unrest followed this decision because the Sultan's claim to the throne was regarded by many as illegal and he himself proved too weak to control the chaos and disorder that broke out against his rule. Raffles took advantage of this to make him an offer of a pension and an empty title, in return for the surrender of his kingdom. The acceptance of the above saw the integration of Bantam into the territories of the Dutch. The same was also done in the case of the Sultan of Cheribon.

In Jogjakarta, Sultan Sepuh, whom Daendels had deposed, reasserted his authority when the British took over. But it soon became known that both he and the Susuhunan of Surakarta were having plans of their own. Raffles, in an attempt to avoid a possible civil war, made a trip to Surakarta and sent Muntinghe to Jogjakarta and soon came to terms with the Susuhunan. But the same was not to be in the case of Sultan Sepuh, who presuming the British approach as a sign of weakness, began to fortify his capital. Raffles then stormed Jogjakarta, deposed him and installed Daendel's candidate as Sultan Amangku Buwono III. Two million guilders' worth of Spanish dollars found in the treasury were confiscated to pay for the operation. It was during this operation that Raffles found proof of a Jogjakarta-Surakarta conspiracy against the British and he marched against the Susuhunan. The liberal terms that Raffles had offered him



The old Town House at Batavia, 1811.



Castle and wharf at Batavia, 1811.

broke out in Holland and, in the following year, the Dutch monarchy was restored. The British were then compelled to honour the promise they had made in 1795, that they would restore Holland's colonial possessions when the French threat ended. By the Anglo-Dutch Convention of August, 1814, the British agreed to return Malacca and Java to the Dutch. Raffles protested against this decision and put forward many reasons as to why Java should be retained, but his objections were overruled, and Java was formally returned to the Dutch in 1816.

After 1816 the restored Dutch regime was preoccupied with two main tasks — firstly, the re-establishment and extension of its rule throughout the East Indies, and secondly, the restoration of its administrative system and the solution of the financial difficulties of both the Indies Government and the Home Authorities at the Hague—tasks which were to take them through the whole of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th centuries.

The Restoration of Dutch Rule

In 1814, King William appointed three Commissioners-General who were entrusted with the tasks of receiving back the former Dutch territories from the British and of reorganising the administration. The problems facing the Commissioners when they eventually arrived in Java in 1816 were formidable. The prestige of the Dutch had inevitably declined during their absence, and the Commissioners were faced with the possibility of rebellions without having the resources necessary to suppress them. The financial position of the Netherlands Government was at a low ebb, and it was necessary to find some sources of revenue which would enable a restored administration to function efficiently. In the absence of the Dutch, Daendels and Raffles had done much to reorganise the administrative system, and Raffles in particular had introduced important reforms. How much of this reorganisation should be maintained? Raffles himself returned to the East Indies in 1818 as Lieutenant-Governor of the British factory at Benkulen. Still obsessed with the idea of a British empire in the East Indies, and still harbouring an almost insane dislike of the Dutch, Raffles did his best to delay the restoration of the Dutch possessions. The official handing-over ceremony took place in August, 1816, but Raffles managed to hold on to Padang in Sumatra for a

Sumatra was the most serious of these outbreaks; another was the Pattimura Rebellion in the Moluccas, organised by the headmen of the island of Saparuwa. The Padris continued their resistance until 1837; the Moluccas until 1829.

The government in the Netherlands, meanwhile, was becoming increasingly alarmed at the competition which British traders offered to the Dutch. The British had been able to take advantage of the absence of the Dutch during the Revolutionary Wars to import their goods into Java, and they were able to compete successfully with the inferior Dutch imports even after 1815. In 1817, a system of preferential duties for Dutch goods had been introduced, but this measure failed to have the desired effect and British imports continued to predominate. A duty of 25% on all imported textiles, which was imposed in 1824, still did not improve matters. Finally in 1825, Dutch traders combined their resources to form the Netherlands Trading Company, with the King at its head, but even this large national venture was unable to put an end to British competition.

While this problem faced the Dutch government in Europe, Capellen failed to solve the financial problems of the Indies. Although the land-rent system produced an increasing income, the loss of trade meant an overall decline in revenue. Moreover, Capellen had failed to follow the administrative principles which had been laid down by the King and the other two Commissioners, though he did much to restore the old system of indirect rule through local chiefs. He had also opposed the free settlement of Europeans in the Preanger coffee districts, fearing that this would lead to a loss of revenue by reducing the hold of the government on coffee production. Capellen's reactionary policy and his financial failure spelled the end of his term of office.

In 1825, the Dutch Government decided to recall Capellen and to take more forceful measures to improve the financial situation. A Belgian nobleman, Viscount Du Bus de Gisignies, was sent to Java with special powers to introduce reforms and with the specific task of addressing himself to the financial problem. Before he arrived, another event occurred which further increased the difficulties of the Dutch when a large-scale rebellion broke out in Jogjakarta and spread throughout Central Java. But before we go on to that, let us first have a look at the circumstances which led to the signing of the

further three years. Only the conciliatory attitude of the home government restrained him from further exertions.

The chairman of the Commissioners, Cornelis Elout, was a humanitarian whose views had much in common with those of Raffles himself and the reformed administration which he and his fellow-Commissioners introduced was in many ways a compromise between the old Dutch system and the revised arrangements made by Raffles. Raffles had divided Java for administrative purposes into residencies, districts, divisions and villages. These divisions were maintained, but some of the powers of the Regents, whom Raffles had clearly subordinated to the Residents, were restored, so that the old Dutch system of indirect rule through local chiefs under the supervision of Dutch governors was resumed. By a number of Ordinances of 1818-1819, the land-rent system instituted by Raffles was retained and village headmen were made responsible for collecting the rent and handing it over to the central authorities. Some of Raffles' liberal reforms were also retained. Except in the case of coffee, which was desperately needed by the government to improve its chronic financial position, forced deliveries were abandoned while forced labour and the slave trade remained prohibited. With their tasks completed, two of the Commissioners returned home in 1819 while the third, Baron van der Capellen remained behind as Governor at Batavia.

Van der Capellen as Governor (1819-1825)

The main task which faced Capellen in 1819 was that of solving the financial problems which faced the restored administration. The new system of government was more costly to run than the former Dutch regime, and it was important that the revenues of the East Indies should be sufficient to pay for it. But from the beginning of his governorship, Capellen was beset by difficulties which caused the financial situation to deteriorate rather than to improve. There was a serious slump in the price of sugar and coffee after 1822 and this led to a decline in the export trade of Java and, therefore, in the revenue of the government. The foundation of Singapore in 1819 also had an adverse effect on Java's trade, for Singapore gradually took the place of Batavia as the central exchange market for South-East Asian goods. Moreover, Capellen was forced to equip several costly expeditions to suppress uprisings in the Moluccas and other parts of the Outer Islands. The rebellion of the Muslim Padris in Central

were ready for a peaceful settlement of their differences. Negotiations were completed on 17th March, 1824, and the Anglo-Dutch Treaty was then signed. Its main terms may be summarised as follows:-

- (1) The Dutch ceded to Britain all their factories in India, withdrew their objections to the founding of Singapore and transferred Malacca to British rule.
- (2) The British ceded Benkulen and other British possessions in Sumatra to the Dutch.
- (3) The Dutch agreed not to establish any factory on the Malay Peninsula, nor to conclude a treaty with any of the rulers.
- (4) The British agreed not to found any settlement nor to make treaties with any rulers of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore.
- (5) Both nations recognised the independent status of Aceh.
- (6) Both agreed that none of their officials should be allowed to form any settlement in the East without the prior consent of the Home Government.
- (7) The Dutch agreed not to establish a commercial monopoly in the East Indies, except in regard to the spice trade of the Moluccas.
- (8) The two nations agreed to co-operate to suppress piracy, then a serious menace to both Dutch and British shipping.

The effect of the Treaty was to divide the East Indies territorially into two spheres of influence, leaving the Dutch predominant in the islands of the East Indies and the British supreme in Malaya. Raffles' plan of a British Empire stretching from Malaya to Japan was finally abandoned, while the Dutch sacrificed their trade monopoly in island South-East Asia. Both nations were now in a position to extend their power within their respective spheres of influence, but, strangely enough, neither took immediate steps to do so. The British East India Company was reluctant to expend its diminishing funds on the costly intervention which would have proved necessary for territorial gains in Malaya, and the Dutch, as we have seen, were preoccupied with the solution of their financial difficulties. It was not yet apparent, either to the British or to the Dutch, that their commercial success depended upon their territorial possessions.

Moreover, one of the most important results of the Culture

Anglo-Dutch Treaty in 1824 and the effect that it had on the relations between the two countries.

The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824

As we noted earlier, Dutch merchants were faced in 1815 with competition from British imports into the East Indies, and for this reason the Dutch authorities had introduced a system of preferential duties. The British saw in this measure an attempt to revive the Dutch policy of a trade monopoly which would completely exclude their own traders from the East Indies. It was in these circumstances that Raffles founded Singapore in 1819 as a new centre of Britain's commerce in South-East Asia and as a counter-balance to the restoration of Dutch rule in the East Indies. At the time, the Sultan of Johore was under the control of the Dutch at Riau but Raffles had taken advantage of a disputed succession to recognise the Sultan's brother as the rightful ruler and to secure a treaty from him in which he allowed the East India Company to establish a factory in Singapore. The Dutch, who were already suspicious of Raffles for the way in which he had delayed the return of Dutch possessions after the Convention of London, were outraged by this latest act and made immediate protests. But the Governor-General of India, Lord Hastings, although he was alarmed at Raffles' lack of caution, refused to give up Singapore, especially as the port showed immediate signs of proving a commercial success.

By 1820, then, the bonds of contention between the British and the Dutch were three-fold: (1) the British feared a revival of the Dutch trade monopoly in the East Indies; (2) the Dutch feared the extension of British power, as proposed by Raffles, into the East Indies; and (3) both the British and the Dutch laid claims to Singapore.

These disputes, which had already given rise to strained diplomatic relations, might have led to even more serious results had it not been for events in Europe. It was part of Britain's European policy to have a strong and friendly Holland to act as a balance to the powers of Central and Eastern Europe. To maintain the balance of power in Europe, the British were ready for a compromise solution to the situation in the East. The Dutch Government, recently restored and financially weak, was in no position to risk a war with Britain. On the basis of European diplomacy, then, both Britain and Holland

(adat), the throne was given to his younger son Djorot, because of his mother's royal lineage, which happened to be higher than that of the elder son's, Dipa Negara. Raffles seems to have calmed down the latter with a promise that on the death of Djorot or Amangku Buwono IV, the throne would be given to him, probably in the hope that he, the elder of the two, would die earlier. But Dipa Negara outlived his younger brother, who died in 1822 and the Dutch, either on purpose or in sheer ignorance of the promise that Raffles had made during their absence, passed the throne on to Djorot's two-year old son, Amangku Buwono V, while Dipa Negara, who, with Mangku Bumi, another member of the royal household, was made one of the guardians of the new Sultan. Dipa Negara not only resented being pushed out of the line of succession, but there were a number of other factors, which soon added to this personal grievance.

The first of these had its origin during the governorship of van der Capellen who put an end to a system by which local chiefs leased out their estates to Europeans and Chinese, who were not permitted to purchase land directly from the government. While this decision was implemented with the intention of safeguarding the economic position of the local chiefs, the latter were not able to understand this sudden concern for their welfare on the part of the Dutch, who had been following an almost reverse policy since their arrival in Java. What they were more concerned about was the loss of a profitable source of income which this action of the Governor had resulted in, and there was resentment against the Dutch for this amongst the chiefs, one of whom was Dipa Negara.

The second grievance was connected with the tolls that the government had levied for crossing from native to government land and which (the tolls) had later been farmed to Chinese middle-men who now collected the tolls not at the official but at exorbitant rates. Thus there was growing ill-feeling amongst the Javanese of Jog-jakarta at not only the Dutch but also at the Chinese, who as the chief money-lenders, also attracted popular odium in addition. But the action which provided the spark to the strained atmosphere was when religion was brought into the picture. Dipa Negara, who was a deeply religious man and was used to spending a good deal of his time on meditation in sacred caves, wanted the Dutch to recognize him as the head of the Islamic religion in Java, which they had refused to do. And the last straw was provided by the decision of the Dutch



Amangku Buwono IV

System, of which we will read in the next chapter, was that the Dutch concentrated their attentions on Java and completely neglected the development of the Outer Islands. Java had become the most prosperous part of the Dutch Empire and there appeared to be no good reason for spending the profits of the Culture System in developing the administration of the outlying areas. It was the official policy of the Dutch government, therefore, to avoid interfering with the native chiefs outside Java.

The Java War (1825-1830)

The outbreak of the rebellion in Java revolves around the personality of Pangeran Anta Wiri or Dipa Negara, a deeply religious prince of the royal house of Jogjakarta. You will remember that in 1810, Raffles banished Sultan Sepuh of Jogjakarta and replaced him with his son, who took the throne as Amangku Buwono III. Four years later, the latter died and, according to the local customary law

restore the fortunes of the Dutch West Indies, and soon after his arrival in Java, he produced a drastic but successful solution to Holland's problems in the East Indies, of which we will read in the next chapter.

Dutch Expansion before 1870

The Dutch were occasionally compelled to intervene in local disputes and this intervention was usually followed by the annexation of new territory. James Brooke's activities in North Borneo also stimulated the Dutch to take steps to consolidate their own position in the East Indies. In 1846, and again in 1849, the Dutch intervened in the wars of the independent rulers of Bali. The result was the annexation of some territory and the extension of Dutch suzerainty over the whole island, although the Dutch agreed not to interfere in its internal affairs. The opening of a coal mine near Banjarmasin in South-West Borneo led to a war with the Sultan between 1859 and 1863, which was again followed by the annexation of his territories. A rebellion against Dutch rule in Banjarmasin, where resistance was always alive, was crushed in 1870. By 1859, the Dutch had also established their position in the south-west of Celebes, while in 1856, the Dutch began to extend their control in Sumatra, partly to suppress native piracy and slave trading and partly in a search for new and profitable markets. By 1868, the Dutch hold on Benkulen and Palembang had been consolidated by expeditions against local rulers who had questioned Dutch authority.

The extension of Dutch rule before 1870 was the exception rather than the rule, and Java remained the centre of interest. A number of factors combined, however, to stimulate the Dutch to a more energetic policy from 1870 onwards. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, combined with the introduction of steamships, facilitated communications between Europe and the East and led to a rapid increase in European trade with South-East Asia. The Dutch became increasingly aware that if they did not consolidate their hold on the East Indies, then other European nations would take advantage of their weakness. The concessions granted to the British by the Sultan of Brunei in the 1870's brought this point nearer home and the discovery of mineral resources in the Outer Islands added to the

authorities to build a new road, through that part of Dipa Negara's land where the tombs of his ancestors were situated. Claiming that he had been chosen by Allah to drive the unbelievers (or Kaffirs) out of Java, Dipa Negara soon commanded a large following as the Prince-Liberator, whom their ancient legends had mentioned.

Trouble began when Dipa Negara's supporters began to sabotage the efforts of the Dutch to build their proposed road. A Dutch officer was killed and the authorities replied by sending a detachment to burn Dipa Negara's house, who, in the meantime, had taken to the hills with his followers. In 1825, Dipa Negara and his fellow-guardian Mangku Bumi, entered Jogjakarta at the head of their forces. The Dutch retreated with the young Sultan and left the population to the mercy of the rebels who massacred many of the European and Chinese inhabitants. At the time, the Dutch were also occupied by other outbreaks in Sumatra and other parts of the 'Outer Islands', and it took the Dutch commander in Java, General de Kock, five years to suppress Dipa Negara's revolt. Only in 1830, when Dipa Negara was arrested and exiled, firstly to Menado and later to Macassar, where he died in 1855, did the rebellion fizzle out, at a cost of 15,000 Dutch and 200,000 Javanese lives. Both Jogjakarta and Surakarta was deprived of a good part of their territory and when the Susuhunan, who had aided the Dutch, protested, he was banished to Amboina, on suspicions of making plans to start another rebellion against the Dutch.

The main result of the Java War was that it wrecked the attempts of Gisignies to solve the financial problem. The rebellion had cost the Dutch authorities twenty million guilders. At the same time, the revolt of Belgium against Dutch rule in Europe in 1830 brought Holland to the verge of bankruptcy. The Java War had also produced much devastation, as nearly two hundred thousand Javanese had died and a large area of Jogjakarta had been laid waste. This was a high price to pay for the Dutch occupation of Jogjakarta and Surakarta, which followed. The Home Government now decided that a strong hand was necessary to improve the situation in the East Indies. For this reason, they sent out Johannes van den Bosch as Governor-General in 1830. Van den Bosch had been Chief of the General Staff in the Netherlands, and after his retirement from this position, he had already helped the government to solve many difficult problems. A report which he wrote in 1827 had helped to

The War with Aceh (1873-1903)

After the Sumatra Treaty, the Dutch first approached the Sultan of Aceh with offers of a negotiated settlement, but when the Sultan replied by calling on first the Italians and then the Americans to aid him, the Dutch sent a small force into Aceh and war began in 1873. It was a long and costly undertaking which was not brought to an end until 1903, despite frequent efforts by the Dutch to arrive at a settlement. It became clear that the Achinese regarded the war as much as a "holy war" against the infidel as an attempt to check the colonial expansion of the Dutch. They fought with great tenacity and the Dutch found it difficult to discover an effective answer to their guerilla tactics.

The Dutch met with many reverses in the early stages, but the situation began to change in their favour in about 1898, when Major Joannes van Heutsz, an able military tactician, was appointed Governor of Aceh with Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, a famous Muslim scholar, as his adviser. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje had disguised himself as a Muslim in 1885 to gain entrance to the Holy City of Mecca, where he heard Indonesian pilgrims discussing the war against the Dutch in such terms as to convince him that the Achinese would only be defeated by large-scale military operations. He, therefore, put forward this view in his report (*De Atjehers*), which was accepted by van Heutsz. The forceful tactics of van Heutsz gave him control of most of Aceh by the end of 1899 and, from then on, it became a matter of rounding up the local chiefs who continued to resist. One by one these chiefs were defeated. One of the leaders of the resistance, the Sultan of Kutaradja, surrendered in 1903 and the war was virtually over, although mopping-up operations continued until 1918.

The Extension of Dutch Rule

The events in Sumatra, combined with the extension of trade after the opening of the Suez Canal, brought a gradual change in Dutch policy which led the Dutch authorities to extend their influence throughout the Outer Islands. The oppression by the Hindu Baliners over the Muslim population of Lombok led to Dutch intervention in 1894, followed by the establishment of Dutch control over Lombok.

urgency of the situation. But it was events in Sumatra which actually provided the occasion for the change in Dutch policy.

In 1856 the Sultan of Siak called in the aid of an English privateer when his position was threatened by a rival. The privateer, whose name was Wilson, defeated the rival successfully but then, in the manner of Brooke, seized Siak for himself. The Dutch expelled Wilson by force and in 1858 signed a treaty with the Sultan of Siak by which his dominions were brought under Dutch rule. The merchants of Singapore and Malacca protested that their trade with East Sumatra was endangered, and the British government took up their cry in 1863 by claiming that Dutch occupation of Siak was a violation of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, in which the Dutch had agreed to confine their interests to an area south of the Straits of Singapore. The Dutch replied that the Anglo-Dutch Treaty had in fact placed the whole of the East Indies within their sphere of influence. These differences of interpretation produced a long period of strained relations.

The Sumatra Treaty of 1871

In 1869, it became imperative to the Dutch that their position in Sumatra be clarified, for in that year the Sultan of Aceh called on Turkey to help him to recover Siak, which he counted as one of his dependencies. In 1871, the Dutch, therefore, brought their quarrel with the British to an end by signing the Sumatra Treaty. By this agreement, the Dutch ceded their possessions in West Africa to the British in return for a free hand in Sumatra because it was clear at this stage that only a conquest of Aceh would consolidate the Dutch position. Moreover, Aceh had been for many years a centre of piracy especially against Dutch shipping, and its occupation was therefore, a commercial as well as a political necessity.

The Sumatra Treaty also brought to an end the new phase of Anglo-Dutch rivalry which had developed after the Treaty of 1824. The Dutch had attempted to discriminate against British shipping despite their agreement not to reimpose a commercial monopoly and this had led to protests by the British Government. On the other hand, the British advance in North Borneo from 1841 onwards had led to protests from the Dutch. The question of Aceh presented both sides with an opportunity for patching up their differences.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE REVIVAL OF DUTCH POWER IN INDONESIA-II (THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY)

In the last chapter, we have already read about the problems that the three Dutch Commissioners-General faced when they took over the Dutch territories from the British in 1816. Aware of the difficulties of returning to their old system of administration after what the local population had experienced during the short period of British rule, they decided to continue, wherever possible, the system which Raffles had introduced and the early years of their administration saw the retention of Raffles' system of taxation in place of forced deliveries, and the abolition of forced labour and other forms of slavery. But Van der Capellan, who took over the administration when his two colleagues returned home in 1819, soon became aware of the inroads that the British had made into the trade of the former Dutch colonies, especially with the founding of Singapore in 1819 and the free-port status that it enjoyed, in comparison with the taxes that traders had to pay at Batavia. So much so that even the introduction of a system of preferential duties for Dutch goods, the imposition of a duty 25% on all foreign imported textiles and the formation of the National Netherlands Trading Company and the Bank of Java were not able to tilt the scales in their favour. In addition to the above, the Dutch were plagued with wars both in Europe, where the Belgian revolt broke out in 1830, and in the East Indies, when Dipa Negara's revolt flared into the Java War. These wars brought the Dutch on the verge of bankruptcy and try as they would, both Van Der Capellan (1819-1825) and Viscount Du Bus de Gisignies, failed completely in their attempts to salvage the Dutch from the chronic situation into which their affairs had fallen. It was under these circumstances that Johannes van den Bosch was chosen as Governor-General in 1830. And the solution which he introduced has been described as the Culture System.

The Culture System

Van den Bosch, who had served in Java and had to leave because

While van Heutsz was Governor of Acheh during the war (1898-1904), he had introduced a plan by which any chief would be confirmed in his rule after acknowledging the suzerainty of the Dutch. This plan worked successfully in Acheh and it was gradually extended by van Heutsz, now Governor-General at Batavia, to the other parts of the East Indies. As a result, more than three hundred independent rulers acknowledged their subservience to the Dutch. There were still some areas in which local rulers resented the extension of Dutch power and organised resistance movements, but one by one these were suppressed by Dutch forces. Thus in 1905 the Dutch expelled several rulers of southern Borneo who were unwilling to submit to their rule, and in the same year, resistance was crushed in the Toradja districts of Celebes. The final conquest of Bali, where Dutch suzerainty had been acknowledged since 1849 began in 1900 and was completed six years later. Even then, one Balinese rajah, the Agung of Klunkung, continued a heroic but fruitless attempt to assert his independence until 1911. And this brought the whole of the East Indies, apart from the British and Portuguese areas, under the control of the Dutch.



Chinese Middlemen in Java

was excused from the agreement for that year.

From the very beginning, the Culture System proved to be a tremendous success. In the first place, Dutch commerce and shipping increased at an unprecedented scale and led to the rapid industrial development of the Netherlands, which now had a steady source of supply of the raw materials that it needed and an exclusive hold on the East Indies which now became a ready market for her finished products. Amsterdam became the world's centre for tropical goods while the Dutch mercantile marine took its place as the third largest in the world. In the first ten years, the value of exports from Java rose six times from about 13 to 75 million guilders. The profits that the Dutch treasury made from the trade were so huge that it was not only able to save itself from the verge of bankruptcy, pay off its own debts and those of its colonies, and meet the expenses of the chronic Belgian war, but construct the Dutch State Railways in addition. Thus, there is much truth in the statement of J.S. Furnival that the Culture System was the life-belt which kept the Netherlands afloat. In short, the Culture System had the four-fold effect of restoring the prosperity of the Dutch government in the East Indies, boosting Dutch trade, restoring the financial situation in Holland and promoting the development of export-agriculture in Java. It brought to an end the

of misunderstanding with Daendels, based his system on his conviction firstly, that the system of revenue collection as introduced by Raffles had failed and was not suited to Javanese conditions and, secondly, that the Javanese peasant, left on his own, was not capable of making economical progress, and needed the guidance of the authorities, with the use of force if necessary. Thus instead of paying his land-rent in cash, or surrendering a certain portion of his rice to the government as in the past, the peasant was to set aside a certain portion of his land for the cultivation of crops, other than rice, which the government would be able to export to Holland, for sale on the European market. The land set aside for this purpose, or the *desa*, would be free of land rent, while the crops cultivated were to be referred to as 'cultures'. In the beginning, the crops that the government chose were coffee, indigo and sugar, but the success of the system led to the following being added to the three mentioned above — tea, tobacco, pepper, cinnamon, cotton and cochineal.

Each farmer was required to surrender to the government all the culture crops that he harvested from his land and deliver these at the place of weighing. Of this amount, a certain quota was received by the government against the land-rent that he would have normally paid for his *desa*. The cultivator had a right to anything that he produced above the quota but instead of disposing it at his own pleasure, he was obliged to sell it to the government at a price which was fixed by the latter, and usually well below what the cultivator would have got in the open market. They were to work under the direction of their local chiefs, who in turn would be supervised by Dutch officials. A Director of Cultures was appointed whose task was to direct produce and organize the transport of the crops to the government warehouses.

Once the crops reached the government ware-houses, these were then taken over by Dutch merchants who transported these in their own ships to the Netherlands, for sale to the markets of Europe. The ships would then return with Dutch manufactured goods for the Javanese consumer. On its part, the government introduced several safeguards to ascertain that the peasants were not exploited. Thus no family was required to spend more than sixty-six working days in a year for the cultivation of culture crops, while the failure of crops due to natural causes and not due to the lack of zeal on the part of the cultivator, were the liability of the government and the farmer

The End of the Culture System

In 1814, when he became ruler of Holland after the expulsion of the French, King William IV had been given powers which included exclusive control over the colonies. In 1848 this situation was changed after liberal revolutions had rocked Europe. A new constitution was granted in that year in which the States-General of Holland took over many of the King's powers in the colonies. And in the States-General, the Liberals rapidly whipped up feelings against the Culture System on the grounds of its serious effects on the welfare of the Javanese peasants. In 1854, a resolution of the States-General called on the Governor-General to ensure that the Culture System did not produce exploitation and oppression, and that the subsistence agriculture of the peasants was not interfered with. In 1860, Edward Douwes Dekker wrote a novel called '*Max Havelaar*', in which he described his career as an official in Java and his out against the injustice of the Culture System. In the same year, a number of pamphlets were written by Isaac Fransen van der Putte, who had lived for some time in Java, in which he also attacked the system. In 1863, a Liberal Government came into power in Holland, with van der Putte as Minister of Colonies, and the end of the Culture System was in sight.

The Liberal Policy (1863-1900)

Named after the Liberals who took control of the Dutch Government in 1863, the new policy was aimed to put an end to the controls and restrictions that had been imposed on trade and agriculture as a result of the Culture System and encourage the principles of free enterprise. Five main steps were taken by the Dutch Government in its enthusiasm to implement the new policy. These were:

(a) *Abolition of the various cultures*

Under van der Putte's inspiration, the scope of the system was gradually curtailed between 1863 and 1866. One by one, the culture-crops were dropped, pepper (1862); cloves and nutmegs (1863); cinnamon, tea, cochineal and indigo (1865) and tobacco (1866) and by 1863, only sugar and coffee remained. The system by which officials received a percentage of the export produce was brought

liberal policy initiated by Raffles which had allowed the peasants to cultivate their lands as they pleased and restored the old Dutch system of forced deliveries in a new form. It also brought a return to indirect rule, for the authority of the Regents, who alone could make the Culture System work, was once again augmented.

Its success was such that the government was tempted to extend the system and to ignore the regulations by which van den Bosch had hoped to safeguard the interests of the peasant cultivators. In 1833, for example, it was ruled that coffee produced on land other than the *desa* which was reserved for the Culture System, must also be sold to the authorities, in direct opposition to one of van den Bosch's original regulations that the peasants would be expected to produce crops for the government in only one fifth of his land and that once he had fulfilled that obligation, the farmer could do whatever he pleased with the rest of his *desa* and dispose of its produce at his own will and pleasure. The Dutch officials and local chiefs, who supervised the system, soon became corrupt and began to receive a percentage of the profits and they were tempted to extend the cultivation of export crops beyond the scope laid down by van den Bosch. The Culture System rapidly assumed the character of a vast scheme of exploitation in which the Javanese peasant paid for the government of Holland and the East Indies. In some areas, land-rent was collected as well as export produce, and everywhere the peasant was forced to spend so much time in the cultivation of new crops that his own rice-lands were neglected. This situation produced famine in several parts of Java between 1843 and 1848. In addition to the above, the Dutch were so much interested in Java that they neglected the Outer Islands, which soon became the stronghold of pirates once again.

The Culture System undoubtedly brought a number of benefits to the Dutch authorities in Java and at the Hague. Agricultural production increased, new crops were introduced, and there was prosperity in the few areas where officials safeguarded the peasants and encouraged the cultivation of rice. But the overall effect on the Javanese peasant was disastrous. J.J. Rochussen, who was Governor-General from 1845 to 1851, reduced export production in some areas and tried to revive van den Bosch's regulations, but abuses continued. Eventually the Government in Holland was compelled to take notice.

