

HONOURABLE INTENTIONS

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Talks on the British Empire
in South-East Asia
delivered at
the Royal Colonial Institute
1874-1928

EDITED AND INTRODUCED BY
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SINGAPORE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD NEW YORK
1983

322602

Oxford University Press
Oxford London Glasgow
New York Toronto Melbourne Auckland
Kuala Lumpur Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo
Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town

and associates in
Beirut Berlin Ibadan Mexico City Nicosia

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ISBN 0 19 582548 9

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Printed in Singapore by Kyodo-Shing Loong Printing Industries Pte. Ltd.
Published by Oxford University Press, 10, New Industrial Road,
Singapore 1953

387605

26 NOV 1984
Perpustakaan Negeri

Acknowledgements

THE editor and publishers wish to thank the Secretary-General of The Royal Commonwealth Society for permission to reproduce the series of talks contained in this book, which were originally published in the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute and in later years in *United Empire*, the Institute's journal.

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Introduction

THE papers in this volume were delivered between 1874 and 1928 as talks before the Royal Colonial Institute, an organization created in 1868 to provide a meeting place in London for persons with a common interest in the British Empire and to help disseminate information about Britain's overseas possessions. Essays on colonial affairs were read and discussed at the Institute's regular meetings and were then printed, until 1909, in the Proceedings of the Institute and subsequently in the Institute's journal, *United Empire*. The papers collected here deal with British controlled territories in the Malay Peninsula and in north Borneo, the territories that were to become Malaysia.

In 1874 a 'forward movement' began in the Malay Peninsula when after nearly a century of trading activity based in the Straits Settlements of Penang and Singapore the British government began acquiring direct control over the Malay States. The first step in the process of establishing territorial control in the Malay Peninsula was the signing (on 20 January 1874) of the Pangkor Engagement which placed a British official in the state of Perak as adviser to the Sultan under provisions giving the adviser effective control of the government.

On 24 March 1874, just two months after the Pangkor Engagement was signed, the Royal Colonial Institute heard its first presentation on Malaya, a paper entitled 'The Settlements on the Straits of Malacca'. The speaker was Leonard Wray, a planter with long experience in the Straits Settlements and a member of the Council of the Institute from its inception. During the half century that followed, some of the best-known and most influential figures in the history of British Malaya and British Borneo read papers at the Institute. The talks spanned a period during which British rule along with more general changes in the world political and economic situation had an enormous impact on conditions in South-East Asia; taken as a whole, they provide a unique history of the period as seen by some of the officials most intimately involved.

The speakers were a diverse group. Only one, Sir Frederick Weld, had served as Governor; W. E. Maxwell, Frank Swettenham, Hugh Clifford, George Maxwell, and Sir Ernest W. Birch were senior civil servants with extensive experience in the Malay Peninsula, while E. P. Gueritz and Charles Hose were career civil servants in Borneo (although Hose, long retired, was better known as an ethnographer and naturalist). Walter Medhurst, associated with Borneo as one of the founders of the North Borneo Company, had spent most of his career as a British official based in China. Three of the speakers, Leonard Wray and John Ferguson who were planters, and Dorothy Cator, the wife of a civil servant, were outside the official establishment but closely associated with it. There was one academic, Vaughan Cornish. The final speaker, The Rt. Hon., W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, was a rising figure in the Colonial Office who later became Secretary of State for the Colonies. Some of the speakers were well-known authors: W. E. Maxwell, Frank Swettenham, Hugh Clifford, and Charles Hose wrote extensively on South-East Asia, and John Ferguson published numerous works on Ceylon. The views of others are to be found mostly in official correspondence. The emphasis throughout the series of talks was on practical experience, with a marked preponderance of career civil servants.

At the Royal Colonial Institute the speakers were addressing an audience which included men of influence who could be presumed sympathetic to the concept of imperial expansion but knew little about the Malay Peninsula or Borneo. The case to be made, at least until the first decade of the twentieth century, was for recognition of the British enterprise in South-East Asia as one worthy of attention and respect, both in official circles and among private investors.

From the British point of view, Malaya ultimately turned out very well indeed. It prospered and remained peaceful; it became a sinecure among colonial appointments and at most times offered sound opportunities for investment. In retrospect it is easy to forget how unpromising an acquisition the Malay States appeared to be in 1874 and for many years thereafter. At the time of British intervention the local population was small, scattered, and none too prosperous, and therefore unlikely to provide a significant market for British manufactures or to produce substantial quantities of goods in the service of British trade. Uncultivated land was abundantly available and British officials wanted to stimulate commercial agriculture, but Malaya had to compete for planting capital with long established

centres such as Java and Ceylon where the necessary facilities were already in place and labour was more readily available. The development of a large-scale planting industry in Malaya was little more than a fond hope until rubber cultivation caught on only after 1900, and the success of rubber was a function of rapid expansion in the production of electrical goods and, particularly, of automobiles, developments which could not have been anticipated in 1874.

Colonial possessions which drained the imperial purse were anathema and during the first thirty years of British rule Malaya was saved from this stigma by revenues derived from tin mining. Duty collected on tin not only financed the administration but also paid for the physical infrastructure which contributed to the success of rubber planting. Most tin mining was in Chinese hands and during the nineteenth century Europeans fared poorly in competition with Chinese mining interests. The Chinese were a source of concern for other reasons as well. Large numbers of Chinese labourers had come to Malaya and were thought essential for the economic well-being of the country. However, Chinese workers had rioted in Singapore and Penang, secret societies were rife and constituted power centres that rivalled the government, and the terms of recruitment, wages, working conditions, prospects, even the life expectancy, of workers in Chinese mines were scandalous. These were intractable problems and during the 1880s and 1890s were far from being resolved, although a gentlemen's agreement was being achieved with Chinese leaders to bring some measure of control to the situation.

Malayan officials generally preferred to lay such matters aside, instead drawing attention to the supposed harshness and injustice of indigenous Malay government from which the population had happily been delivered by the introduction of British rule. Such soporifics were not, however, adequate fare at the Royal Colonial Institute: there the case for Malaya consisted of an account of past successes and future prospects measured in large part in economic terms. Hugh Clifford, who was not altogether sympathetic toward this approach, observed when he spoke at the Institute in 1901: 'This is a commercial age, and it has become customary with us to point to the revenue of a country as the one obvious sign of its progress.' The speakers touted Malaya's advantages: the established and prosperous trade of Singapore, the important tin industry, large tracts of uncleared land available for cultivation on generous terms, peaceful conditions, and a growing government revenue which was being invested mainly in transport and communications. These were not

negligible virtues, and Malaya's suitability for rubber planting resulted in substantial investment of British capital after 1900, but in the late nineteenth century the case needed to be made and the Institute provided an effective forum.

Although the talks themselves provide extensive background information concerning the history of British activity in South-East Asia, a brief overview of events will help set them in context. During the seventeenth century, after competing unsuccessfully with the Dutch East India Company for control of the spice trade in South-East Asia, the English East India Company withdrew to the Indian sub-continent and concentrated on developing trade between India and Europe. In the eighteenth century trade with China became of increasing importance to England, and the English East India Company established British settlements at Penang (in 1786) and Singapore (in 1819), partly to ensure that English shipping would have free access to the Straits of Malacca. Malacca, the third major component of what came to be called the Straits Settlements, was transferred from Dutch to British control in 1824 but was of negligible significance as a port and produced little in the way of trade goods.

In the Indian sub-continent the British administration was divided into three units called presidencies (Bengal, Bombay, and Madras). Penang initially was irregular in its status; the Government of India provided general supervision but 'was content to leave their factories and possessions, in Penang at all events, outside the Indian political system.'¹¹ In 1805, however, Penang was not only fully incorporated into that system, it was raised to the level of a presidency. In 1826 Singapore was placed under the Penang administration forming the Presidency of the Straits Settlements, but in 1831, on grounds that the settlements on the Straits of Malacca were neither sufficiently large nor sufficiently important to justify the sizeable and costly establishment a presidency involved, the Straits Settlements were reduced to a subordinate administrative unit of Bengal.

In 1857 the territories governed by the East India Company were taken over by the British Crown. The Indian sub-continent was placed under a Secretary of State for India and the Straits Settlements remained administratively a part of India. In 1867, following considerable agitation on the part of merchants in Penang and Singapore who thought their needs were not being given adequate attention by the India Office, responsibility for the Straits Settlements was transferred from the Government of India to the Colonial Office.

On the whole during this period British activities in the Straits of Malacca were confined to trade; goods from the Indonesian archipelago played an important part in that trade but in the early nineteenth century as in the past the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, the territories fronting on the Straits of Malacca, contributed little in the way of trade goods. This situation began to change in the 1840s with the opening of a major tin field in the Larut district of the state of Perak. Tin, previously mined on a small scale, became the first substantial contribution made by the Malay states to the trade of the region and capital investment (mainly from local Chinese merchants) began to flow into the peninsular states from the Straits Settlements.

Some twenty-five years after the discovery of tin in Larut came the Pangkor Engagement and the placing of a British adviser in Perak. There is disagreement among historians concerning what prompted British intervention in the affairs of the Malay States and the annexation of those states to the British Empire as protectorates (the details and legality of protectorate arrangements were somewhat vague although the effect was clear enough). The official version emphasized humanitarian reasons and this interpretation is aired several times in the collection of papers presented here. Sir Frank Swettenham, however, who was one of the main proponents of the humanitarian explanation, also candidly wrote that while intervention was a 'duty forced upon England' and 'imperative from motives of humanity alone', it 'was equally certain that to undertake it would be highly beneficial to British interests and British trade. . . .'² Many officials shared this opinion.

Some historians, notably C. D. Cowan, have argued strongly in support of the idea that these explanations alone do not suffice to explain why the Colonial Office would support adventurism in the Malay Peninsula. Cowan, on the basis of records of discussions that took place in London, inclined to the view that fear of German expansion in the Straits area prompted the Colonial Office to act.³ Other scholars have argued the contrary position, that decisions taken in England were of less importance than the actions of officials on the spot and that the Colonial Office, itself undecided over a course of action, was presented with a *fait accompli* which for reasons of imperial prestige (and prestige, as the Colonial Office well recognized, was the cement binding the empire together) it had no choice but to accept. Both these approaches also find some measure of support in the papers collected here.⁴

Under the protectorate arrangement employed in the Malay States after intervention, officials known as British Residents were assigned to the Malay sultans in an advisory capacity and the Residents dominated the state governments by the classic technique of controlling finances. The first Resident assigned to a Malay state, J. W. W. Birch, was assassinated in Perak, an occurrence which precipitated a brief war but caused only a momentary interruption in the process of creating a British administration. The man who contributed most to the shaping of the Residential system was Sir Hugh Low, an official with long experience in Borneo who made a notable success of his effort to develop British institutions in Perak.⁵

Leonard Wray's presentation at the Royal Colonial Institute in 1874 reflected the interests and concerns of a planter. He discussed the value of a 'forward movement' to increase British control over the Malay States and argued against British support for a similar Dutch initiative in northern Sumatra. His chief concern, however, was that the British Government should place the Malay Peninsula under British institutions and then, having done so, should interfere as little as possible with the activities of planters and other business interests. He was particularly unhappy about attempts by the Government of India to control the flow of Indian labour to South-East Asia.

The next speaker, in June 1884, was the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Frederick Weld, who like Low played a major role in shaping the administrative structure of British Malaya. When he addressed the Institute Weld was 61 years of age and nearing the end of a career which had carried him from sheep farming in New Zealand to posts as New Zealand's premier (in 1864) and Governor of Western Australia (in 1869). He was transferred to the Straits Settlements in 1880 and remained there as Governor until his retirement in 1887. His presentation described conditions in the Straits Settlements, and outlined the changes that ten years of British rule had brought about in Perak and Selangor.⁶

British administration on the north coast of Borneo antedated the forward movement in the Malay Peninsula by many years, but the Brooke government in Sarawak, which came into being in the 1840s, was not the subject of a paper at the Royal Colonial Institute until 1897. In November 1881 a royal charter was granted to the British North Borneo Company, which had been given a concession over territory at the north-eastern end of Borneo by the sultans of Brunei and Sulu. The area remained under the Company's jurisdic-

tion until 15 July 1946, when it was transferred to the administration of the Colonial Office. British North Borneo, as the region was called, was of topical interest in the 1880s, and in 1885 Sir Walter Medhurst, who had been active in the creation of the company, presented a paper on its activities. Medhurst, the son of a well-known missionary who had worked in South-East Asia and in China, spent most of his own career with the British consular service in China and rose to the post of British consul at Shanghai, a position he held from 1868 until his retirement in 1877. When he became involved with the British North Borneo Company, Medhurst went back to China to recruit labour on its behalf. He returned to England in 1884 and when he addressed the Institute in May, 1885, was 63 years of age. He died in December of the same year.⁷ In his talk Medhurst briefly summarized the recent history of North Borneo and catalogued its principle settlements and productions. He discussed at length the need for additional labour and the efforts that were underway to encourage Chinese immigration. K. G. Tregonning, in his *History of Modern Sabah*, has written scathingly of Medhurst's failings in this venture, and Medhurst himself described it as unsuccessful.⁸

The next speaker to deal with British Malaya was W. E. Maxwell, who addressed the Institute in 1891. Maxwell was the son of Peter Benson Maxwell, a former Chief Justice in the Straits Settlements, and had himself served in Malaya for twenty-five years. He was best known for his work as Commissioner of Lands in the Straits Settlements, and for his scholarly research on the Malay language and on Malayan history, the results of which he published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In 1891 he was 45 years of age. The following year he was appointed Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, the senior civil service position below the Governor. (The latter was usually a political appointment made from outside the Malayan Civil Service, Sir Frank Swettenham's selection for the post being an exceptional case.) In 1895 Maxwell was transferred to Africa as Governor of the Gold Coast where he died of illness two years later.⁹

Maxwell was followed in 1896 by Sir Frank Swettenham, at once the most visible and one of the least known of the major figures in British Malaya. Swettenham was a caricature of the British imperialist; his passion was material development and he profited personally from that development (while in Malaya from land speculation, and after his retirement as a director of companies

operating in Malaya). He wrote a large but on many points curiously uninformative history of British Malaya, and a series of stories and essays that J. de Vere Allen has aptly called 'wholly unmemorable'.¹⁰ But he was, withal, a major figure in Malayan history and has received less than his due owing to his unflattering descriptions of 'the Malay' (ironic in one who was considered by his contemporaries to be greatly in harmony with Malays), his character (an unregenerate Victorian imperialist who anachronistically survived into the mid-twentieth century), and the abundance of self-serving verbiage which he produced. When Swettenham addressed the Institute he was 46 years old and had spent twenty-six years in Malaya. He had been the moving spirit in creating a federation of the Protected Malay States (in 1896) and was in overall charge of it, holding the newly-created position of Resident-General. In 1901 he was appointed to the post of Governor and High Commissioner, and in 1904 he retired. At 54 years of age he could do so gracefully although there is reason to believe that his financial interests, especially in Johore, and restrictions on the holding of such interests by serving government officials played a significant part in the timing of the resignation.¹¹

During the seven years that elapsed between Weld's and Maxwell's talks, the Negri Sembilan (not yet united with Sungei Ujong and Jelebu, a step that would be taken in 1895) and Pahang had accepted British Residents on terms similar to those for Perak and Selangor, and the administrative system of British Malaya had largely settled into place. Although important, the changes which lay ahead—federation of the Protected Malay States, for example, and the establishment of a Federal Legislative Council in 1909—were changes more of form than of substance. The Federation when it was created included Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan. Johore, which might logically have been expected to be pressured into accepting a Resident, succeeded in forestalling the issue and ultimately remained outside the Federation.

In their presentations, Wray and Weld focussed attention on political and administrative arrangements, but Maxwell and Swettenham dwelt more on prospects for economic development in the Malay States. Maxwell in particular provided a detailed and judicious summary of the prospects and difficulties facing investors in mining or commercial agriculture. Swettenham's account, which touched on the same concerns (government revenues, mining, commercial agriculture, and steps the government could take to

stimulate the economy), was more optimistic and more ephemeral. Swettenham also mooted the possibility that British rule might be extended to the Malay States lying to the north of the territory under British control, an area then under Siamese suzerainty. He had two objectives in view, one the creation of a continuous strip of British territory between Penang and Rangoon and construction of a railway linking the two places, the other suppression of 'abuses and cruelties' that he contended flourished in the Siamese Malay states. In stating his case, Swettenham refrained from voicing 'speculations that the Siamese might consider hardly friendly', but said that 'everyone can best draw his own conclusion after a careful study of the map of the peninsula'.

In 1897 a second paper was presented on Borneo. The writer, E. P. Gueritz, had served as Resident of the West Coast and was in 1897 Sessions Judge of British North Borneo and Labuan. K. G. Tregonning, in his history of Sabah, characterized Gueritz as a 'placid soul' who later served a 'sedate and restricted' term as Governor of North Borneo. In his talk Gueritz dealt briefly with Sarawak and Labuan, and more extensively with British North Borneo, discussing its strategic importance and the economic opportunities to be found there.¹²

Hugh Clifford addressed the Institute twice, in 1899 and again in 1902. On the first occasion he was only 33 years old but had already spent sixteen years in Malaya. Clifford, like Swettenham, was credited by the European community with having a deep understanding of the Malays. *The Selangor Journal*, published during the 1890s, commented in a review of Clifford's book *East Coast Etchings*: 'It would be impossible, we suppose, to find two men who are more in sympathy with the Malay than Messrs. Clifford and Swettenham. . . .' There were, however, considerable differences between the two men and the reviewer made a further observation which assuredly could not have been applied to Swettenham: 'It strikes us that Mr. Clifford's tenderness for the Malay makes him a trifle hard on European progress.'¹³

Clifford in his first talk departed from the conventional format of such presentations, the recitation of administrative arrangements and economic statistics, and drew on his experiences in Pahang to describe conditions in the Malay States prior to the introduction of British rule. The account, which seems oddly unsympathetic to the Malays, owes much to intellectual traditions in Europe. Here are unchanging villages, and Oriental despots ruling the peasantry in a

cruel and tyrannical fashion; here, too, is social evolution with the Malay States exemplifying the feudal stage of development. As a presentation of the kind of ideas current among British officials during the late nineteenth century Clifford's account (echoes of which are found in Swettenham's books and in the work of later writers) is exemplary, but as a description of pre-colonial Malay society it is perilously defective. During the discussion after the talk, W. H. Treacher, soon to become Resident-General, was moved to urge the audience to be careful how it 'digested the exciting fare that has been presented', and not 'to go away with the idea that life in the unprotected Malay States is entirely unendurable'.

In his subsequent presentation Clifford adopted a more conventional approach (and was politely disparaging about his earlier effort, saying the talk had been 'of a frankly popular and uninformative character'). His second appearance was more resolutely instructive, although some characteristic Clifford touches slipped in. He reviewed, as had several earlier speakers, government revenue and the administration of the Malay States, the labour situation, and the condition of mining and of commercial agriculture. But he also drew the attention of his audience to the intangibles of British rule, and particularly to a matter 'that can only incidentally be proved by statistics', the contentment and happiness of the people under British rule: 'as some of us think, the only justification for the presence of the white man east of Suez lies in his ability . . . to make the lives of those of whose destiny he has taken charge better, cleaner and happier than they would have been but for his coming. . . .' He also spoke briefly of the Malay States north of British Malaya which were under Siamese control, expressing doubt about the ability of the Siamese to rule those areas effectively but without drawing the conclusion suggested by Swettenham.

Clifford was followed some seven years later by Mrs Dorothy Cator, the wife of a colonial official, whose observations on the British Empire combined fulsome praise with trenchant criticism. Dorothy Cator's husband, Richard Cator, served first in the North Borneo Government and then in Sierra Leone. She accompanied him to both posts, departing from England for Borneo on the day of their marriage, and in 1905 published a tart, outspoken book entitled *Everyday Life among the Head-Hunters and other Experiences from East to West*.¹⁴ In her book Mrs Cator wrote of European society in Borneo that 'outwardly we were very nice' and it was 'an understood thing that only the men should work and the ladies sleep and amuse

themselves'. She led a considerably more active existence, accompanying her husband on tour in defiance of the received wisdom of the time and observing various aspects of colonial life at first hand.

Mrs. Cator was not altogether sympathetic toward native customs (headhunting, she wrote with arch understatement, 'isn't nice') but she also had extremely harsh things to say about European behaviour in the colonies. Her most severe judgments were reserved for Dutch officials and planters.

Natives have a way when talking to you of doubling themselves up as if they were in very bad pain, or prostrating themselves. The Dutch like it, and think it adds to their dignity, but in reality there can be nothing much more undignified and degrading to one part of the human race than to have another part of it cowering in front of them.

Concerning British attitudes toward other peoples and cultures she commented,

We pride ourselves on standing first among the nations of the world, and instead of being particularly careful for that very reason to show our superiority by special courtesy, we force our insularism where it is not wanted, and ride roughshod over any ways which may not agree with ours.

Europeans are very kind; there is nothing they aren't ready to do for the benefit of savages. The only struggle is who shall do it first; and missions of every kind, political and otherwise, come pouring out, all treading on one another's heels in their haste to improve the welfare of the savage and to help all coloured races!

The poor Malay has no religion, and out comes a mission—not to live with him and gradually to teach him Christianity, as a handful of men are doing in some parts of Borneo, . . . but to make a comfortable living for themselves by supplying him with Bibles. He is absolutely untaught, but ten thousand Bibles in ten thousand pagans' hands sounds so well. . . . I should be afraid to say how many copies were bought up by the Chinese store-keepers, because it was the cheapest form of paper, and just the right size for wrapping tobacco!

Mrs Cator's talk before the Royal Colonial Institute contained further observations in the same vein. Her opening remarks eulogized Britain and the ideals of the empire, but her point was how far short of those ideals, in some respects at least, the Empire had fallen. How, she asked, could England successfully administer the Empire when officials making decisions in England had no experience of the colonies, and when those sent to the colonies were mere boys with insufficient training and inadequate experience of life? Why, she asked, was England party to a pernicious traffic in liquor in

West Africa? And whence, under these circumstances, came the complacency that pervaded Britain's imperial enterprise?

The next paper to touch on Malaya, delivered a year and a half after that of Mrs Cator, was also presented by a speaker from outside the official colonial establishment. John Ferguson was a planter with long experience in Ceylon and, as he acknowledged, almost no first-hand experience of the Malay States and Java, areas he compared with Ceylon in his talk. At the time of his presentation Ferguson was 68 years of age and had spent some forty-nine years in Ceylon. He had published extensively on the coconut palm and on Ceylon, was owner and editor of the *Ceylon Observer* newspaper and had served as a member of Ceylon's Legislative Council.¹⁵

Ferguson dealt with Malaya from a planter's point of view, the first speaker to do so since Leonard Wray. He examined the merits and prospects of different crops and the amenities available to planters in Ceylon, Java, and the Malay States, professing himself favourably impressed with the rapid development of the latter and with the attention paid by the Malayan government to supplying planter's needs. Ferguson's remarks on the origins of the rubber industry drew a rejoinder from H. N. Ridley, Director of the Botanic Gardens in Singapore since 1888 and a man who had done much to promote rubber cultivation in Malaya. Ridley said that the expansion of rubber planting was the result of efforts of the staff of the Botanic Gardens and, contrary to Ferguson's account, that neither Sir Hugh Low nor Sir Frank Swettenham had played a significant role in the process.

Ferguson was followed in 1912 by Sir Ernest W. Birch, a member of the Malayan Civil Service who had retired the previous year after thirty-three years in Malaya. E. W. Birch's father, J. W. W. Birch, was the first British Resident of Perak and was assassinated in 1875. The younger Birch went to Malaya as a cadet three years after his father's death and spent much of his own career in Perak, as Secretary to Government from 1892-7, and as British Resident from 1904 until his retirement in 1911. E. W. Birch fell squarely within the mainstream of the British colonial tradition in Malaya, and his talk was a recapitulation of the achievements of the British administration. The principal developments since Hugh Clifford's presentation in 1902 had been Britain's acquisition from Siam in 1909 of rights over the states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu, and the rapid expansion of rubber cultivation. Birch reported on these topics

in his survey of the administrative and economic situation in Malaya, and he was also the first speaker to draw attention to social issues such as education and health, matters that increasingly came to occupy the government's attention after 1900.

Colonial officials in nineteenth-century Malaya saw themselves as engaged in a revolutionary restructuring of the government, the economy, and the society of the Malay States, an undertaking they carried out in a discretionary, *ad hoc* fashion. W. E. Maxwell, for example, in his talk compared the administering of a Malay State to the building of a house 'where not only the mason's and carpenter's art has to be taught, but the making of each brick, the sawing of each plank, and the forging of each nail has to be superintended'. Swettenham said that in the early days there was 'no precedent for anything, no scheme and nothing to guide Residents', and that 'no one knew what he was to do'. Clifford, in his 1902 talk, chronicled the change: twenty years earlier, he said, officers in the districts 'were almost completely isolated from headquarters' and 'were forced to make their district and its people their one object and study in life'. But by 1902, he said, this state of affairs no longer prevailed and officers who knew their districts intimately were 'the rare exception', in large part because 'the bulk of highly responsible office-work' required of District Officers had tended 'to increase enormously' and they could not be away from headquarters for extended periods.

Clifford himself was the last speaker who reflected the breadth of vision of the early officials, excepting only Charles Hose whose official service had been during the late nineteenth century. Maxwell, Swettenham, and Clifford were noted for their deep understanding of 'the Malay'; in the hagiography of British imperialism in Malaya perhaps only Sir Hugh Low stands higher in this regard. E. W. Birch, who had risen through the ranks after these men, seems much more imbued with bureaucratic categories. The effort to understand the special character of the Malays and indeed the sense that there was something foreign to the English character to be understood was one of the distinctive features of the early period. It found no place in Birch's presentation and that omission more than anything else marks him as a man of the generation that succeeded the pioneers.

After Birch's appearance there was a hiatus of eleven years; no further talks on Malaya or Borneo were given until 1923 when Charles Hose presented a paper on Sarawak. Hose was a noted

ethnologist and naturalist who had collaborated (with Professor William McDougall) on a monograph entitled *The Pagan Tribes in Borneo* (1912) and had published extensively concerning his own experiences in Borneo. He first went to Borneo in 1884 and served in the Sarawak administration until his retirement in 1907; at the time of his appearance before the Institute he was 59 years of age. His paper began with an account of the character of the peoples of Sarawak that was far more sympathetic than Hugh Clifford's description of the Malays, and went on to deal at length with administration in Sarawak, emphasizing the continuity with indigenous customary practices. The presentation ended with a perfunctory account of economic development and progress, staples of colonial administration but matters for which Hose displayed far less enthusiasm than he did for the peoples and cultures of Sarawak.

In 1925 a paper was presented by Vaughan Cornish concerning Singapore's strategic position and its significance for imperial defence. Cornish was a geographer who had at the time of the First World War presented a series of lectures to military officers; the lectures were published in 1916 under the title *Naval and Military Geography of the British Empire*, establishing his reputation in this field.¹⁶

British possessions in South-East Asia had long figured in considerations of naval strategy. Much of Britain's initial interest in Penang had been related to the possible development on the island of repair facilities for warships operating east of the Indian sub-continent, and both Admiral Sir Home Popham and Arthur Wesley (Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington) examined the island with this end in view although it proved unsuited to the purpose.¹⁷ Singapore in turn was established partly because Britain needed a base at the southern end of the Straits of Malacca to secure the critical passage to China.

The subject of naval defence had been raised at the Royal Colonial Institute following the presentations of Weld and Medhurst during the 1880s, and that of Gueritz in 1897. Some of the discussion was given over to the pleasures of hyperbole. Commenting on Medhurst's talk, Sir Richard Temple said, 'For what were harbours made by nature? Of course for British ships of war!' and Admiral R. C. Mayne, with respect to an 'ironic' suggestion that the song 'Rule, Britannia' 'represents the Almighty as happy in having created the world, because that furnished Him the occasion of giving Great Britain the absolute command of the seas', added that, 'As

Englishmen, we may accept that as a plausible explanation of an actual fact.'

Both Singapore and Borneo fell near the hub of a British circle of interests that included Australia, Hong Kong, and India, and the desirability of developing coaling and repair facilities in the area was manifest. Cornish addressed the Institute at a time when the naval base at Singapore was of current interest. Following protracted discussions of naval policy after the First World War, Singapore had been selected as the site for a new naval base to service the British fleet in the Far East. The project had been approved by the Conservative Government which took office in October 1922, cancelled by the Labour Government in March 1924, and revived by the Conservative Government that came to power later in the same year. Cornish's talk, which examined Singapore in the context of global lines of communication and discussed the strategic importance of repair facilities located there to the British Empire as a whole, followed final acceptance of the project by the Cabinet in March 1925.¹⁸

In 1927 Sir George Maxwell, son of W. E. Maxwell, gave a talk on Malaya at the Royal Colonial Institute. George Maxwell had first gone to Malaya in 1891, the year his father spoke before the Institute, and had retired in 1926 upon reaching the age of 55. His last post, which he held from 1920 until 1926, was as Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States, the position previously known as 'Resident-General'. Departing from the format adopted by most of the earlier speakers, George Maxwell confined his remarks to the subjects of education and public health, a curious selection of topics in view of the fact that economic issues, particularly the operation of the Stevenson Rubber Restriction Scheme, loomed large in Malaya during the 1920s. The talk illustrated the complexities of conducting an administration through the medium of a well-entrenched bureaucracy. Education policy, he noted, was being debated somewhat unsatisfactorily and inconclusively in the Federal Council, and the issue of whether the Education Department should be headed by a civil servant or a professional educator had become a 'vexed question'. The Public Works Department, which he considered 'out of its element' when constructing rural Malay schools, was nevertheless the agency undertaking that work, producing 'type blank school, type blank teachers' houses, type blank outhouses, and so on'. Maxwell also commented on the opium trade, and where earlier speakers had strongly defended the use of opium he expressed

support for efforts to reduce opium consumption. The Malayan Government, which at one time derived a substantial revenue from taxes on opium, had created an Opium Revenue Replacement Fund in 1925 in conformity with a League of Nations agreement that the opium trade should be phased out.¹⁹

The final paper in this volume was delivered by the Rt. Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Member of Parliament and Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. The occasion for Ormsby-Gore's appearance was his return from a visit he made to South-East Asia, the first man at the Colonial Office to meet the criticism that officials in London dealing with the colonies had no first-hand experience of their areas of responsibility. Like Maxwell, Ormsby-Gore confined his remarks to a narrow field, in this case tropical agriculture. He compared commercial agriculture in Malaya, Ceylon and Java, emphasizing facilities for agricultural education and the use of scientific methods to improve production. The official report on his tour in South-East Asia was printed as a Command Paper in 1928.²⁰

In the preface to the original edition of *British Malaya*, Frank Swettenham commented that 'It is an article of popular belief that Englishmen are born sailors; probably it would be more true to say that they are born administrators.'²¹ Most of the papers in this collection were written by administrators, and perhaps for that reason contain a rather modest vision of the British Empire; if politics is the art of the possible, administration is concerned with the logistics of the possible, and the speakers were aware of the limitations in the apparatus they manned.

The Malay Peninsula of 1928 was substantially different from the Malay Peninsula of 1874. A new political system had been created, the economy had been restructured, and the composition of the population had altered radically. This transformation was not entirely the result of British rule, nor was it an unmixed blessing. The speakers in this collection described an empire that was prosperous and powerful, its achievements many and manifest and its intentions honourable. This assessment was not altogether accurate even at the time, but in 1928 the accomplishments of colonial rule still bulked large and the events that were forcibly to call attention to defects in the system of empire—the world depression, communist and nationalist agitation, labour unrest, and the ignominy of Japan's successful invasion—still lay in an unimagined future. The talks printed here reveal how officials thought the Empire ought to

appear; the years that followed were to reveal the limitations of that vision.

1. A. M. Skinner, 'Outline History of the British Connection with Malaya', *JSBRAS*, no. 10, December 1882, pp. 272-3.
2. Frank A. Swettenham, *British Malaya*, London, John Lane, 1907, p. 174.
3. C. D. Cowan, *Nineteenth Century Malaya*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 169-72. Also see the assessment of this issue in W. David McIntyre, *The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics*, London, MacMillan, 1967, pp. 72-4, 202, in J. de Vere Allen, 'The Colonial Office and the Malay States, 1867-73', *JMBRAS*, vol. 36, pt. 1, 1963, pp. 1-36, and in Khoo Kay Kim, 'The Origin of British Administration in Malaya', *JMBRAS*, vol. 39, pt. 1, 1966, pp. 52-91.
4. For a summary of the different interpretations placed on the situation, see John Bastin, 'Britain as an Imperial Power in South-East Asia in the Nineteenth Century', in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia*, London, MacMillan, 1968.
5. Low, then on leave from his post as British Resident of Perak, was at Frederick Weld's talk given at the Royal Colonial Institute in 1884, and attended subsequent sessions dealing with Malaya and Borneo after his retirement in 1889 at the age of 65. He died in 1905.
6. Entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
7. Entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
8. K. G. Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah, 1881-1963*, Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1965, pp. 130-3.
9. Obituary in *JSBRAS*, no. 32, June 1889, pp. ix-xii. Entry in *Who Was Who, 1897-1916*.
10. J. de V. Allen, 'Two Imperialists: A Study of Sir Frank Swettenham and Sir Hugh Clifford', *JMBRAS*, vol. 37, pt. 1, 1964, p. 55, n. 43.
11. Swettenham's financial machinations are discussed in J. de V. Allen, 'Johore 1901-1914', *JMBRAS*, vol. 45, pt. 2, 1972, pp. 10 ff., and in E. Thio, *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula*, Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1969, p. 240 and *passim*. For biographical data on Swettenham, see Emily Sadka, *The Protected Malay States 1874-1895*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, pp. 390-1, and *Who Was Who, 1941-1950*.
12. K. G. Tregonning, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5. Only a summary of Gueritz's talk was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Colonial Institute; but a proof sheet of the entire presentation preserved at the Royal Commonwealth Society headquarters in London has been printed here, along with a summary of the discussion that followed, as reported in the *Proceedings*.
13. *The Selangor Journal*, vol. 4, 1896, pp. 243-4.
14. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. The quotations in this section are drawn from the book, in which Mrs Cator styled herself as Dorothy Cator. On the

occasion of the talk she delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute she was introduced as Mrs Douglas Cator although in her book she refers to her husband by the name of Richard: presumably he was Douglas Richard Cator.

15. *Who Was Who, 1897-1916*.

16. London, H. Rees, 1916.

17. Sir Home Popham, *A Description of the Prince of Wales Island, in the Straits of Malacca: with its Real and Probable Advantages . . . as a Marine Establishment*, London, John Stockdale, 1805. Also Arthur Wesley, 'Memorandum on Pulo Penang', *The Wellington Despatches, Supplementary Despatches*, vol. 1, pp. 24-34.

18. W. David McIntyre, 'The Strategic Significance of Singapore, 1917-1942. The Naval Base and the Commonwealth', *JSEAH*, 10, 1 (1969), pp. 69-94. See also McIntyre's extended treatment of the subject in his *The Rise and Fall of the Singapore Naval Base, 1919-1942*, London: Macmillan Press, 1979, and James Neidpath, *The Singapore Naval Base and the Defence of Britain's Eastern Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

19. For the argument defending opium, see G. Graham Dixon, 'The Truth about Indian Opium', printed for and issued by The Industries and Overseas Department of the India Office in 1922.

20. *Report by the Rt. Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore on His Visit to Malaya, Ceylon and Java in 1928*, Command Paper (Cmd.) 3235 of 1928-9.

21. Frank A. Swettenham, *op. cit.*, p. v.

Settlements on the Straits of Malacca

Leonard Wray

24 March 1874

Chairman: The Duke of Manchester

UNTIL within the last few months, comparatively very few, even in this generally well-informed country, knew anything about the Straits of Malacca.

They had possibly a vague notion that it was somewhere in the East, but its exact locality, or any definite information appertaining to the important Settlements which exist thereon, was a trifle beyond their knowledge.

And yet these Settlements, so little known by the general public, so little appreciated by our Government officials, possess an importance to us as a nation which cannot easily be over-estimated.

Very recent events have to a certain extent aroused public curiosity, and imparted to the questions involved an amount of interest which, I hope, may lead to a proper recognition of their value to England's Empire.

It cannot be gainsaid that, had the value of these questions been rightly estimated in the past by the Home Government, and had they been treated with that sagacity and far-sightedness which they demanded, we should have seen to-day a condition of affairs in this part of the world very different to that actually existing.

As I proceed, I will endeavour to justify this assertion, by adducing facts which are tolerably patent.

In the first place, however, allow me to direct your attention to what we mean by the Settlements on the Straits of Malacca, which I am about to treat of.

The Strait itself lies between the Malayan Peninsula and the Island of Sumatra, and is about 520 miles long, and from 25 to 200 miles wide. The Malay Peninsula, which is an elongation of the Siamese Continent, commences at the River Pak-Chan, in latitude 10° north,

and terminates at the extremity of Johore, opposite the Island of Singapore. The great Island of Sumatra runs from latitude 6° north to 6° south (making between these two points about 11° of longitude), and is about 1,050 miles long, by 165 average width. The greater portion of the island is therefore to the south and east of what is properly termed the Strait of Malacca, which, strictly speaking, terminates nearly opposite Singapore.

This Strait is, and long has been, one of the great high roads from Europe to China; but now that the Suez Canal is opened, as many as ten to twelve steamers sometimes pass into and out of it per day, and we may confidently expect that this number will go on increasing.

Besides these vessels passing onward to China, Japan, Australia, &c. are those by which more particularly the commerce of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore is carried on, the extent of which I shall endeavour to set forth as I proceed.

At the north-western end of the Strait, the British Settlement of Penang keeps watch and ward, whilst at the south-eastern extremity our Settlement of Singapore performs the duty of a British sentinel, in addition to its commercial operations. Between these two, 250 miles from Penang, and 100 miles from Singapore, is the neglected but important Settlement of Malacca itself, from which the Strait takes its name.

These three (together with Province Wellesley, which appertains to Penang) comprise the British possessions on the Straits of Malacca; and we shall see that their value is such as to render the absolute security of the Straits an object of paramount importance to the British Empire, as well as to the commercial world.

But besides the English possessions are those of the Dutch, who have established themselves at Delli,¹ and other places on the Island of Sumatra, and who are now putting forth all their strength in order to conquer, and settle themselves in Acheen, in the extreme north-west part of that island.

Before, however, entering more fully on the subject of these European Settlements, it may be well to take a very brief glance at the early history of the Malayan Peninsula, and of Sumatra, as it may serve to convey to our minds some idea, however imperfect, of some of the changes which in bygone times have occurred in these countries.

Anything like authentic records do not extend back very far into the remote past, and it is a research of no small labour and difficulty to pursue one's inquiries beyond those records, and to sift the

probable truth of the accounts which have been handed down through so many ages.

During many years of my life, I have sought information, and utilised every opportunity that presented itself, tending to throw light upon the early history of this interesting part of the world; but I cannot avoid a feeling of great diffidence in now offering a short summary of the conclusions I have formed.

That the original inhabitants of the whole Peninsula, from Tenassarim down to Johore Point, were of the Negro type, is almost beyond dispute; and even to this day many of these aborigines are to be found, with jet black skins, woolly hair, thick lips, flat noses, and of somewhat diminutive stature. By the Malays they are named Samangs, some of whom are now very partially civilised, whilst the majority remain in the mountains and swamps of the interior, in the lowest state of savage existence.

I know no reason for assuming that this Oriental Negro race ever occupied a higher place in the scale of civilisation than the miserable remnant do now. Wherever they are still existing, they are savages of the lowest type, and such they seem to have ever been.

In course of time, the character of the country invited the visits, and ultimate settlement, of a higher class of people, who drove the Samangs from the coasts into the interior, and became masters of the country.

These again have, from time to time, been conquered by others, from the Malabar coast, from Bengal, from Birmah, from Siam, and probably from other parts.

Tenassarim was once thickly populated, and so was the whole Peninsula, to Johore Point. A commercial and agricultural community of no ordinary character, traded with the Chinese and other nations to the East, and with the mariners of Tarshish and others to the West.

The men of Tarshish, taking advantage of the monsoons, sailed from the coast of Africa (*i.e.* the Red Sea) to Ceylon, and from thence to India and to the Straits of Malacca, returning laden with the rich products of those countries: spices, sugar, gums, fragrant oils, precious stones, tin, gold, silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks. The Bible record evidently points to this fact, as there are certainly no peacocks at Sofala, or anywhere on the coast of Africa.

It is probable that for a thousand years or more before the time of Solomon, this active trade had been carried on between these various countries, and that even the enduring timber, as well as the

highly-prized sandal, and other scented woods, formed part of these cargoes.

It is also tolerably certain that the worship of Baal was the prevailing religion upon these coasts, until in later years succeeded by Buddhism, and other forms of Indian worship.

More than 1,000 years ago, the whole of this country was in the possession of the Thay Jhay, a race once famous for its learning, and for the power of its empire.

This nation, numerous monuments of whose power and grandeur are still existing, is known to us as the Siamese, our present neighbours, and our friends.

But how fallen from their high estate, how reduced in territory, in power, in influence, and in splendour from those days when she held sovereign sway over all the coasts of Bengal, from Chittagong to Johore!

Constant and long-continued wars, attended by frightful slaughter, have not only shorn her of territory and power, but have left that territory a depopulated wilderness of forest, jungle, and swamp.

As her former power decayed, or was torn from her, so her outlying possessions became, one by one, either wholly or in a measure independent of her; and thus we see, that the whole Peninsula is now ruled by a number of petty chiefs, or Rajahs, such as Ligor, Quedah, Perah, Salangore, Johore, &c. (always excepting those small portions comprising our Province Wellesley, and Malacca).

Turning now to the great Island of Sumatra, on the southern side of the Strait, we find a country so abounding in agricultural capabilities and mineral wealth as to be unsurpassed by any other portion of the globe. Even the rich islands of Madagascar and of Java cannot compare with it; and it only requires the fostering hand of a powerful and enterprising nation (like the British) to become one of the most productive and important islands in the world.

There can be little doubt that the people on this side of the Strait played a conspicuous part in the commercial activity which in very remote times reigned in this great thoroughfare.

This very activity has had the effect of producing a very remarkable intermixture of races; which in my opinion has in one branch given rise to a people, who are now almost regarded as a distinctive race, although no proper grounds have ever been adduced for so considering them. Of course I allude to the Malay, or Malayan race—who have gradually become possessed of characteristics as distinctive as those which mark the great English race.

They appear to derive their name from the River Malayu, which is in Palembang, an ancient kingdom on the north-east coast of Sumatra; and they habitually call themselves "Orang-Malayu" (Malayu men), and also (curiously enough) "Orang-Laut," or "Men of the Sea." This latter designation is, to my mind, both significant and highly suggestive, not only of their roving habits, but of their origin.

It is held by several writers that the Malays came originally from this kingdom of Palembang; but I think that there are strong grounds for looking far beyond this spot for the actual origin of these people. The very name they give themselves, "Orang-Laut," or "Men of the Sea," at once suggests to the mind the traditionary idea existing among themselves, that they came from the sea, or beyond the sea.

There appears to me a strong probability that the traders from Japan to the Loo Choo and the Philippine Islands, and so onward, skirting Borneo, first found their way to the Straits of Malacca and subsequently continued their periodical voyages, being from time to time accompanied by their female friends from the Philippine and Sooloo groups of Islands, and gradually established a kind of trading Colony at Palembang, which became the resort of the Javanese and other neighbouring races, until at length this community of mixed breeds became numerous and powerful enough to spread over the whole district and to erect themselves into a kingdom. Such a people, so formed, and in process of time consolidated into a kingdom or nation of restless, roving traders, might well designate themselves as "Men of the Sea."

Whether this be their true origin or not, it is quite certain that, with restless activity and lawless pugnacity, they have spread themselves throughout the Eastern seas and islands, conquering here and there, and making themselves generally feared and dreaded.

We are told that in the year 1160 they took possession of the extreme end of the opposite peninsula and built a city, which they named Sincapoor; and that in 1252, being driven out by the King of Majapahit, in Java, they retreated to the westward, and founded Malacca; which means no more, I believe, than that they took possession of places already existing, and infused into them new life by their energy and activity. In this manner they extended their authority, not only over almost all the Malayan Peninsula, but over several districts in Sumatra.

In the year 1276, the first Mahomedan prince ascended the throne

of Palembang; and during a reign of fifty-seven years acquired great celebrity both by his numerous conquests and by his vigorous propagation of the Mahomedan faith throughout his dominions. It was this able prince, Sultan Mahomet Shah, who is said to have first established the Malay power in Acheen, at the very north-western extremity of the island, and he very greatly encouraged the Arab and other traders to visit and establish themselves in that district.

The impetus given to trade by this and succeeding rulers soon brought to the country a diversity of people speaking Arabic, Hindoostani, Tamul or Moplay, Siamese, and all the jargons of the East; but in course of time the Tamuls or natives from the Malabar coast became sufficiently numerous to impart their physical character to the race itself.

It can be understood, then, that the Acheenese are a very mixed breed, of Malays, Battas, Javanese, Tamuls, Arabs, Siamese, Hindoostanees, *cum multis aliis*—the Tamul predominating, the prevailing religion being Mahomedan. The Portuguese, under Dom Diego Lopez Siqueira visited Pedeer in the year 1500, and were not long in getting up a quarrel with the Acheenese, but could form no lodgment on this part of the coast, although they succeeded in enlisting against their nation the unceasing hostility of the Acheenese, who lost no opportunity of attacking and harassing them, from the time they took Malacca in 1511 until they lost it in 1640.

About the year 1586, the power and importance of Acheen had become very great; it was feared, respected, and courted by its most potent neighbours, and it possessed a most flourishing trade. Its chief port was crowded with merchant traders from all parts, and all were protected and enjoyed perfect security, except the Portuguese, who were plundered and maltreated on all occasions.

In 1600 (or just 100 years after the Portuguese) the Dutch visited Acheen, and their bearing having given great offence to the people, they were nearly cut off; but they had the art to dissemble their feelings, and eventually got on fair and even friendly terms with the Sultan.

In 1602 Acheen was visited for the first time by English ships, under Captain Lancaster. They were received with extraordinary ceremony and respect by the Sultan, who seemed most favourably impressed by the naval force of the English visitors, and by the frankness of Captain Lancaster.

In 1607, the Sultan Peducka Siri assumed the title of sovereign of Acheen, and of the countries of Aroo, Delli, Johore, Paham,

Quedah, and Perah on the one side, and of Baroos, Passaman, Ticoa, Sileda and Priaman on the other.

In writing to King James the First, in 1613, he assumed to himself the style and title of King of all Sumatra; and in that letter he modestly begs our wise monarch to send him out an English wife, promising to make her son king of all the pepper countries. This tempting offer, however, did not succeed, as the sagacious James thought that some monster cannon (warranted to burst if ever used for warlike purposes) would be a safer present, and possess more charms in the eyes of such a king than even a pretty English wife! Acting on this wise resolve he sent him two brass cannon of extraordinary size, the bore of one being eighteen inches, and the other twenty-three inches in diameter, both being of such slight thickness as to deter even an Acheenese from attempting to fire them off. The Sultan received these "great guns" with immense satisfaction, and ever since they have been the admiration of succeeding generations of Acheenese. We learn, however, from the *Pinang Gazette* of the 5th ultimo, that one of these venerable pieces has at length fallen into the hands of the enemy, the Dutch having found it in the Craton. It may be interesting to relate that this brass gun is described as being ten feet long and eighteen inches bore, and has on it the following mark: "Thomas and Richard Pit, Brethren, made this Peece. Ano. 1617."

It is instructive to remember, that although the Dutch could not conquer the Acheenese in those days, yet they found the means of obtaining their assistance against their rivals and enemies. Thus, in 1640, they made a final grand attack on the Portuguese at Malacca, with twelve men of war, aided by twenty-five Acheenese war-prows, and succeeded in taking the place, and ousting their rivals.

The Dutch also established themselves on various points, both on the east and the west coasts of Sumatra; first as mere traders, then as masters—building forts and endeavouring to control the whole commerce of the country. But it is a notorious fact that their harshness, injustice, and cruelty have always made them hateful to the natives, whilst their intense jealousy of other European nations has made them extremely disliked and distrusted.

We turn now to those Settlements on the Straits of Malacca which belong to Great Britain. These comprise, as I have already said, Singapore, Pinang, and Malacca, which are governed by a Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, who resides at Singapore, and two Lieut.-Governors,—Colonel Anson, at Pinang, and Major Shaw, at Malacca.

The Governor has now a complete Colonial Government, consisting of a Legislative Council, Chief Justice, Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Surveyor-General, &c. &c.

The military force at his command is exceedingly small, but, on the other hand, he can generally rely on a pretty considerable naval force, as Singapore is a naval station; and in case of emergencies troops could be poured into these Settlements from India at very short notice.

SINGAPORE.—This, although the youngest, is the most flourishing and most important of the three, and bids fair to go on extending in commerce and in wealth for many long years to come. It was obtained by purchase from the Sultan of Johore in 1819, and is situated at the south-eastern end of the Straits, in latitude $1^{\circ} 17'$ north, and longitude $103^{\circ} 11'$ east.

It is 25 miles long, by 14 miles greatest breadth, and contains about 210 square miles of fairly fertile, although by no means very rich, soil.

As it has always been a "free port," it is resorted to by vessels of all nations, and its development as the great commercial *entrepôt* of the East has been rapid beyond all example. This rapid development has, however, received a very severe check, from causes which are very apparent, and cannot be ignored.

First, we have the ever increasing trade of Hong Kong. Then, the express pace at which Pinang is gaining on her rival. Thirdly, the influence of steamers passing through the Suez Canal, and going, without breaking bulk, direct to and from China and Japan, making Singapore a mere place of call. And lastly, with incredible blindness, no steps have been taken to give to her a back country—an agricultural district—to afford a scope for expansion, and to supply her, not only with agricultural products, but with a great agricultural community.

With an immense stretch of waste territory at her very door, loudly crying out for British settlement, British laws, and British security, it has been, and is, allowed to remain in a condition next akin to a howling wilderness, covered by forest jungle and swamps, the harbouring place of numerous wild beasts, and still worse and more cruel, of nests of pirates and murderers.

But no! "Singapore is a free port, the great commercial *entrepôt* of the East: what do we want (says the Government official) with agricultural lands, mining companies, and all such bother? Haven't we enough to do already? Why should we be troubled to treat and

bargain with a lot of petty native Rajas for their wretched lands?" And so the matter is allowed to go on; these valuable agricultural and mineral lands remain a waste,—piratical rowboats and prows swarm throughout the Straits,—atrocities of all kinds are rife within a stone's throw of our Settlements, peaceful trading vessels are plundered and their crews massacred under our very noses, and even Her Majesty's vessels of war are attacked and fired upon by these lawless wretches.

Yet all this could be changed, easily, and to the infinite advantage of all concerned, by a little energy, firmness, and tact. All this stretch of territory, from Province Wellesley to Johore Point, could be bought by our Government on equitable terms, the whole could gradually and rapidly be settled with industry, order, security, and happiness would reign, where now all is disorder, misery, and crime.

There seems, however, to be a change for the better already occurring. Sir Andrew Clarke, the new Governor, has taken *one step* towards an improvement, and if he is properly instructed and supported by our present highly respected Colonial Minister, none of us can doubt that he will take measures for securing and opening up this range of country to the enterprise of industrious settlers, and for placing them under British institutions.

The trade of Singapore is almost wholly foreign to herself; she is simply the *mart* to which Eastern produce is brought for sale, and from which the merchandise of Europe and America is distributed throughout the Eastern seas. The extent of this commerce is very great, and its growth has been very rapid. Its imports and exports are worthy of remark.

In 1823–24 they amounted to over £2,500,000 sterling; in 1859–60 they had increased to £10,471,396; and in 1871 they amounted to £14,613,696; but it must be observed that in 1865–6 they amounted to within £221,226 of this sum, whilst in 1868 they fell off fully two millions. That they have rallied again in 1871 is a hopeful sign, and I cannot see any reason for apprehending any falling off in the future.

The shipping of the Colony in 1871 shows 2,890 ships of 1,391,752 tons entered, and 2,995 ships of 1,144,074 tons cleared, being an increase over the year 1869 of 324,600 tons entered, and 209,414 tons cleared, or about one-third in the gross tonnage entering the Settlements; and this has been exclusively in British ships, of which 431 more entered in 1871 than in 1869.

This is a very satisfactory increase, which we must hope will

continue, although, as I have already said, I imagine many ships now enter only to discharge a very small portion of their cargoes, being onward bound.

Population.—A census was taken in 1871, and the returns may be considered as accurate as circumstances allowed.

In the three Settlements there is a total of 308,097, out of which there are only 1,730 Europeans and Americans; Hindoos, 9,166; Eurasians (or half-castes), 5,772; Javanese, 4,665; and the rest are of twenty-one different nationalities, principally Eastern.

From this it will be seen that there exists in this small community an admirable opportunity of forming some singular admixtures of races,—if that will improve them.

Amongst these the Malays and Chinese greatly preponderate, but there is this difference always to be borne in mind, viz. that whereas the Malays are mostly if not wholly fixtures, the Chinese and other nationalities are ever coming and going—staying in the Colony to earn money, and then returning to their own countries.

The revenue of the three Settlements in 1869 was £279,022, and in 1871, £298,711; the expenditure being £247,425 in 1869, and £266,495 in 1871; the increase arising in the land revenue, which was due mainly to the increased demand for land for agricultural purposes.

Formerly there were two sugar estates, and several fine nutmeg plantations, but the former no longer exist, and the latter were swept away by the disease which some years ago destroyed all the nutmegs in these Settlements.

Europeans have taken to growing cocoa-nuts, and some of these plantations are now beginning to yield good returns.

One French gentleman has recently started a tapioca estate, and is said to be doing well, and making money.

The Chinese, who are the principal agriculturists, cultivate tapioca, cocoa-nuts, pepper, gambier, and sugar, but not in large quantities; and around Singapore, on sundry small islets, they grow immense numbers of pine-apples.

Latterly, much fruit is cultivated, the sale of which to the numerous ships has become very remunerative.

It would be unpardonable to omit mention of the extreme beauty of Singapore, surrounded as it is by numerous islets, and by the main land of Johore, all clothed in the most luxuriant vegetation. It struck me, as I think it must strike everyone, as being one of the most picturesque and lovely scenes the eye can rest upon.

The Settlement of PINANG next claims our attention. It comprises the island itself, called by the Malays Pulu Peenang (Betelnut Island), and Province Wellesley, which is on the mainland just opposite and close to it.

It is situate at the north-west entrance of the Straits, in latitude $5^{\circ} 25'$ north, and longitude $100^{\circ} 21'$ east, and is about 14 miles long, by 10 miles broad, containing about 75,000 acres. It is very hilly, the highest range being about 2,500 feet above the sea, affording to the inhabitants a charming retreat and a delightful climate, the temperature averaging not more than 72 degrees Fahr. On the lower hills of course the average is somewhat higher, although still temperate.

The rainfall is about 50 per cent. more than that on the plains below, and all the hills are clothed with an abundant and constant vegetation.

Numerous bungalows are erected in various elevated spots, but especially on "the Hill;" all of them delightful abodes, in which comforts abound; health is quickly restored, and life is truly enjoyable.

A short drive and a ride of six miles takes one from the heated town up to the highest range, so that it can readily be imagined how much they are frequented, both by residents and by visitors. At the foot of the hills is the celebrated water-fall, so well known and so much admired by all who have visited this lovely island.

Government has a house on the hill, and there is also a convalescent bungalow for invalids.

The British acquired this island in 1786 by purchase from the Quedah Raja, and in a similar manner they obtained, in 1800, a strip of about twenty miles along the opposite shore of the Peninsula, which they named Province Wellesley. This strip of land originally comprised about 25,000 acres of land only, but a small portion lying back from the shore has been since added to it.

By the mail recently arrived, we learn that our new and energetic Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, has since his arrival found time and opportunity to conclude a treaty (bearing date January 20th of this year) with the chiefs of Perak, whereby the anarchy reigning in those States will be abated; the advice of a British official resident must be asked and acted upon, and the land, on our southern boundary, drained by the Kreean River, is declared to be British territory.

The new boundary line has yet to be marked out by Commis-

sioners, so that we do not know how great an extent of land may be included in this promised acquisition.

Already applicants are numerous and eager to obtain this land, so much so that in a brief space of time all will be applied for, and taken up for industrial purposes.

We have seen the great and rapid increase in the commercial prosperity of Singapore, an increase which, at one period, threatened to swamp Pinang altogether; let us now glance at the commercial condition of this active little settlement. From 1810 to 1825-6, its imports and exports continued at about £1,108,000, whereas in 1864-5 they amounted to nearly £4,500,000; in 1868 they fell to less than £4,000,000; in 1869 they rose again to £4,429,597; and in 1871, to £7,269,415, beyond which year I have no record. It will be observed, however, that whilst in Singapore the increase in imports, in these two years, was only about 15 per cent., in Pinang the increase was nearly 80 per cent. In exports, the increase at Singapore was about 18 per cent., whilst those of Pinang amounted to upwards of 52 per cent.!

The late Governor, in his report to Government, in alluding to this increase, says: "These figures furnish additional confirmation of the opinion expressed in my report in the Blue-Book for 1868, that the trade of Pinang would continue to develop itself (as it had for years past) in a larger proportion than that of Singapore. In 1861, the imports and exports of Singapore were to those of Pinang as ten to three; in 1871, they were as ten to five."

There is another point of comparison, which is of great value, as showing the force of the argument I have already employed, and it is, that whereas Singapore exports produce of her own to the amount only of about £40,000, Pinang exports agricultural produce of her own amounting to upwards of half a million per annum.

This great and steady expansion of the trade of Pinang leads me to think that it may yet equal, if not exceed, that of Singapore, unless some measures are quickly adopted for giving to this latter Settlement a considerable tract of agricultural land.

The Island of Pinang once produced a large quantity of nutmegs, and some cloves; but since the disease killed these valuable plantations, little exportable produce is derived from it, save cocoa-nuts, oil, and coir.

It is from Province Wellesley that the agricultural produce comes, such as sugar, rum, tapioca, rice, cocoa-nuts and their oil, pepper, coir, &c. Some of the sugar estates are very large, making, in one

case, from 1,000 to 1,200 tons of sugar of very excellent quality per annum, and many more would be established if the planters could get suitable land, as they may hope to do so as soon as the Perak lands, now being acquired, are open for selection.

It should, and no doubt will, be the great object of the local Government to reserve the best tracts of land for Europeans, who will establish large estates either as private properties, or as companies with sufficient capital. I venture to think that such a course will be in every way better for the Settlement than to allow all the best lands to be grabbed by alien Chinese, and converted into swampy, paddy fields, or into small, patchy cultures.

Very little of the land in the province can be considered as being naturally fertile, the greater portion of the soil being composed of granitic *detritus*, very slightly (more or less) overlaid or intermingled with vegetable matter, which by the course usually pursued by the Malays and Chinese yields two or three crops, and then requires ample manuring to enable it to produce anything like good returns.

On the banks of the Prie and the Moodah, and in some other particular localities, more of an alluvial soil exists, and here we find it of a richer and more enduring character.

As I clearly pointed out twenty-six years ago,² a very broad distinction exists between this comparatively poor granitic soil and the rich volcanic soils in some of the West India Islands, and in Sumatra, Java, &c. I do not know of any volcanic action along the Malayan Peninsula, whereas, curiously enough, a well-ascertained volcanic belt runs through Sumatra, Java, and along the chain of islands south-eastwards to Timor, from which it seems to continue on through almost the centre of New Guinea to New Britain; whilst another, and apparently the main belt, branches off from Timor northwards, through Bouro, the Moluccas, the Philippines, and on to Japan and the Kurile islands.

No one, therefore, must look for very rich soil in Province Wellesley or in Perak; but what the planter may make sure of is, a fairly healthy climate, good seasons, sufficient rain-fall, an equable temperature, and last, though not least, an abundance of cheap labour; and these conjoined to the advantage of being close to the sea and shipping.

With so many points in his favour, it must be strange indeed if the Pinang planter cannot cultivate and bring his crops to market at a considerable profit.

Believing in the capabilities of the province, I was determined, in

1868, to attempt the cultivation of tea, vanilla, and india-rubber on our estate, and went to great expense in sending vanilla cuttings from the Mauritius, and india-rubber cuttings from Ceylon, and in getting tea-seed from Assam (through our manager). As a matter of course, I was opposed and thwarted, and by none more so than by our own manager, who allowed all the india-rubber and vanilla cuttings to die (if ever he planted them), and although he did get the tea-seed, and sowed a few acres, he nevertheless emphatically declared that it was a waste of money, that Pinang being so near the Equator was too hot for the Assam tea-plant, and that he had no faith in it.

In spite of his prognostications, our tea-plants have done well (although they were very badly planted), and some of the tea manufactured from them has been pronounced equal to that from Assam, and has sold for 2s. 7d. per lb. wholesale, in bond. Now that the culture has proved a decided success, this manager (now dismissed) very amusingly takes to himself all the credit of introducing this new industry in the Straits.

It may interest many to know that we have ceased picking, simply to allow the bushes strength to bear more seed, and that our present agent intends to plant out about 125 acres more in young seedlings this year.

He is also pushing on the culture of the vanilla, from other cuttings obtained from Java.

We cannot do otherwise than hope that these and many other useful and valuable plants may from time to time be introduced, and become successful in the Straits.

The labour market has until recently been very well supplied; but latterly the Indian Government has interfered, and thrown grievous obstacles in the way of free emigration from the Madras coast, whence our best labourers come.

Formerly the Kling (or Tamuls) were free to emigrate as they liked, and everything went on smoothly and well: the people came and went, making money in the Straits, and then returning to their families, and perhaps going back again to the Straits to repeat the same thing. Now a busybody official, wishing to show his activity and zeal, has caused all this to be altered. He disinterred some old Act by which such free emigration was forbidden, and although strong representations were made to the Indian Government on the subject of these restrictions, and it was probably desired by that Government to relax them, yet it appears that they have substituted regula-

tions which do not afford the remedy applied for, but have a tendency to throw the planters requiring coolies into the hands of agents on the Madras Coast who, instead of forwarding strong, healthy men, pick up any emaciated, sickly creature they can get hold of, and send them on their voyage to Pinang.

This shameful conduct has led to the only result that could be anticipated, viz. that these poor creatures, already weak and sickly, suffer sea sickness on the voyage, and are thus landed and thrown on the planter's hands in a condition befitting them only for a hospital and careful nursing. Hence, with all the planter's care, many of them get dysentery and die on reaching the estates.

Our own manager, a most experienced and humane gentleman, was so incensed at this conduct that he wrote an indignant letter to the Madras agents, forbidding them to send any more to him.

Why the Indian Government will not allow strong, healthy men freely to emigrate and better themselves and families, if they wish to do so, passes one's comprehension.

We see gaunt famine raging throughout many districts of India, and yet if these poor fellows want to go to a British Colony like Pinang, where employment and plenty await them, our enlightened Government of India steps forward and says: "No: you shan't go. You must stay where you are, unless somebody sends for you." So whether they and their families starve or not, there they must stay until some planter or other sends money to engage them.

Does this not appear incredible? and yet it is quite true. It is a bare statement of existing facts.

No doubt the Indian Government means well; it wishes to protect and defend their coolies from harm, and to be assured that before they leave their native shores certain employment shall be secured to them; but unfortunately that paternal solicitude, although most praiseworthy in the abstract, is lamentably deficient in the means adopted to effect its object. By very recent intelligence we learn that famine is already making its appearance in Orissa, and that the homes of these very people will probably be desolated by horrors similar to those of Bhagulpore and Tirhoot.

In the name of common sense and humanity, then, let these unwise restrictions be removed, and let these industrious people be free to betake themselves to those British Colonies in which their services will be gladly accepted, and they will earn a subsistence for themselves and their families.

Our next Settlement in the Straits is MALACCA, which is the oldest

of all the European Colonies in this part of the world. It is situate on the mainland of the Peninsula, has a frontage on the Straits of Malacca about forty-two miles, and extends inland from ten to twenty-eight miles; the town itself being in latitude $2^{\circ} 16'$ north, and the climate, though hot and humid, is decidedly healthy. The Portuguese commenced trading with it in 1508, and captured it in 1511, after which they held it until 1640, when the Dutch, aided by the Acheenese, wrested it from them.

In 1795 they surrendered it to the English, who restored it to them in 1818, and received it back again in 1825, in exchange for Bencoolen. This was a short-sighted and most unwise bargain on the part of the British, and was rendered still more mischievous by the cunning stipulation of the Dutch, that the English should utterly destroy the strong and important fortifications for which Malacca was so famous.

From that time she has never regained her commercial and agricultural importance. Her port has gradually silted up until it has become a mere roadstead, too shallow for any but the smallest vessels to anchor near the shore; and for many long years she seemed sunk in lethargy and insignificance.

A change for the better has, however, been silently going on, and she is beginning to participate in the general prosperity. Her imports and exports, which in 1825-6 were only £318,426, amounted in 1868 to £844,453, in 1869 to £1,015,800, and in 1871 to £1,029,754; this increase being due principally to her agricultural development, and to the working of the tin mines in the neighbouring Malay territory.

But these figures do not convey to the mind any idea of what Malacca (under another name) was once. When she was a great trading emporium, sending forth the riches of her country, and of her commerce, even to Egypt, Palestine and Rome, to China, and to Japan. When her beautiful hills and valleys teemed with industrious labourers, and produced not only the costly spices, fragrant gums, and crystallised honey (as sugar was then termed) which we read of, but also the mineral treasures which so greatly abound throughout her lands.

The account given as in the Bible of the gold from Mount Ophir³ involves the question as to what country was alluded to, and this has become a standing puzzle, and a great bone of contention. I believe India was meant, but whether it was India Proper or India on the Straits of Malacca is a point which I shall not attempt to discuss,

further than to remark that there is in Malacca a Mount Ophir, and that it is rich in gold is beyond dispute. But it must be observed that the word Oph means serpent, which is the symbol of Budha (that is, Wisdom), and that Mount Ophir simply means "serpent mountain," or "high place," on which the worship of Budha was carried on; and that there are several Mount Ophirs. Singularly enough, the Malays of Malacca look upon their Mount (or Bukit) Ophir as sacred, and abounding in spirits.

Besides gold, Malacca also contains other minerals, and amongst them is tin, which exists in very considerable quantities, but is not now produced—mainly, as I believe, from the pernicious practice resorted to by the local Government, of "farming," or letting out the dues or royalties on mines to Chinese contractors. These mining royalties, in theory, are fixed at ten per cent. on the gross product but the overreaching "contractor" always manages, by numberless ingenious expedients, to screw out of his mining victims far more than the regular dues.

This most wretched system has naturally destroyed all mining enterprise in Malacca, which from yielding a revenue of £5,000 a year now produces nothing; or, as the official statement puts it, "the practice of tin mining has been almost entirely abandoned." It is quite clear to my mind that unless a decided change for the better is made, mining in Malacca, and in our Straits Settlements generally, will become a thing of the past. On the other hand, if placed under wise and encouraging regulations, the mineral produce of these Settlements will soon attain very great importance.

Population.—The recent census gave about 92,804, consisting of Malays, 57,474; Chinese, 30,456; Klings, 2,874, and about 2,000 of all other classes and nationalities.

I consider that Malacca offers very great advantages to European capitalists, both in mining and in agricultural pursuits. I was all over it, and carefully explored it in 1847, and am convinced that for sugar, tapioca, and cacao, Assam tea, indiarubber, vanilla, &c. it is admirably adapted, and will yet produce these in large quantities.

Before referring to other subjects, I wish particularly to invite your attention to a few brief observations on the subject of tin, which so greatly abounds throughout the whole of the Malayan Peninsula, the Tenassarim provinces, and northwards.

To the insufficiently informed minds of the many, it is, I know, almost worse than heresy and schism to even hint at such a circumstance as the production of tin in this part of the world for ages,

perhaps for thousands of years, before the Phœnicians first visited our own Cornwall.

I must, however, with due respect to the numerous writers on the subject of the early production of tin, venture to say that these gentlemen all argue and follow each other in one groove; that, in point of fact, they have not carried their investigations far enough back, but have confined themselves to the mere threshold of this interesting inquiry.

With a view to brevity, I will put the matter before you as succinctly as I possibly can.

The first question is: "In what age of the world was this metal—tin—discovered and utilised by man?"

The answer is simple enough, viz.: "Previous to the 'Bronze age' or period, as it is termed; because without tin, bronze cannot be made."

How many thousands of years before Christ this "Bronze age" began, I leave for geologists and antiquaries to pronounce; but this much many now present well know, that even the art of casting well-executed bronze statues can be traced back to a most remote period. The Chinese, Japanese, and other Eastern nations, ascribe to their antique statues and statuettes an existence of a great many thousands of years before the Christian era; whilst the Greeks of Samos had brought the same art to considerable perfection 700 years before Christ. It is pretty certain that China derived her tin from, or through, the Straits of Malacca before the Phœnicians even left their native country to settle on the shores of the Mediterranean. And this brings us to the second question: "Who were these Phœnicians, and from what country did they originally come?"

The answer to this may not be so readily accepted as the last, but it is nevertheless quite as true, although perhaps somewhat startling. "The Phœnicians, or Phainicas, or the Hiyas, were emigrants of a Buddhist or Serpent tribe (Oph-gana or Aph-gana) from a district named Brini Badam, in Afghanistan, in Northern India; who, settling on the Mediterranean, built a town and named it Sid-an or Sid-on, after Saidan (the Saints' city), one of the principal towns in their native district of Brini."

These enterprising and most energetic Buddhist traders carried on a large internal commerce, extending from Cashmere into China, Tibet, and North-western India, to the East; and to Persia, Khiva, Bokara, and Kokan, to the West and North; whilst, starting from their ports on the Gulf of Arabia, they had for many centuries

commercial intercourse with the coasts of Malabar, Ceylon, Bengal, &c. on the one hand, and with those of Persia, Arabia, and Africa on the other hand.

The Red Sea had been a long frequented and familiar high road for their eager mariners during a great period of time antecedent to their actually establishing Colonies on the coasts of Syria. Having once obtained a firm footing on the Mediterranean shores, they gradually spread themselves all over Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, Northern Africa, &c. and extended their commerce to Spain, France, Britain, and Ireland.

The metal tin, as a matter of course, formed but one item amongst the many articles in which they traded; but to show how important this single item of their trade from India on the one hand, and Portugal, Spain, and Britain on the other, was, I need only point to the vast quantities of it which were used in the manufacture of bronze (or brass, as it was frequently termed), and notably so in making bronze statues. We are told that enormous bronze colossuses were made, to the gigantic height of towers, of which the Island of Rhodes possessed no less than one hundred, and that the Roman Consul Mutianus found 3,000 bronze statues at Athens, 3,000 at Rhodes, as many at Olympia and at Delphi although a great number had been previously carried off from the latter city.

Time does not permit of my saying more on these most interesting points; I will therefore pass to the final branch of my subject, viz. the national questions affecting our position in the Straits of Malacca. I wish to treat these great questions in a purely national sense, and quite apart from party politics, inasmuch as they are of such high import as to move the heart of every British subject.

It can be readily imagined that this branch of my subject relates especially to the security of our possessions and of our trade, through the Straits of Malacca, with China and Japan, and the Eastern Archipelago generally.

I have already stated that the Dutch had acquired by degrees several very important positions on the great island of Sumatra; but as they never could obtain possession of Acheen, it could in no way be alleged that they owned Sumatra.

From the reign of James I. friendly relations were established between Great Britain and the Sultan of Acheen, and this friendship has, with very slight breaks, been ever since maintained.

The Acheenese, cordially hating, and with good reason fearing, both the Portuguese and the Dutch, threw themselves in a manner

upon their friends and protectors the English, and whatever bickerings may have arisen between them, they clung with pertinacious tenacity to their powerful and only friends.

At length a solemn treaty was concluded in 1819 between them, whereby England deliberately engaged and covenanted to defend and protect Acheen (*vide* Article 1).

In 1824 England ceded her Settlements in Sumatra to the Dutch in exchange for Malacca, reserving, however, the independence of Acheen, which reservation was well understood by the Dutch to mean, "Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther," and, in consequence, they never ventured upon any attempt to interfere with this State.

But whilst comprehending to the full the nature of this prohibition, the Dutch have never ceased to view it with the utmost dislike, and have made many attempts to get it removed.

In 1868, they tried by a side wind to obtain its virtual relaxation, whilst getting the recognition by the British Government of all the territorial acquisitions made by them up to that date (which acquisitions were accomplished facts); but, as Lord Derby truly declares, all mention of Acheen was purposely excluded, and its status remained unaltered until 1871.

In that year, when a mighty European war was raging; ay, at the very time that certain continental journals were advocating, if not absolutely threatening, the annexation of Holland and her possessions, by a great military neighbour; yes, at that very time the late Ministry of England thought proper to conclude "the Sumatra Convention;" whereby the Dutch gave up to Great Britain the fort of Elmina, on the Gold Coast, in exchange for which England is supposed to have withdrawn her protectorate over Acheen! In other words, England gives over to the tender mercies of the Dutch, that people whom we have by solemn treaty bound ourselves to protect and defend;—that country, which actually may be considered to be the key to our Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, and to that great thoroughfare of our trade with China and Japan! And for what? What equivalent have we received for this great national sacrifice? Why, that worse than useless, that wretchedly contemptible little fort, Elmina,—a place of which few had ever heard, which can never be of any use, and which we certainly did not want.⁴

Now what is the present result of this deplorable bargain? What are the fruits borne by this most compromising treaty?

The fruits are more bitter than those of the Dead Sea: both to us, to the Acheenese, and likewise to the Dutch themselves.

Our country has been plunged into a most ignominious war with a set of blood-defiled savages; some of our best troops, our noblest soldiers, have been sacrificed in that fever-stricken country; our treasure has been poured out like water; and, worse than all, the good faith of the British nation has been treated as a thing not to be depended upon.

To the Acheenese the fruit has been, that her country, without any just cause, without any sufficient provocation has been twice invaded; her coasts blockaded; her towns, forts, and villages have been bombarded, assaulted, and captured; her inhabitants have been recklessly and cruelly slaughtered; and a third invasion in the ensuing autumn is now threatened.

To the Dutch, who are the *ostensible* authors of all this evil, the fruit has, contrary to their anticipations, been indeed bitter and humiliating in the extreme.

Her many fine ships of war, her numerous soldiers, her heavy expenditure—all have been employed in vain.

Her armies have fought night and day, her cannon have rained a storm of iron upon the enemy; but, decimated by the Acheenese swords and by climatic diseases, threatened at all points by those whom they had come to subjugate or destroy; they have shrunk back, foiled and disheartened, and betaken themselves now to their entrenchments, in the hope that they may be able to hold out until a fresh expedition can arrive.

A very serious question now arises which, to my mind, has been well and properly argued and decisively answered by a writer in the *Times*, who says: "I submit this Convention of 1871 could not release, and has not released, England from her obligation, under the Treaty of 1819, to defend Acheen; and it is a flagrant violation of public faith to refuse to fulfil that obligation." This is the view which, I venture to think, nine-tenths of the whole country will take of it, so soon as the actual facts become generally known.

If this be the case, it remains to be seen whether this miserable Convention cannot be amicably withdrawn, and all this horrible blood-shedding be put a stop to.

Let this country face the difficulty in a manner becoming a great nation. Let us mediate, and obtain the immediate withdrawal of the Dutch troops from Acheen; making, on the one hand, to Acheen a compensation for our great default, and, on the other hand, returning to the Dutch the Fort of Elmina, and such conquests as we made (if any) during our defensive war with Ashantee. And, lastly, let it be

clearly understood by all whom it may concern, that England cannot and will not persist in breaking faith with Acheen; but that the Treaty of 1819, which the "Convention" could not set aside, is still, and will remain, in full force.

If the deplorable events which have arisen out of this inexplicable act of the late Ministry should, as I hope they will, lead to the passing of a legislative enactment, whereby no Ministers (whether Radical or Tory) shall have the power to alienate any of the territorial possessions or annul any of the protectorates of Britain without first obtaining the consent of Parliament, then, perhaps, some good may come out of this evil, and the name of our beloved England may still for many generations be upheld, unsullied before the world and free from all reproach.

No one having risen to offer any observation on the subject of the Paper.

The CHAIRMAN said he presumed no one was disposed to discuss the Paper, because Mr. Wray had so thoroughly exhausted the subject that no one felt competent to add anything to what he had so graphically described. The only remark which he wished to offer was with regard to the importance of a measure which he and others had for some time advocated, viz. that a body of men should be constituted, possessed of more or less authority, but with more knowledge of the circumstances of the British Empire than usually fell to the lot of British statesmen, who should be consulted, and whose consent should be necessary to any measures of such a character as had been recently carried out, consequent on negotiations with Holland concerning the Straits of Malacca and the settlements on the West Coast of Africa. That seemed a trifling matter at the time. No one took any notice of it, and even now many statesmen and journalists, as well as the general public, seemed almost totally ignorant of the real facts of the case. Such ignorance could only be obviated in future by consultation with persons acquainted with the various matters as they might arise. This seemed to him an additional argument for the appointment of a council representing all parts of the British Empire, who should be at least the authority for advice, if nothing more, in the dealings of Parliament and of the Government with the magnificent Empire with which unfortunately we are so inadequately acquainted. With this simple remark, he begged to propose a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Wray for the immense amount of information he had collected with reference to the Straits

Settlements, and for the admirable manner in which he had presented it to the meeting.

Mr. CAMPBELL JOHNSTON, in seconding the vote of thanks, said it had been his good fortune to have visited the parts of the world referred to by Mr. Wray, and he could fully corroborate everything which he had said. He might also remind him of the circumstances which led to the occupation of these Straits Settlements, Malacca, and others. It arose out of the particular circumstances of a diplomatic character, when England took Java from the French, and afterwards gave it back to the Dutch. Sir Stamford Raffles, who thoroughly knew the character of the Dutch—their jealousy of other's commerce and desire to monopolise, and that as soon as the island was given up to them they would endeavour to restrict the commerce of all other nations in that Archipelago—suggested that England should take Singapore and make it a free port. His suggestion was not received with any great amount of enthusiasm; but he knew full well that if it were made a free port the Dutch could not close the Archipelago in the way their narrow-minded instincts would lead them to desire. Singapore was little better than a sand-bank, but he chose it as being, from its position, best calculated to promote the objects he had in view, because it commanded the exit from the Straits towards China and Japan. But it was necessary also to have some protection at the other end—the entrance—and for this purpose it was essential to keep on amicable terms with the Atcheinese. Hence the treaties, which had of late been—he supposed he must say—forgotten: certainly they had been entirely overlooked. He was glad to hear the suggestion made by the Chairman that some body should be constituted, competent to judge of such matters, so as to restrain the blindfold ignorance which oftentimes casts away without reflection that which it has cost years of effort to build up. The Colonies in that district were of the most productive character, and if they had a population—which was at present denied them—might become a centre of production both of agricultural and mineral wealth beyond anything which had yet been seen in that region.