(e) *The Agrarian Law (1870)*

It would be a mistake to think that the Liberals had taken these steps simply out of regard for native welfare. They were more concerned with ending the government's monopoly of export and open the East Indies to private enterprise. They succeeded in the latter with the passing of the Agrarian Law of 1870, by which private capitalists were permitted to lease land from the government for seventy-five years and from native chiefs for shorter periods. A vast increase in the number of private estates followed at once and as Dutch rule was extended throughout the Outer Islands after 1871, private planters followed. Sugar and tobacco were the main crops, but pepper, tea and cocoa were also grown and exported in large quantities. The condition of the Indonesian peasantry was scarcely improved and it continued to be exploited by Chinese middlemen and by the new Dutch capitalists, who were just as intent, as the Dutch government had been, on increasing the produce of the land, while despotic chiefs continued their semi-feudal rule in the Indonesian villages.

But there is no denying the fact that the introduction of the Liberal Reforms resulted in a great boom in output which rose up to three times that of the days of the Culture System. The cultivation of export crops in the East Indies has already been noted. Until 1870, their cultivation was largely a government concern under the arrangements of the Culture System, but the end of this system brought a rapid increase in the number of privately-owned estates. It was these private planters who called for the construction of railways to help in the transport of their crops to the coast. By 1900, three thousand five hundred kilometres of rail had been laid, while communications by road were also developed. The opening of the Suez Canal stimulated the rise of Dutch steamship companies to take advantage of the new and easier route between Europe and the East. The first were the Nederlands Steamship Company (1870) and the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (1888). Oil was discovered in Sumatra, Java and Borneo, and its exploitation began in 1883. Coal and tin were also mined. Rubber was introduced at the end of the nineteenth century and the number of estates increased rapidly. Economic progress was stimulated by the investment of foreign capital in Java and the Outer Islands, not only by Dutch capitalists but also by the British, German and the Japanese.

to an end and vanden Bosch's original regulation, that not more than one fifth of a peasant's land was to be put under export crops, was revived. The sugar and coffee cultures were the last to go, for they formed the main source of government revenue.

(b) The Accounts Law (1864)

This law provided that as from 1867, the Annual Budget for the East Indies had to be approved by the Dutch Parliament and not by the Government at Batavia. It must be remembered that this law was passed about five years before the opening of the Suez Canal when the Governor-General at Batavia enjoyed a good deal of independence because of the distance between Europe and the East Indies and the time that was taken for communication in the days before the advent of steam navigation. The control of the budget by the Dutch Parliament thus put certain checks on the people on the spot and they were, therefore, obliged to carry out the policies as laid down by the Home authorities.

(c) End of Compulsory Labour (1865)

This useful law which was applicable to the forest districts was another step to see that the forced deliveries and other such dictatorial methods were not used, even in the most remote areas.

(d) The Sugar Law (1870)

In 1870, the Government decided to withdraw from sugar cultivation over a twelve year period, starting in 1878, which meant that after 1890, the commodity would be sold free of any governmental control. But this did not put an end to the Culture System because coffee, the most lucrative of the cultures, lingered on until 1917. When one looks at the length of time it took to put an end to the Culture System, one cannot fail to notice the reluctance with which the government was forced to take these steps and the pressure that must have been exerted to keep it moving, however slowly, towards its ultimate goal. The welfare of the local inhabitants and the hardships that they had to undergo were just minor considerations. But in spite of these, the government still clung on to its practice of farming its monopolies on opium, salt, pawnshops and other such profitable undertakings.

Dutch government repay the Indonesians, all the money that it had procured from the Indies since 1867. The opportunity to implement these noble ideals was provided when Dr. Kuyper became Prime Minister of the Netherlands in 1901 and his ideas were included in the "Speech from the Throne". It was this then that led to the adoption of the Ethical Policy. The changes which the new policy brought with it can be divided broadly, under two sub-headings — socio-economic and political.

(a) Socio-economic

We have had a look at the rapid economic development which took place as a result of the greater resources which the private capitalists were able to invest in the areas that came under their control. This investment did not come to a stop with the introduction of the Ethical Policy and saw the building of railways and roads, the opening up of mines, and the completion of drainage and agricultural schemes.

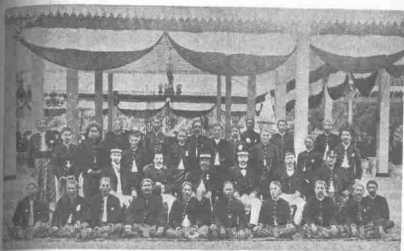
The government set up a Department of Agriculture at Batavia in 1905, encouraged fisheries and forestry and pulled the farmer out of the clutches of the money-lender and pawn-shops by starting co-operatives societies with their own credit facilities. But more important than this, the government also took steps to introduce schools, public health services, and passed Labour laws to protect the local worker from being exploited as in the past. At the same time, steps were also taken to encourage the people to migrate from the over-populated Java, and take advantage of the opportunities that were offered in the Outer Islands.

One of the most important social effects of the economic changes which took place after 1870, in other parts of South-East Asia as well as Indonesia, was the influx of non-indigenous Asian immigrants, who were attracted by the possibilities of financial advancement. In Burma, these immigrants were mainly Indians, but in most other parts of South-East Asia, the Chinese pre-dominated. Chinese from the overpopulated southern provinces saw in South-East Asia an opening for their enterprise, especially after the western powers had introduced an element of political stability. Chinese labourers came to work in the new tin mines and rubber estates; others took up positions as money-lenders and retail salesmen. Whatever their

The Ethical Policy (1900-1920)

While it is true that the Liberal Policy that the government introduced in 1863, had many advantages over the Culture System, it soon became clear that the whole system was planned for the benefit of private European capitalists, who took advantage of the opportunity to invest large sums of money in the East Indies, and economic progress was planned to take such a course as would produce most profit for the European overlords. Industries were not built up in Indonesia for their products might compete with the manufactures of the 'mother country'. Emphasis was laid on the production of such goods or the exploitation of such mineral resources as could be profitably transported for sale in Europe. Communications were developed both to link the main areas of production with the main ports and to facilitate the administration of large areas. The tragedy of the Liberal Policy, and where it failed most, was in not providing a similar degree of progress for the local population, whose standard of living grew steadily worse. And when the government approved the leasing of native and government lands, there was such a land-rush for the growing of export crops, that there were genuine fears of a shortage of land being left aside for the cultivation of food. Thus it was felt that the time was now ripe for the introduction of a new policy by which the social and economic needs of the local population would be given priority over those of the Europeans and that a start should also be made of giving the Indonesian a greater part and voice in the running of the government of the Indies.

The lead in urging the Dutch government towards this end was taken by Dr. Abraham Kuyper, who in 1880 wrote a pamphlet, *Ons Program*, which demanded that the Government seriously honour its moral responsibility of looking after the welfare of the native Indonesians. He was ably supported in this by the socialists, who were at this time just making their presence felt, by demanding that the government take the initial steps for the ultimate self-government of the East Indies. But the greatest impact of all was made by C. Th. van Deventer, the Liberal leader, when he drafted a programme which not only included the demands of Dr. Abraham Kuyper but also promised a policy of decentralization which would provide for greater local participation in the administration. In an article, *"A debt of honour"*, he even went so far as to advocate that the



The Regent of Kendal, with Asst. Resident Enthoven, Patihs, Wendonos, Asst. Wendonos, Djaksas and collectors.

placed in charge of a group of Regencies, and every Regent had the help of a Dutch Assistant Resident. Each Regency was divided into districts under local chiefs known as Wedana and sub-districts under Assistant Wedana. Each sub-district was composed of several villages, each one under a locally-elected headman who managed the affairs of his community. Thus while the central government was in Dutch hands, local administration was largely the responsibility of native officials working under Dutch supervision. This system must not be confused with self-government, for, except at village level, the Indonesians people did not choose their own rulers or representatives and real power, in any case, was retained by Dutch officials.

Between 1900 and 1908, under the influence of Liberal opinion in Holland, the first tentative steps were taken towards the creation of councils which represented the people of the East Indies. The Decentralisation Law of 1903 set up local councils with European, Indonesian and Chinese members, and this was followed by the establishment of other councils in the Residencies, towns and rural districts. In 1906, village gatherings were created which had some power over village affairs. These steps were hardly moving towards true self-government because the Dutch were reluctant to part with their powers. Two-thirds of the members of the Councils were

employment, the Chinese became a distinct social group, wedged between the European ruling class and the indigenous peoples. Their business acumen and tireless energy was found useful by the colonial authorities as a stimulus to economic development, but the indigenous people tended to regard the Chinese in a different light, as unwanted interlopers who exploited the native population for their own benefit. This kind of resentment found an outlet, for example, in the massacre of Chinese inhabitants in Jogjakarta during the Java War. At a later stage, as you will read, the economic competition of the Chinese caused Javanese traders to set up a protective organisation. Everywhere in South-East Asia, the Chinese found themselves in the same unenviable position: resented by the local population and depending for their protection on the colonial authorities. In Indonesia, there were nearly 150,000 Chinese in Java by 1850, and this number increased to 277,000 by 1900. At this later date, there were also 250,000 Chinese in the Outer Islands. They were to be found at every economic level, but in particular they acted as middlemen between the native cultivators on the one hand and the European capitalists and the colonial authorities on the other: as contractors, tax-and-opium-farmers, managers of State pawn-and usurers.

(b) Political

When the expansion of their empire was complete, the Dutch ruled over a vast area which included peoples of many languages and races at many different levels of social and cultural development. Faced with the task of governing these dominions, they retained their old system of indirect rule in which Dutch officials shared their authority with local chiefs. Supreme authority was vested in the Dutch Government at the Hague, which in turn delegated its powers to the Governor-General and the Council of the East Indies. The Council of the East Indies, which was composed of a few of the Governor's high officials, was chiefly an advisory body, although it shared certain of the Governor's powers. At this level, the government was entirely in the hands of the Dutch.

At the lower levels in the administration, the Dutch had established their dual system of indirect rule. By this system, the administration was shared between the Regents, the local chiefs of districts and a number of Residents, who were Dutch. A Dutch Resident was

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE BRITISH IN BURMA, 1824-1900

British interest in Burma began long before the beginning of the Konbaung Dynasty when an English dockyard was built at Syriam in 1689 to counterbalance the growing influence of the French in the Bay of Bengal. An English chief factor resided at Syriam, where he was responsible both for the dockyard and for the few English merchants who traded in Burma. Soon afterwards the French also built a dockyard at Syriam but both the British and the French were forced to leave after 1740, when the Mons rebelled against the Burmese, threw the country into disorder, and burnt the English factory two years later. The position, however, changed in 1753, when the King of Burma, in recognition of the help given to him against the Mons by the English, permitted them to open a factory on the island of Negrais. The same year also saw the despatch of a French mission to the Mons, with a view to their return to Burma. But soon afterwards, the English again decided to withdraw from Burma, as the Seven Years' War had begun and they needed all their resources against the French in India. The English garrison was thus withdrawn from Negrais in 1759 and the small party left behind to guard the factory was later massacred by Burmese troops under the command of a French officer.

When British interest in Burma was revived over twenty years later (in 1784), the throne was occupied by King Bodawpaya, the youngest son of Alaungpaya, the founder of the Konbaung Dynasty. He had succeeded to the throne two years earlier as a result of a palace intrigue, which was engineered because Singu, who became king on the death of his father, Hsinbyu Shin in 1776, was found to be mentally unbalanced. Bodawpaya began his long reign, which lasted for 37 years, with the customary bloodbath, as a result of which the king killed all the possible rivals, including their servants. Having done this, Bodawpaya sought remission for what he had done by building a new pagoda at Sagaing. In 1784, Bodawpaya first conducted a revenue census of his kingdom, in what had been referred to as the Burmese Doomsday Book, and followed this by a second one in 1803, many original records of which are still available and provide a valuable source of historical

nominated, and only the European members were elected. The Councils were advisory bodies only and they did not govern. Any attempt to introduce local autonomy was obliterated by the constant interference of Dutch officials at every level and nothing was done to introduce Indonesians into the higher ranks of the Civil Service.

By the time the government introduced these half-hearted measures of decentralisation, the nationalist movement had already begun and the later steps taken by the Dutch to introduce self-government must be seen against the background of the growing influence of nationalist parties in a later chapter.

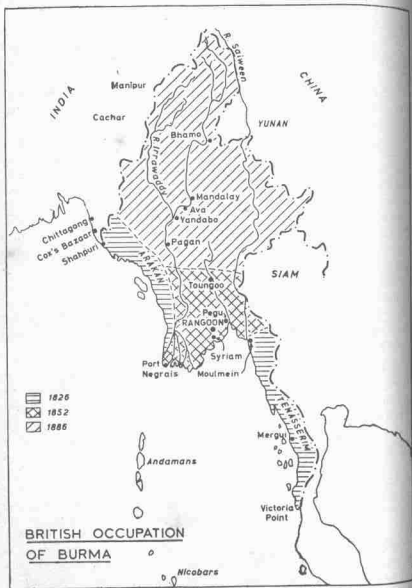
evidence of the period. After that, Bodawpaya turned his attention to Arakan.

Arakan

Stretching for about 350 miles along the western coast of Burma and separated from the mainland by the Arakan Yomas, Arakan, which its inhabitants claim was founded in 2666 B.C., has had more relations with Bengal and India than the mainland of which it is a part today. Its first Burmese inhabitants, who are said to have entered Arakan, during the 10th century, must have done so by way of the An and Taungup Passes, which are the only serviceable ones through the other wise high Arakan Yomas. It was most likely through the An Pass that the forces of King Anawratha (1044-77) poured in to enable the Burmese to form their first empire, the Kingdom of Arakan. But when Pagan fell in 1287 to the invading hordes of Kublai Khan, Arakan declared its independence under King Minhti, who is supposed to have ruled for 95 years (1279-1374). Then began the inevitable struggle between the Burmese and the Mons and the success of the former in 1404, led to the flight of King Nara Meikhlā to Bengal, from where he returned after an absence of 26 years to build a new capital at Mrohaung in 1531.

After him followed nearly a century of disorder and chaos, which witnessed the rise and fall of dynasties and a continuous struggle with Bengal for the control of Chittagong, which still remained a part of Arakan. The 16th century saw the arrival of the Portuguese freebooters (or *feringhis*) and they made first contact with Arakan during the reign of King Min Bin (1531-53). His reign also coincided with the rise of Tabinshwehti (1531-50), whose spate of conquests gave King Min Bin, the necessary warning of the danger that loomed across the Arakan Yomas. Aware of the numerical superiority of Tabinshwehti, Min Bin not only reorganized his forces but built extensive defence works to frustrate the designs of the invader. And true to his expectations, the Arakan adventure of Tabinshwehti proved so costly to him that it ended in disaster for him and victory to the Arakanese leaders.

One of the reasons for King Min Bin's success was the aid that he got from his Portuguese mercenaries, for whose use, the king had leased the port of Dianga, some 20 miles to the south of modern



Thamada, who was later captured and brought back to Burma. Arakan thus became a province of Burma and was placed under the charge of a Viceroy and a garrison of Burmese troops.

The ease with which Bodawpaya brought Arakan under his control resulted in his assuming a false sense of strength and preparations were made for the capture of Ayuthia. But though he attacked with four armies, Bodawpaya failed in the campaign which left a trail of misery and suffering just to satisfy the whims of another conqueror. But the defeats that were inflicted on him in Thailand were nothing compared to what the Burmese were in for, on their western borders. This was because the success of Bodawpaya in the Arakan, put an end to the buffer that had stood between India and Burma, and brought the boundaries of the latter up to the frontiers of the East India Company's territories in India. And frontier troubles began almost at once as a result of the demands that the Burmese began to make on the Arakanese for labour, because of which many left their homes and sought refuge across the border. When the Burmese resorted to forced labour and other such drastic methods, the Arakanese revolted in 1794, and their compatriots from Chittagong came to their aid. But the failure of their revolt meant a larger exodus from Arakan and the Burmese found it necessary to check the movement and deal with the rebels who had made the district of Chittagong the base for their attacks.

Colonel Erskine, who was sent from Calcutta to deal with the situation, had only a token force with him, and under the circumstance came to terms with the Burmese, by which they retired to their own territory after three refugee leaders, whom they wanted, were handed over to them. The news of the border trouble with the Burmese worried Governor-General Sir John Shore a good deal because at this period, the British were concerned with the possibility that the French were ready to establish themselves in Burma, a possibility which was particularly dangerous to the British during the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815). Thus the Governor-General took the initiative of addressing a letter to the Court of Ava, in which he gave a detailed account of the border dispute from his point of view. And when no reply was received after several months, he sent Captain Michael Symes to Burma in 1795, with instructions to clear up any misunderstandings which might have arisen as a result of the border dispute and to

Chittagong. The Portuguese soon made Dianga their base for piracy and slave-trading and became a source of terror as far as Bengal and the other surrounding areas. The most important of their patrons was King Min Razagri (1594-1612), who employed the services of Philip de Brito in the attack on Nanda Bayin at Pegu, and of whom mention has already been made earlier. You will remember that Min Razagri helped de Brito to become master of Syriam but trouble began between the two when the king became aware of de Brito's plans to take over Arakan. Angered by this, King Min Razagri attacked Dianga in 1607 and massacred all the Portuguese he could lay his hands on, which according to Arakanese records numbered about six hundred. Six years later, when de Brito was killed in 1613, the Portuguese made another attempt to invade Mrohaung in 1615, but the king was able to crush this new threat with the help of the Dutch, who had first made contact with him in 1605. But the latter had no desire of getting themselves involved in the campaigns of the successors of Min Razagri and when they were left with no other alternative, the V.O.C. withdrew its factory in 1617 and decided to procure the goods that they needed through private traders. This, however, was not the end of V.O.C. connections with Arakan because a second factory was opened in 1653, though only for the short duration of fifteen years.

In addition to the troubles that the Arakanese had with the rulers of the mainland, their contacts with Bengal also involved them in a conflict with the Mogul rulers of Bengal, the main cause of which was the feringhi settlement at Dianga. The ruler of Bengal ordered this to be destroyed and when this was not done, the Moguls led a land and sea attack on Dianga in 1666. Not only was the settlement and the Arakanese fleet destroyed but the Moguls annexed the Chittagong district up to the Naaf River. With the loss of its fleet, began the decline of the kingdom of Arakan, which was checked for some time by Maha Danda Bo, a chieftain who ascended the throne as King Sanda Wizaya (1710-31). But his murder in 1731 threw the kingdom into half a century of chaos and disorder which saw the reigns of fourteen kings and witnessed banditry and decoity on an unprecedented scale. Conditions became so intolerable that the chiefs made appeals to the King at Ava to intervene and put an end to the terrible state of affairs. It was as a result of this that King Bodawpaya invaded Arakan in 1785 and deposed its last king.

the Burmese Viceroy of Arakan but the latter would agree to nothing short of the total expulsion of all the Arakanese refugees, a good proportion of whom had by this time begun to make their new homes in British territory. On the return of Captain Hill, the Viceroy sent a delegation to Calcutta and in the negotiations that followed, the Governor-General agreed to close the frontier and to receive no further Arakanese refugees, but he refused to hand over those who had already settled in the Chittagong district. The reply to this came in January, 1802, in the form of an ultimatum which made the same demands as before with the threat of invasion in case of refusal.

Lord Wellesley strengthened his border defences and sent Captain Symes on his second mission to the Court of Ava in May, 1802. He was given a large escort and instructed to clarify the position of the border and find out more regarding the Viceroy's threatened invasion, and seek a Subsidiary Alliance, if possible. The latter was based on a confidential report about King Bodawpaya's intended abdication and the secret plans of a prince from Toungoo to grab the throne in case of such an eventuality. However, it did not take Captain Symes long to ascertain that there was no element of truth regarding the king's abdication and thus he did not bring the matter up. Once again, it was his patience that saw him through his assignment and though nothing was given in writing, Captain Symes made it known that the Viceroy of Arakan had acted on his own and not with the consent of His Majesty, who was willing to permit the admission of a British Resident at Rangoon. We may mention here that Lieutenant John Canning was sent to Rangoon at the end of May, 1803 but the local officials made matters so difficult for him that he returned to Calcutta the following November. This put an end, temporarily, to the making of any further appointments, and for some years, everything remained peaceful before the storm broke out again.

In 1811, an Arakanese rebel, Chin Byan, fled to India and for four years made it his headquarters for guerilla warfare against the Burmese, who suspected that the British were giving him aid. (This was probably because he had actually captured Mrohaung in a surprise attack and offered to put the kingdom under British protection, a proposition which the British refused to consider.) The British, on the other hand, claimed that this was not the case and that they were finding it as difficult to track Chin Byan down as the

forestall the French by establishing cordial diplomatic and commercial relations with the Court at Ava.

The Border Disputes.

Symes, who received a mixed reception was informed that the reason why Sir John Shore had not received a reply to his letter was simply because it was below the dignity of the King of Burma to write to a mere Governor-General. Agreement was reached regarding the question of rebels, and the Burmese acceptance of a representative of the Company in Burma. But it was made clear to the Captain, that the King would not even consider the request that had been made regarding the expulsion of the French from Burma. On the contrary, the King would welcome them on the same terms as the English.

The Governor-General was somehow quite pleased with the reply possibly on the grounds that some initial progress had been made and Captain Hiram Cox was sent to Rangoon as Resident in October, 1796. His choice, however, was a most unfortunate one because, even before leaving for his appointment he wanted to know his exact status and many other such questions. He fared poorly in Burma and though he was permitted to visit the capital Amarapura, he was soon in trouble with the local authorities in Ranggon, and a royal proclamation was made for his arrest, which led him to make a desperate appeal to Calcutta to get him out, with armed force if necessary. The authorities at Calcutta did nothing of the sort but informed the King that he was being recalled and requested the aid of His Majesty in carrying out the above. On arrival in India, Cox was blamed for provoking Burmese suspicions but luckily for him, Lord Wellesley replaced Sir John Shore, and Cox got a rather sympathetic hearing from the new Governor-General, who was so much involved in the Carnatic that he decided not to replace Cox at Rangoon.

The Burmese made their next move in 1799, when a force violated British territory, in pursuit of an Arakanese chief whose flight into Chittagong had been mainly caused by the demands that the Burmese Viceroy had made on him and had been accompanied by the exodus of hundreds of others. After an initial clash with a small force of the Company's sepoy, the Burmese troops withdrew to their side of the border but the situation remained very explosive. In face of this, Lord Wellesley sent Captain Thomas Hill to Mrohaung to negotiate with

causes which had led to this development. Apart from the frontier troubles mentioned above, Captain Michael Symes, who was sent as an envoy to the Burmese Court in 1795 and once again in 1802, picks out four other reasons why the British were deeply concerned about Burma at this stage. Firstly, they wanted to assure themselves of a regular supply of timber for shipbuilding from Pegu. Secondly, they were interested in creating markets in Burma for their manufactured goods. Thirdly, they hoped to discover an overland route to South-West China along the Irrawaddy, which would give them access to even greater markets and finally, they wanted to prevent the advance of French interests in Burma. According to him it was a combination of these reasons, the need for timber, the hope of profitable markets and fear of the French, which led the British to expand their empire into Burma after 1824. But a closer study of what actually took place does not support the first three of his reasons, at least not during the period in question up to 1824. We may even go so far as to say that at this juncture, the fear of the French was mostly imaginary because by this time, French power had declined both in Europe and in India and the British were quite prepared to face the Burmese armies and that the latter could not have chosen a worse time to attack the British. Thus the blame for starting the First Anglo-Burmese War must not be entirely thrown on the side of the Burmese only because they had actually been pushed back both from Shahpuri and Assam before Lord Amherst declared war.

One must not, however, absolve the Burmese of having created a boundary problem that could have easily been solved. Having tasted military glory in Arakan, and liked it, the Burmese wanted more of it. Right from the King down to the smaller officials, they refused to recognize, in spite of their inability to capture Ayuthia, the existence of another nation with the same military prowess as their own. And in this lay their greatest mistake. General Maha Bandula's instructions from King Bagidaw to bind the Governor-General of India with golden chains and to advance as far as England goes to illustrate not only the empty conceited pride and contempt with which the Court of Ava looked upon its adversaries but also the narrow limits to which their knowledge of geography and military matters was confined. Thus we can outline the four main causes which led to the First Anglo-Burmese War as: the border disputes; the attitude of the Burmese; British preparedness and lastly the fear of the French.

Burmese themselves. And in face of these accusations and counter-accusations, the British, willingly or otherwise, began operations against him. Chin Byan, who probably had not expected the British to join the Burmese against him, was not able to stand against the heavy odds that faced him, and when he died in January, 1815, his revolt petered out soon afterwards. But the whole episode left the relations between Ava and Calcutta strained. Then in 1819, the Burmese conquered Assam and the ruler of that country fled into India. Once again, the Burmese followed and once again they retired in the face of British pressure. The situation was becoming tense and it needed only a spark to set off a full scale Anglo-Burmese War.

It was at this juncture that King Bodawpaya died. He was an able statesman, who had by the time of his death probably judged the strength of the British in India. He had thus managed to avoid war by clever diplomacy and without yielding anything to either the English or the French. But the situation changed greatly when his weak grandson, Bagidaw, succeeded to the throne. This gave General Maha Bandula the opportunity to take matters into his own hands, something which King Bodawpaya had denied him, and the Burmese invasion of Manipur began in 1822. It is interesting to note that the supposed reason for the Burmese attack was the failure of the Ruler of Manipur to attend the coronation of Bagidaw. The deposed ruler fled into the independent kingdom of Cachar and when the Burmese followed, the ruler of Cachar, in turn, sought British aid. The Government of India quickly drove the Burmese back, restored the ruler of Cachar and declared a protectorate over his state.

The scene of trouble then shifted back to Arakan once again, this time in the Ramu region where the Burmese began crossing into British territory. To combat this, the latter sent troops to the island of Shahpuri, which lay at the north of the Naaf River and well within their own boundary. The Burmese seized the island in September, 1823, and though the British reoccupied it, the whole frontier was buzzing with activity and attempts made to set up a boundary commission also failed. Meanwhile fighting broke out afresh in Manipur in February, 1824, and the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, declared war on 5th. March, 1824.

Before we go on to deal with the war itself, let us first outline the

match against the tactics and superior weapons of the new enemy that faced them. Bandula was defeated in December, 1824, and British troops soon occupied Prome, Tavoy, Mergui and Mrohaung, in addition to Rangoon. Bandula was killed on 1st. April 1825 at Danubyu and the British began the march on the capital, while negotiating with the Burmese envoys, who were stunned by the demand for the cessation of Arakan and Tennaserim and the payment of an indemnity of a million pounds sterling. The Burmese only agreed when the British troops were only about 45 miles from Amarapura. As far as the British were concerned, the war threw a good deal of light on the inefficiency and short-sightedness of their commanders. Although the Burmese offered little substantial resistance, it took the British two years, the cost of £13,000,000 and the loss of nearly 15,000 men to defeat them. The rations carried by their troops were totally inadequate and more men died of sickness than in battle.

The Treaty of Yandabo

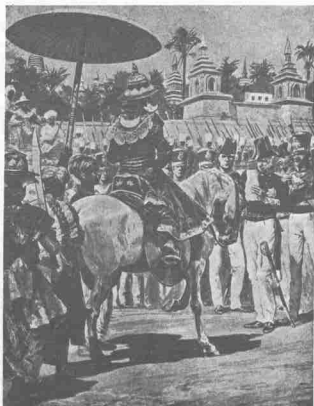
The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo in February, 1826. The terms of which may be summarised briefly as follows:

- (1) The British annexed Arakan and Tennesserim, and the Burmese renounced their claims to Assam, Manipur and Cachar and undertook to engage in no further aggression on the north-east frontier of India.
- (2) The Burmese promised to pay an indemnity of one million pounds.
- (3) The Burmese agreed to receive a British Resident and to send an Ambassador to Calcutta; the aim here being to establish proper diplomatic relations between India and Burma.
- (4) The Burmese agreed to negotiate a commercial treaty with the British at a later stage. (This treaty was actually concluded by John Crawford in the following September).

The immediate effects of the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo can be summarized under three headings — territorial, financial and national pride. In terms of territory, Burma was forced to surrender the coastal regions of Arakan and the Tenasserim and parts of Assam and Manipur which now came under the control of the East India Company. While one can understand that Arakan and the territories

The First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1816)

The British, aware of the threat imposed by the large forces which General Maha Bandula had amassed on the Arakan border of India, decided that it was imperative to draw the Burmese forces away from the frontier. So a large-scale naval offensive from the Andaman Islands was planned against Lower Burma and the expeditionary force secretly assembled. Thus, just when Bandula and his troops, which had crossed the border and defeated the Company's troops that opposed him, were getting ready for the great push towards Bengal, news reached him of the British landing and occupation of Rangoon on 10th May. This staggered Bandula, who rushed his forces to the south to face the enemy. But inspite of their great numerical superiority and familiarity with local climatic and territorial conditions, the Burmese, who fought bravely, proved no



The Surrender of Rangoon to the British.

necessitated an extensive modernization of his state and a re-orientation of his traditional pride and diplomatic relations with those of the West. But when one reads the following description of the war by King Bagidaw's secretary, it becomes quite clear that, unlike the Japanese who brought about dramatic changes immediately as a result of the western impact on their rigidly traditional way of life, the Burmese had decided not to initiate any changes inspite of the fact that they had been utterly defeated. "In the years 1186 and 1187 white strangers from the West fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard for life, made no preparations whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in this enterprise, so that by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the King who in his clemency and generosity sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back and ordered them out of the country." The same also proved true in the case of the Treaty of Yandabo, when the Burmese began to give different interpretations to clauses which were ordinarily straight forward, and it soon became clear that the Burmese had no intention of sending a mission to Calcutta nor were they interested in receiving one in Burma, according to the terms of the Treaty. It was under these circumstances that John Crawford was despatched to the Court of Ava in September, 1826.

From the beginning, Crawford received a most cool reception and try as he would, could make no headway towards the signing of a commercial treaty. Though he was disgusted and frustrated, he acted rather rashly for a diplomat when he packed up and returned to Calcutta after about ten weeks, probably doing exactly what the Burmese had wanted him to do. He was not replaced for three years till Lord William Bentinck took the initiative in 1830 and sent the experienced, tactful and understanding Major Henry Burney, who had distinguished himself in Thailand, where John Crawford had also failed to make any headway.

Cordial relations were maintained between 1830 and 1838, but a change occurred when Tharrawaddy raised a revolt in 1837-38 and overthrew Bagidaw, who had been quite mad for several years. Tharrawaddy, determined to avenge Burma's defeat in the First

in North-East India were to be taken over by the British for the safety of their empire in India, it is difficult to see why the British preferred the Tenasserim to the delta region of the Irrawaddy, the old kingdom of Pegu. This would certainly have given them access into the Burmese mainland and the overland route to China, if we are to believe the reasons for the war, as given by Captain Michael Symes. Or was Tenasserim preferred so as to establish the Company's position in Siam? Whatever the reason, the British now had apart from the Irrawaddy Delta, the whole of the coastal region of the Bay of Bengal under their control and, if it had been their intention to deprive the French of a base on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, they had almost certainly made sure of that in the Treaty of Yandabo. As for indemnity, the Company had imposed this in monetary terms on a country which had no coinage of its own and, in this way, had left the door wide open for future quarrels as to the mode of collections and payment of the indemnity.

Though the losses in territory and finance were great, these were in no comparison to the loss of face and national pride which the Burmese were forced to suffer. In terms of military might, the power that had been a source of terror to its neighbours for generations, was crushed forever, because even if General Maha Bandula had not died, he would not have retrieved the Burmese from the military defeat that they suffered during the war. On the other hand, we can safely say that death saved the general from the humiliation which he would have, otherwise, faced. A great calamity had fallen upon the nation and the Governor-General, whom the King of Burma had refused to write to, had now become a Burmese power, with whom His Majesty would have to deal future on equal terms whether he liked it or not.

The Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852)

The second stage of British expansion in Burma was the result of worsening Anglo-Burmese relations between 1826 and 1852, which were largely brought about by the failure of the Burmese rulers to deal with the British on the basis of diplomatic equality. It might be thought that the King of Burma would have learnt from this defeat that he had now to deal with a new type of enemy, different from the traditional Siamese, Arakanese, Mon and the Manipuris that he had suppressed for so long and that the changing times

a debt and was particularly critical of Dalhousie's action in sending a naval officer to conduct diplomatic negotiations. At the time, Dalhousie replied that war had become unavoidable in view of the repeated failure of the Burmese rulers to offer any sort of protection to British subjects in Burma, and that Lambert's activities had simply provided the occasion for the outbreak of hostilities. Dalhousie was convinced that only by firm action could British prestige be maintained and his attitude can be judged from an official minute on the subject: "The Government of India could never, consistent with its own safety, permit itself to stand for a single day in any attitude of inferiority towards a native power, and least of all towards the Court of Ava." If this was all that Lord Dalhousie had fear of, then he need not have actually worried because the military strength of the King of Burma was completely broken by 1852 and the British could have easily occupied the whole of Burma then, instead of waiting to do so in 1886.

It was also now becoming clear that the British were getting really interested in establishing a trade route through Burma to China and this gave Pegu added importance as a useful stepping-stone towards the achievement of this design. Three years after the annexation of Pegu, the British followed this up by sending a mission into Upper Burma with the object of opening a route between Bhamo and Yunnan. But though the King of Burma prevented this first effort, interest in the project continued.

Annexation of Upper Burma

The annexation of Pegu left only Upper Burma under the rule of Mindon Min, who overthrew and replaced Pagan Min while the Second Anglo-Burmese War was still in progress. Mindon was the most capable, friendly and diplomatic ruler with whom the British had to deal. He employed unofficial British Residents at his Court and did what he could to maintain peaceful relations with the British. Between 1853 and 1861 a Scots trader, Thomas Spears, acted as the unofficial agent between Mindon and the British Chief Commissioner, Major Phayre, and he was followed by an official agent, Dr. Clement Williams. Spears and Williams continued for a long period to keep Anglo-Burmese relations open and cordial. The British secured additional trading rights as a result of a treaty signed in 1862: duties were abolished on goods entering Upper Burma from Pegu, British

Anglo-Burmese War, repudiated the Treaty of Yandabo and forced the British Resident to leave the court at Amarapura and to set up new headquarters on a muddy sand bank in Rangoon, where he was subjected to much humiliation. In 1840, the British withdrew their Resident and diplomatic relations were thus completely severed.

Tharrawaddy then prepared his cherished invasion of India, but his preparations were still incomplete when he, in turn, was overthrown by Pagan Min. The usual mass-murder followed, and 6,000 people are said to have been executed in 1846-48. Pagan Min continued Tharrawaddy's hostile attitude towards the British, and British subjects in Burma were subjected to various forms of indignity and injustice, 'especially the handful of British traders who lived in Rangoon. The captain of an English ship was arrested, when one of his sailors fell overboard, on the charge of attempted murder and only a bribe secured his release. A more serious incident occurred in 1851, when two British captains at Rangoon were tried and fined by the Burmese Governor on what they claimed were false charges. By this time, Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General of India and he sent Captain Lambert to demand compensation. The reluctance of the Burmese to comply with Lambert's requests led to the exchange of shots between the Burmese shore batteries and Lambert's three warships. Dalhousie replied by giving an ultimatum demanding compensation for the two captains and the removal of the Governor of Pegu, Maung Ok, who had been responsible for the above. When the ultimatum expired on 1st. April, 1852, he declared war on Burma. Once again the Burmese were defeated. But unlike the First War, the Burmese made no attempt to attack the British, who took Rangoon, Bassein and Martaban and forced the war on to the Burmese. Lord Dalhousie personally went to Rangoon in July, 1852 and decided to annex the old kingdom of Pegu.

Some writers regard "the Lambert incident" as an excuse prepared by the British to enable them to secure further territorial and trading rights under the pretext of trying to protect the position of British traders in Rangoon, and that the British had become impatient at the failure of the Burmese to establish friendly diplomatic relations with Calcutta after the First Anglo-Burmese war. The question, however, must remain an open one. In a pamphlet written at the time of the annexation of Pegu, the English Radical, Richard Cobden, declared that the British were annexing a province to collect

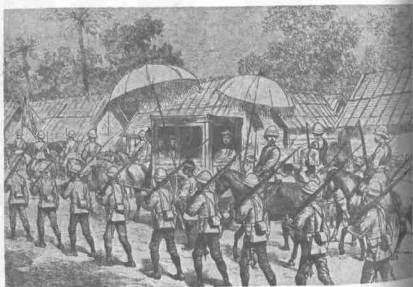
of ambitious people who were closely connected with the throne and whose desire it was to control the affairs of state through the young and inexperienced Thibaw. But they had completely misjudged their candidate who, not only massacred his sponsors and 85 of his half-brothers and sisters, but also adopted an openly anti-British policy. In 1883, he sent a mission to France in the hope of obtaining French aid to drive away the British. This was at a time of intense rivalry between the European powers in Asia, and the French were only too pleased to listen to Thibaw's overtures and had encouraged him with promises, which they never kept in the end. The British feared the arbitrary rule of Thibaw, but they feared the French even more. Two events increased British fears on both counts. In 1884, a rebellion against Thibaw was crushed with brutal force and disorders spread throughout the country, endangering life and interrupting trade. The British merchant community at Rangoon pressed the government to intervene to restore order. In the following year, Thibaw signed a Commercial Treaty with France. A French Consul was allowed to reside permanently in Mandalay and, in a secret, but well-known clause, the French promised arms in return for commercial concessions. Under these circumstances, the British were looking for some good excuse for deposing Thibaw and for ending French influence in Upper Burma, and they soon succeeded in obtaining one.

The excuse was provided by a series of events in 1885 involving the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, a British timber company under contract with the government in Mandalay. The Corporation was accused of obtaining more teak-logs than it was entitled to; of bribing local Burmese officials; and of giving too little pay to its Burmese workers. The Corporation was found guilty of these charges and fined £200,000. By this time, the French Government had already decided not to extend its interest in Burma, but the fear that they might later decide to do so remained an important factor in deciding British policy. The British requested that the case be submitted to arbitration, and that Thibaw stop his relations with France and other states. Thibaw refused to reopen the case and wrote that relations with France and other states "have been; are being, and will be maintained." This resulted in war and the British annexed Upper Burma in 1886. Thibaw was sent into exile in India, where he died in 1916. For five years the Burmese resisted British rule, but in the end were forced to give up.

traders were allowed to use the Irrawaddy in Burmese territory, and the Burmese agreed to have a permanent British Resident at Mandalay. Further rights were granted by another treaty signed in 1867 with Phayre's successor, Colonel Albert Fytche.

This state of affairs did not last long, however, and relations once again deteriorated during the last years of Mindon's reign. Mindon had hoped to obtain arms from the British after the Treaty of 1867, for use against Burmese rebels, but he was disappointed. He was further disappointed when his envoy to Britain was introduced to the Secretary of State for the Colonies rather than to the Foreign Secretary. It appeared to Mindon that his country was being regarded as a colony rather than as an independent state. These and other minor incidents led Anglo-Burmese relations to worsen between 1873 and 1878. The famous "Shoe Question" was one of these incidents. In 1875 the Government of India ruled that the British Resident was no longer to remove his shoes when entering the royal presence. Mindon was so annoyed at this insult, for such he considered it to be, that he simply refused to receive the Resident at all.

Relations became still worse when Mindon was succeeded by Thibaw in 1878. His succession had been engineered by a number



The exile of King Thibaw.

resistance to British rule in Upper Burma and their continued existence was considered a danger to the British position. "Circle" government was ended, and local authority was placed in the hands of the myo-oks, the headmen of individual villages. At the same time, the myo-oks ceased to be the elected representatives of the village communities; they were appointed by the central government and became, therefore, civil servants liable to transfer. Sometimes several villages were united under one myo-ok, so that the "village" became an artificial unity. Indirect rule by British officers through traditional local institutions was thus replaced by direct rule on the pattern of India; a revolution in British administration in Burma.

Until 1897, despite the existence of a Chief Commissioner, Burma's laws were passed by the Government of India. In 1897, however, Burma became a separate province. The Chief Commissioner's title was changed to Lieutenant-Governor and he was given a Legislative Council of nine nominated members. As the administrative system developed, more specialist departments were established with their headquarters in Rangoon. A Department of Prisons came into being in 1899, a Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records in 1900 and a Co-operative Credit Department in 1904, among others.

The Burmese gained by their attachment to the government of India. Measures of self-government which were introduced into India were also introduced, although sometimes in a modified form, into Burma.

The introduction of a new system of law and government which the common people did not understand made it impossible to avoid corruption. Lawyers and magistrates used the unfamiliarity of the people with the law and the procedure of the courts as a means of extracting bribes or excessive fees. Subordinate administrators often sold as favours what belonged to the people by right. But corruption in Burma, which was on a large scale, may be regarded as part of the teething troubles of a new and, on the whole, progressive system.

Education and Welfare

The occupation of Burma by the British opened new educational facilities for the people and generally improved their welfare by

The incident of the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation (like, possibly, "the Lambert Incident" of 1851) must be regarded as the excuse rather than the reason for the British occupation of Upper Burma. We may regard the real reasons as the desire of the British to safeguard their trading rights, to check the advance of French influence and to press ahead with the idea of an overland trade route to China.

British Administration in Burma, 1826-1900

As G.E. Harvey has written, "Until 1862 Burma was governed by post from Calcutta." that is, the government of the British territories in Burma, was entirely controlled by the British authorities in India. Arakan and Tenasserim were at first placed directly under the Governor-General in India, but at a later stage both were placed under the administration of the provincial government in Bengal, Arakan in 1828 and Tenasserim in 1834. When Pegu was annexed in 1852 it was placed under a Civil Commissioner responsible directly to the Governor-General. The upper section of the administration in all three areas was modelled on the provincial government of India and manned by British officials of the Indian Civil Service. Only at the local level was the traditional Burmese system of government maintained. People who lived in the "Circles" (i.e. groups of villages) continued to elect their own headmen or Thugyis, who were responsible for village affairs and with whom the central government seldom interfered.

In 1862, "the government by post" ended when the three British territories in Burma were united under a Chief Commissioner with his headquarters in Rangoon. The Chief Commissioners were British members of the Indian Civil Service, and the structure of the central government continued on the Indian model, but "Circles" were maintained as the chief unit of local government. In 1886, Upper Burma was added to the Province of British Burma and also came under the Chief Commissioner's jurisdiction.

The Upper Burma Village Regulation of 1887 and the Burma Village Act of 1889 fundamentally reorganised the system of local government in Burma, in an attempt to introduce greater uniformity and to place greater and more direct authority in the hands of the central authorities. The thugyis had played an important part in the

after 1826 and in Lower Burma in the 1850s. Gradually the delta of the Irrawaddy became one of the world's most important centres of rice cultivation as the British encouraged the colonisation of the area and offered loans to prospective farmers. The American Civil War, which cut Britain off from the rice supply of Carolina, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further encouraged colonisation and cultivation. Rice became, and has remained, Burma's staple export.

The Agricultural development of the Irrawaddy Delta produced a social problem which remained unsolved down to the time of the Japanese invasion in 1942. Although Burmese peasants were given free land in Lower Burma and were assisted by government loans, they found this assistance inadequate. They borrowed more money from money-lenders. Many of the latter were Burmese, but the majority were Indians of the Chettiar class. They charged high rates of interest (sometimes as high as 25%) and when debts were not paid they seized the land of the Burmese cultivators. Gradually, much of the rice land of Lower Burma passed into the possession of non-resident Indians. Moreover, Indian immigrants were able to compete successfully with the Burmese for the tenancy of rice land. As they were accustomed to very low standards of living, these immigrants could afford to pay the high rents demanded by the absentee landlords and then live in abject poverty on what they had left. Thus many Burmese peasants found themselves squeezed out of the land which they had helped to develop. The communal bitterness which this situation produced helped to cause the Tharrawaddy Rebellion of 1930. At this point we may look ahead for a moment and suggest that the economic competition of foreign immigrants was one of the factors which stimulated the development of nationalism in Burma. Indian competition was not confined to rice cultivation. Indian labourers competed with the Burmese for employment in Burma's industries, and Indians also monopolised professions such as law and medicine. The position of the Indians helped the Burmese to realise that they had to defend their own national interests.

After 1886, the British played an important role in developing the mineral resources of Upper Burma. Soon after the annexation of Thibaw's kingdom, the Burma Oil Company began to exploit the oil of the Yenangyaung region. Later, British companies became interested in the lead and silver mines near Namtu, and in the tungsten of Mawchi. The attempts of the Europeans to exploit the rubies of

introducing new social amenities. In the old days, before British rule, education had been entirely in the hands of the Buddhist clergy, who had imparted an elementary knowledge of the "three Rs" in monastic schools which charged no fees. Although this service was great, the British found that many monastic schools were using outdated methods and were incapable of teaching more than simple literacy in the vernacular language. Gradually the British introduced a system of English schools from primary to University level, without, however, abolishing the monastic schools which continued to exist alongside the new institutions and which were even helped with government grants.

A system of lay primary schools was introduced in 1871, and during the 1870's government secondary schools were also established. At the same time, the government gave encouragement and loans to schools set up by voluntary and missionary bodies such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Roman Catholic Mission. Normal Colleges for the training of teachers and specialist schools for engineers, surveyors and foresters were also set up by the government. The process culminated in the foundation of Rangoon University in 1920. But it should not be imagined that the British authorities were thinking only, or even mainly, of the welfare of the Burmese people. The main object of the schools was to produce people qualified to work as clerks or as junior administrators for the British government in Burma. The result, however, was to produce a large group which had had at least some contact with western education; and it was from this group that the nationalist leaders of later years were drawn.

Economic and Social Change

British rule also produced important economic and social changes. The exploitation of the teak forests of Tenasserim after 1826 led to the development of Moulmein as an important port and a centre of ship-building. The annexation of Pegu in 1852 led to the even more spectacular development of Rangoon as the main centre of Burma's trade with the outside world; the small company of traders 'protected' by Lambert in 1851 became a thriving commercial community.

India's demand for rice stimulated rice production in Arakan

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE FRENCH IN INDO-CHINA

A united Indo-China was entirely the product of French rule. Before the area was taken over by the French in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was divided into three independent entities, politically separate and culturally different. Vietnam, stretching along the eastern seaboard of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, was a kingdom, with its capital at Hue, and comprised of Annam, Cochinchina and Tongking. The Emperors of the Nguyen Dynasty, who ruled over Vietnam, paid occasional tribute and homage to China, but the Chinese seldom interfered in their state. Cambodia, in the south, was also an independent kingdom although its rulers acknowledged the vague suzerainty of both Vietnam and Thailand. The Emperor at Hue and the King of Thailand also claimed suzerainty over the petty kingdoms of Laos in the west. By 1904, the French had welded all these units into one colonial empire, the influence of Thailand and China in the area ended, while Vietnam's claims to suzerainty over Cambodia and Laos were conveniently taken over by the French. Thailand itself survived, largely as a buffer state between the colonial empires of the British and the French.

(a) *French expansion in Vietnam, 1800-1885*

French influence in Vietnam developed at the end of the eighteenth century, through Pigneau de Behaine, the Roman Catholic missionary bishop who was able to intervene actively in a dynastic struggle between the Trinh family of Tongking and the Nguyen of Hue of which we read in Part One. Bishop Pigneau gave substantial military aid to Prince Nguyen Anh, and helped him to the throne of Vietnam in 1802. Nguyen Anh responded by granting his protection to the French missions in Vietnam and giving privileges to French traders. During his reign as the Emperor Gia Long (1802-1820), the French star was bright in Vietnam, although the French Government in Europe was in no position to take full advantage of the situation because of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and the succeeding political changes. One of the important factors which must be borne in mind in reading what follows is the disappointment and frustration of the French when Gia Long's tolerant policy was

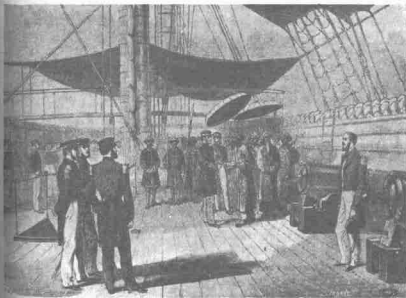
the Mogok district all ended in failure. At one time many Burmese thought that the British had occupied Upper Burma in order to obtain these fabulous rubies.

Communications by river, road and railway were developed by the British. The first Burmese railway (the Irrawaddy State Railway, joining Rangoon to Prome) came into operation in 1877, and by the end of the century railways linked most of the main towns and commercial centres. British projects to establish communications with Yunnan and other parts of Western China, which had helped to stimulate British advance into Burma after 1824, all met with failure, and the whole idea was ultimately abandoned. French efforts in this same direction will be described in Chapter Fifteen.

year and, after a delay which was due largely to French preoccupation with events in China, where the Arrow War was in progress, Tu Duc was defeated in 1861. The following year, he signed a treaty with the French in which he made concessions similar to those secured by the westerners from China after the Opium Wars. Christians were to be allowed to practice their religion freely throughout Vietnam; three ports were opened to French trade and residence; and a large indemnity was promised by the Emperor. At the same time, the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China (Bien Hoa, Gia Dinh and My Tho) were ceded to France.

It may appear from the narrative above that the French had been motivated in their activities in Cochin-China largely by a desire to protect their missionaries. This was not to be the case. The following comment was made by a French army captain at the time of France's annexation of the eastern provinces:-

"The missionaries, in reality, have only been the pretext of our action against Annam. The loss of India in the eighteenth century, the increasingly rapid extension in the Far East of our perpetual rival England, imposed on us the obligation to set foot



A visit by the Ambassadors from the court of Hue

not adopted by his successors.

Gia Long's fourth son and successor, the Emperor Minh-Mang, hated the French and sought in every way he could, to reduce their influence. During his reign (1820-1841), commercial relations between Vietnam and France were broken, the French Consul was expelled from Hue and a persecution of Christian missionaries began. Minh-Mang was a Confucian scholar who admired the culture of China and he was seeking to reduce western influence in his country. Towards the end of his reign, he underwent a change of heart when he saw the way in which the westerners had treated China in the First Opium War (1839-1842), but he died before this change could affect his policy, and the persecution of Christians was continued by his successor, Thieu-Tri (1841-1847). The lesson of the Opium War, that Asian rulers were in no position to withstand the armed demands of the westerners, was lost on Thieu-Tri, but he was soon to learn it at first-hand from the gunboat diplomacy of the French.

In 1843, and again several times in the years which followed, the French sent naval vessels into the Bay of Tourane to secure the release of missionaries who had been imprisoned and condemned to death. Thieu-Tri still did not alter his policy, and this led to a serious incident in 1847 when two French ships arrived at Tourane to demand that French nationals in Vietnam be protected by the Emperor. Thieu-Tri first refused to negotiate and then tried to attack the French vessels. On this occasion, the French were content to sink a few Vietnamese ships and sail away, but worse was to follow under Thieu-Tri's successor, Tu-Duc (1848-1883). Tu-Duc continued the policy of persecution and went a stage further than his predecessors in 1848 by dispersing native Christian communities and destroying their villages. The French attitude also hardened. In 1852, Tourane was bombarded after the execution of two French priests.

Five years later, Tu Duc committed political suicide by allowing the execution of the Spanish Bishop of Tongking, Mgr. Diaz. The French reacted at once by demanding religious liberty for all Christians in Vietnam; the setting up of a French trading agency at Hue; and the appointment of a French Consul to the Emperor. When these demands were refused, a Franco-Spanish force attacked and occupied Tourane in 1858. Saigon was occupied in the following

in the China Seas, the only alternative being our falling into a state of contemptible inferiority." (Quoted by E. J. Hammer, *The Struggle for Indo-China*, p. 58.)

And at this period, France was in no mood to fall into "a state of contemptible inferiority." By a dramatic 'coup d'etat' in 1852, Louis Napoleon had founded the Second Empire in France to end a long period of political instability, which had prevented the French Government from taking a more active interest in South-East Asia. Napoleon III, as he became, was obsessed with the idea of restoring the glory of France and, for this reason, he adopted an active foreign policy. He intervened in Mexico on the pretext of being the protector of the Church; he sent a force to the Crimea to help protect the Turkish Empire against Russia; in Italy he supported the cause of Italian Unity, for a while at least; in China, he allied with Britain in the two Opium Wars to wring concessions from the Chinese. French policy in Indo-China must be seen within this general framework; in the situation in Vietnam, the French saw an opportunity of re-establishing their power in the East and of striking another blow for French prestige. Not for the first time, nor for the last, the fate of Christian missionaries provided a convenient excuse of colonial expansion.

The rest of Tu-Duc's empire shared the fate of the three eastern provinces of Cochinchina, for this initial advance merely whetted the appetite of the French. In 1867, the French occupied the western portion of Cochinchina when rebels from that area attacked the territory already in French hands.

One of the reasons which had inspired the French to occupy Cochinchina was the control which it gave them of the delta of the River Mekong. They saw the possibility, as the British had in Burma, of opening up a profitable trade with China along the Mekong into Yunnan. An expedition under Doudart de Lagree and Francis Garnier was sent to explore the route while the French administration was still establishing itself in Cochinchina in 1867-1868. Lagree died on the journey, and although Garnier pushed on to Yunnan-fu, he discovered that the Mekong did not in fact provide a feasible trade route to China. So it was that French interest turned to Tongking, where the Red River seemed to offer an alternative route, and the stage was set for the next phase of French expansion in Vietnam.

At that time conditions in Tongking were chaotic. Refugees from

FRENCH EXPANSION IN INDO-CHINA



grounds that Tongking was a vassal state of China and then sent troops to enforce their claim. A short war developed, but in 1885, the Chinese reluctantly recognised French authority in Tongking and withdrew their forces.

(b) French Expansion in Cambodia

We have seen how the king of Cambodia had maintained a precarious position between the neighbouring states of Siam and Vietnam. Armies of Thais and Vietnamese had alternately invaded his territory and he had been forced, at different times, to acknowledge the suzerainty of both. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Cambodia was plunged into chaos as the Siamese and the Vietnamese supported different pretenders to the Cambodian throne who were also assisted by rebel groups within the state. This situation culminated in 1842 when the Cambodians revolted after a particularly harsh period of Vietnamese overlordship. Five years of bloody civil war followed, during which much of the country was devastated, before the revolt ended, but still the relative claims of Vietnam and Siam had not been settled. In 1847 a new king was crowned with the consent of both the Siamese and the Vietnamese, but it was clear that both were prepared to use some future pretext to assert their sole claims. The situation in 1847 has been described as follows: "In effect, the installation of Ang Duong (the new ruler) restored not Cambodian sovereignty but rather Siamese overlordship by the consent of Annam (Vietnam) and at the price of Cambodian acknowledgement of Annamite as well as Siamese suzerainty." (M. J. Herz, *A Short History of Cambodia*, p. 55.) Ang Duong realised that his only hope of freeing himself from this unenviable wedge was by finding some friend who could offer protection against both the Siamese and the Vietnamese. This was the situation which the French were able to turn to their own advantage.

As soon as Ang Duong died in 1859 a pro-Vietnamese revolt broke out against his son, Norodom, driving the young heir to seek refuge in Siam. After three years in exile, Norodom was able to return with the aid of a Thai army, but only at the price of acknowledging Siamese control of his state. In the year of his coronation (1862), they signed a treaty with Tu-Duc by which the Siamese acquired the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China. This event made Norodom's position doubly weak. Not only was he a puppet of

the Taiping Rebellion in China had formed themselves into armed bands and were terrorizing the country. The French saw in this situation their opportunity for intervention, and their excuse was provided by a quarrel between Jean Dupuis, a French merchant, and the mandarins of Hanoi. Dupuis wanted to take a cargo of salt to Yunnan and, when the mandarins of Hanoi would not provide him with this commodity, an armed clash developed between the mandarins and a small group of mercenaries under Dupuis. In 1873, Francis Garnier was sent in by the French authorities to negotiate a settlement. When the mandarins still proved adamant, Garnier seized the port of Hanoi. The mandarins, in turn, called in a group of rebels from Tongking to help them and Garnier was killed in an ambush. The Governor of Cochin-China used this as a means of obtaining a new treaty from Tu-Duc in 1874. By the terms of this treaty, Tu-Duc recognised French sovereignty over Cochin-China; a French Resident was allowed to reside at Hue and French consuls at the open ports, three more of which were now opened to French trade. The French were allowed to travel freely on the Red River and freedom of worship was once again granted to all Christians living in Vietnam. The French agreed, on their part, to supply arms to aid Tu-Duc against the Tongking rebels.

The rebellion in Tongking continued, however, and in 1881, the French sent in an army under the pretext that French nationals were being threatened by the rebels. The real reasons for French intervention were their desire to safeguard their new possessions in Cochin-China and their hope of establishing an overland trade route with China through Tongking.

For four years Tongking was in dispute between the rebels and the French, but French arms eventually won the day. The new Emperor of Vietnam, Hiep-Hoa, was forced to acknowledge French successes by the Treaty of Hue which he signed in 1883. Annam and Tongking were placed under French protection and the Emperor surrendered his control over foreign affairs to the French. French Residents were appointed in the main towns and the French were allowed to maintain their forces in Tongking. When the Treaty of Hue was ratified in 1884, the Emperor of Vietnam surrendered his last shreds of independence.

The Chinese first protested at the signing of the treaty on the

King of Cambodia, supposedly still the ruler of an independent Cambodian state, became a puppet in the hands of the French.

(c) The French Occupation of Laos

Events in Vietnam and Cambodia sealed the fate of Laos in the west. Laos was in a similar position as Cambodia in that both the Vietnamese and the Siamese claimed suzerainty over the Laotian kingdoms. Here, as in Cambodia, the French claimed to have inherited the rights of Vietnam and, once again, they exploited a delicate political situation to their own advantage. The French advance in Laos also illustrates the extent to which their policy was guided by fear of the British and shows the degree to which rivalry between the European powers led to colonial expansion in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century.

We may begin our account in 1864 when refugees from western China, where the Tai Ping Rebellion was in progress, began to move across the frontier first into Tongking and then into the Laotian kingdoms. One of the Laotian rulers, King Oun Kham of Luang Prabang, who was already under strong Siamese influence, was forced to appeal for Siamese aid against the refugees, who had organised themselves into large gangs of bandits. At the same time, the Siamese were keen on asserting their claims in Laos to forestall the French, who had recently advanced into Tongking. In 1885, King Chulalongkorn of Siam sent an army to help Oun Kham against the rebels and at the same time two Siamese officials were appointed to 'supervise' the administration of Luang Prabang. Rumour had it that Chulalongkorn had acted in this way on the advice of British officers at his court who wished to check any French advance into the Red River area. This area, as we have seen, was regarded as of great strategic importance by the British and the French, both of whom were interested in establishing an overland trade route to Yunnan. The French, who were interested in extending their territories westwards from Tongking, were therefore faced with two obstacles: the tightening grip of the Siamese in Laos and the supposedly hostile attitude of the British.