The vote of thanks having been unanimously passed, Mr. L. WRAY briefly acknowledged the compliment, and the proceedings terminated.

1. Delli (or Deli) is the former name of Medan. Deli was the centre of the tobacco industry that developed on the east coast of Sumatra during the 1860s and 1870s, and it became the major port of northern Sumatra. Dutch control of Deli dated from 1864.

2. Leonard Wray, *The Practical Sugar Planter*, London, 1848.

3. 'Mt. Ophir': the mountain of this name in Johore was one of several Mt. Ophirs in Asia and Africa, and there were (highly improbable) theories that the Malayan Mt. Ophir might be the one referred to in the Bible as a source of gold (see, for example, *First Kings* 9: 28, 10: 10, 22: 49).

4. The withdrawal of Britain's nebulous claims to a protectorate over Aceh in exchange for Elmina was an election issue in 1873, by which time the Franco-Prussian War had come to an end and Holland was no longer in imminent danger from German expansion. The British Conservative Party condemned the exchange and the ensuing warfare both in Aceh and in the Gold Coast (the Ashanti War), but after winning the election (held on 3 February 1874), prosecuted the Ashanti War and did nothing to reverse the policy of allowing the Dutch government free rein in Aceh. Lord Derby (then Stanley) had been Foreign Minister for the Conservatives in 1868 when negotiations were conducted with the Dutch concerning Sumatra.

The Straits Settlements and British Malaya

Sir Frederick A. Weld

10 June 1884

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, MP.

IN compliance with the request of Mr. Frederick Young, your Honorary Secretary, to whom this Institute owes so much, I have prepared a paper upon a part of the British Dominions which attracts but little attention, is little known, and yet which at the same time enjoys, as I think I shall be able to show, a most important position, almost unexampled prosperity, and the prospect of a great future. For some time it has had no little war, and as it paid all the expenses of its last little war, the ultimate benefit of which has been largely reaped by the British producer and manufacturer, as it has an ample revenue and large surplus assets, and consequently need not go into the money market to borrow, it gives no occasion for anybody to talk about it. Yet happy is the Colony which keeps free from little wars, successfully and noiselessly rules four or five different races, carries out great public works as fast as labour and means of supervision will permit, and yet has surplus revenue to lend and invest; and such a colony is the Colony of the Straits Settlements.

Its very name is misleadingly modest; it conveys the idea of small trading stations scattered about an arid coast, trafficking with aborigines for gold dust and ivory, and planting at best a few cocoa-nuts and oil-palms. The directions on letters and papers I sometimes get, convince me that to the average English mind it is yet a matter of doubt what are the Straits Settlements, and in what part of the world they are situate. And yet, when the traveller or mariner enters Singapore, and passing by green islets covered with tropical foliage and luxuriant verdure down to the water's edge, anchors in a spacious harbour, where the flags of all nationalities are floating, where the most magnificent creations of architectural skill, and the quaintest specimens of junks and tongkans, and native craft of all

descriptions crowd the surface of the waters; and spread before him lies a city which, with its surroundings, numbers some 150,000 souls; which has unrivalled facilities for coaling, crowded and busy streets, spacious places for recreation, and fine buildings rising on every side amidst ever-green trees; and when he learns that he is in the centre of commercial, telegraphic, and naval communication between Europe, India, Siam, Netherlands-India, China, and Western and Northern and North-Eastern Australia; he may well think, I presume, as I thought when I landed there, that one such "Settlement" will compare with many an entire Colony. But the traveller passes on, and he probably supposes that really Singapore is virtually the "Straits Settlements."

Now I think it may not be useless, nor, perhaps, to such an assembly as this, altogether uninteresting, if I this evening show you that Singapore is, even if taken with Penang, only one item, though a most important one, in estimating the value of Imperial interests in British Malaya—a word which better expresses the country I am speaking of than any other, though the Seal of the Colony bears on it the more pretentious but the older and more classical designation of "The Golden Chersonese." A circle, I may add, drawn round Singapore with a radius of 3,000 miles, is believed to contain more than half the population of the globe, and Her Majesty's possessions within this range are stated to have a sea-going trade of £251,000,000 sterling, against £86,000,000 in all other British dependencies. It must be understood that I am about to speak of all the countries under the care of the Governor of the Straits Settlements. First of the Colony proper, secondly of the Protected native States; and I will conclude by slightly touching upon the character and position of those native States of the Malay Peninsula which, though independent, are, in a greater or lesser degree, influenced by our advice, who look to us as the guiding power of the southern part of the Peninsula, and whose relations with any other European Power could not be viewed by us with indifference. I will premise that these countries lie between latitude $1^{\circ} 10'$, and about $5^{\circ} 40'$ north, and $100^{\circ} 10'$ and $104^{\circ} 18'$ of east longitude. The climate is good for a country so near the equator, nights are rarely or never oppressive, and the ordinary temperature during the day is about an average of 82° in the shade, rarely falling below 78° or exceeding 85° or 87° . Frequent showers refresh the ground and atmosphere; the annual rainfall is large, varying from 80 to about 130 inches in different localities and years. Its climate is certainly healthy, though trying

after a time to European constitutions, especially if engaged in constant office work, without time for proper exercise. My own health and that of my family has been generally very good there. I have found myself capable of great exertion even in the heat of the day, on horseback or on foot, and, after all, there is a great charm in the balmy air of the tropics. The mountain ranges of the Peninsula have fresh and bracing air, and stations will by degrees be established on them. Coffee plantations are already in existence at considerable elevations. There is no winter there, but November, December, January, February are comparatively cool months. The Straits Settlements Colony consists of the island of Singapore, the island of Penang, Province Wellesley, the territory of Malacca, and the Dindings district, including the Island of Pankor, and some other small islands. These form a Crown Colony. The Governor is personally responsible for everything; he has an Executive Council to assist him, and presides over a Legislative Council composed of ten members, holding *ex officio* seats, including the Chief Justice, and the officer commanding the troops and six other members, who are nominated by the Governor, subject to the approval of Her Majesty. Practically the system works well and smoothly; the best and most representative men attainable are nominated to seats, and upon all questions with which they are conversant great deference is paid to their opinions. They narrowly watch and ably criticise the measures of government, considering the useful functions of an Opposition to be their duty. For myself, I have been fortunate enough to meet with steady support and assistance from them, which I gratefully acknowledge. Gentlemen from some other Colonies will perhaps realise the happy-family sort of relations which exist between the Government and the un-officials, when I tell them that after the annual estimates are laid on the table of the Council they are referred to a Special Committee of all the non-official members, only two official members, the Colonial Secretary and the Treasurer, sitting on it to afford explanations. Item by item is discussed, and recommendations, if any, are embodied in a report, which is carefully considered by the Governor before the estimates are proceeded with in Council. I think that there are few countries where a Government would refer their estimates to the mercies of Her Majesty's Opposition; and it certainly speaks well for the good sense and public spirit of the non-official members, and for the care bestowed on the preparation of the estimates by the Government of the Straits, that such a course can be followed, not only without inconvenience,

but with actual advantage. The non-official members are shrewd business men, many of them from the north of the Tweed; and whilst a Government fears not to place its estimates in their power, it certainly cannot be said that even in a Crown Colony the non-official element does not exercise a real and substantial control over the purse-strings.

This is as it ought to be, but though I have always advocated self-government and self-reliance in English-speaking communities, and have ever held that the leading object of my long political career, united British Empire, was best obtainable through local self-government and local self-reliance, yet I am not one of those *doctrinaire* statesmen who believe that what is good for Englishmen in an English community is good for all races, at all times, and under all circumstances. In Malaya, beyond officials, of Europeans there are but few, and those chiefly much engaged in mercantile affairs, with but little leisure to devote to public business or to the affairs of other settlements or to visit them; and they do not intend to make the Colony their home, and usually spend but a few years at a time in it. Personal government is, so far as I am competent to offer an opinion, a necessity for Asiatics; it is the outcome of their religious systems, of their habits of thought, and of long centuries of custom. In municipal elections it is inconceivable how little interest is taken by even rich Asiatics. In Malacca, a large town, only last year I had to name a councillor to the municipality, which has wide powers of taxation and administration, because ten electors out of a large body could not be got together to elect one. Nevertheless I *do* believe that under an improved system, which we have adopted in the Protected native States, we may obtain very useful co-operation from chiefs and village headmen, by availing ourselves of the germs of organisation which exist in their own habits and customs, more especially amongst the Malays. We have too long neglected this natural bond between the Government and the governed in the Colony, and my earnest attention has been directed to the subject; but within the Colony proper there have been difficulties in the way, arising out of the great admixture of races, the dying-out of old Malay traditions, the division of the Chinese race into tribes speaking diverse languages, and their secret societies; and also the paucity of European officers fitted to carry out such a policy and to gain the confidence of the native races.

I think that capacity for governing is a characteristic of our race, and it is wonderful to see in a country like the Straits, a handful of

Englishmen and Europeans, a large and rich Chinese community, tens of thousands of Chinese of the lowest coolie class, Arab and Parsee merchants, Malays of all ranks, and a sprinkling of all nationalities, living together in wonderful peace and contentment. It always seems to me that the common Chinese feeling is that we—an eccentric race—were created to govern and look after them, as a groom looks after a horse, whilst they were created to get rich and enjoy the good things of the earth. Be my theory true or no, the fact remains that the general purity and high tone of our service is a main secret of our remarkable influence over the Malay races, an influence that cannot be approached by that of any other nation. A Malay of rank, who had confessed to having accepted a bribe, replying to the Resident of Sêlângor, who pointed out to him the disgracefulness of his conduct, said, "It is all very well for you to talk. No native can be expected to refuse money—I couldn't. Why don't you depute even the youngest European lad amongst your officers to deal with such cases? Inexperienced as he might be, it would be better; *he* would never dream of touching the dollars; we are differently constituted." It is but fair, nevertheless, to add that I *do* know some Malay rajahs who possess a high sense of official probity. I might mention His Highness Rajah Idris, of the royal family of Perâk, who fills with great ability and unimpeachable integrity the office of Chief Justice of that State.

I will now endeavour, in as small a compass as possible, to convey to you some information regarding the countries which form the Colony. Singapore is the principal city and seat of Government. It is situated in latitude 1° 16' north, and in longitude 103° 53' east, on an island of the same name, which is about the size of the Isle of Wight, and is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, formerly much infested by pirates, and through which, up to the commencement of this century, vessels used to pass on their voyage to China, before the present passage south of the island was discovered.

Singapore, or, more properly, Singapura, "the City of the Lion," was founded in the year 1160. It became a great emporium, and De Barros mentions it as a resort of navigation from India, Siam, China, "and of the many thousand islands that lie towards the east." It is said to have been afterwards captured by a Javanese king. It must have fallen before the time of Marco Polo, who does not mention it, and only a few fishermen's huts marked the site of the ancient city of Sri Iskander Shah when the genius of Sir Stamford Raffles selected it as a

British settlement, which (so far was he in advance of his contemporaries) he rightly judged would, with an open port and free trade, one day be the queen of a most beautiful portion of the globe, islands and mainland, upon which Nature has lavished all her gifts, and placed at the cross roads of the central highway of commerce.

Sir Stamford Raffles founded Singapore, in virtue of a treaty with Malay chiefs, on February 6, 1819, and it will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to this assembly to learn that near the spot where he landed amidst a few scattered palm-leaf huts and cocoanut trees, beneath the hill where he fixed his residence, we now (in the vicinity of a beautiful esplanade and grassy recreation ground, and of massive public buildings), propose to erect a statue to my great predecessor, one of the best and ablest men of those to whom England owes her Imperial position in the East, and whose memory the natives still revere.

The island of Singapore is about twenty-seven miles long by fourteen miles broad. It is undulating, and wooded hills diversify its surface. But little of the original forest and jungle remains. Near the shore, by the mouths of creeks, are grouped quaint dwellings of fishermen, built of wood or palm-leaf, standing on piles over the water by mangrove creeks. In the smooth, sandy bays waving and graceful cocoa-nut palms shelter picturesque Malay houses. More inland we find groves of fruit trees, small patches of sugar-cane, Chinese gardens, tapioca and indigo fields. Neat bungalows, the residences of officials, merchants, and rich Chinese and Arabs, diversify the scene, particularly in the vicinity of the town. In the remote parts of the island more especially there are waste spaces which were formerly gambier plantations, which have been abandoned owing to the exhaustion of the soil, and have been covered by coarse "Lalang" grass. Now, however, many of these open spots are being planted with Liberian coffee. We are also turning our attention to re-forestation by Government; and pine-apples (of which there are large fields), Liberian coffee, aloes, and other products will do well upon them. Pepper and cocoa (or chocolate) require, on the other hand, spots affording good land and shelter. The soil of Singapore Island is not, however, generally rich, when compared with other neighbouring districts, being chiefly of red clays and laterite. The extreme luxuriance and wealth of its vegetation, its palms, and ferns, and orchids, must rather be accounted for by frequent rains and an equable warm temperature.

From what I have said you will not be surprised to hear that

perpetual verdure is the most striking characteristic of Singapore Island, a verdure that were almost excessive unless often relieved by the white walls and red-tiled roofs of villas and bungalows, usually built with cool, arched alcoves and arcades around them, picturesque, and admirably well fitted for the climate. There are roads across and throughout the island; the principal roads are good, others are being now improved, the roads in and around the town are most excellent. I have already alluded to the seaward approach. To landward the beautiful botanical gardens, the Tanglin barracks, airy, commodious, and on a dry, healthy site; a large artificial lake filling a valley which is the water reservoir for the supply of the town; immense gaol buildings, constructed on the most modern principles; a handsome cool and airy European hospital, near which a modern lunatic asylum is being erected; a good pauper hospital arranged in detached wards, and many other public institutions, lie around the city in various directions. Nor must I forget Government House, which stands on a hill in park-like grounds, behind and above the town, an imposing building, palatial in style and dimensions, with immense rooms and long marble-floored arcades, but consequently with less accommodation than its exterior would suggest. As a residence, however, it is nearly perfect; cool and airy, with a beautiful view of land and sea, and glimpses of the town and shipping through trees, whilst landward, when the evening haze or the morning mists soften the outlines of the undulations, fill each little valley, and bring out masses of dark trees, or knolls, rising against the sky line, it would be hard to find a more perfect picture of repose in a richer landscape.

The city itself covers a large area, with a frontage of about six miles to the sea from New Harbour, the docks and the coaling station lying landlocked between Blakan Mati Island and the town, to the Rochore and Kallang suburbs, in which direction the anchorage is good, but more of the nature of a roadstead. The facilities of coaling with despatch at New Harbour are almost unequalled; fully 300,000 tons are usually stored there, and labour is plentiful. The famous steamer *Stirling Castle*, racing homewards with tea from China, had 1,600 tons of coal put on board her in four hours, and her rival the *Glenogle*, the same day, 1,800 tons at the same rate. There are facilities for docking all but the very largest ships, numberless ships of war coal and dock there, and I hope to bring about an arrangement between the Admiralty and the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, by which Singapore will have the largest dock in Asia,

capable of docking any of Her Majesty's ships of war. It is a grief and pain to me that this most important position, a station that is acknowledged by the highest authority to be quite one of the most important commercially and strategically in the Empire, may be at present said to be virtually defenceless. As this question is now engaging the attention of Her Majesty's Government, I trust that no long time will elapse before a final decision is taken in regard to it.

The general appearance of the city of Singapore, to me, conveys a pleasant impression. The crowded harbour, the variety of Oriental costume, the quaint Chinese house decorations, their joss houses, the shops, the Mahometan mosques, the Indian temples, the Malay fishers' houses on posts, and the general bustle and life of the streets, all are interesting and picturesque. Some persons I have found who are repelled rather than interested by the more crowded and characteristically Asiatic parts of the town, and, indeed, dirt goes often hand in hand with picturesqueness. We are, however, energetically urging on the work of sanitary improvement. A fetid and useless canal has been filled up, and a broad road substituted. The river, crowded nightly with thousands of dwelling-boats, is being dredged and improved. Great foreshore reclamations are being made, and substantial public buildings have been and are yet being erected. New bridges are being built, trees planted, and drainage attended to by the Municipality. Private enterprise is also active, and one who has not visited Singapore for the last three years would hardly recognise it. But even before that Singapore possessed several handsome buildings, fine open spaces, and shady trees, and in my opinion was even then a beautiful, interesting, and certainly a most prosperous city. The population of Singapore city and island was, by the census of 1881, put down at 139,208. It is now undoubtedly much larger, probably 150,000 or more, of which perhaps 90,000 or more are Chinese, 23,000 or 24,000 Malay, 12,000 or 13,000 Indians, under 3,000 Europeans and Americans (including sailors), and 1,783 military. Twenty-five nationalities are set down in the census. It is needless to say that the price of land is rising rapidly, especially in Singapore, Penang, and in the capitals of the native Protected States of Perak and Selangor.

Amongst the public buildings which are worthy of notice within the town are St. Andrew's Cathedral, the Catholic Cathedral, the Raffles school and girls' school, the Government offices, lately added to, the Supreme Court House, the very fine and commodious new post-office, the new police-courts and station, which are now in

progress. A museum, which it is proposed to build on a large scale, which will render it the most complete institution of the kind in that part of the world, is to contain a department for industrial exhibits and a library. I am anxious to establish a scientific department in charge of it. Our mineralogical resources are little known. Our territories and neighbouring islands and countries contain numberless products which may be made useful. In botany, zoology, ichthyology, entomology, much remains to be done, and not only the Colony but science generally will be benefited.

Penang or, more properly, Pinang—"Pulau Pinang," the equivalent for "Betel Nut Island"—is in importance the second settlement of the Colony. It is situated about 360 miles north of Singapore, and contains 107 square miles. Its greatest length is about fifteen miles. Penang was occupied in 1786 under the East India Company by Captain Light, in virtue of a treaty with the Sultan of Kedah, by which His Highness still receives an annual allowance. His real object was to obtain our support against the Siamese, in which he was deceived. The action of the East India Company in regard to Kedah was, I fear, as disloyal to our friend as it was bad in policy, and its consequences affect our interests deeply to this day.

The capital of Penang is officially called George Town. The island itself received the name, now obsolete, of Prince of Wales' Island. The town is situated on a low flat promontory which stretches towards the mainland Province Wellesley, from which it is separated by a strait of about two miles in width at its narrowest point. The same improvement is visible in Penang as in Singapore. Some parts of the town are exceedingly pretty, with good houses, gardens, and an abundance of fine shade and fruit trees. The roads, too, in those parts are wide and well kept, increased attention has been paid by the municipality to drainage and water supply, but much remains to be done in the more crowded Chinese and native quarters. Government is now constructing a sea-wall and quay and reclaiming foreshore, which will enormously benefit the town. A canal or ditch, even more filthy than that which disgraced Singapore, is being filled up in part, and in part cleansed and properly reconstructed. Most excellent hospitals and many other good public buildings have been recently constructed, and others will be shortly commenced. There is an esplanade or recreation ground, and a public garden has been laid out on a piece of land given by the Brown family,¹ and land for a similar purpose on a large scale has also been acquired at the Waterfall, a picturesque spot well suited for a public park. Penang also possesses a

good gaol, a town-hall, and barracks. Its harbour is well filled with shipping, and it carries on a great trade with Perak, and other native States, and with Sumatra; but the pepper trade with the latter has suffered most seriously from the Achenese war and the restrictive policy of the Netherlands Indian Government.

The island of Penang is mountainous. Looking down from the Government House bungalow, perched on the peak of Penang Hill, 2,565 ft. above the sea, the view is one of the most lovely in the world, and I have been fortunate enough to see many of the finest views in many different parts of the world. Beneath your feet on either side sink steep depths of foliage. Trees festooned with creepers, orchids, and ferns, and the graceful fronds of rotan or of palm mix with rough trunks and huge-leaved tropical growths. Lower down are hill-side cultivations, nutmegs, the betel palm, Liberian coffee, and various fruit trees. On the flat land at the hill's base lie groves of cocoanut palms, green smooth fields of rice or padi, and here and there a village, whilst eastwards the town is spread out like a map; beyond it its port and the Strait, and then the eye wanders over Province Wellesley, its rivers, its sugar-fields, its plantations, and groves of fruit and cocoanut palms. Beyond them forests, hills, and mountains fade away into the distance, where the misty peaks of the inland ranges mingle with the clouds. Such is the view eastward. More northward rises Kedah Peak, islands, and the sea at your feet. The north-western corner of the island is rugged and forest-clad.

But I must leave Penang. Its softer beauties can only adequately be judged of by those few who have gone through its rich southern level country, and passed over its highly-cultivated south-western ranges, through Chinese gardens and nutmeg plantations, into the fine valley of Balik Pulau. We are now making a road which will render this country easily accessible; at present it is very little known, though thickly populated, but I have given it a hospital, a court-house, and improved police protection. The whole population of Penang, including 194 British military, was in 1881, 90,951, of whom 45,135 were Chinese. It has since increased. I have taken much personal interest in the establishment of a general leper asylum on an island near Penang. The old hospital already existing there has been improved, and it is now a very creditable institution. A Resident Councillor (till lately styled Lieutenant-Governor) resides at Penang, and Province Wellesley is also under his immediate supervision. He corresponds with the Colonial Secretary at Singa-

pore, and usually receives the Governor's instructions through that channel.

Province Wellesley, containing about 234 square miles, lies opposite Penang on the mainland of the Malay Peninsula. It is, generally speaking, a flat and fairly rich country. It contains many sugar estates possessing excellent machinery, and mostly belonging to Europeans. Tapioca and other products are also largely grown. The Malays cultivate rice to a considerable extent. The roads are now becoming very good; village and estate hospitals, court-houses, police-stations, telephone lines, ferries, and other improvements, and the appearance of the villages and estates show marked signs of prosperity. The population of Province Wellesley was in 1881, 97,951.

Malacca is the third province of the Colony proper, also under a Resident Councillor (till lately styled Lieutenant-Governor). It has not the bustle and life of Singapore or Penang. Its harbour, which once sheltered the commerce of the East, is now much silted up, and its roadstead is rarely visited by large ships excepting the British India steamers as they pass, and local traders. The town of Malacca, quiet itself, is surrounded by a quiet rural population, chiefly Malay. It does, however, now progress, and shares the general prosperity in its own noiseless way, and will do so to a greater degree as the small inland States are being developed. Still its characteristic is repose. It is richer in memories of the past than in brilliant hopes for the future, and the prediction of St. Francis Xavier when, embarking, he shook from his sandals the dust of the unconverted city, does not appear likely to be reversed.² The descendants of the Portuguese to whom he vainly preached are now chiefly poor fishermen, bearing many of them noble and historical names. Malacca was founded shortly after the fall of the old Singapura. It was founded by a Javanese rajah, who had usurped the throne of Singapura, and had been in turn attacked by the King of Siam to avenge the death of the late ruler, his son-in-law. Malacca rose rapidly into importance, and when it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1511, the Sultan, Mahomed Shah, is said, though I consider the statement to be an exaggeration, to have been able to bring 60,000 men into the field to besiege the great conqueror, Albuquerque. Large fleets and forces also came over from Acheen to assist their countrymen, but the contest ended in the withdrawal of the Sultan to Muar and Johor. The Portuguese authority never, however, appears to have extended very far from the walls of Malacca, and even long after the Dutch took Malacca

from the Portuguese in 1641, they had indecisive fights with the Malays within a mile or two of the town. In 1795 we first occupied Malacca. At that time the Dutch were at peace with their Malay neighbours, and even claimed a protectorate over the neighbouring State of Rēmbau. Malacca was returned by us to the Dutch in 1818, and was again, in exchange for our Sumatra possessions, finally ceded to us by treaty in 1824. The Naning war, after various vicissitudes, fixed our boundaries, and established peace within them in 1832.

Malacca is a quaint old town; the remains of the Jesuit Church of Sta Maria della Monte, defaced by the Dutch and called by them St. Paul's, is still a conspicuous and venerable object. Within it for a time lay the body of the modern Apostle of the Indies* prior to its translation to Goa. There, too, within the roofless walls are sculptured tombstones of great interest, one, if I remember rightly, dating back to 1548. In the Dutch-built church below the Mount, by the Stadt House and canal-like river, is a tomb bearing a remarkable inscription, which begs the reader to tell him who lies beneath, whether his country, Armenia, is free; a beautiful old gateway is the sole remaining vestige of the walls. The small outpost fort of St. John's on a wooded hill, a fortified well outside the walls but within the outposts, and many curious old houses, both Portuguese and Dutch, mixed with Chinese shops and residences, in streets still bearing their Dutch names, give a peculiar character to the place; whilst the green Mount and its ruins, the Stadt House and gateway, and recreation-ground, grass and trees, and neat houses around facing the sea, are an agreeable contrast to the crowded houses across the little river. It is pleasant, too, to go into the country of Malacca. Stretches of level rice-land vividly green, dotted with clumps of cocoa-nut trees like islands, each one with its cottage, the homes of well-to-do and peaceful peasantry, then groves of fruit trees, wooded knolls, and, more inland, belts and tracts here and there of forest and secondary growths, tapioca and other plantations, villages and hamlets, and in parts picturesque hills diversify the scene, whilst beyond our boundary rise the Rēmbau and Tampin mountains on the one hand, and Mount Ophir on the other. The population of Malacca, including the country districts, was by the census of 1881, 93,579.

The roads of the Malacca territory are generally good, having

*i.e. St. Francis Xavier.

been much improved of late. Excellent hospitals have been erected, also spacious central police-station and barracks. Large water-works for the supply of the town will be commenced this year, and other improvements carried out.

I need hardly mention the Dindings territory, which includes the island of Pankor. It is geographically a part of Perák, and for convenience its Superintendent is placed under the Resident of that station. The Dindings has a magnificent harbour. It has hitherto not been a progressive district, but its time is I think at hand. Its population is about 2,000. It produces tin, timber, and ebony, and turtles frequent the neighbouring islets.

I will now, having given you a general sketch of the Colony, ask you to allow me to read to you some statistics.

The total population of the Colony proper is now calculated at 473,000 inhabitants, but if it has not already reached 500,000, it will very soon do so. Its area is about 1,500 square miles, which would carry with ease a far larger population. The revenue of the Straits Settlement proper is estimated for this year at \$3,410,000, whilst the expenditure is estimated at \$3,308,000, a very large proportion of which, over a million dollars, is devoted to public works; but as our estimates are strictly moderate, I have no doubt but that the estimated surplus will be exceeded by the result. Our ports being free, without Customs dues of any kind, this revenue arises chiefly from three sources. The first is the tax on opium, which is a fair article of taxation, being a luxury usually, and one the use of which it is not desirable to encourage. It is smoked by about 23 per cent. of the Chinese; some Malays also smoke it, and its effects on them are decidedly injurious. I class the revenue derived on spirits with that on opium; the other two sources of revenue are stamps and land. I exclude municipal assessments from this calculation.

To give an idea of the financial position of the Colony, it is not enough to say that the country is lightly taxed, and that we are unable to carry out public works—many of which are highly remunerative—fast enough to keep pace with our accumulations of surplus, but I must also note that we have no debt to speak of, our balance of assets over liabilities having been, at the beginning of last year, over a million dollars, and though slightly at present reduced from that figure, owing to very large public works being in hand, and to a proposed remission or wiping out of municipal debts to the Government, it will again exceed it in eighteen months from this date. I may therefore say that I know of no country in a more

flourishing financial state, nor have I ever known one. We have progressed in revenue in spite of slight remissions on stamp duties; we have progressed in population; we have progressed in trade.

To show this progress, I will take a series of periods.

I have already said that the Colony was founded by the East India Company; indeed, it was actually a Presidency of India, on the same footing as Madras and Bombay; but being separated by sea and native States from India, it fell into neglect, and was hampered by references to head-quarters, and in 1867 it was transferred to the Home Government, and became a Crown Colony.

Now, I will take the period of the transfer as my first departure. In 1867 the population of the Colony was about 283,000; in 1871, 308,000; in 1881, over 423,000; and now it is estimated at 473,000.

To come to revenue. In the year of the transfer the revenue was about \$1,086,000; in 1873, \$1,502,000; in 1879, \$1,822,600. I came to the Colony early in 1880, and found that a re-letting of the opium and spirit "farms," or rights of sale (which is the form of taxation still prevailing), had largely raised the revenue, as a later one has also similarly raised it; and this, and the prosperity of the country, has now raised the revenue, as moderately estimated for 1884, to \$3,410,000, or an increase of more than a million and a half dollars since 1879. I have spoken of the increase of revenue in opium and spirit taxation, which is largely due to increase of population and good wages. It rose from \$712,600 in 1868, \$784,700 in 1873, \$1,070,900 in 1879, to \$2,152,700 estimated for 1884; but administrative improvement and commercial prosperity are still more markedly shown by the following group of figures:—

Land Revenue, 1868, \$60,500; 1873, \$96,000; 1879, \$133,000; 1884 (estimated), \$494,000. Stamp Revenue, 1868, \$143,400; 1873, \$171,900; 1884 (estimated), \$257,000.

To show the progress made in expenditure, for the direct benefit of the inhabitants of the Colony, I must ask you to bear with me whilst I lay before you some further figures:—

On education, in 1868, \$12,400 were expended; in 1873, \$24,500; in 1879, \$48,800; in 1884, the service is put down for \$95,600. Medical, in 1868, \$38,700; in 1873, \$68,600; in 1879, \$126,400; in 1884, the estimate is \$143,000.

Police, in 1868, \$121,500; in 1873, \$155,000; in 1879, \$186,900; in 1884, \$323,700. Gaols, in 1868, \$21,600; in 1873, \$57,490; in 1879, \$83,000; in 1884, \$110,000. Public Works—and to this item I would crave attention—1868, \$146,800; in 1873, \$207,000; in 1879,

\$400,700; and in 1884 we are spending not less than \$1,170,000.

I have already said that the ports of the Colony are free. The total tonnage has been as follows: 1867, 1,237,700 tons; 1873, 2,507,000 tons; 1879, 4,174,300 tons; 1883, 4,290,600 tons. The crews of these ships in 1883 numbered no less than 227,000. Besides these, there were 289,000 tons of native shipping, whose crews exceeded 84,000 men.

It will probably be most convenient for me to give you the exports and imports in sterling rather than in dollars; but I place no great reliance on these returns, as I am informed that for commercial reasons many shippers do not return full values, and as our ports are free, we have not the Custom House staff necessary to ensure correct returns. I therefore shall only say that at the time of the transfer, the united amount of exports and imports was said to be about £14,040,000, and that in 1883, in a financial statement I made to the Legislative Council, I put them at £38,624,200, from the best information at my disposal. At the same time, I stated that since 1881 the exports and imports united had increased by over four and a half millions; but I mention these figures merely roughly, to show the value of the Straits Settlements as an *entrepôt*, though not as a port of final destination. I may here mention that our imports have usually somewhat exceeded exports. The local trade, as the Peninsula is opened out and colonised, is susceptible of great development. That Peninsula would carry a population of millions, instead of hundreds of thousands. The trade with England especially, and with the Australian Colonies, is, I am glad to say, largely increasing.

The native products of the Peninsula are gold, silver, and lead, as yet in small quantities. There is an immense export of tin—chiefly from the Protected native States—sugar, rice, saltfish, oils, fruit, spices, gambier, pepper, nutmegs, copra, indigo, hides and horns, tapioca, gutta-percha, sago, and coffee, and His Highness the Maharajah of Johor has sent home tea, which was well reported upon. In the preceding statistics I have given round numbers as sufficient for my present purpose. I have omitted much useful information contained in the Blue Books; but whilst regretting to enter at such lengths as I have done into dry statistical details, I have felt that I could hardly otherwise do justice to my subject. I will now, reserving a few general observations, pass on to the Protected native States.

There are three protected Malay States: the Sultanate, or, as our older treaties style it, the Kingdom of Perak; that of Sēlāngor, and

the smaller State of Sungei Ujong, the first chief of which State is called Datoh Klana, and the second Datoh Bandar.

These States are under the supervision of the Governor of the Straits Settlements, who is represented by a British Resident in each of them; they have State councils of their own, and they are not subject to the control of the Legislative Council of the Colony.

Their tie of union to the Colony, therefore, is a certain community of interests, and the fact that both are under one Governor. Theoretically, the Resident, subject to the Governor's instructions or approval, only "advises" the Regent, the Sultan, or the Datoh Klana, as the case may be. But from one point of view this may be considered as one of those fictions in which we seem to delight, as not a penny of money can be spent out of the State revenues without the assent of the Governor, and, under him, the military or police force is entirely in the hands of the Resident. Yet, on the other hand, the state of things is very different from annexation. The State Councils pass regulations or laws, and estimates, subject to the Governor's assent, their members debate freely, and, I must add, waste no time in talk or recriminations, but speak straight to the point, and the native chiefs take a large share, and a real share, in the administration. They pay great deference to the suggestions of the Resident, for they are convinced that we understand government better than they do, and fully appreciate the benefits they have received and are receiving from our rule. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that this deference is a slavish or unreasoning deference on their part, or that on ours their feelings and reasonable wishes are not carefully studied and every effort made to enlist their sympathies and secure their active co-operation in administration and in all that concerns the welfare of the people and progress of the State. The Home Government leaves the general responsibility on the Governor; and, in turn, Residents of large States like Perak and Selingor have great responsibility, and need statesmanlike qualities, great tact, and abilities of no common order, which their present Residents, Sir Hugh Low—an old and distinguished administrator—and Mr. Swettenham have given ample proof. The State Council of Perak is composed of His Highness the Regent, the Resident, the Assistant-Resident, the Chief Justice (a Rajah of the royal family), the Chief Priest or Kali* (and to these two last-named are mainly referred questions arising out of Mahomedan law

*Kathi.

and custom), some other hereditary high officers and Malay headmen, and two leading Chinese, one of whom has the title of "Capitān China." The State Council of Sēlāngor is framed on the same principle. In the various districts European magistrates are placed who act in co-operation with the native headmen, both as regards general administration, the settlement of disputes, the collection of revenue, and the administration of justice. The Resident, the Assistant-Resident, and the Superintendent of Lower Perāk, also with the Malay Chief Justice and other high native officers, take an active part in trying the more serious cases that occur, but no sentence of death is carried out until the case has been considered before the Regent or Sultan in State Council.

Land, not held under ordinary native tenure, is granted, subject to an annual land tax, and is registered much as under the Torrens system. No legal technicalities exist, and the simplicity of the system is a very great boon to the people, as is the absence of technicalities in the administration of justice; our cumbrous and costly systems give an undue advantage to the rich over the poor, and are not suited to the people, who are naturally litigious and corrupt. I think the Dutch legal system in Java is preferable, on the whole, to ours. With regard to land tenure and conveyancing I may here mention that I have already made a large expenditure on survey, more will follow, and the Torrens' system of registration and tenure be introduced.

I have spoken hitherto chiefly in reference to Perak and Sēlāngor; Sungei Ujong, a less advanced and smaller State, is following gradually in their footsteps, but it has lesser resources, and its development depends upon the development of its sister independent States, of which I shall speak later. I will take the Protected States separately, and give some information in as few words as possible about each. But first I must give some idea of the general aspect and configuration of the Malay Peninsula.

"The Malay Peninsula, known to the natives as the Malay Land (Tanah Malayu), is the southernmost extremity of the great peninsular region of Indo-China, or further India, to which it is connected by the prolonged Isthmus of Kra. In the narrowest neck of it, at the Pakshan River, lies the southern boundary of British Burmah. To the south of Kra, the Peninsula projects for about 600 miles, it runs almost parallel with the northern end of Sumatra." I quote from a little manual of our geography which is being prepared by Mr. Skinner, now Acting Colonial Secretary in

Singapore. The isthmus is about 40 miles across the Peninsula. The Peninsula varies in width from 100 to 200 miles. "The area of the whole Peninsula south of Kra is somewhat over 70,000 square miles, being rather smaller than Great Britain, with an estimated population of 1,200,000 souls, *i.e.* about fifteen inhabitants to the square mile. Of this whole number 473,000 are found in the Colony of the Straits Settlements, a territory of 1,500 square miles, which thus contains over 800 inhabitants to the square mile.

The action of the East Indian Company in abandoning Kedah to the Siamese, and subsequent action or inaction, has greatly diminished our influence in the northern States of the Peninsula, and cut us off from British Burmah, south of Kra, where the French have projected a canal; and whatever European influence predominates at Bangkok may be considered to command our natural land communication with British India. All the Malay States, north or south, have naturally looked to us for moral support; but at present all the northern ones, who know us but little, and have felt Siam, ignorantly believe, however ridiculous the idea may seem to us, that the might of Siam (really one of the weakest States, for her size, in the world) is far superior to that of Great Britain. A question is now pending regarding territory belonging to Perak, and claimed by Siam, on the solution of which our influence in the Peninsula, and avoidance of possible future international complications, largely depends.³

That I may not detain you by local and particular descriptions, I will give you a general idea of the character of the southern part of the Peninsula south of Kedah, which is under our influence, especially the west coast. Roughly speaking, a range of mountains runs along the centre of the Peninsula; the country becomes usually gradually flatter as the coast is neared; the whole is a region of dense forest and jungle, excepting where the hand of man has cleared it. Several large rivers run from the mountains to the sea, some navigable by large cargo boats to eighty miles from their mouths, and by vessels drawing 10 or 11 feet to half that distance; larger ships could enter, were it not for bars of sand at their mouths. Geologically, granite is the most ordinary formation of the hills and mountain ranges, which latter rise to a maximum altitude of about 8,000 feet. Lower "laterite" and various forms of disintegrated granite occur, with quartz, sandstones, yellow clays, and slates. There are rich alluvial tracts, and a most remarkable feature of the Peninsula is the frequent occurrence of isolated limestone hills,

with precipitous sides, containing many large caves. Standing often in the midst of forest plains, they rise to a height of 500 or 600 feet, like islands in a sea of verdure. I must stop to say that in the Dipang valley, in the interior of Perâk, tin, washed from decomposed granite, is found in these limestone caves 800 or 1,000 feet above the sea-level, and certainly 500 feet or more above the surrounding country. This would appear to point to a most extraordinary denudation. The exact facts will be reported on by the Rev. Julian Tenison-Woods, a well-known geologist, who has just visited the district on behalf of the Perâk Government.⁴

Landing on the west coast of the Peninsula, through green mangrove trees growing in tidal swamps at the mouths of deep, sluggish turbid rivers, the abode of crocodiles, where magnificent cranes—amongst them the marabout—and countless flights of curlews and other sea birds haunt the mud banks at low water, the traveller passes inland to a tract of level irrigated padi or rice fields (where, in the season, snipe are often to be found in myriads), cocoonut and fruit-tree plantations, secondary jungle, low hills, forest, higher hills, and valleys succeed, with more or less cultivation and habitation; till at last, you come towards the foot of the mountains, often through scenes which you can best realise by visiting the tropical houses at the Kew Gardens, often through forests of huge trees and interlacing parasites and lianos, and trunks that intertwine and struggle—I had almost said *wrestle*—for existence, you meet streams clear and fresh as any Highland burn, rushing joyously down from the mountains. Ascending onwards to the tops of some of the higher mountains, as I have done, the immensity of the forest view is most impressive. You trace the courses of rivers, patches of rice fields, bare open spaces mark the sites of tin mines, perhaps a town or village, or the distant sea is visible; all the rest is forest. Around you, probably, are the recent tracks of rhinoceros. The elephant sometimes, too, has paths along mountain ridges, but the elephant, the great wild ox, *Gaveus* or *Bos sondaicus*, erroneously called "bison," and the tapir, usually prefer lower lands. Bears, too, are found in the mountains, the tiger, and others of his species more rarely so. They seek the haunts of deer and wild pigs, and hang about villages, killing pigs, dogs, and even condescend to poultry. Greatly, also, do they affect a sleek and plump Chinaman, preferring him by far to any other human prey. I must not omit to mention one of the most amusing denizens of our forest: monkeys of many species abound; and no one can

form an idea of their nature and habits who has not seen them in trees, their natural habitation. They have regular aerial roads in migrations, travelling the same route from tree to tree, never touching the ground, except from necessity, or with a special object. Snakes, including enormous pythons, and the deadly *Ophiophagus hamadryad*, or cannibal snake-eating cobra, abound, but, strangely enough, unlike India, rarely or never is a life lost from snake bite; I have been unable to authenticate a single instance. As to birds: eagles, hornbills, and toucans, a very large owl, the nightjar, or goatsucker, beautiful kingfishers, cranes, some parrots, and many kinds of pheasants, quail, doves, and pigeons of beautiful plumage are amongst the more remarkable. Still, owing to the density of the jungle, it is not easy to get shooting, except at snipe, which swarm in the padi fields. As to wild animals, I have tried night watching in their haunts for big game, but my only reward has been the opportunity of studying the night life of the forests, often so lone and silent by day, so alive and filled with strange sounds and cries by night. I have also tried, with the assistance of aborigines, to track wild beasts; but the forest is so dense that it is almost impossible to do so successfully, unless many days can be devoted to the pursuit, for which I have never had the necessary leisure. Another feature in the sport is, that whilst you are stalking the tiger, so thick is the cover that the tiger may be at your elbows, and stalking you. The sea and rivers abound with fish, and at least one good fish of the barbel species will take an artificial minnow and give very strong play. Naturalists who may prefer the study of insect life to that of beasts, birds, fishes, or reptiles, have a wide field of investigation open to them. Many insects, such as the "leaf insect," which can hardly be distinguished from a leaf, are most curious, and butterflies and moths are of exceeding beauty. In botany much remains to be done. Tea, four or five varieties of coffee, wild spices, and an immense number of fruits flourish. Amongst the profusion of fruits that are cultivated time will only permit me to name the famed mangostein, the duku, and the durian, the latter held by its devotees to be the queen of fruits. Its smell is something indescribable, and abominable to the uninitiated.

Perak is the most northerly, and, at present, decidedly the most important, of the native Protected States. From Province Wellesley it stretches down the coast to the River Birnam, which separates it from Selangor. Its main and central watershed is the Perak River, which is navigable for boats for nearly 200 miles. On the west it is

bounded by the sea, on the east by Pahang and Kelantan, on the north by Province Wellesley, Kedah, Reman, and Leggai. Its area, including all the watershed of the river Perāk, its true boundary, is about 8,000 square miles. Its population may be placed at about 110,000.

The revenue of Perāk for 1884 is estimated at \$1,435,697. It has a surplus in the chest of, say, \$100,000. It has paid off its war debt, and the ex-Mantri's creditors, and has no debt.⁵ Its financial position will, therefore, compare very favourably with that of Hong Kong, a flourishing Colony, well known in England, whilst the very name of Perāk is rarely mentioned, or, if so, probably associated with Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, both words, though spelt differently, being pronounced almost similarly.

To Sir Andrew Clarke, then Governor of the Straits Settlements, is due the honour of first introducing the Residential system, which has conferred such immense benefits on the Peninsula and on English commerce. The rich tin mines of the district of Larut had attracted large numbers of Chinese, whose rival factions were carrying on war to the knife amongst one another, and piratical craft, hiding in the network of tidal mangrove creeks, issued from them to prey on our trade. The Malay Government was paralysed, and anarchy prevailed. We acknowledged the Sultan Abdullah, and he asked for a Resident. We did not thoroughly, however, then understand the Malays, nor they us. A chief, who afterwards inflicted a severe blow on a party of our troops at Kota Lama, and was called by us "the robber chief," but who lived to become one of our staunchest supporters, afterwards said, "You may think that I was a bad man then, but I was not. I did not understand your objects then, nor foresee the good you would do to the country, and if you heard my side of the story you would not blame me." The Sultan Abdullah was not, however, so honest as my friend, "the robber chief," nor did all the Rajahs like the curb put upon their licensed tyranny by the presence of a Resident. Mr. Birch, the Resident, was murdered, and Sir William Jervois, who had succeeded Sir Andrew Clarke, called in British troops, avenged the death of the Resident, and re-established order. Mr., now Sir Hugh Low (who had had great experience in dealing with similar races in Sarawak, under Rajah Brooke, and in Labuan) was appointed Resident, and the remarkable success and progress of the country is largely to be attributed to him. Its progress is indeed wonderful. Its revenue has advanced from \$312,875 in 1877 to, at a very moderate estimate,

\$1,435,697 in 1884. Its population has greatly increased, and is perfectly happy and contented. Good roads, bridle paths, and boat canals have been made, rivers cleared from obstructions, lines of electric telegraph laid down, good buildings, court-houses, hospitals, and police stations have been built, Government experimental plantations formed, an efficient Government official staff organised, and the last day of last year saw the last vestige of the old Perāk custom of debt slavery finally wiped off, after years of patient and judicious work to attain that object. It was, before I left, my fortunate lot to be able personally to congratulate the State Council upon this result, and upon the generally excellent spirit in which it was accepted by the chiefs and people.

Thaiping, in the district of Larut, is the principal town of Perāk. It is the centre of a rich tin-mining district, and is chiefly Chinese, though many Indian "Klings" and some Malays also dwell there or in its suburbs. It is fast becoming a handsome town, with broad streets, a splendid water supply conveyed from a hill waterfall in pipes, and good public buildings, hospitals, gaols, court-house, and museum, Assistant-Resident's house, fort, and barracks. Here are the headquarters of a magnificent Sikh force, infantry, artillery with mountain guns, and a very few cavalry, chiefly for patrolling or orderly purposes. This force, in conjunction with a Malay police force, is not military only, as it performs police duties. It is ready and fit, however, to go anywhere and to do anything that can be required of it, and it not only provides for the suppression of possible outbreaks amongst Chinese miners or of piratical attacks or outrages by gangs of Chinese robbers, but it is at any time ready to undertake more purely military operations if required, and to serve as a backbone to any irregular force of Malays that we might call into the field in case of need. At present our Sikh force is about 850 strong. It is very popular in India, and many of the men, who are all picked, have war and good service medals. Far more recruits offer than we can accept, and they constantly pay their own passage from India to seek service either in this force or in the Straits Settlements police. A new port has been established for Thaiping, which the Perak Government has done me the honour to name after me. It is about forty miles from Penang, and will receive vessels drawing about 14 or 15 ft. of water. It is perfectly land-locked, being the centre of numerous deep creeks running in various directions. Eight miles of railway, metre gauge, will in another two or three months be opened and connect it with Thaiping. It will be afterwards carried on

probably, through Province Wellesley, to Prye or Butterworth, opposite to Penang, and certainly to Kuala Kansa inland on the Perak river, which is the headquarters of His Highness the Regent and of the Resident of Perak. Kuala Kansa is a lovely spot, and contains court-house, residency, rest house, and barracks, but it is only the centre of a populous Malay district, and hardly a town properly so-called. It is about 140 miles from the sea by the river, down which is situated Teluk Anson, a very rising and important town about forty miles from the sea, at the head of the deep water navigation. Teluk Anson is the residence of the Superintendent of Lower Perak.

Perak produces tin in immense quantities. That from the mines of the Capitân China alone was last year valued at £105,000. Concessions have been given to companies formed in Shanghai, Australia, and even in France, to work tin with improved appliances, to smelt it, to grow sugar, cinchona, and other products. Arabian coffee has been this year sent home from a hill estate bought by His Highness Rajah Idris from a Ceylon planter, who opened it. Gold and silver are found in Perak, gutta-percha is a native product, cinchona flourishes admirably, and tea would be a success if labour were cheaper. More Indian immigration is much wanted to assure the success of our planters in Province Wellesley as well as in Perak and other States. Indians swarm to the Straits Settlements, and, to use the words of an Indian official, "it were as easy to keep flies from a sugar-cask as to keep Indians out of our Protected States by legislative enactments." Every protection is given to them, under stringent regulations, as to food, wages, and medical assistance when they are employed as estate coolies in the Colony, and so would it also be in Protected States. The Government of India, after much correspondence, have done me the honour to accept my views on the question, but some details have still to be arranged with the Government of Madras. The question is very important in the interests of European planters and of the Indians themselves.

Selângor lies to the southward of Perak. It is bounded on the west by the sea, on the east by Pahang and part of Jellabu, on the south by Sungei Ujong. It stretches back to the summit of the central range. South of the large Birnam River, it has the Selângor River, the Klang River, and the Langat River, as its principal watersheds. It contains about 5,000 square miles, and may have, say, 50,000 inhabitants. Its population, like that of Perak, is rapidly increasing, not only by Chinese and Indian immigration, but also by Malays from other

States, and largely from Sumatra. Sĕlångor, on the mouth of the river of that name, in a very slightly populated but now progressing district, is a very small town, remarkable for the remains of an old Dutch fort on an isolated hill crowned with noble old *angsana* trees. Here is the stone on which the sultans of Sĕlångor receive investiture, and the fort itself contains the police-station and the residence of the magistrate and collectors. Around the old earthwork ramparts lie dismounted guns, and shot and fragments of shell fired by Her Majesty's ship *Rinaldo*, when, in 1873, it was taken from Rajah Mahdi,⁶ who made a stout defence and put a shot or two through the Government yacht *Pluto*, which with more zeal than discretion had come under fire. Further south, about the centre of the seaboard of the State, the Klang River enters Klang Straits, and a few miles up it lies the town of Klang, the principal port of the State, with another fort of Rajah Mahdi's, which was also taken by us and converted to the same uses as that at the mouth of the Sĕlångor. Klang has its magistrates' and collectors' quarters, hospital, gaol, offices, and a Malay school. It will be shortly a place of importance, for a railway will, it is hoped, be completed in two years connecting it with Kuala Lumpor, the seat of Government, and centre of the principal tin-mining district, twenty-six miles distant. Kuala Lumpor is a very considerable town, situated in a most beautiful country, rich not only in tin, but in quickly extending cultivation. A mine at Ampang in this vicinity has recently, I am glad to say, been bought by a company of Singapore merchants for the sum of \$170,000. From frequent inspections I am of opinion that it probably is as rich as any mine in the Peninsula, and the Peninsula is undoubtedly the richest tin country known. I mention this because the Straits Settlements merchants have been hitherto singularly apathetic in regard to taking their share of the great profits to be gained in the native States, and in developing their resources. Companies from Shanghai, Australia, and even France are already doing this in Sĕlångor as in Perāk, and the Chinese have long since been exporting very large quantities of tin thence, indeed, it is still doubtful which State has the greater mineral resources.

The native town of Kuala Lumpor was originally very badly laid out, or, rather, not laid out at all, and was, and indeed to a great extent still is, a mass of palm-leaf and timber huts and shops, but it has lately been very much improved. Streets have been widened, and new ones laid out, and on a hill above it very creditable buildings have been, or are being, erected—hospital, Government offices,

gaol, dwellings for officers, police quarters, and residency. The view from the residency, especially when the sun is about to set behind the amphitheatre of the central range, peak beyond peak glowing in different hues and shades, is certainly one of the finest in the Peninsula. Kuala Lumpur is the centre of a radius of roads and bridle paths, which have been pushed on with great vigour by the present Resident, and which will feed the railway.

Proceeding south we reach the Langkat River, on which is Jugra, the residence of the Sultan Abdul Sarnat. His Highness had a troubled time in the earlier part of his reign, when Sēlāngor was the theatre of war between Rajah Madhi and the Sultan's son-in-law and Viceroy, Tunku Dia Udin, a prince of the Royal blood of Kedah, and many others; piracy was not unknown, and the whole country was in confusion and ruin when the Sultan asked us to send him a Resident; more than that, he of his own free will abolished slavery. The country has since enjoyed perfect peace. The Sultan is most loyal to us, and I never visit him but he chuckles over the great success of his idea of calling in the aid of the British Government, the peace of mind he now enjoys, and the prosperity of his people.

That progress has been most remarkable since Her Majesty's Secretary of State permitted me to appoint Mr. Swettenham as Resident. In one year the revenue rose from \$300,000 to \$450,000 and is for this year estimated at \$596,877, and this, though in great part attributable to administration, gives but a very slight idea of the recent general progress of the State. It still owes a war debt, which in April, 1883, was \$259,000. It will have to borrow from the Straits Government about half of the sum necessary to complete its railway, but the railway will at once become highly remunerative.

Sungei Ujong⁷ is the third and smallest Protected State. It is a country pleasing to the eye and with agricultural capabilities, but though it also produces tin, it is not so rich as the States previously mentioned. It has Sēlāngor on the north and west, Malacca and the sea on the south, Rembau and Sri Menanti on the east, also the little State of Jellabu, very rich in tin, yet almost unworked, which separates it from Pahang. On the development of Jellabu the future progress of Sungei Ujong greatly depends, and I have entered into arrangements with the chiefs of Jellabu which will, I trust, both secure that end, and by opening up communications and establishing security in Jellabu for miners, greatly benefit that State also.

Sungei Ujong contains only some 500 square miles and a population of about 14,000, of which the greater part are Chinese miners. It has no considerable towns, Serambun and Rassa in the interior, and Penkallan Passir on the Linggi River being the places of most note. A new post town is being established not far from Penkallan Passir, but nearer the sea, in a more convenient position. Road-making has made considerable progress in Sungei Ujong, and it possesses the usual Government buildings on a modest scale. Its revenue being very limited, there are but few European officers under Mr. Paul, the Resident, which places him somewhat at a disadvantage. There are flourishing coffee and cocoa (chocolate) plantations belonging to Europeans, and some of tapioca, pepper, and gambier, belonging chiefly to Chinese. On the whole, I may say that slow but steady progress is being made by this little State. Tin and the products above-named and some others are exported. Its revenue shows a gradual increase; the first year of British administration it was \$67,000, in 1883 \$117,000, and this year it is estimated at \$143,000. It has a small debt to the Straits Government, but it has nearly finished all pressing public works.

It now only remains to me to make a few observations regarding the independent, or lately independent, Malay Straits. Kedah is becoming more and more Siamese; Reman, Patani, Leggai, Kalentan, and even Tringanu, are now to a greater or less extent encroached upon by Siam, but in many of them the Siamese can gain no firm hold.

The State of Pahang, on the east coast, contains about 10,000 square miles, with a population roughly estimated at 50,000. The river Pahang is the largest in the Peninsula, and the country possesses gold and tin. Pahang is quite independent of Siam, and is so far under our influence that we are not indifferent to any gross abuses that might arise there, and that we should certainly be appealed to as arbiters in case of any difficulty; moreover, our interests are very much concerned in the good government of Pahang. Johor forms the southern extremity of the Peninsula; it contains about 8,000 square miles, its population is said to reach 100,000, of whom it is stated that some 40,000 are Chinese, but I should think that these figures are exaggerated. Some cultivation is carried on, and His Highness the Maharajah of Johor has experimental plantations himself, and encourages planters, whether European, Singapore, Chinese, or Arabs. He has himself grown very good tea, and promises to be successful both with Liberian coffee and cocoa

(chocolate); but Arabian coffee hardly seems, from reports I have received, to be so successful in Johor as in our Protected States. The town of Johor Bahru, on the strait which separates it from Singapore Island, contains a gaol and hospital, and here is the "Istana," or palace of the Maharajah, which is probably the largest building existing on the mainland of the Peninsula, and is magnificently furnished. His Highness, who is fond of European society, usually lives on his Singapore property, and takes a leading part in races and festivities, of which he is a liberal supporter; but the "Istana" of Johor is the scene of those magnificent and courteous hospitalities which render him so justly popular.

Passing Singapore Island, and again casting our gaze on the west coast, there remains a group of small, central inland States, lying between Sungei Ujong and part of Sēlāngor, Pahang, Johor, and Malacca. They were originally nine, and are still called *Negri Sembilan*, "the nine states". They are now seven, excluding Rēmbau, which, as well as Jellabu, was detached from them by treaty after the Sungei Ujong and Sri Menanti war in 1876, and Naning, which has long since been part of Malacca.

The *Negri Sembilan* are under the overlordship of the Yam Tuan, or Supreme Ruler of Sri Menanti, but they are in ordinary matters chiefly governed by Datōh Pēnghūlus, and have various complicated constitutional customs. They might be likened to a confederation of oligarchical republics, such as many of the Swiss cantons were formerly. These states were founded from Menenkabau in Sumatra, and when in difficulties have sent for a Yam Tuan, overlord, or Rajah, to the Sultan of that country. These States contain about 2,000 square miles, and 30,000 inhabitants. They have constantly been in trouble. We occupied Sri Menanti with the 10th Regiment and Ghoorkas in 1876 after some severe fighting, and the good behaviour of the troops and the kindly ways of Captain Murray, Resident of Sungei Ujong, so won the hearts of the Malays, that when, by orders from England, we retired, universal regrets and prayers for our return followed us. When I arrived in the Colony, fighting was going on on our borders between part of Rēmbau and Tampin. I imposed peace. Later, on March 29, 1881, I met the inland chiefs and people, and the Tunku Antar, Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, at Bukit Puteh Pass, where Captain Channer won the Victoria Cross. Six or seven hundred Malays, dressed in their brightest costumes, and wearing their national weapon the kris, crowded the little mountain platform, and listened with rapt

attention for about three hours whilst I advised them with regard to the affairs of their country and their relations with one another, and endeavoured to compose internal grievances. There were only two Europeans besides myself at that meeting, and the ground was kept by one single policeman, and he was a Malay, and had nothing to do but march up and down, or stand at ease, so admirably and gently did that armed crowd conduct itself, even though the appeals to me were fiercely urged by the headmen—one dashing his weapon on the ground and passionately defying his sovereign lord. That meeting laid the foundation of the present satisfactory position of affairs in the little independent states. Later, in 1883, affairs in Rĕmbau assumed a very threatening aspect. I was appealed to by the headman, and, pending inquiry, forbade fighting, and said that the first man who shed blood would be held by me as no friend of the British Government. The Datōh Pĕnghūlu thereupon caused one of the opposite party to be assassinated. I took measures to enable me at once to enforce a decision at a moment's notice, and then summoned all parties to Malacca, and caused all the Protected States to be represented by men of high position. Having fully investigated the matter and the peculiar constitutional usages of Rĕmbau, the Datōh Pĕnghūlu was deposed, with the consent of the electoral chiefs, and a new one freely elected and unanimously accepted by the Rĕmbau constitutional elective body. The Malacca Congress in 1883 established a Malay league under the Governor: Perāk, Sĕlāngor, Sungei Ujong, Rĕmbau, and the Negri Sĕmbilan Confederation, all binding themselves actively to support the Governor in maintaining order in any State when called upon by him.

Part of the Rĕmbau people asked me to take over Rĕmbau, and all would have consented if pressed. I declined. Since then all has gone well, and I have been offered several other little States, but I have always refused, saying that I would help them, advise them, and that when they knew us well it would be quite time for them to ask for a more intimate connection. We are now making roads through these central States, or, rather, they are making them under our direction, and with money advanced by us. They will be assisted, too, in regard to police and revenue arrangements, and the development of their natural resources. We work hand-in-hand together with the chiefs, winning our way through their interests to their hearts. Soon the people become broken in to habits of order, and know our ways, and see the protection we give against the arbitrary exactions and injustice of chiefs. In dealing with natives, time and patience is a

great element of success; it is everything to make them understand our intentions and objects, and that, above all, we are firm and inflexibly just. I am strongly opposed to pure annexation. I am satisfied that if the Protected States had been annexed, their progress would have been much less rapid, and that for many reasons, which time will not allow me to dilate upon, the condition of the people is better under the present system. Moreover, to annex our Protected States would, under present circumstances, be a breach of faith, and it is faith in our honour and trust in our good Government that induces all Malay races to put implicit confidence in us. Moreover, the residential system, and even such a modification of it as I am able now to apply to the little independent States in the heart of the country, gives us all we want and suits the natives best, so long as we have the right sort of administrators; but I cannot conceal from myself that all depends upon administration and upon individuals. It is personal government with all its advantages, and also its obvious dangers. Still I have yet to learn that any country, still less any Asiatic country, has been successfully governed by cut-and-dried codes or constitutional theories, that have not grown up racy of the soil and out of the heart and life of the people of the country.

The Malay race is one which no one can know without becoming attached to it. I have travelled in various journeys, and I am the only man living who has travelled from the Kessang River, our extreme southern boundary through Malacca, across a corner of Rēmbau, and then right on, usually close to the central mountain chain through all the Protected States, and as far as our extreme boundary in Province Wellesley. This line of country traverses much rich agricultural and mineral country, by roads now in course of construction it will be soon easy to ride from one end of it to another, and it opens a fine field of enterprise for young Englishmen with moderate capital. They would be exposed to far less hardship and far less risk than I was when, in 1844, I went into the New Zealand bush to form sheep stations. I have also traversed the protected States in all directions, I have met Malays and travelled with them, and seen much of both chiefs and people, and I know no native race that are more naturally imbued with what we expressively call the feelings of gentlemen, or more easy to deal with if they are properly understood and treated with respect. They are hospitable and courteous, but ready to resent an insult. Gentle in manner, they, nevertheless, possess a highly nervous organisation, which, under mental excitement sometimes, but of late years more rarely, induces to that

temporary outburst of madness known to us as "running a muck;" with them a man is said to "amok." Also to a most extraordinary form of imitative nervous disease called "latah,"⁸ upon which an interesting paper has been written by Mr. H. A. O'Brien, magistrate at Malacca. Malays are excellent boatmen, and will cheerfully work at rowing and poling boats up rapids from morning till night; in other occupations they are lazy, but nature and very little trouble supplies all their wants; and I am not quite certain but that a large proportion even of our own energetic countrymen would not be lazy too, if they had such a climate and all their wants supplied. The Malays are still the most numerous race of the Southern Peninsula, and their language is the universal medium of communication; it is melodious and easy to acquire. The letters are Arabic, and it has a literature. In religion they are Mohammedans, but not of the very strictest type. In the interior of Perak I once made a journey on elephants, and all the little chiefs brought out their elephants, until at last we had no less than fifty-seven in our train. A few Malay ladies took this opportunity of accompanying their husbands to their homes. At first they drew their veils over their faces on seeing a stranger, in spite of their curiosity, but as they got into their own country and amongst their own people in the inland districts, they were much more like merry English girls than I could have supposed possible amongst Mahomedans. The forests were vocal with their laughter. They went fishing with us and the whole population at one place; and at two houses where I spent a night, the lady of the house showed us round, where all the dames and maidens of the village were busy in the preparation of sweet confectionary and the unequalled Malay curries for our entertainment.

At another village, in the same district, the lady of the house where I was to stop awaited me at the foot of the steps which led up to her house, which was built in the style of a Swiss chalet. She was attended by all her female friends and followers. She led me by the hand and seated me in a chair of state, and introduced the principal people of the place with an easy courtesy that could not be surpassed. The Malay houses of the better sort are exceedingly clean; they are all built on high posts, either as a protection from tigers, or from the custom on the coast of building over the sea common to this maritime race. There is an entire absence of the insect plagues that infest some European chalets. A kind of mattress, highly ornamented, carpets, and silk embroidered hangings, and quaint devices of palm leaves and fruit and flowers, surround the sleeping place prepared for

a visitor of distinction, which is sometimes a separate room, sometimes a retired corner of a large common hall. The women, under the direction of the lady of the house, serve the meals, and in the evening they sometimes leave the separate division of the house, which is their special quarters, and sit down on the floor against the wall listening to the conversation, sometimes laughing quietly, but seldom making a remark. In travelling through the interior, at almost every village, especially in Sëlångor, I have been entertained with sword and kris and shawl dances and songs, in which none but men take part; and there is no district so wild but that if there are two or three huts together some effort at an arch or display of coloured drapery is not extemporised to greet the Governor, whilst, when journeying with elephants, the dismounting stages are often beautiful works of decorative art, gorgeous with colour and embroidered canopies. It is pleasing to see the honest goodwill of many of these inland Malays. A village chief one day was expressing to me the pleasure they felt at seeing for the first time a Governor, the "Tuan Governor Besar," the "Lord," or "Mr. Great Governor," which is the name by which the Malays everywhere know the Governor of the Straits, and he said that he hoped our flag would never leave them. I replied that the Queen wished her Governors to do all the good that they could, and that therefore I desired personally to know the country and the people. He replied, "Yes, now we know that the Queen is a good woman; formerly they told us that she was, but we did not know whether that was not said with an object; now we have lived happily under the English rule, and we know that the Queen of Europe is indeed a good woman, and the mother of her people." And lately the Rajah of Tenom, in Sumatra, replying to my letter regarding the detention by him of the *Nisero's* crew, and complaining of his treatment by the Dutch, wrote: "The rule of my friends the Tuan Tuan" (English), "is renowned through the country of Aceh for the great happiness of the inhabitants who live under it, and its great justice." It is not wonderful that the Malay people, who suffered terribly under the tyranny of their Rajahs, should appreciate their improved position; but it is most remarkable, and speaks strongly for the Malay character, that the Rajahs themselves should be so generally loyal as they are.

There is another race in the Peninsula besides Malays, which may be termed the aborigines. They have more or less marked Negrito characteristics. As the Malays are closely akin to the Polynesian race, so are the Sakei, Simang, or Jakun tribes akin to the darker races of

New Guinea, Australia, Fiji, and other islands; even in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands there are traces of this darker race. They have nevertheless affinities with the Malays, and probably represent an earlier wave of Asiatic immigration. They are very low indeed in the scale of civilisation, but they are harmless, kindly, cheerful, and very simple people. Formerly the Malays made raids on them to carry off their women and children, but they assure me invariably that they are never molested since we came into the country. One man who came down from the mountains, bringing even his women and children to see me on one of my inland journeys, added quite jauntily, "Why, if anybody hurt us nowadays, I should travel till I found a magistrate and your police, and wouldn't they just make an example of the evildoers!"

I will now conclude by giving you the principal statistical totals unitedly for the Colony and the Protected States as now estimated. Area in square miles about 15,000. Revenue for this year nearly \$5,500,000. I have no doubt myself but that it will rather exceed that sum, and we have considerably more than a million assets besides in the Colony, if we take into account money to be recouped from land reclamations. Population about 647,000, of which, perhaps, 280,000 are of that enterprising, industrious, and pertinacious race, the Chinese, who pour in annually by tens of thousands. Most unfortunately, the disparity of the sexes amongst Chinese and Indians is a grave evil, impossible, I fear, adequately to remedy, though I hope it is lessening.

I have in this paper left very much unsaid. Many points of importance I have hardly touched, and yet I fear that I have made too great a demand on your patience. My excuse must be that colonisation, the management of native races, the extension of the beneficent British influence, and the consolidation of our Colonies with the Empire, have been the study and pleasure of my life. Moreover, I have now been speaking of a country and of a people in which I take an extreme interest, a country in which I have spent some happy years in hard work, loyally aided by my official staff, amongst whom I may name the very able Colonial Secretary of the Straits, Mr. Cecil Clementi Smith, sustained by the sympathy and confidence of non-officials and people, and receiving generous support from the Colonial Office at home—a country interesting in itself, already immensely prosperous, and with a future for which I humbly trust that I have not laboured altogether in vain or fruitlessly.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN (the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.): I will now call upon Sir Hugh Low, British Resident at Perak, to begin the discussion on this most interesting paper.

Sir HUGH LOW, K.C.M.G.: I have never in my life stood before such an audience as this, and am more accustomed to speak native languages than that of so many of my fellow-subjects of Her Majesty as I now see before me. It is, I feel, quite impossible for me to add anything to what His Excellency, my chief, has so well and eloquently said in reference to that part of the British dominions which he has so successfully governed. I have served under him now for four years, and the great success which has attended the administration of the Government of Perak, by the advice of the Resident acting under the orders of the Governor, is entirely due to the Governor himself, who pays frequent visits and has such an intimate knowledge of the place. Notwithstanding that this is only one of the various subjects to which he has to give attention, he is as familiar with the State of Perak as with any portion of the Colony. I did not note any points on which he did not give the fullest information concerning the part with which I am most familiar. His Excellency said we had now no longer any State or slave debtorship. It is perfectly true, and he might have added that the whole system of slavery was also abolished on the last day of last year. His Excellency had a great deal to do with it. Another form of slavery which existed when he came into the Settlements has also been abolished. I refer to the purchase of women for immoral purposes, which was a regular business in the country. His Excellency gave me orders three months after his arrival, and I willingly carried them out. There were some difficulties, but the Governor supported me, and now these women are all free and the mistresses of happy homes. I have served under many Governors, and received the support of all, but no one has ever gone into every question, without regard to the difficulties, like His Excellency; and whenever he was satisfied that a proper policy was pursued I have always had his support and carried out his orders unhesitatingly, and I hope the same may be the case for the rest of my life.

Mr. WILLIAM ADAMSON: I should be extremely sorry if this meeting separated without any expression of opinion on the part of the colonists of Singapore. Sir Frederick Weld has told you many things, but he has forgotten to mention one characteristic of the

community—namely, modesty. There are a great many Scotchmen, and they are therefore bashful. You would scarcely gather from the paper Sir Frederick Weld has read that he has been doing a great work in that outlying dependency of the Crown; that he has been engaged in those distant parts of the world in developing principles of Government which we all recognise; that he has been holding forth to the natives the example of honesty, justice, and truth; that he has been urging education upon the natives; and that from the central point of Singapore he has been doing his best to civilise 400 or 500 miles of country. He has referred to Sir Andrew Clarke, and we colonists should be lacking in gratitude if we did not remember very gratefully the great work he began, and which Governor Weld has continued. This place is one of the stepping-stones of the Empire. On one side we have Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, and Ceylon—I leave out the Cape of Good Hope—and on the other Hong Kong and the Dominion of Canada; and this place, lying between them, developing its own local civilisation, extending in its own way the ideas of government, is most invaluable, not merely commercially, but in the moral development, of the world. It is not only a moral development. I happen to be a merchant, and therefore to some extent look at things from a mercantile point of view; and, in a mercantile sense, the place is most important. I need not trouble you with figures, but £38,000,000 of exports and imports is a large sum. At Singapore we have a depôt for the outlying islands, for although Java lies midway, yet, owing to its restrictive policy, whilst Singapore has free trade, we are enabled to carry our trade further and supply countries as far as Tonquin on the north and Australia on the south. There is one point to which His Excellency did not allude—the influence of the Chinese on that part of the world. The Chinese are the great labour pioneers of the whole of that part of Asia. It seems to me quite certain that in the future they will fill Tonquin, Cochin China, the whole of the Malay Peninsula, and reach down as far as Australia. They are, as a race, capable of civilisation of the highest kind. They are at once labourers and statesmen. They can work in any climate, hot or cold, and they have great mercantile capacity. We must, I say, look forward to the time when the Chinese will fill up the whole of this Malay Peninsula, the whole of the countries of which I have spoken; and the time will come—perhaps not in our day—when there will be questions of high policy between us and them. We may, at any rate, now recognise them as labourers, and welcome them into the Settlements. They are at once our

book-keepers, clerks, and labourers, and we are pleased to see them flocking as they do in thousands. The rule of England in that part of the world is to hold aloft the banner of justice, truth, and right-dealing. We are there to see that these important principles are enforced, to carry education and religion with us, and to impress on these people, by our bearing and government in every way, those truths which we have learned at home. Sir F. Weld has justly observed that the humblest civil servant is not amenable to a bribe. It is a most honourable characteristic, and is one of the securities for our good government of these people in the future. On behalf of the Singapore community I have great pleasure in acknowledging the great work which Sir Frederick Weld has done.

Mr. FRANCIS BULKELEY JOHNSON: As one who has recently returned from the Protected States in the Malay Peninsula, and who has taken considerable interest in the progress and prosperity of that country, I hope I may be permitted to join in the expression of thanks which you have given to Sir Frederick Weld for his valuable and interesting paper; and I hope also, without presumption, I may say that anyone holding such an influential position as that of Governor of the Straits Settlements can scarcely do the nation better service at this time than by calling attention to the inestimable value of the possessions of this country in the Far East. Anyone who reads the columns of the daily Press cannot fail to be aware that the trade of this country, which a few years ago our foremost statesmen described as advancing by "leaps and bounds," is not only progressing, but shows ominous signs of retrogression. The cause is not far to seek. Our Continental rivals are making rapid strides in opening up communications with all the principal commercial centres of the world, and are straining every nerve to share with us the advantages of tropical trade. We are slowly but surely losing the control of that vast distributing traffic which has contributed so much to the wealth of this Metropolis; and I venture to think that year by year the relative preponderance of British shipping passing through the Suez Canal will diminish. The great problem in the future will be how the great population of these three kingdoms is to be maintained. The solution is only to be found in the development of the resources of India and of those possessions in the Far East which are second only to India in importance. The resources of the Straits Settlements are practically inexhaustible, and we need not be afraid that our trade there will be harassed by protective and hostile tariffs. It is a trite saying that anyone who makes two blades of grass

to grow where only one grew before does good to mankind. I know from my own experience that Sir Frederick Weld and his immediate predecessors, assisted by able coadjutors, among whom Sir Hugh Low is foremost, have planted flourishing communities in the primeval forest, and collected industrious populations in what were the haunts of the wild beast. Coming recently from China, I can confirm what has been said about the disposition of the Chinese to occupy these places, and that they must ultimately colonise the whole of the Malay Peninsula. They are going, not in thousands, but in tens of thousands. Time will not permit me to dwell on one point—the question of annexation—but I cannot help expressing regret that Sir Frederick Weld has given the sanction of his high authority to a policy of non-annexation. I cannot conceive, speaking with all deference, that any practical injustice can be done in removing nominal authority, when you have taken away all real authority. The time must come when you must centre the responsibility somewhere. I am speaking in the presence of some eminent representatives of the Malay race, but the truth must be told. It is a fact that the Malay population is numerically very inferior to the Chinese in the Peninsula. During the time the Malay Rajahs have exercised overlordship over the Malay Peninsula they have done nothing to clear the ground, to clear the jungle, or to exploit the mines. What shall we have to say with regard, for instance, to justice when we come to consider that the Chinese population is one which will eventually fill the land? Are we to subject them, practically or nominally, to the authority of the Malay Rajah? They are coming to the British territory under the belief that they will be under the protection of the British law and of the British flag. Can you expect that British capital and enterprise will flow freely into a country where the tenure of our authority is not secured, and where there is practically no system of civil jurisprudence? In that part of his paper which he omitted to read, Sir Frederick Weld called attention to the defenceless state of Singapore. He stated that that defenceless condition was receiving the attention of Her Majesty's Government. That, sir, is a very convenient phrase for Her Majesty's Government. That question has nominally been receiving attention for years, and no result has come, and no result will come until the constituencies bring pressure to bear in the proper quarters. The late Lord Beaconsfield, some years ago, called attention to the chain of fortress which unites the British Empire in the East with these islands. With the exception of Malta or Gibraltar, that chain of

fortresses existed only in the imagination of our late Premier. Aden is not capable of resisting modern artillery. Trincomalee and Colombo and Penang are open roadsteads. On the so-called batteries of Singapore and Hong Kong there is not mounted a single armour-piercing gun! I hope public attention will be called to this question. I trust we shall never be involved in war, especially with a first-class naval power, but if unhappily we are, I believe we shall be found unprepared, and that on the morrow of some calamitous disaster the nation will wake up with an exceeding bitter cry, and say that it has been betrayed by its politicians and deceived by its Press.

The CHAIRMAN: The last speaker has touched upon a most important matter, which is the protection of this rich and valuable and necessary Colony. There is a gentleman present (Captain Colomb) who has studied that question of the defences of our outlying posts with great care. Perhaps he will say something?

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, R.M.A.: I hesitate to speak at all. It has struck me and others that Sir Frederick Weld and all those gentlemen who have come from the Straits Settlements are very gifted men. They have opened up to us a vast field of knowledge in a short time and in a very eloquent way. It is a bit hard, with due regard to time, to stumble through a few sentences in order to supplement what fell from the last speaker, but I will confine my remarks simply to the question of defence. Before doing so, I would draw attention to the fact that the able reader of the paper, who has so distinguished himself as an administrator, did not get his political training in the Older England, but in the Newer England beyond the sea. It is a practical example of the fact, and one which I think we should take more cognisance of than we are accustomed to do, that when we claim to be a governing race we cannot claim that merely or exclusively for ourselves or the United Kingdom. I would draw attention to the figures Governor Weld has given as to the entrances and clearances at the single port of Singapore, which exceed four million tons, being about equal to the Clyde. He also reminded us that Singapore is the centre of a sea area over which passes some 250 millions sterling in value of British goods in one year, being nearly equivalent to a quarter of the British annual sea trade, which is over one thousand millions. He has also told us that there are some 300,000 tons of coal there. I could name many other places where we store British coal; and unless that coal is secured, not merely for men-of-war, but the merchant fleet, by means of local defence, we must expect it to be damaged, if not destroyed, in war. It is a

remarkable fact—and one, I think, indicating the Imperial importance of Singapore—that the coal dug out of the earth in the old Wales meets there coal dug out of the mines of New South Wales—thus completing, as it were, a girdle significant of the extent of British industry. Well, we see now articles written upon, and men's thoughts turning to, the disturbed state of the political outlook, and hear people talking of war and military expeditions. You are also aware that recent events have placed at the other side of Singapore a powerful fleet of transports and a tolerably large French force. If in the outcome of a situation which looks gloomy enough you were suddenly involved in war, I ask you to consider what would become of the vast store of coal at Singapore, of the Queen's representative (Governor Weld), of the Government, and of all the civilisation of which we have been the pioneers in those parts. I say, without fear of contradiction, that if you continue to neglect and to leave defenceless these keys of Empire, you must expect to lose suddenly, in some parts of the world, your supremacy of the sea. I will not take up time longer, but will ask you to consider the world-wide importance of Singapore as a strategic position with regard to commerce, and to turn to a map of the world and consider the connection between Singapore and North America, and the value of Singapore as regards Australia and India, and the guarantee which the safe holding of that place gives for the maritime peace of the world. When the *Alabama* was burning vessels off the Cape, American commerce was hastening towards Singapore as the most convenient port, and Captain Semmes writes in his journal, on arrival at Singapore: "A very gratifying spectacle met our eyes at Singapore. There were twenty-two American ships there—large East Indiaman: almost all were dismantled and laid up. The burning of our first ship in these seas had sent a thrill of terror through all the Yankee shipping, far and near, and it had hastened to port to get out of harm's way. No ship could get a freight, and the commerce of the enemy was as dead as if every ship belonging to him had been destroyed." We happen, for good or evil, to be possessed of the greatest centres of the trade of the world. When we are involved in war, those ports will be ports of a belligerent, and not of neutrals; and our merchant vessels will find no place of safety in unprotected Singapore, but will merely be rushing together to meet one common destruction, unless that place is defended. Considering that a Royal Commission has investigated this subject; considering that the facts are in the possession of the Government; considering the ignorance

of the people of England and of the Colonies on the subject, I ask whether the time has not arrived when the people should be made acquainted with the evidence given before the Royal Commission? I submit that the prestige and security of this old England and the future of the new England should not be made to suit the convenience of political parties at home; and I entreat you to bear in mind that upon each one of you lies the responsibility to look the calm facts in the face, to remember the conditions of our Empire—that its whole future depends on the safety of the seas. The Government have had a Commission sitting for three and a-half years; all the information is bottled up in the pigeon-holes, and the English and Colonial people do not know their danger. I entreat you all to do your best to have this Imperial defence question placed upon a sounder and more enduring basis.

Dr. N. B. DENNYS: After the very able and exhaustive paper read by Sir Frederick Weld, and the speeches which have followed it, there is but little left for others to say. There are, however, perhaps, one or two points on which I may offer some suggestions. First of all, I would remark that, as regards the nationalities of Singapore, His Excellency, with a very natural desire not to exaggerate his own responsibilities as Governor, has in reality very much understated them. He merely mentioned three or four, while, as a matter of fact, the community includes Malays, Hindoos, Moors, Arabs, Klings, Hokkiens, Taychews, Hailams, Hakkas, Cantonese and other Chinese tribes, with the usual sprinkling of Europeans, *i.e.*, Germans, French, Italians, &c. It should be noted that, although outsiders are apt to regard all Chinese as belonging to one race, the tribal differences divide them, to all intents and purposes, into distinct nationalities, as distinct, in fact, as Norwegians and Italians. The paper just read is peculiarly opportune at this moment, because there is undoubtedly a prevailing tendency, in certain quarters, on the part of many writers and speakers to hold up British Colonial policy to the world as one of "spoliation." But we have only to turn to the policy of such Governors as Sir Frederick Weld and Sir Andrew Clarke in the Colony of Singapore, and to consider the results which their policy has achieved, to see whether it has been one of "spoliation," or of benefit to the native races under their control. Anarchy and bloodshed have, at all events, been replaced by happiness and peace, and, did time permit, I could easily enlarge upon the many benefits which have followed British rule. Previous speakers have done well to draw attention to the enormous

preponderance of the Chinese races in these countries in which our lot as colonists is cast, and they very rightly and truly painted the exact condition of affairs out there. As an humble member of the service, I would ask whether, the circumstances being as thus stated, they do not point to the necessity of all British officials being thoroughly acquainted with the Chinese idiosyncrasy and languages, so as to enable us to deal satisfactorily with the new and unexampled problems which are so constantly arising? There can be no doubt on one point—forcibly alluded to by Sir Frederick Weld—that “personal” government obtains in the East to an extent which those unacquainted with the exigencies of Colonial Government can hardly understand. In governing Asiatics the great secret of success is, personal government untrammelled by the technicalities of British law. We have had to give way on this question of technicalities already. In the matter of Chinese Secret Societies—in such everyday affairs as Chinese marriages—we have had to give way; and, did time permit, I might name twenty points, not only as regard Chinese, but other Eastern nationalities, in which we have had to give way, and dispense with useless technicalities. But, in spite of this, the farce is still kept up of pretending that everything is done in accordance with the requirements of British law procedure. The sooner it is understood that this is not the case, and that legislation for Asiatics means “special legislation,” the better. Governor Weld has told us that a good many people here at home hardly seem to know where Singapore is. But, true as this is, can it be wondered at when many papers professedly devoted to Colonial interests never find room for even a passing glance at Straits matters? I must say that as a Colony, not only relatively but absolutely the richest of all the Crown Colonies under the British flag, I think Singapore is entitled to a little more notice than it usually receives. As regards the matter of a museum, I can only add my weak voice in urging upon all colonists interested in such matters the great importance of Singapore becoming what it ought to be—the great centre of natural history for Eastern Asia. We have there the finest possible chance of adding to the stores of the naturalist, and I hope that Sir F. Weld’s opinions and remarks will not go unheeded. There is one other point upon which I should like to touch, though time warns me I must be very brief, viz., the opium farm, upon which Sir F. Weld has only touched very lightly. Time will not permit any attempt to enter into a full discussion of this question, but, as one who has lived some twenty-three years in the East, with peculiar facilities for knowing

all classes of Chinese, who has frequently dined and conversed with the highest Chinese officers of State, and subsequently been employed in a department which had to deal with the lowest class of coolies, I can only say that I utterly and entirely deny the absolute falsehoods sometimes circulated by those who oppose the opium traffic in China. Without doubt, opium, like gin-drinking, may be made a horrible curse to those who indulge in the drug; but, upon this occasion, which may be the only one I shall ever have in my life of speaking before a London audience, I take this opportunity of protesting against the sensational pictures painted for the delectation of the London public. Of some 400,000,000 people in China, some 2,000,000 are reputed to smoke opium more or less, and of these some 2 per cent. become the wretched beings described in anti-opium reports. I don't for a moment deny that the descriptions given of them are true—it is the inferences which are untrue. But can such statistics compare for an instant with those of the gin-drinker of London? We should be rather indignant if we were judged as a people by the returns of drunkenness in our cities, and I certainly think that our well-meaning anti-opium friends had better put their own countrymen to rights before wasting their sympathies on what after all is really a very minor blot on Chinese life. The pictures presented to credulous subscribers are (from a national point of view) grossly overdrawn, and are nothing like those which could be given by British indulgence in gin and other liquors. Time, however, forbids my making remarks at greater length, so I now conclude.

Mr. NOEL DENISON, Superintendent of Lower Perak: I am quite unprepared to say anything, but I can bear out all that Sir Frederick Weld has said concerning the progress and prosperity of Perak. I have been in the Straits Settlements for the last sixteen or seventeen years, seven and a-half years in Perak, and eight years in Sarawak under Rajah Brooke, and have had many opportunities of judging of the state of the people. I can remember the time when the country was in a state of anarchy and confusion. I saw the country shortly after Mr. Birch's death, and I was afterwards appointed to the district where Mr. Birch was killed. It is now as safe and well-protected as any other place in the Straits Settlements. I have the honour to serve under Sir Frederick Weld, and I can say honestly that the country is greatly indebted to him for all he has done.

FUNG YEE, who was very cordially received, said: I have listened with pleasure to the exhaustive paper read by Sir Frederick Weld.

Singapore is a place suited for Chinese labourers. Europeans could not stand the climate so well as the Chinese. One gentleman has spoken of the Chinese as being too much married. I do not think anybody in this world is perfect, and I have known a great many. I do not deny that among my own people there are good, bad, and indifferent, and perhaps amongst the lowest classes the national character is not seen at the best. With regard to opium smoking and gin, I think one is perhaps as injurious as the other. When we discuss opium smoking we must remember not only the smoker, but the injury done to the man's family. The breadwinner is often so much weakened by opium smoking that he cannot work, and his family suffer in consequence. The actual injury is not always apparent to lookers-on.

MR. F. P. LABILLIERE: There is one point to which I think it is desirable that attention should be drawn in this discussion, although I cannot now attempt to argue it. We have heard a great deal within the last few months about the annexation of New Guinea. Now, I think we have gained from the paper this evening information of great value in its bearing upon that question. Sir Frederick Weld has spoken of annexation, and prefers a protectorate with regard to the native States of the Malay Peninsula. The extension of a British protectorate over New Guinea would answer the purpose which at present we desire to secure. We want to prevent New Guinea falling into the hands of any Foreign Power, or becoming a receptacle through which criminals could be filtered into Australia. That can be secured, it seems to me, if our Government do not yet see their way to annexation, by an extension of the British Protectorate to these islands. We have plenty of men in the Colonial service experienced in the administration of native races—men like Sir Frederick Weld, and those acting under him—capable of dealing with the natives of New Guinea, and bringing them under our influence without risk of interference with peace. We have now reached the concluding meeting of another session. This Institute, like the sun, and the famous British drum, has made one more tour round the globe. We started at the first meeting of our session, in November, with a paper and discussion on New Guinea and the Western Pacific, and have gone right round till we find ourselves in the immediate vicinity of our starting-point. I think this is an illustration of the practical utility of this Institute, which takes all our possessions on the globe by turn—be they Crown Colonies like the Straits Settlements, or great Dominions like Canada and Australia.

The CHAIRMAN: I am loth to close this very interesting discussion, but, looking at the clock, I suppose the time has come for me to propose what you will all heartily respond to—our warm and sincere thanks to Sir Frederick Weld for his exceedingly interesting and informing paper. The beauty of his description, bringing the country so vividly before us, is very striking, and to me, and to many of you, no doubt, the paper is, especially at this moment, most refreshing. One gentleman who spoke rather complained that so little is said about Singapore. That is the greatest possible compliment, I consider, to Singapore. This Colony is getting on so well that there is no occasion even for a Parliamentary question about it. It is one of the few matters about which I do not remember anybody putting a question in Parliament. If you had to go into the market to try and scrape together a loan for a few millions, or were testing the ingenuity and resources of Cabinets and Parliaments to say how your Colony should be governed, then we should hear plenty about you. I think what we have heard tonight shows what Englishmen and English officials can do when they get fair-play, and what they are determined to do, not merely to advance England's power and protect English interests, but to perform English duties and be the instruments, under God, of giving happiness and civilisation to large populations. It is delightful to see the good that has been done here, and the contentment which appears to reign amongst those who have come under our influence. That only makes the duty more necessary to take care that that good is not interrupted. We have had this possibility most vividly brought before us by Captain Colomb. He is an enthusiast in this matter. I do not pretend to be an expert, but I am afraid much of what he said has a vast deal of truth in it. You must recollect that although we take no notice of Singapore, because it is going on so well, we must not suppose that other countries pass the place by with contempt or indifference. They probably know the exact amount of coal that is stored there, and of trade that is done, and other facts about the place, quite as well as we do, if not better. However, I believe the English people only require to have the facts brought clearly before them, to see what it is their interest and duty to do. We are some time before we take in a fact. We are often late, but not absolutely too late, and with our well-known energy we catch up circumstances, and do what is wanted, although sometimes perhaps at a greater cost than if we had done the thing sooner. This is the fifteenth year of this Institute, and this is the last meeting of the present session, and perhaps, therefore, you will allow me to say that

while this Institute has been at work a considerable change, and a beneficent change, has taken place in English sentiment with regard to the whole Colonial question. We see that France now appears to be possessed with a great desire to form Colonies. We have no right to complain against this, provided that great country does not transgress any of the principles of justice and equity. France is looking about everywhere to see where she can get hold of a Colony. The time was, but thankful to say the time no longer is, when many of us in England were looking about to see where we could get rid of a Colony. I believe that time is gone; yes, and gone among all parties. I believe there is now no stronger feeling throughout the country than a desire and determination to keep England united with her Colonies. The contrary feeling was not one at which we can feel any great surprise. It was the natural result of the misgovernment of the Colonies, and of the Colonies being made use of by the Mother-Country solely for her own purposes. Those who were in favour of justice to the Colonies therefore said: "Better than this misgovernment would be the time when the Colonies set up for themselves." That would have been better than the misgovernment of the Colonies, but far better than that will be the realisation of the belief, which is sinking very deep into the minds of the English people, and which has never disappeared among the colonists themselves, that we should look forward to our remaining all the world over one united Empire. I do not think this hope arises from a feeling of mere pride or desire to imitate our cousins in America with regard to the size of our dominions. It arises from a feeling that by keeping up this union we shall be benefiting the colonists themselves, that the world will be benefited, and that the principles of peace and civilisation will be secured. How this is to be done is another question, and one far too serious to be entered into on this occasion. I am myself content for a time to leave the question somewhat undetermined—to leave to the future the precise mode and manner in which shall be defined the relations of the Mother-Country with the Colonies, when they become large and important communities, equal, aye, perhaps in the far distant times even superior, to ourselves—I am content, I say, to leave undetermined for the present the question how we shall remain united on terms of perfect equality. It is not for us to devise the exact mode in which that shall be done, but the time has come when thoughtful men, and patriotic men, here and in the Colonies, instead of looking forward to separation, should express their belief and hope that the union will continue, and that as circumstances show

what should be the terms of such union, those terms should be carried out. I hardly meant to make these remarks. I am well aware that the paper which we have heard does not so entirely relate to the question which I have been bringing before you as the case of such a Colony as Sir Frederick Weld governed before, viz., Tasmania, or any other of our self-governing Colonies; but here, also, I think there is a change in sentiment which is noteworthy and very encouraging. I allude to the feeling towards our Crown Colonies and those enormous districts with large populations which are governed by Englishmen without having, as yet—and perhaps we can hardly say when they will have—full constitutional rights. I am not now alluding to passing discussions with regard to Egypt, or any other country: I am only saying what I believe lies deep in the English mind and in the mind of the future governors of England—that Democracy to which I look forward with hope and not with fear. I say the feeling lies deep that we must maintain the position of England, that we must keep up our power, and that we must not give up our position and influence; while, at the same time, we should not be greedy of conquest, and should avoid as much as possible incurring fresh responsibilities, knowing what those responsibilities really are. But, above all, I believe this to be a very strong feeling, which will show itself more clearly and make itself more felt in Parliament and in Cabinets than hitherto, that when this country has once incurred responsibilities those responsibilities must not be shirked, but fulfilled to the fullest possible extent. It is sometimes stated that this feeling is the desire for conquest, to which the well-known nickname of Jingoism is applied. It is something very different. It is as different as possible from that. It springs not from pride, but from a sense of duty. It is a feeling that if we once put ourselves in a position in which we are responsible for the government of any people, we must take care to fulfil such responsibility, even to our apparent self-sacrifice for a time. There is no surer way of preserving our interests than fulfilling our duty, and at the same time there is no more certain way of destroying our power and influence than by shirking those duties. Excuse my having said these few words. I now propose that we give our most hearty thanks to Sir Frederick Weld for his paper, and I would add my own congratulations that he has been able to do so much good to his fellow-men and fellow-subjects as I believe he has done in this Colony of Singapore.

SIR FREDERICK WELD: I rise to return thanks for the manner in

which the paper has been received. I am one of the earliest members—one of the original members—of the Royal Colonial Institute, and this is the first time I have been able to be present at one of our meetings. It is a real and a great pleasure to me to see what this Institute has grown to. I have seen from a distance the good work the Institute has done. At this time of the evening I will not make any particular allusion to the topics raised by various speakers in the course of the discussion. Mr. Johnson and I have differed upon the annexation question. It is impossible to talk that subject out to-night. As on many other questions, a great deal can be said on both sides. I think I shall be supported by Sir Hugh Low, Mr. Swettenham, and others who have had most to do with the interior working of affairs in the Malay Peninsula. To my mind, to put the matter shortly, annexation means increased red-tapeism and an increase of technicality. Without annexation you rely more upon good officers. That is the real difference between the two modes of dealing. There are other reasons which relate more to the position of the natives themselves. I am satisfied, both as regards the natives and ourselves, that we should not annex, at all events until we are forced to do it. The speeches of Captain Colomb and of the Chairman are both of great importance—speeches which, if any words of mine could add weight to them or accentuate them, I would most gladly endorse. They express opinions deeply rooted in my mind, and which I shall always endeavour to promote as long as I am able. In conclusion, I would say that I thank you most heartily for the reception given to me and my officers, who have contributed in so large a measure to any success that has been achieved.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG: It is generally my pleasing duty at the close of our proceedings to announce a paper for the succeeding meeting, but as this is the last meeting of the session I cannot do so on this occasion. I have, however, the privilege of asking all present to join me in giving a hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman. When, sir, a statesman of great eminence will take the trouble, in the midst of his Parliamentary duties, to come here and give us the benefit of his support and influence as you have been good enough to do this evening, it is, I think, of great advantage to the Institute and to the objects we have in view. Your presence on this occasion, and your identifying yourself so warmly with the cause which the Royal Colonial Institute was founded to promote, is of great importance also to the country at large. I am sure I express the sentiments of everyone present when I say that we all feel very much indebted to

you for presiding to-night, and especially for the weighty words with which you have closed the discussion. I beg to propose to you our best and heartiest thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: I am very much obliged to you for giving me your thanks. I have derived great pleasure both from the paper and from the meeting. I would only add that if there be, as I believe there is, a very great change in British sentiment in favour of keeping up our connection with the Colonies, it would be difficult to say how much of the feeling is due to this Institute.

1. David Brown (d. 1825) was a pioneer spice planter in Penang and, with holdings in excess of 900 acres, the first Penang planter to operate on a large scale. The Brown family occupied an important place in Penang society throughout the nineteenth century, but despite their continued efforts spice planting was never a great success in Penang.

2. Francis Xavier, who found many residents of Malacca impervious to his teachings, reportedly announced that when he departed he would shake the dust of the city from his shoes because Christ had instructed the Apostles to do this upon leaving a place which refused to listen to the teaching of God. According to Georg Schurhammer in his life of Francis Xavier, there is a later legend that Xavier also cursed the city, saying that Malacca would not flourish again until the tide flowed over a certain rock, but Schurhammer suggests that the story of this curse is apocryphal. See Georg Schurhammer S. J., *Francis Xavier: his Life, his Times*, vol. 3: Indonesia and India, 1545-1549, Rome, The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1980, pp. 50-1.

3. During much of the nineteenth century the location of the boundary between Upper Perak and the territory of Reman was a source of contention. British officials, pressing the claims of Perak, argued that 'from ancient times' the boundary had been at Padang Limau Nipis to the north of Betong and Jarum, and that the Raja of Reman had encroached on Perak territory. In 1883 the British administration attempted to settle the question in negotiations with the Siamese government, and Weld wrote in a despatch, 'The result is being watched with great interest by the neighbouring Malay states who look on the matter as a test of our ascendancy or influence'. (Weld to Derby, Straits Settlements Despatch no. 386 of 14 Sept. 1883 in CO273/122/18175.) The issue, still unresolved, lay dormant from 1887 until 1897; then after further discussions the British and Siamese governments agreed in 1899 to a compromise, dividing the disputed area—south of Betong—as part of an agreement on tariffs and taxes. See Alfred P. Rubin, *Piracy, Paramourty and Protectorates*, Kuala Lumpur, Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 1974, pp. 82-92. The boundary agreed upon in 1899 was not gazetted, however, until 31 July 1909, when an official notice appeared in connection with the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 10 March 1909. See CO273/350/31211 Anderson to Crewe Desp. no. 265 of 26 Aug 1909.

4. See Revd Julian E. Tenison-Woods, 'On the Vegetation of Malaysia', in *Malaysian Essays* (1889), pp. 10-106, and 'On the Stream Tin Deposits of Perak', *JSBRAS*, no. 7, June 1884, pp. 221-40.

5. This refers to the debts the State incurred during the course of the wars in the 1860s and early 1870s, the cost of settling them being, on Weld's recommendation, borne by the Straits Settlements administration.

6. Raja Mahdi, a cousin of the Sultan of Selangor, engaged in a long and acrimonious dispute with the Sultan's son-in-law, Tengku Dia'Udin, over control of the Klang region. In July 1871 the British sloop *Rinaldo* bombarded forts on the Selangor River in retaliation for an incident in which British subjects were involved. Weld erred in giving the date as 1873. See C. D. Cowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 92.

7. Sungei Ujong accepted a British Resident in 1874, and Jelebu was subsequently (in 1886) placed under the Resident of Sungei Ujong, largely at Weld's instigation. In 1895 Jelebu and Sungei Ujong were reunited with the other states of old Negeri Sembilan to form the present Negeri Sembilan confederation, the whole being placed under a single British Resident. See E. Thio, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-9, 156.

8. 'Latah' is defined by R. J. Wilkinson as a 'paroxysmal neurosis' characterized by mimetic behaviour (Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*). See H. A. O'Brien, 'Latah', *JSBRAS*, no. 11, June 1883, p. 143-53.

British North Borneo

Sir Walter H. Medhurst12 May 1885

Chairman: The Duke of Manchester

ALTHOUGH only little more than three years have passed since the political and business worlds of London were startled by the announcement that a Royal Charter had been granted to certain gentlemen, constituting them "one body politic and corporate by the name of the British North Borneo Company," and clothing them with powers, privileges, and responsibilities far beyond the common, yet the subject has already so entirely slipped out of public notice that no one, save, perhaps, those immediately interested, seems at this moment to know what has been the result of the unusual measure thus deliberately adopted, or what success has attended the efforts of the enterprising gentlemen who thus took upon themselves the arduous task of building up a new state in the Eastern Seas. It is only due to these bold emulators of the deeds of navigators and "merchant adventurers" of the olden time, to let the world know how far they have deserved the confidence placed in them by our legislators; and the information may serve to keep up interest in a scheme which has for its object the reclamation of a vast and fertile tract of country from a state of primeval savagery, and its utilisation as a source of commercial wealth and progress for the benefit of the world in general.

My hearers must not be disappointed if they find themselves confronted, in the remarks that follow, by dull details and dry statistics in the place of those glowing descriptions, by travellers and others, which have hitherto served, however unintentionally, to throw around our ideal of Borneo a glamour of poetry and romance rather than to reduce it to the common-sense conception of a place to be turned, as far as circumstances will allow, to practical and useful purposes.

The geographical position of the Island of Borneo is, or ought to

be, too well known to need special illustration here. Its shape, as an entirety, resembles that of a Burgundy pear, the stalk end pointing northwards, towards China, and the base lying southwards upon the equatorial islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Supposing the stalk end of this huge pear to be cut off to the extent of about one-eighth of the whole length of the fruit, the morsel so detached would, roughly speaking, represent the portion of territory which has been ceded to the British North Borneo Company. They consequently possess a sea coast in three directions—namely, on the stalk or north end, and on the eastern and western shoulders. Inland their boundary consists of a not as yet clearly defined line, stretching from W.N.W. to E.S.E. On the west coast of Borneo, next below the southernmost limit of the Company's western boundary, lies, first, Brunei, a quasi-independent State, governed by a Sultan; and next beyond that, the Rajahdom of Saráwak. On the eastern side their limit extends southwards to native territory likewise, although claimed as a protectorate—or, it would be more correct to say, dependency—by the Dutch. This entire line of sea-coast thus owned by the Company is said to comprise 600 miles, and it is indented at various points by bays and harbours, some of them scarcely to be equalled elsewhere as safe and commodious refuges for shipping. The total area of the country within the bounds above described is computed roughly at 24,000 square miles, and it is intersected in different directions by more or less notable streams, of which the Kinabatangan, Labuk, and Segama, debouching eastward, and the Papar and Kimanis, debouching westward, are the most important.

The principal stations thus far opened by the Company are Silam and Sandákan on the east coast, Kudat on the northern point, and Gaya, Papar, and Kimanis on the western coast. There are also several sub-stations, which it is only necessary for the purpose of this sketch to allude to thus generally, so as to save any clogging of the memory or tiring of the attention by an array of uncouth names, not apprehensible beyond the limits of local information. The executive required for the management of these stations, and the administration of the territory generally, is headed by a Governor, Mr. W. H. Treacher, who is an officer in the Colonial Service, and a gentleman of matured experience in Eastern regions, and who has lately been selected provisionally to fill the post of Acting-Governor of Labuan, with which is associated the office of Consul-General for Brunei, Borneo, and Saráwak, by appointment from the Foreign Office, an arrangement naturally of great value to the British North Borneo

Company, as an evidence to the native mind of governmental confidence in their enterprise, and as associating their system officially with that of the Imperial administration. Immediately responsible to the Governor are the several departments, consisting of the treasury and customs, the land and public works offices, and the residential, judicial, medical, harbour, police, agricultural, and exploration staffs. In order to convey some idea of the importance and completeness of the organisation thus set up, it will suffice to state that the salaries and expenses incident thereto for the past year (1884), including a police force of about 180 men and maintenance of steam launches and other general expenses, amounted to £30,000.

As regards the administration of justice, Residents' Courts, with Magistracies of the second and third class, and possessing civil and criminal jurisdiction, have been thought sufficient for present requirements, and have been established in each district and sub-district upon a system chiefly adapted from the Indian Codes, and in some instances from Colonial ordinances. Right of appeal exists from the lower to the higher courts, and from the Resident's or Session Court to the Governor, whose Court corresponds generally with the Indian High Court; and to it capital sentences are referred for confirmation. Matters affecting Mohamedan law and custom are dealt with by the aid of a salaried Imaum or Mohamedan priest, who acts as assessor whenever needed. This administration, it is assumed, applies to white men and natives alike, although some of the former are supposed to retain extra-territorial privileges, secured to their respective countries under treaties entered into with the Sultans, previously to the concession to the Company.

The first station mentioned in the above list, Silam, was opened mainly as a depôt for experimental gardening, under the superintendence of an experienced employé of the Company. About thirty acres were cleared, roaded, and drained, and then planted with Liberian coffee, tea, cocoa, and various other products, such as cinnamon, Indian and Java coffee, nutmegs, cloves, citronella grass, sugar, pepper, vanilla, and cotton. The Liberian coffee appears to have done exceptionally well, and blossomed within the year after being planted out. The tea failed, as was anticipated, through having been planted so few feet above sea-level, and at a wrong time of year; but fresh plants, afterwards put in, did better, and it is probable that tea may hereafter turn out a product well worth attention in certain parts of the country. Cinchona was tried, but proved a complete failure, also owing, it was thought, to the garden being situated at so

low a level. Cocoa flourished both under shade and in the open, as did also *Coffea Arabica*. The latter does not seem to require in North Borneo the high elevation which it claims elsewhere; but this feature has yet to be established by further experiments. The sugar-cane had already been extensively introduced by the natives, and was found to grow so readily and to such perfection, that great hopes were at one time entertained of its becoming the staple product of the Colony in the future, and large acreages were taken up chiefly with this view by an Australian syndicate, and a company formed in China, as well as by individuals. Very soon, however, experienced planters from Deli, on the Sumatran coast, came over to prospect, and their strongly pronounced opinions in favour of the peculiar adaptability of the climate and soil of North Borneo for the cultivation of tobacco, together with the sudden depreciation of cane-grown sugar in Western markets, at once drew attention to the importance of the former as a far more reliable and profitable crop. Late experiences have since proved that a quality of leaf for wrapping purposes can be grown in North Borneo fully equal in weight and texture to that which has proved so remunerative to Sumatran planters, notwithstanding the numerous imposts and disabilities under which they operate upon Dutch territory. Specimens have already been sent to Holland and England in limited quantities, and submitted to the inspection of experts, who report them worth, if more effectively cured, from 3s.6d. to 4s. per pound on the home market. The largest return so far (January, 1885) has amounted to about four tons, and it formed the main part of a crop gathered on the banks of the Suan Lambar river, not far from the settlement of Sandákan. Planting takes place in April or May, and the gathering of the leaf may be looked for in about seventy days afterwards, so that at most but three months need elapse between the sowing and the harvesting of the tobacco. Pepper formed fully a century ago a staple product of Borneo, and a considerable junk trade was carried on between Brunei and China in that article. The vines are now reported to be laden with fruit in the Company's experimental garden, and there is every promise that pepper will again take an important place in the exports of the northern part of Borneo. The soil of North Borneo, whilst so well adapted for tobacco and pepper cultivation in particular, is pronounced, by those who have given the question careful attention, as being most favourable for cultivation in general. A Dutch gentleman, charged with an experiment on the Dumongong river, reports to the Governor, Mr. Treacher, as

follows: "The soil is very fertile; seeds germinate altogether. Tobacco grows quickly; promises strong trees ready for cuttings in two months after planting out; and gives expectation of lots of second growth besides." This verdict is confirmed by Mr. Reece, one of the gentlemen who made an exploratory visit to North Borneo in connection with the Australian syndicate above referred to. According to the *Australasian* of December 29, 1883, this gentleman is reported to have stated:—

"I have never seen products grow so fast anywhere. I saw coffee plants in full bearing in fourteen months, although in other places two years generally elapse before the berries can be used. Sugar-cane can be got ready for the mill within ten months. The climate is a grand one, the temperature being pretty even all the year round. The average annual rainfall is about 120 inches. The timber is some of the finest I have seen. I measured some of the trees, which were from 8 ft. to 10 ft. in diameter, and 120 ft. in height before a branch appeared."

Sandákan, the next station on the list, is reported by Governor Treacher to be the principal centre of trade. Its enterprising Resident, Mr. W. B. Pryer,¹ a man to whom, it should be observed, the bantling, North Borneo, owes much energetic and careful nursing since its birth, has christened his station "Elopura," meaning, it is said, "Beautiful City." It seldom succeeds, however, to foist new and æsthetic names upon outlandish places; for the aborigines stick with persistent obstinacy to the appellation they know best, and the common sense of such foreigners as seek intercourse with them supports the fancy. Sandákan will therefore in all probability remain "Sandákan" to the end of the chapter, as Hong Kong has continued to be "Hong Kong" from its annexation up to this day, in spite of its other royal and more euphonious designation.* The position of Sandákan is a grand one. Locally, it nestles just inside the entrance of a most picturesque as well as commodious bay, into which some seventeen rivers are said to discharge themselves; and geographically, it lies in a position, relatively to the route of steamers running between Australia and China, which must give a commanding commercial influence, whenever North Borneo becomes sufficiently developed to take a place amongst the producing districts of the world. The site of the settlement comprises a frontage of about 5,000 feet, with water deep enough to admit of large class vessels being laid

*i.e. Victoria.

alongside its future wharves, which are at this moment represented by one well-built wooden pier, 450 ft. in length, and enabling vessels drawing 20 ft. of water to go alongside.

The population consists of between three and four thousand natives and Chinese, who inhabit frail and much too inflammable huts, constructed of palm leaves and planking, which lie scattered on the water-side, most of them raised on piles, between high and low water marks. Their appearance *en masse* is somewhat mean, and belies their powers of accommodation, so that until one actually penetrates the water-side quarter, the size or importance of the place is scarcely to be appreciated. The Government are, however, taking measures for the encouragement of buildings of a more substantial character, and upon plans laid out with a view to sanitary and municipal requirements. Township lots were the subject of smart competition at the early land sales, and the most eligible realised as much as \$112 to \$115 the plot of 33 ft. by 66 ft. But these sales, although lately resumed, had to be stopped for a while, until a proper contour survey could be made, so as to obviate the confusion incident to the demise of lands without a previous definition of the portions necessary for public and municipal purposes. At the back of the settlement there is an unlimited amount of land available for suburban and country dwellings, and for plantation farms, and doubtless branch settlements will in time be formed at various points on the shores of the bay. Drinking water is happily plentiful, and most excellent in quality. As an indication of the appearance of Sandakan, to the eyes of a stranger, it may be stated that an Australian gentleman, who came there in connection with the Australian syndicate before referred to, expressed his unbounded surprise at finding not a mere rough commencement, such as he had frequently seen in Australia, but a flourishing settlement, which in public institutions and commercial enterprise was on a level with Cooktown, Queensland, although founded more than ten years before. It is only fair to observe that there is a reverse side of the picture, portrayed by a correspondent of the *China Mail*, Hong Kong, and which makes Sandakan out to rival Dickens's "Eden" in the weary stagnation and hopelessness of its condition. But the description is an exaggerated one, and bears evident signs of a deliberate intention to detract, when there are really no grounds for making the attempt. The trade statistics of Sandakan are worth noting. The comparative figures for the past three years are as follows:—

<i>Imports</i>		<i>Exports</i>	
1881	\$160,658	1881	\$145,443
1882	269,597	1882	133,665
1883	428,919	1883	159,127

This trade seems to be almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese, who traffic directly with the natives. The most successful are stated to be those who come from the Straits Settlements, and who consequently have gained not only familiarity with the Malay language, but experience in dealing with jungle produce. The goods imported consist of (taking them in the order of their comparative importance) treasure, provisions, rice and flour, cloth, spirits, opium, hardware, brassware, tobacco, sugar, oil, cattle, crockery, and sundries. The exports comprise birdsnests, rattans, gutta, damar, trepang, pearlshells, sharks' fins, camphor, and sundries. A decrease in the exports for the half-year ending June, 1883, is ascribed by Governor Treacher to the falling off in gutta-percha, attributable partly to the exhaustion of the trees by the destructive mode of collection practised by the natives, and partly to a diminution in the number of collectors, who, being mostly immigrants from Saráwak and the Sulu Islands, were for some time prevented from plying their trade. The exhaustion of the trees seems to be by no means a necessity of the case, for, as Governor Treacher points out, the value of jungle exports from the neighbouring territory of Saráwak is well maintained, although collectors there have been at work for thirty or forty years, and the population of Saráwak is dense, as compared with that of North Borneo; whilst its river communication is even more free. It has been proposed in some quarters to introduce a system of tapping the trees, instead of ringing them; but it has been found impossible to enforce any such rule, and Sir Hugh Low, of Perák celebrity, who is a reliable authority, states that tapping, although universal in the case of South American trees, would not pay where Bornean trees are concerned. Since this sketch was drawn up I have had an opportunity of seeing the returns of imports and exports for 1884. These indicate a slight decrease in the former (\$377,885), which is attributed to over-trading during the previous year. But the exports show a notable increase (\$184,173), and it is a significant fact that amongst the articles now exported there appear

several entirely new items, such as bricks, indiarubber, seed pearls, sago, timber, and tobacco.

As regards the population of Sandákan, Governor Treacher, relying, it appears, upon the common-sense principle that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, furnishes some statistics which go to show that it must have increased rapidly during the first half-year of 1883, as compared with the corresponding six months of the previous year. The value of imported food and luxuries during the two periods under review he estimates to have been as follows:—

	1882	1883
Rice and flour	\$24,554	\$30,568
Sugar	1,994	3,680
Salt	174	757
Spirits	2,916	8,405
Tobacco	4,232	5,512
Opium	2,983	6,248

or, say, a total increase of 18,000 dollars-worth of food and luxuries in favour of the latter period of six months.

Sandákan is of course from its position the principal shipping port and terminus of the few steam lines that carry on the trade. These consist of five, namely, one between Hong Kong and Sandákan, calling at Kudat; three independent and competing steamers between Singapore and Sandákan, calling at Kudat, Gaya, and Labuan; and a coasting line. All, save the three independent steamers, have been, and are, subsidised by the Government, the one between Hong Kong and Sandákan almost entirely so, and it is feared that unless Chinese immigration (of which more presently) can be maintained at a considerable figure, and private freights can be secured to a more remunerative extent, an independent Hong Kong line may have to be given up altogether, although up to the latest dates it was still being kept up. Strenuous efforts have been made to induce the companies now running lines between Hong Kong and Australia to order their steam vessels to call in, either on their way north or south, or both. But the lack of freights, and difficulties as regards the extra sea-risk, where there are no returns to render it worth acceptance, have combined so far to render the project difficult of accomplishment, save under the condition of a heavy subsidy. Two large steamers, however, have by last accounts called in, namely, the

Timor and *Wusung*, and have carried samples of timber and other products to the Melbourne market, leading to the formation of two companies for the development of the trade.

Sandákan, besides its felicitous position as an outlet for Bornean products, is most favourably situated as regards the Sulu and Philippine Island groups, which are much more thickly populated than Borneo, and whence a growing barter trade has already commenced to be attracted. The quiet and substantial protection to be secured within the Company's territory, present, moreover, a great temptation to well-to-do traders in the neighbouring islands to seek a refuge from the exactions and insecurity to which they are liable whilst under native domination.

Kudat, another important station, is situated upon the shore of a small but deep and safe harbour, forming one of the indentations on the west side of Marudu Bay, the great arm of the sea, which penetrates the north point of Borneo. Until lately it has been the seat of Government and the headquarters of the Company, now removed to Sandákan, a distinction which it owed to its central position, relatively to the other parts of the coast. This circumstance, in fact, has constituted its whole importance as a station, for the trade is as yet too insignificant to claim special comparative returns, the value of the exports (of imports there seem to be none) for the half-year ended 30th of June 1883, being estimated at but \$26,000.

The soil in the neighbourhood has been favourably reported upon by European and Chinese planters, and the country around abounds in several sorts of good and large timber, which only need to be known to take a prominent place in Chinese and other markets. Its near vicinity, moreover, to the tracts of fertile country watered by the Bengkoko and Bongan rivers, to Banguey Island, opposite to the mouth of Marudu Bay, and to the Palawan and other islands, ought to secure for it at no distant date a leading position as a shipping port and general depôt for plantation business. It is within this Residency, on the banks of the Bengkoko River, that two Chinese have taken up 1,000 acres for planting purposes, the largest venture yet made by that people. A German company has taken up 10,000 acres on Banguey Island for tobacco cultivation, and they are so satisfied with the excellence of the soil and prospects, that they have claimed the option of selecting 10,000 more acres, and have offered to buy out other holders at largely advanced prices. A favourable feature in regard to this Company is that it has been promoted by Germans who have had previous experience of tobacco-planting in Sumatra,

and there is every reason to believe that should the venture be attended with success, a larger amount of capital will be embarked in the enterprise.² The population of Kudat is but limited as yet, the whole being estimated at 1,250, of whom more than one half are Chinese.

Gaya, the next station on the list, although only opened in September, 1882, has already shown indications of material progress and success.

It is situated on an island of that name lying off the west coast, and it possesses an unrivalled harbour and commodious wharf, but the room eligible for town purposes seems to be limited, the lay of the land being at such a steep gradient. Chinese from Singapore have taken a fancy to the place, and have established there large sago factories, paying as much as \$1,150 per acre for building lots. This should have the effect, it is anticipated, of drawing trade and population from the mainland around the bay. The population has already reached 1,000, of whom 360 are Chinese, and the importance of the place is daily increasing.

Papar and Kimanis are stations further down the west coast beyond Gaya, where the population is more numerous than in any other part of the territory, owing to the soil being good, and the country better adapted for the cultivation of products, such as the natives are partial to, namely, rice, sugar, sago, pepper, and other low country produce. But no special effort has yet been made by the Company to develop this neighbourhood, from the fact that the rivers, from which the two stations take their names, are blocked by bars, and consequently unapproachable for weeks during the north-east monsoon, even for rowing boats. It is on this face of the coast, however, that considerable Chinese colonies used to be located in ancient times, and the partially recovered lands which they left in every direction, and which can now be easily re-cleared, are likely to prove attractive to settlers of the same race again for planting rice, pepper, and gambier. The Company have lately acquired a further valuable cession of territory from the Sultan of Brunei, extending their boundary from Kimanis, on the west coast, to Sipitong, a small stream rising in Mount Mirapoke, and which empties itself into Brunei Bay. This acquisition adds about sixty miles of coast-line and 4,000 square miles to the Company's territory, and include the Kalias and Padas rivers, the latter of which is a fine stream, navigable for over 100 miles. Minerals are reported to abound in this district, and a considerable quantity of sago is exported from the rivers. It is

more thickly populated than most parts of Borneo, but the people are peaceably disposed, and are stated to have welcomed the Company's government as a protection against Brunei oppression. The inhabitants of the Limbang district, a little further to the southward, are said to be clamouring to be placed under the Company's rule.

The above-described stations constitute the main points at which the Company have established themselves, and they form the outposts, as it were, from which the influences of civilisation and development are being brought to bear upon the extensive and yet partially-explored interior. Journeys have been made from time to time in various directions by the Company's agents with a view to ascertaining the commercial, agricultural, mineralogical, and other resources of the country inland. But the sparseness of the population, the difficulty of procuring supplies, the absence of any means of communications beyond occasional and devious mountain paths, or streams beset with snags and rapids, and the risk to Europeans from exposure to sun and rain in tropical forests, have combined to render such attempts at all times laborious, and to a certain extent hazardous. The Company can only, and in fact do, trust to private enterprise to second the strenuous efforts which they are making towards preparing the country for colonisation. They also rely upon Chinese immigration as a powerful factor in producing the results they look for. Although private enterprise does not appear to have effected much as yet, judging from the Governor's report under the head of land sales, still it is gratifying to observe that over 260,000 acres had been taken up to the end of 1883, in the East Coast Residency, and 1,000 acres in the West Coast Residency. Of the first-named quantity, 100,000 acres were applied for by the Australian Borneo Company, and there is every reason to believe that other companies will follow suit in the same direction, as soon as the promising results of the efforts of that association become generally known.

Chinese immigration does not appear to have altogether fulfilled expectations, or taken the precise course anticipated for it by the Company. When they deputed the lecturer to proceed to Borneo and China in January, 1882, for the purpose of organising a suitable system of Chinese immigration, the measures taken to acquaint the inhabitants of the southern provinces of China with the projects of the Company bore immediate fruits. The steamer, which was put on between Hong Kong and Sandakan, once in three weeks originally, but afterwards at longer intervals, was crowded for several trips,

and entire families, comprising in some cases, grandparents and children of both sexes, were to be found amongst the emigrants. Some persons of the petty trader and shopkeeper class ventured upon their own resources, but the mass consisted of labourers and farmers, who went under advance from the Company, supplemented in some cases by grants of land, out of the produce of which they were to repay their loans in the course of time. In every case the terms granted were of the most liberal character, and the prospects held out very encouraging to an active, hungry people like the Chinese. The rush, however, as is so often the case, proved to be too overwhelming. The labour market in so small a sphere became overstocked, simultaneously with the suspension of private building operations, and reduction in Government works, and the very natural consequence was a reaction. The traders and petty shopkeepers, moreover, found themselves at an immense disadvantage as compared to those Chinese from the Straits Settlements, who had preoccupied the field, and who, being already familiar with the language, and versed in the business of the natives, could easily outstrip and undersell their later arrived countrymen. As for the agricultural immigrants, the very sight of the tangled and impracticable jungle, which spread before them in ceaseless continuity on all sides, filled them with such dismay, that most of them utterly declined to squat on the land provided for them, choosing rather to take to the roads and wharves as day coolies, than face a fearsome forest, haunted as they took for granted, by ghouls, devils, and tigers. Like the Israelites of old, they one and all pined for the leeks and onions of Egypt, and a return current commenced, which by the end of 1883 had carried hundreds back to their native shores. Meanwhile, nevertheless, a flow of Chinese from the Straits had been quietly but steadily pouring in, unassisted by Government protection or subsidy. Two leading Chinese firms of Singapore had put on steamers of their own, and created a monopoly for themselves as against their northern countrymen, of the import and export trade of the territory, and these steamers have continued to compete successfully with the Government subsidised lines. As already noted, with reference to Gaya, the Singapore Chinese have shown every inclination to start sago, gambier, and pepper plantations, as well as sago factories. To a Chinaman competition is meat and drink, no matter who the antagonist happens to be, whether countryman or foreigner.

Governor Treacher states that these Straits Chinese, who hail

mostly in the first instance from the province of Fokien, have the trade of the territory mainly in their hands. "As one of their number remarked to me," he goes on to say, "Singapore has proved a school to them, in which they learn the language of the country, the customs and peculiarities of the Malays, and the nature of the products, and, above all, become acclimatised to a Malayan climate. This education is lacking in the case of Canton and Swatow Chinese, who come by the way of Hong Kong, and they are, consequently, unable to compete with their brethren from the Straits. The same intelligent Chinaman is of opinion that our immigration office is in the wrong place, and that it should be transferred to Singapore. He thinks that an offer of free passages to Borneo, say for twelve months, would have the effect of bringing into the country hundreds of Chinese of all classes, the poorer ones, of whom, already accustomed to jungle life in the Straits, would find the means of living in various ways, as collectors of jungle-produce, charcoal-burners, gambier and pepper planters, gardeners, plank sawyers, &c. From Hong Kong we certainly are not at present receiving this class of men, who would prove such a valuable and revenue-paying addition to the population."

Mr. Treacher is quite right in his suggestion, and a still stronger incentive to respectable Chinese settlers would be an offer of plots of land free for a certain term of years, in self-selected localities, subject to subsequent assessment of value whenever the productiveness of the soil had been sufficiently established. Funds might even be placed at disposal in individual cases under certain circumstances, and for reliable security, but simply to enable the borrowers the more easily to venture for themselves; not to settle them at Government risk, or on Government account. Apropos of this idea, it is encouraging to observe it reported in the *North Borneo Herald* of the 31st December, 1883, that the Government are offering liberal terms to gambier and pepper planters from the Straits Settlements, where suitable land is becoming difficult to acquire. The terms are described to be as follows: 99 years' tenure, without premium; for the first three years no rent, after three years a rent of 10 cents an acre, or in lieu thereof an export royalty of 10 cents per *pecul* on gambier, and 20 cents per *pecul* on pepper. Acreage to be calculated on the basis of two-thirds uncleared land in addition to the amount cleared at the end of the first three years, e.g., if after three years, say, 33 acres have been cleared, then, if required, a lease for 100 acres would be granted.

The check above described in emigration of Chinese from China

proper, need not necessarily be regarded as permanent. As Governor Treacher observes: "The true cause of the diminution in the stream of Hong Kong immigrants is to be found in the absence, at present, of employers of labour. To seek for other causes is futile. So soon as the demand for labour arises, so soon will a strong stream of immigrants again set in."

And in this connection it is worth whole quoting the opinion of Mr. Helms,³ for a long series of years a resident in the very regions under consideration. Speaking of Saráwak, he says: "When the natives had fairly realised the advantages of trade, a great change for the better took place in their habits, stimulated by the Chinese, who promptly followed up every success of the Government in subduing hostile tribes by settling amongst them, and turning the minds of the natives to labour and gain. The astuteness and capacity of the Chinese for adapting themselves to any circumstances was shown here, as elsewhere, to a very remarkable extent. Small as was their number, they were yet found in every available settlement, often without knowing the language, and at the risk of their lives, which, however, to the Chinaman was a secondary consideration, gain being his first, in the competition for which the simple Dyak was entirely unfit to cope with him. But whatever the faults of the Chinese, they are unrivalled as pioneers in tropical countries, and are in trade valuable as mediums between the white man and the savage."*

Furthermore, Mr. Helms says:† "The increasing power of the Mongolian race over the other parts of the globe than those now occupied by them is not perhaps a pleasant prospect. But a survey of the condition of the Far East will, I think, lead to the conviction that the march of events is fast bringing these vast and now neglected possessions within the reach of reclamation and development, and that the Mongolian race will take a leading part in this movement there can be little doubt. The Chinaman surpasses every other race in the qualities required for contending with nature in savage and undeveloped countries, and so we see him gradually supplant them in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, from their own borders to the southernmost point of Malacca, in the hundreds of Islands in the Eastern Archipelago, in Australia and the Pacific, in California and Peru. At present he is the labourer only. But we have seen that in Borneo and elsewhere there have in the past been Chinese domina-

*"Pioneering in the Far East," p. 247.

†Ibid., p. 254.

tions. The Chinese will follow the Japanese, slowly but surely, in profiting by the teaching of European civilisation whether for peace or war."

The introduction of Chinese labour into Borneo is by no means universally advocated by those who interest themselves in the new territory. There are many who prefer the Indian coolie, and consider the latter better suited to the peculiar wants of the locality, at any rate during the earlier stages of settling and planting. They regard the Indian, moreover, as a creature far more amenable to discipline and management than the more sturdy and independent Chinese. The question is of too complex a nature to bear being dealt with fully here, but the Company are very wisely placing every facility in the way of encouraging the introduction of labourers from India and Ceylon, and a labour protection ordinance has lately been passed upon the lines of an enactment already in force in the Straits Settlements, which should relieve the Indian Government from any anxiety as regards the management and treatment of all coolies who may venture to seek employment in British North Borneo.

As regards the revenue and expenditure, which under normal circumstances must always be regarded as a test of the progress or otherwise of a territory, the relations of the one to the other have not yet attained to that condition of adjustment which is calculated to afford entirely satisfactory results. The land sales for the six months ended June 30, 1883, are returned by Mr. Treacher at \$11,163 for town lots and \$68,125 for agricultural lands; but a considerable proportion of the latter must be considered in suspense, as applications appear to be included, and the purchase money in some cases is still outstanding. As extraneous and wholly adventitious circumstances, such for instance as the riots of Canton, since followed by the Franco-Chinese war, and a general monetary uneasiness throughout the whole coast of China, are reported to have checked speculation in land, it is reasonable to infer that an increase in the demand may arise hereafter, when matters become more settled, more especially in the event of the results of cultivation by European investors proving favourable. Amongst the sources of revenue, opium is at present the most productive; and next to it, in any notable measure, come royalties on export, sale of birdsnests, profit on coinage, &c., and lastly, fines and fees. As regards opium, it must be understood that the drug is merely imported, not grown in the country, as some would-be philanthropists mistakenly assume. The right to import and prepare the drug for consumption, and to retail it when so

prepared, is farmed out to respectable Chinese for a monthly consideration, and this brings in an annually growing revenue as the population increases. This right for 1884 is reputed to have been sold for \$30,000, an enormous advance upon the figure which it reached in 1883. The great find for birdsnests is at some mammoth caves called Gormanton, situated in the vicinity of the Kinabatangan River, and these same caves having been a resort for vast flights of bats for untold generations in times past, there is to be found in their recesses a deposit of guano, the extent or depth of which has not yet been fathomed, but the latter must be exceptional, as a twenty foot pole has failed to reach the bottom in those parts tested. The value of this guano is estimated from small samples at from £5 to £10 per ton, and the value of the nests, taken out of the entire series of the caverns, is reckoned at fully \$25,000 annually.

Most interesting accounts of these remarkable caves, their valuable contents, the eccentric habits of their winged occupants, and the marvellous manner in which the natives collect the nests at the risk of their lives, are to be found in the *Field*, of May 3 and December 20, 1884, whence the following remarks have been epitomised.

The explorer, Mr. H. Pryer, brother to the Resident at Sandákan, came suddenly in the thick forest upon a sheer cliff of limestone 900 feet in height, and in which the caves are situated. The entrance to the great cavern is rather over 100 feet wide by 250 feet high, and the roof slopes upward 110 feet more, forming a magnificent natural cathedral some 360 feet in height. The interior is well lighted by two large apertures on the right and left, and the walls are rugged, and beautifully tinted with various shades of colours. Circling high above the heads of the explorers were myriads of bats and swifts, the nests of the latter being attached to the sides and roof in incredible quantities, and in seemingly inaccessible spots, but the nest-gatherers had nevertheless planted everywhere the light stages and ladders of cane and bamboo with which they pursue their hazardous occupation. The nests appear to be made by the birds from a soft fungoid growth that encrusts the limestone in all damp situations. It grows about an inch thick, dark brown on the outside and white on the inside, and it is from the latter portion that the best quality nests are formed. The bird takes the material in its beak, and draws it in a filament backwards and forwards, like a caterpillar weaving its cocoon. The most wonderful sight is to watch the bats leave the caves and the swifts return to roost. About 5 p.m. a rushing sound is heard, when innumerable columns of bats may be seen wheeling

round in regular order, and circling into the air in a corkscrew flight, until they reach the mouth of the cave, and fly off to their several destinations. Shortly after the birds begin to arrive in the same untold quantities, and with similar regularity of motion. At daylight the process is reversed, the swifts going out, and the bats coming home, the latter occupying fully two hours, literally "raining" into the chasm. The birds keep up an intermittent twittering, which, owing to the vast number assembled, sounds like surf breaking upon a rocky shore. The explorers were witness to the process of nest-gathering. The ladders are hung across the most horrible gulfs, and two men take their station upon each, one carrying a light pronged spear about 15 feet in length, with a lighted candle fastened just below the prongs. With this the nests are transfixed, and a slight push easily detaches them from the rock, when the second man receives the nests from the prongs and puts them into his pouch. The supply of guano deposited by the bats and the birds is enormous beyond calculation, and the out-turn of nests is, with care and attention to the habits of the birds, capable of large development. Still richer caves have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Darvel Bay, near Silam Station.

Royalties are at present confined to jungle produce, such as rattans, gutta, damar, and such like. Minerals, precious stones, and coals are still to be regarded, so to speak, as yet *in posse*. Gold, however, has lately been discovered in the alluvial soil of the Segama River, samples of which have proved on analysis to be worth 72s. per ounce. As gold is also reported to exist in the Kinabatangan River, it may be found in alluvial deposit extending over a wide area and should the metal prove to prevail in sufficient quantity to afford profitable employment to Chinese and others, a considerable impetus will no doubt be given to the development of the country. Indications of coal have also been met with in several localities; but the finds have not been of a nature to induce the Government to go to the expense of working, and possibly they are awaiting the result of an experiment which is being made by a private firm at a place called Moara, in the neighbouring sultanate of Brunei, before they commit themselves to any decided venture. The existence of a pearl oyster of the same variety as that fished up with such good results in the Sulu Sea, close to Sandakan, and off Thursday Island, on the Australian coast, has been conclusively proved; but, for some unexplained reason, the opportunity has not yet been taken advantage of.

The Company appears to have achieved wonderful success in

subjugating the country to their dominion, considering the wild, and, in some cases, bloodthirsty, character of the tribes with whom they have come into contact; and, to their credit be it said, this conquest has been effected, less by the display of force or the use of arms, than by the persistent exercise of a humane and conciliatory policy in all dealings with the natives. Instances occur here and there of petty datus, or chiefs, who fret under the newly-imposed yoke, and decline to admit that their allegiance to the demising sultans implies of necessity submission to the Company to whom the territory has been demised. But quite as many cases may be quoted, on the other hand, of outlying chiefs who have volunteered to place themselves under a domination, which to them and their people implies in their conviction the assertion of permanent law and order. Collisions, followed by fatal consequences, have unhappily taken place on two occasions; the result, however, in both cases, was the ready payment by the tribe concerned of the fine imposed by the Governor, and the registry of fresh oaths of allegiance sworn to upon the Koran. There can be no doubt that the natives of all tribes have now begun to appreciate fully the advantages attending a life of peace and security at home, combined with a lucrative trade abroad, as compared with the fitful and hazardous existence they once led as pirates and headhunters, with the war-cry of tribal dispute perpetually ringing in their ears. As another and satisfactory evidence of the hold upon the confidence of their own people, as well as the neighbouring tribes, which the Company have succeeded in securing, it may be instanced that they have introduced a one cent. copper coinage, which has become a monetary medium both in North Borneo and beyond its limits. They have, moreover, established a paper currency of \$1, \$5, and \$25 notes, which pass current even as far as Sarawak, Singapore, and Hong Kong; and they have set up their own postage-stamps, and opened a money-order communication with Great Britain and foreign countries.

The climate is favourably reported on by medical men who have had opportunities for forming a deliberate judgment on the subject. It is, of course, tropical, and precautions have to be taken against undue exposure. But the temperature is never found to be disagreeably hot, the thermometer generally averaging 70° to 72° in the mornings and evenings, and 82° to 85° soon after noon, which is usually the most sultry period of the day. It occasionally is known to rise to 93° or 94°, but even then the heat is not felt to be oppressive. During the nights a covering of flannel or some woollen material is

generally found acceptable. The north-east monsoon is the rainy period of the year, but a day hardly ever passes during the drier months without a refreshing shower. The uniformly warm temperature and the abundance of moisture combined, have the effect of covering the country with a perpetual verdure, which must be seen to be fully appreciated. The plentiful supply of large timber has already been alluded to, and ornamental woods of various sorts are daily being discovered, which are likely to prove serviceable for making furniture and other household purposes. Palm trees of many varieties, of which the nipa and sago are the most valuable, grow luxuriantly everywhere, and camphor, gutta-percha, a resin called "damar," vegetable tallow, and oils of various sorts are to be had merely for the trouble of collecting.

The flowers of North Borneo are pronounced by competent authorities to be as numerous, delicate, and beautiful, as the forests are grand and imposing. Time would fail to enumerate the many valuable and rare specimens which have been discovered and described by naturalists. But the most prominent in profusion and beauty are, perhaps, the orchidaceal and the various varieties of nepenthes and rhododendrons. Ferns and mosses of rare kinds and lovely texture likewise clothe the trunks of forest trees, and luxuriate in damp, shady spots.

The animal kingdom is not extensively represented in North Borneo. A sort of panther and a diminutive bear may be said to constitute its only beasts of prey. The elephant is plentiful in certain parts, likewise the rhinoceros, and wild cattle abound in remoter forests. Deer of several varieties are also to be met with. Wild pigs and monkeys swarm, and the famous "orang outang" makes Borneo his sole home. Crocodiles are plentiful in all rivers and bays, and are both bold and voracious, so much so that they will even attack canoes, if perchance they find anyone asleep on board. Reptiles and insects, some of the latter of beautiful forms, abound all over the country.

Much more of interest might be added, but limit of time demands brevity. Enough has been advanced to establish the fact that North Borneo possesses many valuable resources, which only need capital, enterprise, and judicious working to be developed successfully.

From a political point of view, the importance of there being a young and independent Colony like North Borneo under the British flag, located midway between China and Australia, cannot be too highly estimated. France is daily seeking to extend her influence in

the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and before very long, unless Great Britain should wake up to the emergency, the French flag will be found flying along the entire coast from Bangkok to the western frontier of China, and possibly including even Burmah within the shadow of its folds. Germany, too, has of late determined that she will not be left behind in the race for dominion, and has accordingly annexed entire islands, studded with good harbours, and possessing many useful resources.

Under these circumstances Great Britain may be considered fortunate in having thus placed at her disposal a territory conveniently located in the very centre of the China Sea, and furnished with several most commodious harbours, whence she can watch at her leisure over her commercial interests in those far-off regions.

DISCUSSION

Mr. ALFRED DENT: Anticipating I might be called upon to make some remarks upon the interesting paper, I made a few notes of the later statistics and advices given in the annual reports and accounts for 1884, which were received a few days ago, but I notice Sir Walter has been able to allude to them, though his paper deals chiefly with figures and events of preceding years. I would first say that the progress in North Borneo has not been so rapid as was anticipated when we obtained the charter at the end of 1881, but still we can certainly point to steady progress since the Company took possession in July, 1882. I find that the fiscal revenue for 1884 as compared with 1883 shows an increase of 60 per cent., land sales a decrease of 39 per cent., leaving a total increase of 28 per cent., which, considering the state of trade and universal depression, must, I think, be thought not wholly unsatisfactory. Sir Walter has alluded to several new imports and exports. We hope in 1885 to show an export of gold. Last autumn we sent one of our best officers to explore for gold in the Segama and Kinabatangan rivers, and his report showed gold to exist in alluvial deposit in the 30 or 40 places experimented upon. He could not continue his explorations, owing to the wet season having just set in, but has recently gone back, and we hope soon to hear it confirmed that there are workable deposits of gold in the country. That the Governor and officials of North Borneo believe in it is evidenced by their having taken the trouble to publish regulations and proclaim certain districts as gold fields. Tobacco we look forward to as likely to prove an important enterprise in the country.

This, as the paper says, is advancing but slowly, for, owing to many difficulties which occur in a new country, the 1884 crop did not come up to expectations. Considerable preparations have, however, been made for planting during the coming season. In February last one company had 330 coolies working on their plantation, and another company 100 coolies. From all accounts, this tobacco is likely to prove equal to the finest Sumatra. It is used for covering purposes. In sugar little has been done as yet, but large tracts of country have been taken by Australians, Chinese, and others. There seems to be a fair prospect that the depression in this trade will soon pass away, for prices have recently advanced 30 per cent. There is some reason to believe that the German Government are getting tired of the system of bounties, for I believe it is a fact that the sugar manufacturers and growers of beetroot in Germany owe the Government something like ten millions sterling, and the authorities are beginning to wonder whether they will ever see their money again. As regards timber, our export for 1884 amounted to \$10,000. Part went to Australia and part to China. There is a great variety of timber in Borneo, some of the hardest woods in the world being found there. The Billian, or iron wood, is plentiful, and valuable for railway sleepers, wharves, &c.; and some other woods are suited for furniture, shipbuilding, and other purposes. One of the Chinese merchants has 200 men cutting timber for the China market, and the Australians are cutting timber freely for the Melbourne market. The report upon the experimental garden at Silam states that Liberian coffee, now rising to its third year, is very fine, and yielding freely. The younger plantations at Sandakan promise well. The growth of pepper is all that could be desired. Cocoa, Manila hemp, and gambia are, amongst other articles, easily produced in the territory. One of the main questions remaining for consideration is that of labour. Everywhere the question seems to be how, and where, to get labour. Many restrictions are, we know, put upon the importing of Chinese into America and Australia, but those who have lived as long as I have amongst the Chinese will testify to their value if they are treated properly. One advantage with this labour is that you can make contracts, and payment by results, by which means you can get the maximum amount of labour at the minimum of expense. Borneo is but a few days' steam from China and Singapore, where, for a moderate wage, an unlimited amount of this labour can be obtained. Anyone who has studied the map will, I think, recognise that, commercially and strategically, North Borneo occupies a position of

great importance. Lying on the high road between China and Australia, we must in time get a large population there. The climate I can speak well of. I have lived there many months at different times of the year. The Government of the country is based, as Sir Walter has told us, on the Indian penal code, and the administration seems to meet the wishes of the natives and the Chinese, and the other settlers. A force of 180 police has hitherto been sufficient to keep order with comparative ease. As to the charter, some friends of the enterprise seem to believe that the enormous powers we hold were given by Her Majesty the Queen. It is not so at all. All our powers were derived entirely from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu, and what the British Government did was simply to incorporate us by Royal charter, thus recognising our powers, which recognition is to us, of course, of vital importance. I hope I have said enough to interest you in our scheme, and to show that North Borneo has a considerable future before it.

Lieut. General R. W. LOWRY, C.B.: I think very good service will have been rendered to-night to this young, but large and promising dependency of the Empire by the valuable paper just given us by Sir Walter Medhurst. It reminds us of what, amidst the clash of interests—I might almost have said of arms—in Central Asia, in Northern and Southern Africa, and in Canada, we are too apt to forget, that we have possessions and duties claiming unceasing attention, and vigilant oversight everywhere. It tells us that, large as was the territory originally ceded to us in North Borneo, it has since been voluntarily added to, and that it is not improbable it may be still more so yet. I think it a matter of happy augury that it should be so, for it shows that we are so using our power as to benefit not alone ourselves, but the natives, and those from China and India who gather under our flag and protection. The paper speaks of the large, though as yet somewhat latent, resources of British North Borneo, and of the great capacities of its excellent harbours. May we use both promptly and diligently, and our commerce be stimulated by the lines of steamers between China and Australia finding it to their own interests, as well as to those of North Borneo, to call going and returning. I trust our ships of war, too, may be more frequently seen on its waters and in its harbours. Nothing tends more to encourage loyalty and enhance a feeling of security than frequent visits by the Navy of England; and such are more than ever valued and valuable in the earlier settlement of newly-acquired territory. They show England values even the youngest of her Colonies, as they value her, and

assure all other nations we are not unmindful of our obligations, wherever situated. We are indebted to Sir Walter Medhurst for a paper which very forcibly reminds us at this critical time of the importance of such a possession, half-way between China and Australia, and near such a centre of interest and vantage ground on many accounts as Singapore. As a coaling station, and one for the repair and partial refitment of our ships of war, the period may not be far distant when a well-protected and well-provisioned depôt in one of the harbours of North Borneo may be invaluable to our world-wide Empire.

Mr. P. A. MYBURGH, Q.C.: As a director of the British North Borneo Company I feel we are very much indebted to Sir Walter Medhurst for his able and accurate paper. We are also greatly indebted to him for able and zealous services, and especially for the efforts he made to introduce Chinese emigrants into the Colony, when our enterprise was first launched. These efforts, as Sir Walter has pointed out, would have been perfectly successful if, as we all anticipated, the planting industry had at once become a success, but you know what a terrible fall there was in the price of all tropical products. The result was that the great industry on which we so much relied—sugar planting—came to nought, and the enterprising Chinamen, who would willingly have remained in our territory, for they were perfectly satisfied with the climate and other surroundings, were unable to obtain regular employment on plantations, and of other work there was little. They returned to China, but without disparaging the country where they had laboured. Mr. Dent has referred to a matter concerning which, as will be remembered, questions were put in the House of Commons. It is a matter which, no doubt, affects the status of the Company, and is interesting to those who are thinking of settling in our territory. As Mr. Dent said, the present Company obtained their powers from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu. The Queen is in no sense the Sovereign of North Borneo, but the Government, by giving us a charter and recognising all the powers which the two Sultans have conferred upon us, have placed us, for all practical purposes, in the position of a Colony. Of course, we know how chary Lord Derby and the officials are of going beyond what the occasion requires. We cannot expect the authorities at the present moment to assume either a sovereignty or a protectorate; but, having regard to the state of things existing in the neighbouring territory of Brunei, and to the facts published in the local Chinese and Straits Settlements papers, I think I may say that at

the present moment efforts are being made by the traders there to induce our Government to assume a protectorate over Brunei, and with a protectorate over Brunei our relations with the Home Government must necessarily become closer. The present Governor of British North Borneo is also Consul-General of Sarawak and Borneo and Acting-Consul of Labuan, and in this threefold capacity he has done much faithful and zealous service, not only to our Company, but also to trade and British interests generally in those parts. Coming events cast their shadows before them, and I think there can be no doubt that before long our position will be materially altered. I should not be surprised if the Company should end in being incorporated by the Empire, and North Borneo becoming a permanent and prosperous part of it.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE: Though I have never resided in Borneo, and therefore am quite unable to offer such interesting details as those which have been offered by preceding speakers, I feel bound to add, at the chairman's request, a few words to the interesting discussions that has taken place. I feel sure we shall all be thankful to Sir Walter Medhurst for the interesting paper with which he has favoured us. I hope that that paper will influence public opinion in this country, and that this influential gathering will afford some encouragement and sympathetic support to the North Borneo Company in the arduous career they have so successfully begun. Sir Walter began by saying that he would give only a few dry facts and statistics, and that he should not attempt to emulate the glowing descriptions of travellers and others who have described the country. But, ladies and gentlemen, we have perceived that Sir Walter, being a man of poetic temperament, and romantic mind and eloquent tongue, has found it impossible to resist the temptation to enter upon glowing description. Certainly he has fulfilled his promise of instructing us with facts and figures, but surely he also has given us some glowing descriptions of that interesting region. He has told us of the islands, and the coves, and the bays, and the forests, and the caves, and myriads of bats whirling in the air. He has told us of the adventurous birds-nesters, who carry on their profession at the imminent risk of life and limb. He has told us of the trees and the flowers, and of the butterflies even, and he has not neglected the reptiles and the beasts of the forest. But to turn to strictly practical points. I have to indicate to you from an Imperial point of view, that we must not suppose we have a very extensive possession as yet in North Borneo, for although the extent of coast is long, yet the

breadth of the territory is slight. In fact, the territory is not as broad as it is long. That you will understand must necessarily be the case from the configuration of the island. As Sir Walter has pointed out, our present possession is as it were at the extremity of a Burgundy pear, the stalk end pointing towards China. The average breadth cannot exceed 40 miles, and if you multiply that by the length—600 miles—you have an area of 24,000 square miles. It would be interesting if we could come, before we part, to some clear knowledge as to whether these 24,000 square miles do or do not comprise the possible area of British extension in North Borneo. You see 24,000 square miles may be a great deal to those who are endeavouring to begin a colonial career, but they do not make up a very large area in the British Empire, and we should be interested in knowing whether that is the possible limit of the acquisition. I apprehend that is not so, because we have heard something of two local Sultans. His Majesty of Brunei may come under a British protectorate, but the other perhaps cannot, because if we were to endeavour to protect him the Spaniards or the Dutch might object. It would be interesting if Sir Walter could furnish us with a distinct statement on the point. However, you perceive that the territory, if small, is extremely rich and resourceful, and occupies an important political situation. As an old administrator acquainted with India, though not with Borneo, I desire to endorse most emphatically the eloquent expressions of the preceding speaker, General Lowry. I am sure every Anglo-Indian will heartily concur in what he said regarding the importance of these harbours, so centrally situated, being visited by our men-of-war. For what were harbours made by nature? Of course for British ships of war! But apart from the political situation of this territory, it is well that as practical men we should consider whether this is a really habitable climate for Europeans. I do not find that Sir Walter has explicitly stated this climatic consideration in his paper, but having had the advantage of sitting next to him at dinner I have ascertained—he will correct me if I am wrong—that there are some hill sides which would afford a climate habitable by Europeans. That is a matter of extreme importance when you come to colonisation. We who know the East are aware that men can stand a great deal in a tropical climate while they are well, but when they are sick it is of the utmost importance that there should be *sanitaria* to which they may be removed. It is equally important that if they are to live long in the country they should have their families with them, and in that case it is essential for their welfare and comfort, and even for their safety,

that there should be *sanitaria* to which the wives and children may be sent. I believe there are such possible *sanitaria* in North Borneo. Sir Walter will tell us whether there is not a hill, or more than one, from 12,000 to 13,000 feet high, on the sides of the flanks of which *sanitaria* might be founded. Another question is that of labour. As you have heard, there are two kinds, Chinese and Indian. As regards the Chinese, I heartily endorse all that has been said regarding their excellent qualities as labourers. We have not had many of them in India, but those we have had have conclusively shown their superiority over the Indians. I happen to have recently returned to this country from California, which at one time was threatened with Chinese immigration, amounting to an inundation. The Americans took alarm, and actually excluded Chinese labour from their States, or, if it is not excluded from all the States, it is only a question of time. It has been excluded from every State in the Union to which the Chinese are immediately likely to immigrate. There are Australian authorities in this room, and they will tell us whether it is not most likely that sooner or later the same objection will not be felt by the Australians also.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now. There is £30 a head duty.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE: It is remarkable, then, that the Americans and the Australians also should have concurred on this point, and the concurrence of these two proves that there must be some reason at the bottom of it. I mention this as showing that if Chinese immigration is stopped in the United States and in Australia, that is all the greater reason why it should flow into such countries as North Borneo. We may from a Borneo point of view congratulate ourselves on that exclusion taking place in other regions. The United States and Australia will do perfectly well without them, but Borneo may properly welcome the Chinese, and the fact that the tide has been stopped in the direction mentioned furnishes a probability that further Chinese immigration, properly encouraged, will be successful in Borneo. As regards Indian immigration, that is possible, but although India is a country which can send forth if she chooses tens of thousands of emigrants—her population increasing at the rate of a million and a half a year—you must recollect that she is drawn upon by many other places. Indian emigrants are asked for in the West Indies, Natal, Mauritius, and elsewhere, and indeed they may help to found new Indies in tropical and sub-tropical dominions of Her Majesty. Therefore, we must not expect too much from the Indians, although Borneo has a climate exactly suited to them. Still, it is not

likely the Indian will be so successful as the Chinese, for, man for man, the Chinaman is at least 50 per cent. superior to the Indian. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that this immigration should be encouraged. Sir Walter has pointed out how that may be done. I venture to point out another way. He says how many immigrants are terrified and repelled by the spectacle of an apparently impenetrable jungle. Let this veil of impenetrability be broken by road-cutting through the forest. It is remarkable by how small a force order is preserved in this country of Borneo. Some 180 or 200 policemen, partly drawn from native tribes, seem to be all the men necessary to answer for order. This is exactly the way in which empires have sprung from small beginnings. This little force of 200 men may be the nucleus of a North Borneo army. This is exactly the way in which the East India Company began its career, and you know with what magnificent proportions that career advanced, and how it culminated in establishing one of the greatest empires ever seen upon earth. No such grand opportunity may offer itself in North Borneo, but still in its way it may become the founder of a valuable acquisition. Not only will there be North Borneo, with some 24,000—or it may be some more thousands—of square miles, but it may be federated with the dominions of the neighbouring Sultans, and perhaps ultimately with Sarawak itself. Before we leave this room, let us assure Sir Walter Medhurst, and all here interested in North Borneo, of the hearty sympathy of the British public, and that we view their proceedings with the most friendly interest. We rejoice in the Royal Charter which has been graciously given. We trust the Company will maintain the most friendly relations with the Sultans from whom they derive their powers. We trust they may be the means of affording protection to the natives of North Borneo, and also of attracting other populations which shall increase and replenish this fertile part of the island, and that these populations will become loyal to the British Empire, and that this island may afford a field for employment of British capital, and open a market for the manufactures of these industrial realms.

Admiral R. C. MAYNE, C.B.: One of the most important points on which I may remark has been raised by Sir Richard Temple when he asked whether the present territory is capable of extension. The map before you shows our present limits. But we have already extended a good deal, and I see no reason why we should not look forward to the day when, if not we, then our children, will extend our dominions far beyond the limits of the map. It is well known to

those who have studied the subject that the Dutch, who occupy the whole of the south of the island, have done little or nothing towards settling or colonising it in any way, and when we wanted the boundary between us acknowledged, in accordance with the treaties between Great Britain and Holland, we have been put off from day to day, and no boundary has yet been settled. I am not altogether sure, however, that it is not as well that it is so. A boundary might tie us within limits in which we might not care to be tied by and by. At the present moment we have enough on our hands; our object now is to develop what we have. Sir R. Temple says there is no way of opening up a country like road-cutting. I am sure the Court of Directors agree with that; but there is no way of making roads without money, and opening up this country by means of roads is a question of money. Probably the new timber trade will afford the readiest means of penetrating the forests. It has been found that they have no timber in Australia equal to the timber of Borneo for many purposes. Two or three shiploads have gone there, and we hear them favourably reported on, while more vessels are loading. If they want timber in Australia the country will be cleared to a considerable extent, though not in a short time, for we have plenty of timber to supply the Australian and any other market for a long while to come. I entirely agree with, and, as a naval officer, emphasise, the remarks of Sir Richard Temple and of General Lowry as to the importance of North Borneo as a coaling station and as a depôt for our men-of-war. There is no doubt, as we have been told, that the harbours of the world are made for British men-of-war. I remember Mr. Xavier Raymond, in his work on ships of war, speaks ironically of our song "Rule, Britannia," which he says represents the Almighty as happy in having created the world, because that furnished Him the occasion of giving Great Britain the absolute command of the seas. As Englishmen, we may accept that as a plausible explanation of an actual fact. Certainly, anyone who has examined the situation of Borneo—lying, as that island does, between Australia, Hong Kong, and India—will feel that it is of the utmost importance that the place should be protected and fostered by the British Government. I am bound to say that we have, so far, received as much assistance as we could reasonably expect from the Government. We cannot expect the Colonial Secretary and the officials to go beyond what is necessary at the time, and we do not look to them to get up in the House of Commons and furnish stones for their enemies to throw at them.

Mr. W. DE MÜLLER: Whenever I come to the meetings of the Institute as a visitor—for I am not a Fellow—I am always struck with the vast amount of interesting matter brought before us; and what we have heard to-night is by no means an exception to the rule. To anybody who knows the stagnation and the want of enterprise that reign supreme in the west and south and east of Borneo, it must be a matter of congratulation that the dawn of British enterprise has appeared on the north coast. And when I say the north coast, I do not mean only North Borneo, but Saráwak, which, to all intents and purposes, is a British Colony. I believe the Rajah of Saráwak once intended to extend his rule right along the coast up to this northern territory, and although I can only speak in the highest terms of Rajah Brooke and his government in connection with the native races, I think, for the future prosperity of the country, it is just as well that there should be two independent and friendly governments in North Borneo. I wish to touch on two points—the Chinese question and the question of mineral wealth. I was rather surprised to hear from the paper that there is some difference of opinion as to which labour ought to be employed, Chinese or Indian. How there should be the slightest difference of opinion I cannot understand. I have had hundreds of Indian coolies working under me, and under my direct supervision, as well as Chinese and Malays, and it is my opinion that the Chinese stand pre-eminent among them. The others do not come anywhere near them, either as labourers, or miners, or artisans. It is true the Chinaman is full of superstitions, but when he finds he has a master who is just, and who knows how to manage him without bullying him, yet firmly, he is a very good fellow. Show him where his interest lies, and he will work better than any other man in a tropical climate like Borneo. He is not only a source of wealth, but a political power, because wherever the Chinaman goes in these parts of Borneo he has to stand alone; the others do not like him, and therefore, if there should ever be a revolt, the Government may always reckon on having either one or the other nationality on their side. With regard to the mineral wealth of the country, in Saráwak we find gold and silver, mercury, antimony, zinc, lead and other metals; and although I am not fully acquainted with the geology of North Borneo, I see no reason why these metals should not be found there also. If they are, I hope they will be found in larger quantities than they have been found in Saráwak, where they only occur generally in pockets or in surface deposits. I think a good deal might be done by sending out efficient men to prospect the

country. This is a work which requires men of strong constitution—men who are ready to rough it a good deal. I have gone through this kind of work. You have to travel in native boats; to live in them; to camp out in the jungle; and if you have not a strong constitution you cannot stand it. I must express my concern about what I hear regarding the crocodiles. They do not behave well in Saráwak, but their being so ferocious in North Borneo seems to point to a difference in the taste of the native flesh!