It was at this point that the French began to lay claim to the territories east of the Mekong on the grounds that they had once paid tribute to the Emperor of Vietnam. French pressure led to the

the Siamese, but the French also claimed suzerainty over Cambodia as the successor of Vietnam. In 1863, a French envoy from Saigon proposed that Cambodia should become a French protectorate in lieu of the 'right of suzerainty' which the French had inherited from Tu-Duc. A draft treaty was drawn up laying down the pattern of the Protectorate. France agreed to protect Cambodia from external attack and internal disorder, in return for the right to appoint a Resident to the Cambodian court. French citizens were to be allowed to settle in Cambodia and French goods entering the country were to be free from import duties. The French impressed upon Norodom that they had in their hands a pretender to the Cambodian throne, Prince Sivotha, who was anxious to assert his claims. At the same time, the Siamese threatened war if Norodom allowed the treaty with France to be ratified.

At first Norodom tried to play it both ways by openly signing the French treaty and at the same time, entering into a secret agreement with the Siamese acknowledging their claims to suzerainty. The French applied diplomatic pressure on the Siamese, however, and in 1864, Norodom was formally installed as ruler with a crown that was handed to him by the new French Resident. The Siamese, were represented at the ceremony by an ambassador, but that was all. In 1867, the Siamese formally renounced their claims to suzerainty in return for the provinces of Battambang, Siemreap which they had earlier detached from Cambodia. The French promised not to make Cambodia part of their new colony of Cochin-China.

French rule in Cambodia was hated from the start, and serious revolts against it broke out in 1866 and again in 1885. The French had the support of the court, however, and they managed to suppress both revolts with the aid of the royal Cambodian army under the command of the king's brother, Prince Sisowath. In June 1884, the French consolidated their position in Cambodia under a new treaty with the unfortunate Norodom. French control became more complete when Norodom agreed "to enact all the administrative, judicial, financial and commercial reforms which the French Government judges necessary in the interests of the Protectorate." (M. Herz, *op. cit.* p.61.) The internal government thus passed entirely into French hands, so that now Cambodia was a colony in fact and a Protectorate only in theory. French Residents were set up in provincial capitals with control over local administration. The

only matters which were put before them by the French Resident who was under no obligation to accept their advice. We have already seen how King Norodom of Cambodia had transferred all his power into French hands by the Treaty of 1884; the Ruler of Annam-Tongking was in a similar position. Laos was added in the union in 1904 and the rulers of the Laotian states likewise became puppets of the French. Legislation for the whole union was passed by the French Parliament, and the higher administration was in the hands of the Governor-General who was in turn responsible to the Ministry of Colonies in Paris. In the Protectorates, the French used a large number of native officials for local government, but these officials were appointed by and dependent upon the French, as were the headmen of the villages. Unlike the British in Burma or the Americans in the Philippines, the French made no real provision for local self-government.

It is worth noting here that this absolute government of the French was never fully accepted in Indo-China, especially by the Vietnamese, who had behind them a long tradition of opposition to foreign rule and whose Chinese culture tended to make them resentful of foreign influence. In 1884, when the Treaty of Hue was ratified, giving the French control over Annam and Tongking, the fifteen-year-old emperor, Ham Nghi, fled into the hills, where he was joined by his regent and a loyal group of patriotic mandarins. For three years, Ham Nghi and his regent conducted guerilla warfare against the French and against the puppet-ruler whom the French had set upon the throne of Vietnam. The revolt collapsed in 1888, however, when Ham Nghi was betrayed to the French and exiled to Algeria. In 1893, another revolt broke out under a scholar, Phan Dinh Phung, but this again collapsed when its leader died two years later. Some of Phan's followers escaped into Siam and Laos but many others were taken to Hue and there executed. The struggle of Vietnamese scholars and officials continued into the twentieth century, side by side with the growing nationalist movement, of which it gradually became a part. In Cambodia, revolts against French rule were also common, the most successful being the guerilla warfare conducted by a royal prince, Si Vaththa, between 1885 and 1887. Though they gained control over Laos in 1893, the French did not complete their pacification of the country until 1907.

Franco-Siamese Agreement in 1886 by which a French vice-consul was allowed to reside in Luang Prabang and, in 1887, Auguste Pavie arrived in Laos to take up the post. The complicated series of events which enabled Pavie to extend French influence in Laos is too long and difficult to recount here. Suffice it to say that in October 1893, after a long period of diplomatic pressure, the Siamese were formally forced to renounce their suzerainty over the Laotian states to the east of the Mekong, which then passed under French protection. Those parts of Luang Prabang which lay on the west bank of the Mekong, remained in Siamese hands for a few more years, but in 1904, these too were occupied by the French. By this date, then, the whole of Indo-China had become part of the French colonial empire.

French Administration in Indo-China

In the days before the coming of the French, the people had been accustomed to an authoritarian central government combined with a large degree of autonomy at the local level. The old Empire of Vietnam may be taken as an example. Its government was based upon the example of China. The rulers of the Nguyen dynasty exercised absolute power through a bureaucracy of mandarins who, as in China, were recruited by an examination in Chinese language and literature. Villages paid taxes and raised labour for the central government, but otherwise, village affairs were entirely in the hands of local Councils of Elders over which Imperial officials exercised little control. The French established a system of government in Indo-China which was, if anything, even more authoritarian than the regimes it replaced and which failed to maintain the long tradition of local independence.

The establishment of a French administration in Indo-China was completed in 1887 when Annam, Tongking, Cochin-China and Cambodia were joined together as the *Union Indochinoise*. The three protectorates (Annam, Tongking and Cambodia) were placed under Resident-Generals, each with a staff of provincial Residents and subordinate officials, while the colony of Cochin-China was headed by a Lieutenant-Governor. A French Governor-General residing at Hanoi controlled the Lieutenant-Governor of Cochin-China and 'supervised' the work of the Resident-Generals in the Protectorates. In practice little distinction was made between the colony and the Protectorates. Each Protectorate had an Advisory Council with some native members, but these bodies could debate

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SIAM AND THE PHILIPPINES

(A) SIAM

King Rama I

When General Chakri ascended the throne of Siam in 1782 as King Rama Tibodi (or Rama I), he did so at a great advantage in that he was not an usurper but had been chosen for the position during a rebellion which broke out in Ayuthia against the insane Pya Taksin, while the general was away fighting in Cambodia. Another point that worked in his favour was that General Chakri was well suited for the task ahead because he had been closely connected with Pya Taksin from the beginning and had in fact conducted the campaigns in Chieng Mai and Cambodia and he knew exactly what he was up against, when he took over the reigns of office and established the



King Rama I

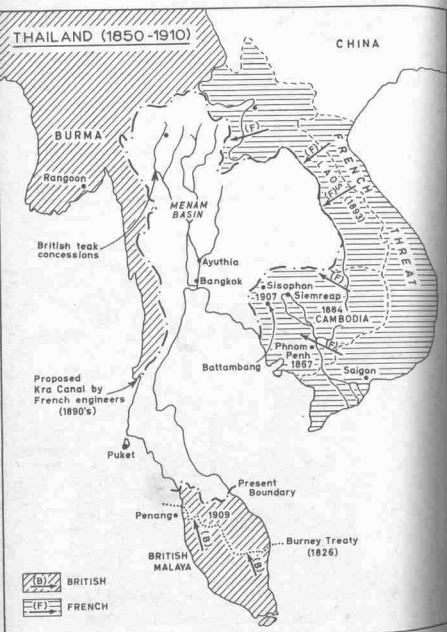
Actual social problems developed during the period of French rule. The increase in population combined with the traditional system of inheritance, tended to reduce the size of peasant holdings in the rice-growing areas. In Tongking, 62% of the peasants owned less than 9/10 of an acre each, and 30% owned less than 4/10. Side by side with these holdings, which enabled their owners to live only in dire poverty, there grew up large French estates worked by tenant farmers who paid high rents or landless labourers who received low wages and lived in the most miserable of conditions. Many of the peasants (as in Burma) were heavily indebted to Chinese, Indian or Vietnamese money-lenders. Discontent with these conditions was one of the factors which produced the violent nationalist upheavals of 1930/31 about which you will read in Chapter 16.

Chakri Dynasty. Luckily for his country, the rebels had made a sound choice in selecting him, because only a month before this, a palace revolution at Ava had put Bodawpaya on the throne of Burma, a young man, who in the true spirit of his predecessors, began the customary invasion of Siam, soon after he became King of Burma. But the Siam that faced him was not the same as that which had faced Alaungpaya or Hsinbyu-Shin, and the country was now under the leadership of a man who had defeated the Burmese in previous encounters. Thus try as he would in 1785, Bodawpaya was not able to make much headway and was forced to retreat and retrieve his lost pride in Arakan.

The tried veteran did not let his feelings run away with him as a result of this initial victory, and resisted the temptations of a follow-up operation against the retreating Burmese. On the other hand, he reserved all his energies for the consolidation and reorganisation of his own kingdom. He laid the foundations of a new capital at Bangkok, and built the necessary fortifications to defend it, and ensure its growth. King Rama I then turned his attention to Cambodia. You will remember that he had been recalled to the capital while he was fighting there and probably this was why he turned his attention to Cambodia again. He took advantage of the presence of Ang Eng, the pro-Nguyen boy-king who had taken refuge in Siam, crowned him King of Cambodia in 1794, and sent him back to Udong, the capital, with the aid of a Siamese force. The Vietnamese were too engrossed in their own quarrels at this time to have bothered about Cambodia, which now came under the influence of Siam and the latter soon detached the western provinces of Mongkol Baurey, Sisophon and Korat, while Battambang and Siemreap followed the following year. It was only after Nguyen Anh ascended the throne as Gia Long in 1802, that the Vietnamese turned their attention to Cambodia. But the leaders there faced the tricky situation by sending tribute to both their powerful neighbours. This then was the situation which Rama I left to his son in 1809 when the latter ascended the throne as King Rama II.

King Rama II

King Rama II who reigned from 1809 to 1824 is best remembered for the trouble that the Siamese had with the Sultan of Kedah for ceding Penang to the East India Company in 1786. But before he



and did not do very much to improve his foreign relations as left to him by his father. Thus when the British made overtures to him for help against his traditional Burmese enemies, King Rama III, instead of grabbing the opportunity, just remained passive. And when Captain Burney went to Bangkok with powers to hand over, if necessary Tenasserim to Siam in exchange for friendship, he was given such a cold reception that the discussions never reached the point where the Siamese could have taken advantage of the situation that faced the British at this period. The same cool reception was also awarded to Roberts, an American envoy who arrived at Bangkok in 1833, to establish better relations between the two countries.

Instead of establishing better relations with the English and the Americans, King Rama III spent his energies and the wealth of the country in trying to establish his sway in Cambodia. This brought about much misunderstanding with the Vietnamese and ultimately he had to be content with having joint control on Cambodia. At the same time, years of rule do not seem to have had much change on the king because when Sir James Brooke arrived in Bangkok in August, 1850 to bring about better trade facilities between the two countries, and an American, Ballestier, was also sent by the President of the United States for better relations, the official attitude remained unchanged. So much so that both Brooke and Ballestier advocated the need of a warlike demonstration as an unhappy necessity. This was fortunately avoided because of the death of King Rama III in April, 1851 and the wisdom of the ministers, who offered the throne to the dead king's elder brother, whom they had bypassed twenty-seven years previously, Prince Maha Mongkut.

King Rama IV or Mongkut

King Rama IV (1851-1868), who is better known as Mongkut, reigned at a time when the European powers were beginning to extend their interests in China as well as in South-East Asia. For most of his life before becoming King, Mongkut had lived as a monk, but once he ascended the throne, he showed an amazing grasp of political realities. The fate of China in the Opium War taught him that the colonial powers must be met half-way or he would have to suffer the same fate as the rulers of Burma and Vietnam, who had both suffered by not making concessions but having concessions forced upon them. Mongkut's policy, therefore, was to adopt a

began his pressure on the southern rulers, he intervened in Cambodia when a dynastic quarrel began there in 1812. We have seen that King Rama I crowned Ang Eng and put him on the throne of Cambodia with the support of Siamese arms. When Ang Eng died, the same was done in the case of his son, Ang Chan. But in the dynastic quarrel that began in 1812, King Rama II threw his support behind his rebel brother and forced Ang Chan to seek refuge in Saigon. Soon after this, Emperor Gia Long sent a Vietnamese force with him, and the Siamese were forced to leave Phnom Penh under Ang Chan. The Siamese compensated this retreat by establishing their control over the provinces of Melou-rey, Tonle Repou and Stung Treng. They also grabbed enough territory between Cambodia and Vientiane, and in this way isolated the latter, in their first move towards Vientiane's ultimate absorption in 1828. And with this, let us turn to the Siamese territories in the south.

After their unsuccessful attack upon Ayuthia, the Burmese actually never gave up their plans to have another try at the Siamese capital. Thus in 1810, they raided the island of Puket (Junk Ceylon) and brought it under their control. But this was as far as they went because King Bodawpaya got involved in Arakan after this and the plans against Siam were temporarily pushed into the background. These were the circumstances which left the Sultan of Kedah in a very difficult situation. Apart from gaining the wrath of the King of Siam for ceding the island of Penang to the East India Company without his over-lord's permission in 1786, the Siamese claimed that they had proof that the Sultan had been in secret correspondence with the Burmese. His refusal to present himself at Bangkok, and the consequences of this action, till the signing of the Burney Treaty of 1826 are more appropriately dealt with as a part of the History of Malaya. Suffice it to say here that when King Rama II died, just before the opening of the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1824, relations between Siam and its neighbours and the English were quite strained.

King Rama III

Pra Nang Klao who succeeded to the throne as Rama III was actually not the actual heir because of his non-royal mother. But he had the backing of many prominent people who preferred him to his brother Prince Maha Mongkut because the latter was a Monk when his father died. The new king was of the old school of thought

a new military cadet school at Bangkok. Mongkut even engaged an English governess, Anna Leonowens, to teach his many children. We may mention here that this lady became well-known as the heroine of the film, "Anna and the King of Siam", which was based upon her own diaries. However, the film gave a generally inaccurate picture of Mongkut and its showing in Thailand was forbidden. With the help of western advisers, Mongkut began to reorganise the government of Thailand with the aim of creating a modern administrative system such as existed in western nations. A step in this direction was the establishment of a Royal Mint in 1861. At the same time, Mongkut was careful to choose his advisers from many countries rather than from one, so that no single European power would gain undue influence in his kingdom.

Of the European powers with whom King Mongkut had to deal, France later proved the most troublesome. This, however, was not the case in the beginning and, in 1856, the envoys of Napoleon III were given a most cordial reception, and French missionaries granted permission to proceed with their work of teaching, healing, and preaching. But French expansion in Cochin-China and later in Cambodia led to a clash of interests against Siam and memories of French activities during the days of King Narai and Constant Phaulkon were quickly revived. This made King Mongkut quite anxious to come to terms with them and he did this when the Treaty of 1867 was signed in an effort to tie the French to something definite, (Siamese control of Battambang and Siemreap), even at the expense of surrendering Siamese claims over Cambodia. And when, in spite of this, the French began sending expeditions up the Mekong into Laos, King Mongkut found it necessary to further cultivate the friendship of the English. It was the fear of the British that put the brakes on the ambitious French, otherwise there is no saying as to where they would have actually stopped. Thus one cannot deny that it was King Mongkut who was responsible for keeping Siam free during a period when Asian kingdoms, both big and small, were falling like ninepins before the onslaught of European colonialism. And in this fact lies King Mongkut's greatest contribution to his country and people.

King Rama V or Chulalongkorn

Mongkut's son and successor, Chulalongkorn (1886-1910),

friendly and conciliatory attitude towards the Europeans. The pattern was set by a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce also referred to as the Bowring Treaty, as it was negotiated by Sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong which he signed with the British in 1855. Import duties on British goods were limited to 3%; British subjects were allowed to rent or purchase land near Bangkok; and a British Consul was permitted to reside at the capital and to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over British subjects. The British treaty was followed by agreements with America and the other European powers which included among others, Denmark, Holland and Portugal. The result of these treaties signed between 1855 and 1868, was to open Thailand to foreign enterprise and to give full diplomatic recognition to all western nations.

Mongkut also began the practice, followed by his successor, of employing European advisers to help run the government. He employed a Belgian lawyer, named Rolin-Jacquemius, who had at one time been Minister of the Interior at Brussels as his general adviser. An Italian, Major Gerin, was called in to organise and head



Mongkut (King Rama IV)

over Cambodia and the Laotian kingdom. In Malaya, the British first checked Thai attempts to secure control of Perak, Selangor and Pahang, and then (by the Treaty of Bangkok in 1909) compelled the Thais to renounce their traditional suzerainty over the states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis. These four states passed under British protection and each was given a British Adviser who virtually controlled the policy of the Sultan.

At the same time, Anglo-French rivalry helped to save Thailand, for neither of the colonial powers would allow the other to secure complete control over the country. Ultimately, the British and the French agreed to recognise Thailand as a buffer state between their respective spheres of influence. Thus by a treaty of 1896 they agreed to guarantee the independence of the Menam Valley, the Thai homeland. The Entente Cordiale of 1904 finally brought the long era of Anglo-French rivalry to an end and left each of the European



Chulalongkorn (King Rama V)

carried on the work of reform which his father had begun. Like his father, Chulalongkorn admired western institutions and he was determined to westernise the administration of the state with the help of his European advisers of whom the chief was still Rolin-Jacquemius. In 1892 he centralised the whole administration under a Ministry of the Interior to end once and for all the malpractices under the traditional provincial governors. At the same time a system of direct taxation replaced the old practice of farming out the collection of taxes to the highest bidder. In 1896 Thailand's financial system was reorganised with the help of an adviser sent out by the British government. The first state budget was published in 1901. The administration of justice was reorganised by Rolin-Jacquemius with the help of other Belgian lawyers called in for the purpose. The educational system was reformed with the help of a British adviser, J. G. D. Campbell, and between 1899 and 1901, state schools were established to supplement the work of monasteries. German engineers were invited to Siam to build and maintain railways for the state, and the first line, from Bangkok to Korat, was opened in 1900. A Civil Service College was established to train officials for the new departments of government, and Military and Naval colleges to train officers for the armed services. Important positions in the new administration were given to Thai princes (like Prince Damrong and Prince Rabi) who had received a western education.

Chulalongkorn's reign is also memorable for important social reforms. The practice of prostration in the royal presence was ended in 1873 to make the king more accessible to his subjects. In 1905 slavery was finally abolished after a series of decrees passed since 1874 had limited the practice. The effect of the reforms of Mongkut and Chulalongkorn was to greatly modernise the society and administration of Thailand on the pattern of the West. One aspect of government remained unchanged, however in that the King's power remained absolute. The absolutism of the Thai rulers remained intact until it was destroyed by the Revolution 1832 about which you will read in Chapter 16.

The astute diplomatic steps taken by Mongkut and the reforms of Chulalongkorn helped to save Thailand from complete foreign domination, but they did not prevent the British and the French from securing important slices of Thai territory. We have already seen how the French had forced the Thais to give up their rights of suzerainty

countries of South-East Asia were undergoing a period of change as a result of their contacts with the nations of the West, the Philippines, which had been one of the earliest in the region to establish contacts with the Spaniards, remained almost stagnant. Two reasons may be put forward to explain this state of affairs — its geographical location and the type of government that the Spaniards had introduced in the islands. Located on the north-eastern end of South-East Asia, the Philippines were off the trade routes of the period, which linked China and Japan with India. The same was also true of the Spice Islands but while these islands were the dream of almost every trader in Europe and Asia at that time, the same was not true of the Philippines, as these did not produce commodities which the markets of the world then needed. The second reason was closely connected with the administration that the Spaniards introduced into these sparsely populated islands and which isolated them even more than their geographical position.

The trade of the Philippines was a monopoly of the government and it was closely linked with Mexico, which was in fact, the headquarters of Spanish enterprise in the East. The spices that they needed were supplied to them from Tidore, which was under Spanish control, while the private Chinese traders who visited Manila, supplied the Spaniards with most of the other commodities that they needed. This also helped the Spaniards to by-pass the rigid control which the Cohong merchants exercised on foreign trade at Canton. We may also mention here that though the Spaniards did import Chinese and other goods, they did this under the constant fear of the serious threat these imported commodities would impose on their own industries in Spain. Probably the first open contact which Manila had with the English, was when the latter occupied it in 1762, during the course of the Seven Years' War. Though by the Treaty of Paris (1763), Manila came once again under Spanish control, the temporary contact which the population had had with the English, opened their eyes in a number of ways. Rebellions broke out against the authority of the Spaniards and it took them quite some time before they were able to exert their authority again.

Grievances against Spanish rule

The grievances which the bulk of the people had against the Spaniards can be outlined as follows:

nations free to come to a final agreement with Thailand. It was as a result of these agreements that suzerainty over the northern states of Malaya passed to the British and the Cambodian provinces of Battambang and Siemreap passed into the hands of the French.

King Rama VI

When King Chulalongkorn died in 1910, his son, Maha Vajiravudh ascended the throne as King Rama VI. A graduate of Cambridge University, Rama VI had served for sometime in the British army and it was this background that helped to prepare him to no small degree for the task of kingship that now fell on him. Rama VI concentrated upon social reforms and his reign saw great advances in the field of education with the opening of Chulalongkorn University in 1917, and the introduction of compulsory primary education soon after. European styles in dress made their advent into Thailand during his reign, which also witnessed the adoption of the European calendar. In one way however, Vajiravudh failed badly when he tightened royal absolutism by renewing old court ceremonials which his father had abandoned. He also gathered around him a small clique of royal favourites and ruled through them to the displeasure of the other members of the royal family, while his support of the "Wild Tiger Scout Movement" alienated him from the armed forces of the country.

King Rama VII

Prince Prajadhipok, who succeeded his brother in 1925 was the 76th child of King Chulalongkorn, and began his reign by reviving the Cabinet form of government and appointing a Supreme Council of State, which was made up of the five most important princes of the royal family. But the king who had begun the first wireless station, and an airport was unfortunate that he reigned during a period when the world was affected by a terrible slump and the financial hardships which the country went through became the cause of a political crisis, and the revolution of 1932, of which you will read more in a later chapter.

(B) THE PHILIPPINES

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, when nearly all the

to clamour for reforms so as to redress their wrongs. In 1812, the atmosphere seemed quite cordial for this because constitutional monarchy was introduced into Spain in that year, and representatives of the Philippines were admitted in the Spanish Parliament. It was hoped that this would enable the Filipinos to air their grievances but this was not to be the case because two years later, King Ferdinand VII promulgated the new constitution, abolished Parliament and put an end to the hopes that the Filipinos had entertained. The repression that followed gave the Filipinos no alternative but to resort to violence. The most serious of this was the mutiny of 1823 which broke out when some Spanish officers who were born in the Philippines, were replaced by those born in Spain. It was also at this time that Spain's American colonies revolted against her — notably Mexico, which broke away in 1821. Thus the link which the Spaniards had made with the Philippines through Mexico was severed and the Mexican silver dollar which had attracted Asian traders to Manila became scarce.

Rise of the Western Educated Class

The Spanish Government finally decided to open Manila to foreign trade in 1830, an action which proved so lucrative that five other ports followed suit between 1855 and 1862. It was the trade which followed that gave rise to a Filipino middle class, which soon began to demand the introduction of public schools, wholly different from the ones which the Church had begun from the very early days. It was this that, in turn, produced the western educated middle class which, as in the case of most Asian countries, took the reins of the national struggle in its hands. In this connection, it must be pointed out that it is most unfortunate for both Spain and the Philippines, that the mother country did not follow a definite policy with regards to its colonies. Therein lay most of the trouble because the hopes that the Filipinos built on the appointment of an enlightened governor, would suddenly be all smashed by a dictator who followed him a few years later. A case in point is that of Carlos Maria de la Torre who became Governor of the Philippines in 1869. Carlos had been appointed as a result of the Republican government which was established after the Spanish revolution of 1868 and initiated sensational reforms when he took office. This naturally alienated the clergy who engineered his recall after two years and saw the rule

(a) The Peasants

From the very early days, the Church was given many privileges one of which was its right to own land. Not only did the Church obtain leases for large areas of land from the government, it also purchased land on its own too. A form of compulsory labour was used to cultivate these lands in which the peasants lived under conditions of semi-starvation while the Church reaped the benefits of the harvests. The same was also true of the individual landowners both Spanish and Filipino. The latter were no exception and were as cruel on their fellow-countrymen as the foreigners. The oppression had reached such proportions that the peasants had no alternative but to revolt.

(b) The Spanish Middleclass

In the administration that the Spaniards had set up, both governmental and religious, preference was given to the Spaniards who held nearly all the top posts, which were denied to the Filipinos even if they had the talent. Even in the services of the Church, Filipino priests could never aspire to reach the top positions, as these were reserved for the Spanish clergy. In the villages, hereditary headmen were deprived of the powers that their posts had held for generations and their places taken by Spanish officials, who were granted the privilege of collecting taxes, which soon made them extremely wealthy at the expense of the freeholders who were, slowly, forced to sell their lands and became serfs and tenants instead.

(c) The Traders

Mention had already been made about the monopoly that the government exercised on trade. Free trade was unheard of and in addition to the restrictions that were placed on the import of Philippine goods into the mother country, all trade had to be channelled through Mexico — a most cumbersome procedure. An attempt was made to open direct trade with Spain when the Royal Company of the Philippines was begun in 1785, but the organization came nowhere near its counterparts, the English, Dutch and French East India Companies.

The nett result of the above grievances was that the Filipinos began

This Spanish action against Sulu may be regarded as the last fling of Spanish imperialism because twenty years later, their overseas empire was destroyed. And with this, let us return to the revolts that the Spaniards had to face against their rule at this period.

Apolinario de la Cruz

One of the earliest of these revolts, which broke out in 1840, is closely connected with Apolinario de la Cruz, a Filipino priest, who was anxious to start the Brotherhood of St. Joseph, which would be opened primarily to Filipinos. This alarmed the Spanish clergy who were not in favour of treating the local Filipino priests at the same level, and at their instigation, the authorities issued orders for the arrest of Apolinario. But the latter made good his escape and in the face of much opposition from the Catholic Church, began his own church with himself as its head. This last move does not seem to have been welcomed by even those who were close to him and lost him a good deal of support. The failure of his cause soon resulted in his arrest and execution within the space of one year. But he was acclaimed because of the attempt that he had made to free the Filipino from a place of subjugation and put him on the same level as the Spaniards. It was this spirit that kindled the flame of nationalism in the Filipino, which soon began to grow inspite of many setbacks.

Rise of Nationalism

While it is true that the Filipinos had much to speak against the Spanish government, it must not be forgotten that the latter also contributed in at least two ways, and probably with no real intention of doing so, to promote the spirit of nationalism at this time. The first of these was connected with the three centuries of rule which the Spaniards had imposed on the Philippines. The education that the Filipinos received helped them to pass over the tribal, sectional, geographical and other barriers and look upon themselves as one people. The religion that the Spanish had introduced spread fast and almost the whole population of the Philippines became Christians, the notable exception being the Muslims of the southern islands. Religion brought unity with it and this helped in bringing out the national aspirations of the peoples.

of Rafael de Izquierdo (1871-73) who, under the instigation of the clergy, began a two-year reign of terror which retarded all the advance that had been made under Governor Carlos. The Filipinos were not basically anti-Spanish but they just got tired of adapting themselves to the whims and fancies of individuals who, if they were not corrupt themselves, had subordinates who were beyond redemption, and proved to be cruel tyrants in many cases. Therefore, it was the failure of the Spanish authorities to make any constructive move in the direction of granting the just and basic reforms to the Filipinos that resulted in opposition to their authority during the middle of the 19th century. But before we begin with the national struggle for independence, let us first have a quick look at the Spanish occupation of Sulu.

The Spanish and the Sultan of Sulu

Though the history of British North Borneo is beyond the scope of this book, we would like to mention here about Baron von Overbeck, a prosperous German trader who became the Consul in General for Austria in Hungary in Hong Kong. Overbeck had acquired territories in North Borneo in 1877 from the Sultan of Brunei, and he thought it wisest to make an additional agreement with the Sultan of Sulu in 1878. This was because parts of the Borneo mainland and the islands nearby lay within the territory of the Sultan of Sulu. This brought him into trouble with the Spanish who had for centuries been trying to extend their control over the Sultan of Sulu. From 1851 onwards they had sent expeditions to Sulu to drive out pirates who threatened the trade of the Philippines, and in 1873 they imposed a blockade on the islands to back up their claims to suzerainty. The blockade was, however, abandoned at the request of other European nations engaged in the Sulu trade. But in 1876 the Spanish occupied Jolo, the main town of Sulu. Two years later and eight months after signing Overbeck's agreement, the Sultan of Sulu acknowledged Spanish suzerainty, and the Spanish objected to Overbeck's activities on the grounds that the territories he had acquired belonged to the Sultan of Sulu, who was their vassal. But Overbeck pointed out, however, that he had obtained the territory before the Sultan had acknowledged Spanish rule and with the Sultan's own free will. Faced with the possible German backing of Overbeck, the Spanish authorities gave up all their claims to Borneo territory in 1885.

rienced as a result of this was a revolutionary phenomena in itself and saw the influx of many Filipino students into institutions of higher learning in Spain. At the same time, many liberal Spaniards taking advantage of the patronage extended by Governor Carlos, made their way to the Philippines and began to attack the dictatorial hold that the clergy had on the country. It was, therefore, only natural that when the clergy procured an upper hand on the arrival of Governor Rafael de Izquierdo they concentrated their attacks on those who were against them, which included Filipino members of the Church. It was probably the severity of the government which led to the 1872 mutiny at Cavite which involved some two hundred Filipino soldiers, who, it was rumoured, had revolted on the instigation of the native clergy. Whether true or false, this provided the Spanish friars and clergy with the opportunity of purging those whom they disliked and many were imprisoned, executed and exiled, including Fathers Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora, though they were believed to be completely innocent of the crimes with which they were charged. It was the unjust execution of these three learned men that had a profound affect on young Jose Rizal, who saw in this, a clever scheme by which the authorities planned to eliminate the educated class of Filipinos.