MR. BEAUMONT: To my mind, one of the most interesting points of the subject is that we are contemplating the germ of a great future. I have never been at a meeting of the Institute which has had so much interest from this point of view, for we are present to-night, if not at the birth, at any rate watching the very early infancy, of what I will not call a nation, but of what shall be a people, and is now a country which has the elements of a permanent and important future—important not only as regards the country itself, but as regards the interests of the British Empire. Whatever may be its formal constitution, it is as part of that Empire that it will grow and extend, and, therefore, as it does so it cannot fail to do good. When you come to consider the situation of this island, and how it is adapted to form part of the link of that wonderful girdle which we have stretched round the globe, I think you will agree that, in considering its prospects, we are considering a matter of real importance to the British Empire. I was exceedingly glad to hear so many references to the Chinese. I have had the pleasure of knowing the Chinese in various places—in their own country, and I have had the honour of dealing with them in a peculiar interesting way, having had to administer justice to them in our great Colony of British Guiana; and, though, indeed, nothing could be more disadvantageous to them than their position in that Colony, so that I saw them at their worst, I saw how valuable and estimable they were even then. I saw them alongside Indian coolies, who were in various respects more favourably situated, and whom also I learned to appreciate and respect; but there could be no doubt as to the superiority of the Chinese as regards industry, ingenuity, capacity, and power. I will go further, and say that the Chinese are just as much more manageable than the coolies as they are more capable and intelligent. No doubt you must manage them with some sort of consideration and sympathy as well as power of control; but they can be efficiently managed, to the great benefit of themselves and of those with whom they co-operate. It is, I consider, one of the surprises and disgraces of

our time that in that great country—the United States of America—they should be excluded, and I am very sorry the same injustice is attempted to be done in some of the Australian Colonies. The injustice is hardly less surprising than the unwisdom which excludes the most available and valuable labour where labour is the most valuable commodity. But it has been brought about by the trades' union spirit obtaining the control of legislative power. And though other experiences are sometimes put forward to account for this strange jealousy, it arises simply from this, that those who thus control the public policy don't like the competition of persons having the capacity and the industry of the Chinese, and who are willing to give their labour for such a comparatively small wage as not at all to accord with the ideas of the trades' unionists, however beneficial their industry may be to the community and themselves. It is, indeed, a very fortunate thing for the North Borneo Company that their territory is situated so near the Chinese Empire, whose resources in the way of surplus industrial population and commercial enterprise are almost illimitable. Not the least interesting thing about the Chinese is that they are the only nation in the world, except ourselves and some smaller sections of Europeans, who emigrate on their own responsibility. I have no doubt that with adequate care and pains a system of free immigration from China to the West Indies might have been established, which would be an immense gain to those Colonies, and to the immigrants a far more advantageous opening than the existing system of indentured immigration. But, to say nothing of the emigration from China to California and Australia, you cannot have a more interesting instance than the Straits Settlements, which have been mainly developed by the Chinese by their own spontaneous action, so that these settlements are so growing and increasing year by year as to form even an important part of this great Empire. It has been with some regret that I have heard no reference made either in Sir Walter Medhurst's interesting paper or in this discussion to mission work in North Borneo. This, indeed, is not the place to speak of that work in its primary and higher aspects, though I would not be thought, in referring to it for the present purpose, to disregard or overlook that higher point of view. But of this there can be no doubt, that wherever the missionary has gone he has proved the pioneer of commerce, good order, and of civilisation, and I hope it may be found by and by that the missionary enterprise in North Borneo (I hope there is nothing in the nature of the system there to discourage it) may be advantageously

employed in helping forward the great work of civilisation. If those lines of Tennyson—

"And so the whole round world is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God,"

are ever to be realised, it will be by this Christian, peace-loving, peace-making, commercial Empire extending itself from strength to strength, as it has in a measure done from pole to pole, by steadily following out the great rôle which it has undertaken of replenishing the earth, and certainly not by yielding to the false and craven tactics which would lead it to renounce its proper career of duty and honour. I look upon North Borneo as a not insignificant link in this chain, and I hope British enterprise there will go on and prosper.

The CHAIRMAN (His Grace the Duke of Manchester): I think I may first be allowed to congratulate the Fellows and friends of the Royal Colonial Institute on the great progress the Colonial idea has made during the year of my absence. . . .

. . . As regards the paper, I am sure, as has already been said by General Lowry and Sir R. Temple, that we must naturally all of us feel sympathy with this last nest, this last home, which Britons have made in foreign countries. Considering its geographical position, this island will be important for military purposes, and will, I trust, also be important and useful to the plucky adventurers who have attempted to work it. Its resources, evidently, are very great. I am sure the directors need not be disappointed at the failure of tea and cinchona, because, as I gather, these attempts were made near the sea, and I believe it is generally admitted that tea requires a considerable altitude, and cinchona one still higher. I do not suppose it is likely you could have succeeded on these low levels. With regard to Chinese and coolie labour, I have seen a good deal of Chinese labour, and I endorse all that has been said about the merits of the Chinese. They are very enduring. Although they are not large men, they are wonderfully strong for their size. They are amenable generally to discipline, though there has been some trouble with them lately near Port Darwin, in the Northern Territory of South Australia, but as a rule they are useful servants and labourers. They know how to drive a bargain as well as any Englishman—I might say as well as any Scotchman—and, therefore, although they are cheaper labour than Englishmen, I cannot say they are the cheapest. They are good labourers. For light work, however, such as stripping the sugar-canes, or where you merely require a constitution that can stand the

strength of the sun, I should imagine the coolie is more profitable. But for hard work, and endurance, and ingenuity I should undoubtedly say the Chinese are to be preferred. The prejudice against them is most mistaken. I think justice ought to be done to the Colony of South Australia. In the Northern Territory no restriction is put upon the introduction of Chinese, and there is no duty upon them; and South Australia also has the merit of having an agreement with the Government of British India for the employment of coolies. I may, perhaps, mention that in the Northern Territory of South Australia I saw a worthy and wealthy man—he is the owner of gold mines worth £40,000 or more—who has been thirty years in Australia. He went home two or three years ago, and married a Chinese wife, but she declined to go and settle there. He came and told me that he intended to go back to China and fetch his wife, because he did not understand why a man should be in one country and his wife in another. Perhaps his judgment was right in that respect. I think we owe our thanks to Sir Walter Medhurst for his interesting paper, and we are most grateful to him for having enlightened us so much on the progress of Borneo and the future before it.

Sir WALTER MEDHURST: Two questions were put to me by Sir Richard Temple. First, with regard to a possible extension in the direction of the territory of either of the two Sultans. The territory now held was ceded to the North Borneo Company by the Sultans of Sulu and Brunei. Sulu is a group of islands on the east side of North Borneo, and on the West Brunei. It is quite possible an extension of territory may hereafter occur in the latter direction; but as regards Sulu it is not likely, as the Spaniards have got a foothold in Sulu, and would make objections to our advance in that quarter. Sir Richard Temple inquired also as to the existence of localities which might be used as *sanitaria*. There is a high range of hills, culminating in a peak called Kina Balu, which is some 13,000 ft. high, and on its slopes are numerous spots where *sanitaria* might be conveniently placed when the country is more developed, and the roads opened up. Another speaker hoped something would be done by the missionaries. Nothing has been done as yet, that I am aware of, by the Protestant missionaries—in fact, there has scarcely been any opportunity since the opening of the country, but I think I am right in stating that a very enterprising society in London, situated at Mill Hill, Hendon, has already sent out agents, and one—by name Father Jackson, who accompanied our troops in the Afghan War under General Roberts—has been very active, and gone through great

hardships, in trying to conciliate the natives and introduce the Christian religion in its Romanist form. He has already started schools and chapels. The Company are Catholic, and liberal in their treatment of all creeds, and they have already made Father Jackson grants of land, in the same way as they do to the natives, the Chinese for their temple, and the Mahomedans for their mosques, and I have no doubt the Protestant missionaries, when they come forward, will have equal, if not additional advantages. It only remains for me to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me this evening. I hope the paper I read and the interesting discussion which followed have proved to you that Borneo has a very great future before it, and also that the Company deserve credit for the way in which they have dealt with the concession made to them, and shown themselves well worthy of the confidence placed in them by the Government. I think I have also shown that England has most important interests and responsibilities in the territory, and I trust that the discussion will lead to the question being more prominently brought into notice, and that these interests and obligations will not hereafter be neglected.

1. William B. Pryer was associated with the British North Borneo Company and with Sandakan from the time the Sultan of Sulu ceded the territory in 1878. Pryer established good relations with the Sulu and Bajau people resident at Sandakan, and oversaw development of the settlement as a major port. He remained in Borneo until 1898, and died *en route* to England in January 1899, aged sixty. See K. G. Tregonning, 'William Pryer, The Founder of Sandakan', *JMBRAS*, vol. 27, pt. 1, May 1954, pp. 35-51.

2. Tobacco was first planted in North Borneo during the 1880s and the leaf, which proved to be of extremely good quality, commanded a high price. A tobacco boom followed and by 1890 over 60 estates, mainly Dutch but with some German participation, were producing the crop. During the 1890s the United States, the major purchaser of Borneo tobacco, imposed a crippling import duty on the product; the industry survived but declined steadily after 1900 as planters turned to other crops, especially rubber.

3. Ludvig Helms, author of *Pioneering in the Far East* (London, 1882) was a Dane who served as the Kuching manager of the Borneo Company, the only European firm allowed to operate in Sarawak during the nineteenth century.

The Malay Peninsula: Its Resources and Prospects

W. E. Maxwell

10 November 1891

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. Lord Brassey

IN the early days of the East India Company it was to the Further East, rather than to the territories which now constitute British India, that English merchant adventurers turned their eyes. In the reign of James I. the East India Company traded with seven ports or States in Sumatra, four in Borneo, and four in Java, and factories were established at most of these places. At Patani, on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula, they had a factory (that is to say, a place of business where two or three Englishmen traded with the natives and collected produce for shipment to England) from 1612 to 1622. At this time our commerce with Hindustan was in its infancy, and Englishmen at Surat, Broach, Agra, and Ajmere were making timid ventures in the country of the Great Mogul. That the men who, settling for trading purposes on the banks of the Hooghly, laid the foundations of the city of Calcutta and the great Bengal Presidency, had served a novitiate in Malayan countries is proved by some of the words which they and their Malay servants and seamen carried westward with them.* These still have a place in the Anglo-Indian jargon which the late Sir Henry Yule has so well described. We have so long been content with a second place in the East Indian Archipelago that the story of the long struggle between English and Dutch traders for supremacy there (the object being the trade of the "Spice Islands"†) is almost forgotten. The brilliant history of our achieve-

*I may instance the following words, well known in British India, which are really Malay: *Compound*, the Anglo-Indian term for an enclosure round a house, is the Malay *kampong*, a plantation or orchard. *Godown*, a merchant's warehouse, is a corruption of the Malay word *gedong*, a brick house. *Bankshall*, the port-officer's place of business at a seaport, is easily recognisable in the Malay *bangsal*, a shed.

†Amboyna and the Moluccas.

ments on the continent of India supplies the reason for our gradual abandonment of much that we coveted and fought for in remoter regions. Though the places with which the English East India Company traded in India proper gradually fell into the possession of the servants of that Company, their stations in the islands and ports of the Eastern Archipelago were one by one abandoned in favour of the Dutch. We were driven by the Dutch from the Spice Islands in 1620, and from Bantam and Jakatra in Java in 1683. Expelled by their influence from Bantam, we established ourselves in Bencoolen (*Bangka Ulu*) in 1685, "our sole and humble object being to secure a share in the pepper trade."* Little more than a hundred years ago the only English station east of Cape Comorin was Bencoolen, on the West Coast of Sumatra.

The Settlements which we now possess in the Straits of Malacca, namely, the islands of Singapore and Penang, and the territory of Malacca, are remarkable as having been originally Indian Colonies. Calcutta, not London, was responsible for their first acquisition, and conducted their government until 1867. Penang, which occupies a commanding position at the northern end of the Straits of Malacca, was occupied by the orders of the Supreme Government, then under the presidentship of Sir John Macpherson, in 1786. Malacca was taken from the Dutch (by an expedition sent from India) in 1795. Singapore was acquired (by cession from the Malays) in 1819, by Sir Stamford Raffles, acting under the authority of the Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Hastings. These places continued to be outlying portions of the great Empire of India until twenty-four years ago, and were, at the time of their recognition as a Crown Colony, being governed from Calcutta.

Early in this century events happened which might have given us that supremacy in the Eastern seas which, as I have already pointed out, we had gradually resigned to the Dutch. During the occupation of the Netherlands by the French, the Dutch Colonies in the East Indian Archipelago fell into our hands; an expedition, fitted out in India, under the command of the Governor-General, Lord Minto, having taken Java and its dependencies in 1811. We did not keep Java. With the fall of Napoleon, Holland was again made independent and Java was restored to her, no doubt in consequence of a wise and statesmanlike recognition of the fact that the retention by Holland of the principal of her Eastern colonies is essential to her

*Crawford, *Descriptive Dictionary*, p. 78.

vitality as a European Power. The creation of an important commercial emporium at Singapore was, however, the natural outcome of the surrender of Batavia, and the position of Great Britain in the Far East has since been further strengthened by the acquisition of Hong-Kong, and by the wonderful development of our Colonies in Australasia, to which I may add our recently-established protectorate over Sarawak and North Borneo.

Since 1824, when a treaty was made between Great Britain and Holland defining the sphere of action of each in Malayan waters, we have of necessity confined ourselves to the peninsula of Malacca, the islands of Penang and Singapore, and the parts of Borneo just mentioned.

My object in addressing you this evening, at the invitation of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, is to attempt a brief description of what is being done towards opening up the Malay Peninsula, the field which we reserved to ourselves when we voluntarily retired from all further political connection with Java and Sumatra. The period of active British interference in the Malay States of the Peninsula dates from 1874 only. For fifty years after the cession to the Dutch of Bencoolen, in Sumatra, in exchange for Malacca, we confined ourselves to the two Indian Colonies (Penang and Singapore) which I have described as having been planted in the Straits of Malacca by the English in Bengal, and to the old Portuguese and Dutch Colony of Malacca, which had become ours by cession. The Government of India called their remote dependencies by the collective title of "the Straits Settlement" (in the singular), and supported them for years at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. Little was known of them in Calcutta, where, however, difficult questions connected with their administration caused infinite trouble from time to time. "These details may appear to your Lordship to be petty," wrote an Indian official apologetically to Lord Auckland in 1837, discussing some project relating to Straits finance, "but then everything connected with these Settlements is petty, except their annual surplus cost to the Government of India"! It is amusing to recall an official remark of this kind now in 1891, when the Colony of the Straits Settlements, with a history of twenty-four years of independent existence as a Crown Colony, may, in spite of recent temporary reverses, fairly claim to be the most prosperous and successful of all the Crown Colonies, having a revenue of four and a half million dollars, surplus assets (at the beginning of 1891) of two and a half million dollars, and no public debt.

There has never been, at any time known to history, a Malay nation strictly so called; that is to say, one people acknowledging one supreme chief or ruler, obeying one central government, and governed by one body of customary law. The Malays, as they have been known to Europeans since the earliest days of our contact with them, have been scattered tribes and communities forming numberless little States along the coasts and on the banks of the rivers of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Sometimes one and sometimes another of the larger States, under an exceptionally energetic ruler, has risen to eminence and has extended its borders. Menangkabau, in Sumatra, was the most celebrated in ancient times, Malacca was the political centre of the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula before its subjugation by the Portuguese in 1511; Achin (the most northern State in Sumatra) had early in the seventeenth century so effectually conquered a position on the mainland, that European traders had to negotiate at Achin for permission to trade in tin in Perak;* Johor had a brief period of power, when the Malacca dynasty, displaced by the Portuguese, sought shelter there and maintained some kind of rule over the territories that are now Johor, Muar, Pahang, the Negri Sembilan and Sungei Ujong. But the tendency of Malay States has generally been to split up, from inherent weakness in the governing power, each fractional part setting up a quasi-independent existence on its own account, under some chief, who eventually becomes recognised as Raja or Sultan. Though not exactly warlike, the Malays are far from being a peaceable people, and family and dynastic quarrels have frequently plunged these little States into war one with another, and still do so in places remote from European influence. I have been assured that the Dutch would have little difficulty in arranging a *modus vivendi* with the Achinese, with whom they have been carrying on a harassing and desultory warfare since 1872, if there were a strong central authority with whom it were possible to treat.¹ But Achin, like other ancient Malay kingdoms, is subdivided into numerous districts, each under a hereditary and semi-independent chief; and where these are separated by opposing interests, family quarrels, and perhaps blood-feuds of long standing, it is difficult to find them agreed on any one point except that of hatred of the invader.

*One of their factors wrote to the East India Company in 1621, "The King of Achin took Perak, with much wealth, last year." (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1617-1621*, p. 486.)

During the time that the Government of India governed the Straits Settlements their relations with the Malay Rajas of the Peninsula were always friendly; but the native States were rarely visited by British officials, and their internal affairs were scarcely in any way influenced by our advice or counsel. Treaties of alliance and friendship were made from time to time with all the Rajas on the west coast, Kedah, Perak, Selangor, and Johor. When, in 1858, the Queen's sovereignty over India was proclaimed, each Raja found in the proclamation (which was translated into Malay and sent to each native court) a Magna Charta of his rights in the following memorable words:—

"We hereby announce to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part.

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government."

I do not think that I need enter into any detailed description of the circumstances which have led to the appointment of British Residents in certain States of the Malay Peninsula, to exercise a control which should secure "the rights, dignity, and honour" of the native princes whom they are instructed to advise. It will be sufficient to say generally that the chief, or, at any rate, the proximate cause has been the presence in large numbers of Chinese in the Peninsula, and the powerlessness of the Malays to control them. Had we, in 1874, persisted in the policy of non-interference in the affairs of the Native States, which we had up to that time systematically followed, we should have practically permitted independent Chinese colonies to be formed and governed by the irresponsible leaders of secret societies, living (as do the richest and most influential of the Chinese who finance Chinese enterprise on the mainland) in British territory, in Penang or Singapore, these leaders being possibly British subjects.

In 1872 and 1873, civil wars were going on both in Perak and Selangor, and in both States the main thing to be fought for was the

power to collect the revenue derivable from the tin mines worked by the Chinese. In Perak, the quarrel was further complicated by a war between two Chinese factions, who were fighting for the possession of the mines of Larut. Representations as to the state of affairs made to the Home Government by Governor Sir Harry Ord had no doubt paved the way for a change of policy, and for active British intervention; and on the appointment of a new Governor (Sir Andrew Clarke), in the end of 1873, such freedom of action was allowed to him by Lord Kimberley as enabled him to interfere usefully and beneficially, putting a stop to the existing anarchy and confusion, and organising the nucleus of a system upon which the peaceful development of these countries might be ensured. The Sultans of Perak and Selangor, the two States which are the centres of the tin-mining industry, asked in 1874 that British Residents might be associated with them in the government of their respective States. Sungei Ujong, a small State to the south of Selangor, which also possessed a somewhat intractable Chinese mining population, accepted a Resident in 1875. Later, in 1883, Governor Sir Frederick Weld induced the group of small States lying between Sungei Ujong, Pahang, Malacca, and Johor (called the Negri Sembilan, or the Nine States) to confederate and to conduct their government under the advice and with the assistance of a resident British officer. Lastly, in 1888, in pursuance of an agreement between Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, the present Governor of the Straits Settlements, and the Sultan, Pahang, a large State on the East Coast of the Peninsula, was added to the number of the Protected States, and its administration on an improved footing was made possible by the appointment of a British Resident.

The names of the Malay States in which British officers are stationed do not by any means exhaust the list of the States on the Peninsula. To the north of Province Wellesley (a dependency of Penang) there is the ancient kingdom of Kedah, shorn of three of its provinces, Perlis, Situl, and Trang, which now form semi-independent States. These are, in a sense, subject to the suzerainty of Siam. Further north, again, there are numerous small provinces or governorships under the direct control of Siam. The indigenous population here is Siamese and not Malay, and these little States are chiefly interesting to us, because the settlers there include many (Chinese) British subjects. Indeed, the Governors of two of these provinces are Penang Chinese, and in many places the authority of the Siamese seems to be overshadowed by that of a powerful Chi-

nese secret society (the Ghi-Hin). They are visited annually by the Resident Councillor of Penang, who is British Consul for this region.

On the East Coast, the purely Malay States are Patani, which had a long history as an independent State, and where the factors of the East India Company had an "honourable reception from the queen and country people" in 1612. It was laid waste by the Siamese in 1818, and is now subdivided into seven provinces under separate petty chiefs. To the south, again, are Kelantan and Trengganu, virtually independent. At the extreme south of the Peninsula is the Protected State of Johor, the government of which is conducted by its energetic and enlightened ruler with the aid of advisers chosen by himself.

Most of the important States have some written account of their history, going back two or three hundred years, and the Rajas of Kedah and Perak are justly proud of their ancient lineage. Much, of course, of what they accept as historical is altogether fabulous or mythological, and Crawford (the author of "The History of the Indian Archipelago," a "Malay Dictionary," &c.), with the vigour of language which characterises his expressions of opinion on Eastern subjects, does not hesitate to condemn the Kedah chronicles as a "dateless tissue of rank fable." And I have been amused sometimes when a patriotic Perak Malay has gravely assured me that the events described in a Malay romance called *Shems-ul-bahrin* really took place in the province of Bruas in his country, and that Perak was anciently known by a name (*Pru Chakra Nagāra*) which belongs to one of the fabulous countries of that marvellous work. Which is about as reasonable as to say that England was the scene of the adventures of Jack the Giant Killer, and that Windsor Castle was once the abode of the Giant Blunderbore!

Kedah is probably the oldest Malay kingdom on the Peninsula. From its situation it is naturally the first Malay port on the mainland at which ships from the other side of the Bay of Bengal would touch, and both Hindu and Buddhist remains have been occasionally found there. Perak comes next. The Johor and Pahang Sultanates are of very recent creation. The ancient line of Malacca Rajas died out at Johor, the last representative having been murdered by the Bandahara (one of the chief officers of State) in the eighteenth century. The Bandahara then usurped the throne and established himself as Sultan; it was one of his descendants who as Sultan of Johor ceded Singapore to the British in 1819. But the practical government of the

State rested with an hereditary officer of State called the Tumong-gong, and the holder of that title was successively advanced to the rank of Maharaja (in 1868) and Sultan (in 1885).

The steps taken by the advice and under the control of the Residents of the Native States to encourage and foster trade and agriculture, to maintain order and administer justice, to develop communication by means of roads, railways, and telegraphs, and to educate and improve the condition of the people, are not altogether unknown to the Council and to the Fellows of this Institute. In 1886, Sir Frederick Weld, the late Governor of the Straits Settlements, whose premature death has caused unaffected grief in the Colony which he loved so well and ruled so sympathetically, gave you a most interesting account of the Straits Settlements and the Native States. I desire to avoid repeating anything that was said on that occasion, and I believe that I can best serve the purpose for which I was asked to prepare this paper by bringing up to date the statistical information relating to the progress of these Protected States, by giving some information as to their resources, and the steps which are being taken to develop them, and by offering some remarks as to the policy which should, in my opinion, guide our future relations with them.

Those who travel at the present day in the Protected Native States on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula, and remark around them the outward signs of an advanced civilisation—good roads, comfortable houses, both European and native, railways, lines of telegraph, hospitals, schools, and a fairly industrious and contented population—can hardly picture to themselves the same States as they were when under purely native rule.

There are several British officers in Perak and Selangor who, like myself, can remember what a Malay State was like in 1875–6. Roads there were none to speak of, and our journeys were performed on foot or on elephant-back. An escort was necessary, and arms were habitually worn. Our first houses were Malay or Chinese huts, almost devoid of furniture and of all the appurtenances of civilised comfort. The Chinese mining population were turbulent and disorderly. When, as acting Resident of Perak in 1877, I handed over charge to the new Resident, Sir Hugh Low, and accompanied him on his first tour of inspection in the State, the Chinese at a village on the coast resisted our authority by force of arms, and had to be brought to reason by strong measures. Danger now there is little,* and discomfort has been minimised. Years of steady and systematic

work and firm and just rule have resulted in the pacification of the most lawless districts. Security for life and property having been given by the new régime, capital (chiefly Chinese) has flowed in, new fields of industry have been created for the Malay population, who have ceased to wear arms, and in another generation or two will (like the Malays of the Colony) have forgotten how to use them, and an abundant and increasing revenue has enabled the principal States to undertake the public works necessary for the development of their territories.

The progress of States like Perak and Selangor can be illustrated in a striking manner by statistics, showing the extraordinary growth of the revenue since 1875. But statistics of this kind are, in my opinion, misleading. Given abundant deposits of a valuable metal (two-thirds of the tin produced in the world is exported from the Straits Settlements), and given a Government, even a bad Government, strong enough to maintain order and to make the trader feel sure that he can keep what he gains, there is certain to be an ample revenue.² There is no reason why a corrupt and selfish Government should not have sufficient financial sagacity to discover all reasonable sources of income, and at the same time avoid imposing on the people a burden of taxation which would deter immigration and diminish industry. Again, causes which do not arise within the State itself may unexpectedly, and not as the result of any conscious effort on the part of anyone connected with the Government, produce a great accession of revenue. For instance, the proximity of Johor to Singapore gives the former State a larger Chinese population, and consequently a larger excise revenue, than it would otherwise have. I do not therefore wish to say merely, "Just look at our balance-sheet, and see what we have done." It is by the application of the revenue for, as we believe, the best interests of the people that we and our work must be judged. The revenue of those States which have British Residents has been energetically employed, by their advice,

²The Resident of Perak (Mr. Swettenham) in his Report of 1890 says: "It must not be supposed that because there has been no rupture there has been no difficulty and never will be any. The Residency at Kuala Kangsa is within call of the most turbulent villagers in the State, who pride themselves on never having been more obedient than they chose to their own Sultan, and the arrest of evil-doers amongst them is not always an easy task now, and has often been a dangerous one—at the first attempt to impose a land-rent the people of another large village absolutely declined to pay until overawed by a considerable display of force."

in public works of all kinds, a civil list being first set apart for the maintenance of the Rajas, chiefs, and headmen of the State, and due provision being made for the payment of the police force and of the establishment of the various public offices.

Let me therefore attempt to give you some faint idea of what permanent works have been constructed, premising that for the fullest and most recent information regarding these States reference must be made to the Reports of the Residents for 1890, which have been published in the Colony and will shortly be laid before Parliament, and the very able summary of Sir Frederick Dickson in forwarding the Reports for 1889 must be consulted. I will take Perak first.

PERAK

The State (7,949 square miles) is divided into six districts—Larut, Kuala Kangsa, Kinta, Batang Padang, Lower Perak, and Krian. Taiping, in the Larut district, is the principal town, and it is here that the Resident lives. The Sultan (Raja Idris bin Iskandar, C.M.G.) prefers to dwell, like his predecessors from time immemorial, on the banks of the beautiful river Perak, and a palace is being built for him at Kuala Kangsa. A line of railway, eleven and a half miles long, connects the mining districts in Larut with the sea, and in Lower Perak work has commenced on the first section of the Kinta Valley Railway, a line which is designed to run from Teluk Anson to Ipoh, a distance of fifty miles. The open line in Larut is worked at a profit to Government of about 6 per cent.

Perak possesses no less than 138 miles of metalled cart-road, and each year the work of road-making is continued with the object of giving complete communication to all parts of the State. Besides first-class roads, there are unmetalled cart-roads and bridle-paths in many districts. The head judicial authority in the State is the Chief Magistrate (an English barrister). The public buildings in the State include Government offices, houses for officials, excellent barracks for the Sikh police, police-stations in all districts, a prison with cellular wards on the modern system, lighthouses, a museum (chiefly geological and ethnographical, founded by Sir Hugh Low, and well arranged and managed by Mr. L. Wray junr.), schools, &c. The town of Taiping is provided with excellent drinking-water brought in pipes from the nearest range of hills. There is telegraphic communication throughout the length and breadth of the land, and

the completion this year of the principal line to a point where it joins the Selangor boundary enables messages to be sent now from Penang to Malacca by the Native States lines.

The population, according to a census taken in 1891, is 213,000, including the unexpected number of 100,000 Malays; the revenue in 1890 was \$2,504,116. On Jan. 1, 1891, the State had a surplus balance of more than \$2,000,000, of which about \$1,500,000 was invested in Indian or other securities. There are thus funds in hand to meet the cost of the construction of projected railways.

I may say parenthetically that it fell to my lot fourteen years ago, just before handing over charge to Sir Hugh Low on his first arrival, to frame the first budget ever prepared for the State of Perak. I made out, I think, that all sources of revenue gave the Government a sum of \$275,000 with which to provide for the public services of 1877. Contrast, therefore, with our restricted resources of that time the power of the State at the present day to carry out useful works and to maintain efficient establishments. For every \$100 of revenue at the disposal of the Perak Government when Sir Hugh Low took over the charge of the Perak finances in 1877 there is now \$1,000!

SELANGOR

In Selangor progress has been equally remarkable. The State (8,000 square miles) is divided into six districts—Klang, Kuala Lumpur, Kuala Langat, Ulu Langat, Kuala Selangor, and Ulu Selangor.* The town of Kuala Lumpur is picturesquely situated in the upper portion of the valley of the Klang River. From it good cart-roads radiate to the Perak frontier on the north-east, fifty-six miles distant, and to the Sungei Ujong frontier on the south-east, thirty miles distant. A line of railway twenty-four miles long connects the capital with the port of Pangkalan Batu, on the Klang River, the river being crossed by an iron railway-bridge 473 feet long. This short State line is, I suppose, one of the most paying railway properties in the world. Having an up and down traffic, that is to say, carrying all the rice and other foodstuffs up to the mines and bringing all the tin down, it pays about 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., though the tariff of charges is not a high one. This line is now being extended thirty-eight miles in a north-easterly direction, tapping a district known to be rich in tin. I hope

* *Kuala* signifies the mouth or lower reaches of a river; *Ulu*, the source, or headwaters.

that by the end of this year twenty-three miles of this extension (which was projected by my predecessor, Mr. Swettenham, with the sanction of Sir C. C. Smith) will be open, and that 1892 will see the whole completed. Further railway extension is in contemplation; but whether this will take the form of a further advance in the direction of the Pahang border, or whether we shall improve our sea communication by carrying our railway coastward to a point on the Klang Straits, where there is a deep sea harbour, I cannot at present say. Like Perak, Selangor now possesses excellent public buildings. An English barrister presides as Chief Magistrate in a handsome and convenient court-house. A new prison with all the improvements dictated by modern science and philanthropy is in course of erection. The officers of the State and the police in all districts are comfortably housed. There are lighthouses at three points on the coast. Good Government offices exist at headquarters, and similar accommodation is being provided at the five out-stations at which district officers are placed. All these out-stations are now in telegraphic communication with headquarters; a line having been constructed this year to Kuala Langat, which is the place selected by his Highness the Sultan (Sultan Abd-es-Samad, K.C.M.G.) for his residence, and somewhat difficult of access by land. Waterworks are in course of construction, which will give the town of Kuala Lumpur the much-needed boon of pure fresh water, the rivers being much contaminated by tin-washing. The supply is to be brought from a distance of eight miles.

The Malay population of Selangor is very small in comparison with that of the much older State of Perak. Even *Malay* civilisation in Selangor is a thing of very modern origin, historically speaking, for the Sultanate only dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. One looks in vain in Selangor for the peaceful, old-world aspect of the beautiful Malay *kampongs* which fringe the banks of the Perak River, and which, full of historical and legendary associations, have, for anyone who studies the country sympathetically, an indefinable charm. The Malays of Selangor are for the most part new-comers, emigrants from Malacca or Sumatra, whose object is gain, and whose connection with the State is possibly a fleeting one. The population, of all nationalities, is estimated to be 140,000, but I regret to say that, except in the case of Perak, I am unable to quote the figures obtained from the census of the Native States which was carried out this year. The revenue in 1890 was \$1,888,928, and on January 1, 1891, the Government had a surplus balance of \$720,000.

This is being applied in the construction of railways; and in this connection it may be desirable to state that the railways in Perak and Selangor are exclusively the property of the State, and have been and are being constructed out of revenue, no recourse having yet been had to loans.

SUNGEI UJONG

The progress of Sungei Ujong, though this little State has had the advantage of the advice and control of a succession of British Residents since 1885, is not so noteworthy proportionately as that of Perak and Selangor. It may be doubted whether Sungei Ujong is, or ever was, strong enough to stand alone. In size and importance it is inferior to Kinta, one of the six districts of Perak, which in 1890 had a revenue of \$931,523. Sixteen years of an improved administration directed by the aid of British officers have, however, produced an immense change in the country. A good cart-road now traverses it from the Selangor frontier on the north to the Linggi River, the Malacca boundary, on the south; and a railway seventeen and a half miles long from Seremban (the principal town) to Port Dickson on the seacoast has just been completed; this is not, however, a State line, but the undertaking of a private company, interest at 4 per cent. on their capital being guaranteed by the Government of the Straits Settlements. Jelebu has been a dependency of Sungei Ujong since 1885. It is known to be rich in minerals, especially tin; and were it possible to give the Chinaman free scope here, this district might contribute largely to the revenue of the State. But two English companies possess mining concessions here, and until the actual extent of these is defined on the ground the independent Chinese mining adventurer will stay away, fearing that the vague claims of which he has heard may at some time or other be asserted to his prejudice. In the meantime the export of tin from Jelebu is increasing very slowly, while the output from the Sungei Ujong mines is decreasing.

An excellent cart-road over the Bukit Tangga range (1,000 feet) has been made, connecting Jelebu with Sungei Ujong, and telegraphic communication has also been established. Fairly good buildings have been erected for all necessary public purposes, though on a more modest scale than those in Perak and Selangor. But the growth and development of Sungei Ujong has been retarded by want of revenue, and many necessary public works have had to be construct-

ed by means of money borrowed from the Colony. This loan amounted on January 1, 1891, to \$199,000. The revenue of Sungei Ujong in 1890 was \$277,910. The population is about 23,500 of all nationalities.

NEGRI SEMBILAN

Negri Sembilan is the name of a small State, or rather a group of small districts, lying to the north of Malacca and to the east of Sungei Ujong. Its history under the administration of a British officer dates from 1887. Public works are as yet in their infancy, and the work of government has perforce to be carried on under disadvantages which have long ceased to exist in the larger States already described. But road-making has been energetically pushed forward, and there are in the State fifty-three miles of cart-road and ninety miles of bridle-paths, along which travelling is pleasant and easy. A little mining is carried on in Negri Sembilan, and it is hoped that tin-miners may yet find it profitable to go there in larger numbers. In 1890 it was estimated that there were only 300 tin-miners in the State. The revenue for 1890 was \$107,033. Like Sungei Ujong, the State of Negri Sembilan has had to borrow largely from the Government of the Straits Settlements. This debt stood on January 1, 1891, at \$180,897. The population is 34,000, and it is a population of exceptional interest, for being dwellers in remote inland districts the people have preserved intact many curious customs of Sumatran origin, and have had to depend for their sustenance upon agriculture, and not upon the harvest of the sea. The fertile valleys of Teráchi, Sri Menanti, &c., afford some of the most picturesque rural scenery in the Peninsula.

PAHANG

I mention Pahang last because, though it is said to be the largest of the Native States, it has been the last to come under British guidance. It lies to the east of all the other States that I have named, and has a coast-line of about 120 miles on the China Sea. The revenue has been collected by the British agency since the middle of 1889; and as in 1890 it amounted to \$62,077 only, while the civil list of the Sultan and his chiefs was \$58,605, the Government establishments and police force had to be paid, and public works constructed, out of funds lent for the purpose by the Government of the Straits Settle-

ments. The debt to the Colony on this account amounted in the beginning of this year to \$372,500. English officers serving under the orders of the Resident are stationed at Kuala Pahang, Kuala Kuantan, Rumpin, and Ulu Pahang. The capital is a town called Pekán, situated at the mouth of the Pahang River. Thence there is communication by water with the interior of the country, but boat-travelling up-stream is slow and tedious work, and in time of drought the river is not always navigable for steam-launches. During the north-east monsoon the East Coast of the Peninsula is exposed to the full force of breakers rolling in from the China Sea. Trade with Singapore by means of native craft is at a standstill at this season, but the pluck and enterprise of Singapore shipowners have provided regular communication with Pekán once a fortnight by steamer in all seasons. The moment of crossing the Pahang bar in a small coasting-steamer in a heavy surf during the north-east monsoon is one which can probably furnish some excitement for the most hardened seeker after sensation.

It is not surprising that many of those who have to go to Pahang avail themselves of the land-route from the West Coast. Landing in Selangor, they can go by railway and road up to Kuala Kubu, in Ulu Selangor, whence there is an excellent bridle-path over the hills to Raub, in Pahang. The population of Pahang is estimated to be 35,000.

GENERAL

No account of the material improvement which has been effected in the Native States would be complete without some description of the condition of the people. I might exhaust the list of works carried out, and give other instances of the advance of modern civilisation, but I could not be considered to have satisfied anyone as to the real test of success unless it were shown that the lot of the average inhabitant has been ameliorated.

I once translated a portion of an old Malay chronicle, which deals with the history of the Rajas who ruled in Perak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Describing the advent of Dutch traders in 1747, and the establishment of a Dutch factory on the banks of the Perak River, the Malay author says: "For a long time they continued to live at Pangkalan Halban and to watch the mouth of the Perak River, and in that time quantities of dollars were paid by them to the Sultan, and all the people in the country put by plenty of money."

The people of the country were Malays, not Chinese; and though, in these days, Chinese mining operations are much more important than those of the Malays, it must not be supposed that the latter do not benefit. If an impartial Malay historian of the present day were to write his opinion of the effect of Malay government under British advice, he would certainly say that it puts money into everybody's pocket. Not only are the Rajas and hereditary chiefs and many members of their families furnished with incomes (much larger in most cases than any that they enjoyed in the old times) punctually paid, but in Perak the territorial rights of certain Malay headmen in mining districts have been recognised, and they share in the profits of the mines, and have a distinct interest in pushing on the chief industry of the country. Honourable employment as headmen of districts and villages is given to men of influence and good family—the men whose adhesion to the cause of good government it is most important to secure. There is a constant demand for labour, and wages are high. No one need, therefore, be idle, and no healthy man need be poor. Visible improvement has taken place in the character of the houses built by Chinese and Malays for their own use. The Chinese towns now possess streets of good brick houses, and some of the temples and the best private houses are ornate and costly; whereas in Taiping, the principal town in Perak, there was not a single brick house before 1880. The Malays are not usually dwellers in towns, and they build of temporary materials; but good plank walls and floors are now much more often seen in their houses than in the old times, when bamboo-floors and palm-thatch walls satisfied everybody who was not a man of rank and position. Roads and railways have enormously improved the food-supply, and the people are better nourished than they ever were. Fruit, which, under the old condition of things as regards communications, could not be taken to market, now commands a ready sale, and properties which were formerly practically inaccessible are now valuable. In Selangor, fish caught on the coast is packed in ice and transported by rail twenty-four miles to the principal mining district, where there is always a good demand for it. In this case it is the Chinaman who has imitated the devices of Western civilisation. The ice is manufactured in the State by an Englishman.

Vaccination has been introduced, and is, as far as possible, made compulsory. The people who at one time feared it now recognise its utility. Vernacular education receives much attention, and every considerable village has its school, under a master paid by the State.

The aboriginal tribes, who afford a study of great ethnographical interest, are protected from the attacks of the Malays, who used to oppress them.

More worthy of mention than any of these things is the abolition in the Protected States of the systems of domestic slavery and debt-slavery which the Malays, being Mohammedans, had maintained up to a few years ago. Even in Pahang, which has a history of two years only under the administration of a British Resident, slavery has been placed under regulation; and in four or five years the last slave in that State will have received his freedom. In 1882 it was estimated that one-sixteenth of the entire Malay population of Perak were slaves; and it will always be a source of genuine satisfaction to me personally to have been associated with Sir Hugh Low in that year in preparing the Rajas and chiefs of Perak, the principal slave-owners, for the change, and in elaborating the system under which emancipation was to be effected. The disappearance of slavery in those Malay States which are influenced by British views on administration is the most honourable and enduring testimony of the beneficial change worked in the condition of the people of those States under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

RESOURCES OF THE PENINSULA

Those who hear a glowing account given of the progress of these regions will naturally want to know whether the prosperity which is described rests upon a permanent basis, whether English colonists and capitalists may look to the Malay Peninsula as a safe field for the investment of industry and capital, and whether there is really any foundation for the idea that there is within our control another Ceylon *in posse* in the southernmost peninsula of Asia. We are sometimes charged with holding the balance too evenly between Asiatic and European, and with giving insufficient encouragement to our own people. I have heard Dutch and German critics laugh good-naturedly at our policy, and say, with some truth after all, that we are simply keeping the peace and opening up the interior by roads in order that John Chinaman may make a fortune; contrasting with this ridiculous disinterestedness the policy of the Dutch in the flourishing province of Deli, in Sumatra, where the tobacco cultivation is exclusively in the hands of Europeans, and no Chinaman can hold land. The answer, of course, is, *Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur*.*

As far as I am concerned, there is no difference between Trojans and Phoenicians.

the Chinese have been the pioneers of the tin industry of the Peninsula, just as Europeans have created the tobacco trade in Sumatra. Europeans have every facility for acquiring in the Native States mining-land not already in the hands of the Chinese; if Deli were ours we should certainly allow Chinese capitalists to embark in tobacco-culture if they chose, probably with marked advantage to the revenue of that State.

What field is there, then, for the successful employment of European capital in the Peninsula? I will deal first with mining, and then with agriculture. There were exported from the Protected Native States in 1889, 443,386 *pikuls*, or 26,392 tons, of tin, and in 1890, 450,777 *pikuls*, equal to 28,173 tons of tin. The detailed figures are as follows:—

EXPORT OF TIN, 1889 AND 1890

	<i>1889</i> <i>Pikuls</i>	<i>1890</i> <i>Pikuls</i>
Perak	235,651	237,158
Selangor	182,236	174,538
Sungei Ujong	24,554	34,526
Negri Sembilan	945	1,000
Pahang	No returns	3,555
Total	443,386	450,777

At 86*l.* a ton, which is a fair average price, the metal exported in 1889 was worth 2,269,712*l.*; while the estimated value of that of 1890 was 2,422,878*l.* With insignificant exceptions, the whole of this money, less the royalty or export duty charged by Government, has gone into the pockets of the Chinese. Is it, then, impossible for Europeans to get a footing in the mining districts and work their claims at a profit? Not at all, I think, if mining adventurers are content to begin in a modest way; but the events of the past few years justify the most extreme scepticism as to the possibility of the success of an English company formed to work an untried concession. It surely is not understood by the shareholders of companies who pay a large sum to the lessee or concessionnaire of an unworked tin-field that as much mining-land as a man can want can be had for the asking, provided that he is prepared to set to work at once. Not a sixpence is charged by the Governments of Perak and Selangor for

the land on which the Chinese work. *Bonâ fide* European miners can obtain land on much the same terms as men used to acquire their claims on a gold-field in the days of alluvial gold-mining in Australia. The Resident of Perak (Mr. Swettenham), in his Annual Report for 1889, mentioned an Australian tin-mining company at Larut that had already returned in dividends a sum in excess of the entire paid-up capital. The history of that mine is somewhat peculiar. The Company was started when European capital was first being attracted to the Malay Peninsula. They had to thank Government, not a scientific expert of their own choosing, for the excellent tin-field allotted to them. The Assistant Resident in Perak selected for them a piece of land close to the chief town, and just between two Chinese mines where good results had been obtained. Nothing was charged to them for the land, and they started on even terms with the Chinese. Compare this with the condition of a company which commenced work in Selangor last year on three concessions of 150 acres each, for which, if I understand their prospectus rightly, they had paid 70,000*l.* in money and shares before a pickaxe had been put into the ground! If they had treated direct with the Government of Selangor instead of with the ingenious speculator for whom the land was selected, they need have been at no expense in connection with it, the actual cost of selection excepted.

But, independently of the subject of the financing of companies, which is beyond the control of any Government, however benevolent, there are difficulties in the way of the successful working of mines in Malaya by Europeans, to which it is right to allude, though I do not believe that they are insurmountable by British perseverance. There is, first of all, the difficulty of managing Chinese labour. Unless it can be proved that Europeans, working with labour-saving machinery of all kinds, can do everything for themselves, as they do in Australia, it is pretty clear that the Chinese coolie is indispensable. And where the capital employed is large, the number of coolies to be employed must be great in proportion. Say that a mining company employs a capital of 100,000*l.* and, to be successful, must get from their mining concession in twenty years tin to that value, *plus* dividends and *plus* working expenses:—

For every ton of metal produced in a year at least four coolies must be employed.

One hundred coolies will work out $1\frac{1}{3}$ acre of an ordinary tin-field in a year.

To produce yearly 250 tons (value at 86*l.*, 21,500*l.*)—and less, I

suppose, would not be satisfactory to investors—1,000 coolies must be employed.

Now the European employer who can control a labour force of 1,000 Chinese is rare in the Straits Settlements. A Commission which inquired into the Labour Question in the Colony last year has reported that on agricultural estates the Chinese coolies are managed entirely through their headmen; the men are never paid direct by the manager, nor, in many cases, are their names known to him. The work which they do is paid for at contract rates, through the headman, whose accounts with his coolies are never examined. The coolies are thus entirely in the power of their headman. If these headmen worked honestly for the European employer, and exacted their best work from their coolies, all might be well. But they do not; there is a marked difference between the work of a gang of Chinese mining coolies working for a European and working for a Chinese employer. And ignorance of the details of Chinese mining customs exposes the European to being cheated by his men in all sorts of ways. The work to be done on a mine by a Chinese labour force is so multifarious in its nature that it is not always easy to make sure that the men whose work is being paid for, and who are personally unknown to the employer, are really on the works at all. Who is to say whether the men set down in the daily accounts as engaged in clearing jungle, making water-courses, cutting rattan and firewood, lifting earth, extracting and washing ore, &c., on the various parts of a large property are really doing the work for which the mine is charged? Incessant European supervision, which is the only way of guarding against imposition, is very costly.

To summarise the general purport of these remarks, the European mining adventurer, whether an individual or a company, should, to be successful—

(a) Deal direct with the Government for mining land instead of buying from a middle-man.

(b) Start with a small capital, and consequently with a small labour force, which can be superintended with moderate ease. As experience is gained the works, if successful, can be extended, and the labour force increased.

(c) Imitate the Chinese, and spend as little as possible on anything that is not directly remunerative.

The resources of the Peninsula in respect of gold are so vaguely known that I am able to say little about them. The precious metal may be found in sufficient quantities to pique curiosity, arouse

cupidity, and incite speculation, and yet the most diligent search may result in the discovery of nothing that will pay a dividend. The existence of gold in the Batang Padang district in Perak has long been known. The Perak Administration Report for 1890 mentions the discovery in that district of "tin-stuff rich in coarse gold;" and the Resident adds: "The district has always produced stream gold, but no attempt has been made to make gold the principal object of mining, nor to search for it in the reef." In Negri Sembilan, similarly, there are streams containing alluvial gold, and it is apparently hoped to turn them to commercial advantage. But the Acting Resident says "little has been done except prospecting, and very little of that." Reefs have been registered and claims taken up, but no real work has been done. The export returns for Pahang for 1890 show that only 929 ounces of gold were exported from the State during the year.

I recommend everyone interested in the mining resources of the Peninsula to read the descriptions, and study the statistics, given in the very interesting work of M. J. Errington de la Croix, published in 1882, and called "*Les Mines d'Étain de Perak*."*

Miners do not make the best colonists, and some of us would perhaps like to see in the Malay States a peaceful landscape of rural hamlets, instead of the hastily-built towns of a floating mining population. But, dealing exclusively with native agricultural industry and leaving out of consideration European enterprise, where are the people to come from, and what is to induce them to come and settle in very large numbers, if it be not the hope of finding at the mines a market for their produce? Let us see what advantages the Peninsula has to offer to agriculturists.

Rice grows well, and is cultivated by Malays for their own food. The rice of the country is preferred by Malays to imported rice, and commands a slightly better price than the latter. But it cannot be cultivated on a large scale to compete in price with that of Burma and Siam, which is the staple article of diet of the Chinese population of the Straits Settlements and Native States. The very steps which we are taking to improve communication, and to make transport easier and cheaper, may in the long run tend to diminish rice cultivation; for when the up-country Malay agriculturists can buy imported rice cheap, he may be tempted to abandon his fields for other pursuits.

Cocoanuts and fruit-trees pay the native proprietor well, and at

*Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

the various mining towns there is a steady demand for produce of this kind. In market gardening, however, the Malays do not attempt to compete with the industrious Chinaman.

Excellent pineapples can be grown, and in Singapore quite an important trade has sprung up in this fruit, large quantities being preserved in syrup and exported to Europe.

Gambier (*Uncaria gambir*, Roxb.), the shrub which produces the gambier of commerce, largely used in the tanning industry, grows to perfection in the Malay Peninsula, and Chinese have introduced it in Selangor, on a concession of 11,000 acres granted for the purpose. It has long been grown extensively in Singapore and Johor, where the Chinese population employed in this industry is very considerable.

Coming now to products with which the English planter is more familiar, I must mention sugar, coffee (both Liberian and Arabian), tea, pepper, and tapioca. In respect of all of these we are long past the stage of experiment. Sugar-cane cultivation has long been carried on in Province Wellesley (Penang), and one important estate has been opened in Perak, under European management; while in the same State there are 21 Chinese-owned sugar estates, with an area of 21,663 acres, which employ about 5,500 labourers, and last year exported 84,382 *pikuls* of sugar, valued at \$401,122. But here, as in other parts of the world, the competition of beet-sugar is felt, and, with the Straits sugar-planters appealing to Government for special assistance in respect of their labour supply, English capital for new estates may not be forthcoming at present. Our planters probably have much to learn from those of Java in regard to machinery and cultivation; and as long as there are improvements not yet adopted by them for cheapening the cost of producing cane-sugar, they seem to have the alleviation of their difficulties in their own hands.³

In Perak, the prospects of the only estate on which the cultivation of Arabian coffee is carried on are said to be excellent, and there are miles and miles of mountain ranges on which this product can be grown. It may be hoped that the check which coffee-planting received in Ceylon will not for ever hinder the extension of this industry in the Malay Peninsula. Liberian coffee, however, seems at present to be the favourite, because the safer, article of cultivation. English and Scotch planters are hard at work in Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong, and the various Governments are deeply interested in their success. It has been proved in Selangor that a return of nine or ten cwt. per acre may be expected.⁴

Now that Ceylon tea has achieved such a marvellous success, it may be hoped that that Colony may send us some experienced tea-planters, for there is little doubt that the Malay Peninsula is as well adapted as Ceylon for this particular cultivation. A sample of tea grown on a Government plantation in Perak was sent to London in 1889 and favourably reported on, and we do not despair of seeing "Malay tea," as well as "Ceylon tea," an article of consumption in England.

Pepper is doing well on a small scale in Perak and Selangor. This is an old industry which has been resuscitated. It was one of the staple products of the island of Penang before 1810, and at one time more than 3,000 *pikuls* were exported annually. But a serious fall in price led to the gradual abandonment of the cultivation. The Chinese gambier planters generally unite pepper cultivation with their main industry, as the refuse from the gambier vats makes excellent manure for pepper plants.

Tapioca is extensively grown in Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan, and there is one good estate in Selangor. The objection to this cultivation, on the system pursued by the Chinese, is that it involves the exhaustion and abandonment of a great area of land.

An interesting experiment in rearing silkworms has been made in Perak. The mulberry can be successfully grown in the Malay Peninsula, and already the pioneer Chinese cultivator has sent six cases of cocoons to China, where the silk is wound. It is officially stated that the silk produced is excellent and unusually white, and an extension of this industry may be looked for, as Chinese are already taking up land for mulberry cultivation.

Fortunes have been made in tobacco cultivation in Sumatra, and I wish that I could hold out to my countrymen a reasonable prospect of rivalling on the mainland the plantations of Deli and Langkat. The tobacco leaf produced there is of an attractive, light colour, and fine, silky texture, and it is used almost exclusively for the outside leaf, or wrapper, of cigars. There has hitherto been a great demand for it in America as well as in Europe, but it is said that the McKinley tariff is operating unfavourably on the trade in this product, which has been established between Amsterdam and New York. Apart from this, it has yet to be proved that in the Malay Peninsula there is any place where tobacco can be cultivated under the favourable conditions as to soil and climate which are offered on the East Coast of Sumatra. I have seen splendid specimens of tobacco plants grown in Perak, but any successful experiment must satisfy commercial exigencies, both

as to quality of leaf and weight to the acre. It is in the latter particular that a tobacco estate on the West Coast of the Peninsula is likely to be found wanting.

Reasoning from the analogy of situation, aspect &c., I should feel disposed to expect greater success in tobacco cultivation on the East Coast, and I should like to see a really business-like experiment tried by one of the numerous companies who hold land in Pahang.

As far, therefore, as the agricultural resources of the Peninsula are concerned, I may say that we have a climate suited to the production of all kinds of tropical produce, and soil fairly adapted to every sort of tropical cultivation. But, as I have already described the Peninsula as being sparsely inhabited, it may be easily surmised that there is considerable difficulty about the supply of labour.

The time at my disposal does not permit me to enter into a disquisition on the labour question, and indeed the details of the subject are foreign to the object of this paper. It is enough to say that as the indigenous population is neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently industrious to furnish a permanent and cheap supply of agricultural labour, recourse is had to the labour-markets of India and China. The supply of coolies is a trade, giving employment to recruiters, brokers, shipping agents, depôt-keepers, and a host of other people. An artificial system of this kind, dealing as it does with men's liberties, and perhaps lives, requires careful watching on the part of a Government. The coolie must be protected, but if the labour obtained is not cheap, the planter says that it is of no use to him. The difficulty is to secure to the coolie all that he is entitled to, and at the same time satisfy the employer.

Intending planters can get any quantity of good Tamil coolies from India if they will give the rate of wages which is given to men employed on Government works. The term of agreement is three years, at the expiration of which the coolie is free to seek work where he likes. The planter must not expect, nor can I understand why he should wish, to keep on his labourers against their will after the expiration of their agreements. Chinese labour can always be obtained, though the competition of the Sumatra tobacco estates makes the bounty-money high. Javanese coolies are also used a good deal by planters.

Land can be obtained on easy terms. The Perak Government is advertising special inducements to Englishmen of capital and enterprise, and, as the States do not enter into competition with each

other, I think that I may say that these terms may be had, in any of the Protected States of the Peninsula.

The first ten approved applicants may select blocks of 1,000 acres, or two blocks of 500 acres each, which will be given free. After the end of the second year of occupation, a rent of 20 cents an acre will be payable; or, if desired, this may be commuted by one payment of \$3 an acre. If the block selected has road frontage, the depth must be three times the frontage. A *bonâ fide* commencement of cultivation must be made within twelve months after selection. Cost of demarcation, survey, &c., must be borne by the lessee. The Government reserve the right to levy an export duty not exceeding 2½ per cent.

Applications addressed to the Resident of any one of the Protected States, or to the Colonial Secretary, Singapore, Straits Settlements, will receive immediate attention.

State-assisted agricultural Colonies have been suggested, and the notion of creating rural districts by planting in the Malay Peninsula whole villages of industrious Chinese or Indian peasants, each with his wife and family, his cottage and his piece of land, is, I grant, an attractive one. But can it be realised except at a cost wholly incommensurate with the object? It may be asked why, seeing that emigration to Australia was materially stimulated by giving free or assisted passages and grants of land to selected Englishmen, the colonisation of the Peninsula may not be effected by pursuing a similar policy in respect of Chinese, Tamils, and Javanese? The answer is that the coolie-system has accustomed these people to believe that a free or assisted passage subjects the emigrant to a term of forced labour, and that the proffered boon will be regarded with suspicion. Even supposing this difficulty to be surmounted, the emigrant, after a short experience as a peasant proprietor, will perhaps find that he can earn more as a mining-hand or as a coolie in one of the Colonial towns. And if he abandons his holding, what has been effected by the State expenditure? If the project is worth trying at all, the best plan is perhaps to offer a reward of so many thousand dollars and a large grant of land to the Chinese or Indian capitalist who in three or four years can show—in a district previously uninhabited—a resident population of a number (to be agreed upon) of peasant families, imported by himself from India or China, who support themselves by agriculture.

It must be remembered, however, that an additional population, unless it contributes directly or indirectly to the revenue, is a burden rather than a blessing to a Government. The people must have roads,

schools, and police protection; and if the agriculturist is to have his land free, or on nominal terms, he is practically enjoying all the benefits of civilisation at the expense of the miner, who is thus made to bear the whole cost of the administration.

PROSPECTS

In venturing to form any opinion as to the future development of the Peninsula, and the further advance of the Protected States in commercial and political life, it is wise to reason from ascertained facts, if these be available. I have heard many visitors to Perak and Selangor predict for these States a "magnificent future," but I will not satisfy myself with a generalisation of this kind. I see every ground for hope, nay more, for confidence, but I do not conceal from myself that we have a great deal to do and a great deal to learn.

First of all, arguing of the unknown from the known, what has been the progress of the British possessions which form the Colony of the Straits Settlements? Penang has a history of 105 years, Singapore one of 72 years, while Malacca has been in British hands for 67 years. The result is principally noteworthy in the creation of the two seaports of Singapore and Penang, the former a very remarkable town, and the latter a commercial entrepôt of no small importance. The whole area of the Settlements is only 1,310 square miles; the whole population, according to the census of 1891, is only 505,080, namely:—Singapore, 182,650; Penang, 231,480; Malacca 90,950; that is to say, the Colony is nearly equal in area to the county of Shropshire, and the whole population is less than that of the town of Glasgow. Beyond the towns the population is sparse, though there are favoured districts on the coasts which are tolerably thickly inhabited.

Our Colonial possessions in the Straits of Malacca, where the British flag has so long guaranteed peace and protection to all comers, possess, however, many more inhabitants to the square mile than any Malay State in the Peninsula, and we have to face the fact that, if we are going to make the Malay States under our influence blossom like a garden, it must be by the means of a population drawn from some other place, or else the development of rural districts must be of very slow growth.

The British Settlements which I have mentioned have no mineral resources, and they have had to depend for their prosperity upon their commerce, and in a less degree on agriculture. It is only since 1867 that they have arrived at an equilibrium in their finances, and

their institutions are deeply tinged by the fact that for many years expenditure had to be very closely controlled by the Government of India. As it is, the Colony is indebted to the revenues of India for many of its public buildings, roads, &c., which were constructed before the transfer. The question is, whether the growth of the population and commerce of those parts of the Peninsula which are now being administered under British guidance is to be as slow as was that of the Colony, or whether there is good reason to hope that it may be more rapid? Further, will the Colony be able to continue to supply to the backward States that financial assistance which in her own case she received from the fostering care of India, and which she has in their turn in recent years given with no sparing hand to those Malay States that have required it?

Our hopes, of course, rest almost entirely on the tin-industry. Tin is the factor which governs everything in these States. We cannot expect to establish in the Straits of Malacca another seaport for ocean-borne trade, when we already have Penang on the north and Singapore on the south. And in the absence of an indigenous agricultural population like that which any district in Java possesses, the progress of cultivation must be slow. Even if we could hope for the conspicuous success attending a particular cultivation which we have seen illustrated in Deli (Sumatra) in the case of tobacco, and in Ceylon in coffee and tea, it would not compare in immediate results with a successful mining rush. When the price of tin is high, fresh mines are opened, and coolies and capital pour in from China; with the increase in population the excise revenue goes up, lands and houses increase in value, and a general impulse is given to everything. And so, on the other hand, if low prices rule persistently for some time, inferior mines have to stop work, coolies leave the State, the excise farmers are ruined, and there is general depression.

Supported by splendid mineral resources, the principal States have, unlike the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, been able to establish their financial independence within a few years of their first start under British guidance. They can thus construct their roads and railways now out of revenue, acting as if tin might some day fail them. Not that I think that there is any reason to fear that the tin deposits of Perak and Selangor will be exhausted within any period that can practically concern us. We may, I trust, look forward to fresh discoveries in these States when the known tin-fields, only partially opened out as yet, show signs of diminished production. And, as in the case of gold-mining in Australia, we may hope that

when the alluvial deposits are exhausted, lode-mining may take its place. In the Perak Administration Report for 1890, discoveries are mentioned, but lode-mining, which seems to offer to European enterprise a better field than alluvial mining, has not yet taken a foremost place in the industries of the Peninsula.

Of the prospects of Pahang, the acting Resident (Mr. Clifford) in his report for 1890 speaks hopefully, but in general terms. He points out rightly that, unlike Perak and Selangor, Pahang possessed no large resident Chinese population when first placed under British protection, and that the State is at present virtually closed to the independent Chinese miner, as nearly the whole of the available mining land is included in concessions held by companies. There is, unfortunately, no striking success on the part of any mining company to chronicle. The Raub mine has produced 1,500 ounces of gold, but from the prices quoted in the share-list this does not seem to be regarded in the financial world as indicating profits to the shareholders. But it is from the export duties levied upon metals, and from the excise farms, which are only valuable if there is a large Chinese population, that Pahang expects the revenue which is to enable her to make roads and railways. If the mining companies, in whose favour the resources of the State are now locked up, fail to produce tin and gold in large quantities and to give employment to thousands of Chinese miners, the State cannot advance until the day when the independent mining adventurer can have free admission.

I am aware, of course, of the difficulties placed in the way of industry of all kinds in Pahang owing to the entire absence of land communication. So strongly has this been felt that a survey for a line of railway has already been carried through, connecting Seremban (in Sungei Ujong) with Semantan in Pahang. Into the vexed questions of whether this line should be made, and how it should be made, I do not propose to enter, as they are now engaging the attention of the Governments concerned; but I may point out, for the comfort of those who regret delay in the matter, (a) that no centre of industry has yet been created in Pahang, though the direction of the railways in Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong has been decided by the existence of mining towns; (b) that in the latter States the export trade from the mines to the sea, and the import trade from the sea to the mines, have passed through two preliminary stages before reaching the third, or the railroad stage. At first all goods were carried up and down by means of boats on the rivers; then roads were made and carts superseded boats; finally railways were introduced.

In Pahang the natural evolution of things seems to be the same. When a mining centre of sufficient importance is established the rest will follow.

This brings me to the subject of railway construction in the Peninsula generally. There are advocates for a trunk-line, or inter-State line, which would run north and south, connecting all the States between Singapore and Penang, and which could at some future time be extended northwards through Siamese territory to meet an Indian line at Tenasserim. This is a favourite idea of those who indulge in visions of a short route from India to Australia. It is combated by others who concur in the views expressed by Sir F. Dickson, when administering the Government of the Straits Settlements last year, that, "with so fine a highway as the Straits of Malacca, ready made and costing nothing for maintenance, no such line is required, or can be required, for many years to come."*

Leaving engineering difficulties out of the question, we may probably assume that neither India nor the Straits Settlements will find the money to carry out at one time an undertaking of this magnitude, and that if ever our Australian fellow-colonists find it absolutely necessary to shorten their sea-voyage to England to this extent, the line must be built with Australian capital. But the extension of inter-State railway communication is much to be desired, and it seems to be not only reasonable but politic to keep in view in all railway extension now projected the possibility of through-communication being established at some time or other. Land-communication by rail with the food-producing districts (Siamese) in the north-eastern part of the Peninsula would be of incalculable benefit in time of war to the Straits Settlements and to the Empire, of which the coaling-station of Singapore is an outpost.

The available data for estimating the prospects of the region which I have been describing would be incomplete without a glance at the political constitution of the Protected States. The native ruler in each trusts altogether in the British Resident for the management of departments which are entirely foreign to Malay government. Numerous British officers serve in these States in various capacities, and these take their orders from the Residents. But in all that concerns the customs and religion of the people, the views of the rajas and chiefs are paramount, and it is only after their co-operation has been secured that any measure affecting these matters is carried out. I

* *Parliamentary Papers*, C. 622, p. 28.

have known vaccination resisted on religious grounds by a conservative chief who declared it to be contrary to the law of the Koran to make punctures in the skin of the human body. As regards education too, there are always partisans of religious intolerance who object to secular teaching and want the Koran and little else. Patient explanation, many times repeated, overcomes in the end all ill-founded opposition; but, on the other hand, native prejudices and susceptibilities are carefully studied, and the Residents not only allow every consideration to native rights, but, what is sometimes more difficult, insist that they shall be respected by British officers serving in the State, some of whom know little of, and care little for, the history, customs, and the language of the people among whom they serve.

In each State there is an advisory council, composed of Malay rajas and chiefs, with one or two of the principal British officials, and representatives of the Chinese community. Their function is to advise the Government on all important steps, both executive and legislative, and I can say from experience that questions of policy are frequently argued with great ability and acumen by some of the native members. The importance to the Resident of being able to gauge native public opinion by means of a Council of this kind cannot be exaggerated.

From time to time a good deal has been said in the Colony about the annexation to the British Empire of these Native States, but, in my opinion, mischief might be done were the notion to gain ground that any political change of the kind is contemplated or desired by those who know much of the Peninsula and of our position there.⁵ The interference of England in the government of these States is the result of the request of the Malays themselves, and it will be time to discuss the administration of the Peninsula as part of the British Empire when the natives have themselves demanded the position and rights of British subjects. Any unsolicited action taken in the direction which a small section of the small British community in the Straits Settlements desire, might, as Sir Frederick Weld said here some years ago, lay us open to the charge of "a breach of faith," and the extract from the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which I have already read, sufficiently shows why.

Confederation may be a feasible scheme some day, and it would probably be to the distinct advantage of the smaller States, the development of which is retarded by an insufficient revenue, to seek political incorporation with a larger neighbour. European establishments might then be much reduced and a great saving effected.

In the meantime the Colonial Government has been growing to the level of its new position and educating itself for larger functions. The concentration of all commercial and political activity in the towns seemed to give something of a parochial air to the Administration of Singapore and Penang. Not enough was known of the country districts, and insufficient attention was paid to the wants of the people inhabiting them. A great improvement has been effected in this respect within the last few years. District officers have been placed in one district in Penang, in three in Province Wellesley, and in two in Malacca. They live and work among the people, instead of being units in the town population, and are receiving the training which best fits a man for the charge of a Native State hereafter. A land-revenue settlement has been carried out in Malacca, and not only satisfies the Malays, whose native tenure has been secured to them, though the customary tithe has been commuted for a fixed assessment, but adds very much to the revenue.⁶

Taking the warmest interest in the Straits Settlements, in which I have served Her Majesty for twenty-seven years, I should like to see the Colony keeping well ahead of the Native States in breadth of view and liberality of policy on all important questions, while showing the way in all details of internal organisation. It is the tendency of those of us in the Native States who have no personal experience of administration, except that acquired in the Straits Settlements, to copy the institutions of Penang and Singapore, even though they be defective and out of date. Already, in my opinion, harm has been done by introducing into country districts in the Native States the unfortunate system of tenure by grants and leases in English, with which the Straits Settlements were saddled early in their history. The mistake is not yet, I think, beyond remedy, but it will cause endless trouble hereafter if persisted in.

Registration of title is being adopted in Perak and Selangor (I cannot say that the Titles Offices are in good order yet) and the Resident of Perak says, "I am not aware that land legislation in the Straits Settlements has yet advanced as far as this." A good system of registration of deeds, founded on the Yorkshire Registration Act, has been working in Singapore since 1886, but it has not yet been extended to Penang and Malacca, where a condemned system, dating from 1839, is still in force.

Again, I venture to think that, when we improve the Native States Courts, it is not to the judicial institutions of the Straits Settlements that we shall turn for a model. The expense, both to Government

and to suitors, of a system under which all the original civil jurisdiction, where the matter in dispute exceeds £8, is in the hands of the Supreme Court, is enormous. The simplicity of the Charters, under which the Recorders, in the days of the Indian Government, worked, has been abandoned in favour of adaptations of English practice. The Indian Penal Code was introduced in 1871, but a Criminal Procedure Code is still wanting.

The munificence of the Government of India in encouraging the study of native languages and literature, and aiding in the production of translations of standard works on Oriental law and religion, might well be imitated by our Colonial Government, and by the Governments of the Native States. A translation of one of the many Malay treatises on the ceremonial law of the Shafer Sect⁷ would be of immense use in our Courts. The best Malay—English dictionary is that of Marsden, who was a civilian at Bencoolen, and left that place finally in 1776. It was published in 1812, and cannot compare in fulness with the Malay—Dutch dictionary of Van de Wall, or the Malay—French dictionary of Fevre. Here again is a matter in which State assistance is required. Let me mention also the need of a Statistical Gazetteer of the Colony and the Native States. The materials for this are available in scores of blue-books and official publications, but there is no compendium of official information to which the traveller, planter, or miner may turn for all that he wants to know about these remote regions. It is a pity that these flourishing provinces should lack the description which has been so admirably supplied in the case of India by Sir W. W. Hunter and his co-workers.

At the same time I must acknowledge the substantial support which has been given by the Government to the Straits branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, an institution which was founded in 1878, and gives evidence of the existence of a laudable taste for scientific research, especially in the departments of ethnology and philology.

I have often regretted that the studies of learned Dutchmen in the field of Malayan literature, ethnology, &c., are so little known to us, owing to the general want of acquaintance, on the part of Englishmen, with the Dutch language. Among the subjects which candidates for cadetships in the Straits Settlements may take up is Italian. But Dutch has no place, an omission which might well be brought to the notice of the Civil Service Commissioners. I should like to see Dutch made an obligatory subject.

Returning now to the political future of the Native States, we

hope, I may say, speaking for the Residents of the other States as well as for myself, to follow the lines mapped out for us by a succession of Governors, striving by personal influence with all classes of the population to stimulate industry and foster improvement of all kinds, while securing justice for the poorest, and maintaining peace and order with a firm hand. It is easy to put such a programme into words; to carry it out in practice requires great activity of body and mind, unceasing vigilance and inexhaustible patience. Let those who would figure to themselves the life of a Resident in an advancing State imagine a house being built where not only the mason's and carpenter's art has to be taught, but the making of each brick, the sawing of each plank, and the forging of each nail has to be superintended. We are excellently supported by the British officers who have joined the service of the State, and of whom, as regards Selangor, I can say, what Mr. Swettenham says as regards Perak, that the State is very zealously and faithfully served by them. A Dutch friend of mine who visited the Native States told me that nothing struck him more than the spirit of energy which seemed to pervade the public service. Each man, it seemed to him, took a personal pride in pushing on improvements and advancing the interests of the State to the best of his ability, often sacrificing to this his immediate comfort and convenience.

I am not, however, one of those who think that subordinate officers do better when left to themselves than when they are controlled by regulations and supplied with instructions. The young men who join our service arrive with everything to learn, and the education which is to make them good magistrates and successful collectors is to be acquired in the way in which it is acquired in other countries. Our railways are constructed and controlled by professional engineers, our hospitals are under the superintendence of skilled surgeons. For District officers, similarly, we require men who learn their trade in a proper school. Between the man who, though honourable and conscientious, knows nothing of any system of law, and has never studied Oriental land-tenures, and one who has administered justice under the Indian Codes, and has carried out a land-revenue settlement in a district under proper regulations, there is all the difference that there is between an amateur and a professional.

The Parliamentary Blue-book containing the reports of the Residents of these Protected States for 1890 will, as I have said, shortly be published, and to it I must refer you for the details of last

year's administration. Though the financial aspect of affairs is not as brilliant as could be wished, owing to commercial depression and the low price of tin, there is no cause for uneasiness. An ample revenue is being realised in Perak and Selangor, even though a temporary check is being experienced in financial progress. Let me say in conclusion that a Resident aims at being nothing more than a faithful agent of the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and a faithful friend and adviser of the Malay Sultan whom he advises, and whose government he carries on. A distinguished Governor once quoted to me the candid admission of the chief official member of a Colonial Council that, "when a Colonial Secretary begins to think that he is a statesman, it is time for him to go home on leave." Statesmanship the Resident is content to leave to the Governor, occupying himself with the busy post of Administrator, supported and fortified, if he deserves it, by the confidence and goodwill of his chief. I should deprive myself of a pleasure, and should deem myself ungrateful, if I did not take this opportunity of acknowledging the lessons learnt and encouragement received from such men as Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir William Jervois, Sir William C. F. Robinson, Sir Frederick Weld, and Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who have successively governed the Straits Settlements during the last sixteen years—a period notable for steady advance in the strength of our administration in the Colony proper, and in the organisation of civilised government in the Malay Peninsula.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN: Before proceeding with the discussion I may announce that Sir J. F. Dickson, Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, had fully intended to be present and to take part in the discussion, but he has been suddenly called away on public business. I may, however, congratulate the meeting on the presence of several other important personages, including Sir Henry Blake, who starts to-morrow for Jamaica; Sir W. C. F. Robinson, who has just returned from Western Australia; Sir Wm. Jervois; and Sir Hugh Low. I will first call on Sir Wm. Jervois, who formerly held the reins at Singapore.

Sir WILLIAM F. D. JERVOIS, G.C.M.G., C.B.: It is with great pleasure I rise to notice the able paper read by Mr. Maxwell. He was for many years an officer under me when I was Governor of the Straits Settlements, and I may say—what he himself cannot—that he

was one of the ablest officers I ever came across, and that he subsequently most ably seconded Sir Hugh Low—whom I am glad to see present—in bringing about the prosperity of the Malay Peninsula, which he has so well described. I may mention that I had the pleasure, as one of my last acts as Governor, to appoint Sir Hugh Low as the Resident at Perak, a place which he filled most nobly. My experience in the Malay Peninsula, however, only extended over two years, when I was called away to advise the Australasian Governments in matters relating to their defence, and subsequently became a Governor in Australia. Were I to enter into my experience even during those two years I should occupy your time too long. But I may say that great events occurred. It was, indeed, during that time that the prosperity commenced which has been so ably depicted by Mr. Maxwell. I do not intend to detract from the merit that is due to my predecessor, Sir Andrew Clarke, who established that system of Residents which has been the foundation of the prosperity of the Peninsula, but he was there only a comparatively short time afterwards, and was unable, of course, fully to develop the system. The thing really started from the circumstance of my finding it necessary to assume the government of the country myself, in the name of the chief native authority of the State. Amongst other matters, there were two Sultans in Perak, one appointed by the people of Perak and the other was the nominee of the English Government. I believe the latter was really the Sultan of Perak by birth, but whilst he thought that he exhibited his Sultanship by sending to England for a magnificent uniform, the other stood to his guns and held the regalia of Perak, and thereby constituted himself the Sultan of the State. There was really no alternative but to assume the government of those countries oneself, and to issue a proclamation accordingly. From that time railways have been constructed, roads have been made, states have been protected, and the prosperity described by Mr. Maxwell has been the desired result. I may mention *en passant* the fear with which I used to visit the State of Selangor, when, as Governor, a salute was fired in my honour. They used to lash a gun to a tree—the vent was almost as large as the muzzle—and when firing, I used to keep at a respectful distance lest the whole concern should blow up. I may mention that whilst I was Governor I visited the whole of the Malay States, and amongst others that of Tringanu. In the course of my stay I said I should be happy if the Sultan would pay me a visit, and on my return to Singapore I found an embassy from the State, asking me to send a ship for the Sultan. I sent the ship,

but what was my horror to find this ship return with the Sultan and one hundred men and fifty women, whom I had to put up for ten days—not at my own expense, however, for I obtained a special grant in consequence of this extensive arrival. As regards the *entourage* of the States, nobody can imagine the extraordinary step from a Malay to a Siamese State. It is like passing to another world. The people are different, the mosques are different—everything is different. In regard to the future of the Peninsula, Mr. Maxwell has deprecated the idea of annexation, and in that I myself heartily join. We obtain everything we can possibly require with the present position of affairs—by protecting them, advising them, and getting them to act in unison with us, and no step in advance whatever would be taken by annexation. As Mr. Maxwell has said, we have practically abolished slavery in these States. It is one of the great things with which I had to deal. I utterly despaired of being able to make any impression on others in this matter, but by the able administration of Sir W. Robinson, Sir Hugh Low, Sir F. Weld, and others, steps have been taken by which slavery has been well-nigh abolished in the Peninsula, and the people are free almost as British subjects. I repeat, in conclusion, that we owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Maxwell for bringing this subject before us.

Sir WILLIAM C. F. ROBINSON, G.C.M.G.: It is due, I presume, to the circumstance that I was at one time (but only for a short time) Governor of Singapore and the Straits Settlements that the compliment has been paid me of asking me to address you this evening. I comply with great pleasure; but I should like to remind you that it is nearly fourteen years since I resided at Singapore for a little over a year, and consequently, although I have by no means forgotten my residence there, I cannot pretend to address you with the recent knowledge of the state of the Colony or with the freshness of information possessed by Mr. Maxwell, and which has been so ably placed before us by him. Mr. Maxwell has given us most valuable statistics as to the progress of the Malay Peninsula since we practically took charge of the country by appointing Residents to advise the native rulers. He has told us that the revenues of those States are—at all events some of them—very flourishing, and that they are practically free from public debt; and speaking to you as an Australian, or at all events one who has resided nearly seventeen years there, the only complaint I have to make on this score is that they appear to be so provokingly prosperous that they do not require to place loans on the London market, and so are prevented from

becoming so well known in this country as I think I may say the Australian Colonies are. Mr. Maxwell has referred to the position of the Residents in the Native States, and has done so with becoming modesty. But I do not think he has quite given the audience to understand the extreme delicacy of the position in which they are placed, and how much is due to their tact and conciliatory demeanour as regards the natives, and at the same time the firmness with which they are able to advise the rulers and to insist on their advice being taken. A paper was read a few years ago in Australia on this subject, and with your permission I will read a few passages bearing somewhat on the social life of the Malay Peninsula which has not been touched upon by Mr. Maxwell, who has very properly given us statistics of greater value and importance:—

The climate of the Peninsula, though hot and moist, is not unhealthy for Europeans; and, with the exception of a marsh fever, which sometimes attacks the imprudent, I believe there is nothing to be dreaded on the score of health. Hurricanes and earthquakes are unknown, and, as many parts of the Peninsula are admirably adapted for sugar, coffee, and other valuable crops, it is not surprising that British enterprise and capital have already found their way into the territory. The Malays—according to Miss Bird—must undoubtedly be numbered among civilised people. They live in houses which are more or less tasteful and secluded. They are well clothed in garments of both native and foreign manufacture; they are a settled and agricultural people; they are skilful in some of the arts, specially in the working of gold and the damascening of knives; the upper class are to some extent educated; they have a literature, even though it be an imported one; and they have possessed for centuries systems of government and codes of land and maritime laws, which, in theory at least, show a considerable degree of enlightenment. . . . The system of government in the various States is despotic. The rulers—whether sultans, rajahs, or what not—have occasionally to fight for their authority, and a writer of note has placed it on official record that nothing has more tended to the deterioration of the Malay character than the want of a well-defined and generally acknowledged system of law. Things are, of course, better in this respect in those States in which we have Residents, and which are under British protection, and the Malays themselves are among the first to acknowledge it. Indeed, the general impression among the people in the Protected States is that those States are already British territory. . . . It is not unnatural that this impression should prevail when it is remembered what their condition was and what it is now. Formerly there was no attempt at a proper administration of justice, simply the strong and wealthy dominated and oppressed the poor and weak, whilst each chief in his own district raised such taxes as he pleased and could get. Now certain fixed revenues well known to the whole population are collect-

ed at fixed stations by Europeans who take what is due and no more. There are courts of justice at the chief town or village of each district, presided over by European officers, sometimes a native sitting with them, when, though the justice administered by them may not be strictly in accordance with English law, still the magistrate is not to be bought, and gives his honest opinion. Of course Government are constantly impressing on the Residents the necessity of doing everything in the name of the chief native authority, and on no account to exceed their proper functions as Residents. That is the theory of the system, and we have over and over again told the Residents that they will be held responsible if trouble springs out of their neglect of it. But practically it is not, and cannot be, strictly observed; and I must candidly admit that it would not be for the benefit of the States themselves that it should be strictly observed. . . . You may naturally ask why the British Government interfered at all in the affairs of the Protected States; and why, if interference were deemed necessary, we did not annex them outright, instead of merely protecting them, and placing British officers in the delicate and difficult position which I have described? The reply to the first question is that interference became necessary, not only for the benefit of the States themselves, but for the protection of British trade. The States alluded to are close to British territory. Trade relations had been established between our ports and theirs, British capital had been invested in the business, and as any disturbances in the States (a matter of frequent occurrence) threw our business transactions out of gear, there was apparently no alternative but to step in and practically take charge of the country. Why, as we had to step in, we did not go further and annex the States, instead of merely protecting them, is a question of policy which appertains to H.M. Government, and on which it would not be proper that I should offer any observations.*

I ask you whether that is not a difficult position for a public officer to occupy. No one has occupied the position in the Malay Peninsula with more distinction than my old friend Sir Hugh Low, whose example Mr. Maxwell so worthily follows. I take them as types of a splendid set of officers who are doing good work in the Peninsula, and I am quite sure that so long as England can send out educated, intelligent gentlemen like these to take part in governing these important countries, so long will our dominion and authority last. Our dominion and authority in the East will commence to recede when we are obliged from economy or any other cause, which God forbid, to send inferior men to deal with the races under our protection. So long as we can send out men like those to whom I have referred, firm yet conciliatory, men of education, temper, and dis-

**On Duty in Many Lands*. A lecture delivered in Adelaide in September 1884 by Robinson, who was Governor of the Straits Settlements between 1877 and 1879.

cretion, so long shall we be able to deal successfully with the native races, and to open up fresh avenues for our commerce and benefit the Empire at large.