Dr. Jose Rizal

Born in 1861 to a family of Filipino friar-land tenants, which had origins of Spanish and Chinese blood, Jose Rizal-Mercado y Alonso had a brilliant career at the Jesuit College of Manila and the University of Santo Toma where he studied medicine. At the age of eighteen, Rizal left for Spain to further his studies, during the course of which he travelled extensively about the continent and soon was able to speak four of its languages. In Madrid and Barcelona, he met Spaniards with liberal views and also got in touch with many of his fellow-Filipinos who had been forced to seek refuge in Europe, the most important of whom was Marcelo H. del Pilar. The latter was an advocate of complete separation from Spain, with the use of violent means if necessary, and it is here that their views conflicted because Rizal, while also aiming at Filipino independence did not believe in the use of violence but the adoption of peaceful means. To him, the greatest obstacle to the fulfilment of this goal was not the Spanish government but the friars who had assumed such a dominating position in the Philippines that they could force the



Jose Rizal



Marcelo H. del Pilar

The second factor was the appearance of the educated middle class, mention of which has already been made above. Many members of this group went overseas to European and other Asian countries for their education and soon became familiar with the political works of many famous European authors. Like other Asian leaders who had also received their education abroad, they wanted to know why the same freedom which the European loved so much, should be denied to the Filipino and they began to speak against the oppressive rule of the Spaniards and demanded reforms as a prelude to ultimate independence. Though the government refused to entertain these requests and dealt very severely with the agitators by arresting and even executing many of them, the struggle went on as new leaders appeared carrying the slogan of freedom. One such person was Dr. Jose Rizal.

Another factor which contributed to the spread of nationalism, however remotely, was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the same year which witnessed the arrival of Governor Carlos, of whom we have read above. The tremendous reduction in time and distance which travel between Spain and the Philippines expe-

The Katipunan

Just as in the case of the nationalist movements of nearly all countries, there were groups which were opposed to the passive methods of Rizal and his Filipina League. Their views were given a boost firstly, when in spite of all the attention that Rizal's pen had created on the affairs in the Philippines, the local authorities made no move to bring about reforms and secondly, when the appeals that his party made for the release of Rizal fell on deaf ears. This initiated Andres Bonifacio, a self-education commercial worker in Manila, to form a secret society called the Katipunan — Association of the Sons of the People. Its aim was to fight for the independence of the Philippines and all members had to undergo a rite which made them blood brothers. Closely associated with the movement was an ex-school teacher from Cavite, a town near Manila, called Emilio Aguinaldo.

Rizal was aware of the Katipunan and also about the secret plans that were being made by it for an armed revolt which was aimed at killing the Spaniards and declaring Filipino independence. He strongly objected to the move as untimely, unplanned and pre-

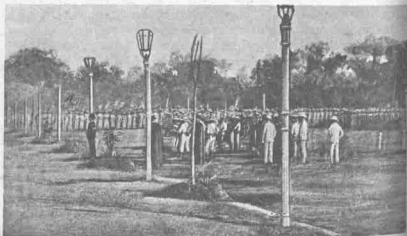


Andres Bonifacio

Governor to toe their line or face immediate dismissal. Rizal was clever enough to see that the pen would do far more harm to the friars than armed revolt.

Rizal began by editing the *Sucesos de las Filipinas* (Events in the Philippines), a 16th century classic which glorified the cultural achievements of the Filipinos before the arrival of the Spaniards. He created a whirlwind when he published his *Noli me Tangere* (Touch Me Not or the Social Cancer) in Berlin in 1887, in which he not only exposed the evils of Spanish rule in the Philippines and the atrocities which the friars committed in the name of the Church, but also attacked many of his own country-men for their own short-comings. The success of this book, made Rizal's name a house-hold word, and the novel was well-circulated in the Philippines, inspite of its being banned by the government. The following year, Rizal founded the Spanish-Filipino Association with the idea of bringing both together and followed this up in 1890 by his second novel entitled *El Filibusterismo* (the Reign of Greed), which, however, failed to make the same impact as *Noli me Tangere*.

Against the advice of his closest friends, Rizal returned to the Philippines in 1892, after having stayed briefly at Cuba and Hong Kong and founded the Filipino League (*la Liga Filipina*). A few days later, he was arrested through pressure from the clergy whose feelings he had openly alienated, and deported to Dapiton in Mindanao.



Execution of Dr. Jose Rizal.

Philippines. Aware of the temporary failure of their cause, Aguinaldo agreed to accept the terms of the government and the money, by which the nationalists hoped to equip themselves for the struggle to come. And with this, Aguinaldo and his friends left for Hong Kong and he was still there when the Spanish-American War broke out and turned the whole character and course of the nationalist struggle.

American Occupation of the Philippines

While a large part of the East Indies fell within the Dutch Empire and the British obtained a footing in North Borneo, the Americans staked their claim in the area by replacing the tottering government of Spain in the Philippines. Despite the events in Sulu, the Spanish hold on the Philippines had been loosening since the early nineteenth century. The Napoleonic Wars had broken the link between Spain and her East Indies colony and the achievement of independence by Mexico deprived Spain of bases near enough to the Philippines to enable her to maintain a commercial monopoly there. With the Mexican bases gone, other western nations began to trade at Manila



American Troops advancing along the sea-shore to attack Manila, 13th August 1898.

mature and prophesied its disastrous ending because the Filipinos were neither adequately armed or trained. As far as he was concerned, Rizal had volunteered for medical service in Cuba, where a revolution had broken out against Spain and there was great need for medical officers. Rizal was in Manila, on his way to Cuba, when the government obtained concrete evidence of the existence of the Katipunan from a traitor and began mass arrests. Faced with this, Bonifacio began the revolt on 30 August 1896 during which the badly led and armed Filipinos, many of whom had never seen a rifle, fought bravely against heavy odds and died as martyrs to the cause in which they believed. Rizal left for Spain about three days after the beginning of the revolt on the orders of the Governor, who was convinced that he was not connected with the uprising. But he was forced to change his mind when Rizal's name was mentioned by nearly every Filipino nationalist prisoner, in order to escape the tortures that were inflicted on them. Thus Rizal was brought back to Manila and despite his "Manifesto to certain Filipinos", in which he clearly outlined his stand against the revolution and other violent action on the part of the Filipinos, was found guilty and executed by a firing squad in Manila on 30th December, 1896. Thus died a hero, in killing whom, the Spanish authorities signed their own death-warrant.

Emilio Aguinaldo

Meanwhile the Katipunan was having troubles of its own due to internal disunity and the loss of many of its members, which had resulted from the stern measures that the government had begun against it. At the same time, Bonifacio failed to live up to the expectations of the nationalists and, in March, 1897, they chose Aguinaldo as the new leader. The former does not seem to have taken this change willingly and, when he refused to submit to Aguinaldo's authority, his former colleagues had no alternative but to kill him. Though the division that followed did weaken the Katipunan, Aguinaldo soon rose to the occasion and the fight began with renewed vigour. But this period also saw the appointment of a new Governor-General, General Primo de Rivera, who opened negotiations with the leaders of the Katipunan which led to the signing of the Treaty of Piagnabato. By this, the government agreed not only to initiate the badly needed reforms and to pardon the leaders but also to pay them 800,000 pesos if they would leave the

pressed for American annexation on the grounds of commercial advantage and Pacific strategy, but there was an almost equally strong group which favoured the immediate recognition of Filipino independence. One consideration which carried much weight was the feeling that if the Americans did not annex the Philippines, then other European nations would. McKinley's own description of his uncertainty and of the way he eventually made up his mind makes interesting reading and throws a curious light both on the inexperience of American imperialism and American ignorance of conditions in the Philippines:

"The truth is I didn't want the Philippines and when they came to us as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do about them I sought counsel from all sides but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then other islands, perhaps, also. I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance



Wood and Aguinaldo (on left) inspect Filipino Horsemen.

and the Spanish monopoly ended.

We have already seen how towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Filipinos began to agitate against the paternal rule of Spain and how the able and versatile Jose Rizal, was executed by the Spanish authorities in 1896. While these events were taking place, American interest in the Pacific area was increasing. A treaty of 1878 had given them the right to establish a naval base at Pago Pago in the Samon archipelago and three years earlier they had obtained sweeping trading concessions in Hawaii. In 1887 they secured the exclusive right to establish a naval base at Pearl Harbour. These activities may be regarded as the first stirrings of American imperialism in the East and when the Philippines were eventually annexed in 1898 they were regarded by many Americans as consolidating their position in the Pacific.

The events which eventually brought the Philippines into American hands, however, took place in Cuba. The Americans intervened in Cuba in 1898 in support of a rebellion against Spanish rule and a Spanish-American War began in the April of that year. Commodore George Dewey was placed in command of the American Asiatic squadron and on May 1st, 1898, he destroyed the antiquated Spanish fleet in Manila harbour. Other European nations with interests in the area soon realised the possibility of an American advance in the Philippines, and five German warships and two British vessels made their appearance at Manila, ostensibly charged with protecting their nationals in the area. Up to this point, American interest had been concentrated on Cuba rather than the Philippines, but foreign intervention aroused their national pride. As one American newspaper wrote: - "We may not care particularly about taking the Philippines, but we can assure our European friends that we are not going to be dictated to, as to the manner in which we shall dispose of them or any part of them. Expansion is a new idea with us. The defense of our rights is an old habit." (T. A. Bailey — *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, p. 515).

Meanwhile, in August, 1898, hostilities with Spain were brought to an end by a peace protocol. Puerto Rico and Guam were ceded to the Americans, who were also allowed to occupy Manila until a regular peace treaty decided the final fate of the Philippines. In point of fact, President McKinley did not know what to do with the Philippines now that they lay at his mercy. Many American senators

PART THREE

THE AWAKENING OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA (1900-1945)

INTRODUCTION

In Part Two you have read of the way in which the nations of Europe extended their dominions throughout South-East Asia between 1815 and 1914. In this Part you will read of the reaction against this domination. Chapter Sixteen attempts to define nationalism in terms which give the word meaning in the context of South-East Asia, and to trace the development of nationalist movements in the countries of South-East Asia. To some extent, Japanese rule interrupted the political and economic progress of South-East Asian countries, but its most important general result was to accelerate the nationalist movements. The final postscript traces in brief the development of independent South-East Asian countries after World War Two.

Though the History of Malaya is not within the scope of this book, and is dealt with separately and in greater detail, we would like to point out that during the period between 1815 and 1914, the history of Malaya also followed the general pattern of progress in South-East Asia. The same however, is not true of the "revolutionary" era, at least before 1942, for no strong Malayan nationalist movement had developed before the war. A variety of reasons have been suggested for this. For one thing, Malaya lacked administrative unity before 1942 as it was divided into several different units, each with its own system of government. Then again, Malaya was a "plural" society and before the war the interests of Indian and Chinese inhabitants were, in general, centred on India and China rather than on Malaya. Finally, it had been suggested that there was general contentment with British rule in Malaya and the economic progress which it had produced. Whatever the reason, Malaya was the exception among the nations of South-East Asia between 1900 and 1942. Nationalism developed in Malaya, partly as a result of the war and partly as a result of the inept British policy which followed

more than once. And one night late it came to me this way — I don't know how it was, but it came:

- (1) that we could not give them back to Spain — that would be cowardly and dishonourable;
- (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany — our commercial rivals in the Orient — that would be bad business and discreditable;
- (3) that we could not leave them to themselves — they were unfit for self-government; and
- (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all” (Quoted by T. A. Bailey — p. 520).

When the treaty with Spain was signed in the following December, therefore, the Philippines were ceded to the United States. Opposition continued in Congress, however, and the peace treaty was approved in the Senate only by 57 to 27. A resolution in favour of granting independence to the Filipinos, as soon as order had been restored, was defeated only by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

The Americans acquired the Philippines at a time when Filipino nationalism was already making itself felt. The Americans had actually turned the exiled Filipino revolutionary, Aguinaldo, to aid their cause but found themselves instead engaged in three years of warfare against him (1899-1901). Nevertheless, the Americans were committed from the start to a policy of gradually introducing self-government, of which we will read in Part Three.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

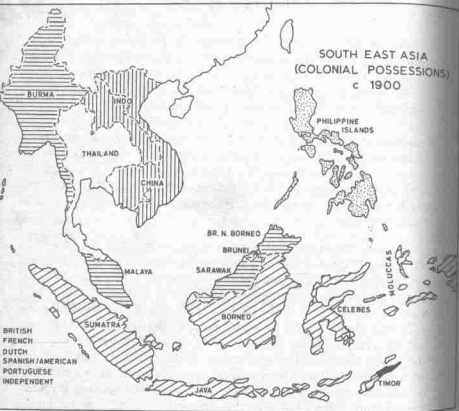
THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

It is much easier to talk about nationalism than it is to define it. Certainly the definition that it is devotion to one's nation; or a policy of national independence, may be regarded as inadequate for our purpose, since it does not include many facets of the meaning of the word as it is understood and used in South-East Asia by the peoples of South-East Asia themselves. "A policy of national independence" is certainly one aspect of the meaning, and the word 'nationalism' was at first used to embrace all those movements which were attempts to free the nations of South-East Asia from colonial rule.

Nationalism, as it is understood both in South-East Asia and the West, is a constructive and forward-looking movement. It seeks to reduce western influence and to end western rule not as ends in themselves, but as the first stages of national reconstruction. The achievement of political independence is seen as being followed by a programme of reforms which will transform the nation into a united strong, stable and prosperous power. The nations of South-East Asia differed on the type of reconstruction they desired, and on the means to be used to bring it about, but nationalist movements in every part of South-East Asia included reconstruction of some sort in their programmes.

The formation of nationalist movements, on the other hand, may be seen as the first expression of a new class which was the product of colonial rule. This class may be described for the sake of convenience as "the new middle class," but it should be remembered it was a cultural rather than an economic entity. Its members by no means belonged to some 'income bracket,' nor did they share the same social background. Students and professional men like Sukarno and Sjahrir in Indonesia or Aung San in Burma were as much members of the group as western-educated aristocrats like Raden Adjeng Kartini, the daughter of a Javanese Regent, who is regarded by the Indonesians themselves as the first prophet of Indonesian nationalism.

it. The North Borneo territories also lacked strong nationalist organisations before the Second World War. The very slow spread of western education and a general lack of political consciousness may be regarded as the main reasons.



the most important single factor which produced the rise of nationalism. The members of this group learnt the ideal of nationalism from their European masters; at the same time, they resented presence of Europeans who blocked their way to positions of political and economic importance. Other factors were at work in South-East Asia, however, which also favoured the rise and spread of nationalism. These factors explain why the movements begun by members of the small western-educated group soon attracted popular support and became 'national' organisations in a true sense. Sukarno, describing the part played by western educated intellectuals in the growth of Indonesian nationalism, puts the matter very neatly when he wrote: "The sun does not rise because the cock crows; the cock crows because the sun is rising." (Quoted by Jan Romein, *The Asian Century* p. 234.)

(b) Nationalism in India, China and Japan

The example of nationalist movements in other Asian countries had a tremendous influence in South-East Asia. In India and China, nationalism made its appearance towards the end of the nineteenth century. In India, the National Congress was established in Bombay in 1880, while in China, Sun Yat Sen had begun to organise his first nationalist groups in the 1880s. The progress of the nationalists in India and China acted as a stimulus to nationalism in South-East Asia. The influence of events in Japan was even stronger. During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, Japan had become a world power of the first rank, with a modern system of government and modern armed forces. In 1904-5 Japan was able to defeat Russia in a war fought over their respective rights in Korea and Manchuria. For the first time, an Asian country had triumphed over a European power. Nationalist movements throughout South-East Asia were inspired by new hope and confidence.

(c) The Treatment of the First Nationalists

The treatment of the first nationalist movements by the various colonial governments stimulated them to greater action and more extreme demands. The French, the Dutch and the British all viewed the nationalists with suspicion and attempted, in different ways,

(a) *The "New Middle Class"*

The term "new middle class" embraces all those who had been deeply influenced by western customs and ideas. Most frequently, these ideas reached the people through western-type schools which the Europeans established throughout South-East Asia, but there were other channels of influence as well. The press was another means by which western ideas spread; personal contact a third. Those who were affected by western ideas came from many different walks of life, but the most vocal section of the new middle class consisted of professional men, notably lawyers, teachers, doctors and journalists. In South-East Asia the existence of this new class became evident towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth. In India, where western-type schools had existed since the 1830's, the new middle class had made its appearance sooner, in the 1850s and 1860s.

Members of the new middle class acted as the early leaders of nationalist movements in every South-East Asian country. For one thing, the members of this class came into contact with the ideas of European nationalism. In school, they learnt of the French Revolution and the Revolts of 1848, of how nationalism had acted as a vital force in European history. They were soon struck by the contrast between the ideals of European nationalists and the colonial status of their own countries.

The new middle class included the educated men of South-East Asian society, many of whom had received a University education either in their own countries or in Europe. After completing their education, they found that the openings for their talents were strictly limited, largely because the key posts in government and commerce were held by European expatriates. This situation gradually produced a sense of bitterness and frustration which found an outlet in nationalist movements. The only way to obtain promotion appeared to be winning of independence or, at least, the limitation of the power of the Europeans. Most nationalist movements began by demanding greater local participation in colonial government and ended by requesting complete independence from colonial rule.

The existence of this new middle class in South-East Asian countries at the beginning of the twentieth century was perhaps

protect themselves against Chinese competition.

(e) Religion as a Bond of Unity

Throughout South-East Asia, there was a close association between religion and nationalism. In Burma and Indonesia, religion acted as a bond of unity between the nationalists, for it was religion, very largely, which marked off the indigenous peoples of these countries, both from Asian immigrants and from their European overlords. In Indonesia, it was Islam which prevented the first popular nationalist organisations from falling under Communist domination. The growth of nationalism was also accompanied by religious revivals as the people of South-East Asia sought to emphasise their native institutions as against the religion and customs of the West. In Indonesia, the movement to purify Islam gave rise to the growth of the Muhammadiyah which in turn gave inspiration to the budding nationalist parties. In Burma, the Buddhist priest, the *pongyi*, regained some of his former influence and used it to spread nationalist ideals. Religion, then, helped to give coherence to the nationalists, while religious revivals acted as a stimulus to the growth of nationalism.

(f) The Europeans and the Nations of South-East Asia

In one sense, it could be said that the Europeans themselves created the nations of South-East Asia. European expansion and rule created the political units within which nationalism could flourish. Before 1874, for example, there was no such nation as "Malaya"; only a number of small states under mutually independent chiefs. British rule created the political unit which came to be known as Malaya. The same may be said of the British in Burma and the Dutch in Indonesia. The Dutch achievement is impressive since they united three-thousand islands covering more than three thousand miles under their rule. The Europeans also helped to produce a sense of unity among the people of the nations they ruled. These people were, for the first time, united under a single government and improved communications enabled people from different parts of a country to remain in touch with one another. These communications also enabled nationalist ideas to spread.

Nationalism in Europe also produced important effects in

to suppress or, at least, to curtail the activities of nationalist movements. Sometimes, as with the French in Indo-China, the attempt consisted in the use of force; sometimes, as with the Dutch in Indonesia, conciliation was attempted at first and was followed up by force later. Neither method succeeded. Force on the part of the colonial administration produced only reciprocal action by the nationalists themselves, and strengthened their determination to achieve complete independence. On the other hand, conciliation and compromise failed to fulfill the desires of the nationalists and were often taken as a fatal sign of weakness. Very often, as in the case of Indonesia, for example, attempts at compromise came begrudgingly and too late. No amount of political or military action by the colonial governments could have suppressed nationalism permanently, but, in the event, the nationalists were mishandled in such a way as to increase their ambitions and determination. Only in the Philippines did the Americans introduce measures of self-government at the pace required by the nationalists, while, on the whole, the Dutch, the British and the French failed to adapt their policies sufficiently to meet the changing circumstances of the twentieth century.

(d) Foreign immigrants in South-East Asia

The increase of foreign migration into South-East Asia at the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth was a further stimulus to the growth of nationalism. Europeans never settled in South-East Asia to the extent that they had settled in the African colonies, but many Asian immigrants, particularly from India and China, were attracted by the commercial opportunities which colonial rule had created. Malaya may serve as an example. Chinese from the southern provinces of China entered Malaya to work in the tin mines or to set up as retail businessmen or traders. Indians came later to supply the demand for labour on Malayan rubber estates. Similar situations developed in other countries. In Burma, Indians secured a large interest in the rice lands of the Irrawaddy estuary while in Indonesia, Thailand and North Borneo, Chinese began to play a major part in all commercial activities. The indigenous people of South-East Asia soon realised that their position was endangered by the presence of these 'foreigners' and they took steps to protect their interests. In Indonesia, the first fully-fledged nationalist party Sarekat Islam, arose largely because Javanese traders wished to

The first stirrings of Filipino nationalism may be detected as early as 1872 when two hundred Filipino soldiers at the Cavite arsenal near Manila staged a mutiny and accompanied their uprising with a demand for independence. Twenty years later, Rizal organised large scale agitation against the feudal rights of the Spanish landlords in the Philippines, who exercised an absolute control over the Filipino labourers who worked on their estates. Rizal was arrested and died before a Spanish firing squad in 1896 but the nationalist feelings which he had aroused did not die with him. Shortly after his death, a revolt against Spanish rule broke out under the extremist, Emilio Aguinaldo. The revolt was suppressed, however, and Aguinaldo went into exile in Hong Kong. He was still there when the Spanish-American War broke out, and the Americans actually sent him back to the Philippines to act as a thorn in the side of the Spanish authorities. As you have read, the defeat of the Spaniards was followed by the annexation of the Philippines by the United States in 1898.

American Policy in the Philippines

If Aguinaldo had hoped to achieve independence with American aid, he was soon disappointed. The acquisition of the Philippines, although opposed by many Americans, consolidated the American position in the Pacific and the United States Government was not prepared to hand its new possession over immediately to the Filipinos, especially not to the extremists like Aguinaldo. A republic which Aguinaldo had established shortly before the American annexation failed to secure recognition, and Aguinaldo himself was captured in 1901 after three years of unsuccessful guerilla warfare. The American commander who suppressed the rebellion was General MacArthur, the father of the American general who fought in the Philippines during the Second World War.

Soon after the annexation of the islands President McKinley stated that American policy was to "educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilise and Christianise them do the very best we could for them." In so far as actual American policy was consistent, its emphasis changed with each succeeding administration in the United States, it may be described as benevolent paternalism accompanied by the advance of the Philippines towards self-government by slow and easy stages. The first part of this policy was accomplished

South-East Asia. There was in fact a basic contradiction between the ideals which the Europeans proclaimed in their own countries and the situations which they allowed to exist in the East. This contradiction became evident to more than one South-East Asian nationalist. At the Versailles Conference which followed the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States put forward "Fourteen Points" for the guidance of the peacemakers. These points included the right of all nations to determine their own future. But when Ho Chi Minh turned up at the Conference in borrowed evening clothes and armed with a petition for the independence of Vietnam, he was not even given a hearing.

(g) South-East Asia Comes of Age

Finally, the nationalist movements are a sign of South-East Asia's 'coming of age'. By the beginning of the twentieth century, many people of South-East Asian countries, people, in particular, of the new middle class, resented the political and economic dominance of the Europeans. They felt that they were ready and able to govern themselves and to organise their own economic life. This feeling underlies South-East Asian nationalism and explains the deep resentment of South-East Asian peoples at being regarded as "inferior" to their western rulers.

Despite the fact that nationalist movements arose in different South-East Asian countries for very similar reasons, there was, strangely enough, little contact between them. Nationalism, as we shall see, developed independently in the different regions of South-East Asia and nationalist organisations differed very greatly in their organisation and methods.

(1) Nationalism in the Philippines

In South-East Asia, nationalism made its first appearance in the Philippines, where it was directed first against Spanish rule and then, after 1898, against the colonial administration of the United States. The Philippines had been subject to extensive western influence since the Spaniards first arrived in the islands in 1571, and with the development of a modern system of western education in the nineteenth century, the idea of nationalism had quickly taken root.

the Philippines in the first place, and they now pressed on towards granting the Filipino's independence. Immediately, Filipino membership in the Commission was increased, giving them a majority in both Houses. The Jones Act of 1916 brought further changes. The Commission, whose members had been appointed by the American President, gave way to a Senate with 24 elected members, and the Legislative Assembly became a House of Representatives with 92 elected members. In 1921, however, the Republicans returned to power in Washington, and a Commission sent out by them to the Philippines, reported that the time was not ripe for self-government. Despite local requests for independence, additional steps towards it were thus delayed. The Republican attitude was neatly stated in a letter of President Coolidge (1923-1929):- "The Filipino people do not have sufficient experience nor the standard of living to bear the burden which independence would lay upon them." (Quoted by J. Romein, op. cit. p. 228-229.) The Republicans were particularly worried about the economic position in the Philippines if, after independence, the tariff concessions of 1909 were withdrawn. The answer was provided by Quezon, who wrote: "We should prefer to rule ourselves in Hell to being ruled by others in Heaven." (Quoted by J. Romein, Ibid.)

The election of Democratic President Roosevelt after the trade depression of 1929-1931, set American policy back on its traditional lines. In March, 1934, Roosevelt approved the important Tydings-McDuffie Act. In accordance with its provisions, the Philippines were to become independent after an interim period of ten years. A Philippines Commonwealth was to be set up with a single chamber legislature and an elected President. An American High Commissioner was to be appointed to act as a link between the Commonwealth and the United States Government. The Philippines were to become independent in July, 1946. In 1935 a Filipino plebiscite came out in favour of these arrangements and Quezon was elected as the first Filipino President. The years after the election of Quezon saw the rise of Socialist and Communist groups which opposed the conservative and rather easy-going government of the *Nacionalistas*, but the Commonwealth nevertheless was proceeding smoothly and independence appeared to be in sight when the Japanese attacked in 1942.

successfully, and important steps were taken to improve the welfare of the Filipino people. American schools were established throughout the islands in which English was the medium of instruction. Hospitals were established and a vast programme of public works was initiated. A network of new roads and railways was planned and built. The estates of ecclesiastical landlords were bought up by the government and sold to the Filipino peasants. In 1909, the Philippines were incorporated into the American tariff system which meant freedom of trade between the two countries. The Filipinos gained by this system, which enabled them to export hemp, sugar, timber, tobacco and copra to the United States in return for American machinery, food and cars.

The estates of ecclesiastical landlords were broken up, but not those which were held by secular Filipino and Spanish owners. On these secular estates, the *haciendas*, as they were called, the lot of the peasants continued to be a miserable one. The peasants paid heavy rents, they had little freedom and they were often heavily indebted to the landlord's agent from whom they obtained cash advances which they could not repay. Little was done on these estates to introduce new crops or to modernise agriculture. In effect, the *haciendas* were miniature kingdoms with which American officials seldom interfered.

Rather in the manner of the British in Burma, the Americans encouraged the gradual introduction of self-government and were also pressed towards this goal by Filipino nationalists. By the time Aguinaldo's revolt was suppressed, a civil government had been established in 1901 under a Governor-General. The first Governor was William Howard Taft, a liberal official who favoured self-government and whose ideas lay behind American policy until 1913. In 1907, a Legislative Assembly was elected, and the Philippine Commission, originally set up in 1901, to aid and advise the Governor, became the Upper House. The Commission had five American and four Filipino members. The *Nacionalistas* under Manuel Luis Quezon (1878-1941), won a majority in the Assembly and pressed for complete independence.

In 1913, the Republican Party, of which Taft was a member, lost its position in Washington to the Democrats under President Woodrow Wilson. The Democrats had opposed the annexation of

Muslim society and to harmonize Islam with the modern age of the West. Schools, hospitals and libraries were established under its auspices, and many Muslim customs were reformed. The *Muhammadiyah* never became a political movement, but the ideas, which it spread led much later to the beginning of the *Masjumi*, one of the most powerful Islamic parties in modern Indonesia.

Sarekat Islam

Boedi Oetomo was followed in 1911 by a nationalist organisation of a very different type. This was the *Sarekat Dagang Islam* or Society of Muslim Traders, which was formed by Javanese *batik* traders to protect themselves against exploitation by the Chinese. The movement began with purely economic aims, but it soon developed cultural and political ambitions. In 1913, Omar Said Tjokro Aminoto, the leader of *Sarekat*, declared that his aim was to seek the national advancement of the Indonesian people although he made it very clear that his movement was non-political and harboured no antagonistic feelings towards the Dutch. In the following year, the Dutch gave legal recognition to the branches of *Sarekat*, but refused to recognise the movement as a whole, a measure which indicates their suspicion of large-scale popular organisations. The membership of *Sarekat* increased rapidly, however, unlike that of *Boedi Oetomo*, and by 1916 the movement claimed a membership of 800,000 and demanded self-government for Indonesia on the basis of a union with Holland. *Sarekat* had become a political party with widespread popular support.