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.: I am afraid I cannot do justice to the subject which you have had the kindness to place in my hands. I am quite overwhelmed, for I confess I was totally unprepared to find myself brought so prominently forward. Mr. Maxwell is an old friend of mine, and if I was able to do anything for those I served it was very much owing to the assistance of Mr. Maxwell, who had been acting for some time before I went there under Sir William Jervois. On my first arrival I was perfectly ignorant of everything in the country, though I had a pretty good knowledge of the Malay character. Mr. Maxwell went with me on my first expedition, and before we had been, I think, a month on the journey we found a Chinese community which repudiated the idea of any European going there to assist the Government of the country. The disturbance was not suppressed without resort to force.⁸ This had a good effect, and it was a long time before anything of the kind occurred again. Mr. Maxwell is, as Sir W. Jervois has said, one of the ablest officers who ever served a Government, either in the Straits Settlements or anywhere else. I consider the Government has been exceedingly fortunate in the officers who have governed these distant and previously unknown States. They were unknown in Europe, and almost unknown in Singapore, until Sir Andrew Clarke's and Sir W. Jervois's time. It was supposed they were very rich, and the statistics Mr. Maxwell has read show how important they are in regard to the production of the very valuable metal used so largely now in the tin-plate trade. There are other resources of the country not yet sufficiently developed. Mr. Maxwell says he has not much in the way of statistics in regard to gold. I had the opportunity just before I left of sending an officer named Bozzolo to explore the River Kelantan.⁹ I should explain that when I first went out to the East in 1848 the Malays used to get all their gold from the Malay Peninsula. It was of very fine quality. Australian gold was then unknown; but even after the introduction of the Australian gold the native gold commanded a higher price. This gold came principally from Kelantan, but I have no doubt a great deal came down the Pahang, as the two rivers have their sources near each other. The officer whom I sent to explore the Kelantan reported to me most extensive workings of gold, which must have employed many thousands of people for many years. The people of Kelantan had more gold ornaments than the people of any

other country. This officer wanted to buy a few things as samples, and the people brought them to him in large quantities. That gold was all the production of the Kelantan River, and I have not the least doubt that in a short time now we shall see gold coming from the river if only the Siamese Government can guarantee efficient protection to the Europeans likely to go there. It is a pity our rights over the river have not been more strongly asserted, but that is a thing we cannot help now. Mr. Maxwell has so well described the present condition of the Protected States that there is nothing to add. On the subject of labour, I think his views and mine are not quite in accord. He thinks the planters complain unjustly that the Indian coolies, after they had become seasoned and useful men, are taken on at the Government works. These coolies serve an apprenticeship of three years. It takes two years after they come from India before they are of much use, and a good many of them never become efficient labourers. Now the Government on making a contract pays a higher price than the States can afford, and this has the effect of attracting the coolies who have served their time, and who are really useful men, although the Government has borne no share whatever of the cost of bringing over these men and training them as useful labourers. It would be only fair, I maintain, that the Government should annually import a number of coolies equivalent at least to a fair proportion of those who are attracted from the States—that is to say, the Government should bring over a certain number of men from India, and proportionately share the risks attendant on making them useful labourers. On the subject of tobacco, I may say that small patches may be grown as good as any produced in Sumatra; but there is, I believe, no hope we shall ever be able to cultivate the plant successfully. There is no reason to fear that the mining industry is at all likely to diminish. The lodes have been found in many places, but the country is covered with jungle, and cannot possibly be supposed to be explored. I have a great belief in the Peninsula. If my health permitted, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to go again to that beautiful country. I have never seen anything so lovely as the ride up to the cottage in Perak now occupied by Mr. Swettenham, and which is on a mountain some 4,500 feet high. The approach is through a magnificent jungle, teeming with palms and forest trees, laden with creepers, and abounding in beautiful birds. I thank you for listening to me so patiently. I should like to add that I have served under all the Governors whom Mr. Maxwell has named, and I found they were always ready to take the responsibility and to give me their

support, especially in such matters as the slave business, which was not an easy thing to bring about. I believe that each of them has looked on me as a friend, and I am proud of so great an honour.

Mr. JOHN FERGUSON (Ceylon): I desire to express my admiration for the clear, concise, and practical way in which Mr. Maxwell has treated his subject. There are one or two matters which some of us would like to have had discussed—for example, the difficulties which Mr. Maxwell and other administrators must have had to deal with in respect of gambling, opium, and the regulation of the drink traffic; but of course it would be quite impossible to enter into all these questions in the limited time available. My interest in the subject of the paper arises from the fact that I have resided many years in Ceylon, and have watched everything connected with tropical agriculture, and I have noticed the rise of the Straits Settlements in planting and in tropical agriculture generally. I should like first of all to make one remark in reference to the reason which the lecturer suggests for the giving up of Java to the Dutch at the time of the great peace after Waterloo. Mr. Maxwell thinks the reason was that there was a feeling that Java was indispensable to the vitality of Holland as a European Power. Now, in Ceylon there has always been a tradition that when at the end of the great peace the question arose as to which should be given back, Java or Ceylon; if anything, we had a greater claim to Java, because of previous settlement and occupation, than to Ceylon; the decision was in favour of the retention of Ceylon as being indispensable to the holders of India, the harbour of Trincomalee being recognised as the key to the Bay of Bengal, and commanding the commerce of Calcutta, Madras, and Rangoon. In regard to the Straits' general revenue and the planting question, I must congratulate Mr. Maxwell and others on the wise policy adopted in the Peninsula of laying aside the surplus revenues from the wonderful mining enterprise as a fund for railway and road extensions. We always regret that in our early days of prosperity we did not put the proceeds of our land sales and the large surplus railway revenues into such a fund instead of amalgamating them with our general revenue. I am entirely in favour of Dutch being made a compulsory language for Straits Settlements' cadets, having recently visited Amsterdam and seen how much valuable administrative and agricultural information is published in Dutch. You all remember the great calamity which befell Ceylon ten years ago, when we lost a great many of our planters in consequence of the failure of coffee. Some 300 to 400 left us between 1881 and 1885.

These men went wandering around the tropical and subtropical world, the Straits Settlements, Borneo, Natal, Queensland, New South Wales, and Fiji; some to the West Indies, South and Central America, where the President of Guatemala got a Ceylon planter to open a model coffee and cinchona plantation; and in 1884 I followed some others to California and Florida to find them orange planting. But most of all they located themselves in North Borneo—which has been called the New Ceylon—and the Straits Settlements, and of course we have followed their pioneering work as recorded in their own letters to us, and in the official reports of Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Swettenham in connection with the development of planting in the States. The planters in the Straits Settlements have had the great advantage of sympathetic officials who have done all they could to promote the development of plantations of coffee, pepper, and other products. It was rather different with us in Ceylon, where the planters often found a certain number of officials who had the old idea that the Colony was better off without the planters. But in regard to the products Mr. Maxwell mentions, I have a strong belief that coffee can be made a profitable cultivation in the Malay Peninsula, and that coffee and pepper are the two products to which the planters there ought to devote their chief attention. The conditions are different from those in Ceylon and Southern India, and more favourable to coffee. In the Peninsula coffee plantations can be isolated, opened in virgin soil, surrounded by forest land so as to keep off fungus pests, with admirable means of transport in roads and railways, and having cheap freight to the European markets. Above all, in the Eastern world coffee is becoming a rare article, and the world's supply now depends on Brazil, which may shorten its shipments any day through a revolution, bad government, or the breaking out of some pest. So it is partly with pepper. It is one of the articles the supply of which is less than the demand. It is very different with tea, for already this product threatens to be overdone in India and Ceylon, as the falling prices in the London market testify. One of our great troubles now in Ceylon is to find drinkers for all the tea that we produce. I have lately come from Vienna, and in Austria and Germany have been trying to get the people to drink Ceylon tea. In Amsterdam I was annoyed to find that although the Java planters have begun freely to cultivate tea, yet they have done little or nothing to get their countrymen in Holland to consume their produce, but rather send their tea to the London market. All this goes to show that tea is overdone, and that coffee and pepper are

safer products to cultivate in the Malayan Peninsula. As to labour supply, experienced planters of the right sort, if supported by a liberal Government, as suggested by Sir Hugh Low, may be trusted to overcome any difficulty in this direction. In conclusion, my Lord, I would, with, I am sure, the concurrence of Australian colonists present, press the importance of developing the planting (or farming) industry as well as mining in the Straits. No country dependent on the latter alone can be said to be in a stable position. As regards the "stream gold" to which Mr. Maxwell alluded, I am reminded of an Indian saying in reference to this most widely distributed of metals. It is that the natives of Southern India, when they have no work, go and wash for gold in the nearest river, and make 2 annas a day (3d.); and it is on record that one made one day 4 annas (6d.).

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my agreeable duty to close the proceedings of the evening by moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Maxwell for his very able paper. I am sorry I am not in a position, from personal experience of my own, to add to the information which other speakers have given you. I have been twice through the Straits of Malacca in the *Sunbeam*; I have twice visited Singapore, and once Penang and Malacca, but I have never had the advantage of travelling through the Protected States. Of Singapore I may say that nowhere on the face of the wide earth are the results obtained by British energy and enterprise, and the security afforded by our flag, more splendidly illustrated. It has become, in a comparatively few years, the centre of an enormous trade. It has banks doing a splendid business, docks of great capacity, a harbour full of shipping; and now, I am happy to say, the shipping is secured from attack by strong and well-armed fortifications. What has been achieved at Singapore under the immediate jurisdiction of the Crown is being carried forward in the Protected States by our Residents. The position of a Resident in a Native State is one of great isolation and of immense responsibility, and one can hardly find words adequately to express admiration of the noble work done by administrators who perform the important duty of guarding the frontiers and the outworks of our great Empire. We look upon the Colonies from a somewhat practical standpoint. We ask ourselves what is the field they offer to British enterprise? Mr. Maxwell has spoken of the production of sugar, coffee, and tea, and he has mentioned that the getting of tin is the paramount industry in the Malay Peninsula. He has also alluded to a project in which, as the son of a great constructor of railways, I feel he has great interest—viz., the possibility of

constructing a railway from the Straits Settlements to join the great Indian system of railways at Tenasserim. I have no doubt that line will some day be made and then Australia will be brought within sixteen days of England. I am sure you will all be glad to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Maxwell, and to wish him God-speed on his return to the important post which he has filled so well.

The motion was cordially approved.

MR. W. E. MAXWELL, C.M.G.: I beg to thank you most heartily for the very kind reception which you have given to my paper and to me personally. I must also express my warmest thanks to those who have taken part in the discussion, and for the complimentary remarks they have been so good as to make about myself. I am returning to Selangor in a week, and I know perfectly well that my comrades out there will receive the greatest possible encouragement in the performance of their duties when they hear that their exertions are sympathetically followed by the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute. Before sitting down, I wish to ask you to join in offering our very grateful thanks to our noble Chairman, who is one of our Vice-Presidents, and is always so ready and willing to do all in his power to promote the best interests of the Institute of the Colonies at large.

The motion was passed with acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

1. The Dutch effort to establish control over Acheh became less 'desultory' during the 1890s. By 1898 Dutch forces had achieved pre-eminence in the area, and the conquest of the region was substantially completed by 1903, although resistance to Dutch rule continued for some time thereafter. (See A. Reid, *The Contest for North Sumatra, 1858-1898*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press/University of Malaya Press, 1969.)

2. In 1891 Malayan tin production amounted to 32,400 tons, about 47 per cent of total world production. A certain amount of tin originating elsewhere was also exported through the Straits Settlements.

3. Although sugar was a major crop in Malaya in the late nineteenth century, it was unable to compete with production elsewhere (notably Java and Cuba) and after 1900 most sugar land was replanted with coconuts or rubber.

4. Liberian coffee was favoured by planters in Malaya because it was resistant to the fungus which destroyed the coffee industry in Ceylon in the 1870s. Coffee prices peaked in 1893-4 but then declined sharply, causing serious losses to planters. The Malayan coffee industry did not recover and most coffee land was planted with rubber

after 1900. (See J. C. Jackson, *Planters and Speculators*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, pp. 167-207.)

5. Maxwell's views on annexation of the Malay States were changeable. In 1885 he wrote: '... I do not look upon Perak and Selangor as foreign States governed by their own Rajas, whose policy is beyond the direction or control of the Government of the Straits Settlements. I regard them rather as non-regulation provinces of the Colony, which are certain, sooner or later, to form parts of it. . . . 'Memorandum on the Introduction of a Land Code in the Native States in the Malay Peninsula', compiled by W. E. Maxwell, printed by Government, 1894, p. 27. Moreover, according to J. de Vere Allen, Maxwell told the Colonial Office in 1895 that he favoured annexation. (See Allen, 'Two Imperialists', *op. cit.*, p. 50, n. 28.)

6. Maxwell spent much of his career dealing with problems of land tenure in the Straits Settlements, where English forms of tenure were used, and in the Malay States, where largely as a result of his efforts they were not. The land system in the Straits Settlements did not require registration of deeds, an omission that caused enormous confusion because the government often was unable to determine the status of a given parcel of land. The land legislation introduced in the Malay States was based on the Torrens System of Registration of Title in which all particulars relating to tenure are entered in a land register maintained by the government. Maxwell's views are contained in a series of publications, including *Straits Settlements, Present and Future Land Systems*, Rangoon, at the Government Press, 1883, 'The Law and Customs of the Malays with Reference to the Tenure of Land', *JMBRAS*, no. 13, 1884, pp. 75-220, and 'Memorandum on the Introduction of a Land Code in the Native States in the Malay Peninsula', *op. cit.*, and various papers in the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements during the 1880s.

7. 'Shafer Sect' The Shafi'i school of Islamic law, based on the writings of Muhammad Ibn-Idris ash-Shafi'i (Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi'i) (150 A.H./767 A.D.-204 A.H./820 A.D.), rejected non-Islamic sources such as local custom and personal opinion as a basis for law in favour of principles found in the Koran, the *Sunna* of the Prophet, and analogy derived therefrom. This school predominates in Islamic areas of South-East Asia.

8. This episode, to which Maxwell refers on p. 132, took place near Tanjong Piandang in the Krian District of Perak on 11 May 1877. For Low's account, see Emily Sadka (ed.), 'The Journal of Sir Hugh Low, Perak, 1877', *JMBRAS*, 27, pt. 4, 1954, pp. 58-9.

9. Bozzolo's report on this expedition is in CO 273/158/4762 (Confidential Desp. of 31/3/1889).

British Rule in Malaya

F. A. Swettenham**31 March 1896**

Chairman: Sir Cecil Clementi Smith

I

THE MALAY STATES BEFORE THE ADVENT
OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND THE SPECIAL
DIFFICULTIES IN INTRODUCING A BETTER
FORM OF GOVERNMENT

THREE papers dealing with the Malay Peninsula have been read before this Institute, the first in 1874, by Mr. Leonard Wray, entitled "Settlements on the Straits of Malacca," the second by the late Sir F. A. Weld, in 1886, entitled "The Straits Settlements and British Malâya," and the other by Mr. W. E. Maxwell, in 1891, on "The Malay Peninsula; its Resources and Prospects." I don't think that in what I have to say I shall trespass on the ground covered by any of my distinguished predecessors.

I had meant to call my paper "The British Government of Native Races," but I felt that the subject was too wide and too open to controversy to be dealt with in the time allotted to a lecture of this kind; I therefore ask you to bear with me while I give to your consideration an account of "British Rule in Malâya," as illustrating a particular and somewhat peculiar instance of the British government of native races—a subject which is certainly not without interest, however I may fail to do justice to its attractions.

I say the case is special, because the Malay is imbued with peculiar characteristics which make him unusually difficult to deal with, and as I am now speaking of the beginning of our close intimacy with Malay affairs, and that took place in the year 1874, I had better use the past tense, though I do not mean by that to infer that everything that was then is altered now. It is almost inconceivable that up to January 1874 so little was known of the Malay or his home; but it is no exaggeration to say that at that time there were not in the Straits

Settlements half-a-dozen Europeans who could have correctly stated the names of the Malay States or the titles by which their rulers were known. The Straits Settlements, as you know, is an exceedingly ill-named Crown Colony, embracing the small island of Singapore at the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula; the smaller island of Penang, 360 miles further north, with two strips of the Peninsula called respectively Province Wellesley and the Dindings, and yet another strip of the mainland, called Malacca, lying between Singapore and Penang. The country from which Singapore is divided by a narrow but deep channel is Johor, and between Johor and Province Wellesley lie all the States over which we have established our influence since 1874. They are, going northwards from Johor: the Negri Sembilan or Nine States, at the back of Malacca, and Pahang to the east and north of them; then Selangor, and lastly Perak, the northern district of which marches with Province Wellesley. It is convenient here to state that, on the east coast, there are two independent Malay States, Trengganu and Kelantan, north of Pahang; there are also a number of small States (formerly called Patani) under Siamese influence to the north and west of Kelantan, and there is the State of Kedah (now also under Siamese control) to the north of Province Wellesley. It was from the Raja of Kedah that the East India Company purchased the island of Penang and the strip of mainland called Province Wellesley in 1786, and one of the conditions of that purchase was that the Ruler of Kedah should be protected against his enemies. The Honourable Company, however, failed to observe that condition of the bargain, and the Siamese shortly afterwards attacked and conquered Kedah, driving the Sultan to an asylum in the Company's territory.

These are dull particulars, but they are necessary to convey some vague idea of the geographical position of the remote countries in whose later history I wish to interest you, and also to make it clear that if "the Straits Settlements"—which in truth suggests nothing at all—is but an empty sound to those who live 8,000 miles away, it is certainly curious that, while the Colony, in part, was actually on the Malay Peninsula, its inhabitants, with few exceptions, knew almost as little of the rest of the land as they might be expected to know of Patagonia.

As to the state of ignorance regarding the Malay Peninsula and its inhabitants in 1874, I can speak from personal knowledge, without fear of contradiction, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, our predecessors were not much better informed than we were, and no

one who has left any written record of his experience knew any more of the interior than could be learnt by the briefest and most cursory visit to some place of comparatively easy access. I may, however, dismiss the subject with the statement that my friend, Mr. Clifford, the newly appointed Resident of Pahang, was, so far as we know, the first white man who ever got any distance into Trengganu and Kelantan. His journey was made last year, and he went, not alone, but as the leader of a considerable armed expedition.

So much for the country and our knowledge of it. As no one could guide us to the place it will be understood that we were hopelessly ignorant of the people. I am not going to draw the Malay for you, I have done that elsewhere, but I question whether there was, in 1874, an Eastern more difficult for an Englishman to approach, to conciliate, to understand, or to appreciate. The native of the Golden Chersonese has been well styled "the mysterious Malay." When we first attempted to help him, and teach him how to help himself, he was an unread book to us—a book written in a language we did not understand; a book of which we had scarcely seen the cover. Beyond this, the Malay did not want us; his jungles and his rivers were all-sufficing, his traditions told him nothing of the white man, except that a few had come to trade with him in the past centuries, but they had either left of their own accord or he had got rid of them by his own peculiar methods, and no real punishment had overtaken the murderers of an isolated garrison or the pirates of a lonely sailing ship. The up-country Malay used to be so little of a traveller that, in the days I speak of, few of those who lived fifty miles from the sea had ever seen it, and this, added to the fact that no stranger ever trusted himself into the fastnesses of the Peninsula, will explain the extraordinary ignorance of the people as to all matters beyond the narrow confines, not only of their own States, but of their own villages. When I first went into the Malay States the Malays of Pêrak laughed at the idea of a British soldier or sailor ever making his way through their roadless forests, and there is no doubt they believed that if they could get rid of Mr. J. W. Birch and me, the only two white men they knew, no others would ever come to seek satisfaction of them.

In order to appreciate the people, to secure their trust and sympathy, it was necessary to get to them, to speak to them, to understand them, to conciliate them. It was an undertaking for which we were not then qualified, and I have insisted upon the premises because I wish you to understand the real nature of the task

we undertook in trying to make ourselves, our methods of government, our ways of life and of looking at things, acceptable to the mysterious, the dignified, the suspicious, the high-spirited Malay. Add to what I have already said that the foreigner, the interloper, the introducer of new and distasteful ideas was at least a professing Christian, while the Malay was something more than a professing Muhammadan, and you have the outlines of the terms on which we entered, with characteristic lightheartedness, into a position that has, I believe, no exact parallel in English administrative experiments.

With such antagonistic elements it is hardly surprising that the first development should have been the assassination of the officer who represented the uprooting of old Malay life and the passage of power from hereditary Muhammadan chiefs to the dictate of an unknown but infidel stranger. It is true the solitary white man had foreseen this contingency and had told the people to whom he was sent that behind him there was a power that, having once set its hand to the plough, never looked back; but it was natural that the Malays, circumstanced as I have described them, should smile at this statement and prefer to believe that the white man was seeking his own profit and aggrandisement and had nothing to support him beyond what they could see.

II

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN MALĀYA

It will be asked how and why we were in the Peninsula at all, at least in that part of it beyond the confines of the Colony. If I try to answer this question with the brevity necessary to the time at my disposal, you will understand that a real explanation of the causes which led up to our interference in the Malay States in 1874, cannot be given in such narrow limits.

The highest British authority in the Straits of Malacca is the Governor of the Colony I have already named. The settlements contained in it formed an Indian Presidency, first under the old Company and then under the Indian Government, until, in 1867, they were converted into a Crown Colony by desire of the European inhabitants. Outside their proper jurisdiction the Indian and Colonial Governors of the Straits had always had to deal with what had been to them a serious bugbear, the independent Malay States, of which they knew practically nothing, except that they were the hotbeds of

internal feud and external piracy and raid; that they were the cause of constant trouble in themselves and complaint from British subjects; that no satisfaction whatever was to be got out of them under any circumstances; and that the distant authority, to which the Governor felt he must refer these extra-territorial questions, invariably declined to consent to any measures of coercion being taken to bring recalcitrant Malay rajas to reason, or to enforce any orders or advice which the Governor might think it necessary or expedient to offer. So much was this the case that British subjects in the Straits were warned that, if they chose to seek adventure or profit in the Malay States, they would do it at their own risk, and it was concluded that if they got into trouble they could get themselves out of it without any hope of assistance from the British Government. In the face of modern views of British expansion all this sounds very long ago and far away, but it was as I have stated until Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Clarke became governor of the Straits in 1873. With his coming, there was a change of policy, and as, at that moment, the state of the Peninsula was at its very worst, Sir Andrew Clarke took advantage of the position and of his instructions to put an end to a condition of affairs that had become well nigh intolerable. I will not pretend to describe the circumstances; I have partially done so in another paper; but the most violent struggles were going on in Pèrak and Selangor, both Malays and Chinese being equally concerned, and both States were being rapidly depopulated. The small States round Malacca (now happily united into one) were each and all in a state of ferment if not of open fighting, and, worse than all, these quarrels on our borders were spreading to the Colony, our police stations were attacked, the Penang house of a rich Pèrak chief was actually blown up, in the hope of destroying its owner, and every day peaceful British subjects sailing through the Straits of Malacca were murdered and their vessels looted and burned. It is necessary to add that these proceedings continued for months, in spite of the fact that British war vessels were doing all in their power to protect the shipping and secure the pirates. Owing to the nature of the coast, a complete network of creeks, known only to the pirates and guarded by an immense mud bank, the efforts of our navy were without result, and matters culminated in an attack by the pirates on boats manned by British crews, when two naval officers were seriously wounded.

That seemed to be provocation enough, and the Government of the day must, I think, have determined that something ought to be

done—what that something should be, Sir Andrew Clarke, with characteristic promptitude, very soon decided. A Pèrak raja had written to the Governor, explaining that he, the rightful heir to the position of Sultan, had been supplanted. The raja asked for the Governor's assistance to secure his birthright, and also requested that a British officer might be sent to him to teach the art of administration, offering, at the same time, to provide him with a suitable residence and to defray the cost of his salary and all other expenses out of the revenues of the country. I believe that this was the first suggestion of the residential idea, and if I am right, it is both curious and interesting that it should have originated, even in its crudest form, in the Malay States. An experienced officer was sent to Pèrak to make inquiries, and his report was to the effect that this raja's claims were good, but that, for various reasons, mainly traceable to his own neglect of established customs, he had been passed over in favour of a man who did not, on his father's side, belong to the ruling family of Pèrak. That was for the Malay question interesting enough in its way, but it was like others that had preceded it in other States without leading to any interference on our part. At this time there were many thousands of Chinese mining in Pèrak, and the war of Chinese factions, already answerable for such incidents as the slaughter of 3,000 people in one day, a naval engagement which would make a story of its own, the violent antagonism of Chinese secret societies in the neighbouring Colony, and the daily acts of piracy in the Straits of Malacca, were, however, new factors in Malay politics, and they seriously threatened, if they had not already disturbed, the peace of the British Settlements. Governor Sir Andrew Clarke's instructions were to inquire into and report upon Malay affairs, specially the advisability of appointing a British officer to reside in Malâya, but he saw that this was an emergency where half-measures were useless, and, having first secured the acceptance by the Chinese of his arbitration in their quarrel, he summoned the Pèrak chiefs to a meeting and made with them the Treaty of January 20, 1874, by which Raja Abdullah was acknowledged to be Sultan of Pèrak, and provision was made for the appointment of a British officer, to be styled British Resident, whose advice was to be asked and acted upon in all matters other than those affecting the Muhammadan religion or Malay custom. This officer was also, by the treaty, entrusted with the collection and expenditure of all the revenues of the State.

I leave you to imagine the difficulties and dangers of that officer's

position. The first man who undertook it, or rather the first who actually held the substantive appointment and attempted to discharge its duties, was Mr. J. W. Birch, the Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements. His abilities were great, his energy extraordinary, but he did not speak Malay or understand the people with whom he had to deal. He was murdered in November 1875—murdered to satisfy the hatred of foreign interference, the intolerance of the white man's control—and it is extremely likely that at that time a better knowledge of things Malayan would not have saved the British representative. His death was very amply avenged; none of his actual murderers escaped, and many of those who had openly or surreptitiously consented to the crime also paid the penalty of their participation in it. More than this, the country was occupied by British troops for months, and the Malays, to their intense surprise, saw both the British soldier and blue-jacket in inland strongholds where no white face had ever before been seen, save perhaps that of the man whose death they had come to avenge.

This expedition, and the cause of it, were not incidents of Sir Andrew Clarke's government; he had already left the Straits, and it was only at the moment of his departure that the small cloud of possible trouble first appeared on the horizon. The Pêrak difficulty seemed to be solved, and Sir Andrew had at once taken up the cases of Selangor and Sungei Ujong, placing British residents in both of them, and in the latter having to deal with the armed resistance of a dissatisfied chief, who after defeat fled the State and eventually took up his residence in Singapore.

Sungei Ujong and the Negri Sembilan subsequently were the scenes of considerable fighting, and both of them experienced the benefits of occupation by a British military expedition. I say benefits advisedly, I do not mean that a military expedition is all benefit to those against whom it is sent, far from it; but I mean that in the Malâya of those days, no amount of good advice, no sacrifice of individual lives, no missionary effort even, could have done so much for the Malays, or, to speak candidly, for us, as this show of force. The actual amount of damage done in killing, wounding, or looting was very small indeed; everyone was treated as a friend who did not conclusively prove himself to be an enemy, and the people had very little feeling in the matter; but the chiefs, who alone had anything to lose by our advent, realised at last that the British power really existed, and could make itself felt in a way that was as novel to them as it was disagreeable.

You are now in possession of the facts which led to the acceptance of a Malay invitation to send a British officer to teach British methods of administration; you understand how that idea was extended to all the States from Penang to Malacca, and you will realize that, having set the western side of the Malay house in order, it followed, as surely as day follows night, that we should be compelled to deal similarly with the east coast, and Pahang, the southernmost of those eastern States, has already passed under our protection, and, if it has given trouble, we may fairly hope that its future will be no less prosperous than that of its western neighbours.

III

OUR TREATMENT OF MALAYS AND NATIVES GENERALLY AS COMPARED WITH THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY SOME OTHER NATIONS

I now come to that part of my subject which is perhaps of the greatest interest. It is this: Having been given what, if you like, we will call an opportunity—not perhaps a very attractive one—how did we deal with it? How did we treat the people who invited us to send them a teacher, and then, having obtained the real end they sought, murdered their guest?

You may fairly say that my words convey a suggestion which is incorrect. It was not the Malay people who asked for the British official, it was a disappointed Malay raja who, desiring British recognition of a coveted position, offered the invitation as a means to that end. He obtained the end he sought, and he was properly held responsible for what happened to the guest entrusted to his care.

In all the States there were three classes of natives to be dealt with: first, Malay chiefs, the hitherto rulers of the country; second, the Malay people; third, the Chinese. The lines on which we have treated all classes are the same; we have endeavoured to administer the same justice, to show the same impartiality to all. Indeed, we have revolutionised the social life of the people, and if I can convey to you the vaguest idea of the actual conditions of Malay society when first a solitary British officer took up his residence in each of these States, you will be able to appreciate the value of what has been done.

First, remember, that I am speaking of the East, and of a corner of it so remote that the rest of the East was hardly aware of its existence. As to what went on therein, no outsider knew or cared. In each State

the ruler, whether he were sultan, raja, or chief of lower rank, was supreme and absolute. His word was law, and oppression and cruelty were the result. Under the ruler were a number of chiefs, usually hereditary, who took their cue from their master and often out-Heroded Herod in the gratification of their vengeance or the pursuit of their peculiar amusements. The people counted for nothing, except as the means of supplying their chiefs with the material for indulging their vicious tendencies. They occupied land, but they did not own it; they worked by command and without payment; they were liable to be deprived of anything they possessed that was worth the taking, or to be taxed to meet the necessities of the ruler or the local chieftain; their wives and daughters were often requisitioned by members of the ruling class, and when they ceased to any longer attract their abductors, these women, often accompanied by other members of their families, went to swell the ranks of the wretched "debt-slaves," a position from which they probably never escaped, but, while they filled it, were required to perform all menial duties and were passed from hand to hand in exchange for the amount of the so-called debt, exactly like any other marketable commodity. The murder of a *raiyat* was a matter of easy settlement, if it ever caused inquiry, and for the man who felt himself oppressed beyond endurance, there was left that supreme cry of the hopeless injured, which seems, with the Malay, to take the place of suicide—I mean the blind desire to kill and be killed, which is known as *měng-ámok*. That was how the Malays were treated in their own country, and you will readily understand that the Chinaman was regarded as fair game, even by the Malay *raiyat*, who, if he met a Chinaman on a lonely road (and nothing but jungle tracks existed) would stab him for a few dollars, and rest assured that no one would ever trouble to ask how it happened.

I have not exhausted the catalogue of horrors, I have only generally indicated some of them, they still exist upon our borders in the States of Trengganu and Kelantan, where as yet Malay methods of government prevail; but I have told you enough, and it is surely something to be able to say that, in every State where there is a British Resident, slavery of all kinds has been absolutely abolished; forced labour is only a memory; Courts of Law, presided over by trustworthy magistrates, mete out what we understand as justice to all classes and nationalities without respect of persons, and the lives and property of people in the protected Malay States are now as safe as in any part of Her Majesty's dominions.

It is a detail that the first Residents had no Residencies. Mr. Birch never had one in Pèrak, he lived in a boat, and it was years before anything like a comfortable house was built in any of the States to which British Residents were accredited. The climate is trying, and I mention this fact because a good house means all the difference between comparative comfort and certain misery. Once arrived at his post the Resident had to evolve the rest out of his inner consciousness. No one knew what he was to do, there was no precedent for anything, no scheme and nothing to guide Residents in those early days beyond a general instruction that they went to the Peninsula, not as rulers but as advisers; that they were not to interfere in the minor details of government more than was absolutely necessary, and that if they ignored these instructions and trouble sprang out of their neglect of them, they would assuredly be held responsible. At the same time there was the Pèrak Treaty, by which the British Resident was to collect and expend all the revenues of the State, and his advice was to be asked and acted upon. The caution to refrain from control or interference in details was, moreover, rendered absolutely meaningless by the orders constantly issued in Singapore which concerned every detail of administration. I must not, however, omit to mention that in enjoining upon Residents the purely advisory nature of their duties, the Secretary of State said he recognised the very delicate nature of their position. You will not forget that, at first, the Resident carried about in his own person the only means he possessed of enforcing his advice.

From the first the Resident found that the Malay lower classes were on his side, though they were not always able to openly show it; while the Chinese and all other foreigners were of course delighted with the advent of one whom they looked upon as a protector. The great difficulty was to establish really friendly relations with the ruler and to either conciliate or overawe the chiefs, many of whom were powerful enough to at least covertly disregard the orders of the ruler. The task was a sufficiently difficult one, as those who were then Residents know; but it was accomplished by treating generously the chiefs who had undoubted claims to a share in the revenues; by constantly seeking the society of the malcontents and talking to them in their own language, patiently explaining the objects of every proposed innovation; by putting the men of most consideration on State councils; and, in a few cases, by assuming a determined attitude, and, where necessary, out-swaggering the greatest swaggerer of them all.

With the ruler, when once freed from the influence of his old advisers, the most successful course was to seek his friendship, to join with him in all his amusements, to go on expeditions with him, to make his acquaintance and, if possible, earn the confidence of the members of his family, and to persuade him that the interests of his country were your chief care, and that no step of any importance would be taken without first consulting him.

A thorough experience of Malays will not qualify an official to deal with Chinese—a separate education is necessary for that, but it is a lesson more easy to learn. It is almost hopeless to expect to make friends with a Chinaman, and it is, for a Government officer, an object that is not very desirable to attain. The Chinese, at least that class of them met with in Malāya, do not understand being treated as equals; they only realise two positions—the giving and the receiving of orders; they are the easiest people to govern in the East for a man of determination, but they must know their master as he must know them. The Chinese admire and respect determination of character in their rulers, and hold that it is a characteristic as necessary as the sense of justice. The man who possesses the judicial mind, but is too weak to enforce his own judgment, will never be successful in dealing with Chinese.

It is by the employment of such means as I have described that we have obtained our influence in the Malay States, and, as British methods in the treatment of native races have been unfavourably compared with those employed by other nationalities, or self-governing Colonies, I think both the means used and the results obtained by British officers in the Malay Peninsula (and again I must ask you not to forget the difficulties of this case) will favourably compare with, let us say, American methods towards the Red Indians, Australian policy towards the aborigines, the methods of Germany in Africa or of Spain in South America and Cuba, even with the policy adopted by our experienced neighbours, the Dutch in Netherlands India. You will not want me to describe to you how our uncontrolled countrymen, or these foreign nations, have dealt with the question of their subject races; but, in America and Australia, the original inhabitants are being improved out of existence, while charges, many of which we need not believe, though some could probably be established, are brought against the treatment of their native subjects by German, Spanish, and Dutch officials. They are no doubt quite able to defend themselves and prove to their own satisfaction that their methods are the best, but

when comparisons are sought it may at least be stated generally that English Governments, in assuming to advise or control native races, aim at securing, on the one hand, freedom of religion and of trade for all nationalities, and, on the other, the expenditure in the country of the whole of the revenues raised there. It is unlikely that anyone has suggested that France has obtained any contribution from her Colonies; on the contrary, they have, at least in modern times, been a heavy expense to the Mother Country, but both Spain and Holland have taxed their Colonies for contributions to the parent exchequers.

There are of course many other sources of interesting comparison between British methods of governing native races and those employed by our neighbours, or even by our own countrymen when no longer subject to English control; and specially there is the practice of compelling natives to cultivate certain products and to sell the whole of the crop to the Government at fixed rates. The question is, however, too wide for more than the briefest reference here, and I am confident that the lines on which we have not only "advised," but controlled the later destinies of the Malay, will bear comparison with the methods employed by any of our neighbours.

IV

THE RESULTS OF OUR POLICY IN MALAYA, AND THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE. SOME STATISTICS OF THE MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE STATES UNDER OUR PROTECTION, AND THEIR FUTURE PROSPECTS

When British officers first entered the Malay States as advisers they found that a very small revenue was raised in each by the taxation of every single article that entered or left the country. As a rule the tax was proportionately higher on the necessaries of life than on luxuries. In a few years our influence abolished the duty on every article of import, except opium and spirits, while the export duty on tin, the principal product, was much reduced, and on many of the less important exports it was altogether removed. This policy, with the appointment of British officials to all important Government posts, the organisation of police forces, and above all the putting of everyone who applied for land in possession of what was meant to be an indefeasible title, gave so much confidence that immigrants from

the unprotected Malay States, from the Dutch possessions, from China, and from India, poured into the peninsula, and the revenues increased by such marvellous strides that I will venture to give you a few figures to illustrate the actual results of our policy in Malāya.

The first year of which it is possible to give any statistics is 1875; and the revenues of the various States then, and at intervals of five years since, are as follow:

<i>Revenue</i>					
	1875	1880	1885	1890	1894
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Pèrak	226,233	582,496	1,522,085	2,504,116	3,542,114
Selangor	115,651	215,614	566,411	1,888,928	3,334,468
Sungei Ujong	67,405	83,800	120,214	277,910	397,130
Negri Sembilan	—	—	—	107,033	137,876
Pahang	—	—	—	62,077	100,220
Total	409,289	881,910	2,208,710	4,840,064	7,511,808

I give the expenditure during the same period, because it shows that all the revenues were spent in the States; and when, as was the case everywhere at first, and is still true of Pahang, the revenues were not sufficient to meet the expenditure, the difference was covered by loans from the Colony or the wealthier States.

<i>Expenditure</i>					
	1875	1880	1885	1890	1894
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Pèrak	256,831	521,995	1,316,625	2,447,929	3,587,224
Selangor	111,305	202,806	826,526	1,996,544	2,817,292
Sungei Ujong	68,736	70,143	118,804	261,647	364,082
Negri Sembilan	—	—	—	115,589	144,678
Pahang	—	—	—	297,702	249,120
Total	436,872	794,944	2,261,955	5,119,411	7,162,396

The combined revenues of the five States were estimated to amount last year to about \$8,000,000; which means that in the time British residents have controlled the finances of the protected States they have succeeded in increasing the revenues at least twentyfold.¹ I should like to go into details of that revenue, for you may wonder how it is raised, after what I have said about the abolition of imports and exports. Well, in all the States there are three main sources of revenue. First, an export duty on tin. It is a very high duty, about 12 per cent. of the value of the metal; but we are justified in imposing it, because it is the country's capital, and the Chinese can work at such low rates that while the Malay Peninsula produces five-sixths of the world's tin it is able to command the market in this sense, that it can undersell every other tin-producing country; and when the price of metal falls so low that our miners have to curtail their operations, it will mean that in other countries the mines have already been shut down, and the consequence will be a smaller production and a rise in price. The tin duty is, then, our principal source of revenue, and I have consistently held the opinion, hitherto justified by results, that the rise and fall of prices in European markets need cause us no great anxiety, and if, by reason of a further fall, our production should be reduced, I do not think that fact should be regarded as an unmixed evil.

Our next principal source of revenue is the heavy duty we impose on all opium imported. In some States the right of collecting this duty is sold for a term of years at a fixed monthly rental. That plan has objections, and I prefer the collection of the actual duty by Government officers. The opium question has so recently been the subject of exhaustive inquiry that I will refrain from further allusion to it, except to say that Eastern people are not altogether lacking in intelligence, and they unfortunately know that if the great mass of Europeans are free from the opium habit, they indulge in intoxicants, and European Governments profit by the indulgence. To the Eastern it appears preposterous and illogical that people at the other end of the world, alien to him in religion and sympathy, should busy themselves over his moral obliquities when their own are so open to criticism. The third principal source of revenue is a monopoly of the import duty on spirits, and the exclusive right to manufacture them for native consumption. This monopoly is usually "farmed,"² as it is termed, to Chinese; and there is often included with it a similar monopoly of the right to license public gambling-places and pawn-broking shops. It was perhaps natural that those in this country who

understand nothing of the conditions of society in the Malay Peninsula, who judge Chinese and natives of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago by their own standards of morality and their own somewhat narrow—I had almost said ignorant—conception of the daily life of human beings in parts of the world beyond the reach of their study, should desire to see licensed gambling abolished in countries where British officers influence the administration; but while I must deny myself the opportunity of giving you the multitude of reasons advanced by those who, with full knowledge and experience of the subject, hold contrary views, I will only say that where the gamblers are Chinese, and the conditions of life such as prevail in the Malay States, you may stop *licensed* gambling, but you cannot put a stop to the far more pernicious practice of *unlicensed* gambling. In the wake of unlicensed gambling follows a train of evils that make the attempt at cure (and that a fruitless attempt) far more objectionable than the disease. This is exactly one of those points where it is assuredly wise to remember that our position in the Malay States is that of advisers.

I have told you the main sources of revenue in all the States, sources which existed long before the days of British Residents, but I must now mention two new items for which we are responsible. One is a land revenue.³ We put the people in absolute possession of the land they required, and in return for that we charge them with the payment of a quit rent which varies in accordance with the class of land occupied. The revenue raised from this source in 1894 was—

In Pêrak	\$235,666
Selangor	138,216
Sungei Ujong	35,537
Negri Sembilan	32,797
Pahang	28,367
<hr/>	
Total	470,583

This item of revenue is capable of great expansion, especially when we undertake, as we have already in Pêrak begun to do, large schemes of irrigation⁴ to enable us to produce a rice crop at least sufficient for the consumption of our own people, and possibly surplus enough to feed the native population of the neighbouring British Colony.

The other source of revenue is derived from railway receipts, and it is considerable. In Pêrak the railways are expected to produce this

year \$622,750, and in Selangor \$720,000, sums which give a very high rate of interest on the capital invested. In Sungei Ujong there is also a railway, but it belongs to a private company; it carries a Government guarantee, and so far has been a source of expense to the Government of the State, though of course it has been a great public convenience. I trust these railways will, as funds permit, be considerably extended; and though it cannot be expected that such proportionately high returns will be secured, still, the total receipts may be largely increased. The revenues derived from land and railways, the result of British advice and direction, are more satisfactory contributions to public funds than the monopolies which, as far as the railways are concerned, have supplied the means to construct them.

Under British advice and control a regiment of highly trained and disciplined Indian troops has been raised, and these men have on several occasions been called out on active service, and have undoubtedly saved the employment of British troops. We have organised police forces, constructed admirable model prisons, hospitals in every centre of population, and public buildings to meet all requirements. We have built lighthouses and water-works; but our principal, and I think our best, efforts have been directed towards the construction of roads and railways and the erection of telegraphs. British advice has prevailed for twenty years in the peninsula; but for a long time we had no funds for the construction of costly works, and yet we can point to nearly 200 miles of railways, 2,000 miles of roads, and over 1,000 miles of telegraph lines, built in a country that not only contained none of these things, but which was covered almost entirely by thick jungle. It is worthy of mention that our railways have been called "works of art," and yet they give higher returns on the capital expended than, I believe, any railways in the world, and our roads are admittedly excellent. We have organised a civil service to whom the main credit belongs for working out the existing results of British influence. The members of this service have shown a zeal and devotion beyond all praise, and I almost regret to say, that we have carried on the administration with such economy that it has cost one-third or one-fourth the amount paid in British India for similar services under perhaps less trying conditions. Finally the trade of the protected States is worth nearly sixty millions of dollars annually, and the figures represent real consumption and production. We have not altogether neglected scientific matters, and in Pêrak, where there is an admirable Museum, the

Government has spent a quarter of a million dollars on making a trigonometrical survey of the State. Of the other institutions that most nearly concern the public, your Chairman can, I think, bear out the statement that the hospitals are very ably managed institutions, under the personal supervision of English surgeons; that the prisons are built and conducted on the most approved principles; and though we have not done all for education that was possible, still we have done a good deal—and the question of education in the East is one that I feel possesses great difficulties. Nothing but good can, I think, come of teaching *in the native languages* what we call the three R's; and of greater value still are the habits of orderliness and punctuality, and the duties inculcated by teachers in the hope of making good citizens of their pupils. We have schools for girls as well as boys; and that, I think, is cause for congratulation in a Muhammadan country, where it will be understood that the only religious instruction is that of the Korân, at special hours, and usually by a special Korân teacher. I do not think we should aim at giving Malays the sort of higher education that is offered by the Government of India to its native subjects, but I would prefer to see the establishment of classes where useful trades would be taught. It is unfortunate that, when an Eastern has been taught to read and write English very indifferently, he seems to think that from that moment the Government is responsible for his future employment, and in consequence the market for this kind of labour is overstocked, while many honourable and profitable trades find difficulty in obtaining workmen, because of the prejudice against anything like manual labour.

A native of the East is curiously prone to imitate the Western, but his imitation is nearly always only partial—hardly ever goes to the root of things, and fails by the omission of some important particular. He clothes himself in items of the European dress, he learns scraps of the language, essays British sports, without sufficient energy or determination to thoroughly succeed, and he will even, with what seems praiseworthy enterprise, take up the planting of some new product in imitation of an European neighbour, often, I regret to say, wasting thereby a capital that would have been better employed in some other form of planting or business which he really understood. Just as I think the Eastern is never so well or becomingly dressed as in his national costume, so I think it should be our object to maintain or revive his interest in the best of his traditions, rather than encourage him to assume habits of life that are not really suited to his character, constitution, climate, or the circumstances in which

he lives—which are, in fact, unnatural to him, and will lead him to trouble and disappointment, if not to absolute disaster.

The greatest achievement of British influence in Malâya is the enormous improvement in the condition of the Malays themselves. They are freer, healthier, wealthier, more independent, more enlightened—happier by far than when we went to them. I think this is a fact on which every officer in the services of the various Malay Governments may be sincerely congratulated; and many of those officers are themselves Malays, and under our guidance have contributed to this result. I fear it cannot be expected that the British Government, still less the British people, should take much interest in such a distant and unknown corner of the world as the Malay Peninsula, but you, who have been good enough to come here to-night, will be glad to hear this confident statement of mine. I am trying to avoid the mention of individual names—it is so difficult to prevent injustice by omission—but I cannot forbear to say that the present happy condition of the Malays in that State where they probably outnumber all the rest of their countrymen under our influence is due mainly to one whose name will never be forgotten in Perak, and that is my friend Sir Hugh Low.

I may tell you two facts that have a special interest as showing what Malays in high places think of British rule. The present Sultan of Pêrak visited England in 1884. When he returned a feast was given to welcome him back, and the banquet was attended by all the principal Malay chiefs in the country. I was present, acting for the Resident, absent on leave, and it was rather surprising to hear Raja Dris⁵ (for he was not then the Sultan), in a fluent and admirably expressed after-dinner speech in his own language, state that for ten years they had watched British methods with misgiving and apprehension, but now, on behalf of the Regent, of himself, and of the Pêrak chiefs, he wished to say that there was no longer any hesitation in their minds, for they recognised the value of what had been done for them, and they would not accept a return to Malay rule.

The other incident occurred in Pahang a few weeks ago. You know we had trouble in Pahang, and at one period of it the Governor of the Straits Settlements thought it well that the Sultan of Pahang should visit Singapore. Our connection with Pahang is comparatively recent, and it appears that the Sultan felt then such little confidence in our good faith that he vowed that if he ever returned to Pahang he would give his weight in silver to the poor. The other night His Highness fulfilled the promise, and after a great feast he

duly took his seat on one scale, while silver dollars to the number of 2,362 were piled on the other, and, the balance being thus exactly adjusted, the money was at once handed over for distribution to the poor.

I have tried to give you some idea of the sort of place Malâya was in 1874; I have mentioned some of the work done under British influence since, and I have imperfectly sketched the present position, both as regards the country and the people. I am no prophet, but I see no reason why the prospects of the future should not be measured by the experience of the past. The keynote of that success is liberality, especially in the treatment of Malays, the owners of the land; in encouragement to all those willing to risk their capital and health in a new country, and in the construction of useful public works, which so far have always returned, directly or indirectly, the money spent on them.

Our main aim now should be the encouragement of planting, because I take it that the permanent occupation and cultivation of the soil is a more worthy object than the desolation of the face of the country by surface mining. Planting in Malâya has had much to contend against; but the Englishman who goes to the East to plant is usually the *fine fleur* of his kind, and the men who have made Ceylon what it is, who recovered there from the most crushing blow, and from the ashes of Arabian coffee have raised a yet more successful product, are not to be denied, and they have proved to demonstration the value of the Malay Peninsula for the growth of Liberian coffee—proved not only that it will grow, but that it will pay, and will last. There may be a fortune in other tropical products, but I will not go into the attractive but doubtful region of possibilities. The facts are that in the Malay States there are millions of acres of unexplored and uninhabited jungle, magnificently timbered and watered, and capable of producing any species of tropical agriculture that flourishes under the equator. This land has facilities of access that, if not unrivalled, are certainly great, and improving every year. The labour question was a difficulty, but a high authority on planting once said to the members of this Institute, "As to labour supply, experienced planters of the right sort, if supported by a liberal Government, may be trusted to overcome any difficulty in this direction." I will undertake to say that the planters in the Malay Peninsula are of the right sort, and that if they get that liberal support which I believe it is to the interest of Government to give them, Mr. John Ferguson,⁶ who knew the temper of the men he was

speaking of, will be found to have gauged them accurately. At present, you understand that we rely almost for existence upon the export of tin. It may last for ages, but it is certain that we have already seen some fields of the mineral worked out. It goes, and as there is nothing behind it, we must find something to replace it. We exact a high duty, and that money we invest in railways that give us a good return and open communications that make our waste lands available for agriculture. That seems a good enough reason why we should encourage the *bonâ fide* planter; but, in my opinion, it is a far better one that we should try to secure a settled population to till the soil and convert some of our millions of acres of jungle into cultivated fields that will supply their owners with subsistence. Our first duty, I take it, is to attract immigrants, and the best way to keep them is to settle them on the land. When once they are there, not only will they personally contribute to the revenue by paying land rent, and other direct and indirect taxes, but the Government can always impose a moderate duty on any produce exported.

The gold-mining industry in Pahang and Pêrak is now of such importance that, without being over-sanguine, one may regard it as giving promise of a good, perhaps of a great future. Good indications have also been found in the Negri Sembilan, and, considering the nature of the country and the immense difficulties of prospecting, it would be reasonable to suppose that the little we know of gold, in what I hardly need remind you is the Golden Chersonese of the ancients, is surely less than remains to be discovered. The Chinese must ever receive the credit for taking full advantage of the facilities we offered them to make tin mining the most important industry in the protected States; but it is a satisfaction to think that what has been done for gold is the work of our countrymen; for I imagine that the Australians who, with men of this country, have done such excellent service in Pahang and Pêrak will not object to my counting them as Englishmen.

V

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE SECRET OF SUCCESS, AND THE BEST POLICY IN DEALING WITH NATIVE RACES

From what I have already said you may have gathered the principles on which we based our treatment of the Malays. If so, I wish to

emphasise those principles, and to state in detail the methods which secured us the confidence of the Malays—methods which will serve equally well with any other native race that comes under British influence.

The first requirement is to learn the language of the people to be ruled. I mean to learn to speak it and write it well. And the first use to make of this knowledge is to learn as much as possible about the people—their customs, traditions, character, and idiosyncrasies. An officer who has his heart in his work will certainly gain the sympathies of those over whom he spends this trouble. In the Malay States we have always insisted upon officers passing an examination in Malay, and the standard is a high one.

The main care of those responsible for the administration should be to keep faith in any matters of agreement, and to do everything possible to secure justice for every class and every nationality without fear or favour. To punish crime and redress wrong is probably the greatest novelty you can offer to an Eastern, and, though he has been accustomed to all forms of bribery, he very soon understands and appreciates the change of *régime*, when to offer a bribe is not only an insult, but will almost certainly get the would-be briber into serious trouble.

I take it the leading motive of government in an English Dependency is to spend for its advantage all the revenues raised in it, never seeking to make money out of a distant possession, or exact any contribution towards Imperial funds. The Malay States are not, of course, British Dependencies and the rule I speak of has been very carefully observed with them. This policy is one which appeals specially to intelligent natives of the East, and as long as these principles are maintained the spread of English rule can only be for good, and no native race, Eastern or otherwise, will regret the advent of English advice, as in Malāya, or English control, as in India.

That is as to what we should do. It is almost as important to bear in mind what we should not do. We should not interfere overmuch with native customs and prejudices, and we should be specially careful to avoid any attempt to force English views, even when English opinion is practically unanimous on a subject, upon a people living under utterly different conditions, and who, if their voice is hard to hear, may still bitterly resent what they think an intolerable interference.

VI
THE NEW DEPARTURE CONSEQUENT
ON THE MALAY TREATY OF FEDERATION
CONCLUDED LAST YEAR, AND THE
ANGLO-FRENCH TREATY OF JANUARY 15
LAST CONCERNING SIAM

For twenty years British Residents filled that curious position in the Malay States which I have described to you; but the difficulties became daily greater as the States increased in importance, and I am glad to say that last July, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a treaty was concluded between the Governor of the Straits Settlements (Sir Charles Mitchell), acting for and on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, and the rulers of all the States under our protection, by which all previous arrangements concerning the appointment of Residents were confirmed, and the following new provisions were mutually agreed to:—

(a) The federation for administrative purposes of the protected Malay States, with an undertaking to mutually assist each other with men or money.

(b) The appointment of a Resident-General, as the agent and representative of the British Government under the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

(c) The raising of a force of Indian soldiers for service in any part of the peninsula, or, if required, in the Colony.

This new departure needs no comment; it has the Secretary of State's approval. As no step has yet been taken to get the scheme into working order, it is early to anticipate the results of the change. I would remind you, however, that this is the first time any scheme of administration has ever been framed, for hitherto the Residents in each State have worked without reference to their neighbours' action. I trust that in future, at any rate, a nearer approach to uniformity will be secured. The other advantages of this and a sympathetic control of Malay affairs will easily occur to you. The rulers of the four States (for Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan are now one) understand very well the objects of this new Treaty, its provisions, and the effect likely to be produced in the peninsula; but certainly one of the principal reasons why they so readily subscribed to it is, that while they undertake to give each other financial and other assistance, under the advice of the Resident-General, they will now at least be consulted in the matter.

This federation has united the interests of all the Malay States, from the confines of Siamese influence in the north to Johor in the south. Less than two months ago Her Majesty's Government concluded an important Treaty with France concerning their respective interests on the borders or in the neighbourhood of Siamese territories. I wish only to allude to one provision of this Treaty, and that is, that the French and English undertake to recognise and practically guarantee the independence of what may be called Central Siam. That is a very useful provision, for it prevents any possibility of conterminous boundaries between France and England. To the north of Pahang and east of Pêrak there are two independent Malay States, Trengganu and Kelantan, where flourish all those abuses and cruelties that have been swept away from the States under our control. I suppose it is absolutely certain that these States will in time come under British influence. Under present conditions they are bad neighbours; they harbour murderers and bad characters of all sorts, and they have already caused the other States a great deal of trouble and expense. To go further than this would be to indulge in speculations that the Siamese might consider hardly friendly. Everyone can best draw his own conclusions after a careful study of the map of the peninsula; but the conditions of life in some of the small States to the north of Kelantan are such that one may well hesitate to say that Siam claims to exert any influence within them.

One thing, however, is certain—that no connection can at present be made between Malayan and Burmese systems of railway and telegraph without going through territory over which Siam claims suzerain rights, though the land is actually part of Malâya. We are already within measurable distance of a through railway from Province Wellesley to Port Dickson, and, if Englishmen in the Straits of Malacca had showed anything like the energy exhibited in Africa or Australia, a port of such commanding importance as Singapore would have years ago become the terminus of a Malay Peninsula railway that would at least have traversed the whole of the western States. As the eastern States develop under British control an east coast railway will possibly be the great civilising influence on that side, and the systems of west and east coast united would naturally, by a short northern extension, join the railway scheme of Burma, where the gauge is the same as ours. By means of a railway service across the peninsula and a line of fast steamers from the east coast through the Torres Straits, it is said that the journey from England to Australia can be materially shortened. What is true of

railways is equally true of the telegraph, and it might in time of war be of great Imperial importance to have an unbroken land-line from India to Singapore.

VII

THE BRITISH OFFICIAL AND THE PUBLIC

So far I have described to you the results of a unique and most interesting experiment, and I have, I hope, proved to you that in the face of special difficulties we have secured the happiness, the prosperity and the confidence of all classes of natives in the Protected Malay States, because we have observed those principles which, I believe, must always bring with them an equally good result.

In conclusion, I wish to say one word about the European and the manner in which he should be treated by Government officers in order that he also may share in the advantages that can be gained by risking his life and fortune in a new country. I have heard Europeans, especially Frenchmen and Germans, say that they would rather live in a British Colony than in one governed by officials of their own nationality. They give many good reasons for the view they hold, and it is only necessary to mention here one of them—it is the general statement that British officials are more get-at-able, more practical, more sympathetic, and more business-like than either French or German Colonial officers. In spite of that independent testimony—on the correctness of which I can hardly with propriety offer an opinion—I think that the English official has something to learn in his treatment of men of his own colour who approach him in his official capacity. In Malāya so much has been done by Orientals, that the achievements of the white man look very small indeed. Roughly speaking, the Chinaman has supplied the revenues, and the Government, under the direction of British officers, has laid the money out and made the country what it is. Of private European enterprise, except in planting and a few mines, there has been practically none. I think there would have been more if further encouragement had been offered, but some British officials appear to acquire, in the course of their service, a habit of looking with suspicion on all their own countrymen who have any official dealings with them. It seems remarkable that it should be so, but almost anyone can bear out my statement, and I think everyone who has influence should use it to discourage an attitude which, if assumed by a senior officer, will very soon be imitated by his juniors.

I have never been able to sympathise with this frame of mind myself, because I have, I am glad to say, in a somewhat long experience, never seen anything to justify it. Ten men may ask a Government official for something, undertaking on their part something in return. Nine may fulfil their promises and the tenth may fail. Because of that one failure, or even if the proportion were higher, it is not a sufficient reason for the official to regard all future comers as untrustworthy. I don't think anyone who knows my official life will accuse me of want of sympathy for the native. I have been trying to tell you how absolutely necessary I think it is for the successful government of natives; but those to whom the administration is entrusted must not ignore Europeans. Government officers are there as the temporary stewards of a property—the servants of the public. It should be their object to encourage every legitimate enterprise for the advancement of the country and the profit and prosperity of those who dwell therein. I trust I shall not be understood as advocating extravagance or carelessness for the interests entrusted to us; but between due caution and restrictions which make profitable enterprise almost impossible, there appears to me to lie the whole art of successful government. It would perhaps seem absurd to remind Government officers that they have not inherited their positions, nor do they hold them for their own benefit or for the indulgence of any personal caprice. Beyond the preservation of peace and the protection of life and property, to which I do not refer, the official is there to open the country by great works: roads, railways, telegraphs, wharves; he is there to encourage capital, and to do everything in his power to make the lives of the people of all classes and nationalities safe, pleasant, and profitable. The climate of the Malay Peninsula, especially to those who must go out of their houses and work in it, is not by any means a good one for Europeans. It is hot, damp, and enervating; full of malaria, and those who live there are constantly exposed to all the diseases common to the tropics. With proper care, of course, most of the risk may be avoided, but careful precaution is a necessity.

Now, with these attractions on the one hand and Africa on the other, is it likely that any rich, able, energetic Englishman will hurry to the Malay Peninsula to invest his capital and devote his energies to a life in that distant and unknown region? If, however, he does go there, if he is willing to take all the risks, what do you suppose it is for? Not, I imagine, in order that he may lose his health and his money in some fruitless attempt to achieve the impossible, nor yet

that he may, by toiling for the rest of his life, secure a return of five or six per cent. on his money. He goes to what is called "make his fortune," and I greatly regret that though every Colony in Australia, though South Africa, America, and numbers of other countries have produced thousands of wealthy men to be the best form of advertisement of the advantages offered, the Malay Peninsula has, hitherto, done little more for European investors than absorb their money. It is a curious fact that, so far as I know, Crown Colonies hardly ever produce really rich Colonists, while the constitutionally governed Colonies can tell them by hundreds and thousands. I believe the reason is that in Crown Colonies there is a narrowness and want of liberality in the treatment of *bonâ fide* commercial undertakings, that makes it impossible to obtain much success, and in consequence the capital, the energy, and the brains go elsewhere.

I have laid stress on this point, because I think that it is one of the most important. There is probably no one so keenly interested in Malâya as I am. My connection with the Protected States has never ceased since I went to Pêrak in January 1874. I have watched the conversion of the various States from jungle places into a country that some of us are almost proud of, and I do not wish now to see advancement checked. I hardly think this is a time to be less liberal, for I do not believe that any country can develop into greatness when it has to rely for prosperity on one industry, especially when that industry is practically limited to the praiseworthy efforts of thousands of Chinese to win from the soil alluvial tin by methods which, if they are successful, are certainly primitive.

The Chinaman, as a unit of taxation, is almost unapproachable; but tin mining specially appeals to his gambling instincts, and, when it fails, he does not become a planter or a trader, he simply goes away to mine elsewhere, or find some other enterprise which contains the elements of risk and possible gain. The trade which often suggests itself is burglary.

When first Residents were appointed to the Malay States many experienced planters in Ceylon applied for land in the Peninsula, but they were, rightly or wrongly, so dissatisfied with the terms offered that, with very few exceptions, they withdrew their applications. Some, however, came to Malâya, and have proved what persistence and unremitting care and labour can do. This, then, is a second and a better opportunity to secure European planters, and I trust that this time we may be able to offer them such reasonable terms that they will come to stay.

I have spoken already of my inability to mention the names of deserving officers who were instrumental in helping to a successful issue those difficult preliminary negotiations on which the existing fabric of accomplished work rests. Similarly I am precluded from mentioning the many names that occur to me of officers who, in these twenty years, have rendered faithful and arduous services to the Malay rulers, and by their exertions under trying circumstances have secured peace, liberty, and progress. I need not, however, hesitate to remind you of the great debt which a prosperous and happy Malāya owes to Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Frederick Weld, and Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who, as governors of the Straits Settlements, recognised in the Malay question the greatest interest of their work.

Sir Andrew Clarke's name will ever be connected with the initiation of a policy that has conferred, and is likely to confer, great benefits on the people of Malāya, and has done something for British trade. Sir Frederick Weld, by his sterling qualities and broad views, endeared himself to the Malays and did much to advance the interests of the States at a time when they were struggling to attain a higher form of existence. But the main credit for the excellence of public institutions in Malāya must be ascribed to the influence and control of Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who, for fourteen years, as Colonial Secretary and Governor of the Straits Settlements, gave the Protected States the benefit of his great ability and experience. Sir Cecil Smith's name will always be associated with any scheme for the improvement of education, and his sympathies for this cause were as warm in Pêrak or Selangor as in Singapore or Penang. But it is in the advancement of railway construction, the most solid proof of the value of British advice, that Sir Cecil's help and encouragement have left the most tangible evidence of his influence in Malāya.

Lest the record should be forgotten, I have appended to this paper a list of the officers who filled the posts of British Resident in the Malay States from 1874 till the present time.

DISCUSSION

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.: I think that I do not in the least mistake our feelings when I say we are all very much obliged to Mr. Swettenham for his very able paper. I have known him for a great many years, and from my knowledge of him I am quite certain he is

Pérak

<i>Name</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Capt. T. C. Speedy	Jan., 1874	—	Assistant Resident
J. W. W. Birch	Dec., 1874	Nov., 1875	Assassinated
J. G. Davidson	Dec., 1876	Nov., 1877	Resigned (since dead)
Hugh Low	Dec., 1877	June, 1889	Retired
F. A. Swettenham	June, 1889	Jan., 1896	
W. H. Treacher	Jan., 1896		

Selangor

<i>Name</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
F. A. Swettenham	Aug., 1874	—	Assistant Resident
J. G. Davidson	Dec., 1874	1876	
B. Douglas	Dec., 1876	Sept., 1882	
F. A. Swettenham	Sept., 1882	June, 1889	
W. E. Maxwell	Sept., 1889	June, 1892	
W. H. Treacher	Sept., 1892	Jan., 1896	
J. P. Rodger	Jan., 1896		

Sungei Ujong

<i>Name</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Capt. Tatham, R.A.	Dec., 1874	April, 1875	Assistant Resident
Capt. Murray, R.N.	April, 1875	—	Died
W. F. B. Paul	—	—	Retired
Hon. M. Lister			

Negri Sambilan

<i>Name</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Hon. M. Lister	—	1895	The Negri Sambilan were federated with S. Ujong under one Resident in 1895

Pahang

<i>Name</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
J. P. Rodger	Nov., 1888	Jan., 1896	
Hugh Clifford	Jan., 1896		

the person most familiar with all the circumstances and able to give you the most recent accurate information of what has taken place in the Malay Peninsula, and I certainly do not know any other who could have stated them so well. The paper is itself so exhaustive that I know of hardly any points which I could illustrate by observations or experience of my own. In every particular in which Mr. Swettenham has directed your attention to these protected States I cordially agree with the views he has announced. I have, like him, served under some of the able Governors whom it has been the fortune of the Colony of the Straits Settlements to have had appointed over them, and I have always been encouraged by their sympathy and support. These gentlemen richly deserve the thanks of the country for carrying out the policy initiated by General Sir Andrew Clarke, which has given to England such rich States as those which have been described to you, and who have done this without the cost of a penny to the British taxpayer, and with the full consent and gratitude of the people who inhabit them. It is now six years since I left Perak, the state in which Mr. Swettenham succeeded me as Resident, and I feel from reading the Reports which come to me occasionally, and the annual reports of the governors, that its development has been so rapid that if I were to return I should scarcely know the country again. Mr. Swettenham has enumerated a great many of the works carried out there, and mentioned the services of those officers who as heads of the Departments, acting under the Resident, have been mainly instrumental in carrying out the works. It is due to them, I think, that the attention of the British public should be called to the great services they have rendered, and which have been productive of such admirable results. The appointments were so carefully made and the officers so well selected that very rarely indeed was there any failure in the performance of the duties with which they were entrusted. I have had great opportunities of seeing this, and the Chairman knows how much we have to thank them for their work in difficult circumstances. Many have sacrificed health in the performance of their duties: some have fallen by the treachery of the natives; while others have fallen victims to over-zeal and exposure in a climate where disease could only be warded off by the greatest care. There is no Colony which I have visited—not even Ceylon—where the services of the heads of the departments are better performed, and many gentlemen returning to this country have also told me they know of no place where the various services of the Government are better

performed than in these States. All that has been described to you has been done in about twenty years, and I hope now that the federation is completed there is a greater future for the States. This federation scheme, which I believe is almost entirely due to Mr. Swettenham (as indeed a great part of the prosperity of these States is due to his personal exertions), will certainly help in this direction. I hope that the services of some of the old pioneers who have assisted the various residents will be taken into consideration, and that they will meet with their due reward. In regard to the liberality which Mr. Swettenham recommends in dealing with gentlemen who go there to invest their money in planting, I may say that I highly approve of the sentiments he has enunciated. I think that it is our duty by every means in our power to forward the views and interests of our countrymen, and I do not think our countrymen are in the habit of wishing their interests to be forwarded unduly against the interests of others. In the past we have not perhaps been so liberal as we might have been to the planting interest; our principal attention has been directed to mines for the purpose of raising the revenue necessary for the building of roads and railways and other public works, but I do think we may now take Ceylon as an example, and be liberal in our treatment of the planters and do everything in our power to encourage the immigration of labour. The paper is so comprehensive that it touches on almost every point of importance, and lays before you a clear statement of the former and actual condition of things. I have never listened with so much pleasure to any account of the protected Malay States, and I feel it a great compliment to have been invited here. I have much pleasure also in making these remarks in the presence of my friend the Chairman, to whom I owe so much for kindness and assistance when I served under him in the Malay States. He was always ready to forward my views if he approved of them, which I am happy to think he generally did, and I was always able to appeal to him for advice and assistance in every difficulty—and difficulties, in the circumstances in which we found ourselves, frequently occurred. I hope there is a quiet future before the States; I concur in the statement that in no part of Her Majesty's dominions are life and property more secure. This is a very different state of things from what it was when Mr. Swettenham first went there, for he was the companion of Mr. Birch, and narrow'y escaped sharing Mr. Birch's fate.

Mr. WILLIAM ADAMSON: I am sure we are very much indebted to Mr. Swettenham for his able and interesting address. He has given a

most interesting account of the twenty years' government of the country. It is certainly a wonderful account, even to those Englishmen who are accustomed to hear of successful endeavours on the part of officials they send to rule distant territories. In one respect his address has been incomplete: he has told us of the great debt we owe to Sir Andrew Clarke and those governors who succeeded him in carrying out the lines of the great policy he laid down, but he said very little in respect of one person who has been most important in developing that country and bringing it to its present position, and that is, himself. Of course, we understand the reasons which led to this omission, but at the same time we may say for him that which he could not say for himself. There are one or two points to which, as a merchant of the Straits Settlements, I should like to refer. He has told you that of private European enterprise there has practically been none. This is an extraordinary fact, considering the great progress of the States and their neighbourhood to such active centres of business as Singapore and Penang. He has also said that if Englishmen in the Straits had shown the energy that has been shown in Australia and elsewhere, the railway which he indicated would long since have been made. I think the reasons lie on the surface, and are easily stated. In the first place, the wealth of these native States consists of tin deposits, which, although extremely valuable, are not easily handled by the expensive methods of Europeans. The profit of the working of these deposits depends very much on the organisation of labour, which is Chinese, and which is best left to Chinamen. It is only in exceptional instances that it has been found possible to employ European scientific methods with any advantage. If you remember that the great wealth of the country—the revenue of the country—is derived from these mines, and that these cannot well be worked by Europeans, you will understand why European enterprise could not very easily be employed in the development of the country generally. As to planting, that, of course, is in its infancy. Liberian coffee has no doubt, in the last few years, shown that it may be successfully planted, and I hope we shall see a great extension of that form of enterprise; but at the present moment it certainly has not shown that form of advertisement to which Mr. Swettenham referred when he said that the best advertisement was that somebody should make a large fortune. Planting is necessarily a slow process, and it is a process rather of individual effort, and not one in which large capital can be employed. Then as to railways; if you speak of the railways of the State, these are mostly in the hands of the

Government. They have been extremely profitable, because they have run from one important point to another, carrying mostly tin and the produce of the natives; but if you refer to that great enterprise—the railway which is to connect us with Burma—you will see that it is a question of European capital. You must remember that in Australia there has been a great overflow of European capital. Australia has been developed not by Australian capital but by British capital; but for the last four or five years there has been a steady withdrawal of British capital from all silver-using countries, and that is one reason why, not only in the Straits but in India, there has been a lack of enterprise which would not have occurred had there been the same facilities which exist between one gold country and another, or between one country and another where the currency is not subject to violent fluctuations. I thoroughly agree with what Mr. Swettenham has said regarding the planting interest. I have not the least fear that the deposits of tin (which have been the foundation of the prosperity of the States, and which at present are the great sources of revenue)—I have not the least fear but that these deposits will continue for a great many years to come, and that the Peninsula will continue to supply tin to all the world. But in the course of time these deposits must be worked out. At any rate, those who come to mine the tin are Chinese, who do not bring their women with them, and who do not settle on the land. They roam over the country and leave behind them a desert of "spoil." What is necessary is to encourage the planting and agricultural interest. I do think the Government of the Straits Settlements has not been sufficiently alive to that want. I think a great deal more might have been done with their large revenue to induce families from British India—where there is an overplus of population—to come and settle on the land. In that way you might have a settled population which would gradually grow, and you would come to have a country different from what it is to-day. In respect to the planting, generally, although I do not wish to say anything reflecting on the different Residents as to the encouragement they have given to planters (because I have never found individual Residents lacking in the encouragement they would give), I think the Government as a whole has not been desirous of giving that encouragement which it might have given, and which, I think, it is necessary it should give. I therefore concur in the recommendation the lecturer has given with regard to encouragement to the planting interests. I have not the least doubt that the Malay States will continue to show great prosperity, nor have I any

doubt we shall find gold there as well as tin, and that all kinds of tropical produce will be cultivated there.

LORD SUDELEY: It is, I fear, although called upon by your Chairman, somewhat presumptuous on my part to say even a single word in the presence of so many gentlemen and officials who know the Straits well, and who therefore can speak with far more authority than I can. It was my good fortune a short time ago, however, to pay a visit there, and some impressions which I then formed I will refer to. In his able paper Mr. Swettenham has told us a great many wonderful things. It must, I am sure, have struck you all with astonishment that in a space of twenty years this country should have developed in that marvellous way, and how much must be due to those who have carried it out. Mr. Swettenham summed up the facts by saying there are now eight million dollars of revenue, nearly 200 miles of railway, 2,000 miles of road, and over 1,000 miles of telegraph line. These figures tell a tale that is perfectly extraordinary. Whilst I was there, I was greatly struck with this splendid development of the country, with its glorious vegetation, with the wonderful mining industry, with far greater mineral wealth still to be developed, and with the rich virgin jungle waiting to be cleared—a paradise for planters. But there was one thing which struck me even more, a point to which Sir Hugh Low referred just now. It was the marvellous way in which throughout the country the body of young officers belonging to the Civil Service do their duty. I have seen them in very many out-of-the-way places performing that duty, showing the greatest devotion to their work with the utmost zeal and ability. Mr. Swettenham alluded in his paper to the fact that very often what is done amongst the upper classes of officials in hindering and making too much use of red-tape procedure is followed by their subordinates. It occurred to me that is rather a good illustration of what you now find throughout the Straits, only in an opposite sense, namely, in following some of their good deeds. Mr. Swettenham has the character amongst all whom I saw and spoke with of being a gentleman who has marvellous firmness and courage, a surprising absence of fear of responsibility, and at the same time of being a man who shows the greatest tact and discretion in dealing with the natives. It was in these good qualities that I found his subordinates trying to emulate him. Of this I am quite certain, that these gentlemen who serve the Settlement in their various positions, often in lonely places far removed from civilised districts, have no equal in any part of the world. Many times these officers carry their lives in

their hands; and they show on all occasions the greatest heroism and bravery. It was my melancholy fate to know one poor officer—Mr. Wise, which I mention as one incident amongst many.⁷ I saw him the day before he was killed, and when afterwards I asked how this sad event occurred, I was told that he thought it his duty as a Civil officer of the Government to go forward with an attacking party. So he met his death bravely doing his duty. These are the sort of acts and deeds which make us proud of being Englishmen. I should like to allude to another similar case. You all know that during last year there was a considerable amount of trouble in the district of Pahang. I remember seeing Mr. Hugh Clifford, then acting Resident, just before he went off to try and chase the rebels in Trěngánu, and have since heard a great deal of what he did. I would suggest that this Institute should ask Mr. Hugh Clifford to give an account of his doings during that time, because I venture to say it would be a paper of the greatest interest of thrilling hairbreadth escapes, which would astonish the world in general. Mr. Clifford at one time for the space of three months went through that wild jungle, without road or even a track, alone. Simply by that wonderful power of character we sometimes see, which gives influence over natives, of which Gordon was so splendid an example, he was able to get a body of Malays together to do as he bade them, and by his knowledge of the vernacular he was able to keep up a continuous attempt to capture these rebels, and which at the last would have been entirely successful if Siamese officials had not interfered. I rejoice to think that Mr. Swettenham has been appointed to the post of Resident-General, and I am sure we all wish him the utmost success in his great career.

Mr. DUDLEY F. A. HERVEY, C.M.G: An experience gained in over twenty-five years' service in the Straits Settlements, and some knowledge of the native States themselves, may perhaps justify me in offering a few remarks on my friend Mr. Swettenham's very interesting and able paper. I share with a good many others, I believe, his feeling respecting the cumbrous and meaningless name by which the Colony is at present known, and believed two or three years ago there was reason to hope that steps would be taken to alter it for the better; but I was, it seems, too sanguine. As regards the methods adopted by us in the Straits and the Peninsula of dealing with the natives, though, if we are to judge by results as a whole, they cannot be described as unsuccessful, still I am inclined to think that we err on the side of *suaviter in modo*, and that a little more of the *fortiter in re* would be salutary; this remark is, however, more

applicable to the Colony than to the protected States, where the native is not allowed to abuse the process of the Courts for his own purposes and the oppression of his poorer fellows to the same extent that he does in the Colony. The protected States, not being British territory, are not, shall I say, blessed by the presence of lawyers and their attendant train of mischief-makers. The Colony might with advantage take a leaf or two out of the Dutch book, so far as natives are concerned. I thoroughly endorse what Mr. Swettenham has said respecting the difficulties connected with the education of Malays, and agree that we should not aim at giving them, as a body, a high-class education; my experience is that many forget very soon what they have learnt, the period of schooling being often much too short; but the effect as a whole is too often to make them look down on their natural occupation of agriculture, and I should like to see some experiments made in the way of agricultural instruction, which, besides improving their methods, might lead them to feel the importance attached to the industry by Government. It is very satisfactory to know that in the protected States, as in the Colony, there are schools attended by Malay girls; it is no doubt through the training of the women that we must hope to eventually raise the status of the Malays as a race. I shall not, I am sure, be suspected of desiring to depreciate the mineral resources of the States, if I suggest that the "Golden Chersonese" is to be found in Pegu rather than in the Malay Peninsula; the older writers doubtless identified it with the latter, but later researches leave no doubt that Pegu was the region in question. It is reassuring to all who are interested in the progress of the Peninsula to hear what importance is attached by Mr. Swettenham to the encouragement of planting with a view to the permanent occupation of the soil, so that the country may not suffer from any possible future falling off in mineral productiveness, and it is satisfactory to note his views as to the treatment to be accorded to European planters; there has been too often in the past a tendency on the part of Government to regard planters with an eye of suspicion, as it were, and to be harassed by a haunting fear lest they should make too much money. This tendency we may feel assured will now be a thing of the past in respect of all *bonâ fide* enterprises. It is certainly matter for congratulation for themselves (to judge from Mr. Swettenham's picture of their condition) as well as for us, that there should be a prospect of the Malay States of Trěngánu and Kělantán coming eventually under our influence; their natural resources, from what we know of them, are abundant, and if Mr.

Swettenham has anything to do with them, we may look forward to a very cheerful future for them. Early treaties entitle us to a development of an influence with these States, and it is entirely our own fault that they are still suffering as they are. The nature of the Siamese claim of suzerainty over States in the Malay Peninsula has for a long period been matter of controversy; it is indicated by a triennial presentation at Bangkok from the so-called tributary State of the "bunga mas," or flower of gold, which is tantamount to an admission of inferiority, *i.e.* to saying, "I admit you can thrash me if you like, but sooner than you should do so, I prefer to send this mark of my inferiority once every three years." It has not conferred any right to interfere with the internal administration of the country; if it should be contended on the part of Siam that it does, that Power may be asked whether her transmission of the gold flower to China for a long period involved any admission of a right to internal interference. I have only to add that, having known Mr. Swettenham throughout the length of his public service, I feel that the protected States are greatly to be congratulated on having secured him for their first Resident-General.

Major EDWARD F. COATES: I am sure all those who are connected with the Straits Settlements must hail with satisfaction the sound comments Mr. Swettenham has made, especially those concerning the liberal policy which he considers should be pursued towards Europeans seeking to invest capital in Malāya. Several friends of mine, together with myself, have large sums of money embarked in the Malay Peninsula at the present time. We have built, and are interested in, one of the railways in the Peninsula, namely, that from Port Dixon to Seremban. We are also interested in some of the mining industries, and in an industry connected with timber. Our experience, so far as timber is concerned, has not been very satisfactory, although I think successful management may soon reward our efforts. At the same time, there is no doubt, a large trade can be made with England and other countries, with the magnificent timber which is produced in the Peninsula. Perhaps one of the reasons that Africa, Australia, and many other Colonies have been able to attract European capital, is that their Government have to a certain extent opened up their countries by means of railways. The Straits Settlements Government have already commenced them, but I do not think the railways have opened up the country sufficiently, and I would suggest that British capital should be invited by a guarantee, as in the case of India, of a certain rate of interest on the

money embarked by the investors. In regard to other industries, there is no doubt that gold and tin must in the future play a very important part. I read recently in the papers that gold mines had been opened up assaying as much as three ounces to the ton, and only in this morning's paper I read the news of the finding of a large find of tin, assaying as much as 72 per cent. of tin. Mr. Swettenham mentions that the Government have constructed two thousand miles of road. This, no doubt, is a very good record, but I venture to say that few of these roads have assisted in opening up the gold-bearing area, and I happen to know of certain people interested in a very rich gold-bearing region, who have, I believe, to make on their own account a road of some thirty miles long without the assistance of the Government. It seems hard that those who are ready to embark some thousands of pounds in opening up an industry of this description should, out of their own pockets, have to undertake such a work, and I would earnestly urge on Mr. Swettenham the desirability of using his best endeavours to assist these gentlemen in obtaining facilities for getting to and from their property, especially with regard to the movement of their machinery up to the mines.

Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir EDMUND FREMANTLE, K.C.B.: As one who, some two years ago, had the opportunity of visiting this portion of Her Majesty's dominions, I can give my testimony on one or two matters that have been raised. I was the guest of the Residents of Selangor and Perak as Commander-in-Chief of the China station, and prior to then was very ignorant of that part of the world; indeed, probably by not a few members of the Colonial Institute and by the general public the Protected States may be regarded as a sort of undiscovered territory, so little are they known. It is just as well the British public should have some information about them, and I am sure that from his large experience and great ability there is no one more capable of instructing them than our lecturer of this evening. I can only speak generally of what I saw as a casual visitor, but I was extraordinarily struck with the immense appearance of civilisation, both in Selangor and in Perak. I was not prepared for the good entertainment we met with, for the substantial European houses, nor for the clubs, the tennis, and the like, but beyond that we have heard to-night of the great expansion of trade there and of the success of the mines. It seems to me that the great prosperity of these States is due to a considerable extent to the fact that they are not so trammelled by British law as the more direct dependencies of Her Majesty. I do not know whether it is the absence of any direct appeal

to the straightest sect of the "Nonconformist conscience" or what; the fact remains that the Residents are able to deal with the numerous inhabitants of various races in a way which seems to be extremely successful, and the reason is, I believe, that though they do not deal with them so entirely in accordance with what the British public imagines ought to be the law, they deal with them as Christian gentlemen and in accordance with the best traditions of the British race.

The CHAIRMAN: It now devolves upon me to bring the discussion to a close. I am quite certain you will agree that no paper more interesting, no paper more pregnant, has ever been read before the Institute. There are one or two matters which I should like to emphasise; but, first, having had a connection of over fourteen years with the Protected States and the Colony of the Straits Settlements, I desire to express my thanks to Lord Sudeley for the remarks which fell from him as regards the public servants who are doing their duty so gallantly in that part of the world. It is a particular pleasure to find a gentleman wholly unconnected with the public service going out there, and who, coming, as it were, accidentally across those engaged in public work, is able on his return to bear the testimony which Lord Sudeley has borne as to the excellent way in which these officers are doing their duty. And among them Lord Sudeley has drawn particular attention to my friend Mr. Clifford, who, literally from the jungle, has come to the Institute, and whom we are glad to see here to-night. The two points out of many which I should like to emphasise are these. The first relates to the methods of British rule, and especially British rule as regards native races in the Malay Peninsula. We naturally compare our systems with others, and the only ones we can compare them with are the Dutch settlements in Netherlands India and the French settlements in Cochin China. As to the first, from the earliest days of Dutch colonisation we can learn from many quarters that they considered the paramount duty of those who had the laying down of regulations for the government of colonies was to look to the interests of the mother country. Look, again, to the French. Those of us who have knowledge of what is taking place in Cochin China—the greatest of French possessions—know that the prohibitive tariff which so materially affects the development of that country is a tariff not dictated by the authorities in the colony but from Paris. What is our policy? It is that indicated by Mr. Swettenham—that we should govern the Protected Native States for the benefit of the natives. That is the first and primary duty

of the English administrator. Years and years ago, Milton laid it down that it is the privilege of the English to have precedence in teaching the nations, and that is the privilege we recognise to-day. The other point is the personal element. The native, as far as my knowledge goes—and I have, perhaps, a greater knowledge of the Chinese than of the Malay—looks to the individual official. He knows little of government as we recognise it, but he looks to the individual officer, and it is as regards the influence of that individual officer that there will be success or non-success in administration. Happily, that is, I think, thoroughly recognised by all those who hold high office in the British Government, and the greatest possible care has been taken to ensure that those who are placed in such responsible positions as that of Resident or of Resident-General shall be men thoroughly imbued not only with knowledge of the country, but with the proper traditions of the British official. As we are dealing with the question of the Malay races and the Protected States, I should like to say a word in regard to what fell from Sir Hugh Low, who, rather from inadvertence I expect, referred to the Protected States as though they were a portion of the British Empire. They are nothing of the kind, and I for one sincerely trust that nothing will be done in the way of annexation. I think it is our duty to govern these States for themselves. We get all the benefits we ought to get out of them. There is the promotion not only of the we are of the people but of British trade, and we can get that without attempting what to my mind would be a crime if we annexed them to the Empire. As to the question of federation, history repeats itself. There was a federation of many of the States a considerable number of years ago, namely, in the 14th century, but it was a forcible one. There may be again a far greater confederation than in those distant days, but we believe the federation which is about to be put in operation will combine a series of States all contributing to the benefit of the other, and effecting—what has never been possible before—uniformity of administration, economy, and improvement generally to the people who live out there. In conclusion, I have to convey to Mr. Swettenham our thanks for delivering his paper. He has done so at great personal trouble, owing to the state of his health. We the more appreciate his efforts, I have had the great good fortune of working with him for a considerable number of years. I have rarely met anyone more capable of performing his duties as a public official, and nobody could have been selected by the Secretary of State better fitted for the high office of Resident-General than Mr.

Swettenham, whose health, I trust, will permit him to perform his duty in the way I know he desires to perform it.

Mr. F. A. SWETTENHAM, C.M.G.: I cannot thank you sufficiently for the extremely cordial way in which you have received the paper. I have very little to answer in what has been said by the various speakers, but there are just one or two points I should like to dwell upon lest anyone should go away disappointed. Mr. Adamson spoke with reference to tin-mining by Europeans. I do not altogether agree with what he said. He conveyed the impression that tin-mining was not for Europeans, but since he left the Straits Settlements tin-mining, at any rate in Perak, has been undertaken with considerable success by a good many Europeans. With reference to railways, when I spoke of what might have been done if the people of Singapore had had the same energy which Englishmen have shown in other places, I was thinking principally of the vast amount of talk I heard in Singapore twenty-five years ago with reference to the construction of a railway across the island. I dare say Mr. Adamson will remember all about it. I live in the Peninsula, and I do not know why this railway has never been constructed; but it is a section which would put Singapore at any rate on the first stage towards its connection with a railway which might traverse the Peninsula from one end to the other, and perhaps go up to Burma. Major Coates asked me a question with reference to the construction of some thirty miles of road which he considered it a great hardship should have to be undertaken by some investors to open a gold mine in some part of the Peninsula which he did not mention. I know quite well when he put that question he never expected me to answer it, and I do not propose to give him any answer. Admiral Fremantle has touched me on rather a tender point, because he mentioned a subject which I confess I had not the courage to allude to myself. He spoke to you of how much had been done in Malāya, where he said the administration was not conducted altogether on the same principles as those followed in a Crown Colony. He is perfectly right; I did not say so, because in this town I do not speak with the same freedom as I do in the jungle of the Malay Peninsula, where there is nobody to contradict me, but the real reason is that in the Malay States we have had as little red tape as possible, and we have done a good many things that, if we had been working in an old-established and recognised Colony, I have no doubt we should not have been allowed to do. Your Chairman has told you that he and I have worked together for many years, and he has said of me many flattering things, for which I

cannot sufficiently thank him, but I feel that I do not deserve his too friendly praise. I have often noticed when working with Sir Cecil Smith that our views have been identical, but I have never noticed this similarity of thought so much as this evening, for your Chairman in his remarks on Lord Sudeley's speech said to you exactly what it was in my mind to say had I been able to command the same facility of expression. Of all that has been said to-night, the one thing I shall carry away with me is the cordial manner in which Lord Sudeley spoke of men who are working in the Peninsula for the benefit of the Malays, and in a measure for their own country. When I return and am able to tell them what was said by Lord Sudeley (a complete stranger, whose testimony is, therefore, of the extremest value)—that their exertions made so great an impression in his mind—I am sure his most generous words will encourage them to persevere in the task that is before them. In conclusion, I ask you to give a very cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman, who has been kind enough to preside this evening. I will not presume to say anything with reference to Sir Cecil Smith's ability or special capacity to discharge the duties of this post, but I will say that whatever he undertakes is certain to be as well done as it is possible to do it.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting then separated.

1. In 1895 the Malay Peninsula produced 49,592 tons of tin, 55 per cent of the total world output of 90,207 tons. See Wong Lin Ken, *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914*, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 1965, pp. 247-8.

2. The farming of revenue collection, an arrangement whereby the government's rights to collect taxes were leased to the highest bidder, was common practice in British Malaya until the 1900s when tax farms were eliminated and certain items were made government monopolies.

3. Land rents were not an important source of government revenue in the Protected or Federated Malay States. As Swettenham's figures indicate, the total revenue for 1894 was \$7,511,808, only 6.3 per cent of which came from land revenue.

4. The reference is to the Krian Irrigation System. The country continued to depend on imported grain until 1940, and apart from the Krian works, which had minimal impact on food supplies, no major irrigation system was constructed in Malaya until after 1930.

5. 'Raja Dris' refers to Raja Idris (Paduka Seri Sultan Idris Murshidal 'aatham Shah ibni Almarhum Bendahara Iskandar Shah), Sultan of Perak from 1887 until 1916.

6. John Ferguson, whose talk on Ceylon, Malaya, and Java appears in this volume, had addressed the Royal Colonial Institute four years earlier on the subject of Ceylon.

7. E. A. Wise, who became a Collector of Land Revenue in Pahang in 1888, was killed during the Pahang Uprising in 1894. In fact, he died from a shot fired by his own men, some of whom had been out of position and panicked under fire (*Report* by Capt. F. Lyons on the Expedition to Pahang, in Selangor Secretariat file Police 4496/1894).

British Borneo

E. P. Gueritz**14 December 1897**

*Chairman: Sir Cecil Clementi Smith**(In the unavoidable absence of the author, the paper was read by Captain W. Raffles Flint of the British North Borneo Police)¹*

ALTHOUGH my connection with Sarawak was severed in the year 1877, I have for so long resided in the neighbouring States and have always taken so great an interest in the development of the country where I had the privilege of receiving my initiation into the perfect system of governing natives which obtains there, that I may be pardoned for my presumption in entitling my paper "British Borneo," and for the proportionately scanty review I am able to give you of the premier State, as compared with Labuan and North Borneo, with which I have been more intimately and lately familiar.

The dawn of British influence in Borneo took place through the spirited action of the late Sir James Brooke in 1842. The details of the manner in which the sovereignty of the country was offered to and accepted by him, are too much matters of contemporary history for it to be necessary to repeat in a paper of this nature, so well set forth as they are in the works of Mundy, Keppel and Miss Jacob.² The influence of his great mind, and the admirable system he established of dealing with the natives of the country—a system which may be broadly summed up in saying, that it retained all of native custom which did not offend against the laws of humanity, and was carried out by the officers of the Government through and with the assistance of the native headmen in every district—has not only under his rule and that of his successor, the present Rajah Sir Charles Brooke, borne fruit to which the condition of the country testifies, but has left its mark on neighbouring countries which have one by one come under British protection, and whose administrators have wisely made use of the object lesson afforded them of the unique sight of a large community of many different tribes prosperous and happy under the rule of an alien.

It has often been asked why Sarawak is so little known to the commercial community of this city in comparison with the younger States in the Malay Peninsula, Labuan and North Borneo. The reason is not far to seek; she has no vast deposits of tin to enable her to compete with the Malay States, her rich coal measures are worked by the Government instead of by private companies with English capital, and her splendid rivers have not been thrown open to the concessionaire seeking land for the planting of tobacco, coffee, or other products, with a view to exploiting, by the formation of companies, in the English market.

As will be seen from the map, the most southern part of Sarawak is but little over a distance of one degree north of the equator, from which it extends north to the 5th degree. It is bounded on the south and east by Dutch Borneo, and on the north by the State of Brunei, under the rule of the Sultan of Brunei, whose kingdom formerly extended over a part of British North Borneo and Sarawak. The rivers Limbang and Trusan to the north of Brunei form part of the State of Sarawak, and Brooketon, at the southern entrance to Brunei Bay, with its important coal measures, also flies the Sarawak flag. The area of the whole country is stated at 50,000 square miles, with a coast line of some 400 miles.

Sarawak became a Protectorate of Great Britain in 1890.

The population is estimated at 300,000, of whom a large proportion belong to the warlike tribes of the Dyaks and Kyans, whose feuds and propensities for the taking of human heads caused anxiety and great activity on the part of the Rajah's Government during the earlier days. British influence has however been successful in coping with this barbarous custom, and although an occasional outrage is reported, we can only remember that our own civilization is not free from similar crimes.

The Sarawak Malays have a general air of prosperity, as compared to those of other countries I have lived in, an air which tells of freedom from the anxiety which was never absent from their forefathers under the old regime, when piracy was rife, and the limit in taxation unknown and dependent only on the rapacity of their rulers.

The bulk of trade is in the hands of Chinese, the principal exports being Sago, of which 15,481 tons of flour were exported in 1896, Gutta and India Rubber, Bees-wax, Birds-nests, Quicksilver, Tobacco, Rice, Rattans and Coal, 22,109 tons of which were exported during 1896, 16,793 being from the Sadong mines, and 5,316

from Brooketon in Brunei Bay. Gambier and Pepper are also largely grown by Chinese; Gold, Antimony and Quicksilver are worked by an old established British Company, who hold the mineral rights and a representation of whose mines, in Upper Sarawak, will be shown on the screen later on.

In 1896 the Imports amounted to \$3,701,394, whilst goods to the value of \$3,557,868 were exported.

In the administration of the Law in which the Magistrates are always assisted by native headmen, they are not trammelled by a rigid adhesion to any particular book of procedure in ordinary cases; local custom is the guide in case of disputes as to land titles, contracts and succession.

Missions have long been established in various parts of the territory, notably in the Batang, Lupar, and the Rejang Rivers, which afford a large field amongst the Dyak and other non-Mahommedan tribes. The Bishop of Singapore who originally took his title from Sarawak, resides in Kuching, the capital town during part of the year. The good done by the schools of the missions is very striking.

Sarawak possesses no harbours of importance, and with the exception of the Rejang and Sarawak, bars prevent the entrance of any but light draught shipping to her other rivers. These waterways which are navigated by trading boats into the far interior, are one of the glories of the country, and to the lover of nature, the journey down any one of them, with the ever changing panorama of jungle-clad banks without a sign of life; then native clearings with the paddy ripe for harvest, making a golden glow, vividly thrown into relief by the rich green of the forest trees encircling it, followed by a momentary glimpse down a straight reach of the deep blue tops of some distant range, is a treat from which the inconvenience of a cramped position, and the incidentals of mosquitoes and other pests, hardly detract.

LABUAN

The little island of Labuan, as you will notice on the map, lies but a few miles off the coast of Borneo, and within easy reach of Brunei, a native State dividing Sarawak and British North Borneo, both of which, as I have said, formed part of the Sultanate of Brunei.

The island was acquired by Sir James Brooke in 1846, on behalf of the British Government, as a centre from which to cope with the piracies which prevailed in the adjacent seas. The success which

followed was referred to at the Jubilee of the occupation last year, by Governor Beaufort, in words of which the following abstract appears in *The North Borneo Herald*:—

"He said they had met together that day to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the hoisting of the British flag on the island, whereby it became a Colony of the British Empire—an event that took place on the 24th of December, 1846, exactly 50 years ago. He said that the consequences were far reaching and must not be judged by the size of the island. He gave a short history of the events of that period: how Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, afterwards the first Governor of the Colony, found the seas infested with pirates and a small commerce carried on with the greatest difficulties and perils: how he appealed to the British Government for assistance in his philanthropic efforts to settle the country and make the seas safe: how his appeal resulted in the splendid achievements of British men-of-war under Admiral Keppel and others, who swept away the pirates after repeated outrages which lasted as late as 1846. His Excellency then paid a high tribute to the wisdom and forethought of Sir James Brooke who perceived clearly that the only way to perpetuate the good that had been effected, lay in establishing a British Settlement in the heart of the disturbed seas, and of Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston who adopted and acted on his views.

"He then briefly recapitulated the events in Brunei which led to the mission of Captain Mundy to that Court, and to his success in procuring the 'chop' of the Sultan to the cession of Labuan, on the 18th December, 1846, and to the planting of the flag on the 24th of the same month at a spot close to the Court House. Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane's instructions were that the course was taken 'for the protection of lawful commerce and the suppression of piracy.' He then pointed out how the object then expressed had been gained, and pointed to the ships and boats carrying on a regular trade without fear of pirates, to the development of Labuan from an uninhabited and worthless island to a Colony with 6,000 inhabitants already competing for the business of coal-supply, and turning out some forty or fifty thousand tons per annum, and shedding the protection of the British Crown on all the English merchants, miners, planters and others established between Kuching and Sandakan. He concluded by saying that everyone in these parts might well be grateful to the British Government which had made it possible to live and trade here in safety, and every Englishman might well be proud of the deeds of Sir James Brooke, Sir Henry Keppel, Sir Thomas Cochrane, Sir Edward Belcher, Captain Mundy, Captain Gordon and others, some of whom lie here in honoured rest while others lived to see and enjoy the fruits."

The trade which was attracted from the adjoining coast under the protection afforded, soon led to the harbour of Labuan becoming a depôt to which it was not long before private enterprise diverted a

considerable trade from the East coast of Borneo, and the Sulu Archipelago. The discovery of large coal deposits added to the value of the new possession, but, owing to various causes, the seams were not worked to any advantage until the past few years; now, however, the Company which controls the mines is in a position to supply coal to passing ships, and also to export to Singapore for storage and sale there. During 1896 the output was 45,640 tons; 14,824 tons were supplied locally, and 33,200 tons exported. The only seam being at present worked is of 10 feet thickness.

The Colony was formerly used as a station for convicts from India, and the presence of the necessary troops gave a general air of prosperity to the island. When, however, the troops were withdrawn, on its abandonment as a convict station, and the successive companies formed to work the coal, had failed, the Colony having no natural resources, became a source of expense to the Imperial Government.

Under an arrangement made by Her Majesty's Government, the administration of the Colony was transferred in 1890 to the British North Borneo Company. The British flag is still retained, together with the privilege of right of appeal from the decision of the High Court to the Privy Council, a privilege which is not enjoyed either in Sarawak or British North Borneo. There has been a revival of prosperity, owing chiefly to the regular working of the mines, and the completion of the railway which transports the coal from the pit's mouth to the harbour, where ships drawing 26 feet are coaled direct from the truck.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

I need but briefly call to your memory the conditions under which British influence was extended to North Borneo. In 1872 a Company was formed to carry on a trade with Sulu. In referring to this at the First Annual Dinner of the Chartered Company, Mr. W. C. Cowie³ said "It is nearly a quarter of a century since I met Sir Hugh Low in Sandakan Bay. It was a most memorable meeting. I had just returned from Sulu, which was then blockaded by the Spanish Fleet. The steamer I was in came into Sandakan without masts; we were surprised by the Spaniards, and had to cut them away and hide the vessel in a creek to save her. At that meeting Sir Hugh proposed the amalgamation of certain interests, which resulted in the formation of the Labuan Trading Company. That Company had an important

bearing on the fortunes of the country as it was through it that the attention of Messrs. Overbeck and Dent was drawn to Borneo."

In reference to this Company in a despatch dated February 28th, 1875, Commander Buckle of H.M.S. "Frolic" said "There is yet a further question to be considered which I deem of the utmost importance. I refer to the trade carried on by the Labuan Trading Company on the North East Coast of Borneo. This Company has three steamers engaged in the trade, with several trading stations on the coast, and are doubtless opening up a most valuable and growing trade." (Blue Book Spain No. 1 (1882), Borneo and Sulu.) In 1878 a small syndicate obtained a cession of the country from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu; a Company was afterwards formed in London with an influential directorate, and a Royal Charter was granted in 1881. The area of the territory is estimated at 31,000 square miles, with a coast line of some 900 miles. The population is about 120,000, as calculated on the basis of a census taken in 1891.

From its proximity to two great trade routes, the geographical position of North Borneo is of the highest importance.

The harbours of Brunei Bay and Labuan on the west coast, command the great trade route to China and Japan, whilst Sandakan harbour on the east coast is but a few hours from the route between China and Australia. So far back as 1847 and 1849, the first steps for the protection of our trade were taken when clauses were inserted into the treaties entered into with the Sultans of Sulu and Brunei respectively, under which no territory could be ceded to any foreign Power without the consent of Her Majesty's Government. The necessity for these clauses was referred to by Lord Granville as follows: "North Borneo lies in the fair way of an immense British maritime trade between China, Australia, India and the United Kingdom. Its occupation by a foreign Power would be a source of disquietude to this country."

The importance of Brunei Bay with its immense coal measures at different points cannot be ignored, and a realisation of its position with regard to the whole of the commerce between Europe and the East, which passes almost within sight, will cause any thoughtful man to see how absolutely necessary the protection of the station is, where, unlike most of our other coaling stations with their limited store, we have an inexhaustible supply.

A move in the right direction was made in 1881, when Sir William Crossman visited the locality to examine as to suggested defences for the Island of Labuan. No action followed, however, and its pro-

tection rested with the navy as hitherto. The numerical superiority of our squadron in Chinese waters may have warranted this decision then, but are the conditions similar to-day when the acquisition of harbour and coaling stations in the Far East is of vital importance to more than one of the Great Powers?

That distinguished authority, General Sir Andrew Clarke, in a recent speech said ". . . The time must come when, situated as North Borneo was, half-way between Australia and China, and at the same time situated equally well with reference to the passage through the Straits of Malacca—Borneo in the centre of the Malay Archipelago—the Island of Borneo would become a fortress in the middle of many camps. He was aware that the Government of this country had many things on its hands to look to and to regard, but there was no more serious problem for a great Asiatic nation, as we are, than to adopt those defensive works which must secure to the Empire the whole of our Eastern authority."

Lieut.-General Lowry in the discussion following the reading of a paper by the late Sir Walter Medhurst, before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1885 remarked that "We are too apt to forget that we have possessions and duties claiming increasing attention and vigilant oversight everywhere. . . as a coaling station, and one for the repair and partial refitment of our ships of war, the period may not be far distant when a well protected and well provisioned depot in one of the harbours of North Borneo may be invaluable to our world-wide Empire."

The late Admiral Mayne, on the same occasion, said: "Certainly anyone who has examined the situation of Borneo . . . will feel that it is of the utmost importance that the place should be protected and fostered by the British Government," and Mr. Beaumont remarked that "it was important, not only as regards the country itself, but as regards the British Empire. Whatever may be its formal Constitution, it is as part of the Empire that it will grow and extend."

Since the date upon which the above remarks were made, a greater need has arisen for the defence of the harbour, from the establishment of a cable station connecting Hongkong and Singapore. The laying down of this cable was hailed with satisfaction by those who anticipated the probable consequences in the event of war, when communication with the important Colony of Hongkong lay through a foreign country. But can we consider this new means of communication, through British possessions, any safer unless the

protection of the weak link at Labuan is undertaken by the Imperial Government?

Brunei Bay, with its natural advantages as a harbour, its coal resources, and as being in telegraphic communication with all parts of the world, should soon become an important centre for shipping. The completion of the railway now being formed on the mainland will materially assist in this development. This railway, which is being constructed by the Chartered Company, commences from a point near the Sipitong River, and crossing the Padas River will terminate for the present at Sapong, the *ultima thule* being Cowie Harbour in St. Lucia Bay, on the East Coast. The present section will be in length about 50 miles, and will penetrate through the Penotal Gorge, the range which, running N.E. and S.W., cuts off the rich interior from the West Coast. I shall later on have the pleasure of introducing to you some views of the Gorge on the screen.

A vast area of land suitable for planting purposes will be opened up by means of the railway, difficulty of transport having hitherto restricted planting operations to the land obtainable on the banks of navigable rivers or of creeks affording water transport.

Another object gained will be the prevention of the traffic in arms and ammunition, which are at present illicitly imported through the neighbouring native State of Brunei, and are bartered for jungle produce which is thereby diverted from the country of origin without direct or indirect profit to it. This smuggling, especially of gutta, india rubber, and camphor, goes on to a very large extent both into Brunei and Dutch Borneo, and besides causing loss of trade to North Borneo, gives the means to the natives of the interior of causing those disturbances which have of late been so frequent. The establishment of the bay as a port of call for ocean going steamers will revolutionise the local trade between Borneo and Singapore, which is, at present, carried on by means of small steamers which tranship at the latter port, and will decrease the cost of handling and transport.

The progress of British North Borneo may best be seen from comparison of the returns of trade at the date Sir Walter Medhurst's paper was read, and the present time. In 1885 the combined value of imports and exports was \$1,049,958, the exports being some \$247,000 less than the imports. In 1896 the value had risen to \$4,355,941, the exports then being \$591,000 *in excess* of the imports. The increase is due principally to tobacco, which figures in the returns at \$1,372,277, and I may mention here that the sales of

tobacco from North Borneo have this year realised £200,000, or at the present rate of exchange, about two millions of dollars. Since 1885 the following products have been added to the list of exports; Attaps (which are manufactured from the leaf of the sago and nipa palms, and are used for roofing houses), beeswax, coconuts, copra, catch, dry fish, gambier, hides and horns, ivory, live stock, old jars, rice and paddy, sago flour, sugar, and tortoise shell. Of these, the most important is catch, an extract from the bark of the mangrove tree, representing an industry established within the last five years in British Borneo, which with its mangrove lined coast and bays affords it a practically unlimited field. The value of the export of catch from the territory of the Chartered Company was \$142,721 in 1896. Sago flour, which was exported to the extent of 9,000 tons, is also an increasing commodity, and the proposed establishment of a large depôt at the coast terminus of the railway with increased facilities for cleaning the raw sago, will stimulate the production. Sago from North Borneo and Brunei, both large producers, has never been equal in price or quality to that of Sarawak. The reason is not difficult to find, it being principally due to the facilities for washing being less in the sago districts of the former States than they are in Sarawak, and in very little less degree to the careful and beneficial regulations, rigidly carried out by the Sarawak Government for the prevention of adulteration, which chiefly results from the admixture of fibre, through the use of mats with too large a mesh. The demand for labour during the formation of the railway connecting the coal mines with the harbour in Labuan, together with the opening up of those mines, led during the past few years to an enormous waste of sago. It is probable that many of my hearers are unaware that the sago palm (*Metroxylon*) when it arrives at maturity, blossoms into flower, after which it becomes useless from the rotting of the pith from which the flour of commerce is extracted.

More wage being obtainable from contracts for cutting earth work, and the supplying of sleepers for the railway, than from the sale of the Sago, the industry was neglected, and the trees, over hundreds of acres in the Padas river alone, were allowed to go to ruin.

The value of Birds-nests has risen from \$25,000 in 1885 to \$45,000 in 1896, and the increase under Gutta and India Rubber in the same period from \$48,000 to \$95,000, does not point to the exhaustion of these valuable products. A steady trade in timber is being carried on with Hongkong, and it is hoped that it may not be long before the

trade may be extended to Europe. The success of the operations now being carried on by the Bombay-Burmah Trading Company, who are exploiting for Petroleum, will give a large impetus to the timber trade, and arrangements are being made for the opening of a saw mill at the coast terminus of the railway.

As a field for the planter, North Borneo offers varied attractions. Its success as a tobacco producer is assured, and plantations are being opened in new directions on both coasts. Seven companies are engaged in the industry, the principal centres of which are on the Kinabatangan River and Darvel Bay on the East Coast, and Marudu and Brunei Bays on the West.

Considerable attention is being given to Coconut planting, which promises to be a profitable undertaking, and operations are being carried out on 32 estates in different parts of the country.

Fifteen hundred acres of Liberian Coffee have been planted, and a large proportion is already in bearing.

Fibre cultivation is receiving attention, 500 acres of Manila Hemp having been planted. Experimental planting of Rhea is also going on.

Gambier is increasing, but the area at present planted, some 250 acre, is small.

An experiment in tea planting on the high lands at the interior terminus of the railway, is now being made on a considerable scale.

Minerals.—The only mineral which is at present being exploited is gold, and that to a small extent only by Chinese. The reports of the Government Geologist as to the enormous area of gold-bearing gravel in the Darvel Bay district, are so encouraging, that a recently formed Company is commencing operations with a dredger, the success of which will undoubtedly tend to a large increase of prosperity to the country. Gold has been worked spasmodically for many years, but owing to the great difficulty experienced from the lack of transport facilities, it has never become a settled industry. The auriferous district has, however, now been rendered easy of access by a newly made road, arrangements have been made for the establishment of a provision depôt in the district, the Chinese now at work appear very well satisfied with what they are doing, and I have lately seen a large sample of the coarse gold they are obtaining. Petroleum is receiving considerable attention at present, and concessions have been granted to an influential Company with large capital, that is now engaged in extensive boring operations. It is a significant fact that since their commencement, the first earthquake

experienced in living memory, has occurred, and has resulted in the appearance of a new island within a very short distance from the scene of operations. This island, which only appeared two months ago, is nearly 50 feet in height, and is 250 yards in length by 150 in breadth. At the summit is a mud crater, the base of the cone being about 20 yards in diameter. A strong smell of petroleum is present, and a gas which is emitted from cracks, burns when set alight.

DISCUSSION

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G. referring to Mr. Gueritz's statements with regard to the coal supply of Borneo, said it would certainly, from its position, be of very great advantage to England if ever we should be engaged in a war in the East again, which he supposed was very likely. The coal-mines are easily accessible and very valuable, but for some reason the machinery was scarcely able to cope with the water until the present company took possession. There is likely to be a great industry in petroleum in Labuan. There was nothing more profitable in the East than the petroleum which has lately been worked in Sumatra, and it was to be hoped that the enterprise of the Bombay Burma Trading Company, which has taken petroleum in hand in Borneo, will be as successful as in Sumatra. He also hoped that the minerals, of which there are an enormous number in Borneo, would be developed ere long. Borneo should have a great future. He thought it was time, as Sir Andrew Clarke said at the Borneo dinner, that some notice were taken of it by the Government. He remembered the whole harbour of Labuan and the whole of the entrance to the Brunei river being carefully surveyed by a Russian ship some sixteen or seventeen years ago. Russia has accurate surveys of all the places at which coal is produced and can be shipped.

The CHAIRMAN who spoke of Sir Hugh Low as the Nestor of Borneo, thought that perhaps it was due to the innate modesty characteristic of the British North Borneo Government, as of all Governments, that the great advantages of the country had not been brought much before the British public. There was an old adage, "Early to bed and early to rise. It ain't no good unless you advertise." The British North Borneo Company must advertise its territory if it wishes to get British capital introduced into it, and to interest the people of this country in it. He advocated Chinese labour with an admixture of Tamils. Regarding the question of defence works, he

said, though they need not be very large, they were of such supreme importance that no time should be lost in providing them in places where they were necessary.

1. Raffles Flint, a descendant of Sir Stamford Raffles, acquired fame or notoriety for his involvement, as the police officer in charge, in the massacre of over a hundred people on the Kalabakan River in British North Borneo in 1891.

2. The works referred to are as follows:

Mundy, Sir George Rodney, *Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes . . . Together with a narrative of the operations of HMS Iris*. London: John Murray, 1848.

Keppel, Sir Henry, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido for the suppression of piracy; with extracts from the Journal of James Brooke Esq. of Sarawak*. London, 1845.

———, *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago, in HMS Meander, with portions of the private journal of Sir J. Brooke*, London, 1853.

Jacob, Gertrude L., *The Raja of Sarawak: An account of Sir J. Brooke . . . given chiefly through letters and journals*, London, 1876.

3. William Clarke Cowie was a Scotsman who, as a partner in the Labuan Trading Company and subsequently as a trading partner of the Sultan of Sulu was involved during the 1870s in unsuccessful efforts to secure trading concessions in Borneo. Although not one of the founders of the North Borneo Company, Cowie during the 1890s joined the Court of Directors in England and until his death in 1910 dominated the company, greatly to its detriment. See K. G. Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah*, op. cit.,

Life in the Malay Peninsula: As it was and is

Hugh Clifford

20 June 1899

Chairman: Sir Cecil Clementi Smith

EIGHT years ago the late Sir William Maxwell read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute a paper on "The Malay Peninsula: its Resources and Prospects."* Five years later another paper dealing with the same part of the world was read in this place by Sir Frank Swettenham, its subject being "British Rule in Malaya."† These two lectures cover together a great deal of ground, Sir William Maxwell having begun by tracing the history of British connection with the Malays from the days of the East India Company, and Sir Frank Swettenham having carried on the record up to the time of the Federation of the Protected States of the Peninsula which was successfully effected, mainly by his influence, three years ago. The Council of the Institute has now done me the honour to ask me to read a paper to you to-night, the theme of which is once again the Peninsula and its peoples and the record of the work which Great Britain has performed in that remote country since first interference with the old native *régime* was thrust upon us. In complying with the request of the Council I have found myself in the position of the feeble gleaner, who, following in the footsteps of the more sturdy reapers, gathers up such ears of grain as they have missed, or have passed over as of little worth. None the less, since it has been my lot during the past sixteen years to be brought into intimate contact with a Malayan State in all the stages of its evolution, from independence and misrule to protection, prosperity, and good government, and as, moreover, this is an experience which few have shared with me to quite the same extent, it has occurred to me that much of which I

**Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. xxiii, p. 3.

†*Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, p. 273.

have to tell may prove to be new to my hearers, and, further, may aid some to realise more fully the exact nature of the work which Great Britain is to-day carrying out in half-a-hundred obscure localities, with the aid of those who

Wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild,
Our new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

In January 1887 I was sent by Sir Frederick Weld on a special mission to the Court of the Sultan of Pahang, who at that time was a native ruler absolutely independent of both Great Britain and of Siam. For some months I remained in Pahang carrying on the protracted negotiations which preceded the signing of the first treaty whereby the British Government was empowered to appoint a political agent to the Sultan's Court. After the treaty had been concluded my kind friend Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who has done me the honour to take the chair to-night, retained me as his agent in Pahang until a Resident was appointed to aid the Sultan in the administration of his country during the last months of 1888. It was, therefore, my lot to live in a Malayan State under native rule for a period of nearly two years.

It will perhaps be conceded that this was an experience which is somewhat unusual, and that the opportunities which were thus given to me to study and observe native life and society in its natural conditions were such as very few other white men have had presented to them. But the peculiarity of my position was even greater than a narration of the above circumstances would lead you to suppose, for I was, for a variety of reasons, permitted to see native life as it exists when no white men are at hand to watch and take note of its peculiarities—native life naked and unashamed.

In all that follows I am speaking of things observed at first hand; of a native system of administration—if anything so fortuitous may be termed a "system"—into the every-day working of which I have been permitted to pry; of native institutions which I have seen in actual operation for extended periods of time; and of some phases of Oriental life which went on undisturbed around me, while I myself played among them an insignificant and unconsidered part.

The States, which I have known most intimately during the time of their independence are Pahang, which is now a portion of the

Federated Malay States, and Trengganu, and Kelantan, which are still independent. All these States are situated on the east coast of the Peninsula, and thus occupy one of the most sheltered and rarely-visited nooks still remaining in this age of restless exploration. Their geographical position accounts for their isolation, for not only do they lie in a locality far removed from any recognised trade route, but the north-east monsoon, which whips down the China Sea for four months in every year, is hedged in and straitened by the Philippines and Borneo on the one hand, and by the mainland of French Indo-China and Siam on the other, in such fashion that it breaks with all its fury upon the shores of the Malay Peninsula. When I first went to reside in Pahang twelve years ago all communication with the outside world ceased abruptly in October and was not resumed until March had come again. During those months no fishing-boats put out to sea; no junks came in from Singapore, China, or Siam; to me, living alone among the people of an alien race, the world seemed of a sudden to have become narrowed down to some 15,000 square miles of forest country, through which certain mighty rivers—our only highways—ran ceaselessly, monotonously past the scattered villages in which dwelt the sparse population of the land. The only events which occupied our thoughts were the trivial, yet to us vastly important, happenings which made up the politics of the remote and isolated kingdom in which we lived. The great world beyond our borders might in truth have been a portion of some other planet or a mere figment of my own imagination, as I was sometimes tempted to believe. An occasional whisper of unreliable news was borne to us, having been brought across the mountains of the main range of the Peninsula by the sweating villagers, who trudged on foot up the difficult ascents which were at that time the only means by which the hills could be crossed. But even such rumours as these, scraps of imperfectly-understood gossip heard in the bazaars by folk whose ignorance of all things was phenomenal, had to filter down stream to us at the Sultan's Court, a distance of more than 200 miles, being passed from man to man by word of mouth, and, as was natural, becoming so much altered in the process that by the time they reached us they retained as little of their original aspect as does the habit of a Cistercian monk after it has undergone the patching of more than half a century. All this isolation, this almost complete severance from the world without, had had its inevitable effects upon the rulers and the peoples of the Malayan States on the eastern seaboard of the Peninsula. The native

kingdoms situated upon the Straits of Malacca had all been more or less subjected to foreign influences from very early times, and in spite of the robust conservatism of the people some changes have been affected thereby in their natural condition. But the Malays as a race detest change. "Let our children die rather than our customs" is a familiar proverbial saying, and it expresses the popular sentiment in regard to innovation in a form which has in it but little of exaggeration. Thus the natives of the more remote States of the Peninsula adhered faithfully to their old manner of life with an extraordinary tenacity, and escaped even such measure of influence from without as had had its share in the forming of the peoples of the western seaboard. This is why a study of the organisation of a State on the east coast of the Peninsula reveals to us more completely the whole theory of Malayan government than any examination of the history of the States of *Pérah* and *Sēlangor* can be supposed to do.

Students of European history may note with interest the slow evolution of existing systems of government in our various countries from beginnings which, speaking broadly, are singularly alike. Throughout the Europe of the Middle Ages the feudal system embodied the principal theory upon which all governments were based, and the history of the white nations is merely the record of the changes and developments effected in this system which, after many centuries, have resulted in the various methods of government which we find extant in the European countries of to-day. The feudal system, in some form or another, would appear to be one of the inevitable phases through which the government of every civilised country must pass in the process of its evolution from more primitive beginnings to methods of administration based upon wider, nobler conceptions of the duty of the State to those whom it rules yet serves; and an examination of the modern history of the Malayan States of which I am speaking, shows us with great distinctness that the Malays, in common with other more civilised folk, had worked out for themselves unaided a theory of government on feudal lines which bears a startling resemblance to the European models of a long-passed epoch. But here they had halted. To live in independent Malaya is to live in the Europe of the thirteenth century.

Thus in the Malayan States, as we found them when first we began to set about the task of moulding their history for ourselves, the Sultan was theoretically the owner of the whole country and everything that it contained, all others holding their possessions in

fief from him, or from his vassals on his behalf. The country was divided up into a number of districts, each of which was held in fief from the Sultan by an Orang Bĕsar, or great Baron. The power which each of these men held in his own district was practically unlimited. Thus in Pahang a dozen years ago each of the great chiefs, of whom there were four, had the power of life and death over all the people residing in his territories. But the unwritten law or custom went further than this, for it defined the exact manner in which each of these chiefs must carry out the executions which he might order. Thus the Dato' Bandar, who owned the coast district, was empowered to inflict death by causing his victim to be stabbed with a *kris*, or dagger, through the hollow in the left shoulder above the collar-bone, and thence through the heart. The Orang Kāya Pah-lāwan of Chenor fastened his offenders to a tree, and caused spears to be thrown at them at short range until such time as death saw fit to end their sufferings. The Orang Kāya of Tĕmĕrloh lashed his criminals to a ducking stool, and drowned them slowly, but with elaborate care. The Maharāja Pĕrba of Jelai, the great chieftain who ruled over the interior of Pahang, executed his victims by cutting their heads from their shoulders with a sharp sword. The formalities which preceded this latter method of execution are of so curious a nature, and are withal so characteristic of the Malays, that I cannot refrain from sparing them a few words of description. The criminal was first approached by the executioner, who, taking his victim's hands between both of his and looking into his eyes, said simply "Maāf!"—"Pardon!"—an expression equivalent to our phrase "Excuse me." To this the man about to die replied invariably "Ta' āpa!" which means "It does not signify!" He was then ordered to seat himself, and in some instances a bandage was bound over his eyes. The executioner then passed behind him and, after making obeisance to the presiding chief, began an elaborate sword-dance, every evolution in which was watched with the most critical interest by all the spectators. To and fro he danced, posturing, turning and wheeling, now skipping lightly to within a few feet of his victim, his sword poised above his head performing passes innumerable, now leaping back again to the other end of the open space allotted to him, to dance up once more to the miserable creature who sat so patiently awaiting the death which still held its hand so cruelly. If only one man was to be executed, the grisly dance would last for perhaps a quarter of an hour before the sword fell in one flashing swoop and sheared the head from the trunk. If there were many victims, more than an hour

might elapse between the time when the first and the last of the poor wretches yielded up the life that was in him, and in such cases the torture of uncertainty was horribly increased, for the executioner followed no order in the selection of his victims save that which his caprice dictated, and no man knew when his own turn would come, while his nerves were strained to a higher pitch of intense anguish by the sight and the sound of the still writhing bodies which floundered so aimlessly around him.

But to return to my subject, from which I have been led into a digression because this account of a Malay execution presented me with an opportunity of showing to those of my hearers who are unacquainted with the people something of the callousness to human suffering, and the inability to place oneself in others' shoes, which mark the methods of native administration, even when its officers are engaged in carrying out what they regard as an act of justice.

Under the four great chiefs, or barons, there were the chiefs of the Council of Eight. These men were related to the greater barons in precisely the same manner as the latter were related to their Sultan—that is to say, that they owed them fealty, and were bound to follow them in time of war.

Under the eight chiefs, each of whom had his sub-district, the boundaries of which were clearly defined by his letter of authority, were the chiefs of the Council of Sixteen—squires who owned a few clusters of villages, holding them in fief from one or another of the Council of Eight. Under them again were the Thirty-Two and the Sixty-Four, who existed more in theory than in reality, for no man in all the country knew its internal economy with sufficient intimacy to be able to name more than a few of them, and the little village headmen who claimed to belong to one Council or another were probably not sufficiently numerous to make up the required total of Ninety-Six.

Under the village headmen, the *Ka-túa-an*, or elders, as they were usually termed, were the free *Raayat*, or villagers. These men held land of their own, upon which their houses stood. They also had a traditional right to select such forest land from time to time as they might require for the planting of temporary crops, and most of them cherished some legendary claims to certain plots of uncultivated land which were supposed to have once been occupied by some of their ancestors, and were perennial sources of dispute and contention. All this land, however, was only in a sense the property of its owner. No man disputed the right of a villager to take up jungle and transform it

into arable ground; no man denied his right to sell it; no one questioned the right of his children to inherit it when his day was done; but the owner held no title for it, and if a stronger than he coveted it and elected to dispossess him he had no redress. He paid no rent for his land; he was under no obligations as to its cultivation; but, by an unwritten law, he was bound to follow his headman or his chief to the seat of war in the event of his presence being required; he was forced to pay a number of taxes, regular and irregular, such as we Europeans are wont to term "squeezes"; and he was further bound to give his labour to any of his superiors who might need it free of charge, and to follow his chief when he went to Court in order to swell the number of the mob of adherents which the noble's dignity found necessary for its support.

Beneath the free *raāyat* were the slave-debtors, concerning whom I shall have more to say hereafter, and below them again were the bought slaves and their descendants, who formed the lowest class of Malayan society.

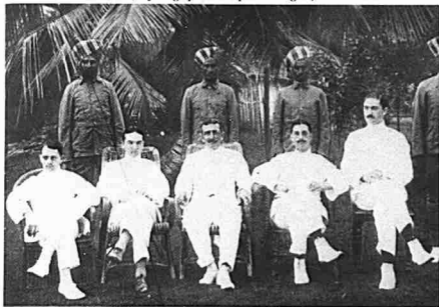
Having now given you a broad idea of the theory of the organisation of a Malay State, I think that it may be both instructive and interesting to you to look behind the scenes and watch how matters worked out in actual practice.

In the first place, it must be fully realised that the Sultan was the main pivot upon which all things in his country turned. He was the source from which all blessing flowed; he was the person who held in his hand rewards and punishments; it was his whims—things often strange and unaccountable—which could make or mar a man. His lightest word brought death, swift and inevitable, which most often was not preceded by any such tedious formalities as a trial or examination of the accused. He was the principal trader, the richest man, the banker and advancer of capital to his people. He was also a law to himself, and whatsoever he might elect to do, those about him would be certain to approve with loud-mouthed cordiality such as princes love.

The training through which he had passed before he attained to the throne was of a kind which would most certainly ruin the strongest European character of which I have any experience. From the time that he was first suffered to set foot upon Mother Earth with little shoes of beaten gold upon his tiny brown feet—the which event was marked by feasting and public rejoicings—the young *rāja* found himself hedged about by sycophants and courtiers whose sole desire was to please him and to win his favour. Even in their daily speech

THE RULERS AND THE RULED

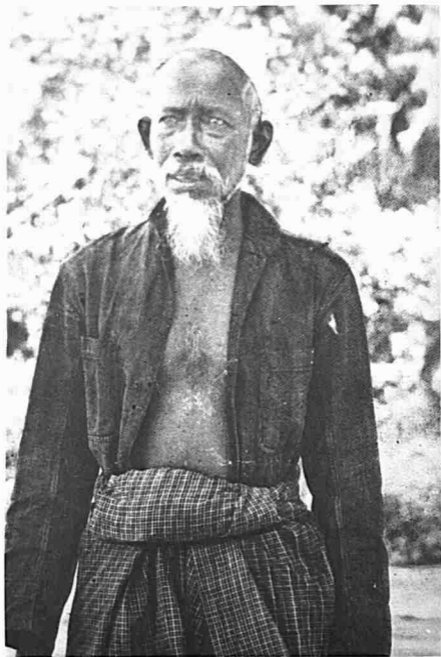
(all photographs courtesy Arkib Negara)



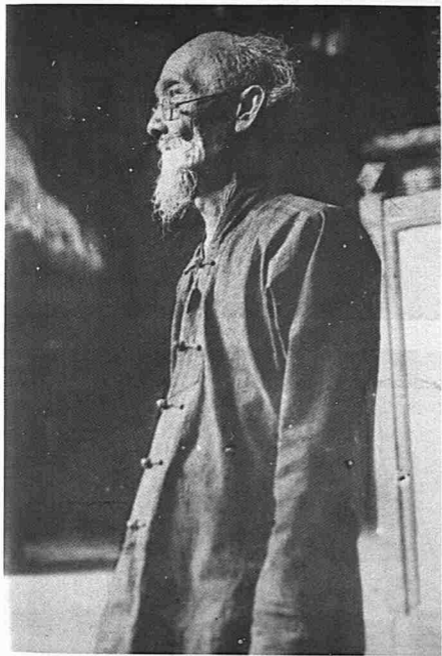
1a European planters



1b Tamil water-carriers



2 Malay haji



3 Chinese schoolmaster



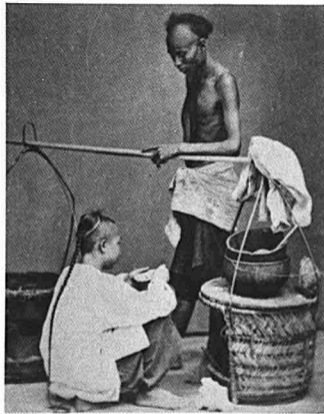
4a Tamil chettyars



4b Bengali watchman



5a Chinese *towkay*



5b Chinese coffee-vendors



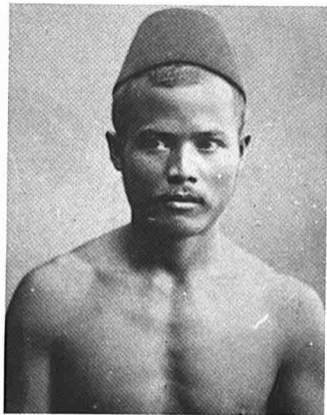
6a Malay lady



6b Chinese lady



7a Iban notable



7b Javanese coolie



8a Frederick A. Weld



8b Hugh Low



8c Frank Swettenham



8d W. E. Maxwell



8e Hugh Clifford



8f Cecil Clementi-Smith



8g William F. D. Jervis



8h William C. F. Robinson



9a W. H. Treacher



9b E. W. Birch



9c John Anderson



9d Arthur H. Young



9e W. G. Maxwell



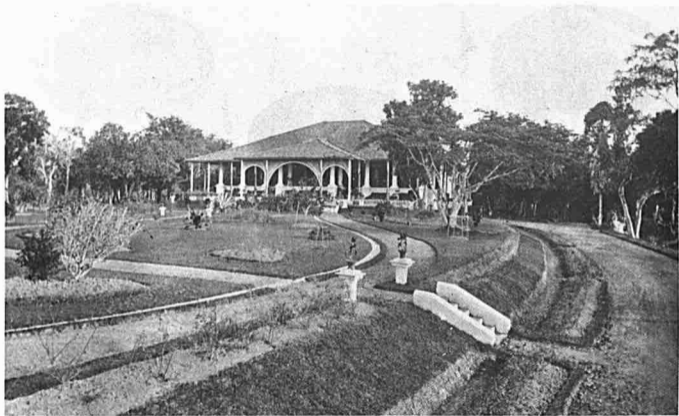
9f Mrs Douglas Cator



9g H. N. Ridley



9h O. T. Dussek



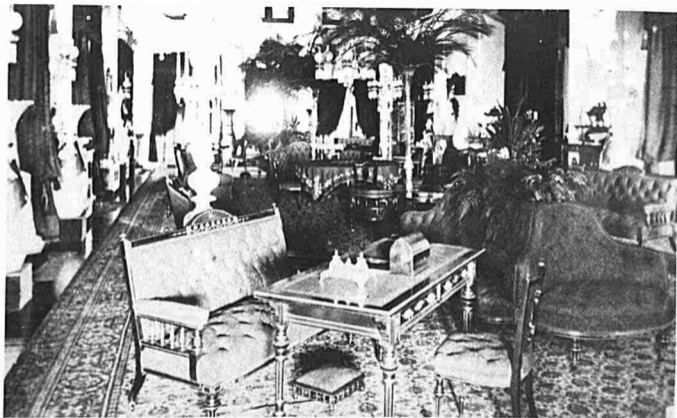
10 European bungalow



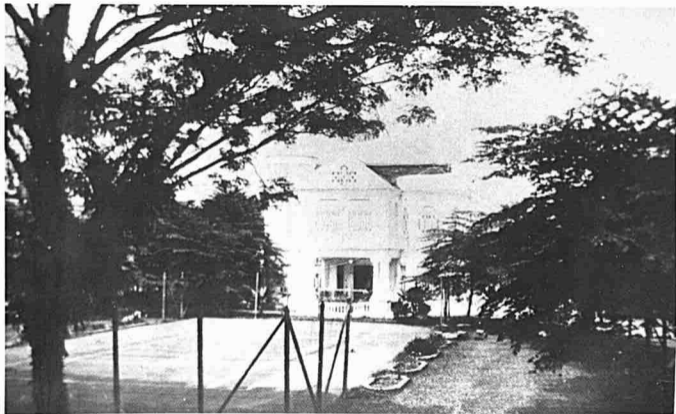
11 Malay house



12 Interior of a European house



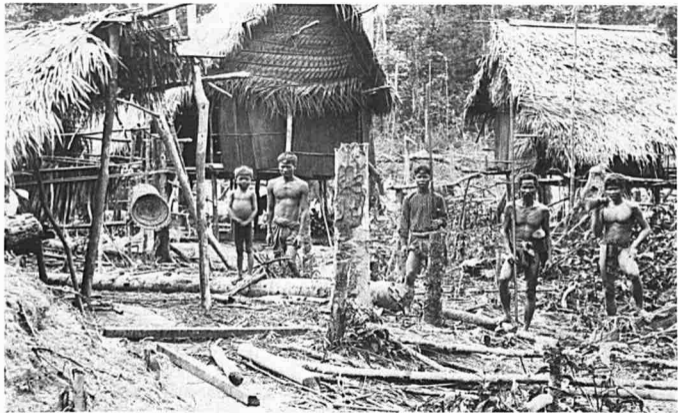
13 Interior of a Malay ruler's residence



14 *Towkay's villa*



15 Malay river-dwelling



16 *Orang Asli* (Aborigines)

they did him homage. All who addressed him spoke of themselves humbly as his slaves; they termed him "Beneath the sandal's sole," to signify that that was the position which they and all the world occupied in relation to his tiny omnipotence; when they spoke of his sleep they used a special word, not to be applied to ordinary mortals, to denote the sublime nature of his baby slumbers; when they ate they told him that they "guzzled"; when he took his meals they spoke of them with reverence, saying that he made a refection. As he grew older the women who crammed the dirty little native Court vied with one another to lead the child astray; the youths flattered him, praising his poor skill in field sports, encouraging him in every act of brutality which he might be tempted to commit, and lauding him to the skies for his cruelty and injustice. Never in all his life did he see aught in the possession of another, were it inanimate object, beast of burden, or comely wife or daughter, but his followers urged him to seize it for his own. He was taught from his cradle that his whim, his lightest fancy, was more important than the whole life-happiness of any meaner soul; that his passions were one and all given to him to satisfy to the full, not to curb or restrain; that throughout he and no other person on all God's earth was worthy of consideration. Can there be room for wonder that with such an up-bringing the young *raja* developed into something not unlike a Nero?—a Nero whose capacity for harm was fortunately much straitened and limited, but none the less a pitiful Nero, squalid and insignificant, lacking even importance in the world's history to save him from oblivion, wanting even a love of art to weave a certain halo of romance about his vices and his cruelty.

The only check which was ever exercised upon a young *râja* during his early years was that applied by his father; but so long as the child did not come into direct opposition to his sire upon some matter connected with the latter's intimate pleasures, the royal parent was usually content to let the boy go his own way, and even smiled with indulgent pride at his precocious villainies. Also a *râja* of the old school knew so thoroughly how much his son's life and happiness might rest upon the fact that he was feared before he was loved, that in several instances which I might cite the youths of the royal stock were encouraged by their parents to take a life or two with their own hands, so that all men might go abroad in fear of them.

When a man, such as the system of education which I have described could not fail to produce, held the fate of a kingdom and of

a people in the hollow of his hand, it may readily be imagined that life assumed aspects more unlovely than is common even under the most oppressive governments. The Sultan's jealousy of the power of his great barons, who alone could attempt to offer him defiance, led him to constantly intrigue against them, to set one or another of them fighting against his fellows until such time as, all being weakened by the conflict, the Sultan might step in and make his own terms with them. Thus a number of little civil wars were constantly raging, and the unfortunate peasants bore the brunt of them as of all the other heavy burdens of the distracted land.

Theoretically the Sultan was the supreme judge, and it was to his *bálai*, or reception-hall, that all complaints were made, and there that all disputes were heard, and all judgments given. Some of the more vigorous of the old Sultans actually performed this duty; but for the most part the Malayan rulers were too supine and too callous to bother themselves about such affairs. Therefore the right to judge was generally deputed to more or less incompetent persons, most often selected from among the number of the royal favourites, the upstarts of no family, hated by the hereditary chiefs, by whom the Sultan was always surrounded. These posts, naturally, were much sought after, for in the hands of Asiatics the administration of justice, so called, is always made to be a fairly lucrative business. All who came to the judges brought gifts—which may be taken as being roughly equivalent to our fees of court—but here the resemblance to all our methods of administration ceased, for the bringer of a handsome present could usually obtain any judgment which he required without further question, his *ex parte* statement being accepted as sufficient grounds for immediate action, and the judgment, no matter how unjust, being upheld to the last, unless the other party in the suit put in an appearance and made reconsideration worth the judges' while for the sake of their well-loved money-bags. It would be easy for me to compile a long list of strange judgments which I have known given by native courts of justice, but a recital of such things would probably weary you, and I propose, therefore, to narrate only a few, which I would ask you to believe are taken at haphazard from my notes or my memory, and are by no means as awful or as ridiculous as others which I might cite.

I remember one case in which two native children, little naked brown things, aged respectively six and seven years, had a squabble in the street of a native town within a couple of hundred yards of the Sultan's palace. The dispute, I believe, concerned the decision of a

complicated case which had arisen in a game of marbles. They used their little tongues lustily, got hotter with their words, and at length came to blows. Neither of them was strong enough to inflict so much as a black eye upon the other, and some of their relatives, who chanced to be at hand, separated them, and thought no more about the matter. The incident, however, chanced to come to the ears of one of the local judges, and this worthy, without calling any of the people concerned before him, or making any inquiry, straightway sentenced a distant cousin of the younger boy to pay a fine of 250 dollars—a sum which at that time was equivalent to as many pounds, when the relative poverty of the natives was taken into consideration. I happened to be in the place at the time, though I was not officially connected with it, and I own that I was astonished at what seemed to me to be as charming a piece of perverse inconsequence as ever the fertile brain of a Gilbert or a Lewis Carrol could devise. Had the child no parents or nearer relations? I asked. Yes, I was informed, he had many nearer relatives. Then why had this distant cousin been selected for punishment? Well, he had recently made a considerable sum of money, it was reported, in a lucky trading speculation. But was that a crime? No, my informants replied, not really a crime, but it had marked him out as a person worth punishing. The child was declared to have been guilty of *lèse majesté* in that he had fought within a measurable distance of the royal precincts, and the opportunity for inflicting a fine upon his unfortunate cousin had been too good to be missed. The other child, having friends at Court, and no rich relative inviting profitable plundering, had been suffered to escape all penalty.

I remember another instance of a far more serious nature, in which the son of a chief having brutally murdered a peasant in cold blood, was allowed to come and go at Court after the deed as though nothing of any moment had happened, simply because the Sultan did not wish to irritate his father.

As late as last November, in an independent native State within twenty miles of our boundaries, a party of Borneo Dyaks brutally put a man to death in cold blood, after discussing his fate in their wretched victim's presence for more than an hour, because he had stolen some money from one of them, and though they took his head as a trophy, and bore it defiantly to the principal chief of the place, that worthy and excellent official did not consider the matter to be one of sufficient moment to warrant further inquiry.

As I have already said, I might multiply such instances of the

strange blindness of vision that habitually obstructs the sight of the Malay goddess of Justice, but sufficient has been said, I do not doubt, to show you that the misdeeds of the native magistrates are carried to lamentable lengths. In civil proceedings things are no better. One half of the debt sued for is claimed by most courts of requests, and that is the best that the suitor can hope for. If the man from whom he seeks to recover money be wealthy or powerful, far worse things than that are liable to befall the imprudent creditor; and cases are not few in which a man who was not content to submit to the loss of his property in peace and quietness has ended by being robbed of his life into the bargain.

The inefficiency and corruption which is noticeable among the magistrates of a Malayan State in those parts of the country which are not so remote as to be suffered by their rulers to jog on as best they may without even a semblance of administration, is found in every department of the Government, if anything so inchoate can be described as being divided into departments. The policing of the Sultan's capital and of the more populous portions of the country is conducted by means of a body of men who bear the generic name of the *Bûdak Râja*, or "King's Youths." These men are in effect the Sultan's bodyguard. They are drawn from the noble and well-to-do-classes, are sent to live at the Court while they are still very young, and are thus taught to inhale the poisonous atmosphere of the palace at a most impressionable age. They receive no regular pay, though the Sultan usually gives them a few dollars now and again when his caprice moves him to do so. They dress magnificently in brilliant coloured silks, with the delightful blendings of bright hues which the Malays love by instinct; they are armed with dagger, and sword, and spear, all beautifully kept and very handsome in appearance; and they pass most of their time in making love and in playing games of chance. Their duties are numerous, but by no means heavy. They follow at the heels of the Sultan when he takes his walks abroad to guard him from harm, and to give a finishing touch to his magnificence; they row his boat, hunt game, and snare turtle-doves in his company; join with enthusiasm in any sport which for the time the Sultan is pleased to favour, such as kite-flying or peg-top; carry the Sultan's messages, levy fines, murder those who have offended their master, seize property which he covets, abduct women, spy upon the chiefs, bring word to the Sultan of all that it behoves him to know, and never miss an opportunity of winning his favour by satisfying his desires. Men such as these, who from their youth are

taught to be unscrupulous, and to live expensively upon no settled income, quickly discover means whereby money may be obtained. When duty sends them into the more remote portions of the country they plunder the unhappy villagers without mercy. When dealing with the more sophisticated folk of the capital greater caution is needed; but by threatening to inform against those who have committed some crime, by declaring their intention of accusing wholly innocent people, and by other similar methods the King's Youths manage to obtain enough money to enable them to live in the style which they consider necessary for their comfort. You must remember that this rabble is the only force by which the country is policed; that its members are the only executive officers which the native administrations boast; that no man in authority desires to check their excesses so long as they do not injure him or his relatives; and that there is accordingly no redress for those whom they oppress. When anyone has committed an act which has aroused the anger of the Sultan, the word is passed to the Chief of the Budak Raja. The offender is sought out and stabbed to death, often in the public street, and no Malayan *raja* has to ask twice, "Will nobody rid me of this turbulent priest?" A few formal executions have been carried out within my experience in independent States, and have usually been accompanied by the most atrocious tortures; but far the greater number of lives are taken by the rulers of the land in the rough and ready manner which I have described above.

For the performance of executions and other acts of corporal punishment, one or more of the King's Youths are specially set apart. These men are called the Per-tanda, or executioners, and they are generally chosen for their great physical strength and for a callousness to human suffering which is unusual in so complete a degree even among the unimaginative Malays. The laws which are administered by the native courts, and are carried out by these men, are a strange medley of the legislation of Muhammad and of the Law of Custom, the traditional code of the Malays. By the Law of Muhammad many barbarities are permitted such as no European Government could countenance, but these are by no means repugnant to the Malays. Thus, for theft the prescribed punishment is the lopping off of a hand, and in Kēlantān to-day the execution of this sentence is a very frequent occurrence. A tale is told, I know not with how much truth, of a man of this State who lost first his left and next his right hand on account of his thievish propensities, and who yet made shift to steal with his prehensile toes, after which it was decided to put an

abrupt end to his career of crime by cutting off his head. In other parts of the Peninsula mutilation as a punishment for theft was less common, a fine being more often inflicted upon the relatives of the criminal, but in some instances the old customary penalty for theft was resorted to. The thief having been caught, and the stolen property having been recovered, the latter was bound about his neck. The criminal was next smeared with soot and turmeric, was placed astride upon a buffalo with his face to the beast's tail, and, with a dish-cover for a sun-shade, was paraded in derision through the streets of the native town by a crowd of the King's Youths, to the beating of gongs, his crime being publicly proclaimed at all the cross-roads. I have heard old men say that this punishment was far more dreaded by Malay thieves than fine or mutilation, and I can well believe that this was the case, for a fear of open shame and a fierce self-respect are two of the strongest feelings in the breast of the average Malay in his natural condition.

Murder was supposed to be punished either with death, or with the payment of *diat* or blood-money. But, as I have already said, circumstances altered everything, and in many cases murder might be done with complete impunity.

For the rest, the most usual crimes were those connected with women. The Sultan's palace held hundreds of girls, who were mostly mere menials, hewers of wood and drawers of water, but all of whom, as members of the Sultan's household, were not suffered to marry at will, and were jealously guarded. The Malay proverb says that "the cat and the roast, the tinder and the spark, and a man and a maid are ill to keep asunder," and since the King's Youths were mostly bachelors, and the young men of the whole State were drawn irresistibly to the capital, there was always trouble afoot by reason of the indiscretions of the palace women. Hundreds of lives must have been lost in the space of a few years on this account, and within my own knowledge the most blood-curdling and indescribable tortures have been meted out to those who sinned against the Sultan in this manner. The subject is not a savoury one, and I would wish to pass over it as lightly as possible; but no one can understand the atmosphere of a Malayan Court unless he realises the net-work of love intrigues in which great and small were eternally enmeshed. The wooing of the palace maidens was the most perilous of undertakings: a man who engaged in it carried his life in his hand; but this fact, strangely enough, far from deterring men and women from vice, appeared to give a double zest to their intrigues, and the more

punishment was inflicted, the more the evil seemed to flourish and increase.

Throughout the State in matters connected with betrothal, marriage, and divorce, the which touch all Muhammadans very closely, the Law of the Prophet was administered by the Kathis and priests; and on the whole these men did their work well, for many of them had the fear of God before their eyes, and they hesitated to tamper with His law even for the sake of worldly profit. They often meted out punishments with brutality; they often applied the law with a too narrow regard for its letter rather than for its spirit; but they acted for the most part, I am inclined to think, honestly, though they stood in far too great awe of the Sultan to dare to admonish him or even to preach against the most unholy of his practices.

I have referred on several occasions in this paper to the custom of fining people for offences real or imaginary, and I have also mentioned that the cross-eyed vision of Malayan justice sees nothing inconsequent in inflicting a money penalty upon wholly innocent persons for the crimes committed by their relations. In some cases, however, it occurred that a man was fined who had not the wherewithal to pay, and he then attempted to raise the required sum from some more wealthy person, selling himself into slavery in exchange for the ready money. Occasionally it occurred that no one was prepared to advance money upon such terms, and then the wretched man was usually condemned to confinement in the gaol-cages. Sometimes such condemnation was passed without the victim being given the option of a fine, and now and again a chief or noble would issue an order—a sort of *lettre de cachet*—for the incarceration of someone who had chanced to offend him.

In another place I have described with sufficient detail the horrors inseparable from these gaol-cages, and I will not enter into unnecessary particulars here.¹ I must, however, enable you to realise what such imprisonment entails in misery and suffering upon those who endure it, by telling you that the prisoners are thrust into cages which are just large enough to hold them, but not high enough for them to stand erect, nor long enough for them to fully extend their limbs; that there are no sanitary appliances of any kind whatsoever; that no one ever cleans out the cages, and this in the fierce heat of the tropics; and that often sufficient food to sustain life is not provided. Also, the men and women who are thus imprisoned have not even the comfort of looking forward to some certain date of release. When they are imprisoned no period during which their sufferings

are to endure is stated by their judges. No record of the fact that they have been imprisoned is kept. It is only too likely and too frequent that their very existence is forgotten. Many have rotted in prison for years; many have died of actual starvation; many more have hopelessly lost their reason; others have passed into a condition of stolid, stupid indifference which reduces them to the level of brute beasts—a condition which, in these festering torture-chambers, passes among their fellows for happiness!

Passing from a short review of Malay methods of criminal administration, I now propose to show you roughly how the revenue of the State was raised by native rulers. The taxation to which the present population of the country was subjected was of two kinds: the dues which were collected on behalf of the Sultan, and the taxes levied by the chiefs for their own use. In the first place there was the *banchi*, or poll-tax, which every adult male in the land was required to pay for the swelling of the royal coffers when called upon to do so. The sum demanded on the East Coast was usually one *âmas*, worth two Mexican dollars, but the executive Government was so slipshod, and in a land where the seasons melt into one another so imperceptibly the passage of time is so little marked, that often two years or more would elapse before the King's councillors bethought them that it was time to again inflict a tax which theoretically was supposed to be payable annually. The chiefs, who had more urgent need of ready money, since they had less direct means of obtaining a supply of it, were more careful to impose their own private poll-taxes with regularity upon their people, and they usually made every adult male in their district contribute one dollar each towards their support at least once in every period of twelve months.

The second well-recognised tax was the *sêrah*, which was a truly Oriental invention, for under the specious guise of a gift from a superior to an inferior it brought much money alike to the Sultan and to his nobles. Periodically the Sultan would send some of his youths up-river to one of the great districts with a gift of silk cloths and other articles of value to the baron who ruled there. The messengers bore word to the chief that the Sultan placed such and such a value upon the goods in question, naming a figure which was something more than double their proper price. The chief at once summoned the headmen of the villages of his district, divided the articles sent to him by the Sultan up among them, told each of them the amount of cash which his village was to supply, and sent them away to collect it. He was usually sufficiently wise in his own generation not only to

avoid contributing at all himself, but also to raise the price of the goods in such a manner as to leave a fair margin of profit for himself when the Sultan's demands had been complied with. The headmen generally followed an example so excellent; and in the end the whole burden of the imposition, as was the way in all things in a Malayan State, was borne by the bowed backs of the peasants and villagers. But the Sultan's *sĕrah* was not the only tax of the kind which the peasants were called upon to pay. Each of the great barons, and every one of the minor chiefs, provided that his power was sufficient to ensure compliance with his demands, frequently sent some small gift, such as a handful of tobacco or a palm-leaf sack of salt, to some individual in his territory, and asked for ten, twenty, thirty, or forty dollars in exchange. The person to whom this expensive and embarrassing present was sent had no alternative but to accept it with effusion and alacrity lest some worse thing should befall him, and it is therefore easy to comprehend why, under native rule, a reputation for wealth was a thing which no man would willingly possess.

In addition to the taxes which I have named, there were the import and export duties. The Sultan levied a tax of 10 per cent., in money or in kind, upon all the things which entered his State. Even a packet of needles could not come into the country without one in every ten being abstracted in the Sultan's name. A similar tax was imposed upon all produce taken out of the country, and by this means the profits of the workers of rattans, thatch, and the like were whittled down to the slenderest point. Certain articles were royal monopolies. No gum, agila wood, incense, and the like might be exported except through the Sultan. All these, and many other of the more precious articles which the jungles of the Peninsula produce, had to be sold by the winner to the Sultan, who paid about 35 per cent. of the Singapore market price for them, and thereby entirely discouraged these forms of trade. Many articles necessary to the natives were royal monopolies, and were sold to the people at fancy prices. Of these, salt, tobacco, and kerosene oil were those which most irked the Sultan's subjects. The whole question of taxation, indeed, was regarded in an Independent Malay State from the sole point of view of the convenience and the welfare of the Sultan and his chiefs, for each little chief sported his own wayside custom-house. Of the peasantry, upon whom the whole burden fell sooner or later, no one considered it necessary to think; and the moneys which were obtained, by fair means and by foul, by the ruling classes were used by them for their own ends, for the defrayal of their personal expenses

and extravagances, and not in any sense for the benefit of the taxed. Thus, just as some years ago certain worthy persons in this city of London were wont to strangle the casual passer-by in order to rob him of the cash of which he stood possessed—a practice which to us is familiar only through the lessons in manners and customs taught by John Leech's drawings in the pages of *Punch*—so did the rulers of Independent Malaya, during succeeding centuries, garrote the industry, the enterprise, and the trade of their people so that the dominant classes might go abroad dressed gaily in bright silks, might fare sumptuously, might have a constant supply of money to waste upon the gaming tables and upon their other pleasures, and might fool away their days in ease and luxury.

I have said enough, I think—sketchily and roughly, it is true, for the space at my disposal is limited—to show you what was the measure of misery and misrule under which the average Malayan State laboured before the cross of St. George was brought to this remote part of the world to be a sign of yet another battle with the great dragon—the four-headed dragon of Cruelty, Ignorance, Selfishness, and Stupidity. Before concluding this part of my picture, however, I must add a few words to help you to realise the condition of the lower classes of the population under the old *régime*, since it was upon them, as we have seen, that the heavy hand of misrule fell most crushingly.

The average peasant, going stolidly about his daily task unstimulated by any ambition save a desire to procure food and raiment for himself and his family, possessed no rights either of person or of property. He and his were always and completely at the mercy of those of their neighbours who were more powerful than themselves. A pretty wife, a comely daughter, a nugget won from the river bed among little dues of hard-earned gold-dust, a stroke of luck, such as a good harvest or a plentiful fruit season, might any one of them bring him into the notice of his superiors, and, marking him out as a man upon whom prosperity had smiled, let loose upon him a flood of unmerited suffering, and even cause, if he proved obstinate, the loss of all that was dear to him. With such a prospect for ever before his eyes the Malay peasant had no inducement offered to him to struggle with the natural indolence of character which the soft, enervating, tropical land in which he lived could not fail to produce. His only desire grew to be peace and obscurity such as might enable him to escape remark, and since the machinery of misrule was exceedingly clumsy and inefficient, since the rulers of the land were

themselves too indolent to even oppress their subjects with system and thoroughness, it came to pass that, unlikely as it may appear, a very large proportion of the population managed to live their lives almost happily. Those who were unfortunate suffered many and heavy things, but the unfortunate could never be in the majority; and as native administrations with all their eccentricities were the only form of government of which the people as a whole had any personal knowledge, the natives did not even realise the gravity of the ills which they were called upon to suffer. If they were oppressed and ground down, their forebears had been in a like condition for countless generations, and unless a people is possessed of considerable intellectual energy, such as the Malays can lay no claim to, the conclusion that the existing state of things is impossible of longer endurance is not easily arrived at. Therefore, these poor folk bore their evil lot stolidly, patiently, almost uncomplainingly, and when something more than usually inhuman was done to them or to their fellows they said resignedly that it was Fate, and that Fate was ever a thing accursed. They had never made the acquaintance of real happiness, and not knowing her, they barely missed her from among them. It is necessary that you should realise this in order that you may understand how the Malays came to endure the misery of their lot with so faint-hearted a resignation.

And to one another the lower classes of the people showed a great and large-hearted kindness. No man ever went empty so long as his fellows had a handful of dry rice to share with him; real poverty and indigence, such as we see about us here in London, were things unknown; the villagers rallied round one another to sympathise and befriend on every occasion of sorrow or rejoicing; they lent each other their poor gold ornaments that every little maiden of the village might make a brave show upon her wedding-day; they stood by one another, according to the measures of their feeble ability, when trouble came, often braving the anger of their chiefs in such a cause; and, indeed, the people as a whole were so generous and so charitable to their neighbours that there seemed to be the makings of a very Garden of Eden in these Malayan lands, had only the serpent, in the form of the dominant classes, been excluded from the demesne. Moreover, these poor villagers, Muhammadans though they were, lived for the most part lives chaste and honourable. Their religion permitted them to possess four wives at one and the same time, but their poverty usually made monogamy a necessity; and though for them divorce was the simplest of arrangements, they rarely availed

themselves of the privilege, since it entailed a certain separation between them and their little ones, whom, to their credit be it said, they generally regarded with a tender love.

Below the free villagers were the slave-debtors, to whom reference has already been made. In this connection the term slave is unavoidably misleading. These people were free villagers, or the descendants of free villagers, who had borrowed a little ready money from some wealthier neighbour, and had pledged themselves, their children, and all who might come after them as security for the loan. They usually owned land and other property, and were treated by their fellows as though they were still free. But they were bound to render gratuitous service to their creditor whenever they were called upon to do so, and until the amount of the original debt was discharged in full they continued to incur this liability, years of patient labour having no power to reduce the sum of their indebtedness. If one creditor proved a too hard taskmaster, the slave-debtor was at liberty to persuade some other neighbour to repay the money due, and could thus obtain a change of ownership; but freedom he could never hope to win, for he could barely support himself and his family, far less find the wherewithal to purchase his liberty. Nor, be it said, had he any great wish to do so. The creditors were generally kind and considerate to their slave-debtors, and all the abominations of the slave-trade, as it is understood by Europeans, were absent from this Malayan form of servitude.