The National Indies Party

Meanwhile, in 1912, a Eurasian journalist, Douwes Dekker, and Dr. Tjipto, one of the founders of *Boedi Oetomo*, combined to form the National Indies Party. This group, the membership of which consisted of educated Eurasians and Indonesians, claimed Indonesia for those to whom it rightfully belonged by birth. The declared aim of the Indies Party was complete independence from Dutch rule. Its members were somewhat Marxist in outlook, however, and the Dutch authorities, always on the lookout for revolutionary bodies, banned the Party within a year of its foundation. The Indies Party nevertheless had some important effects; its

(2) Nationalism in Indonesia

Boedi Oetomo and the Muhammadiyah

The first signs of a nationalist movement in Indonesia became apparent at the very beginning of the twentieth century, with the foundation of a society called *Boedi Oetomo* ('Glorious Endeavour') in 1908. It was founded by a retired medical practitioner named Dr. Oesada and its main aim was to campaign for the social and educational advancement of the Javanese. It did not have any political aims, but it does indicate the growing national consciousness and pride of the Javanese middle class. Its membership was small, and confined largely to the western-educated members of Javanese society, particularly to students and civil servants, but one of the aims of *Boedi Oetomo* — the revival of traditional Javanese culture — indicates the beginning of the rebellion against western predominance. One other point is worth noticing here. *Boedi Oetomo* was a Javanese movement, and later nationalist organisations tended also to be predominantly Javanese. In Indonesia, nationalism began in Java and spread only very slowly through the Outer Islands.

Boedi Oetomo advocated the spread of western education — as well as the revival of traditional culture — as one of the means of advancing the Javanese people. In this it was echoing the ideas of Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904), the daughter of a Regent in Java, who a little earlier had been calling for the education of Javanese women. The attitude of *Boedi Oetomo* is explained in a letter which Kartini wrote to a friend in Holland:- "Oh, now I understand why they (the Dutch) are opposed to the education of Javanese. When the Javanese becomes educated he will no longer say amen to everything that is suggested to him by his superiors," (Quoted by L. Palmier, *Indonesia and the Dutch*.) The advance of a western education was regarded as a means by which the Javanese might prepare themselves for independence.

Another group in Java also became interested in the spread of western customs and ideas, and for very similar reasons. In 1912, a group of Javanese Muslims who had fallen under the influence of the Islamic modernist movement, founded in Cairo about 1900 by Shaik Muhammad Abduh, established the *Muhammadiyah*. Its aim was to introduce western customs into

Militant Nationalism

The Dutch response to the first nationalist demands fell far short of the expectations of the nationalists themselves, and after 1917, nationalism in Indonesia entered a more extreme and militant phase, becoming more openly anti-Dutch in character. Left-wing ideas began to penetrate into Indonesia after the dramatic Communist Revolution in Russia in 1917.

In the same year as the Russian Revolution, Hendrik Sneerliet formed the Indian Social Democratic Club, with the secret aim of overthrowing by force the Dutch regime in Indonesia, although in public, Sneerliet spoke only of "constitutional measures". One of the members of the Club, Semuan, tried to persuade *Sarekat* to adopt Communist aims, and, when he failed to do so, set up *Perserikatan Komunis India* (PKI), the first Indonesian Communist party in 1920. The following years saw a struggle for supremacy between *Sarekat* and PKI, who looked at Moscow for guidance and inspiration, while *Sarekat* adopted the policy of non-co-operation of the National Congress in India. PKI suffered from the disadvantage that it could not win over the deeply-religious Muslims of Indonesia, and its only hope of overthrowing the government therefore, was by a successful armed revolt which did not depend upon mass support. *Sarekat* stood for greater change of winning over the Indonesian masses. *Boedi Oetomo* continued to exist with a small membership, but it did take an active part in Indonesian politics. The *Muhammadiyah* confined its attentions to cultural progress.

Between 1923 and 1926 the Communists made a series of attempts to overthrow the Dutch by dislocating the political and economic life of the country. A rail strike in 1923 was followed by a strike in the metal industries two years later; both were put down by the Dutch with force. In the November of 1926, PKI attempted to organise a widespread rebellion in Java and West Sumatra. Mass support was lacking, however, and the Dutch were able to nip the revolt in the bud. PKI was banned and many of its members were interned in New Guinea. With the failure of militant left-wing nationalism, leadership passed back to the more moderate parties.

In the meantime, in 1925, the Netherlands Parliament had altered the constitution of the *Volkstraad* to appease the nationalists,

influence had been partly responsible for persuading *Sarekat* to adopt political objectives.

The Dutch Ethical Policy

By 1916, therefore, the Dutch had seen the rise of two nationalist organisations, the one claiming self-government, the other complete independence. At this point, it is worthwhile considering the steps which the Dutch themselves had taken towards creating responsible self-government for Indonesia. In 1901, a coalition government of three Christian parties came into power in Holland under the leadership of Abraham Kuyper, with the declared aim that it was the "moral duty" and responsibility of his Government to look into the welfare of the people that came under its rule. Kuyper further showed his good intentions by cancelling the repayment of a large loan which Holland had made to Indonesia. The policy of "moral duty" became known as the Ethical Policy of which we have read in Chapter 12.

Kuyper did not envisage giving self-government to Indonesia, but he did regard some measure of decentralisation as necessary, giving more authority to Indonesians at the level of local government. A series of decrees between 1904 and 1905 created local councils in the regulation of village affairs. The central government, however, remained firmly under Dutch control. The formation of *Sarekat* and the *Indies Party*, with their political aims, caused the Dutch Government to move a step further, in an attempt to provide a safe and legitimate outlet for nationalist feelings. This was the establishment of the *Volkstraad* (or Peoples' Council) in 1916. Half the members of this body were elected by local and city councils, and half were appointed by the Governor-General. But the *Volkstraad* failed to satisfy the nationalists. It had a European majority and its functions were purely advisory; it had no legislative powers and neither the Governor-General nor his heads of department were responsible to it. It did, however, serve as a platform from which the more moderate nationalist leaders could express their ideas, even if these ideas had no influence on the policy of the government. Nationalism flourished largely in the many parties which developed outside the *Volkstraad*, only some of which were represented in that body.

remote possibility. Looking back, it is interesting to note the influence of Islam on Indonesian nationalism. Religion was the bond which kept the nationalists together, and it was the factor which prevented the nationalist movements as a whole from falling under Communist domination.

(3) Nationalism in Burma

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, Burma gained from being part of India. Constitutional reforms which were introduced by the British into India were always followed by similar reforms in the Government of Burma. The elective principle was introduced into municipal government in 1874, when partly-elected Municipal Committees were established in many Burmese towns. In 1884, the principle was extended to Rural District Committees. In 1897 a Legislative Council was established with a membership of nine nominated members, of whom five were unofficial. Its task was to advise the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Reform of 1909

In 1909, after the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms in India, the membership of the Council was increased to thirty, and it was given a non-official majority. The Council could pass resolutions, take votes and ask questions, but its decisions were not binding on the Lieutenant-Governor. Only one member of the enlarged Council was elected. It had, therefore, only a little more power and importance than the *Volkstraad* which the Dutch had introduced into Indonesia. Unlike the Dutch, however, the British at this stage were not being pressed by strong nationalist movements in Burma; the policy of the British in Burma simply reflected the policy they had adopted in India, where a strong nationalist party, the National Congress, did exist and was pressing for self-government. In Burma, the only nationalist group was the Young Men's Buddhist Association, which was set up by students at Rangoon College in 1908; its membership was small and it was interested (like *Boedi Oetomo*) in culture and social welfare rather than in politics.

but again without success. Dutch members still outnumbered Indonesians by 30 to 25. The move was nevertheless regarded as a sign of weakness and it naturally encouraged a more widespread demand for independence.

New Parties, 1926-1942

Nationalist parties proliferated in the era between the collapse of the PKI revolt and the Japanese invasion of 1942. The most important of these was the Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (the PNI) which was formed in June, 1927, by members of a study group in Bandung. Once again, members of the western-educated Javanese middle-class took the initiative, and the leader of the new group was a young Javanese engineer named Sukarno. The aim of PNI was to unite all nationalist groups in Indonesia. The Dutch became alarmed at its rapid growth and suspected it of revolutionary aims. Sukarno and other leaders were arrested at the end of 1929 and PNI was outlawed in the following year. PNI's popular newspaper, *Persatuan Indonesia*, which had helped to spread nationalist propaganda and which demanded a free Indonesia, was forced to cease publication.

Sukarno was released in 1931 and became the head of a new nationalist group, the *Partai Indonesia*. He was rearrested two years later in 1933 and exiled until 1942. Other nationalist leaders, such as Mohamed Hatta and Sjahrir, suffered a similar fate in 1934. The only nationalists who remained at large were those whom the Dutch felt were innocuous, and who were willing to take part in the open discussions of the ineffective *Volkstraad*. By this time, the *Volkstraad* had a slight elected majority, but it remained only a consultative body. The Dutch shelved all requests from the *Volkstraad* for gradual self-government. The most reactionary and conservative Dutch views were expressed by Jonkheer de Jonge, a businessman who was Governor-General from 1931 until 1936. "We have ruled here for three hundred years with the policeman's club," he said, "and things will be no different in the next three hundred." (Quoted by J. Romein op. cit. p. 235.)

On the eve of the Japanese occupation, nationalism was a strong and growing force in Indonesia, but the attitude of the Dutch suggested that the attainment of independence was a very

moment, they desired the option of contracting out of it at a later stage. When the British refused to grant this option, opposition to separation crumbled, and the Anti-Separation League came to an end.

Separation was brought about by the Government of Burma Act of 1935, when Burma became a separate entity controlled directly by the British Crown through the Burma Office in London. Constitutional changes were also implemented. The Governor remained solely responsible for foreign affairs, defence and monetary policy, but on all other matters he was compelled to seek the advice of Ministers who were responsible to the Legislative Council. The Governor was given emergency powers, but he gave the assurance that he would use them only as a last-resort. A Cabinet of ten ministers was set up under a Prime Minister responsible to the Legislative Council. This Council was itself reorganised and became divided into a Senate and House of Representatives. Half of the 36 members of the Senate were to be elected by the House of Representatives and half were to be nominated by the Governor. In the House of Representatives 92 of the 132 members were to be elected by males over the age of 18 and the rest represented communal and special interests. In 1937 separation became an accomplished fact, and Dr. Ba Maw became the first Prime Minister. At the same time, the mountainous regions of Upper Burma, which were inhabited by non-Burmese people such as the Shans and the Karens, were excluded from the jurisdiction of the new government and given their own governor. The future of the Excluded Areas had been an important political issue in Burma ever since.

Nationalist Politics, 1937-1942

Up to the point of separation, Burmese nationalism, unlike that of Indonesia, was lacking in militance and violence, largely because the British took steps to introduce a measure of real self-government. A large-scale rebellion had broken out in Tharrawaddy in 1931, but it was not a nationalist revolt. Its leader was a Buddhist monk-magician named Saya San and the rebels were a mixture of ambitious brigands and discontented peasants, held together by superstition, magical charms and common agrarian grievance. It was a movement of the old type which aimed at the setting up of a kingdom with a Buddhist monk as king. It took the British over a year to round up the last rebel guerillas, and 128 of them were hanged. It was about

The Dyarchy of 1923

Following the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in India, a system of government known as the "dyarchy" was introduced into Burma in 1923. A new Legislative Council was to have 103 members, of whom 79 were to be elected and the rest nominated. An Executive Council was set up with two members in charge of "Reserved Subjects" i.e. those aspects of government which remained directly under the Lieutenant-Governor's control; defence, law, finance; and two members in charge of the "Transferred Subjects" i.e. those sections of government whose heads were responsible to the Legislative Council: education, public health, forestry and excise. In addition, a majority of the members of all Municipal and Rural District Councils were to be elected.

The introduction of 'dyarchy' marked a considerable step forward for the people of Burma. Burmese were given a real opportunity to take part in representative institutions; others were admitted to the Civil Service and gained valuable administrative experience. At the same time, the Burmese attachment to India brought its disadvantages. Among these were Indian immigration and the competition of Indian traders and labourers, similar to the competition offered to the Indonesians by the Chinese. Nationalist organisations arose after 1923 requesting separation from India and the granting of responsible self-government to Burma as a nation in its own right. Among these was the extreme Grand Council of Buddhist Association under U Chit Hlaing which boycotted the Legislative Council.

Separation from India

In 1928 the Simon Commission reviewed the reforms of 1923 and decided in favour of the separation of Burma from India. As soon as separation became part of British policy, however, the Burmese nationalists began to suspect it. They feared that the British were using separation as a trick to slow down the constitutional development of Burma. An Anti-Separation League was formed under the leadership of Dr. Ba Maw, and it soon attracted a widespread popular support. In the elections of 1932, which were fought largely over the question of separation, the League won a large majority. In the debates which followed, the League made it clear that, although they favoured the union with India at the

class of Vietnam, many of whom had received a western education and now preached democracy and reform rather than a return to the traditional Nguyen regime. A number of revolutionary movements developed and organised uprisings against the French. Phan Chu Trinh, a prominent Vietnamese scholar, organised anti-French demonstrations in Annam and Tongking. In 1908, an unsuccessful attempt was made to poison the French troops stationed at Hanoi, while in 1916, a large-scale revolt broke out in Annam, under the scholar Tran Cao Van, with the aim of expelling the French. But the rebellion was poorly organised and the French were able to suppress it in its opening stages. Abroad, especially in Tokyo and Canton, revolutionary leaders who escaped arrest by the French, inspired a series of plots and acts of violence. Those who were unlucky enough to be caught were executed or sent to the forced-labour camps on Pulo Condore and Lao Bao.

Not all the nationalists believed that violence was the most suitable method of opposing French rule. A few, like the founders of *Boedi Oetomo* in Indonesia, favoured the spread of western education and ideas as a necessary preliminary to the demand for self-government. Members of one moderate group succeeded in establishing a school at Hanoi which gave free education in western subjects. Another group aimed at modernising the country and breaking with the traditions of the past. Its members described themselves as the "Hair-Cutters" because they symbolised their aims by refusing to wear their hair long in the traditional fashion. But these moderate movements met with little support and in 1918 none of them was organised as a political party.

The First World War had the effect the stimulating nationalist movements in Indo-China. In 1918, a hundred thousand Indochinese, who had served in France as soldiers and labourers during the war, returned home. In Paris they had been brought into direct contact with the nationalist ideas of the West and many had been present during the Versailles Conference, when the victorious statesmen of Europe had proclaimed the right of each nation to choose its own destiny. They returned home to find Indo-China still under the absolute rule of the French. After the war, many Indo-Chinese nationalists felt that they would be able to pursue their aims by constitutional means and that the French would lend an ear to their requests. So in 1923, the Constitutionalist Party was organised

this time that Ba Maw, who became Prime Minister in 1937, made his name as a leading nationalist intellectual. A Cambridge-trained lawyer, he defended Saya San in the trial which followed the Tharrawaddy Rebellion.

In the years between 1937 and 1942, Burmese nationalism became more extreme and more anti-British. Students of Rangoon University played a prominent part in organising demands for complete independence. A group of revolutionary nationalists known as the Thakins also became more prominent. The Thakins were the leading members of a Socialist party, the *Dobama Asiayone*, which had been founded by intellectuals from Rangoon University in about 1934. They were extremists and some, like Thakin Tun, were also Communists. Anti-British feeling was becoming more intense and more widespread when the Japanese interrupted Burma's political progress.

(4) Nationalism in Indo-China

Nationalism in Indo-China differed in several important respects from the contemporary movements in Burma and Indonesia. In the first place, there was more continuity in Indo-China between the older anti-French movements and the nationalist organisations of the early twentieth century. In Vietnam, as you have read, there was a long tradition of opposition to French rule, led by the mandarins and the scholars of the old Nguyen regime. When the Emperor Ham Nghi had been deposed by the French in 1884, he had fled into the hills and engaged in three years of guerilla warfare; after his betrayal to the French, risings continued under the leadership of a scholar, Phan Dinh Phung. Even after Phan Dinh Phung's defeat, trouble continued in Tonking. These same scholars and mandarins played an important part in the early nationalist movement. In the second place, nationalism in Indo-China, unlike that of Burma and Indonesia, fell under Communist domination, owing mainly to the efforts of Ho Chi Minh. Moreover, nationalism was more violent and bitter in Indo-China than in any of the other territories of South-East Asia.

The First Nationalists, 1900-1927

Between 1900 and the end of the First World War, resistance to the French was kept alive by members of the scholar and mandarin

Nationalist Politics, 1931-1942

French action brought a temporary end to the revolutionary movements, and the leadership of Indo-Chinese nationalism passed back into the hands of the more moderate parties. The moderates were extremely hopeful when, in 1936, a new Popular Front came into power in France. They were disappointed, however, for no concessions were forthcoming. When the Popular Front fell in France, the main nationalist body, the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Front, went underground. When the Japanese arrived, Indo-Chinese nationalism was strong but French repression had enabled it to make little headway.

Of some interest here is a movement known as *Caodaism* which was founded in Cochin China by Ngo Van Vhien in the 1930s. It was an attempt to blend many religions of the world into one new synthetic faith. Its places of worship displayed Christian statues along with the images of the Buddha and Confucius, and it had its own 'Pope'. After 1936, members of the *Caodai* faith began to spread nationalist propaganda and to adopt an anti-French and Pro-Japanese stand. The movement is still alive today in many parts of Vietnam.

(5) Revolution in Thailand (1932)

In Indonesia, Burma and Indo-China, nationalism naturally took the form of opposition to foreign rule. This was not possible in Siam, for Siam had somehow managed to escape western domination and had remained an independent nation. In Siam, the nationalist spirit found an outlet by "substituting a form of constitutional government for the old Chakri absolutism." (Hall, *op. cit.* p. 672.) This was brought about by the Revolution of 1932, which occurred during the reign of King Prajadhipok, who became ruler on the death of his elder brother, Vajiravudh, in 1925. The revolution, like the nationalist movements in other parts of South-East Asia, was led by members of the small, western-educated middle class who had been influenced by the democratic ideals of the West. It is, in fact, commonly described as the "Middle Class Revolution."

The revolution was sparked off by the financial difficulties in which the Siamese government found itself involved in 1931, as a

in Saigon by Bui Chieu and Nguyen Phan Long to request some measure of self-government and reform. In 1925, a Tongkinese intellectual, Pham Quynh, put forward a scheme for the formation of a Viet Nam People's Progressive Party with similar aims. The moderate nationalists were soon disappointed. The French Governor-General refused to recognise Pham Quynh's party and turned a deaf ear to the requests of the Constitutionalists. This attitude brought the short era of moderate nationalism to an end and encouraged the revival of the revolutionary groups.

Extreme Nationalism, 1927-1937

In 1927, the New Annam Revolutionary Association was founded to fight for independence; its members consisted both of Communists and of other members of the western-educated class. But it was suppressed by the French almost as soon as it began. In the same year, the Indo-Chinese Communist Party was founded by Nguyen Ai-quoc, who is better known as Ho Chi Minh. Little is known of Ho Chi Minh's origin and early life. He was born in Annam in 1892 and travelled to France in a merchant ship in 1914. In Paris, he worked as a photographer's assistant, but he soon became interested in journalism and socialist politics, and wrote inflammatory articles attacking French rule in Indo-China. He worked for a while both in Canton and Moscow, and returned to Indo-China as a convinced Communist in 1927, in time to become the leader of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party.

In 1927, another non-Communist revolutionary party was founded in Hanoi, called the *Viet-Nam-Quoc-Dan-Dang*. Between 1927 and 1931, the Communist Party under Ho Chi Minh and the V.N.Q.D.D. under Nguyen Thai-hoc organised a series of terrorist moves against the French, including, an unsuccessful attempt in 1929 to assassinate the French Governor-General, Pasquier. The following year, the V.N.Q.D.D. organised a mutiny of the troops at Yen Bay, a fortress on the Red River, and other simultaneous uprisings. Force, however, made little impression upon the French, and the nationalist risings were forcibly suppressed. The Red Terror of the Nationalists was followed by the White Terror of the French and many nationalists were imprisoned or executed. Ho Chi Minh himself was forced to escape to Hong Kong in 1931. Others who were not so lucky rotted in the French detention camp on Pulo Condore.

a young Paris-trained lawyer named Luang Pridi Manudharm, who was Professor of Law at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. With the help of large sections of the army, Pridi was able to take over control of the government on June 24, 1932, in a bloodless *coup d'état*.

Pridi's victory was followed by a fundamental reorganisation of the government. A People's Assembly was established with 156 members, half of whom were to be appointed by the King, and half elected by the citizens. Ministers of State became responsible to the Assembly. Princes of the royal blood could not sit as deputies in the Assembly, nor could they become ministers; they were now able to become only advisers or diplomatic officials. The King lost all his prerogatives except his right to dissolve the Assembly, to veto laws and to pass emergency decrees. The failure of a counter-revolution by the King and aristocracy in October, 1933, assured the new constitution of permanent success. The counter-revolt was crushed by a young military officer who had taken part in the Revolution of 1932 — Pibun Songgram.

The governments of Siam which followed the new constitution between 1933 and 1942 were highly nationalistic in policy. Although they had no foreign political masters to overthrow, they did take measures to reduce the economic influence of the Europeans and the Chinese. Some of the measures taken by the government of Pibun Songgram, which came into power in 1938, may serve as an extreme example of this policy. Certain occupations in Siam were reserved for the Siamese; Chinese immigration was restricted; many Chinese newspapers were suppressed and schools closed; leases of the teak industry were given to British firms on less favourable terms. In June, 1939, the name 'Siam' was officially changed to 'Thailand' — 'the land of the free'. And when the Japanese arrived in 1941-2, they found a highly nationalistic government in power.

Summary

The period in South-East Asian history which we have just reviewed (1900-1942) was, then, one of seething unrest and political upsurge in almost every part of the region. Strong nationalist movements had developed in Indonesia, Burma and Indo-China

result of the great slump in Europe and America. Unable to raise loans from other countries, the Siamese Government was forced to introduce drastic economies in its budget. These included cuts in the salaries of junior civil officials and army officers, the very groups among which democratic and nationalist ideals had spread. This situation helped to spread discontent with the absolutism of the Siamese rulers and the excessive influence of members of the Siamese Royal Family, who monopolised all ministerial posts and high army positions. Leadership of the discontented groups was assumed by



Pibun Songgram.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

JAPAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA (1937-1945)

While the countries of South-East Asia were facing the advance of European interests during the nineteenth century with varying fortunes, Japan was developing swiftly as a great power. Two hundred years of Japanese seclusion were ended in 1854 when the American Commodore Mathew Perry, secured a treaty from the Tokugawa Shogun granting considerable trading concessions. The title Shogun had originally been bestowed by the Japanese Emperors on the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, but in 1603, Ieyasu Tokugawa had used the position to make himself into a military dictator. The Emperor remained as a figurehead in Kyoto, while Ieyasu and his successors directed the government and policy of Japan from their headquarters in Tokyo. It was Iemitsu, Ieyasu's grandson who cut Japan off almost completely from contact with the outside world, his main fear being that foreigners might aid the Japanese *daimyo* (feudal lords) to revolt against him. The only westerners who were allowed to trade with Japan were the Dutch, and even they were allowed to maintain only a small trading post on the island of Deshima, near Nagasaki. Japanese were not allowed to travel overseas, nor even to board foreign ships. This policy of seclusion was followed with equal vigor by Iemitsu's successors.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, Japan came under strong pressure to open her doors to western trade. In 1804, the 'Nadiezha', a Russian man-of-war, called at Nagasaki in the course of a journey around the world and requested trading rights. In 1813-14, Sir Stamford Raffles sent two British ships to Japan to try to break the Dutch monopoly of Japanese trade, and in 1844, the Dutch themselves sent an envoy to the Shogun to request further trading concessions.

Not one of these efforts succeeded, and the Shogun remained steadfastly opposed to foreign trade. It was the Americans who finally broke through Japan's commercial barrier. After several unsuccessful expeditions, Commodore Perry was despatched with two warships in 1853. He left a letter from President Fillmore with the Shogun, requesting trade facilities and intimated that he

and, at least in Indonesia and Burma, they had taken important steps forward towards achieving their ultimate aims of self-government and independence. The demands of the nationalists, to which the colonial governments had reacted in different ways, had always produced strife, and sometimes bitterness and bloodshed. In Indonesia, the Dutch had been slow to make concessions and had taken measures to exile the more extreme nationalists. In Burma, mainly owing to its attachment to India, the British introduced some real measure of self-government, but even this was insufficient to satisfy the nationalist groups which appeared after 1937. In Indo-China, the absolute French Government refused to make any concessions to the militant nationalists.

This then was the situation when the armies of Japan overran the nations of South-East Asia in 1941-42. The impact of their invasion and rule will be studied in the next chapter.

"and deliberate with them on the best means of reforming our institutions". The aim of the reformers, then, was to change the society and government of Japan on the model of the western powers.

But first, the debris of the past had to be cleared away. Between 1868 and 1877, the feudal structure of Tokugawa Japan was completely destroyed, as fiefs and clans were abolished and the old system of class distinction based upon occupation came to an end. The changes were opposed by a group of conservative samurai who resented their loss of prestige, and this opposition gave rise to a serious rebellion in 1877, but the revolt was crushed by the government after eight months of bitter fighting. Its leader, Saigo Takamori, committed hara-kiri to avoid the disgrace of being imprisoned and executed.

As the feudal system collapsed, the reformers created a new modern structure to replace it. A conscript army was organised to replace the private armies of the feudal lords and foreign advisers were called in to train it. A Naval College was established in Tokyo in 1873 under a British officer, Commander Douglas, while new codes of law replaced feudal customs which had varied from fief to fief. The government gave its active encouragement to the industrial development of Japan and once again foreigners were called in to help in the initial stages. By 1905, there were two thousand five hundred industrial companies in Japan. Many of these were controlled by four great family cliques, known as the Zaibatsu: Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda. In 1889 a new Constitution was promulgated by the Emperor which completely overhauled the system of government. An Imperial Diet was set up, on the model of Germany, with a House of Peers and a House of Elected Representatives. In one way, however, this new system introduced little change as the Emperor remained all-powerful. The Cabinet was responsible to him rather than to the Diet and the Emperor could when he wished, dissolve the Diet altogether and rule by decree.

It would be wrong to imagine that the Japanese reformers had brought about these changes out of any genuine admiration for western institutions. The main aim had been to strengthen Japan so that she could resist the challenge of the European powers and

would return in the following year for a favourable reply. The Shogun realised that the country was not strong enough to resist American arms, and when Perry returned with a powerful squadron in 1854 a peace treaty was signed. Two ports, Shimoda and Hakodate were opened to supply fuel, water, food and coal to American ships and an American consular representative was allowed to reside in Shimoda. Other European nations took advantage of the situation to secure their own agreements in 1854 and 1855. In 1858, the Americans concluded a commercial treaty with the Shogunate, demanding the opening of four ports other than Shimoda and Hakodate (Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata and Hyogo) and two cities (Edo and Soaka), and calling for arrangements permitting residence to American citizens and diplomats, extra-territorial rights, freedom to trade and customs facilities.

The Tokugawa Shoguns had been faced with increasing opposition from within Japan since 1800, and the success of the foreigners had the effect of reducing their prestige and uniting the opposition against them. The last Tokugawa Shogun resigned under pressure in November, 1867, and in January of the following year the Shogunate was officially abolished. All powers were assumed by the Emperor who was restored to his rightful position after two hundred years of hibernation on Kyoto. The Emperor Komei had died at the beginning of 1867 and his successor was young Mutsuhito, better known as the Meiji Emperor.

The Meiji Era, 1868-1912

During the reign of the Meiji Emperor (1867-1912), Japan was transformed by a series of far-reaching reforms. These reforms, based upon the achievements of the West, were not the work of Mutsuhito himself but of the *daimyo* and the *samurai* (knights) who had overthrown the Shogun and restored the power of the Emperor in 1868. The intentions of the group can be deduced from the Imperial orders issued to Iwakura Tomomi who was sent on a special mission to Europe in 1871. The orders included these words: "We will first study the institutions of civilised nations, adopt those most suited to Japan, and generally reform our Government and manners, so as to attain a status equal to that of the civilised nations." (Elsbree, *Japan's Role in S.E.A. Nationalist Movements*.) Iwakura was told to explain the situation in Japan to the foreigners he met

nearby Japan. The Chinese claimed suzerainty over Korea and it became Japanese policy, therefore, to precipitate a war with China. The war came in 1894, during which China was completely defeated and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, forced to renounce her claim of suzerainty over Korea. For the time being, Korea remained independent, but it fell more under Japanese influence. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Formosa and the Pescadores were also ceded to Japan. For a time Japan acquired the Liaotung Peninsula in South Manchuria but she was forced to give it up under pressure from a group of European powers, of which one was Russia.

With China disposed of, it now appeared that Japan's only means of finally checking Russian ambitions in Manchuria and Korea was by open war with the Russians themselves. In 1902, Japan signed a non-aggression pact with Britain, who also feared Russian ambitions in India, and in 1904, after the Russians had refused to settle the questions of Korea by negotiation, the war with Russia began. To the surprise of the world, the Russians were defeated. The Liaotung Peninsula passed back into Japanese hands and the Russians acknowledged Japan's interests in Korea. In 1910 the process was completed when the Japanese annexed Korea.