Real slavery, however, did exist in the Malay Peninsula, the practice of making slaves of foreigners who had been purchased, or captured in war, having been introduced by the Arabs. These unhappy people who usually occupied the position of slaves to the Malays were generally either negroes, who had been purchased in Arabia by those who had made the pilgrimage to the Holy City, or else were members of the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula, the Sâkai, or the Sēmang, who had been captured in some raid. These wretched people, savages whose knowledge of arithmetic does not carry them beyond the numeral three, live in squalor and nakedness in the deepest recesses of the forests which were once, long ago, their undisputed possession; and from time immemorial they have been plundered, outraged, and oppressed to an inconceivable degree by the Malays, who are totally without sympathy for the sufferings of a non-Muhammadan people. In 1865, when Che' Wan Aman, a pretender to the throne of Pahang, was raising funds to make an attempt to wrest the country from the grip of its present ruler, his people

hunted the aboriginal tribes for many months, and obtained considerable sums of money for the captives whom they sold into servitude.

Slaves thus won by war or purchase were regarded by the Malays as the merest chattels. A man who slew one of them was only liable to pay the value of the murdered man to the aggrieved owner. A slave who was impertinent might have his tongue pulled out by the roots, and his owner was within his rights when he exacted this penalty. I myself remember a case, which occurred during my absence from a country which I knew intimately, in which a slave, who was accused of a theft that he had not, as it chanced, committed, was deliberately tortured to death by cruel floggings and repeated ducking in the river. Yet even when the mistake was discovered, no protest was raised by the authorities. In fact, these slaves were regarded as animals, and as animals they were treated, Muhammadan law and Malay custom both conspiring to deprive them of the meanest rights of a human being.

I have now concluded my account of life in a Malayan State as it was wont to be prior to the interference of the British Government in the affairs of the Peninsula—as it still is, I grieve to say, in some places which lie beyond the reach of our influence. It has been impossible for me in the time allowed me to attempt to do more than to merely sketch in the outlines of the picture. Those who know will note many omissions, much that I have had to slur over, much that might have been insisted upon with greater force; but I trust that I have said enough to enable even those who are blissfully ignorant of all that Malay misrule means to those who suffer under it, to appreciate the full measure of the evils against which the influence of British officers had to contend.

In the papers read before this Institute by Sir William Maxwell and Sir Frank Swettenham, the history of British interference in the internal affairs of the Malay States has been admirably described, and the system of administration has been thoroughly explained. I do not propose to traverse this same ground to-night, except in so far as it may be necessary to do so in order to enable you to understand what still remains to be said.

Pêrak came under our control to some extent in 1874. She is the oldest State of the present Federation. Pahang, the largest of all, but the latest comer, was administered with the assistance of European officers for the first time is not quite ten years ago. Johor, which is an independent State, owes to its proximity to Singapore and to its

enlightened rulers, the fact that the conspicuous abuses of which I have made mention do not, and have not for many years, disfigured its administration. In Johor this has been accomplished by intelligent following of good example, and not by any direct interference with the native government. With the remaining Malay States of the Peninsula we have at present no concern, and in my concluding remarks I refer only to the existing Federated Malay States of Pêrak, Sēlangor, Pahang, and the Nēgri Sāmbilan.

These States are not, and have never been, an integral portion of the British Empire. They are in no sense British possessions; but they are under British protection, and with the consent of their rulers they are administered by the help of British officers. To each State a Resident is appointed, whose duty it is to advise the Sultan and his chiefs in the government of the country. Over the four Residents is the Resident-General, who is responsible to the High Commissioner, who is also Governor of the Colony of the Straits Settlements. The only legislative body is the State council, which is composed of the Sultan and his chiefs, the Resident, and in some cases one other European officer, and one or more Chinese representatives appointed by the Sultan with the advice of the Resident. The executive duties are performed by the European heads of departments, the European district officers, and their subordinates. The country is policed by Sikhs, and Malay police, under European command. Each State is divided up into districts, and the European who is placed in charge of each of these divisions is himself a Resident in a smaller way, for the district chiefs and headmen take an active part in the administration, and look to him for aid, advice, and guidance. Each district again is subdivided into *mukims*, or parishes, over which the Pēng-hūlus, or village headmen, preside; and it is the duty of the district officer and his assistants to see that each of these little chieftains takes his share in the work of administration, and refrains from acting in the proverbial manner of the Malay headmen who, so the people say, is like the *tōman* fish which preys upon his own young. All this means an immense amount of dogged hard work—obscure, insignificant, unnoticed by the gentlemen of England who live at home in ease, but, like so much of the good which passes unrecorded in this work-a-day world, productive of the most excellent results. A good Resident must travel about his State, must keep himself thoroughly abreast of all that is going on in every department of his administration, must have his finger on the pulse of every section of the community, and must be thoroughly

acquainted with the strong and the weak points of the chiefs and the European officers by whose aid he carries on his work. The district officer must have similar relations with all the inhabitants of his district, but they must be of a more intimate nature than those of the Resident, so that he may be able to give an authoritative opinion upon any point upon which he may be asked to report. He should know almost every soul in his district personally; should be so patient that he can listen unmoved to an hour's unadulterated twaddle in order that he may not miss the facts which will be contained in the three minutes' conversation which will terminate the interview—for the speech of the Oriental, like the scorpion, carries its sting in its tail. It is commonly said that a district officer should have no office hours, by which it is meant that he should be accessible to every native who may wish to see him at any hour of the day or night. He must, above all, be so thoroughly in touch with his people and his chiefs that it is impossible for any act of oppression to be perpetrated, any grievance, real or fancied, to be cherished, or any trouble to be brewing without the facts coming speedily to his ears. To do this he must rival the restlessness of the Wandering Jew, and must thereby so impress his people with a sense of his ubiquity that all learn to turn to him instinctively for assistance, sympathy, or advice. And this, be it understood, is no fancy picture; for there are scores of officers in the Malay States to-day who run this ideal so close that any difference is imperceptible. But the most difficult task of all for the European administrator is that of inducing the native chiefs to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country. In the States of Pêrak and Sêlângor this difficulty has been largely overcome. Five-and-twenty years have been long enough for a generation to grow up under British protection, subjected to constant British influence, and these younger men are learning to take hold of their lives in a manner to which their fathers were utter strangers. In Pahang and Nêgri Sâmbilan, though to a less extent in the latter State, the difficulty is still great; and it is to be feared that those whose youth was passed under the full influence of the old *régime* will never learn to take that exalted view of their responsibilities which it is our endeavour to foster in the younger generation.

This, then, is the system which under British auspices has replaced the old happy-go-lucky Malay administration. The chiefs receive liberal allowances, and help their district officers fitfully. The minor headmen work for their pay, because they are obliged to do so. The younger chieftains perform the duties which fall to their lot, because

they have been brought up to them, and take an interest in their work, their people, and in the prosperity of the State.

The old oppressive judicial system has been replaced by one modelled on European lines. The district officers and their assistants perform heavy magisterial duties. Cases of a nature too serious for their final disposal are referred to the senior magistrate of the State. Capital crimes, and other matters involving very large issues, are tried by the Judicial Commissioner, who is appointed by the Colonial Office, and is the Chief Justice for the Federation. Substantial justice is done to great and small, and the Malays who, from its very novelty, find a bench which is absolutely incorruptible a most fascinating thing, appreciate this fact, and submit quite cheerfully to decisions based upon grounds which they often enough are entirely unable to understand.

Our police, I fear, are no more immaculate than other Asiatic constables, but they are very closely supervised, and the Malays of the States have so great a confidence in their European officers, that they have no hesitation in laying complaints against any member of the force who has chanced to do them wrong. A knowledge of this fact is, perhaps, our best security against the misdeeds which from time to time are done in our name.

The villainous cage-gaols have long ago been swept away, and have been replaced by model prisons, places of such comfort, as the natives understand comfort, I regret to say, that it is sometimes difficult to get the Malays to take them sufficiently seriously. From the point of view of the Malay a man "gets" gaol just as he catches fever, and no more discredit attaches to him for the one than for the other. But, taking it all together, very few Malays find their way to prison, far the larger number of our convicts being supplied by the Chinese portion of the population.

The old taxes and "squeezes" have followed other old abuses, and have disappeared for ever. In their place a sound system of taxation has been established which presses evenly on every man, according to the measure of his wealth and prosperity. The tax which chiefly affects the Malay portion of the population is the landtax, which averages about one shilling of our money per acre. The remainder of the revenue of the States is derived from export duties on tin and gold, on jungle produce, such as gum, rubber, and rattans, and import duties on opium and spirits.

The most important of our exports is tin, the Malay Peninsula having during the last decade produced about three-fourths of the

world's supply of that metal. The deposits which have at present been worked are almost entirely alluvial, but a few lode mines are now being exploited with success. The Malays do not like work of the kind required in a mine, and most of the labour employed is Chinese. The Chinese have toiled in the Peninsula for many centuries, but under Malay rule their number was never very great. These people, who surely are the most thrifty and industrious of mankind, love money for money's sake, love a gamble, such as mining affords, and, above all, love complete security for life and property, probably because the latter is a thing which they so rarely find in their own distracted country. Accordingly, since first the British Government interfered in Malaya, a constant stream of immigration has set towards these States from the over-crowded districts of Southern China, and the yellow portion of the inhabitants of Malaya threatens shortly to outnumber the brown.

As figures sometimes express ideas more clearly and forcibly than words, I may tell you that in 1875 the revenue of Perak was only \$226,233; that in 1889 it was \$2,776,582; that the revenue of all the Federated Malay States was only \$881,910 in 1880; while last year it was about \$7,000,000. Comment, I think, is unnecessary, in the face of such statistics; but the point to which I would call your attention is that all this revenue, raised in the Federated Malay States, is devoted solely to the development of Malaya. Not a cent of it finds its way into the Colonial or Imperial Treasury. It is paid in legitimate and light taxation by the inhabitants of the States, and for their benefit it is expended. Formerly the taxes imposed by prince and noble fell far more heavily than they do at present upon individuals, but they were used, as I have said, for the support of the dominant classes, and the taxpayers derived no benefit of any kind from the money which they were forced to surrender. Now hundreds of miles of road have been built, enabling the people to cheaply transport their produce to markets which, before we came to Malaya, were closed to them. Railways have been constructed in three out of the four States, and a trunk line from Province Wellesley to Malacca is now being rapidly built through the tireless efforts of Sir Frank Swettenham, the Resident-General, who never rested until this great scheme had been approved and undertaken. Life and property have been rendered secure; peace has replaced anarchy and rapine; wealth has become widely distributed; trade has been enormously stimulated.

And now, having broadly viewed the system upon which we work, let us take another glance at the people of Malaya and see in

what manner they have been affected. The peasants, who form the immense majority of the native population, live the placid lives of which I have already spoken, but with this difference: they have now something to live for. No longer is a comely wife or daughter a source of ceaseless gnawing anxiety, one whom a man fears to love in that he fears to lose; no longer do men grow rich in terror and trembling; no longer do men dread the gifts of happy chance because they must surely bring sorrow in their train; no longer do men fear oppression for which there is no redress; no longer does life hold no ambition, because a man has nothing to gain by winning the smiles of fortune. And while giving even the meanest peasant and the former slave freedom, a new life, and an object for living it, we have placed within his reach healthy ambitions which we have put him in the way to gratify. Property, owing to improved means of communication, to good markets for produce which we have opened at the people's very doors, and owing, above all, to the peace and security which we have brought into these once wild lands, has enormously increased in value, and the peasantry is quickly growing rich under our administration. Looking into the future I see many dangers threatening the Malays, and many others which menace our continued complete success in the administration of the Federated States, but I have no time to touch upon these matters now.

What I would ask you to recognise is that Great Britain, by means of her officers, of whom Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Frederick Weld, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, Sir Hugh Low and Sir Frank Swettenham have been the chief—the two last named, more than any other living men, having had the greatest share in the executive government of the Malayan States—has relieved from a crushing tyranny many thousands of human beings; has brought peace, happiness, and prosperity to those to whom these things were formerly strangers; and has given to the Malays a new life—a life which for the first time in their history is a thing worth the living. Then as Britons—for each one of us is in measure responsible for the deeds which are done in our country's name—are we not justified, in spite of the protests of the fast dwindling band of Little Englanders, in exclaiming with Voltaire:—

*Nous avons fait un peu de bien—
C'est notre meilleur ouvrage!*

(The Paper was illustrated by a number of lime-light views.)

DISCUSSION

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G.: Mr. Clifford has, in a condensed form, given us such a variety of information concerning life in the Malay Peninsula, that I, who may be supposed to know something about that part of the world, have really very little to add. He has touched upon the success that has attended British administration in those countries, and, indeed, the fact is generally admitted that they have been governed in the most efficient manner of almost any of the Colonies under the British Crown. This result is due principally to the great liberty which Governors have been allowed by the Colonial Office, and to the discretion that has been left to its officers in these States. It is certainly very fortunate that these States have had such able officers. This was not the case in the beginning, but there has grown up in these federated Malay States a class of officers of whom Mr. Clifford is a bright example, and I do not think that any Colony could produce, in proportion to their extent, so many capable men as you find there. If it were necessary for us to take in hand any great undertaking of a similar character out in the East—as, for instance, in the Yangtse valley—those States would furnish you, not perhaps with all you require, but with men from whom the chiefs might with advantage be selected. The Malays themselves, notwithstanding the dreadful accounts we hear of them, confirmed to some extent by Mr. Clifford in his Paper, are not such an unamiable set of people as you might suppose. In the latter part of his Paper Mr. Clifford allows that I, who know them pretty intimately, consider them an amiable people, and I had many friends among them. They are exceedingly grateful for kindness and instruction, and the schools established under British advice are producing men of really serviceable character as officers of the Government. Some of the younger men, who have not the prejudices of their fathers, are becoming really good administrators, and two or three might be mentioned—as the Sultans of Pêrak and Selângor, who are specially distinguished in their high positions. Then to the schools, established principally, I think, by Sir Frank Swettenham and Sir Cecil Clementi Smith. I am afraid I did not go in much for schools, because I did not think that at that time they would be much appreciated; but various Governors and Residents, one after the other, have been very anxious to promote education, with, I learn, very good results. The administration of justice, which has been so very greatly improved, was in the early days very much as described

by Mr. Clifford. I remember once sitting at a trial for murder with four native chiefs. The evidence was of the clearest character. I had to take the votes of the chiefs, but when I came to the last of them—the others had given their votes for the conviction of the prisoners—he said, "Not guilty." I said, "Have you not heard the evidence?" He replied, "What do I care for evidence? They are my people." It was of no consequence, for we had already four votes for the conviction. These are Mohammedan States, but happily their Mohammedanism is not of a very exclusive or intolerant character, as an illustration will show. On one occasion I was requested by a deputation to get authority to build two churches—a Roman Catholic and a Protestant church. My instructions, as I told the deputation, were to do nothing that would appear to interfere with the religion of the country; but I thought the matter over and took an opportunity of saying to the Sultan: "Your Highness knows you have many Europeans in your service, doing good work for the country, and they seek to build churches, one for each division of their religion, but they cannot raise enough money," because the Government unfortunately does not pay its servants at all well out there. I added: "Your Highness knows I am not at liberty to talk of matters that would appear to interfere with religion, but I must bring to your notice the case of these men, who wish to worship God in the way they have been accustomed, but who cannot get a proper building in which to do it." The Sultan looked at me quite with astonishment, and said, "Why should you be afraid to mention this? I know very well they are trying to build these churches, but I thought every care had been taken to help them. Your people are not like Chinese; you don't worship idols; you worship God. I think you ought to give them just whatever you like." The matter was taken to the council and a vote was made in favour of each of the churches. Another interesting incident was in connection with the inauguration of the present Sultan of Pèrak. He is the descendant of twenty-four or twenty-five kings and is very proud of his long descent. He showed me the regalia, and there was in particular an old sword, which he regarded very respectfully. The Sultan himself must put on the sword, no one else touching it. It was, he said, a thousand years old, and was worn by the prophet Japhet when he went into the ark. In conclusion, I will only add how much I esteem Mr. Clifford as an officer, a gentleman, and a friend.

Mr. W. H. TREACHER, C.M.G. (British Resident, Pèrak): On hearing the preface with which the Chairman introduced the lecturer, I reflected that it would be impertinent for me or any one to

venture to comment on what we have heard; and after the remarks of Sir Hugh Low, following upon Mr. Clifford's exhaustive Paper, I feel there is little left for me to say, and will detain you for a very brief time. I would just ask you to be careful how you digest the exciting fare that has been presented to you. I do not want you to go away with the idea that life in the unprotected Malay States is entirely unendurable, and indeed Mr. Clifford has briefly alluded to the lighter and less gloomy aspects of the case. Remember that long before British protection extended to the Malay Peninsula or to Borneo, British Colonies (the Straits Settlements and Labuan) lay alongside, but these harbours of refuge were not availed of by the oppressed to any considerable extent. Even now, in the civilised Protected States of Pêrak and Selângor, we have held out inducements to the natives of the Unprotected States in the shape of free grants of land or land at very low rates, but they don't come in any numbers to speak of. Some of them, indeed, have come and settled in the country for three or four years and enjoyed the advantages of British administration, but have returned to their own country to be oppressed and downtrodden. This, at least, is worthy of note. I do not at all wish to traverse any of the statements made by Mr. Clifford, but he has, unavoidably of course, had to focus before you some of the worst points in Malay life, and I am trying to relieve somewhat the tension under which you must be suffering. Recollect that, not very long ago in the history of our own civilised and Christian country, women were burned for witchcraft, people were hanged for stealing sheep, Catholics burned Protestants and Protestants burned Catholics, and slavery existed under our flag, with all its horrors, to an extent unknown to the Malays. I should like to allude to the "adaptability" of the Malays. My own Sultan is one of the most courteous men I have ever met. He understands both sides of a question more rapidly than many Englishmen, and he can give you a clear opinion and express his views forcibly on such vexed questions as gambling, opium-smoking, and the registration of women. The lecturer has referred to four men, including our Chairman, who will be remembered for their admirable work in building up the Federated Malay States, but he has omitted to mention the services of Sir Hugh Low,² who, coming from Borneo with a great reputation, took up the work in Pêrak soon after the assassination of the first Resident, Mr. Birch, and has been described by the late Sir Frederick Weld in an official despatch as not only an able administrator but a statesman.

Mr. T. SHELFORD, C.M.G.: The Malayan native States are so intimately related to the Straits Settlements that any information respecting them is of great interest to us. Mr. Clifford has traversed every available part of Pahang; he has lived amongst and freely mingled with all classes of its inhabitants, and we may accept his account of that country as thoroughly trustworthy. It is, however, rather to the latter part of the Paper I wish to address myself. To those of us whose term of residence in that distant quarter of the world began under the old order of things, his Paper is of special interest. In the years of which I am speaking, the Straits Settlements themselves were but little known in this country. They were but an offshoot of the Indian Empire, and the policy of the Indian Government at that time was to leave the Malay States severely alone. So also in the first days of the transfer of the Settlements to the direct rule of the Crown, and as an illustration of the attitude and temper of the Government, the announcement was publicly made that any one who entered the native States for the purpose of trade did so on his own responsibility, at his own risk, and must not look for any assistance or support from the Government. The story of the marvellous change that has been successfully carried out under the direction of the distinguished men whose names are placed on record for all time has been told to this Institute. The figures given in the latter part of the Paper speak volumes. I know no instance of a native country, still in large measure undeveloped and thinly populated, making such rapid progress not only in material wealth, but as is so fully set forth in the Paper, in the amelioration of the condition of the people. Of course there have been enormous difficulties to encounter, more especially in connection with Pahang. The native chiefs, naturally, were opposed to our interference; they resented the deprivation of their rights and position. These difficulties, however, have been gradually overcome, and, as Mr. Clifford points out, we may hope that, as in the Western States, so also in Pahang itself, the chiefs and their successors will gradually rise to take an active and intelligent part in the administration of the country. The State of Pahang is now a flourishing State. When first the Residential system was introduced, there was no revenue at all. The expenditure necessarily incurred had to be met entirely by the borrowing of money. The Chinese had practically left the country. Now the revenue is about 800,000 dollars, and in the course of a year or two the State will doubtless be able to pay its way. Gold and tin in the lode are being largely raised. I have not seen the latest report, but the Chinese are

returning to the country, communication is being opened up, and there is no reason to apprehend that the State has not entered on the path of progress. All this is the record of ten years—but an item in the lifetime of any country. It has been done under the able management and supervision of Mr. Clifford. It must be gratifying to you, sir, to find that the policy pursued with regard to Pahang, and which formerly caused you so much anxiety, is being crowned with success, and I would congratulate Mr. Clifford on the good work he has accomplished, the promise of the good work to follow.

Mr. W. R. D. BECKETT: I have very little claim to speak about the Malay Peninsula, the greater part of my time abroad having been spent in the Siamese-speaking portion of the adjoining kingdom of Siam; but the lecture has been very interesting to me as affording matter for comparison of the two peoples. I met Mr. Clifford at Trēnggānu in April 1895—the very interesting place you saw depicted on the screen. He himself looked very picturesque in the costume he then wore. I am glad to say he appears to be in much better health now than he was then, for he had just come down to the coast after a long journey through the jungles, and for weeks had been living mostly on rice. The Malays who come and settle at Bangkok are really not the best class of Malays, so that I can add nothing as to Malay character and characteristics. It may, however, be a question with some whether the introduction of civilisation into such places as the Malay Federated States and Siam is a blessing or otherwise. It is, of course, in many ways, a necessity that civilisation should be introduced; at the same time we see disappearing many interesting customs and institutions connected with those interesting peoples.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G.): It is now my gratifying duty to convey the thanks of this assembly to the reader of the Paper. Every one will agree that Mr. Clifford has told his story in a very attractive manner, in spite of the fact that he had to give us some rather gruesome details. He has the pen of a ready writer. He has already given us one of the best books in our language on Malay life. Young as he happily is, we shall expect more from his pen, and if it is of the character and style of his Paper we shall receive it with great pleasure. I cannot help thinking a paper of this kind has a very special value, not perhaps to-day or to-morrow, for many of us are familiar with what he has told us; but the time will come—we hope not many years hence—when such an account of a Malay State will be quite impossible, and when civilisation will have so extended itself that these will be matters of chiefly historic interest. Such a

paper as this is of extreme value to the young officer going out to the Malay States. It will give him the means of learning the history and the manners and customs of the people among whom he is going, without which knowledge he cannot become a really successful administrator. It is a special gratification to me to preside to-night, because Mr. Clifford began his official career in the Malay Peninsula at the time I was on duty in the Straits Settlements, and I have had a close—I might almost say a complete—knowledge of the character of his work, and know full well how much he deserves the praise that has been passed upon him. The success of the work which Great Britain has taken in hand in such places as the Malay Peninsula depends on the services of young men like Mr. Clifford, who go out with the desire to do all they can to maintain the character of their country. It is that character which impresses itself on the native races, with the ultimate result that the country we administer becomes a success in itself and a credit to the Mother Country. I feel quite certain that the operations of British officials in the Malay States is at this time an object-lesson to our cousins across the Atlantic, who have themselves embarked on colonial expansion and who in the Philippines have before them much the same class of work we took in hand in the Peninsula. If they will only follow on the broad lines that have been followed by the able British officials in the Malay States, I feel sure the great task they have undertaken will be rendered the easier. I will now ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Clifford for his Paper, and I am sure I may add that if, after he has had further experience, he will again favour us in like manner, we shall warmly welcome him.

Mr. HUGH CLIFFORD: I have to thank you all very warmly for the reception you have given me to-night, and for the kind things several of the speakers have found to say about me and about my work. There is only one point in the discussion which I would like to touch, and that is Mr. Treacher's remark that it was funny or curious—I am not certain of the exact expression—that when there were native States lying, so to speak, cheek by jowl with British possessions, the Malays did not pack their children and baggage on their back and trek, after the manner of the Boers, into the British Colonies. There is an explanation of that circumstance which to me seems reasonable and probable. The Malays, to begin with, are extraordinarily conservative. They detest change. Living in their own country, they have never had any experience of administrations under British control; and though they may see others living under

that control only a short distance from their own homes, they have not sufficient intellectual energy to compare the dangers and miseries to which they are subjected with the conditions which prevail among their fellows in their near neighbourhood. They do not realise their own misery; far less do they realise the happiness of other people living under different conditions; their fear of the unknown conquers their desire to escape from the obviously unbearable; and when to that ignorance is added an extreme attachment to their own old folk, to their wives, to their male children, to their homes and their property, one can hardly wonder, I think, that for the sake of advantages which in their primitive condition they do not readily appreciate at their full value, they should refuse to turn their backs upon these old folk, these wives, these little ones, these homes, this property, exchanging them all for an administration which they do not understand, and for certain plots of virgin forest out of which, we tell them, they can make what they are able. There is one oversight in my Paper—one of much gravity, and which I regard with profound regret. I have most inadvertently and carelessly and—for one who knows the history of Malaya—most stupidly omitted to mention, among the chief officers of this country in the Malayan States, the name of Sir Hugh Low. Anybody who knows anything of the State of Pêrak, and of the Federated Malayan States which have sprung out of our protection of that the first of those States, knows the record of Sir Hugh Low's services as one of great self-sacrifice and of marvellous tact and ability in dealing, under very difficult circumstances, with people who did not understand anything at all about what British administration meant. He went among these people fearlessly, almost alone, and simply through his own force of character so impressed them with his own strength of mind, firmness of will, and great goodness and kindness of heart, that in a short time he could do with the natives of Pêrak what he wished. It is almost incredible that I should have been guilty of the absurd inadvertence of omitting Sir Hugh Low's name; but happily I shall have an opportunity of making good the omission. I will now ask you to join me in a vote of thanks to Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who has done me this last of many kindness, too numerous to record, in consenting to take the chair this evening. As he has told you, he was occupying a post at Singapore at the time I first went there. Of course I remember him very well, because he was at the top while I was at the very bottom of the Service. The first time I made his acquaintance was when I was told off to interpret for him two or

three years after. I have interpreted for many people, and I can assure you that there is a great difference in the way in which various people treat their mouth-piece. Some show great consideration; some show no consideration at all. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith belonged to the former class. He was all kindness to me, boy as I was, and was prepared to overlook the numerous mistakes of which I no doubt was guilty. That was in 1885. Since then I have been in constant communication with Sir Cecil, either personally or by letter, and I can only tell you that he has always shown me a kindness which I find myself quite unable to describe. Now, for myself, and for all those present, I beg to tender to him our thanks for doing us the honour of presiding at our meeting this evening.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the vote, and the proceedings then terminated.

1. An account of 'gaol cages' appears in the story 'A Tale of Theft', published in Clifford's book *In Court and Kampong*, London, Grant Richards, 1897, pp. 167-70.

2. Cf. p. 248 *supra* and p. 256 *infra*. Apparently the reference to Sir Hugh Low in the main body of the text was added after the talk was delivered.

British and Siamese Malaya

Hugh Clifford**9 December 1902**

Chairman: Sir William Robinson

It is my privilege to address you to-night on the subject of the Malay Peninsula, a country with a strong individuality—an individuality which is singularly interesting—but which continues inexplicably to attract only a very small measure of attention in Great Britain. Fellows of this Institute, of course, unlike the majority of the general public, can point it out on the map, and such of them as have studied the published Journals of the Society have read therein Papers contributed by the late Sir Frederick Weld, the late Sir William Maxwell, and by the present Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Frank Swettenham, which give ample and able descriptions of the physical characteristics of the Peninsula, of its resources, its inhabitants, and its social and political condition. It is the existence of these Papers that renders my task this evening somewhat difficult; for where so much has already been told, what can there remain to tell? I have been asked, however, by the Council to add my tale of bricks to the edifice already erected by those who are greater than I; and I conceive that this duty has been imposed upon me with a view to bringing the information at the disposal of the Institute up to date.

The last Paper dealing with the then existing state of affairs in the Malay Peninsula which was read in this place (for in this connection I need not take into account a contribution of my own made in 1899, which was of a frankly popular and uninformative character) was that of Sir Frank Swettenham, delivered by him on March 31, 1896, and entitled "British Rule in Malaya." On that occasion Sir Frank Swettenham announced that the federation of the Native States—each of which until that time had been administered through its British Resident, under the supervision of the Governor of Singapore, independently of, and without any special reference to, its neighbours—had been arranged and had received the sanction of the Secretary of State. Sir Frank did not think it necessary to tell his

hearers how largely the federation of the Protected Malay States was his conception, how many had been the difficulties in the way of the scheme, how numerous and how sensitive the interests which had had to be placated, and how big a share his personal influence and tact in dealing with the native sultans and chiefs had had in the quieting of their suspicions, and the winning of their consent to the innovation. The States were there, inhabited by people of the same race, creed, and language; their geographical positions made them contiguous one to another; all alike were under the protection of Great Britain; all, for periods longer or shorter, had been administered by British officers with the aid of the native chiefs and headmen, in the names of sultans and *râjas* whose powers had been limited to those of strictly constitutional monarchs. On paper, therefore, the task of federation looked simple enough, but it is necessary to understand the jealousies, rivalries, and mutual distrust, bred in the various native rulers by centuries of open strife or veiled hostility, in order that the difficulty of the work performed by Sir Frank Swettenham may be rightly appreciated. Nor could Sir Frank have effected his object single-handed; but throughout he had the complete confidence and the unswerving support of the then Governor, the late Sir Charles Mitchell—whose share of credit in this connection has not, perhaps, hitherto been recognised as fully as it deserves—and of the British Residents and other officials who were content to sacrifice something of their personal power and authority on Sir Frank's recommendation, with a view to securing that greater uniformity of administration which seemed to be demanded in the cause of efficiency. On July 1, 1896, however, the federation of the Native States of the Peninsula within the limits of the British Protectorate became an accomplished fact. Sir Frank Swettenham was appointed to the post of Resident-General, and the Resident of each State was henceforth responsible to him, while he, in turn, was responsible to the High Commissioner—the officer for the time being holding the office of Governor of the neighbouring Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements.

In the following summer—in the summer, that is, of the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee—an interesting ceremony was enacted. The rulers of all the Native States, accompanied by their principal chiefs and councillors, met together, for the first time in the history of the Peninsula, at a great *darbar*. The spot chosen for this historic meeting was the little town of *Kuâla Kangsar*, on the banks of the great *Pêrak* River, near which the palace of the Sultan of *Pêrak*,

the senior Ruler of the Federation, is situated. The accident of this seniority determined the site of the durbar, but that accident was a happy one; for though my memory is crowded with pictures of lovely Malayan landscapes, I can recall none more beautiful, none more typically Malayan, than the view that is to be seen from the hill upon which the British Residency at Kuâla Kangsar stands, or from the summits of the towers which crown the Sultan's palace at Bûkit Chandan, half a mile down stream. Bear with me for a moment, and I will try to paint it for you, although I know how pale a shadow of the reality will be conjured up before your mind's eye by the most vivid description that I have it in my power to give.

Imagine, then, a long reach of blue water, its surface glittering under the bright sunlight where it breaks into tiny waves of eddies, flowing straight towards you from the heart, so it seems, of a range of jungle-clad hills that runs at right angles to the course of the river at a distance of two miles from the spot on which you stand. The river flows between high banks, green to the water's brink, crowned by nodding palms and clustering fruit-groves. Through the dense foliage the dust-coloured thatched roofs of the villages of Kôta Lâma on either hand prick up in steep triangles, glistening and golden where the sunshine touches their smooth slopes. At your feet, divided from you by a flight of grass terraces of a vivid greenness, the little Kangsar River falls into the main stream, which here turns abruptly to the right, and is hidden presently by a huge bank of forest into which it flows and vanishes. The town stands at the junction of the two rivers, but it is shrouded from the sight by palms and leafy trees; only on the foreshore to your left a bullock-cart or two stand idle, little groups of gaily clad natives form and scatter, and in the shallows some nearly nude Tamil bullock-drivers are bathing their big white oxen. All up and down the great reach, tiny sand-spits jut out from the banks, and little yellow islands break the monotony of the flowing waters. In front of you, to right, to left, rise mountains, smothered in forest to their very summits, so that the ridges of those nearest to you are fretted billow-crests of tree-tops against the white-hot sky. For here, in every direction, save only where the river has cloven a path for itself, or where men have nicked out villages for their accommodation, the earth is hidden by one vast tangle of forest—forest so dense that no man can make his way through it without the aid of a wood-knife—forest which presents every variety of shade from sombre black to the vivid greenness of the new leaves. Some of the mountains across the river, seen through that

thin atmosphere, appear to be so near that you might fancy that you had but to put forth your hand to touch them, and on these the jungle is seen with such a wealth of detail that you can well-nigh count the tree-tops as they shimmer restlessly in the heat haze. Far way on your right, and ahead of you from the direction whence the river flows, are other mountains, rising in ranges one behind the other, growing fainter and fainter in colour, till those furthest from the sight are dim smears against the sky, of a delicate azure misty with distance—misty as wreaths of smoke. And upon all the prodigal vegetation, this beauty of form and colour, the sunshine streams down, casting inky shadows, hard as things tangible, throwing objects into strong relief against them, and intensifying the hues, the glitter, and the life. For there is life in the picture; not only the life of the groups of natives, of a string of elephants, perhaps, wading across the stream, with shouting drivers clinging and gesticulating upon their necks, of the little black dug-outs shooting hither and thither, propelled by the tiny figures at the paddles, and of the great trading-boats waddling up stream with a dozen straining punters thrusting with bent bodies above the long poles, but life in the forest, with its shimmering flutter of tiny leaves stirred by faint breezes, and life, too, in the very mountains which quiver bodily through the dancing atmosphere. And as you stand looking at all that this scene offers you of beauty and of tint and form, you may feel that you are looking, as it were, at the very heart of the Malay Peninsula, the type of what at its best a Malayan landscape can be.

I must apologise for a digression which is perhaps unwarrantable, but I would have you know, so far as words of mine can bring understanding of a distant scene, what was the aspect of the place in which the first meeting of the Malayan rulers and chiefs, whose countries had at last been welded into a single federation, took place. Apart from its locality, this meeting was of a kind to stimulate the imagination of the least imaginative, for it was, in some sort, the outward and visible sign of the universal peace which British rule had brought to, had imposed upon, a people who, like the twenty sons of the noble of whom Froissart tells, of old loved war exceedingly. The deliberations which the native chiefs and their British advisers attended were of a nature, too, which marked the change that has been effected in the last thirty years in the whole outlook of those who are responsible for the administration of the Native States. Under the former *régime* those in authority took no thought for the welfare of their subjects, and cared not at all whether

their countries were justly or unjustly governed; whereas on this occasion all the questions discussed were of moment to the bulk of the native population, affected their comfort and well-being, and excited interest because those present had learned, slowly, almost imperceptibly, that the power vested in them was something to be used, not for personal or selfish ends, but for the good of those whose destinies had been entrusted to their care. That these Malay Sultans should meet at all as friends was in itself remarkable; that they should meet as friends bound together by the ties of common interests, as inseparable parts of a single whole, was the realisation of a dream which, only a very few years ago, might well have been thought to be Utopian. Yet this meeting not only took place, but was an unqualified success—a fact which has had much to do with the consolidation of the federation in so far as the natives of these territories are concerned.

Hitherto, as I am aware, this paper has been somewhat florid and exuberant, and I have paid, perhaps, more attention to things which are mainly picturesque than the serious-minded audience that is wont to attend these gatherings may consider fitting. I will now endeavour to correct this fault by asking you to listen to a few statistics. Statistics are sombre things, and are calculated, I think, to produce that gravity, that solemnity, which I conceive to be the mental attitude most proper to a meeting such as this.

The total revenue of the Protected States in 1875 amounted to \$409,000; in 1885 it had risen to \$2,200,000—a satisfactory increase of a fraction over 535 per cent.! In 1895, the year immediately preceding the federation of the States, the joint revenue of the Protectorate amounted to \$8,334,677; and the returns for last year, the latest at present available, show that this total has now reached the respectable figure of \$17,541,507, which even at the low rate of exchange now ruling amounts to nearly £1,500,000 sterling, and is more than double the joint revenue of the States six years ago, and prior to their federation.

A word should be said as to the sources of this revenue, the manner in which it is raised, and as to the incidence of taxation. The main wealth of the Peninsula, as is well known, has hitherto lain in its vast alluvial tin-fields, from which during 1901 nearly 47,000 tons, valued at £5,240,000, were exported. Upon this the Government levies a duty, which varies according to a sliding-scale with the market price of the mineral, and from this source a revenue of over \$7,000,000 was derived in 1900, and \$6,986,184 in 1901.

Another source of revenue is the farms, let by public tender, for the collection of import-duties on opium and spirits. The farmers, who are invariably Chinese traders of high standing in the community, are of course assisted by the Government to a reasonable extent, but experience has taught us that while it is practically impossible for our administration to prevent smuggling by its own unaided exertions, the clannishness of the Chinese supplies any given firm, that understands its business, with a ubiquity of representation throughout the coast districts which reduces the smuggler's chances of evading detection to a very slender minimum.

The taxes to which I have so far referred may, roughly, be stated to fall almost wholly upon the foreign—that is, practically, the Chinese—portion of the community. The native Malay, since he is by religion a Muhammadan, is forbidden by his faith to indulge in spirits or opium. He does not engage in the mining industry beyond the very earliest stages of prospecting, and therefore does not contribute appreciably to the revenue derived from the export-duty on tin. In fact, to all intents and purposes, he pays no taxes, with the exception of a small quit-rent on his land and certain dues on forest-produce. The total revenue of the federation from land amounted in 1901 to \$763,643, of which sum it is probable that little more than half was paid by the natives of the States, which means that the taxes paid by the Malays on this account amounted to about \$400,000 payable by a population numbering over 300,000 souls. If it be taken that three-fourths of the forest revenue, amounting in all to \$287,542, was also paid by the Malays, this yields a total of, say, \$600,000 odd, as representing the taxation imposed upon the natives of the country, and works out approximately at a trifle over \$2, or 3*s.* 6*d.* of our money, per head per annum. These figures are of course only an approximate estimate, as the exact amount payable by any one section of the community is not revealed by the published returns; but they do not err greatly, I think, on the one side or the other, and they will serve to convince you that under British protection the native of the country—the man who has to it an inalienable right—is not made to pay too heavy a price for the blessings which he enjoys. Of what these blessings are I shall have something to say presently, and in the meantime I would ask you to remember that the small and even tax laid upon the Malays—a tax, moreover, which varies in direct ratio with the wealth and possessions of the taxpayer—has replaced all manner of galling and

oppressive exactions and mulctings to which under the rule of his own *râjas* he formerly had no alternative but to submit.

Another source of revenue is one which is peculiarly interesting. During the last nineteen years railways have been built in the Malay Peninsula, and very soon the completed system, measuring 340 miles, will be open to traffic. From the lines open in 1901—244 miles in all—a revenue amounting to \$2,348,822 was obtained, which, after deductions have been made for working expenses, left a clear profit of \$1,079,000. I should mention that this revenue—the balance, that is, of earnings over expenditure—represents interest at the rate of nearly 6 per cent. on the capital invested; and I should add that these railways have been and are being constructed by Government out of surplus revenue, without any recourse being had to loans. This single fact will perhaps bring home to you more clearly than aught else can do the extraordinary wealth of the country, and the successful results which have attended its administration under the protection of Great Britain. I would further mention that the total road-mileage of the Federated Malay States now amounts to 2,285 miles, and that the whole of this and other existing public works have been constructed out of surplus revenue by States which to this day are not hampered by a shilling of debt.

I have only one set of figures more to quote, and I may leave this part of my subject. The expenditure during 1901 amounted to \$17,270,000—that is to say, about \$200,000 less than the total revenue; but of this sum \$4,700,000 was spent upon railway construction, and \$3,600,000 on other public works. None the less, at the beginning of this year the assets exceeded the liabilities by over \$5,000,000, and the actual cost of administration, as represented by the cost of the Government Civil Establishment, amounted to only 17.63 per cent. of the revenue. I would especially invite your attention to the figures last quoted—the 17.63 per cent. of the total revenue expended upon the cost of the administrative establishments—because this will show to you how economical is the system of government which has been introduced, and how successfully the temptation to extravagance, too often presented by unusual prosperity, has been resisted in the case of this British protectorate.

I think that you will probably agree with me that we have now had enough of statistics to serve our requirements for the moment; and having taxed your patience with figures which, I would submit, are in this particular case, as interesting and as striking as figures well can

be, I will now turn to a consideration of other matters somewhat less difficult of digestion.

I have spoken of the blessings which British rule has brought to the Malay population of our protectorate, but I do not propose to enlarge upon this subject here and now, because anyone who chances to be interested in the question may be referred to the Paper dealing with it which I read before this Institute in 1899. All that I would say on this occasion is that from an examination of the most recent Blue-book relating to the federated Malay States two facts emerge, each of which throws light upon the present condition of the Malays. The first of these facts is that the Malay population, far from dying out before the inrush of Chinese and other foreigners of nationalities possessed of greater energy and enterprise, has increased during the decade ending 1901 by 35 per cent.¹ The second fact may best be stated in the words of Sir Frank Swettenham: "Malays cannot be regarded as an available source of labour-supply. When they work it is for themselves, on their own land, and very few of them can be persuaded to accept employment as agricultural labourers or on public works." That means that the Malays, while they increase and multiply at a rate which is highly satisfactory, find that their own land now yields them all the support of which they stand in need. It means that the roads and railways which the Government has constructed throughout the country have brought markets, which of old were too distant to be of any service, to the very doors of the agricultural population. It means, further, that the Malays are in the enjoyment of complete individual liberty; that they are not compelled to undertake work of a nature which in their eyes is at once uncongenial and humiliating; and that the rule of an alien race has had the curious effect of enabling the Malays to lead their own lives in the fashion which most completely commends itself to them without let or hindrance to an extent previously unknown among them. This is the very privilege which has been most persistently denied to their compatriots in the Dutch Colonies, where the white rulers hold the opinion that an indolent brown population must be made diligent by law—that little birds who can sing, and who will not sing, must be made to sing—and it must be confessed that, in a land as the federated States, where every enterprise is chiefly hampered by a lack of sufficient labour, the temptation to adopt the Dutch system is very great, supposing always that the material advantage of the country is the one object in view. The sight of the entire native population loafing away its days, and giving

to its fields a minimum of grudging labour, is an outrage to your economist; for here is a vast quantity of potential energy suffered to go to waste, and that, too, in a land where energy and labour are most sorely needed. Accordingly you will not infrequently hear even Englishmen—more especially planters and other employers of native labour— inveighing against the British system, and lauding that of their neighbours the Dutch, who, let their limitations be what they may, unquestionably know how to force natives to work. This view, however, is one which should not, I think, commend itself to those who have given a little thought to the position of the European in Asia. If the business of the white man in the East be merely that of the exploiter—if the lands under his rule and the native populations dominated by him are to be regarded merely as milch-cows—then undoubtedly the Dutch system is right, and that of Great Britain as wrong as it is inefficient. If, however, as some of us think, the only justification for the presence of the white man east of Suez lies in his ability to bring with him law, order, peace, and an increase of personal liberty—his ability, in a word, to make the lives of those of whose destiny he has taken charge better, cleaner and happier than they would have been but for his coming—then, it must be conceded, the British system is the only one that satisfactorily fulfils its end. And the proof of this may be found in the sentiment with which the Malays of the Federated Malay States regard the British Government. Whatever the feelings of the Asiatic populations may be elsewhere, in the Malay States this much is certain—a *plébiscite* taken to-day would return an overwhelming majority in favour of our rule as against the ancient *régime*. Such a vote would not be unanimous, of course, for here and there a *râja* or a chief would be found who saw in his fixed stipend and in his limited authority over his fellows no sufficient compensation for the right of plunder and the unfettered power which in the past were his; but the vast bulk of the Malays have attained to a measure of contentment and happiness unprecedented in their history, and it is upon this contentment and this happiness that the British administration in Malaya stands four-square,

Broad-based upon a people's will.

This is a fact that can only incidentally be proved by statistics—as, for instance, the crime and gaol returns, which show how few Malays, comparatively speaking, place themselves nowadays under the ban of the law—but all who have any intimate acquaintance with

the Malays of the Peninsula will bear witness to its truth; and it furnishes even more reason for pride and satisfaction than is yielded by the most startling figures indicative of unusual financial prosperity.

Before I quit this part of my subject there is one point connected with the welfare of the native population upon which I must touch. I have had so much to say that is of a nature flattering to our pride that I shall hardly be considered captious if I venture upon one adverse criticism. The construction of roads and railways, which has brought with it advantages that cannot easily be exaggerated, has had one very marked effect upon the civil servants of the Peninsula. Twenty years ago most of our out-stations—as they are called—were almost completely isolated from headquarters and from all other stations, and the officers in charge of them, being cut off from all outside interests, were forced to make their district and its people their one object and study in life. They had something like a personal knowledge of every native in their neighbourhood, and were themselves so well known that in trouble or difficulty they were applied to for advice or assistance as a matter of course. They spent much of their time travelling about their districts, and so came to know every quarter of them, and all that there was to be learned concerning the condition of even the most remote villages; and thus was established a strong bond of friendship and understanding between the ruler and the ruled, and that personal influence which is quite invaluable in dealing with an Asiatic population. Gradually, insensibly, and by slow degrees this state of things, which of old was universal, has passed away, and now the District Officer whose knowledge of his district is such as I have described is the exception, the rare exception, rather than the rule. Neither the Government nor the officers themselves can justly be blamed. The former has been often very short-handed, and, as a consequence, has had to transfer the men at its disposal from place to place so frequently that it has sometimes happened that one man has held as many as three or four appointments in different places in the space of a twelvemonth. At the same time, as is inevitable in view of the increasingly high standard of civilisation prevailing, the actual machinery of government has become infinitely more complex than that formerly in use—a fact which has tended to increase enormously the bulk of highly responsible office-work to which the District Officer has to devote himself. This means that he is rarely able to absent himself from his headquarters for any long period at a time, that nothing

save some definite matter calling for his decision can cause him to pay even a flying visit to the remoter portions of his district, that he has less opportunity than he should have of keeping in touch with the native population, and that his people are apt to cease to look upon him as a friend and counsellor, and to regard him merely as a tax-gatherer and a magistrate. On the other hand, the Malays themselves have more confidence in the average white man than they had when British rule was a thing new and strange, and have also lost something of their shyness, wherefore it is less likely than formerly that any serious grievance may be overlooked for lack of a native bold enough to give his complaint full expression. Notwithstanding this, however, any diminution in the personal influence of the white officers, any decrease in the friendship, understanding, and sympathy which should subsist between them and those they rule, must be noted with keen anxiety and concern. The matter is one which might find its remedy in the creation of a department for the sole purpose of attending to native affairs, or, better still, in increasing the District Staffs, and avoiding, as far as possible, the too frequent transfer of officers from one district to another. Seeing that in 1901 the cost of the administrative establishment of the Federated Malay States only amounted to 17.63 per cent. of the total expenditure, it will be evident to all that the Government has it in its power largely to increase that percentage without overstepping the bounds of financial prudence, and there can be no question that almost any money sacrifice is preferable to the loss that must eventually accrue from a decrease of that sympathy and understanding between the white officers and the natives of the country which has been the base of the British successes in the Malay Peninsula.

A census of the inhabitants of the Federated Malay States, taken in 1901, gave the total population at 678,595, of whom only 278,200 were Malays. Of the latter, the two States of Pahang and the Nēgri Sēmbīlan were responsible for 113,000 souls, and in both these places the indigenous population outnumbered the foreigners settled in their midst. In Pērak and Sēlāngor, however, the great tin-producing districts of the Peninsula, the native population was outnumbered by the Chinese and Indian immigrants, and that though Pērak carries a population of 131,000 Malays, which is more than double the number located in any one of the other States. In Pērak the Chinese population numbered 149,500 souls; in Sēlāngor there were 108,500 Chinese, as against 34,000 Malays; and the

Chinese in the Nēgri Sēmbilan and Pahang numbered rather more than 41,500 souls.

Now this is a fact with which those who know the conditions of the Peninsula, and those who above everything are anxious for the welfare of the Malays, need find no cause for quarrel. The Chinaman is an excellent labourer, and is, moreover, a very shrewd and reliable man of business. He stands possessed of just that energy, enterprise, continuity of purpose, and dogged determination to succeed which the Malay most signally lacks. His one desire is to make and enjoy money, and if he be properly handled—and in the Peninsula Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who was to have been our Chairman to-night, has taught us once for all how the Chinaman should be handled—he makes as peaceable and as orderly a citizen as the heart of any Government can desire. Those who fancy that the Chinese are anxious to rule the communities to which they belong in the sense of themselves taking any large part in the dull work of administration, are, I believe, mistaken. The average Chinaman of intelligence wishes to find employment of a more lucrative character than is afforded by Government service, and all he demands is that the Government should be just, firm, and strong, so that he may go about his business without let or hindrance, fear or insecurity. Therefore, in any country inhabited by a race which is unable or unwilling to perform the work necessary to the well-being of the community, the Chinese immigrant must be welcomed with open arms, and it is not too much to say that but for him the success which has attended the work of British administration in the Peninsula could never have been achieved. He has been from the beginning the muscle and sinew of the community, and also, in no small degree, its brains as well. For every one commercial enterprise which owes its success to the initiative of the European in the Peninsula there are hundreds which have been organised, financed, and managed entirely by Chinamen, and the Federated Malay States owe an incalculable debt to the courage, persistency, and ability of their Chinese citizens. It is the presence of the Chinaman also which has made it possible for the Malay population to live their own lives in their own way without bringing financial ruin upon their country.

The large number of Chinese in the Peninsula, therefore, can be regarded as only a subject of congratulation, but an examination of the figures which make up this total discloses certain facts which are by no means equally satisfactory. I refer to the wholly disproportionate preponderance of males over females, and the deplorably

small number of Chinese children. The total Chinese population amounts to 299,739 souls, of whom 272,584 are men and only 27,155, are women, while the children of both sexes under fifteen years of age number only 13,321. In other words, there is only one female to every ten males among the Chinese population of the Federated Malay States, and only one child under fifteen years of age to every twenty-two adults. When certain necessary deductions have been made this reduces the number of Chinese families resident in the Peninsula to a quite paltry figure, and the fact is forced upon our recognition that the bulk of the Chinese inhabitants cannot be regarded as belonging to the permanent population of the States. Many of these foreigners have wives and children of their own in China; almost every Chinaman in the Peninsula has parents or other aged folk more or less dependent upon him whom he has left behind, and to whom, with that filial piety which is one of the most attractive of Chinese virtues, he regularly remits a proportion of his earnings. In this way very large sums of money made in the Peninsula are annually sent to China, to the impoverishment of the former; and it is a matter of the greatest regret that owing to this only a portion of the money made in the Malay States is spent and invested in the land whence it was drawn. There is another aspect of the question—the moral aspect—the inevitable degradation for which the inequality of the sexes is responsible—to which in this place I can no more than allude, but it must be confessed that the situation is not satisfactory, and that it is one with which no Government can adequately deal. The Chinese, in a vast majority of cases, do not wish to bring their wives to the Peninsula, and so long as this continues to be so no remedy can be found by State-aided immigration of Chinese women and children. At the same time, we have to face the fact that our Chinese population is one which has only an imperceptible natural increase, that it is kept up or increases solely by excess of immigration over emigration, and that should anything occur to interfere with the supply of immigrants much of the commercial enterprise of the Peninsula would become paralysed.

As matters stand at the present time the most urgent, the most crying need of the Federated Malay States is a sufficient supply of labour. So far the stream of Chinese immigration has flowed with hardly an interruption, but as a set-off against it the counter-stream of Chinamen returning to their homes must be borne in mind, and it must further be remembered that this counter-stream is largely composed of those who have been most successful in the Peninsula—

the men, in fact, who are most highly endowed, and whom it is most to our disadvantage to lose. And yet, as I have already said, the circumstances being what they are, and the homes of these people being situated entirely beyond the reach of our administration, it is not in the power of the British Government to control the emigration that cannot but be detrimental in a high degree to the welfare of the Malay States.

Perhaps the only way out of the difficulty is to be sought in another direction, for we should forfeit that very spirit of liberty which makes our rule popular with the Chinese were we to endeavour to check emigration to China by any artificial means. But China being beyond our control, and the supply of labour to be drawn from her having already proved to be inadequate to our requirements, we might perhaps look to India to spare us some of her too dense population. The Indian immigrant, as we know him in the Peninsula, though he cannot compete with the Chinaman, is a useful agricultural labourer, and is comparatively free from the love of speculation which sends the Chinese flocking to the mines and leaves very few for work on roads, railways, and the estates of planters. It has therefore been the endeavour of the Governments of Malaya for many years past to do all that in them lies to induce natives of British India to immigrate in large numbers. Free passages have been granted by steamers specially subsidised, agents to recruit and assist native labourers have been appointed, and everything, in short, has been done that could be done by the Governments of Malaya alone. The climate of the Peninsula nearly resembles that of Southern India; the rates of wage and the conditions of life are higher than and in every way superior to those which prevail in India; there is work in plenty waiting for the men to do it; there is ample room in a very fertile country in which as yet anything resembling the congestion of population is unknown. It would appear that here was a spot specially created to serve as a receptacle for the overflow of the natives of India—a natural refuge for a population which annually counts the number of those on famine-relief by the hundred thousand. In spite of these things, however, the fact remains that all our efforts in this direction have, up to the present time, proved woefully disappointing; that, so far as can be judged, the Government of India evinces no great desire to utilise the means of relief which the Malay States offer to its swarming, and too frequently starving, millions; and that though the pressure of necessity which drives men away from the lands of their birth is nothing like so urgent in China as it is

in India, the immigrants from the former country enormously outnumber those who come to Malaya from the great Empire of British India. Writing on this subject in the Blue-book recently published, Sir Frank Swettenham says:—

The Government has already in its attempt to increase the supply of Indian labour lost far more than any company or private individual could afford, and unless some great change takes place the loss must continue The Government here has done so much with such indifferent success that I do not see how any improvement can be expected unless the Government of India will render some active assistance.

It is confessedly to the great advantage of the Federated Malay States to obtain a sufficient supply of labour, and to secure this advantage much money has been spent and many efforts have been made. It might be thought, however, that the advantage did not lie wholly on one side, and that the Government of India, faced as it is so incessantly by the menace of famine, would have evinced some eagerness to avail itself of the near neighbourhood of a country, possessed of a congenial climate, in which exceptionally favourable terms are offered to the labourer by Government and the public alike, and which further enjoys the blessing of British rule. This British protectorate, surely, might well be utilised by the Government of India to relieve it of some portion of the burden imposed upon it by an excessive population. That the Government of India has not hitherto thought it worth its while to make any serious attempt to second the efforts of the Government of Malaya in this direction—efforts which, as we have seen, have entailed pecuniary sacrifice—may be due to some fact or facts of which we in the Malay Peninsula possess no knowledge. Doubtless there are difficulties to be encountered, to be overcome; but these must indeed be of an insuperable character if they are sufficient to prevent a Government such as that of British India from even examining them with a view to their evasion, more especially when a pressure so strong as that supplied by frequent famine would seem to urge the advisability of immediate and energetic action.

Of the industries of the Malay States I need say little. To all intents and purposes there is only one real industry—that of tin-mining. The vast alluvial deposits of this mineral, which have been worked with such advantage to the community, have yielded during the past fifteen years a very large proportion of the tin of the world. This little strip of land has therefore supplied a very important item in the

commerce of the past decade and a half, and the wealth thus represented has enabled the Government to achieve the results at which we have glanced to-night. Lacking their tin-mines the Malay States would sink into insignificance, for at the present time there is no other source of wealth which has been developed to an extent sufficient to replace them. This had led many to prophesy a speedy ending to the wonderful prosperity with which the Malay States have been blessed. They have likened us to the well-known novelist who is said to have "gone up like a Crockett and come down like a Stickit," and have drawn panic-producing pictures of the ignoble future that awaits us. Now, this would be as depressing as even these prophets could desire supposing that it were possible for the tin-mines of the Peninsula to be forced to shut down suddenly, or if there were any prospect of the alluvial deposits becoming exhausted within a period of a few years. These things, however, are fortunately the reverse of likely. The wholesale shutting-down of the mines could only be caused by an enormous and permanent fall in the price of tin—a fall comparable, for instance, to that which we have recently seen in the case of silver. Such a fall could only be effected by over-production of the metal, and the demand is so great and so constant that over-production in this case is in the last degree improbable. Tin, it must be remembered, is used principally for sheeting iron, and so used it can be utilised only once; that is to say, that while silver once put upon the market remains in existence as a constant entity, tin vanishes in use, so that its place has to be supplied continually by newly mined metal. It is inconceivable that any process can be devised whereby tin used for sheeting iron can be collected after it has served its turn and utilised for a second time; and so long as this continues to be the case the demand for fresh supplies of the ore must continue also. The danger of over-production, therefore, does not threaten us from this direction, and the only other way in which we might be seriously affected would be by the discovery and development of vast alluvial tin-deposits elsewhere. The history of the Malay States themselves, however, comes to relieve our anxiety on this score; for though we now export over 45,000 tons per annum from an area which thirty years ago did not produce 1,000 tons, no dislocation of the market has occurred, and the demand has kept steady pace with the discovery and development of fresh deposits.

The conclusion which we may draw from these two facts, therefore, is that so long as the tin-deposits of the Malay Peninsula

continue to be productive, so long will the main source of revenue of the Malay States continue to yield satisfactory results, in spite of the opening-up of new tin-fields. Sir Frank Swettenham, writing in 1901, estimated that the mines of the Peninsula would last for a century to come at the very least, and though some may be disposed to regard this expectation as somewhat too sanguine, there can be no question as to the certainty that they will go on producing vast quantities of ore for the next fifty or sixty years. None the less we are bound to recognise that the tin-deposits of the Peninsula, so far as we yet know them, are mainly alluvial, and that alluvial mines cannot be regarded as a source of wealth of a permanent value in the sense in which the lode-mines, say, of Cornwall, which have been worked for more than two thousand years, may be called permanent.² Some day, therefore, it is probable that the output of tin from the Malay States, if it does not cease altogether, will become seriously diminished, and this is a fact which the Government of late years has kept steadily in view. It is their object, in these the years of the fat kine, to foster industries which, when the years of the lean kine come upon us, may to some extent replace the loss which the falling-off of the tin-export will entail. To this end the Government of the Federation has recently turned its attention to the forests of the Peninsula, and has established a forest department on the lines adopted in British India, for the purpose of preserving this valuable asset of the Malay States from reckless and wanton damage. For some years to come it is probable that this department will be a source of expense rather than a great producer of revenue; but the money disbursed will be in the nature of capital expenditure, and there can be little doubt that in the end it will bring in a handsome return. The Malay States, as is well known, are among the best-wooded countries in the world, and the timber available, if the difficulty of extraction can be overcome, may safely be taken as representing enormous potential wealth. Apart from the timber, too, these forests yield large quantities of gutta and rattan, and though these have been recklessly exploited by the natives in the past, it is not too late for wise regulation of the industry to preserve them, and eventually largely to increase the output without damaging our forests.

There is yet another source of wealth—the extraordinary fertility of the soil. The example of the neighbouring Colony of Ceylon has shown us how wonderfully a community can thrive and prosper by the aid of planting alone when, as is the case in the Malay States, the conditions are favourable. At the outset we are somewhat

handicapped by having to compete with Ceylon, where for many years, and in spite of manifold vicissitudes, planting has been the principal source of revenue. Also, in the past, the planters in the Malay States have had to face much ill fortune owing to the depressed condition of the markets for Liberian coffee and for sugar, but latterly a new departure has been made in the direction of the planting of rubber. The demand for this product is as constant, and likely to be as permanent, as that for tin, and since our conditions are unusually well adapted for its production, it may reasonably be hoped that in its cultivation our planters will meet at last with the success that their enterprise and their perseverance entitle them to expect.

I cannot conclude this survey of the condition of the Federated Malay States without saying a few words on the subject of Pahang—the most recently acquired and the least prosperous of them all—of which I have the honour to be Resident. Pahang has long been regarded as the *enfant terrible* of the Federation. When the States of the Western seaboard were lulled in a profound peace, Pahang was outrageously and persistently bellicose; when the Western States were rolling in riches, Pahang was hopelessly out-at-elbows; when the former were amassing huge surpluses, the latter could boast of nothing save its enormous debts; when life in Pěrak and Sělangor had approximated as nearly to the standards of civilised Europe as the climbing mercury in the thermometer rendered possible, those who were called upon to live in Pahang were forced to reconcile themselves as best they might to rough surroundings, daily privations, and a cost of living that was proportionate only to its primitive discomfort. Pahang, therefore, came to be looked upon as a sort of drag upon the Federation, and nothing save the strength of an order, which is above everything, induced suitable officers to serve there. With all the other States vaunting their exceeding prosperity there was little enough of credit to be reaped in the administration of a territory which failed hopelessly to pay its way, and my very sincere thanks are due to the numerous officers who aided me in a task which has not always been of the most inspiring description.

The reason of Pahang's comparative failure is not far to seek, and it is one to which no blame can fairly attach. It is to be found, I think, in the one fact of Pahang's geographical position—a fact which the ablest of governments and the most devoted of officials are obviously unable to alter. To this must be added one other fact—that

capitalists are not necessarily philanthropists, and that men who are capitalists in embryo cannot afford to be guided by nothing save altruism and public spirit. The States on the west coast still stand possessed of vast undeveloped resources; they are easily accessible by sea from the neighbouring Colony of the Straits Settlements; they are opened up throughout their length and breadth by lavish systems of road and railway; the conditions of life prevailing there are, as I have said, comfortable, even luxurious; and these States, moreover, are by no means over-populated. They can, in a word, be easily reached, and when reached afford all the facilities required by the man with money to invest or the man who seeks employment as a labourer. Why, then, in the sacred name of common sense, should either of these men be expected to turn his back upon States which exactly suit him and lie ready to his hand, and strike out into Pahang, where the odds against his success must inevitably be very great? Why should he go into a country in which transport is exceedingly difficult and expensive; where there is only one main road and a water-system of treacherous rivers; where the conditions of life are primitive, costly, and uncomfortable, and where no single advantage is offered to him that is not equally to be had for the asking in the more advanced States? Why, I ask, should he act with such incredible lack of sanity when by the expenditure of much less time and money he can find himself in the midst of surroundings infinitely better fitted to his purposes? I myself can find no answers to these enigmas, and I am astonished, not that so few have been found willing to risk their money in Pahang, but that any have been found at all.

And yet some enterprising people have come forward to undertake this task, and though, as I have told you, Pahang is still pointed at as the one State which success has not crowned, the achievement of the British administration even here has been of a kind which may well yield some solid satisfaction. In 1890, the first year in which the fiscal affairs of the State were administered with our advice, the revenue amounted to \$62,000; in 1894 it reached a total of \$100,000 for the first time; four years later it amounted to \$224,000; in 1899 it had increased to \$375,000; in 1900 to \$419,000; and finally in 1901 the total reached was \$794,764. In other words, after eleven years of British administration the revenue of this unsuccessful State had multiplied itself by nearly thirteen-fold—a respectable record which, I venture to think, would not have failed to attract attention had it not been so completely overshadowed by the extraordinary

prosperity of Pahang's neighbours. I should add that in 1901 Pahang, for the first time, not only paid its way, but actually was able to show a balance of revenue over expenditure amounting to nearly \$98,000.

This is a commercial age, and it has become customary with us to point to the revenue of a country as the one obvious sign of its progress. I venture to think, however, that what has been accomplished in Pahang under British protection is something that cannot be estimated in dollars alone. In the Paper read by me before this Institute in 1899, to which I have already referred, I drew a picture—a woeful picture—of the conditions of the natives in a Malay State under the rule of its own *rājas*, and every word which I then wrote applied absolutely to the state of things which existed in Pahang prior to 1888. I will not here trouble you with details, but I say without fear of contradiction that our administration of this State has relieved the bulk of the population from a stupid and grinding tyranny, and that it has made the lives of some 80,000 human beings happier, honester, and brighter than they were before our coming. Therefore, I maintain, though the results, in so far as regards material prosperity, are not so striking, so sensational, as those which can be boasted of by the States on the Western seaboard, that the work which has been accomplished in Pahang affords a no less legitimate subject for pride and for satisfaction. I feel sure that you will acquit me, in what I have said, of any desire to lay too great an emphasis upon the value of a task in which I have myself been intimately concerned, for that which has been done is due not to the exertions of myself, or indeed of any individual, but to the energy, devotion to duty, and tireless interest in their work which have been shown during the past fourteen years of struggle by all the officers who have formed the Pahang executive, aided by the support which they have received from those in authority over them.

I do not propose to attempt anything in the nature of prophecy, but I think I have told you enough concerning the Federated Malay States to prove to you that their prosperity is remarkable; that that prosperity has been greatly increased since federation was effected; and that there is no fear of it waning, at any rate for many years to come.

It remains to me, before concluding this Paper, to invite you to take a brief glance at the rest of the Peninsula—the portion which lies beyond the limits of the British protectorate, and within the sphere of Siamese influence. Kēdah, on the western slope, was overrun by

the Siamese at the end of the eighteenth century, and though it has ever since been ruled by its own Sultan, Siamese influence has there been predominant for more than a hundred years. Pētāni, a large State on the eastern slope, at the port of which country the East India Company had one of its earliest factories in Malaya, was also conquered by Siam about the same time, and was thereafter split up into four small States—only one of which retains the ancient name of Pētāni—each under its own native ruler. Kēlantān and Trēnggānu, on the other hand—the two States on the east coast which lie to the south of Pētāni and north of Pahang—have never been annexed by conquest, and when I travelled through the length and breadth of these countries in 1895 they were still governed, on the lines of other independent Malay kingdoms, by native sultans and their chiefs unrestrained by outside influence. Even at that time, however, the Siamese flag was flown at the mouth of the Kēlantān River, and the customary tribute of the gold and silver flower was sent to Bangkok once in three years. These States in 1894 were made the bases of operations for hostile raids into British territory, and it was probably in some degree the fear of a repetition of such events which inspired the Siamese Government with a desire to exercise a more effectual control over the rulers of Kēlantān and Trēnggānu, for it is from 1895 and the following years that a policy of more active interference by the Siamese with the Malays of this part of the Peninsula dates.

I have described elsewhere the condition of things which prevail in a Malay State under native administration, and I need not here insist upon the unquestionable fact that the history of the Malayan peoples points to the conclusion that they are incapable of self-government. Altruism as a guiding principle of those in authority makes no appeal to the Malay ruler in his natural state; justice is a thing which does not enter for him into the range of practical politics; and therefore in every independent Malay State there is not only much room for reform, but a crying need for it if the condition of the bulk of the population is to conform even remotely to the requirements of modern humanitarianism. Viewed from this standpoint the action of the Siamese in attempting to strengthen their hold upon Kēlantān and Trēnggānu cannot be regarded as lacking justification, and with the example of what has been done in the same direction by the British in the Peninsula before their eyes, it is easily comprehensible that the task appealed to them as one well calculated to redound to their national credit. I venture to think, however, that the difficulty

of the work—difficulty which was immeasurably greater for the Siamese than it had been for the British—was under-estimated from the beginning. Our Government extended its protection to the Malay States on the initiative and at the invitation of the native rulers. The history of our past connection with the Malays held no tradition of war or conquest. We had at our disposal from the first men of more than ordinary ability, men who had gained a deep and wide knowledge of Malay character, and men who were in complete sympathy with the people whom they were now set to guide into wiser paths. All these things contributed very materially to the success which, as you will have seen from the earlier paragraphs of this Paper, has attended our efforts in the Peninsula. The Siamese, on the other hand, were handicapped from the outset by many disabilities. To begin with, their intrusion was not due to the initiative or invitation of the native sultans; Siam, as the Malays' most powerful neighbour, had for countless generations been regarded as a constant menace to native independence, and this had bred in the weaker race an acute suspicion of and a hardly veiled animosity towards the Siamese as a nation. Apart from this, it must be remembered that in the past the conquest of a Malayan State by the Siamese had always aroused the most bitter religious fanaticism, the Buddhists of Siam being at no pains to restrain their dislike of the Muhammadan faith when a Muhammadan people had met with defeat at their hands. For these reasons, therefore, the Siamese in Malaya had from the first to contend with strong inherited prejudices against them, and this could not but render it peculiarly difficult for them to win the confidence of the natives, an essential condition if the hope was entertained that the Malays, as in the British protectorate, were to be led, not driven, into the way in which they should go. In addition to this, the business of government of Orientals by Orientals must ever be attended by peculiar difficulties. A few years ago a student of the East might have been inclined to pronounce an experiment of this nature as certainly foredoomed to failure, but the instance supplied to us by recent history in the case of the administration of Formosa by the Japanese might now be cited to disprove any such sweeping profession of belief. In Formosa, at any rate, the Japanese have shown, so far as their new departure has gone, that it is possible for an Oriental people to rule brown men of different race with a fair measure of success, and doubtless the Siamese would point to Formosa in justification of the belief that what man has done man may do. The

Malay, however, is in some ways a very peculiar person. If you could see to the bottom of his heart, you would find there an unshakable conviction that he, in defiance of undeniable facts, is humanity in its highest expression. This opinion of his own superiority over the rest of mankind is accepted by him with so little reserve that I doubt whether it ever occurs to him to so much as question it. It is a fundamental axiom patently evident to his warped intelligence, and I do not hesitate to assert that in the Federated States the average Malay, in spite of all that British rule has effected in the transformation of his surroundings, still regards the European as in many respects his inferior. Yet, no matter how completely one may free oneself from colour-prejudice, the fact remains that the white skin does to some extent command respect; and the Malay, whose national proverb demands that blows should be administered by a hand that wears a ring, can only submit without sacrifice of *amour propre* to the rule of men who as a race command his trust and his esteem. Now, this is an advantage which the Siamese do not enjoy. Anyone who is acquainted with the two races will at once acknowledge that the Siamese are the intellectual superiors of the Malays. The fact cannot be gainsaid, but there is a vast interval between the acknowledgment of this truth by the independent observer and its unreserved acceptance by a Malayan population.

Lastly, the Siamese, if their administration of the Malay States—a work which, by the way, cannot be said at the present time to have really begun—is to be saved from failure, must secure the aid of a Civil Service such as has been at the disposal of the British Government in Malaya during the past thirty years; men, that is to say, who are prepared to devote their energies exclusively to the task of improving the conditions of those around them, who will be guided by a deep sympathy with the natives and by the understanding which sympathy alone can give; men who are completely free from any selfish motives, and who have at their command an unlimited stock of patience and forbearance. It remains to be seen whether such a Service can be organised by the Siamese Government; but it must be obvious that, lacking it, the work of administering the Malay States in Siamese Malaya—a work which, as I have attempted to show, is surrounded by far greater difficulties than those with which the British have had to contend—can hardly be brought to a satisfactory or successful issue.

The Paper was illustrated by a series of lantern views.

DISCUSSION

Mr. S. GILFILLAN: It is only fitting that a word of appreciation of this able and interesting address and of the beneficent achievements it describes should be expressed on behalf of some of us who are, or who have been, interested in the trade of the Straits Settlements, and who have had at times some small share in the prosperity these Settlements have experienced of late years, for which prosperity they have been indebted in no small degree to the progress and success of the now federated Malay States. Mr. Clifford has, in the statistics which he supplied so sparingly, given an outline of the broad economical facts. Such facts are what we who are engaged in mercantile business appreciate most highly, but, as has been said in the Paper, there has been work done there which is not to be expressed in dollars; and I think on behalf of all classes connected with the Straits Settlements I may express their high appreciation of the extremely devoted work that has been done by men like Mr. Clifford. He has pointed out the real cause of the marvellous success that has attended British administration in the Malay Peninsula—that success has arisen mainly from the character of the men who have been sent there. They are men who have been in sympathy with, and having sympathy have had understanding of, the people they are dealing with. It has, as it appears to me, been a common characteristic of the leading men who have taken part in the work, from Sir Frank Swettenham onwards, that they have recognised the rights of the Malays in their own country, and have displayed a sense of the duty that lay on them to see that these rights were respected, and that the native inhabitants were not edged out by the more industrious and more economically praise-worthy Chinese. Naturally the trading communities in the Straits would have thought first of the Chinaman, who is the creator of wealth. It is for economical reasons that most men are there; they don't, as has been said, go there for the benefit of their health, and had it not been for men like Sir Frank Swettenham and his coadjutors and others connected with the Civil Service, there is no doubt it might have fared ill with the Malays in comparison with the Chinese. As it is we have a state of things as described in the Paper under which the Malays who, though they are not by any means industrious or likely to be of much service in the promotion of trade, evidently do enjoy life after their own fashion, and are much better off in many respects than they were before, while at the same time through the security

that is established there the Chinese have been able to do their part, an excellent part too, in the promotion of the wealth of the States. It would be easy to enumerate the names of men who have helped to create this prosperity with the assistance of successive Governors, including Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, whom we are so sorry to miss on this occasion. For the service in the Federated States has at times owed much to the help and encouragement received from the Governors of the Straits Settlements. It is recognised that there are very few engaged in the service of the Malay States to whom a higher tribute of admiration should be offered than to Mr. Clifford himself. He has been, and still is, connected with the least prosperous of these States. It is now beginning to show results which anywhere else would have been thought brilliant, and I think everyone recognises that that is greatly owing to the devoted work he has displayed in adverse circumstances, where for some years he had so to speak to fight for his own hand and with but small material support and little promise of much support from the British Government. All must have been struck with the very judicious terms in which the attempts of the Siamese to imitate our own success in the Malay States was referred to in Mr. Clifford's Paper. I think the feeling on the part of most of those connected with the Malay States is that they would gladly see these Siamese States prosper and partake of some of the advantages that the protected English States have shared, if only that were possible. But without the aid of Europeans of some nationality or other, and probably without the aid of men of British race, I doubt whether any good will be done by the Siamese by their own hand. I think the feeling in the Straits Settlements is in favour of anything that can be done in this direction, recognising that it is for the general good that these Siamese Malayan States prosper, and that this would be in harmony with, and no way inimical to, the prosperity of our own protected Malay States.

Dr. P. A. NIGHTINGALE: It is with very considerable diffidence that I venture to make a few remarks on the interesting Paper which we have just heard read, for I know there are many in this room who have a far more intimate acquaintance with the subject than I have. I have, however, lived for many years both with the Malays and with the Siamese, and can thoroughly endorse what Mr. Clifford says about the former in their firm belief that they are the highest expression of humanity—a conviction which unfortunately the Siamese hold equally as firmly with regard to themselves, a drawback which undoubtedly has a good deal to do with the not very

progressive methods of the Siamese. To compare, even incidentally, the success of the Japanese in ruling Formosa with the possible success of the Siamese in governing their Malay States, such as Kēlantān and Trēnggānu, is I fear somewhat too much to expect; for the Siamese lack in a very large degree that education and singleness of purpose which has enabled Japan to tower above other Asiatic races in such a remarkably short space of time. Like the Malay, the Siamese works for himself and not for his country, and looks to China for his coolie and skilled labour. The great prosperity of the Federated Malay States under British rule will undoubtedly be only extended to the rest of the Malay Peninsula when they are administered by such officials as the lecturer has told us about to-night. In marked contrast to Perak and Sēlāngor we have the semi-independent State of Johor, which is still ruled by its own Sultan, and as a consequence is still waiting for that development which has come to its neighbours. With the late Sultan of Pahang I was well acquainted, and as he and his followers were of the old school, disliking reforms and with but little idea of justice, the work of administering his State must have been a peculiarly difficult one, and the success attained all the more creditable. There is no doubt that the future of Malaya will be a prosperous one, though I wish that Mr. Clifford had had time to throw more light on the condition of affairs in Kēlantān and Trēnggānu, since few men possess his knowledge concerning these interesting but almost unknown States.

SIR WILLIAM MACGREGOR, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.D.: I have no personal knowledge of the Malay Peninsula, but I have listened with great interest to the excellent Paper read by Mr. Clifford. I can only notice one or two points which during the reading of the Paper have occurred to me as an Administrator. I would first point out that the great success that seems to have attended British administration in the Peninsula appears to be entirely due to the officers sent out there. It is clear from first to last that they have been in sympathy with the people. Mr. Clifford has just told us that perhaps the principal gain to the Peninsula is that the people have been allowed to live in their own way. I could have wished that he had been able to say something about the history of this extraordinary race. I know nothing about them in their own country, but I have found traces of them in other parts of the globe, in Fiji, among the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, and along the coast of New Guinea. From what he has told us I should say the character of the Malays must have changed very considerably. The Papuans are not quite distinct from

them. Sometimes at church I have counted the number of people present evidently of Malay descent, and I should say that about 5 per cent. of them are more or less of Malay origin along the coast of New Guinea. I say they must have changed in character because as I gather from this Paper what the Malay wishes to-day is to stay at home and be quiet to be let alone, in fact. But clearly at some previous period he must have been of a more adventurous character. Has he gone back? If so, why? I would suggest that when Mr. Clifford gives us another Paper at some future date he should deal more particularly with the history of these people. Although Mr. Clifford has seen fit to minimise the value of his own labours, one can see that his work out there has been extremely successful. I have no doubt that he is only one among many who have deserved well of their country there. Perhaps I might venture to draw attention to one point. Mr. Clifford tells us that the Malay is allowed in his own country to live as he likes. That applies as far as I can make out to the great bulk of the population, but does not seem to apply to one very important stratum of society—I mean the chiefs. I would ask, can such a form of administration become permanent in such a country? I venture to doubt it. Oddly enough, for the last fifteen or sixteen years I have been governing a native people on the entirely opposite system. In British New Guinea, where I had to govern a country in which there were no chiefs, one of my principal aims and objects was to create chiefs, and give them the position of chiefs, and to get them to govern their own people. I continued the same system in West Africa. To attempt to introduce there the form of government that seems to be so successful in the Malaya Peninsula would unquestionably land us in civil war. Mr. Clifford has drawn a sharp distinction between British and Dutch methods of administration. Naturally he much prefers the British, but I can assure you there is a great deal to be said on behalf of the Dutch system. To some extent there was in Fiji, under that most distinguished administrator Sir Arthur Gordon, now Lord Stanmore, an attempt to combine as it were the British and the Dutch systems—that is to say, on the one hand they maintained the chiefs in their original position, on the other hand they tried to get the mass of the common people to work utilising the chiefs to keep the people at work. To some extent the Dutch do the same, but I understand that in the Malay Archipelago the chiefs at the present moment are to a large extent deprived of their power, and that rule is chiefly through the Resident.