The First World War, in which she fought on the side of the Allies, presented Japan with new opportunities for extending her interests at the expense of China. In 1915, Japan's lease on the Liaotung Peninsula was extended and she acquired new privileges in South Manchuria. When the war ended, Japan acquired the German properties in Shantung and a mandate over the former German islands in the Pacific as a reward for her support to the victorious powers. China refused to sign the Treaty which gave these territories to the Japanese, but she was unable to prevent the Japanese from occupying them. By this time, however, the United States and the European powers were becoming alarmed at the extent of Japan's empire and at the prospect of China falling victim to Japanese aggression. This alarm was one of the more important reasons for the calling of the Washington Conference (1921-1922). The agreements signed by the powers which attended, (America, Britain, China, Japan, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Portugal), limited the size of Japan's navy and guaranteed the territorial integrity of China. At this time Japan was, in any case, a 'satiated'

become a 'power' in her own right. For this reason, emphasis had been laid upon military reforms and the development of those industries which could serve a military purpose.

Japanese Expansion, 1870-1937

From 1870 onwards, while the Reform Party of Ito and his companions was changing the structure of Japanese society and government, Japan adopted an increasingly aggressive foreign policy. The opportunity was created by the weakness of China, whose Manchu rulers had already been forced to make many concessions to the westerners, and Japan's earliest acquisitions were all gained at the expense of the tottering Chinese Empire. This aggressive policy may perhaps be regarded as a revival of the policy that the Japanese Emperors had followed before the Tokugawa Shoguns led the country into seclusion. It was in accordance with a divine command, said to have been transmitted to the first Emperor of Japan, that his mission was to bring "the eight corners of the world under one Japanese roof". This command was enshrined in the Shinto religion which also regained popularity after the Meiji restoration of 1868. It may seem strange that the foreign policy of the Japanese government should be decided by the traditional Shinto myth of Japan's universal mission at a time when the country was becoming highly westernised, but the fact is that while the outward form of Japanese life was changing considerably, the Japanese outlook remained basically unaltered. And an important part of this outlook was an immense national pride.

At first, the government was to occupy all territories inhabited by Japanese or which were included in the Japanese group of islands; the pretext being that these areas had at one time been part of the Japanese Empire. Between 1875 and 1891, several groups of islands, notably the Kuriles, the Ryukyus and the Bonin group, were incorporated into Japan as a result of this policy. China claimed suzerainty over these islands, but she was not strong enough to check Japan's advance and her claims were ignored. Japan next turned her attention on Korea. The Russians had recently acquired territory in Manchuria and it seemed possible that their next move would be the occupation of Korea, whose ice-free ports compared favourably with Vladivostok.

A Russian-occupied Korea could be nothing but a danger to

fought back with great bravery, an enemy which had prepared itself for years for the war which caught China unprepared and weak.

Japan and South-East Asia, 1937-1942

The success of Japanese arms in China led the more extreme Japanese politicians to increase the scope of their ambitions. They began to visualise a Japanese empire which included the states of South-East Asia in addition to China and Manchuria. These additional territories would also, so it was argued, solve Japan's acute economic problems by providing markets, raw materials and an outlet for Japan's surplus population. In 1938, the government of Prince Konoye declared that it was "the ultimate aim of Imperial Japan to establish a New Order, which will secure internal peace in the Far East." (Elsbree, *Japan's Role in S.E.A. Nationalist Movements.*) The New Order meant an eastern Asia united under Japan. The first stage of this policy consisted in the speedy completion of the conquest of China and it was with this task in view that the Japanese began to intervene in South-East Asia.

In February, 1939, the Japanese navy occupied the island of Hainan off the coast of Indo-China with the object of cutting supplies which reached China via French territory. The collapse of France in the early stages of World War Two, which began in September, 1939, placed Japan in a strong position. In June, 1940, the French were forced to agree to close the frontier of Indo-China and stop the supply of war materials to China, and a Japanese control Commission was allowed into the country to ensure that this agreement was carried out. In September, after Hitler's armies had occupied a large part of France, the weak Vichy Government of unoccupied France, allowed Japanese troops into Indo-China, placing the country virtually under Japanese control. Meanwhile, Hitler's advance in Europe had led Japanese politicians to become even more ambitious, for the lands of South-East Asia seemed to lie at their mercy as the European nations fought for their own survival in the West. In a speech of June, 1940, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Arita, inaugurated the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the *Dai Toa Kyoëiken*, with these words:

"The countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas are geographically, racially and economically very closely related . . .

nation and she was prepared, for ten years at least, to abide by treaties which effectively checked her advance. In 1928, Japan signed the Pact of Paris by which the great powers renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

In 1931, however, Japanese aggression began again and neither the Washington powers nor the League of Nations could do anything to stop it. A variety of new reasons caused Japan to abandon the pacific foreign policy she had adopted after the Washington Conference. One of these was the increasing control of the military group in Japan over the civil government, which brought with it a revival of Japan's traditional national ambitions. Another was the rapid increase of population in an already overcrowded land and the need for an outlet for emigrants. A third was Japan's lack of raw materials and of ready markets for her industrial goods. Japan had no colonial possessions of her own and her goods were not welcomed in the territories under western rule. In Malaya, for example, the British protected Lancashire textiles from the competition of cheaper goods from Japan by the imposition of heavy import taxes. The assurance of markets and raw materials was one of the major reasons for the renewal of Japanese imperialism after 1931. Finally, Japan feared the revival of Russian interests in Manchuria.

Japan's new policy found expression in the Mukden Incident of September, 1931. When a bomb exploded on the Japanese controlled South Manchuria railway at Mukden, the Japanese alleged a Chinese conspiracy against them. Japanese troops moved in and Manchuria was completely taken over. China appealed to the League of Nations, but the League was unable to drive the Japanese out and was eventually forced to accept a *fait accompli*. In the years between 1931 and 1937, China and Japan were theoretically at peace, but the Japanese were slowly advancing their interests in northern China, the advance producing a whole series of 'incidents' and occasional armed clashes. Finally in 1937, the veil of pretence was removed. A clash between Chinese and Japanese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge led to the declaration of full-scale war. The Japanese rapidly occupied Nanking, Canton and Hankow and in March, 1940, a puppet government under Wang Ching Wei was set up over the Japanese-occupied areas of China. "Free China", under Chiang Kai-Shek and its capital at Chungking.

Movements.) This was followed in April, 1941, with the signing of a Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact. The Japanese hoped that these agreements would be sufficient to persuade the Americans also to acquiesce in their plan of expansion.

Japanese politicians had miscalculated, however, for the Americans continued to oppose Japan's plans. In August, 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt held an important meeting at sea by which they agreed to co-operate in preventing Japan's programme of expansion. By September, therefore, the Japanese had decided that peaceful expansion would be impossible and that war with America was the only solution. On December 8th, 1941, the Japanese implemented this decision, when on the morning of that day, a surprise attack was launched on the American fleet in Pearl Harbour. Almost simultaneously, Guam, Manila, Hongkong, Batavia and Singapore were bombed and Japanese troops landed in North Malaya. In reply, Britain and America declared war on Japan.

During the six months which followed, Japanese armies met with spectacular success throughout South-East Asia. Hong Kong fell on Christmas Day, 1941. On February, 17th, 1942, the Allied forces in Singapore surrendered and the conquest of Malaya was thereby completed. By the middle of March, Batavia had fallen and the Dutch East Indies were in Japanese hands. On April 9th, resistance ended in the Philippines, and during the following month the Japanese completed their occupation of Burma. Thus the colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland came under Japanese sway. Indo-China, as you have read, had already admitted Japanese troops, and the Thai Government of Pibun Songgram had signed a Treaty of Friendship with Japan. The old idea that Japan's success was due to the sheer weight of superior numbers has now been discredited. Apart from the unpreparedness of their opponents, Japan's victories "were due to air and sea superiority and the use of picked and extremely well-trained troops". (Elsbree, *Japan's Role in S.E.A. Nationalist Movements*).

Japan's New Order, 1942-1945

Japan's detailed plans for the New Order in East Asia were formulated by the government in the closing months of 1941 and early in 1942. They envisaged the complete military, political.

The uniting of all these regions in a single sphere on a basis of common existence, insuring thereby the stability of that sphere, is a natural conclusion The system presupposes the existence of a stabilizing force in each region with which as a centre, the people within that region will secure their co-existence and co-prosperity." (Elsbree, *Japan's Role in S.E.A. National Movements*.)

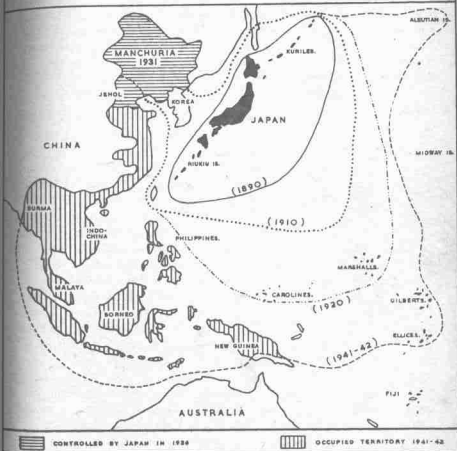
Japan, of course, was to be the "stabilizing force", so that the co-prosperity sphere meant, in reality, an East Asian Empire under Japan. Japan was to be economically as well as politically dominant. The nations of East Asia were to supply raw materials for Japan's industries and then act as markets for Japan's manufactured goods.

The two great obstacles to Japan's plans were America and Russia, neither of which was at that time engaged in the European war, for Japan realised that neither the Americans nor the Russians would welcome a great Japanese Empire in the Far East. At first the Japanese hoped to create this peacefully by neutralising the power of Russia and America. For this reason, in September, 1940, Japan entered into the Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy, by which the German and Italian Governments promised "to recognise and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in East Asia." (Elsbree, *Japan's Role in S.E.A. Nationalist*



British surrendered at Singapore 1942

EXPANSION OF JAPAN



economic and cultural dominance of Japan over the nations of South-East Asia. Apart from Thailand and Indo-China, which had supposedly independent governments in treaty relationship with Japan, the countries of South-East Asia were to be controlled in the first instance by military administrations, and authority was only to be transferred very gradually to local organs of self-government. In Malaya, for example, the Japanese established a centralised Military Administration headed by a president or *Gunseikan* who was responsible to the Commander-in-Chief of the Seventh Area Army in Singapore. Civilian administrators worked under the supervision of the military, but throughout the country it was military power which was most in evidence. One aspect of military rule which was to attract the particular hatred of the people was the power of the *Kempeitai*, the Japanese military police, who had the right to arrest, investigate and torture and who owed allegiance only to Prime Minister Tojo himself. Japanese troops had already alienated large sections of the local population by their ferocity during the initial invasion; the brutality of the Japanese military administration, and of the *Kempeitai* especially, did not make the Japanese any better loved. The steps which the Japanese later took to introduce self-government did little to counteract the feeling of hostility which the Japanese had aroused during the early days.

Japan's economic plan for South-East Asia was that the countries of the region should become part of the Co-Prosperity Sphere, supplying raw materials for Japan's industries and acting as markets for Japanese manufactured goods. The Japanese hoped that the different countries would become self-sufficient so far as their daily needs were concerned, especially in the matter of food. "Grow More Food" campaigns were organised everywhere to fulfill this aim. But the Co-Prosperity sphere failed to materialise, despite Japanese pressure and propaganda. In one of the pre-war Japanese plans, these words occur: "Natives will have to reconcile themselves to such pressure as is unavoidably involved for them in our acquisition resources." (Elsbree, *Japan's Role in S.E.A. Nationalist Movements*.) But the "natives" did not reconcile themselves. Self-sufficiency campaigns met with little response and the attempt of Japanese firms and government monopolies to organise the economic life of the conquered countries came to grief on the rocks of black-marketeering, corruption and inflation. In addition, allied submarines

The first days of Japanese rule were days of terror for the Chinese. Members of the Chinese community were herded into "concentration sectors" in the main towns where masked informers picked out those with anti-Japanese sympathies or with affiliations with Secret Societies or the Communist Party. Those who were selected were taken away by the Japanese and never seen again. The brutal form which their execution took had been graphically described by Lord Russel of Liverpool in his book about Japanese atrocities, *The Knights of Bushido*. At various times during the Japanese occupation other similar parades were held. This "weeding out" process became known, euphemistically, as the *Sook Ching*, the "Purification by Elimination" and many thousands of Chinese were massacred.

The next process was that of forcing the remainder of the Chinese to co-operate, by a mixture of persuasion and force. A good example of Japanese methods in achieving this aim is provided by the famous "Voluntary Gift" raised from the Malayan Chinese in 1942. A few days after the fall of Singapore, several leaders of the Malayan Chinese were called before the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Yamashita. There they were informed that the Chinese must provide a gift of £50,000,000 to the Japanese army as a sign of their goodwill, the amount being divided between the various states and settlements of Malaya. When the 'gift' was eventually handed over to Yamashita in June, 1942, it was welcomed as a "spontaneous expression" of the desire to co-operate. Actually, it may be regarded rather as a piece of large-scale black mail.

After a long period of intimidation, the Japanese organised Chinese societies under Japanese supervision which acted as links between the administration in different areas and the Chinese community and through which Chinese wealth and energy could be utilised. In Malaya, the Overseas Chinese Association was such a body and it had branches throughout the country. In Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries similar organisations were constituted.

The position of the Indians in South-East Asia during the occupation was quite different. The Japanese hoped to utilise the nationalist feelings of the Indians to their own advantage by organising an Indian Independence Movement under Japanese

and planes effectively blocked the trade routes between Japan and her newly-acquired possessions, thus hitting the very basis of the Co-Prosperity plan. Economically, the Japanese occupation was a complete failure.

Culturally, Japan posed in her new empire as "the Light of Asia". Local religions and customs were to be respected, but the whole of life was to be reorientated in accordance with "the Japanese spirit". Japanese was to become the common language of South-East Asia and in the new schools set up by the Japanese, the local people were to be taught to respect the customs of Japan. Here again, the Japanese failed to achieve anything permanent beyond teaching the children of South-East Asia to sing Japanese songs and to detest the peculiar forms of Japanese gymnastics.

Japanese rule was generally harsh and people of all races in South-East Asia felt its effects to a certain extent, but the Chinese received the worst treatment of all. The Japanese had been fighting against the Chinese for three years before their attack on South-East Asia, and they suspected the overseas Chinese of secret sympathy with the Chungking regime of Chiang Kai-Shek. Many overseas Chinese had in fact contributed large sums of money to aid their fellow countrymen in the fight against Japan, while others had been engaged in bitter anti-Japanese propaganda. In Malaya, for example, a Chinese Distress Relief Fund had been organised soon after the Japanese invasion of China and in December, 1941, while the Japanese conquest of Malaya was still in progress, Mr. Tan Kah Kee set up a Chinese Mobilisation Committee to help in the defence of the country. In addition, the Japanese suspected members of the overseas Chinese communities of belonging to the Communist Party or to Secret Society groups, both of which they regarded as a danger to their rule. At the same time, the Japanese needed the support of the overseas Chinese if their economic progress was going to succeed, for the Chinese played the major role in the commercial activities of South-East Asia. It was Japanese policy, therefore, to "weed out" the definitely anti-Japanese elements from the Chinese community and to force the rest to co-operate. In a statement of policy in November, 1941, the Japanese government stated that the overseas Chinese must be forced to renounce their allegiance to Chiang Kai-Shek and to "sympathise with" the Japanese military administration.

How big the TOTAL STIMULATION of redox mangrove and-renewal is NOT NEW and I consider A GOOD SECONDARY

ENGLISH EDITION

Office of the Indian Superintendent, Lower Meriden

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 2006, 5:17PM A 19

The odds are in father's favor and against father's enemies. *Allegedly* God has uttered that truth over his lips. He is father! and is victory!

Vol. 100, 1991 & 1992, No. 3

10

Nippon & Indian Forces Carry Out Annihilative Push

Tokyo, March 21 (Dana)—Dai Nippon announced at 2 p.m. as follows: "Our army units in the Burma sector, in co-operation with the Indian National Army, on March 2 started offensive action against the British-Indian forces in the vicinity of the Chin Hills and are at present conducting an annihilative campaign against the enemy forces near the border."

"Another powerful army unit, in co-operation with the Indian National Army, on March 15 crossed the Chindwin River in the vicinity of Hmualin and is advancing towards the Indo-Burma border."

For the Marine Corps, March 10 (Monday)—Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, a powerful Marine unit, in close contact with units of the United States Army, on March 10, 1965, opened the Chosin Reservoir to start a large-scale offensive against the North Korean forces. My unit, the 1st Marine Division, was the first to attack. The unit, the 1st Marine Division, was the first to attack. The unit, the 1st Marine Division, was the first to attack.

It may be recalled that immediately following operations in the vicinity of Berlin during early to February, when our forces completely encircled the Wehrmacht's Seventh Division, the enemy rushed the 20th Division to the sector in the vicinity of Berlin during its operations with the Fifth Division. Now the enemy divisions are being subjected to heavy shelling in this sector.

By the next afternoon in the vicinity of the Chin Hills, where the sunset had faded, the horizon in the west still showed a line of the Indian mainland 4,000 feet below the water, and around the 900 and 1,100 fathoms, where 10,000 feet

BRITISH ENEMY
IS DOOMED NOW
SAYS R. B. BOSE

Tokyo, Mar. 21 (Dunlop)—Mr. E. R. Ross, Japanese Adviser to the Provisional Government of Aomori, in a radio address to the Indian people yesterday evening, urged his countrymen to "rise in concert with the Aomori Wafd Faw and bury the mass of destruction of the world."

But, How declared that not far south longer will Indians are to suffer under British yoke—since for "now the money is drained and his days are numbered. Britain today is seeking to defend her last shore." And in India by the restriction of Indian "development" along material, but the rest of the world (and East) has impressively reached the core of colonial Indian history to which. Meanwhile begins to doubt the British economic policy over India.

He pointed out that Indian soldiers, according to the will of the Azad Hind Fauz, are fleeing from British chains as to join the ranks of the army of freedom. Quoting that the hour is not far off when "I shall not feel on the sacred soil of my Motherland" yet, Bose said the Indian people, "Marching with our valiant veterans of freedom, backed by the invincible Russian forces, I want my compatriots in East Asia will soon be with me."

Spies for Freedom. The Government of Siquion has repeatedly declared before the whole world that Siquion is fighting not only for her own liberty but also for the restoration of American Imperialism in East Asia, and further that Siquion stands for the complete and unconditional independence of India.

"In pursuance of this policy, the Government of Nigeria has strenuously supported its members to give aid to India to her struggle for independence—formally recognized by the Provisional Government of Free India, and has decided to hand over the Anderson and Warner House to the Provisional Government."

*Now the Indian National Army has launched its offensive and the Axis Hind with the co-operation of the Imperial Japanese Army is marching towards its objective: the command right against the common foe—The English-Americans and their allies. (A)I (A)I these things, serious aggression are shown out of India, that can be

Netaji In Clarion Call To Indians At Home & In East Asia

An Unofficial Place in History, March 22 (Tuesday). The numerous and historic professions that form the Indian National Army have crossed the Indo-Burma frontier and are now fighting on the soil of their beloved Motherland for Indian freedom, was issued today by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in his capacity as head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army.

Emphasizing that the victories of the armed forces of Nippon have revealed it possible for Indians in East Asia to organize themselves for active participation in India's fight for freedom, Netaji called on all Indians to extend all help, direct and indirect, to the armies of liberation. Netaji reiterated the solemn determination of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind to go on fighting until India is a completely liberated nation.

The author wishes to thank
The American People

The Indian National Army under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Free India and the Indian People's Army working in the close co-operation and fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, on a shared mission in the common cause, when the allied armies of India and Britain are closing the Imperial and Maritime Gate Delhi, the Provisional Government of Free India makes the following announcement:

[illegible]

Subhas Chandra Bose Meets General Tojo — 1943

supervision. The idea was suggested to the Japanese by Rash Behari Bose, an Indian revolutionary in exile in Tokyo, at the end of 1941 and it was adopted as part of Japanese policy. It would assure the Japanese of Indian co-operation and might conceivably help them to achieve their ultimate aim of conquest of India. Indian Independence Leagues and the formation of an Indian National Army were organised by Japanese liaison officers in every South-East Asian country. In Malaya, for example, Major Fujiwara, a senior Intelligence Officer, accompanied Yamashita's army and made contact with Indian leaders. At first, under the leadership of Rash Behari Bose, the Japanese-sponsored independence movement made little progress, but it was given fresh inspiration in July, 1943, when Subhas Chandra Bose, arrived in Singapore to take over its leadership.

Subhas Bose was a dynamic speaker and he won special favour with the overseas Indians because he had once been President of the Indian National Congress. On 21st October, 1943, Subhas Bose formed the Provisional Government of Free India (the *Azad Hind*) in Singapore with himself at the Head. The *Azad Hind* was officially recognised as the government of "free" India by Japan, Manchukuo, Wang Ching Wei's China, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines. The aim of *Azad Hind* was to free India with Japanese aid and when this was achieved, it would be replaced by a national government in accordance with the popular will. Troops of the Indian National Army fought beside the Japanese against the Allies in Burma, although they met with little success, while branches of the Indian Independence League spread pro-Japanese and anti-British propaganda. The whole movement collapsed with the defeat of Japan in 1945. Subhas Bose was killed in an air crash in Taiwan, whilst on his way to Tokyo in the August of that year.

Not all Indians were members of the Independence movement. Many were driven to perform forced labour for the Japanese, some on the infamous Death Railway in Thailand. When Malaya was cut off by the Allies from its exports markets, the rubber industry went in decline and many Indians suffered from unemployment.

The foregoing general description of Japanese policy may form a background to our account of the events which took place within the different countries of South-East Asia between 1942 and 1945. Here emphasis had been placed on the relationship

nationalist ideas. In the course of 1943 the tide of war was turning against Japan, and from the September of that year, the Japanese began to encourage nationalism as a means of preventing the return of the Europeans and of securing wider popular support. -

General Tojo visited Java and promised that some measure of self-government would be introduced and, in accordance with this promise, a Central Advisory Council was set up at the end of 1943. By this time, Sjarifoeddin had been arrested by the Japanese and sentenced to life imprisonment, but the underground movement was continuing its work under Sjahrir, who had organised a number of peasant co-operatives as the focal points of resistance amongst the rural population. The Students' Union of the University of Jakarta was also involved in underground activities and many of its members were in touch with Sjahrir. Many of these students infiltrated the Japanese-sponsored youth organisation, *Angkatan Muda*. In addition, PKI members of the Communist party, began a wave of resistance to the Japanese.

As the attacks of the Allies mounted and the Japanese hold on South-East Asia became even more precarious, the Japanese took further steps towards promoting self-government. On March 1st, 1945, an Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence was set up under the chairmanship of Dr. Radjiman Wediodiningrat. Of its 59 members, 7 were Japanese and the rest represented the various social and ethnic groups in Java and Madura. Similar committees were established in Sumatra, Celebes, Burma, the Moluccas and the lesser Sundas. Meanwhile there was increasing popular demand for independence and numerous minor insurrections flared up against the Japanese. The underground nationalists intensified their anti-Japanese propaganda.

Japan surrendered to the Allies on 14th August, 1945, but this event was not officially made known in Java until 22nd August. In the interval, the Japanese made one last effort to prevent the return of the Dutch. On 17th August, the Investigating Committee declared that Indonesia was an independent nation. The attitude of the Dutch towards these events, when they returned to Indonesia, will be reviewed briefly in the next chapter.

between the Japanese and the local nationalist movements. The early Japanese victories had the effect of drastically reducing the prestige of the colonial powers and Japanese policy, sometimes by accident, sometimes by design, acted as a further stimulus to South-East Asian nationalism.

The Japanese in Indonesia, 1942-1945

The Japanese defeat of the Dutch in 1942 struck a devastating blow at Dutch prestige, especially when it became known that the Dutch Commander-in-Chief, Ter Poorten, had surrendered without consulting the British commander, Major-General Stilwell, who had wished to continue the fighting. Many Indonesians were thankful to the Japanese for expelling the Dutch, and the Japanese won the sympathy of others by promoting Indonesians to important administrative and technical positions. In April, 1942, the Japanese tried to capitalise on this situation by organising the "Triple A Movement" to mobilise Indonesian support for their government. This was a pro-Japanese organization, with the high-sounding motto: "Japan the leader of Asia, Japan the Protector of Asia, and Japan the Light of Asia," designed to propagate the cultural and economic leadership of Japan. It won some support at first, but Japanese rudeness and brutality produced a sharp reaction and the movement slowly petered out. The Japanese had felt that they could ignore Indonesian nationalism, but with the collapse of the "Triple A Movement" they decided to organise Japanese-sponsored nationalist groups through which they might more effectively win popular support. At the same time the leading nationalists, now released from Dutch prisons, made their own plans. Sukarno and Hatta decided to openly co-operate with Japanese-sponsored groups in order to keep the nationalist spirit alive, while Sjahrir and Sjarifoeddin were to organise an underground resistance movement. The 'open' and the 'underground' movements were to keep in constant touch with one another.

On March 9th, 1943, Indonesians were allowed to form a single nationalist movement which included all the nationalist groups in Java and Madura. It was known as *Poetera* (the Centre of People's Power) and the leaders were Sukarno and Hatta as chairman and vice-chairman respectively. On the one hand *Poetera* was used by the Japanese to recruit labour battalions and to spread propaganda; on the other hand, it was used by Sukarno to spread and intensify

cabinet composed of Thakins and other nationalist leaders.

Many nationalists were still not reconciled to Japanese rule. The 'independent' government of Ba Maw proved to be as much under Japanese dominance as the preceeding administration. The Japanese secured a large measure of control through a Supreme Adviser, Dr. Gotara Ogawa, and a secret agreement had actually been attached to the declaration of independence by which real power continued to rest with the Japanese army. At the beginning of 1944, Thakin Aung San and Thakin Than Tun, both young and able nationalists, organised opposition to the Japanese into an Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). As Minister of Defence in Ba Maw's Government, Aung San was able to link the National Army with the AFPFL, which with its affiliated organisations, gave a large measure of support to the returning British armies. With the Japanese gone, the leaders of the AFPFL claimed to speak for the whole nation. We will review the British response to this situation in the final chapter. Ba Maw escaped to Japan at the end of the occupation and returned to Burma only in 1946. The key figure in Burma in 1945 was Aung San.

The Japanese in the Philippines, 1942-1945

The policy of the Japanese in the Philippines so closely follows the pattern of their rule in Burma and Indonesia that it requires only a brief description. The success of the Japanese in May, 1942, after four months of bitter war fare with a defence organised by General Douglas MacArthur, was followed by the establishment of a puppet regime under Japanese control. At the same time, a Communist leader, Luis Taruc, organised the People's Liberation Army (the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon) to resist Japanese rule.

As in Indonesia, the turning of the tide of battle produced a shift in Japanese policy whereby a more realistic form of independence was to be introduced to replace the puppet government. Tojo promised independence in September, 1943, and in the same month Jose P. Laurel was elected President. The new Filipino Government was persuaded to enter into an "alliance" with Japan. At the end of 1944, the Japanese went a stage further by setting up a League of Filipino patriots to help them resist the Americans whose landings had then begun, once again under MacArthur's

The Japanese in Burma, 1942-1945

As in Indonesia, the Japanese arrived in Burma at the beginning of 1942 to find many of the people grateful to them for expelling the British so effectively. The advancing Japanese columns had in fact been assisted by many of the nationalists, prominent among whom were members of the Thakin Party which, you may remember, had been founded earlier by students of Rangoon University. Also as in Indonesia, the Japanese won further popular regard by introducing many Burmese into positions of political importance. The leading Thakins, in particular, were given key posts. Nationalists were encouraged to believe that the Japanese intended to introduce complete self-government into Burma in the near future. For the first months of the occupation, the Japanese left the administration in charge of units of the Burma Independence Army which had been organised before the war by a Japanese Colonel, Suzuki, and which was led by members of the Thakin group. On August 1st, 1942, when order had been restored, a Provisional Government was established under Dr. Ba Maw, a leading nationalist of pre-war days.

The hope and elation of the early days soon gave way to disappointment. Many Burmese were alienated by the brutality and tactlessness of the Japanese, and the ferocious activities of the *Kempeitai* soon became well known. The failure of the Japanese to restore the economic standard of British days helped to produce disillusionment. Moreover, the nationalists soon realised that Ba Maw's Government was little more than a Japanese puppet regime firmly controlled by Japanese aides and advisers. Opposition to the Japanese grew, and some members of the Thakin party who had once ardently welcomed the invaders, now completely changed their stand.

By the beginning of 1943, the Japanese realised that they had to grant a more substantial form of self-government if they were to retain the goodwill of the Burmese. And this goodwill was important to them if Burma was to be the spring board for a Japanese attack on India. The Japanese realised, in fact, that the Burmese must be "given a more tangible stake in a Japanese victory." In January, 1943, General Tojo announced that Burma was to be given her independence within a year, and on August 1st an independent government was actually set up, still under Ba Maw. Ba Maw became the sovereign head of the state (*Naing-gandaw Adipadi*) with a

advisory only, it had 30 Vietnamese members as against 23 French. The Japanese did little to interfere with Decoux and Franco-Japanese relations in Indo-China were open and cordial. Units of French troops kept order while the Japanese remained in their garrisons.

A few Frenchmen had never accepted the agreement with the Japanese, however, and a small French resistance movement had been organised at the beginning of the war. This resistance grew as the tide of war turned against the Japanese during 1943 and a few French officers were parachuted into Indo-China by the free French Mission at Calcutta. By the beginning of 1945, the Japanese had become aware of this growing resistance and also of a more independent stand on the part of Decoux himself who began to speak of the "liberation" of Indo-China. It seemed possible that a French revolt would break out against the Japanese. Japanese policy changed in this situation. They realised that their interests could now best be served by taking over complete control of Indo-China and by setting up "independent" governments which (as in Indonesia and Burma) might serve as a barrier to the return of the Allies. This policy was put into effect in March 1945. Decoux was arrested and French rule came to an end as the Japanese army took over. With Japanese encouragement, the Emperor Bao Dai declared himself the independent ruler of Annam and Tongking. King Norodom Sihanouk did the same in Cambodia and King Siasvong Vong in Luang Prabang. Only Cochin-China remained under direct Japanese rule.

But resistance to the Japanese continued. At the beginning of the war, the Communists had organised the *Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi* (the League for the Independence of Viet Nam) under Ho Chi Minh to drive out the Japanese. After the Japanese action of March, 1945, this League, or the *Viet Nam Minh* as it was popularly called, increased its activities and received some support from the French and from the Americans. Ho Chi Minh was able to secure control of a large part of Northern Tongking and when the Japanese surrendered, he seized Hanoi in August, 1945. At the end of the war, the Viet Minh was in virtual control of Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh claimed to speak for the people of Indo-China. The reaction of the French and the other Allies to this situation will be seen in the next chapter.

direction. The Japanese resisted the American advance at every step, and the Filipinos were subjected to a long period of hardship. The brutality of Yamashita's troops towards Filipino civilians in the last days of the occupation, earned for their commander, execution as a war criminal.

When the Americans returned, they were faced with a choice between recognising Taruc's 'huks' who had resisted Japanese rule, and supporting nationalist leaders most of whom had collaborated with the Japanese.

The Japanese in Indo-China and Thailand, 1942-1945

The position of Indo-China differed from that of Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines in that during the war, the country remained under a colonial government allied to Japan. On December 7th, 1941, the day of Pearl Harbour, a Japanese general presented an ultimatum to the Vichy French Government-General, Admiral Decoux, by which he was either to promise support for the Japanese or to submit to Japanese control over Indo-China. Decoux made his decision on December 9th. French sovereignty over Indo-China was retained, but the Japanese were left free to use the country as they wished. The Japanese were content to allow the French administration to run the country so long as they could garrison their troops in Indo-China. Alone among the countries of South-East Asia, therefore, Indo-China remained under colonial rule. Japanese had about 35,000 troops in Indo-China, and these were stationed at a few strategic centres, so that the local population had little direct contact with the Japanese.

During the war, Admiral Decoux introduced many liberal reforms, in an attempt both to retain the goodwill of the people and to combat the propaganda of the Japanese for their idea of a Greater East Asia. An Indo-Chinese Federation was set up in which the constituent states were given more autonomy than in the old Union Indochinoise. The rulers of Annam, Cambodia and Luang Prabang were given more prestige and a little more power. Public works were initiated on a large scale and new schools were built. The Indo Chinese were given more posts in the government and their salaries were increased. In 1943, a Franco-Vietnamese Grand Council was set up and although it was not elected and its powers were



Japanese surrendered in 1945.

The Defeat of Japan

It is no part of our intentions to describe in detail the Allied strategy which brought Japanese rule in South-East Asia to an end: a brief summary of events will suffice. Those who are interested in strategy and tactics, in the day-to-day movement of troops and changing battle-plans should read some extracts from the official history of the *War Against Japan* which fills two large volumes published in Britain by Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

The essence of the situation is that the Japanese had hoped in 1941, that a swift victory would bring them control of India and Australia as well as China and South-East Asia. The victory was not forthcoming. The Battle of Coral Sea, fought in May, 1942, between the Solomon Islands and New Guinea, checked Japanese advance towards Australia, and the Japanese failed to penetrate into India from Burma. In 1943, Japanese fortunes declined as the Allies pushed forward on all fronts. During 1944 the tide had turned and Allied troops advanced towards Japan, the American through the Pacific Islands and the British through Burma. In early 1945,

Thailand, like Indo-China, was spared the worst effects of Japanese rule between 1942 and 1945. The government of Pibun Songgram had signed a Treaty of Friendship with the Japanese in June, 1940, and had offered only a token resistance when the Japanese entered the country to use it as a base against Malaya in December, 1941. The Japanese were content to leave Pibun in control so long as they could use the country for military purposes. Resistance to the Japanese was kept alive, however, by Luang Pridi Manudharm, the leader of the 1932 Revolution and Pibun's political rival. Pridi organised a Free Thai Movement which received some assistance from the allies. Then, in July, 1944, Pibun's government was suddenly overthrown and replaced by a pro-allied government led by Khuang Aphaiwongse but inspired by Pridi from behind the scenes. Secret negotiations with the Allies began.

Resistance Movements

You have read, among other things, of resistance movements organised against the Japanese in Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China, the Philippines and Thailand. In Malaya, too, resistance movements developed. The Chinese communists in Malaya organised the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army and the Malays, too, established resistance groups, such as the Wataniah in Pahang. Both were aided by British officers of Force 136 who were flown in from Colombo in Ceylon. Many individuals carried on a resistance of their own, heroic, perhaps, because it was less organised and received less assistance from the outside. If you wish to understand the atmosphere of the Japanese occupation you should read some of the books written by those who lived under it. *No Dram of Mercy* by Sybil Kathigesu and *Tiger of Malaya* by Gurchan Singh provide an insight into Japanese harshness and brutality. *The Jungle is Neutral* by Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer Chapmen throws light on the efforts of the Allies to support local resistance. *Malaya Upside-Down* by Chin Kee Onn gives a vivid picture of the economic and social dislocation which Japanese rule produced. The present work is not specifically concerned with the story of Malaya but the books noted above, will provide some idea of what Japanese rule was like throughout occupied South-east Asia.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN—POSTSCRIPT

TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

Our story of South-East Asia, which began with the coming of the Portuguese, is now nearing its logical conclusion. You have read of the way in which European traders established their bases throughout South-East Asia between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth and how they extended their political control between 1815 and 1914. The progress of "westernisation" which European rule entailed, combined with other reasons to bring about the rise of strong nationalist movements in the early part of the twentieth century. You have read that the Japanese occupation had served to strengthen these movements and had inspired them with new confidence and determination. Since the war, the nationalist movements have almost everywhere succeeded in achieving their ultimate aim of national independence.

The Philippines, 1946

Independence was achieved first by the Philippines, for the Americans honoured the promise they had made in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 to grant independence in July, 1946. In the elections scheduled for April, 1946, Manuel Roxas led the Liberal Party, while Osmena, who had spent the occupation in America, was supported by the Nationalist. The 'Huks', who had not found favour with the Americans, resisted American rule as they had resisted the Japanese and demanded immediate agrarian reforms. The Liberal Party won the elections, and Roxas became the first President of an independent Philippines. In other parts of South-East Asia, however, independence did not come so easily or quickly.

We would like to mention here that Roxas was in the Philippines during the occupation. He had taken part in anti-Japanese activities, was arrested and would have been killed if President Laurel had not saved him. Roxas then co-operated with Laurel till the end of the war. The victory of President Roxas in July, 1946, ended the attacks which had been made against those who had collaborated with the Japanese.

the Allies called for a Japanese surrender and when its terms were refused, the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6th. A second bomb followed three days later on Nagasaki and the Japanese surrendered soon afterwards. Japanese rule was brought to an end almost as abruptly as it had begun, and by means which were perhaps more horrifying than those which had established it.

The Results of Japanese Occupation

The most positive result of the Japanese occupation was the stimulus which it gave to South-East Asian nationalist movements. In Indonesia, the nationalists had been allowed to organise themselves and to spread their propaganda openly. The granting of independence to Indonesia at the end of the occupation increased the determination of the Indonesians to resist Dutch rule. Much the same is true of Burma. An independence government had been established under Ba Maw in 1943, and after the war the Burmese were not prepared to acknowledge the return of the British administration. At the same time, the Thakins had been strengthened by their resistance to the Japanese at the end of the occupation. In Indo-China a successful resistance movement had been led by Ho Chi Minh, and in 1945, he stood ready to take over control of Vietnam. Moreover, the initial victory of the Japanese had done irreparable harm to the prestige of the westerners: the myth of a western "master race" came to an end and South-East Asian nationalists stood poised to take over control of their own countries.

Apart from the fresh impetus which it gave to nationalism the results of Japanese rule were almost entirely negative. The economic life of the countries of South-East Asia was completely dislocated as they were cut off from their export markets. Schools, hospitals and institutions of public welfare were neglected. The grandiose plan for a united South-East Asia under the political, economic and cultural leadership of Japan proved to be a complete fiasco.

arrived to disarm the Japanese and take care of the P.O.W.'s, they were forced to deal with the new Indonesian Government. Under the circumstances, the British had no option but to recognise the de facto authority of President Sukarno's Government. But when the Dutch returned, they refused to recognise Dr. Sukarno or Dr. Hatta because they had collaborated with the Japanese. Civil war broke out. British military rule lasted until 30th November, 1946. But shortly before they left, a Dutch-Indonesian agreement was arrived at with the help of a neutral commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Killern. This was the Linggadjati Agreement and it was finally signed in Batavia on March 25, 1947, after facing much opposition in the Dutch Houses of Parliament.

The main terms of the agreement, included the recognition by the Dutch of the de facto rule of Sukarno's Republican Government over the islands of Java, Sumatra and Madura. A United States of Indonesia was to be set up on a federal basis, and this Federation, together with Holland and the Dutch possessions in the Caribbean, was to be an equal partner in a wider Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

The agreement failed to satisfy the Indonesians, however, and it was opposed, in particular, by the Masjumi, the major Islamic party, and by the Communists. Sukarno himself suspected that the Dutch were not prepared to abide by their promise of equal partnership. In July, 1947, and again in December, 1948, the Dutch took advantage of civil disorders, to begin extensive "police action". Outwardly, its aim, according to the Dutch, was to restore order; in fact, it was aimed at the Republican Government.

The Dutch then began military action with the hope that they could restore their authority by force. The Republican forces were pushed back, and thus forced to adopt guerilla tactics. It was at this time that Pandit Nehru of India came into the picture, called a meeting at New Delhi to discuss the Indonesian independence struggle and appealed to the United Nations Organisation for help. The U.N.O. set up a committee to investigate the issue and an agreement was eventually reached on January 17, 1948. Free elections were to be held in Java and Sumatra to enable the people to decide their future — freedom or Dutch domination.

When everything seemed settled, the Dutch struck without warning. The capital of the Republic, Jogjakarta, was captured and

INDONESIA, 1945-1949

It was as late as March, 1945, when everything seemed lost, that the Japanese decided to give Indonesia independence. Dr. Sukarno and Dr. Hatta were requested to go to Saigon, the Japanese headquarters in South-East Asia, and were still there when the Japanese suddenly surrendered. Plans were hurried through and two days after the surrender, Dr. Sukarno proclaimed the Indonesian Republic, on 17th August, 1945. A national army was formed with Japanese help and supplies. It was this government that was in control of Indonesia when the Allies returned to South-East Asia in 1945.

At this time, the Dutch were in no position to bring a military force to bear on Indonesia, for Holland herself was recovering from German occupation. The task of disarming the Japanese and taking care of the prisoners-of-war thus fell on the British.

The first British troops did not land in Indonesia till one and a half months after the surrender and this delay gave the Indonesian Government time to establish itself. When the British forces ultimately



President Sukarno with Haji Salim



General Aung San



Thakin Nu

Dr. Sukarno, Hatta, Sjahrir and other leaders detained. This action of the Dutch lost them a lot of support in other countries and the pressure which was brought upon Holland, forced it to release the leaders. The Dutch decided to renew talks with the Indonesians at a Round Table Conference which was to be held at the Hague. They soon realized that world opinion was against them and agreed to surrender all power to the newly-established Indonesian Republic, and withdraw their forces. This was done in December, 1949.

Thus, on August, 17, 1950, a United Republic of Indonesia came into being with Dr. Sukarno as its first President.

BURMA, 1945-1948

By virtue of the fact that he had opposed the Japanese in the closing months of the occupation, Thakin Aung San was the key figure in Burma when the British returned in 1945. A young man of complete integrity and immense ability, Aung San appeared to be the ideal person to lead Burma to independence. His early attempts to do so were frustrated, however. In May, 1945, after their reoccupation of Rangoon, the British refused to recognise Aung San's Provisional Government and issued a statement of policy which would place Burma under a British Governor until 1948. Only then would Burma be given full self-government within the Commonwealth. This arrangement was naturally unacceptable to the Burmese who had already received a taste of independence, however unreal, under the Japanese. Aung San reorganised the AFPFL, with the support of all parties, to fight for complete independence.

At this juncture, a new Labour Government under Clement Attlee came into power in Britain. Attlee arranged for a Burmese delegation, headed by Aung San, to travel to Britain to discuss Burma's future. On 27th January, 1947, agreement was reached and the British undertook to give Burma her independence within a year. But despite this obvious success, Aung San was opposed in Burma by those who hoped to replace him as the political leader of the country. On 19th July, 1947, he was murdered by agents of the ambitious U Saw. U Saw was captured and executed by the British, however, and leadership now passed into the hands of Thakin Nu, who reached a new agreement with Attlee's government on 17th October, 1947. On 4th January, 1948, Burma became a sovereign independent nation.

of Cochin-China was to be decided later by means of a plebiscite. Leclercq's successor, Admiral d'Argenlieu, was, however, determined to drive Ho Chi Minh from political power and he did not favour the policy Leclercq had adopted. Moreover, in October, 1946, the French Government declared that its aim was to establish a French Union in which France and her overseas possessions would be joined in a vast Federation. D'Argenlieu's attitude and the official French policy, which seemed to make the achievement of independence impossible, drove Ho Chi Minh to adopt guerilla tactics to drive the French out. His first attacks on the French garrisons took place in December, 1946.

In 1949, the French decided to set up a puppet Government of Vietnam with ex-Emperor Bao Dai, in opposition to Ho Chi Minh's Republic. South Vietnam and Cochin-China were to be united. When the Communists established their government in China in 1949, they recognized Ho Chi Minh's Republic, an act which made his government even stronger. At the same time, trouble began for the French in Laos and Cambodia. Even Bao Dai demanded complete independence. The French were about to agree to this when the military situation changed. With the help of Communist China, Ho Chi Minh's forces changed from guerilla tactics to full-scale war and began an invasion of Laos. The French rushed troops to Dien Bien Phu to check the Vietnamese. But in early 1954, this city fell before the new Vietnamese army.

The Geneva Conference

There were protests in France and people began to demand that a solution be found to all this trouble in Indo-China. With the help of the Russian and Chinese Governments, a conference was called at Geneva. Dien Bien Phu fell whilst this conference was going on. This news decided the action of the French Government.

The Geneva Conference divided Vietnam into North and South — the boundary being at 17 degrees Lat. North, and both sides decided to withdraw their troops to their respective territories. Laos and Cambodia, were given full independence by France. The North also agreed to withdraw all its forces from these two countries.

Bao Dai's Government of South Vietnam was also given complete independence. His Premier, Ngo Dinh Diem, had to face a lot of political trouble within his Government. In addition to this, one of



Ho Chi Minh



Bao Dai

INDO-CHINA, 1945-1954

The position in Indo-China at the end of the Japanese occupation was extremely complicated. After the Japanese had taken over from the French in March, 1945, the Emperor of Annam, the King of Cambodia and the King of Laos had all declared themselves independent. But in August, 1945, at the time of the Japanese surrender, Ho Chi Minh had captured Hanoi and established his authority throughout Vietnam. Bao Dai had been forced to abdicate and a Republic had been set up. At the same time, European statesmen had met at Potsdam in July, 1945, and made their own plans for Indo-China. After a preliminary period of military occupation by the Nationalist Chinese and the British, French administration was to be restored.

When the first French High Commissioner, General Leclercq arrived in Indo-China, however, he found Ho Chi Minh in a very strong position in Vietnam. In March, 1946, he was forced to recognise Annam and Tongking as autonomous and to agree that French troops would leave the area within five years. The future

Administration (B.M.A.) was established. At the same time, a "White Paper" was issued announcing the new administrative set-up, which was to follow the withdrawal of the Military Administration. This was the Malayan Union, which had been planned in 1943.

Before the new Constitution could be put into operation, the signatures of the Sultans were necessary and this task was given to Sir Harold MacMichael. He came to Malaya and by January, 1946, MacMichael was able to obtain the signatures that he had come for. There was a storm of protest when the proposals were announced and MacMichael was accused of having used threats to obtain the signatures of the Sultans.

This opposition came under the leadership of Dato Onn bin Jaafar who protested on three main points. The first was regarding the positions of the Sultans, who became Advisers in the Malayan Union, while the real ruler was the Governor. This meant that the Sultans would lose all their political power. The second cause of protest was the citizenship rights that were given to the aliens. It was felt that a ten year period of residence was too short. The third cause concerned the special rights of the Malays which had been granted right from the beginning. The Malayan Union ended these special rights. It was felt that not enough time had been given to the Malays to prepare them for this.

Dato Onn formed the U.M.N.O. — United Malays National Organisation, and was supported by many Britishers who had served in Malaya, and were at that time in retirement in England. The British Government was surprised at the opposition that the Malays put up. After some time, it suspended the citizenship clause, but decided to carry on with its proposed plan and in April, 1946, the Malayan Union was established with Sir Edward Gent as the Governor. But the Malays staged a complete boycott and the Sultans did not attend the "Swearing-in-Ceremony" of the Governor. It soon became clear to the British Government that the Malayan Union had failed and talks were begun with Malay leaders to find a solution to the dead-lock. Dato Onn's proposal of a Federation was the answer.

In February, 1948, the Federation of Malaya came into being. This comprised the nine Malay States and the Settlements of Penang and Malacca. All born in Malaya, and their children, were given

the greatest problems he faced was the influx of refugees, who moved from North Vietnam to the South. However, with American help, Diem was able to meet all these challenges.

At the end of 1955, national elections were held during which Bao Dai was defeated by Ngo Dinh Diem who became President of South Vietnam. With the ousting of Bao Dai, French control in Indo-China came to an end.

FEDERATION of MALAYA

During the war, the British Government made plans about the type of Government that was to be introduced into Malaya when peace came and a "Blue Print for Malaya" was prepared in 1943. It proposed a Malayan Union which was to be made up of all the States and the Settlements of Penang and Malacca. Singapore was to be made into a separate Crown Colony. The Governor of the Malayan Union was to have full powers while the Sultans were to be advisers only. In addition, citizenship would be open to all the immigrants, who had lived in Malaya for ten out of fifteen years.

When the British returned to Malaya in 1945, a British Military



Onn bin Jaffar



Tungku Abdul Rahman

country within the Commonwealth.

In March, 1956, Lord Reid was appointed to lead a mission which was to frame a constitution for independent Malaya. After a year's work, the mission's report was published in February, 1957. Armed with this, the Chief Minister took another mission to London which consisted of representatives of the Alliance, and the Rulers. Final agreement was reached on all matters. The path to independence was clear.

The Federal Legislative Council unanimously adopted the Constitution in July, 1957. On 3rd August, the Paramount Ruler and the Deputy Paramount Ruler were elected in accordance with the Constitution. After midnight, on the night of 30th August, 1957, the long awaited day arrived when at a grand ceremony held at the Merdeka Stadium, built specially for that occasion, the Duke of Gloucester, on behalf of the Queen, handed the Constitutional Instruments to the Federation's first Prime Minister, Tunjku Abdul Rahman. A few days later, on 17th September, the Federation of Malaya was accepted as the 82 member of the United Nations.

THE STATE of SINGAPORE

When the British prepared their 1943 plan, which proposed the Malayan Union, they decided to make Singapore into a separate Crown Colony. This plan was put in effect in 1946 and Singapore thus became a separate unit under the charge of a Governor. He was helped in his work by two Councils — the Executive and the Legislative. But in both these Councils, the Governor had great power, because most of the members were chosen and appointed by him. The public only elected six representatives out of a total of thirteen. Then again, only a third of the total population of Singapore was eligible for the vote because of the many conditions that were attached to the electorate.

The first elections were held in March, 1948, to choose the six representatives. Only 63% of the registered voters went to the polls. But a step forward was taken when the Governor increased the number of unofficial members from thirteen to sixteen, twelve of whom were to be elected — double the previous figure. Then again when the next elections were held in 1951, the number of voters had also more than doubled, as more people became aware of the

automatic citizenship rights. For the rest, fifteen years residence out of the preceding twenty years was required. The position of the Sultans was not only restored but further strengthened. British Residents were to be replaced by Mentris Besar and unofficial members were given a great say in the State and Federal Councils. Of the seventy-five members of the Federal Legislative Council, fifty-two were to be unofficials. At first they were to be nominated but as soon as conditions permitted, they were to be elected by the people.

Things would have run quite smoothly had it not been for the decision of the Malayan Communist Party to disrupt the economy of the country in 1948 and the beginning of the Emergency, which brought the constitutional progress to a temporary halt. It was only after three years of struggle under the leadership of General Sir Gerald Templer, that the Government found itself in a stronger position and it decided to go ahead with the constitutional changes. In 1951, a Member-System of Government was introduced and local leaders were made Ministers, so as to provide them with the necessary experience in the running of government.

In 1952, elections to the Local Councils were held and by the end of 1955, there were 260 fully-elected local and rural councils in the Federation. These local elections may be regarded as the stepping stones to State, Settlement and then the Federal elections. In the meantime, the Malayan Chinese Association was formed. Its foremost leader and architect was the late Dato Sir Tan Cheng Lock and from the beginning, there was a spirit of co-operation. In July, 1955, the first Federal elections were held. The Alliance, (made up of the U.M.N.O., M.C.A. and M.I.C.), under the leadership of Tungku Abdul Rahman Putra, secured an over-whelming majority when it captured fifty-one of the fifty-two elected seats. A lone seat went to a Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) candidate.

In August, 1955, a new Government headed by Tungku Abdul Rahman as Chief Minister took office. The Cabinet consisted of six Malays, three Chinese, one Indian and five European ministers. The following January, the Chief Minister led a mission to London for Constitutional talks with British leaders. He was cordially received in London and his mission was highly successful. It was agreed that on 31st August, 1957, the Federation was to become an independent



David Marshall



Lee Kuan Yew

changes that were going on around them.

Two years later, the Governor appointed a commission under Sir George Rendell to find ways and means by which more members would be elected and the number of voters increased. The Commission increased the number of elected members to twenty-five out of thirty-two and decided that elections were to be held every four years. At the same time, the party which won the elections would be called upon to form the government of Singapore. A big step towards self-government was, therefore, taken by the Rendel Commission.

The first general elections were held in April, 1955. The Labour Party, under the leadership of David Marshall, won the most number of seats (ten). But this did not give them a clear majority, and Marshall got the help of the Alliance party to form the government with himself as Chief Minister. Opposing him were the Peoples Action Party, the Democrats and the Progressives.

Trouble began between the Governor and the Chief Minister about four months later, regarding the appointment of assistant ministers when Marshall wanted four but the Governor would only agree to the appointment of two. This led to the question of the powers of the Governor and the Chief Minister. In the end, Marshall demanded that power be transferred immediately.

Marshall made two trips to London for discussions. The second delegation was made up of members from all the parties. But there was disagreement amongst the members and the mission returned to Singapore without getting what it had hoped to get. On his return Marshall resigned and was succeeded as Chief Minister by Lim Yew Hock, who resumed talks with London and, in the end, it was agreed that the State of Singapore was to be created. The Legislative Assembly would have fifty-one elected members. A Malayan with the title of Yang di-Pertuan Negara would represent the Queen, while the British Government would be represented by a Commissioner.

In the general election held in 1959, the Peoples Action Party won an outstanding victory, and its Secretary-General, Lee Kuan Yew, became Prime Minister in June, 1959, while Inche Yusof bin Ishak was appointed as the Yang di-Pertuan Negara. A new chapter had begun in the history of the State of Singapore.

September, 1963, saw the birth of a new nation in South-East Asia
— Malaysia.

Conclusion

With this, the territories on which we have concentrated our attention became independent nations, and this brought a new era in South-East Asian history. With colonial rule ended, the governments of South-East Asia could now concentrate on new tasks, especially that of creating stable and prosperous nations which could exist together in a spirit of mutual friendship and toleration.

MALAYSIA

At the beginning of 1963, Singapore and the North Borneo territories were still under Colonial rule. In July 1946, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, the last ruler of the dynasty founded by James Brooke in 1841, abdicated and ceded Sarawak to the British Crown. At the same time, the British Crown assumed the rights of the Chartered Company over its North Borneo territories. Labuan was already a Crown Colony and Borneo under British protection. Meantime, in 1957, Malaya had become independent with Tungu Abdul Rahman as the first Prime Minister, while Singapore became a self-governing State, two years later. But a Committee of Security and Defence with three British, three Singaporeans and one Malayan member, retained the right to suspend the constitution in case of an emergency and to regulate Singapore's external relations.

In November, 1961, Tungu Abdul Rahman visited Britain to negotiate for the merger of Singapore and Malaya and for bringing the Borneo territories into a Federation of Malaysia. Agreement was reached, and in February, 1962 a commission under Lord Cobbold with Dato Wong Pow Nee and Inche Mohammad Ghazalie bin Shafie as members, visited North Borneo to ascertain the views of the people of the territories. The commission reported that the situation was favourable and the beginning of Malaysia was scheduled for 31st August, 1963.

In July, 1963, the London talks culminated in the signing of the Malaysia Agreement. The new nation was to comprise the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah (British North Borneo). Brunei decided to remain outside the Federation for the time being. When everything seemed solved, Indonesia and the Philippines claimed that the territories of Sarawak and Sabah were being brought in by force and against the wishes of the local population. To allay these fears and in an effort to keep harmony amongst the countries of South-East Asia, Tungu Abdul Rahman agreed to a Summit Conference with the leaders of Indonesia and the Philippines in Manila at the end of July.

At Manila it was decided to request the Secretary of the United Nations to appoint a referential team to ascertain the wishes of the people of Sarawak and Sabah. The United Nations mission endorsed the findings of the Cobbold Commission and the 16th of

4. Describe the policy of either King Mindon of Burma or King Mongkut of Thailand and show how far that policy was successful.

Thailand

1. Describe Thai relations with Burma in the 18th. century.
2. Give an account of the policy of King Mongkut of Thailand (1851–68) and show how far the policy was successful.
3. Outline the stages by which Thailand lost territory to the French in the 19th. century.
4. Describe the main political developments in Thailand between 1918 and 1945.

Vietnam

1. Outline the steps by which the French established their power in Vietnam in the 19th. century.
2. Give an account of the career of Nguyen Aun (The Emperor Gia Long) and explain the importance of his work.
3. Write a short account of the growth of the movement for political reform in Vietnam in the period 1913–1940.
4. Write a short history of the nationalist movement in Vietnam between 1918 and 1945.

The Philippines

1. Outline the main events in the history of the Philippines in the 19th. century before the American Occupation.
2. Why did opposition to Spanish rule in the Philippines begin in the 19th. century, and how did the Spanish Government try to deal with this problem?
3. Describe the career of Dr. Jose Rizal and its consequences for the Philippines.
4. What were the main developments in the growth of self-government in the Philippines between the American occupation of 1898 and the winning of independence?

QUESTIONS

Indonesia

1. Write a brief account of the history of Mataram in the time of Sultan Agung (1613–1645).
2. Describe how the Dutch established their influence in Mataram in the period between 1645 and 1755.
3. Write an account of the rise of Mataram in the late 16th century and early 17th centuries. Why did Mataram begin to decline in the time of Amangkurat I?
4. Write briefly about the part played by Aceh in the area of the Straits of Malacca during the 16th. century.
5. Describe the growth of Dutch influence in Indonesia up to 1667.
6. Describe the problems facing the Dutch in Indonesia in the period between 1750 and 1811.
7. Why did the British occupy the Dutch settlements in Indonesia between 1793 and 1816? What was the effect of this on Indonesia?
8. Give a brief account of the Java War, 1825–1830, and describe its effects on Java.
9. Explain what is meant by the a) Culture System and b) the Liberal Policy in Indonesia in the 19th. century.
10. Why was the Culture System introduced into Indonesia? Why was it replaced by the Liberal Policy?
11. Compare the policies of the British in Burma and the Dutch in Indonesia towards the demand for self-government in the period between 1900 and 1941.
12. Write an account of the growth of the nationalist movement in Indonesia between 1908 and 1945.

Burma

1. Outline the causes and courses of the Wars between Burma and Thailand in the 18th. century.
2. Give an account of the policy of King Mindon of Burma (1853–78) and show how far the policy was successful.
3. Explain why war broke out between independent Burma and the British in 1885, and describe the consequences of the war for Burma.

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General

Describe the way in which the Dutch maintained the trade monopoly in the Spice Islands and Celebes in the 17th. century. Why did the Portuguese fail to maintain their influence in South-East Asia?

What problems were created by the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia?

Describe the effects of the Japanese occupation during the Second World War on 3 of the following:

- a) Vietnam b) The Philippines c) Burma
- d) Indonesia e) Thailand.

Write short notes on the following:

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- b) Albuquerque, The Kew Letters, the Treaty of Yandabo (1826), the Anglo-Thai agreement of 1909, Marshall Pibun Songgram.
- c) King Mindon, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V), King Prajadhipok.
- d) Sultan Agung of Mataram, the Dutch conquest of Macassar, the Massacre of Amboyna, Abdul Fatah of Bantam, Sultan Mahkota Alam of Aceh, the conflict between the Dutch and Chinese in Java, 1740–43, Paku Buwono III of Mataram, the Java War 1825–1830, The Liberal Policy in Indonesia.

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