Mr. CLIFFORD: Perhaps I have not made myself clear. In the

Federated Malay States we have always worked through the chiefs from the beginning of protection to the present moment. Everything was done in the name of the Sultan with the advice of the British Resident and through the village headmen.

SIR WILLIAM MACGREGOR: I am glad to hear that. Then there is not that sharp distinction, between the British and the Dutch systems that I had inferred. There is one point I would mention with respect to revenue. All familiar with the subject would notice that the principal part of the revenue is derived from an export duty. Now a great many of us would at first sight be prepared to condemn such a system. It is hardly in accordance with British ideas to raise a large amount of revenue through export duty, but I would observe that one great advantage of this Institute is, that you have brought before you from time to time examples of different kinds of government and administration among the different races within this great Empire, and when we hear accounts of administration which in any way differs from our own idea, I would ask you to cast aside preconceived ideas, for you may depend upon it the method adopted in the Malay Archipelago is best suited to the country, although not exactly the method which from British ideas we should be prepared to suggest, or even at first sight to sanction. I gather that Mr. Clifford and other officers out there don't consider that the question of population is in a very satisfactory condition. That is not their fault. That they have been able to carry on their work so successfully under such adverse and difficult circumstances only redounds to their credit, and we cannot do otherwise than congratulate him and his colleagues on the great work they have carried out.

Major M. A. CAMERON, R.E., C.M.G.: My only experience of the Malay States was gained from casual visits during a residence of some years in the neighbouring Colony of the Straits Settlements. We have heard to-night some very unusual statistics. We have been told the revenue of the Malay States has doubled in the last six years and increased forty-fold in the last twenty-six years, while in Mr. Clifford's own hopelessly unprosperous State the revenue has increased thirteen-fold in ten years. That points to a condition of affairs which renders any information some eleven years old rather out of date. I recognised, however, one old acquaintance in the course of the Paper—I mean the labour question. This question has always been to the front. Of course the Malays are recognised as hopeless. A distinguished Irish friend of mine in the Straits used to say of the Malay that he is the Irishman of the East, adding that he

was the only gentleman in it. All discussions on the labour question used to work round to the Indian Government. They were blamed for the shortness of labour on account of the restrictions they imposed on emigration, and twenty years ago this was no doubt the case, their object being the protection of the coolie. But when the Indian Government found they were dealing with a Government quite as keen as themselves on securing good treatment for the coolies, they did away with most these checks, and they now place no obstacles in the way of emigration to the Malay Peninsula. It is not clear what more the lecturer would have them do. There are people who think that the fault rests with the coolie himself, who won't see that the Malay Peninsula is the best place to go to. He seems to prefer Ceylon and Burma, and it rests with the Malay States themselves to change his views. There is another class of immigrant whom Mr. Clifford did not mention, but who might be encouraged, and that is the British globe-trotter. Mr. Clifford must think him a desirable person to encourage, or he would never have written his books, for nothing could be better calculated to induce one to go there than the fascinating descriptions of life and scenery that Mr. Clifford has written. There is a good deal of land awaiting development in the Malay Peninsula. Its development requires capital, and the more people go there the more is capital likely to be put into the land. For that reason travelling ought to be encouraged. One great difficulty in the way some few years ago was the lack of hotel accommodation, and I think provision in that respect would do something to encourage the tourist. Another difficulty was in regard to means of locomotion. The completion of the railway system, which is expected to take place by the middle of next year, will be a great event in the history of the States. It will then be possible to leave the mail steamer at Penang, travel by train through the whole length of the States, spending a fortnight in doing so, and emerge at Port Swettenham or Port Dickson, whence it is a short voyage to Singapore, where the following mail steamer can be picked up. The country is both beautiful and interesting, and this will form a delightful break in the voyage to the farther East.

Mr. CHARLES MAYER, who recently left Trënggânu, stated that his experience confirmed what Mr. Clifford had said so far as he was able to judge. You must do everything through the Sultans, the Maharajas, or the Headmen. Events at the present time he thought indicated that by the end of next year Trënggânu was bound to come under British rule—in fact, the people seemed to be anxious for it.

He was merely an unofficial person, a hunter of game. In this capacity he had to go through much unexplored country. He saw a great deal of the natives, and a person who really knew the Malays was able to win their confidence.

Mr. JOHN BURKINSHAW: I should like, if time were not so short, to follow previous speakers in bestowing the praise which he deserves on Mr. Clifford as one of the most devoted and energetic servants of the Crown, amongst those leading men who have done so much to make the progress of the Malay Peninsula what it is. Mr. Clifford has described as inexplicable the fact that the success of the Malay Peninsula attracts such small attention in Great Britain. That is a fact which strikes most men coming from the Straits Settlements or the Malay Peninsula to England, but I think that to some extent the Government of the Federated States themselves are to blame. They seem to have neglected to obtain that full measure of information about the resources of the States which they might have obtained, and which if made known in England would undoubtedly have attracted greater attention to the Peninsula. It is to me inexplicable that during all these years, with an overflowing Treasury, the Government have not taken steps to procure some eminent geologist to report on the mineral resources of the Peninsula, accompanied by the most eminent mining engineer that could be procured. The Government of the Federated States derived during the year 1901 a revenue from duties on the export of tin of more than £550,000 sterling. Surely an expenditure of £10,000 or even £20,000 could not be deemed an extravagant outlay to obtain reports from the best men procurable on the natural indications as to where tin is to be found and on the most efficient and economical methods by which the tin strata at depth or otherwise can be worked, and the possible or probable duration of the alluvial tin-mining industry in the States. The Government should also have given far more information and encouragement to capitalists to induce the testing of the deeper tin beds by boring or other methods. From information which I have obtained I understand that the deeper strata, to which the mining conference of 1901, at Ipoh, appear to have attached small importance, may prove to be exceedingly important, and that there is great probability that their value will exceed that of all the superficial deposits which have so far been worked. They should also out of their revenue open an information bureau in England and appoint some competent and well-informed person to produce plans and reports and give all the information that may be required by

persons in Europe desirous of examining or working the mineral deposits. They should, I think, make still more vigorous efforts to encourage immigration from India.

The CHAIRMAN: At this late hour I won't detain you, but will merely ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to the able lecturer.

Mr. HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.: I have no doubt everybody acquainted with the Malay Peninsula will cordially agree that if the Government were to appoint geologists and zoologists and other clever people numerous very interesting discoveries would be made, but I submit that the motive suggested by the last speaker is not a very exalted one, because unless I misunderstand him his object seems to be chiefly that of advertisement. In some respects Mr. Burkinshaw's suggestion is no doubt a very excellent one. I would remind you, however, that the Government of the Malay Peninsula has had its hands uncommonly full. It has built out of current revenue 340 miles of railway, and that cannot be done without large expenditure. With reference to Sir William MacGregor's most interesting speech I cannot now go further into the reasons for the view which I still hold that the British system is superior ethically, morally, and in other respects upon the morale of the native population to that adopted by the Dutch. With reference to the interesting recollections of Major Cameron, I should like to assure him, that not only as regards ships and trains, but in other respects, great advances have been made since the time he was in the Peninsula. I will ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding over us to-night.

The Chairman responded, and the Meeting then terminated.

1. The increase in the Malay population included immigration from Sumatra and from the Malay states under Siamese rule to the north.

2. The Cornish tin industry was in fact already in a state of decline. Production averaged 9,000 tons per year in the late 1800s, but had fallen to 4,000 tons per year by the time of the First World War, and stood at around 1,000 tons per year in the late 1940s. (W. Robertson, *Report on the World Tin Position*, London, International Tin Council, 1965, p. 71.) Malayan Production was 43,111 tons in 1900, 50,643 tons in 1914, and 57,500 tons in 1950. See Wong Lin Ken, *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914*, op. cit., 1965, pp. 247-8. Yip Yat Hoong, *The Development of the Tin Mining Industry of Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1969, pp. 392-3.

Some Experiences of Colonial Life

Mrs. Douglas Cator**16 March 1909**

Chairman: Sir Nevile Lubbock

WE accept the fact of the vastness, the power and the unrivalled pre-eminence of our Empire almost in our cradles, and before many years have passed we learn from the battles of Crecy and Agincourt—and, once learnt, it is one of the few historical facts which is never forgotten—that one Englishman is a match for seven foreigners, and that it is our heritage and our inalienable right to be first—all splendid as far as it goes—but unfortunately the main point, the reason why we stand first, is often lost sight of.

The patience, the self-sacrifice, the untiring energy, the pluck to face and conquer all difficulties of our Empire-makers, past and present (for our Empire is not a finished-off product of bygone ages, it is still making), is forgotten or left to the imagination of those who are not in a position to grasp the facts; and the result is the colossal ignorance of what our Empire means which we find on every side of us. I don't think it is exaggerating to say that four out of five of our own countrymen, if they have never left Europe, know little or nothing of our Colonies, of their vast possibilities, or of our equally vast responsibilities towards them. Many of us seem to live in blissful ignorance of this integral vital part of our Empire, and feel no shame that the interests and claims of those knit to us by the ties of blood and of language—the interests and claims of our own brothers and sisters—should not be also our interests and our claims.

People talk of our Colonies as if they were something distinct and apart from us, and, when their needs become uncomfortably pressing, those much-abused four words, "Charity begins at home," are trotted out as an excuse for all neglect—not a good one, as surely home includes each and every member of the family, and should not anyway pick out first for neglect those who are fighting its battles.

There is certainly a danger in England "lest we forget" all we owe to those who are working our Colonies, especially our tropical ones,

"lest we forget" that, exquisitely beautiful though those countries are, there is always a snake lurking in the grass, always an uphill fight with an unhealthy climate and deadly disease daily and hourly going on.

Those at home could help enormously more than they do if they only realised with what healing in its wings every breath from England comes.

Papers and letters are longed for in a way that here in London, with our posts coming in seven and eight times in the day, no one can understand. If they could, they would try to consider that universally given-into feeling that it isn't worth while writing abroad unless there is something special to say. Everything is special to those who are away, and the greater the distance the greater the charm of what to us seem the most commonplace, everyday facts.

A blank mail-day to those already, perhaps, run down with fever has a more than depressing effect; they have waited hungrily for news, in many cases runners being sent down specially, days before, to await the arrival of the mail; the messenger gets back, the bag is opened, and out comes a Government circular, the only sign that the mail has come in; it is opened, and perhaps contains the exhilarating news that the Government has passed the Old Age Pension Bill, costing the country between eight and nine millions a year, and at the same time has decided that the extra allowances (amounting in all to a few thousands) paid to officials on the Coast, for lonely outpost work and arduous travelling, will henceforth be discontinued, and that in spite of the fact that those same allowances were promised and held out before joining as one of the advantages of the service—hardly generous perhaps to those who, under the roughest conditions, and right away from their own race, are bearing the burden and brunt of the day alone in Africa.

On the other hand, nothing perhaps is more striking than the totally different attitude of the Colonies to us; there they have learnt the all-important lesson which no one perhaps who has never left Europe quite grasps—*i.e.* that the seas which flow between them and England do not divide but unite us; and that, thanks to those same seas, the chords of joy or sorrow which are struck in England vibrate in all their fulness in the farthest corners of the Empire.

Patriotism is a living reality in the Colonies—not the feeble masque of it we so often see here—and perhaps there is no higher testimony to the unity and power of our empire than the whole-hearted devotion of those living in the Colonies to their Mother

Country. They rejoice in her happiness, they grieve in her pain, and their hands are stretched out to help whenever an occasion offers, and for her sake all her children are welcomed. You come from home, you are white, you speak the same language, the same blood runs in your veins; no other introduction is necessary, either in our self-governing Colonies or in those vast tropical areas where thousands of our countrymen are upholding the honour of the English flag by bringing justice and peace where only lawless chaos existed before their arrival; intensely interesting work, but it is no good pretending that life in our Colonies is all *couleur de rose*, even where the climate is favourable, as in Canada for instance, which is a splendid country, but no fairyland, as those who try to boom it would make you think if you did not know otherwise. It is a country which gives a fair chance to those who are not afraid of hard work; but where one has made a fortune hundreds have failed.

They have started full of hope, but often without any practical experience of either farming, mining, or lumber, and they have steeped their minds in the only too numerous glowing descriptions of the possibilities of Canada, its rich mines, its wonderful timber, its miles of golden waving wheat, already in imagination their own, to find themselves on their arrival face to face with unthought-of, unknown difficulties—face to face with unvarnished reality—a totally different thing from the myth conjured up from circulars and from their own too vivid imagination.

Understanding, then, how little they knew of the conditions of the country, and intensely keen to learn, they have trusted to the first man who offered them help, and who seemed to know exactly how to put them in the way of things, and one after another they have fallen an easy prey to the rogues a new country always attracts, and to whom every new-comer is a possible harvest.

But—to touch only on the agricultural question—Canada is a splendid opening for the hard-working, persevering, resourceful labourer, whose ambition in life is to possess a small farm of his own, as, if only he has the patience to work for others till he has saved enough, his ambition can nearly always be realised. Those socially superior, with larger ambitions, can also, if they are specially capable and intelligent, and ready to work sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, do very well, if they have enough capital to be able to stand the tremendous risks of a country where your crops are always menaced by three great dangers: the cut worm, or "grub" as it is called, if the winter has not been a hard one; late springs, and so too short

summers to bring things to perfection; or, last and worst, by frost. Your crops may be in perfect condition, and hundreds of acres of wheat, the wheat of your dreams, may be stretching out before you in all their beauty one day, and the next, you look out on cattle-food—on litter. Only a few hours' frost and then summer again; but to many those few hours have spelt ruin. A depressing view, perhaps, but a true one.

The other side of the picture, the glided roseate side, we all know; but is Canada so poor a country that it is reduced to trying to attract men and capital by plausibility? or is its future so uncertain as to depend on having half the truth concealed? Surely not! Canada is a grand country, and the whole truth would not choke off the right men. Some of those who now go out would stay at home, but that would be no loss in the long run, as it would give a chance to the eminently unsuitable of finding out their unfitness before their arrival instead of after, and it would save a great deal of misery.

We have anyway stopped thinking of Canada as a place only suited for our weak-minded, which is a great advance on a few years ago, when Colonising ran in double harness with Ordination, both being constantly suggested in the same breath as specially suitable for the fools of a family, or for those who were no good at anything else—just the two professions which perhaps need more character, grit and intellect than any other.

A Canadian, who came to England for the first time a few years ago, told me nothing had astonished him more, on his arrival, than to find that we were really quite as sane as they are.

He had judged us by those ne'er-do-wells and weak boys who, before their character has had any chance of forming, are turned loose into Canada with, greatest of all mistakes, just enough money paid quarterly to enable them, without work, to eke out a miserable existence by swelling the profits of the drinking saloons and gambling hells to which they soon drift.

No money and definite work might have saved many of them, and England, by shirking her own responsibilities, and by kicking too soon out of the nest those who were too weak to fly, has often done both them and Canada irreparable harm, as none of us who have seen and known them can say they have not had their revenge in the discredit they have done us in the past, and are, I am afraid, still doing us.

Canada's patriotism, however, never wavers, in spite of the tests to which we put it, chief of which perhaps is our quiet acceptance,

year after year, of the generous preferential treatment they have given us, side by side with the grievous fact that *we* still refuse to let the advantage be mutual. It can't go on indefinitely; but may we only wake to the importance of granting in our markets preference to our Colonies before it is too late! We ought to be capable of as much self-sacrifice in our dealings with them as they in their dealings with us.

Our loss would anyway be nothing compared to their gain, and all the statistics in the world can't prove that it isn't Britain's interest to grant concessions, however slight, and not only to Canada but to all her Colonies. Nothing else would so "grapple them to our hearts with hooks of steel," or make more surely for the consolidation of the whole Empire.

How good it would be if only England would march with the times, and if only she would not cling to ideas long out of date, one of them being that enemy to all progress, that *she* always knows best; for instance, how can she, often without any personal experience of Greater Britain, give a fair hearing to her needs and claims, or be qualified to judge, on subjects the conditions of which are unknown to her? Is it fair to men on the spot—and in our Crown Colonies England's own officials—men with the experience only years of devoted service can give, after urging a thing as in their opinion specially necessary for the future prospects of their Colony, again and again to be refused all help, after about as many minutes being spent over the subject in England by those who *don't* know as those who *do* know have spent years? Real development under these conditions is not easy. Want of money is of course the difficulty, but there are many occasions on which, roughly speaking, a few hundred pence spent at once would save a few hundred pounds in the near future.

Again, in the East, England's failure to march with the times is very evident. You can't live in our vast commercial centres, Hong Kong and Singapore, without being struck by this fact. Our trade out there, instead of doubling and trebling itself as it would if we weren't too proud to learn, is stationary, while that of our foreign competitors is gaining ground every day; and we won't readjust our ideas to fall in with the new state of things. We were the world's manufacturers, but now we meet in the markets which were exclusively ours the manufactures of Germany, Belgium, France, the United States and Japan, all important factors to be reckoned with; but with regard to China in our unique position, with its front door

held by our Imperial Colony, we need fear no foreign rivalry if only we realise that the present situation requires more energy, more real effort than we have up to now given to it. Putting on one side the debatable Free Trade or Protection question, one great reason for our lack of progress certainly is the want of business capacity, the carelessness and the conceit of some of our firms.

"If only England knew" used to ring in my mind when China, having asked for cups without handles, or yellow and purple cotton goods, we refused to supply her demand, as cups with handles and pink and blue prints, we tried to convince her, were the proper thing.

China naturally turned elsewhere, and the German, the American, and the Japanese seized his opportunity, being, unlike us, quite ready to study the needs and the likes and dislikes of those with whom he wished to trade, and not so pig-headed as to think that what suited his own country was necessarily best for all others.

There isn't time to go fully into this, but I hope our manufacturers are beginning to realise the vital importance of their choice of men to represent them in the Colonies. There is perhaps no school in which there is more to learn, particularly in our Imperial trading centres, provided you come with an open mind and a knowledge of foreign languages, without which no one ought to travel, as that alone makes friendship and mutual understanding with other nations possible, and enables us to look at all that affects our Empire from a much broader basis than we otherwise could.

I am grateful for every language in which I can make myself understood, not only from an Imperial standpoint but from that of ordinary everyday life experience; it is obvious that they add enormously to our use in the world, and I am thankful by this means to be able to get into close touch with friends of various nationalities, many of them very queer, but I have learnt invaluable lessons from them all; and in spite of the fact that my vocabulary in each language is very limited, I have often been able to help when no other help was available—twice in Borneo in cases of vital importance, one with Germans, the other with Italians, and another time I was anyway able to save great inconvenience by interpreting Malay for a pleader in the native courts.

England is now paying much more attention to this question; but until our whole system of teaching foreign languages is altered we shall be handicapped both commercially and politically, and go on feeling as intensely foolish and ignorant as we look when, whether

on boundary commissions in the Colonies, or on fairly frequent other occasions, we have to entertain foreigners or to meet them on equal terms.

This Paper perhaps seems to dwell too much on our shortcomings; but surely it is better for those who love our Empire to face its failings rather than to gloss them over, and so to play into the hands of our enemies.

The more I see of the Colonies, the more I see of the world, the prouder I am of being an Englishwoman. Our national characteristics of justice and honour and pluck and our sense of fair play have given us a power of colonisation, a success where others fail, and a position in every quarter of the globe which no other nation can touch. Nothing perhaps is more touching in our tropical Colonies than the way the natives trust in us and in our judgment. We are the only pukka white nation to the Malay, and nothing to their minds is beyond our power, from protecting them single-handed against their enemies to healing them of every disease, including paralysis.

One year, when we were up in the interior of Borneo, we found the river tribes very nervous after two cowardly murders, one of the murderers being still at large. A whole settlement moved down to where we were, so as to be under the magic shadow of our wing—two unarmed people, one of them only a woman; but we were English, and that, in their minds, was everything. You meet exactly the same spirit among the African tribes. They are all just like children in their absolute confidence in us, and great is our responsibility when we abuse their faith, which is just what, unfortunately, we do at times in three ways. First, when we lower their high standards, their natural love of morality, which is one of the most striking, most beautiful characteristics of some of our savage tribes.

For instance, among the head-hunting Maruts, with whom we lived for a time, in the interior of Borneo, the breaking of the Seventh Commandment was an almost unknown crime, punished by death. Civilisation apart from religion (with its extraordinary self-made code of morals, in which the Sixth is the only Commandment to be kept, while the others are entirely ignored), had not penetrated so far, and I hope still hasn't.¹ To judge people by *your* code, and to put them to death (I have known two cases of it) for acting up to *theirs*, while you are violating all they hold most sacred, is a gross abuse of power.

Then, second, the liquor traffic in our West African Colonies is without doubt the most awful abuse of our responsibility, and that

we should be making revenue out of the physical and moral degradation of those whom we are bound to protect, of those for whose good we are nominally on the coast, is an ugly fact and a very dark blot on our nation. Not only do we encourage our natives to drink, but we allow them to be supplied with the vilest filth in the shape of alcohol, and the more licences taken out all over the Protectorate the better we are pleased. Right up in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone, days away from any railway or base, we have found gin being hawked at 4*d.* a bottle—gin which had come from Europe, paid duty on entrance, and been carried for some days after that; so its quality can be imagined. Just rank poison! We might as justifiably press prussic acid on our native chiefs; it would kill them a little quicker, but no more surely.

In all my wanderings among coloured races the only discourtesy I have ever experienced is from those who were kindly helping to swell our revenue by drink. A paramount chief we knew, belonging to the Timani tribe, at one time an excellent native ruler, had, when we last saw him, sunk to a state when he was absolutely incapable of looking after anything, and only happy when semi-drunk. He is only one example among many, and this state of things is getting worse every day, and will go on doing so until the richest country in the world cares more for the many thousands of human beings for whom, black though they are, she is responsible, and less for the few thousand pounds that forbidding the entry of trade rum and gin into the Colony would mean to the total Customs revenue.

We are enormously concerned about the Chinese smoking opium, and certainly, when they carry it to excess, the effects are quite as bad as excessive cigarette-smoking among our own men and boys; but we employed Chinese labour almost exclusively in Borneo, and we found there that opium-smokers were among the most peaceable, law-abiding, and industrious members of the whole community. The effect of opium on the Chinese is, anyway, a moot point, while the effect of drink on the natives of our tropical Colonies is not; yet we have Commissions to look into the possible opium evil, which was not caused by us, whilst we encourage and then hush up a much greater evil, for which we, and we alone, are entirely responsible.

Thirdly, our young officials often come out full of the latest and best plans, of all they are going to do, and never for a moment doubting their fitness to teach and control savages. Therein lies their weakness; for, until they realise that they have infinitely more to learn than to teach, and that the secret of a good teacher is, first and

foremost, to understand his pupils, so long will they make most regrettable mistakes and do untold mischief by riding roughshod over the most sacred feelings and prejudices of the tribes over which they have been set. It is not intentional, only from ignorance, but culpable ignorance, if not on their part, on the part of those who placed them in positions of authority for which from lack of experience, they were not fitted. No one would entrust a flock of sheep or a herd of cattle to a man till he had first learnt how to take care of them; and surely human beings are worth more than cattle.

But, in spite of all our faults, the natives trust us, and they know that in our Colonies they need never fear the brutal treatment they are accustomed to from each other and from other European nations.

We were once on a lovely uninhabited island, a few hours from Borneo, when the tiniest little cockleshell of a boat arrived with a sarong for its only sail, a little dug-out boat that you wouldn't trust yourself in on a pond, with three starving Sulus in it, a woman and two boys running away from their brute of a native chief. When they could stand his cruelty no longer they had simply put out to sea, and they had been forty-eight hours or more without food or clothing. Their joy on seeing us was intense.

Poor things! they need our protection not only from each other, but judging from the cases of unheard-of barbarity we have from time to time come across, from the Dutch, from the Spaniards, and from the Belgians. *They* believe in force and terrorism, *we* in kindness; *they* in keeping down, *we* in helping up. Weakness appeals to *their* ridicule, to *our* chivalry. *They* are not fitted for colonisers—*we* are—and may our Empire ever press forward, vindicating its right to be leader in the van of progress, by bravely purging itself from all that tarnishes its greatness, until the justice, peace, and prosperity it has given to so many of its Colonies is shared by the whole world.

DISCUSSION

MISS DE THIERRY expressed cordial appreciation of the spirit of love and loyalty for the Empire which pervaded Mrs. Cator's Paper. As a Colonist herself she was rather tired of hearing that the English people were not what they were. It was not a good thing, she admitted, to send out remittance-men and that type of person, who made very poor settlers; but on the other hand we did send out a very large number of very fine settlers. It was true that England had got

into a sort of set way, but this was because of a system. The system which we call Free Trade was paralysing the intellect of our people. All they had to do was simply to alter the system, and a whole flood of new ideas would come in and the English people would be what they were. She was much interested in speaking with a New Zealand engineer, who had built railways in various parts of the world, and who had told her that he would rather have English workmen than any other; while in the United States she was told also that the managers of most of the great factories and industrial concerns were Englishmen, by which she meant Britons. She was not asserting that there was not a tendency to ship off ne'er-do-wells and the like to the Colonies, but that there was any general deterioration of the English emigrant she did not believe.

Mr. T. J. ALLDRIDGE, I.S.O.: It is so seldom that we have the pleasure of hearing a lady relate her personal experiences in any of our Colonies that we ought to doubly welcome the interesting and instructive Paper that we have heard from Mrs. Cator this afternoon. Mrs. Cator has had a varied acquaintance with our Colonies; he was afraid that he must only refer, and that very briefly, to her remarks concerning West Africa, upon a subject that is causing a good deal of attention and anxiety; he alluded to the liquor traffic in the protectorate of Sierra Leone coming within the influence of the railway. When, as travelling Commissioner, he entered into treaty on behalf of the Government with the paramount chiefs in the remoter parts of the Mendi country some eighteen years ago, the liquor traffic was unknown to the aborigines, the only drink they had being their own palm wine, and that they only consumed in very moderate quantities. It was, however, considered necessary for commercial and other purposes to bring these distant parts of the Protectorate, rich in their indigenous productions, into contact with the coast by means of a railway which the Government, at an enormous outlay, has constructed from Freetown to Baiima, a distance of 220 miles. What do we now see as the result of this great and costly Government work? The people are being swamped with trade spirits. We have it upon the best authority that the Customs revenue at Sierra Leone is now nearly half made up from the duties received on spirits; it seemed to him incomprehensible how our merchants could be so shortsighted as to flood the country with this wretched decoction, the consumption of which not only degraded the natives, but prevented them from properly working the oil palms from which the Protectorate derives its great wealth and the

merchants their trade. Past experience had shown that a small duty on spirits did not decrease the consumption. He did not know why a considerable duty should not be put upon liquor. If the duty were double what it now is and only half the quantity of spirits were consumed in consequence, the revenue would not be the loser. At any rate, he hoped the modification of the traffic would be seriously taken in hand, as, to his mind, the subject was of paramount importance in the well-being of the aborigines, the increase of raw material, and the general development of the Sierra Leone hinterland.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., said that a few interesting and able Papers had occasionally been read before the Institute by ladies, and that for his own part he wished they could have more of them. It was a great delight to him to hear the sentiments contained in Mrs. Cator's Paper. It was true that she had directed attention to some of the shortcomings of our nation as Colonists; at the same time, one was glad to think that throughout the world the feeling towards us was so favourable. A subject referred to in the Paper was one in which he claimed to have a special personal interest, because of his active association, some sixty or seventy years ago, with the late Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the founder of New Zealand, in sending out the first Colonists to the Dominion. It was entirely a system of carefully selected emigration, and no one was sent out whose credentials did not give assurance that they were the right sort of people. He challenged anyone to say that New Zealand was not as a result colonised by the best class of people, whose descendants had in every way followed the footsteps of their fathers. If there had been any failure in Canada or elsewhere, the reason, he thought, was that the same kind of strict standard of investigation was not observed as in the case of New Zealand. So long as he lived he should maintain that that was the only right plan to be followed in our schemes of emigration, which, in his opinion, ought to be conducted on a broad and comprehensive system of national State colonisation.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Nevile Lubbock, K.C.M.G.), in proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Cator, said he was glad to see so many ladies present. It would not be very long, he thought, before they were clamouring at the door for admission as Fellows of the Institute, and he for one would be only too glad to welcome them. It struck him, when Mrs. Cator spoke of the shortcomings of some of our firms in their dealings with China, that there was an explanation that did not appear to have occurred to her. Those who knew anything about

industrial matters were aware that if you made goods on a very large scale you could make a small additional quantity at a very small cost. But if you had to alter the whole system of manufacture in order to turn out a small quantity of special goods the cost would be high. It was probable that Germany, the United States and Belgium, with their system of cartels, could make qualities of goods required in the different parts of the world, for even if they made them at a loss it did not matter. They had a large market at home, confined to their own goods, out of which they could always make a handsome profit. But in doing so they naturally made some surplus which they must export at any price. The condition of the English manufacturer was entirely different. He had not got any home market confined to his own product, but had to compete with the rest of the world, and that, very often, not on equal terms, because the rest of the world dumped down its surplus product on the English manufacturer. He thought, himself, that that had a good deal to do with the fact that the English manufacturer did not pay so much attention to the special wants of the smaller markets as the foreign countries did. In regard to the liquor traffic, he asked whether, in the event of importation being prohibited altogether, it would not be perfectly possible for the native to get the liquor through the French Colonies, because if the closing of our ports merely meant the enlarging of the French ports, we should be losing so much revenue and the natives would be no better off.

Mr. ALLDRIDGE explained that this liquor had to be taken into the hinterland by means of the railway. The French could not possibly send the liquor through.

The CHAIRMAN said in that case he could not conceive that there ought to be any hesitation in at once putting an end to the traffic. The amount the Colonial Government obtained in revenue would be as nothing compared to the destruction of the health of the people, while the productive capacity of the Colony must be seriously impaired.

Mrs. CATOR replied, and a vote of thanks was also given to the Chairman for presiding.

1. i.e., of the Ten Commandments in the Old Testament of the Bible, the Sixth of which states 'Thou shalt not kill' and the Seventh, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. (*Exodus* 20: 13, 14)

Ceylon, the Malay States and Java Compared as Plantation and Residential Colonies

John Ferguson

29 November 1910

(with a comment by Henry N. Ridley)

Chairman: (not traceable)

Part I

PRELIMINARY

I MUST begin by offering an apology in venturing to deal with the Malay States and Java on the credit of a solitary visit of a few weeks a couple of years ago; but during my long residence in Ceylon I have closely watched the development and progress of these neighbouring countries which are so full of interest to our planting community. I have also this consolation, that I am in the presence of so many (led by our Chairman) so well qualified, by local experience, to correct any error, or to amplify information conveyed, in the paper read before you. It is not my purpose to enter on the history, ethnology, religions, and other conditions of the peoples concerned; but to confine myself mainly to some description of, and comparison between, Ceylon, the Federated Malay States, and Java as respects climate, soil, land resources, labour supply, and conditions for European colonists, whose purpose may be to engage in one branch or other of tropical agriculture, such as tea, coffee, cacao, spices, palms, or the latest giant, indiarubber.

THREE COUNTRIES WITH MUCH IN COMMON

The three countries included in my subject have this much in common, that they are altogether in the tropics, and are consequently characterised by the beauty and luxuriance of vegetation and land-

scape peculiar to equatorial regions. Words are vain to do justice to the admiration of new-comers and even old residents in Ceylon, of those who drink in the beauty of Malayan river and forest scenery, and quite as much of those who are entranced with the charms of volcanic mountain scenery, diversified uplands, and rich, far-extending hill as well as low-country plains in Java. Let me briefly quote from word-pictures drawn by master hands.

Emerson Tennent goes so far as to declare that "Ceylon, from whatever direction it may be approached, unfolds a scene of loveliness and grandeur unsurpassed, if it be rivalled, by any land in the universe . . . the vision of beauty expands as the island rises from the sea, its lofty mountains covered by luxuriant forests, and its shores, till they meet the ripple of the waves bright with the foliage of perpetual spring . . . a vegetation so rich and luxuriant that imagination can picture nothing more wondrous and charming." A German authority considers Ceylon exhibits in all its varied charms "the highest conceivable development of Indian nature."

But we are not to linger here. As a recent lady writer remarks, the traveller who reaches these enchanted gates of the Far East which swing open at the palm-girt shores of Ceylon enters upon a new range of thought and feeling, which will be continued throughout Malaya, "the golden land of Solomon," the Golden Chersonese of the Greeks, and in praise of which I must quote one whose name should be always prized in its modern history for his lifework as administrator and historian, Sir Frank Swettenham. He begins one of his interesting and instructive volumes: "Imagine yourself transported to a land of eternal summer, to that Golden Peninsula, 'twixt Hindustan and Far Cathay, from whence the early navigators brought back such wondrous stories of adventure. A land where Nature is at her best and richest, where plants and animals, beasts of the forest, birds of the air, and every living thing seem yet inspired with a feverish desire for growth and reproduction, as though we were still in the dawn of Creation." Of the first sight we are told: "What strikes the traveller as his ship rounds the end of Penang is the extraordinary beauty of the scene to which he is introduced with almost startling suddenness. On his right is the island, a vision of green verdure, of steep hills rising from the water's edge till they culminate in a peak 2,500 feet high. The sides of these hills are partly forest, partly cultivated, but everywhere green, with the freshness and colour of tropical vegetation washed by frequent rain." Then, passing into the interior of the Federated States, we may start with

"the glory of the Eastern morning, the freshness and the fragrance of the forest, the sultry heat of those plains and slopes of eternal green on which the moisture-charged clouds unceasingly pour fatness—these are the home of the Malay, the background against which he stands." And the country of this interesting race extends through a region enjoying a climate uniformly hot and moist and teems with natural productions which are elsewhere unknown, the richest of fruits and the most precious of spices being indigenous. Passing through the Federated Malay States from Penang by the completed railway to Johore and Singapore, or by steamer through the glassy straits of Malacca, one faces a great range of hills up to eight thousand feet high, running down the centre of the Peninsula. Thence we go onward through the South Indian Ocean, studded by many islands, to mysterious Java, where vast forests of waving palms, blue chains of volcanic mountains, and mighty ruins of a vanished civilisation loom upon the imagination and invest this tropical paradise with ideal attractions. Marianne North describes Java in all its length of over 600 miles as "one magnificent garden of tropical luxuriance, surpassing Brazil, Jamaica, and Sarawak all combined, with the grandest volcanoes rising out of it," and no less enthusiastic is the naturalist Junghuhn, who concludes his great scientific work on "Java" with: "Never shall I forget the woods of Java adorned with everlasting green, with their thousands of flowers whose sweet smell never dies off." Our own countryman, the distinguished veteran Alfred Wallace, the co-discoverer with and friend of Darwin, is more practical when he writes: "Taking it as a whole, and surveying it from every point of view, Java is probably the very finest and most interesting tropical island in the world. It is undoubtedly the most fertile, the most productive, and the most populous island within the tropics. Its whole surface is magnificently varied with mountain and forest scenery. It possesses thirty-eight volcanic mountains, several of which rise to ten and twelve thousand feet high. Some of these are in constant activity, and one or other of them displays almost every phenomenon produced by the action of subterranean fires, except regular lava streams, which never occur in Java. The abundant moisture and tropical heat of the climate cause these mountains to be clothed with luxuriant vegetation, often to their very summits, while forests and plantations cover their lower slopes. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and all the productions of the tropics, together with many of the temperate zones, can be easily cultivated."¹

AREA AND POPULATION: AND SIMILITUDES

Not only, therefore, have we some of the loveliest, most fertile and attractive divisions of the tropics included in our subject, but few other lands can tell so much of past deeds and civilisation as Ceylon and Java, and to some extent Malaya, not only in legends, songs, and myths, but in coins, inscriptions, vast monuments and ruins and chronicles to verify history. The Buddhist and Hindu remains of Java surpass those of Ceylon, as you will see by some slides later on. Malaya can only show a few Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah, and some of A.D. 400 farther south in Province Wellesley and in the island of Singapore. But there is evidence of powerful Buddhist States having existed in the north (Kedah, Kelantan, &c.), while the southern divisions were never occupied by any civilised race until the Malays came (in A.D. 1400). I touch on this branch as of interest to visitors, and before I enter on agriculture and planting it is worth while to mention a few facts indicating similitudes, comparisons, and contrasts in other directions. First as to area, it is remarkable that, while Ceylon (over 25,000 square miles) and the Federated Malay States (26,800 square miles) can be compared in area and are each rather less than Ireland, Java, with double the area of Ceylon, is compared by Sir. W. H. Treacher in both extent and population with England without Wales—each having 50,000 square miles and thirty million people in 1906. In the matter of population we can point to one of the best tests, and a most interesting illustration of the progress of the people, good government, and the enterprise of the colonists of each of the three countries. In 1826, about the time that George Bird began planting coffee in Ceylon, the population of the island was 753,000; for last year (1909) the Registrar General gives it at 4,200,000. In the case of Java* the population for 1826 was 5,500,000, which increased by 1865 to 14,168,000, while now it is over thirty-two millions, or an increase of nearly sixfold, as good as Ceylon, even though in the latter a great number of Tamil immigrants from India is included. In the Federated Malay States the contrast must be from about 100,000 in 1874 to 678,000 ("Colonial Office List" for 1910), or approximately now to 1,000,000 as given in the "Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States," just pub-

*"Java and Madura" are always counted together; the population, as now reckoned, is between thirty-two and thirty-three millions, the whole of the Dutch dependencies in the East having forty millions of population.

lished.² Here also, of course, there has been much immigration of Chinese, Tamils (Klings), and Javanese. On the other hand, the Dutch authorities are able, out of the abounding population, to encourage some of the Javanese to emigrate and to work on plantations in Malaya, Sumatra, and elsewhere.³ In revenues the Federated Malay States' statistics for 1909 give a total of £2,800,000 (due chiefly to tin); and Ceylon about £2,700,000. In export and import trade Ceylon has over £18,000,000 in value, and the Federated Malay States £14,250,000. It is curious that Ceylon, though so closely connected with the opposite continent, shows many animals and plants not found in India. Indeed, the late Dr. Gardner pointed out that in its botany Ceylon exhibits, geographically, more of the Malayan flora than those of the south and west of India. Two plants unknown in India were sixty years ago pointed out as coming to Ceylon from Malaya—the nutmeg and the mangosteen—and to these may be added the durian and the bread-fruit of the South Sea Islands.*

COCONUT† PALM, RICE

Ceylon (as well as India, Madagascar, Africa) owe to the Eastern Archipelago the coconut palm. De Candolle, the greatest authority, demonstrates the original habitat of this most useful of palms to have been in the neighbourhood of Sumatra and Java, whence the nuts have floated across the ocean to other shores, where a certain number take root. In the case of Ceylon it can be shown that the introduction took place in historical and comparatively recent times.‡

Speaking of tropical agriculture in the three countries, the first place has to be given to the staple food, rice. Ceylon in ancient times,

*There, too, is the outrigger double canoe used by the Singhalese, quite different from anything on the coasts of India or its islands. It has been stated that this form of canoe is found only where the Malays have extended themselves throughout Polynesia and the coral islands of the Pacific. For instance, such canoes are common at Honolulu and they can be traced to Madagascar and the Comoros, where a Malayan colony was settled at a remote period.

†It is very desirable that the name of this palm (botanically, *cocos nucifera*) should in English be spelt "coconut" and not "cocoa" nut, which, wrongly, leads to confusion with the "cocoa" drink of the breakfast table made from the fruit of *Theobroma cacao*.

‡See the Paper on "The Coconut Palm in Ceylon, its Beginning, Rise and Progress," by J. F. in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch* No. 57, Vol. XIX of 1906.

was supposed to have been a great producer of rice, up to the point of supporting an island population of ten to twelve millions, and even to have afforded some export to India. That was when the north-central province was one vast rice-field supplied by thousands of tanks (before A.D. 700), when the invading Malabars wrought destruction and ruin and Anuradhapura was abandoned. In the present day the Singhalese and Tamils in Ceylon cannot produce enough rice to feed themselves, notwithstanding a liberal restoration of irrigation tanks undertaken by the Government for many years back and still continued. Ten million bushels of rice, worth two and a half million pounds sterling, are annually imported from India, one third for plantation cooly-immigrants and two thirds for the urban population. The Malay States are in much the same position, although rice is extensively grown in Perak and some in the other States, and in the Krian district the Government has completed an extensive scheme for the irrigation of over 70,000 acres of rice land, most of it already cultivated. But, seeing that 520,000 tons of rice were imported into the "Straits Settlements" in 1908, a good deal must have gone inland. Neither Ceylon nor Malaya can be mentioned alongside of Java in respect of rice production. "In the eyes of a Javanese to lack rice is to lack food." The Dutch Government deserves much credit for the development of immense rice areas (on most fertile plains, it is true) to cope with a population rising in eighty years from five to over thirty-two millions, besides exporting 53,100 tons of rice in 1909. The Javanese are more careful than the ordinary Singhalese in their cultivation of rice, but the Kandyans, Malays, and hill Javanese are all adepts in terracing from the valleys up the mountain sides. In respect of the coconut palm, in view of what is stated about its habitat, we might expect Java, Sumatra, and Malaya to be far in advance in extensive and superior cultivation; but, so far as my observation went, both in Malaya and Java there is a good deal to be learnt from Ceylon, where careful, systematic development of coconut plantations has received attention from shrewd European colonists, as well as by intelligent natives during the past sixty years. This is specially true in respect of the preparation and manufacture of the nut products, such as oil—the first coconut oil steam mill in Asia (or the world?) was erected at Colombo—in coir fibre, and in the desiccated kernel (for confectionery and food). Much attention is now being given to coconut planting in Malaya and Java, and there is no question of the great advantage both have in fertile soil and suitable climate.† There is no tropical plant that

responds more readily to liberal cultivation than the coconut palm. It is greedy for bulk as well as chemical manure, and a veteran Scottish planter in Ceylon, after sixty years' experience, declared that for every rupee put in manure two at least should be got in the first returning crop. We read of extraordinary crops of nuts sometimes in the Malay States* and Java (up to 100, even 200, nuts per tree per annum), and of trees bearing in five years. Such may be true in a few exceptional instances of individual palms or small groups, but I would hesitate to expect such a return over an ordinary field or plantation.† In Ceylon we consider a plantation of 200 to 300 acres to

‡A Ceylon resident who, some years back, spent several weeks travelling in Java reported but few coconut plantations comparatively, and none of which impressed him for productiveness. On the other hand, in East Java it was remarked that coconuts were plentiful in this district, the palms being cut down and the timber used in minor or jungle roads for culverts or crossing places. From another report by a Ceylon colonist, about ten years ago, I quote: "We go through territories of various products, according to the soil and climate, and the opportunities for irrigation—sugar, indigo, paddy, tobacco. There are no coconut plantations in Java, except near Batavia and in Mid South, on a comparatively small scale, because it takes ten or twelve years to give returns, and there is more to be made out of annual crops. When a native lets his land to the sugar planter, which is not more than for one season in three, he receives a good rent for the best land. The sugar is manured each crop. The native is said to make more from his grain crop." Still more, however, we quote: "The country appears uninteresting and very dry, the cultivation being chiefly paddy, tobacco, and a little indigo. But an hour or two after this the farther west we travel it improves in verdure and in diversity of landscape, becoming quite green before we reach our destination for the night at Maos, and the coconut palm is grown extensively, the vegetation more resembling that met with on the West Coast of Ceylon, and I do not see many trees here that we have not in Ceylon, only here they are fresher and more vigorous, due to the more fertile soil." In 1909, Java exported 72,000 tons of "copra" (dried kernel of coconuts) against 39,000 tons from Ceylon, which besides exports 30,000 tons of coconut oil and much of other products. Federated Malay States exported 6,218 tons copra in 1909; and they have 124,000 acres under this palm against 750,000 acres for Ceylon.

*In some parts of Selangor coconuts have not satisfied Ceylon proprietors, and some of them would prefer to grow "Robusta" coffee if it should do as well in the Federated Malay States as it does in Java.

†The other day a Brazil writer in *The Times' South American Supplement* of October 25 stated: "Brazil possesses more coconut trees than any other country in the world. [Question: If any survey or reckoning has been made in Brazil for an industry in what is a foreign plant?—J. F.] Each tree bears fruit after three years [Questions again?—J. F.] and is capable of producing 300 to 400 nuts." [See the *Coconut Planters' Manual*, fourth edition, by J. Ferguson, published at Colombo and London.]—One palm eleven years old on Klanang estate, Selangor, photographed in July, 1909, had 360 nuts on it. This is nearly unprecedented in the East, so far as I know.

be a very fine one if its palms, carefully planted seventy to eighty to the acre, bear full-grown nuts in eight years (ten to fifteen years for full bearing), and give all over an average of fifty nuts per tree in the year or crop—sixty or more nuts all over is very good indeed. The Singhalese (and Orientals everywhere, I suppose) plant palms in their gardens far too close—their idea is that the more trees on their piece of land the better, but this is fatal to regular full crops—a hint here to the rubber as well as to the coconut planter. More than seventy-five palms to the acre has been shown by long experience to be a mistake. I quite expect to see better results in both Malaya and Java when plantations are systematically and liberally treated in the years to come, and there is now much encouragement for all coconut planters in the present high prices of "copra" and oil.

CINNAMON, COFFEE, CINCHONA, AND TEA IN CEYLON AND JAVA

If there is any product truly indigenous to Ceylon it is the cinnamon shrub, which is represented by huge trees in the wild hill jungle, and which has been cultivated near the seashore north of Colombo on the same siliceous soil for perhaps two thousand years. This neighbourhood is still giving the best spice of its kind in the world, superior, I think, to anything got farther East, including the cassia and bark of Java. The Dutch made much of cinnamon in Ceylon, between 1656 and 1796. In coffee, on the other hand, they had an industry of their own of importance in Java at the beginning of the eighteenth century; and, curiously enough, when they held Ceylon in the same century they regarded pepper (grown by order in the Kegalla and Matara districts by the Singhalese) as a more important product for them than coffee. In fact, coffee in Ceylon was of small account until the beginning of modern planting (by British colonists), which dates from 1837, when 10,000 cwt. were exported. For forty years onwards its progress and success, in spite of vicissitudes in price and crops, were continuous until Ceylon became (1877-79) the world's third great coffee-growing country, with a maximum crop (most of it, by careful preparation of the berries, rated as the finest plantation) of a million cwt., worth nearly five million pounds sterling. Java at that time had an export up to one and a half to two million cwt., and Brazil as much as five to eight million cwt.,* when the ten years' conflict (1873-82) with the deadly fungus killed coffee in Ceylon,

Travancore, and other parts of South India, and did enormous damage in Java. How the baffled Ceylon planter took to cinchona (a temporary bridge) with cardamoms to carry him to cacao and much more to *tea*—which gradually occupied every abandoned coffee field and extended to other new districts—is an old story now. Never was this experience and its moral more eloquently painted than by Conan Doyle: "Not often is it that men have the heart, when their one great industry is withered, to rear up in a few years another as rich to take its place, and the tea-fields of Ceylon are as true a monument to courage as is the lion at Waterloo—one of the greatest planting and commercial victories which pluck and ingenuity ever won." Good came out of evil in other ways, for of the 400 planters (out of 1,200) who had to leave Ceylon before tea succeeded not a few carried their experience and energy to the Malay States and North Borneo (which became very much a Ceylon colony), some to Sumatra, and even a few to Java. I must point out here that steady progress in planting from 1854 onwards was greatly encouraged by the energetic policy of Governor Sir Henry Ward and his successors in constructing roads and bridges, and later on by most beneficial, profitable railways, extended far too slowly, section by section, as the Colonial Office could be pushed on to give the necessary sanction.

THE "CULTURE" SYSTEM AND PROGRESS IN JAVA

Forty years ago the Dutch had under consideration a change of policy in Java, a modification of their much-talked-of "Cultuur" system, along with changes in administration, especially in urging on public works. I recall about 1868 the arrival in Colombo of an accomplished member of the Batavian Government on a tour of inquiry and inspection throughout Ceylon, which was then very prosperous under the energetic rule of Sir Hercules Robinson (Lord Rosmead). A little later, the failure of coffee and the introduction of cinchona brought Ceylon and Java, through their botanical and planting authorities, very much into line, and a closer understanding came to be established. It soon became evident to all interested that Java was to become a true home for the quinine plants, which have

*Now Brazil is up to 18,000,000 cwt. (1909-10), Java down to less than half-a-million cwt., and Ceylon only a small quantity under 1,000 cwt. in 1909; but India (Mysore and Coorg) still gives up to 200,000 cwt. a year (150,000 cwt. in 1909).

succeeded there ever since, almost ousting from European markets the barks from Peru and Bolivia, the original habitat of cinchona. The export of this bark in 1909 was 17,669,849 lb., besides 1,244,800 oz. of sulphate of quinine manufactured locally. With the finest and best-staffed Botanical and Agri-Horticultural Department in the tropical world, Java ought to have done much to save its coffee, and eventually the now much-lamented head of the gardens at Buitenzorg, Dr. Treub,* arrived at a coffee plant immune to the dire fungus. At the present time, between new plantings of coffee *robusta* and the best of the older estates there is still an appreciable export rising from 300,000 cwt. of coffee from Java, although this is insignificant compared with the overwhelming pre-eminence obtained by Brazil in coffee production. There have been and are still many vicissitudes in coffee-planting in Java, and some years back (1893-94 and later on) some experienced Ceylon merchants and planters thought there was a good opening in East Java for the cultivation of coffee. Accordingly they invested capital and a good deal of personal attention and perseverance without the result at the time that was expected; but there are better prospects to them now for coffee in itself, and with the addition of rubber. From an old friend, well qualified to write on this part of Java and the Ceylon experiment, I have some interesting notes:—

"The Ceylon planters who, fifteen or more years back, acquired interests in Java, obtained their lands on the system of seventy-five years' lease. The district in which their interest lies is situated in East Java, on the south side of the Great Raven Mountain, which is an old volcano about 11,000 feet high, clothed with magnificent forest from the sea to the summit. The east end of Java is much drier than the west, and even in the wet monsoon (October to March, which is the planting season) the temperature does not fall much, and days without any sunshine are rare. The east monsoon (April to September), which sets from New Guinea and Australasia, is dry, with

*Dr. Treub did not seem to me to take the same interest in tea, or even india-rubber, that he did in cinchona and coffee, and for these products, and especially for rice, the claims on available reserves of land were with him paramount. In respect of rubber he expressed much interest in "Rambong" (*Ficus elastica*) rather than in Hevea or any other kind. The finest existent scientific Agricultural Department is in the United States, and the head, Mr. Wilson (three times continued by successive Presidents as Minister of Agriculture), told me in Washington in 1904 that he had no fear now of fighting and conquering any fungus or insect enemy of plants. His department had defeated a fungus enemy of oranges in California and another foe to cotton (discovering the antidotes in insects) from Queensland and Central America.

local showers originating in the mountains rather than drifting up from the sea. Moisture is so continuous in West Java that in some localities even the stems of the coconut-trees bear lichens in a manner not experienced in Ceylon, but any bad effects of this superabundant humidity seem to be offset by the good natural drainage afforded by the free volcanic soil; and, moreover, the weather is not bad or persistently dull and sunless for weeks and weeks together, as in our mountain region. The Java mountains differ from ours (in Ceylon) characteristically, not being all clustered together in one province, monopolising all the rain-clouds and defying for months together the genial sun, but they are individual or limited ranges, that rise in their grand sweep from the sea and from the low country so gently at first that fields and plantations lie on the slope without seeming to have left the plain. A glance at a map will show how the mountains occur at intervals, principally along the centre of the island east and west, having their valleys set north and south—that is, across the narrow sections of the island (hence the rivers are not very great). The volcanic influences thus extend throughout the whole island, and the wondrous fertility of the country may be attributed to these circumstances, combined with the frequent supplies of tropical rains. There seems no question but that any and every plant that grows can be cultivated to better advantage in Java than in Ceylon, while the *higher* lands (scarcely touched as yet) are conceivably capable of cultivation not practicable in our island. Cypresses and casuarinas are indigenous on the higher mountains, though it puzzles science how they came there.* The natives are naturally indolent and unthrifty, but the Dutch planters are second to none in intelligence and in their capacity as agriculturists and in thoroughness; in fact, the latter quality might perhaps be described to more than compensate for Anglo-Saxon exertion and activity. The Government is careful to correct the natives' apathy by many methods which we might deem extraneous, such as requiring them to cultivate and in dictating the succession of crops, as well as in preventing the sale or mortgage of their family and communal lands. But 'let them laugh who win.' There is scarcely a pauper among the 37 million inhabitants, and the only difficulty our Ceylon friends have encountered in rapidly opening their extensive coffee lands arises from the pros-

*The explanation is given in a very interesting way by Wallace in his *Malay Archipelago*, pp. 119–20, based on a "recent glacial epoch" affecting so many regions of the earth's surface.

perity of the indigenous population. The difficulty, however, is thought to be but temporary. The lands are in the middle of a vast expanse of primeval forest, and the villagers in the district have so far their occupations and means of livelihood. Labour, however, can be attracted from elsewhere."

I know that one of our colonists who invested in coffee in East Java also took down rubber seeds or plants from Ceylon each time he went to Java. That was especially the case in 1894 and 1899, and the seeds were reported to have started very quickly after being put out, and so with young plants from the Wardian cases. In 1899 the same colonist friend took care of several cases with rubber plants from Colombo to the Straits Settlements. It is satisfactory to know that the East Java estates referred to above are now assuming importance with rubber and the addition of *robusta* coffee. A succession of wet seasons at the blossoming time disappointed expectations of *C. arabica*, though the growth of that kind in the rich volcanic soil was as fine as could be wished. Before leaving coffee in Java it must be mentioned that, after the fungus arrived, many experiments were made by Dutch planters in the different districts and a good deal of the Liberian variety planted, much of it being still cultivated. The ordinary Java coffee was also grafted with the Liberian, but without much advantage. Very fine coffee plantations* were to be found in the West Highland districts from 3,000 to 4,000 feet, and several of them have been turned into flourishing cinchona and tea plantations. If it were asked wherein lay the superiority of Ceylon coffee in the years when its "finest plantation" took a ruling place in Mincing Lane, I answer it was not only due to the careful, systematic cultivation of the bush, the careful gathering of ripe berries, and, above all, to the admirable preparation of the beans in the estate factories, but still more to the coffee stores in Colombo, where 20,000 women were employed in picking and sorting, apart from the men in charge of machinery, packing, &c. Several attempts have been made within the last twenty years to revive the growing of coffee in Ceylon but without success, although now with the *C. robusta* plant the fungus possibly might be defied; but there is no special encouragement in price in the face of the over-production in Brazil.

Not only through a scientific Botanical and Agri-Horticultural Department, with experimental gardens and plantations at different

*Some of the coffee bushes grew until their stems were as large as those of big forest trees.

altitudes, did the Dutch authorities help the planters in Java, but also by multiplying well-constructed roads and, after a time, by the admirable railway system running through the length of the island, and connecting the producing districts with the capital and the different ports. I need not say how important all these facilities are to the very important sugar and tobacco-planting industries, to which I do not particularly refer, as there is no parallel to them in Ceylon and the Malay States, though sugar-planting was extensively carried on in Perak and Province Wellesley (particularly on the Caledonian group of estates under the skilful management of the Hon. J. Turner), where, however, rubber is now succeeding over a great portion. The sugar mills in the neighbourhood of Soerabaya, dealing with the canes growing in the surrounding rich plains, were some years ago paying 15 per cent. of the capital invested, but the finest machinery and skilled chemists had to be provided.

TEA AND RUBBER IN CEYLON AND JAVA

While Java was making a success with cinchona, and maintaining its position as well as it could with coffee, Ceylon was running far in advance between 1880 and 1899 with tea, until nearly all the abandoned coffee fields were clad with luxuriant verdure from the hardy Assam hybrid or indigenous tea-bushes. Marvellous has been the progress—from 10,000 acres of tea in 1880 to 100,000 in 1885, 220,000 in 1890, 305,000 in 1895, 384,000 in 1900, and close on 400,000 acres at the present date in Ceylon. The figures illustrate how a great planting industry may be rapidly extended in a settled colony having such facilities within the reach of experienced planters as a regular, well-trained labour supply, sufficiency of capital, and fairly good means of transport. The result was seen in tea crops increasing year by year until Ceylon has reached to an annual export of from 190 to 200 millions, against Java's 36 to 38 million lb. Money, in his well-known book on Java, published in 1861,⁴ has a good deal to say about tea-planting, which was begun by the Dutch authorities between 1835 and 1845. Both black and green tea were then manufactured, but without much success, the only market for the inferior product supplied for many years being in Germany. During the past ten years or so planting and manufacture on both the Ceylon and Indian systems have been adopted with better results. Very fine tea and cinchona plantations with well-equipped factories are now to be seen on many fertile hillsides in Java. Nothing better

could be desired than the properties and arrangements we inspected in some of the western hill districts in Java two years ago while visiting Mr. Noel Bingley, and the same may be said of rubber clearings farther on at lower altitudes. In cacao, again, while Java goes on but slowly, Ceylon planters do not get much encouragement latterly in prices to extend or increase their production. But, as is well known, a great deal of attention has for some time been paid to the cultivation of rubber in many parts of Java having a suitable climate; although it will be some time yet before the exports from the plantations planted with Para can make much show. With an abundant population it would be supposed that labour supply would be an easy matter for planters in Java; but here, as in Ceylon, success is chiefly due to good management and tact in dealing with the workers.*

THE BEGINNING AND RISE OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

We have now come to the time (1874) when a new era arrived for certain districts of Malaya entrusted to British Residents and Assistants, who had an exciting, dangerous time in pioneering. Mr. Birch, whom we sent from Ceylon as Colonial Secretary to Singapore, was afterwards appointed British Resident in Perak, only to meet the fate of assassination, while Mr. (now Sir) Frank Swettenham had more than one narrow escape.† Very briefly it may be well

*Wallace has an instructive passage in his *Malay Archipelago* bearing on the Javanese, as well as on other tropical peoples: "Natives of tropical climates have few wants, and, when these are supplied, are disinclined to work for superfluities without some strong incitement. With such a people the introduction of any new or systematic cultivation is almost impossible, except by the despotic orders of chiefs whom they have been accustomed to obey, as children obey their parents. The free competition of European traders, however, introduces two powerful inducements to exertion. Spirits or opium is a temptation too strong for most savages to resist, and to obtain these he will sell whatever he has, and will work to get more. Another temptation he cannot resist is goods on credit. The trader offers him gay cloths, knives, gongs, guns, and gunpowder, to be paid for by some crop perhaps not yet planted, or some product yet in the forest." [In Java the Government prevents drugs or liquors being sold to the peasants and plantation workers.]

†The experience gained in Pahang shows this as related by Sir F. Swettenham:—"Pahang is a very large State on the east coast of the Peninsula, and in 1888 had a population of about fifty thousand Malays and a few hundred Chinese. The State was supposed to be very rich in gold, less so in tin. But it was undeveloped and unregener-

to notice the rise and progress of the Federated Malay States during the twenty or thirty years of their existence, mainly as a planting colony. With very few, if any, natural advantages over its neighbours in Ceylon and Java at the outset, very soon certain peculiarities in administration and development came to light. First of all, it was a great gain that not only men of tropical experience but of special energy and progressive spirit were selected for the Residents and their Assistants—men who were not trammelled by the precedents and red tape connected with the Colonial Office and the system in the older colonies. We have only to note the instructive books of Sir F. Swettenham and his career (wholly confined to Malaya and the Straits), and the writings and work of Sir William Treacher, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, and our Chairman, Mr. (now Sir Hugh) Clifford, who devoted their whole ability and heart to make a success of the youngest member of the colonial empire, already in revenue and export trade competing with Ceylon for the position of leading Crown Colony. Sir Wm. Taylor—so well known and appreciated in Ceylon—continued the able administration of the Malay States, as Resident-General, until his well-earned retirement the other day.

ate; the Government was despotic, the Raja Bendahara being the despot, and the people suffered. Possibly matters might have remained as they were to this day, but a British subject was murdered in Pahang under circumstances which made the responsibilities of the ruler so manifest that Sir Cecil Smith, then Governor of the Straits, felt compelled to demand explanation and satisfaction. The explanation was altogether unacceptable, and, as satisfaction was not forthcoming, it seemed that there must be serious consequences. The Bendahara, however, expressed his regret for what had occurred, and asked for the appointment of a British Resident. This request was granted in October 1888, Mr. J. P. Rodger (now Sir John Rodger, K.C.M.G.) was appointed Resident of Pahang, while Mr. Hugh Clifford, who had already spent some years in Pahang as Governor's agent, remained there to assist the Resident. The size of Pahang made it unwieldy, and the fact that during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon, from October to April, the shore was almost unapproachable for steamers, severely handicapped the country as regards development. There were many important chiefs, and only a small revenue from which to give them suitable allowances and provide for the costs of the most economical administration. To add the last straw, some chiefs took up arms against all that the new régime stood for, and the consequence was a long, harassing, and an expensive "war," which was only brought to a conclusion by hunting the rebels out of Pahang and even following them into the independent neighbouring States, Kelantan and Trengganu, where they were eventually secured, mainly by the efforts of Mr. Hugh Clifford. Some of the rebels lost their lives in these prolonged operations, some were done to death by the Siamese who took part in their arrest, and the remainder were deported to Siam, where a member of the survivors remain to the present time."⁵

There was nothing exceptional in the climate or soil of Malaya, much less in the labour supply, nor in existing resources save in one direction—the tin deposits, which gradually yielded ample revenues. These were made the most of by the enlightened independent administrators, who were capable to profit by the success gained elsewhere and to take warning by the mistakes made, say, in Ceylon.* At the beginning a very small revenue was raised by taxing everything that left or came into the country, especially necessities of life. The new administration abolished every duty save that on tin (practically a monopoly), liquors, and drugs. This enlightened Customs policy, with due police organisation and a liberal land policy, gave so much confidence that, according to Sir F. Swettenham, "immigrants poured in from the unprotected Malay States, Dutch Provinces, China, and India, and soon the revenue increased marvelously."

ROADS AND RAILWAYS

Were it only for the road and railway system now existing in the Malay States, the highest praise is due to the Residents, and nowhere can their work be so thoroughly appraised as in Ceylon, which, after a hundred years of British administration can only show 4000 miles of road, while in a third of this period the States have exceeded 2500 miles. Still more is the contrast presented in railways, of which Ceylon, beginning in 1858 (and fighting against red-tape precedents), has now a total under 600 miles, against close on 500 miles in the Malay States and 120 miles in Johore, laid down in twenty-five years! The secret of such progress is revealed in the following extracts, which carry most important lessons to pioneer administrators and planters in tropical lands. In the "day of small things" here was the policy in roads and railways, as described by the authority whom I have so freely quoted:—

The funds for road-making and other public works were for the first few years very small, and it was only by the most rigid economy that any construction at all could be done, for it was understood that, however the

*I must congratulate Mr. Maxwell and his colleagues on the wise policy adopted of laying aside the surplus revenues as a fund for road and railway extensions. We in Ceylon have long regretted that in the early days of prosperity we did not put the proceeds of the land sales and large railway profits into a special fund for Extensions in place of amalgamating such funds with our general revenue.—*Remark made by J. F. during the discussion on Mr. Maxwell's Paper on "The Malay Peninsula" before the R.C. Institute in November 1891.*

estimates were framed, the expenditure must always be kept within the actual receipts. In 1882-83 a system of road-making was introduced into Selangor to meet these conditions. Six-foot bridle roads were constructed, with a good gradient, no metalling, and very simple and cheap bridges. This was done at about £150 a mile, and as soon as the traffic justified the expense the bridle road was made wide enough for cart traffic, and eventually the earth road was converted into a first-class metalled road with permanent bridges. A road of that class, if made of that type in the first instance, cost from £1,000 to £1,200 a mile.

The first railway undertaken was a line of only eight miles from Taipeng, the mining centre of Larut, to a point called Sa-petang (afterwards named Port Weld), on a deep-water inlet of the Lârut River, navigable for small steamers. That line was constructed by two divisions of Ceylon pioneers, lent by the Government of Ceylon, and before it was completed (in 1884) Selangor had embarked upon a much more ambitious scheme—the construction of a railway from its mining centre, Kuala Lumpur, to the town of Klang, a distance of twenty-two miles, through difficult country, with a considerable bridge over the Klang River. But the railway was a necessity if the State was to be properly developed, and application was made to the Colony to advance the funds required. The application was granted and the work was at once begun; but long before it could be completed the colony, being in want of money, applied for immediate repayment, and it was fortunate that the rapid progress of the State made it possible to satisfy this demand and still complete the line out of current revenues. As soon as the railway was opened for the traffic the receipts so far exceeded the working expenses that the line earned a profit equal to 25 per cent. on the capital expended. It may be questioned whether that record has ever been equalled in railway history.

I am responsible for the Malay States lines, with the exception of the eight miles branch in Lârut, from Taipeng to Port Weld, and the twenty-four miles branch in Sungei Ujong, from Seramban to Port Dickson (which was built by and belongs to a private company), and I may recall the fact that when I first recommended the construction of the Province Wellesley line it was disapproved. But when I again repeated all the arguments in favour of the work and pressed to be allowed to undertake it, Mr. Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave his sanction on the ground that, if the value of a great work could be satisfactorily demonstrated, the sooner it was taken in hand the better. Mr. Chamberlain is one of the few public men who realise this principle.⁶

The Malay States made, and paid for, the Province Wellesley Railway, and no benefit so great has ever been conferred on Penang in the history of the settlement; but the people of the place were slow to appreciate the fact and have never been demonstrative in thanks to the Malay States, which also lent them a large sum of money to complete their steamer pier, another public work the advantages of which escaped their foresight.

After nearly twenty years of another method, that of local responsibility and construction by Government engineers under the eye of the Government, which sees that it is getting its money's worth, calls in other opinions, when necessary, and takes care that all the conditions required by local circumstances shall be fulfilled in every particular; after that experience, crowned by a very marked success, not only as regards the quality of the roads constructed, but also in profits earned on the open lines, it was urged that the Federated Malay States should give up their methods and adopt in future the system enforced in Crown Colonies where the circumstances are different. Naturally the Malay States preferred the plan they understood, which had served them so well in the past, and which no one suggested had failed in any particular.

Now that the Federated Malay States are constructing a railway right through the heart of Johore (now completed and open), and European planters are turning their attention to that State as a suitable field for the cultivation of rubber and other permanent products, Johore is offered a great opportunity of getting into line with its neighbours. Unless, however, efforts are made to develop the country, and especially to feed the railway by good roads, the opportunity will be missed and the railway will fail to do for Johore what it has done with such splendid success for the Federated States, every one of which was, thirty years ago, far more backward than Johore at the same date.

Part II

TIN-MINING AND PLANTING—LIBERIAN COFFEE AND RUBBER

NOT only in respect of roads and railways—the most potent means of extending civilisation and making progress—did the administrators give their attention. No effort was spared to secure a settled population of agriculturists. Rice and coconuts, we are told, are probably the two forms of cultivation best suited to the Malays. The Chinese, apart from mining, took to sugar-cane, gambier, and the pepper vine. Sir Hugh Low, at Perak, started Government gardens and plantations with Arabian coffee, cinchona, tea, and rubber. Although the revenue was mainly due to tin, the enlightened view taken by the Residents of the superior importance of planting to the country and people is very remarkable. Here is a further illuminating extract:—

We give to the miner what is often fine land covered with magnificent forest, and when he has destroyed the timber he turns the soil upside down, and after a few years abandons it, leaving huge stretches of country a sightless waste of water-holes. The case of the planter is the exact reverse. He converts the jungle into produce-yielding fields, he *settles* on the soil; it is to his interest to foster to the utmost a property which will only give him a fair return after the investment of capital and years of toil. His object is to keep the land in cultivation, and when one product fails (as coffee failed in Ceylon) he immediately turns his energies to the introduction of another. Here also there is a permanent revenue to be gained from the export duty on produce, and it wants no great effort of imagination to see a day when the duty on agricultural exports may exceed that on minerals. The returns in the latter case are much more rapid; but to make it easy to mine successfully and difficult to plant with profit may be good shopkeeping, but seems indifferent administration. I feel very strongly that the Government cannot pursue a wiser policy than the encouragement of the planter.⁷

There is no purpose in detailing the experience gained in the Malay States (Ceylon planters being among the pioneers) in coffee (both Arabian and Liberian), or with tea (not a success), but more recently and successfully with the *robusta* coffee variety. I may go at once to rubber which seems, with coconuts, to be the all-important branch of the local planting enterprise. In July 1883 (as I was engaged in Ceylon in bringing out the first "Manual for Rubber Planters," most of the copies going to Malaya and farther East, the Ceylon planters, all but very few, being too busy and successful with tea to bother about rubber then) Sir Hugh Low wrote as follows:—

All kinds of india-rubber succeed admirably, and seeds and plants of *Hevea Braziliensis* have been distributed to Java and Singapore, to Ceylon and to India, and supplies will be forwarded on application to any person or institution which will take care of these valuable plants.

It is rather puzzling how "Hevea" seed or plants should be sent from Malaya to Ceylon, seeing that the first "Hevea" from Kew to the East were then (in 1883) seven years old in the Ceylon Henerat-godde Gardens; but in February 1884 Sir H. Low reported:—

Specimens of the rubber from six-year-old plants of the *Hevea Braziliensis* in the Government experimental gardens have been collected, as well as that from the *Manihot Glaziovii* (Ceara scrap), and will be sent to England for report.

Still more, Sir Frank Swettenham has recorded that—

While in Perak in 1884–5 I planted 400 seeds from Sir Hugh Low's trees,

and in due time the seedlings were planted out. Those trees yielded a great quantity of seed from which the Hevea plantations of Malaya were formed.

There, undoubtedly, was the beginning of the great industry which has brought so much enterprise, wealth and fame to the Federated Malay States,* and enterprise and capital to other parts of the East, and, indeed, to the tropical world all around the globe. Fortunate it was for most of the Malayan planting colonists that, unlike their brethren in Ceylon, twenty to ten years ago they were practically shut up to plant rubber as their only hope, although no one at the time anticipated so much success and fortune. Mr. W. D. Gibbon, of Kandy—a fifty years' resident in Ceylon—tells how he visited the Malay States in 1897, when the planters there were in extremely low water. Their Liberian coffee fetched prices scarcely enough to cover expenses; they hoped to benefit by gold or tin, and rubber was then planted as "a sort o' refuge for the destitute"—and yet promising rubber plants could be seen then growing along the railway from Klang to Kuala Lumpur. The visitor nowadays sees evidences of the prevailing cultivation in nearly every district by road and railway away from the coast; and, indeed, one of the oldest Para plantations in Malaya is found at Gunong Pandok (about seventy miles south of Penang), although the great expanses are found to the south, in Selangor, in the Klang division—once famous for its coffee—Kuala Langat, and Kuala Selangor. "It is now some twenty years," says the compiler of the excellent "Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States"—just published by the "Malay States Development Agency"†—"since Sir Hugh Low imported from Ceylon, whither they had been sent from Kew (Kew having got them from South America), a number of seeds or plants of this rubber tree."‡ It is said that Sir Hugh Low conceived that the Malayan

* A great deal too was done by the Singapore Botanic Gardens, whence over two millions Para rubber seeds have been distributed over the East—in Malaya, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, &c.

† "They should also out of their revenue open an Information Bureau in England, and appoint some competent and well-informed person to produce plans and reports and give all the information that may be required by persons in Europe desirous of examining or working the mineral deposits. They should, I think, make still more vigorous efforts to encourage immigration from India."—*Mr. Burkinshaw, in discussing Mr. (now Sir) Hugh Clifford's Paper in 1902.* [And now, the Bureau has been opened for the Malay States in London.]

‡ A curious mistake in this useful Guide is that the compiler several times writes Paraguay as whence the rubber trees and plants came—Paraguay, a division of South America, very far from the Amazon or Para rubber region.

climate was much the same as that in which the Hevea rubber flourished in the Amazonian region. Be this as it may, there is no doubt of the success of the experiment. I do not mean to describe the different rubber districts or typical plantations, but to indicate generally some of the opinions bearing on climate, soil, growth, yield, and labour supply, arrived at from observation and inquiry, modified or corrected by the impressions kindly conveyed to me by other visitors with more planting experience in Ceylon or elsewhere.

PLANTING IN MALAY STATES AND CEYLON COMPARED

First of all, I must give my meed of praise to the pioneer planters in the Malayan low country, for they must have encountered and overcome many difficulties, including the organising of labour supply in new conditions and in a hot, trying climate, with more malaria than is generally met in the western low country of Ceylon.* Now that the peninsula has been so freely opened up and cultivation so far extended, the case is different, and the cooler nights than in the Ceylon low country may tell in favour of the Malaya rubber planter; but he has not yet got the advantage (for a change to recuperate) of an accessible superior hill climate, experienced at stations from Kandy up to the sanatorium, Newara Eliya, connected by railway in Ceylon. So far as the product (rubber) is concerned the Malayan climate, as well as the soil, seems to be all that could be desired, if certain exceptions be made here, as in all general statements referring to considerable extents of country. Evidence is proffered to show that, both in growth of the Para trees and the yield of latex at a certain age,

*Planting in Malaya has had much to contend against, but the Englishman who goes to the East to plant is usually the *fine fleur* of his kind; and the men who have made Ceylon what it is, who recovered there from the most crushing blow, and from the ashes of Arabian coffee have raised a yet more successful product, are not to be denied, and they have proved to demonstration the value of the Malay Peninsula. The labour question was a difficulty, but a high authority on planting once said to the members of this Institute: "As to labour supply, experienced planters of the right sort, if supported by a liberal Government, may be trusted to overcome any difficulty in this direction." I will undertake to say that the planters in the Malay Peninsula are of the right sort, and that if they get that liberal support, which I believe it is to the interest of the Government to give them, Mr. John Ferguson, who knew the temper of the men he was speaking of, will be found to have gauged them accurately.—*Sir (then Mr.) F. Swettenham, in a paper on "Malaya," read before the Royal Colonial Institute, March 31, 1896, Sir Clementi Smith in the chair.*

the Malay States are in advance of Ceylon. But, on the other hand, I have been convinced that well-established rubber fields in Ceylon do, and promise, as well as any in the sister colony; while in several ways the facilities for systematic economical work in the field and factory are, on the whole, superior in Ceylon, which should hold its own in respect of cheapness of production. In labour supply it looks at first sight as if Ceylon had the advantage from its large coolie population and close proximity to India; but from the way in which both Tamils and Javanese have been so readily and freely induced to settle on the Malayan rubber plantations, it is quite a question which colony is better off. There are experiments now in course of development to increase immigration, which may in the course of the next two or three years make a difference. I trust these may place the planting industries in both colonies above all danger. As this subject of respective planting advantages is perhaps the most practically interesting at this time, I venture to give some "notes" from different hands, chiefly from planters with as much personal interest in Malaya as in Ceylon, some of whom venture to offer suggestions in respect of improved administration. Probably during the last three years of rapid development the circumstances and life of colonists and their labourers in the Federated Malay States have changed very much, and for the better in many ways.

THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

Climate.—The climate of the planting districts is more trying to Europeans than that of the low country in Ceylon. Fever is much more prevalent, and estate superintendents have to recruit at much more frequent intervals. In mild cases of illness they go to the hill station at Penang, or a short sea trip to Ceylon or Australia, but have no local place for recuperating like the hill country of Ceylon or the sanatorium, N. Eliya.

Salaries.—Due to this fact and the extra cost of living, superintendents are paid quite double the salaries paid to the same class in Ceylon, and the cost of coolie labour is correspondingly high.

Soil.—Generally speaking, it may be admitted the soil is better than that of Ceylon for tropical cultivation. The latter country has nothing, unless, indeed, paddy lands, comparable to the rich flat lands around Klang, and the bukit or hilly lands are generally better soil than the low country tea-lands in Ceylon. It is generally admitted that the growth of rubber, for instance, at four years of age in the Federated Malay States is equivalent to five or six years in Ceylon; but, notwithstanding this, and that the yield per tree is somewhat greater in the former country, the cost of production will in the end be found to be in favour of Ceylon.

The revenues from tin mining have hitherto supplied the administration with ample funds for carrying out all public works, and these have kept well abreast of requirements—so different from Ceylon, where every mile of railway extension has been wrung from the Government by protest and petition.

The annual income from rental of lands alienated for rubber and coconuts, and the *ad valorem* export duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the value of rubber, will add enormously to the exchequer, every year increasing in volume. It is compulsory for all estates or groups of estates to erect and maintain hospitals for their labourers, the majority of whom are Indian immigrants; but it is somewhat of an anomaly that the tin-mining magnates have not been called upon to provide medical wants for their labour force, which is Chinese. These wants are partially supplied by the Government general hospitals in the towns, and the planters seem to have a just cause of complaint, as a certain amount of the taxation for this purpose falls upon them, in addition to the provision they make for their own labourers. There are in the various States many thousands of acres of jungle and forest lands fit for tropical agriculture. What the ultimate destiny of these areas will be it is hard to predict. The further extension of rubber is certain to fall off, but if the new Robusta variety of coffee is to find a home in the Malay Peninsula, there is sufficient waste land out of which to carve a great industry. Coconuts thrive and produce well in most of the States, and here, again, is a product the consumption of which is ever on the increase.

Another view from an experienced planter runs:—

In the development of the rubber industry in Malaya I think the planter had far greater difficulties to cope with than in Ceylon, the climatic difficulty being perhaps the greatest of all. After land has been opened for some years, I consider Malaya as healthy as most of the low country in Ceylon; but during opening I think malaria is more prevalent, and the possible rapid move to Colombo or to Newera Eliya or the hills is not within the reach of the planter in Malaya. Rubber (Para), I consider, from soil or climate (possibly both), grows better in Malaya than in Ceylon, and, I believe, will yield more per tree; but the old-established agency houses in Colombo and the thorough system of inspection of estates will for some time give Ceylon the great advantage of more readily being able to secure good management. I look upon the "European" labour question as almost as important as the question of native labour; with the recent great prosperity of the industry, managers have made fortunes rapidly and retire. I see no reason why this prosperity should not last, though, alas! there are in Ceylon, in Malaya, and in Java things I know which will end in disappointments.* Malaya is not a good

*That a certain portion of the planted area of rubber will not satisfy anticipations may be very certain in all three countries. Good practical authorities have indicated a

country for English ladies or children, and Ceylon has a great advantage there. The man who has his residence in the Ceylon hills and can motor down to see his rubber property in the low country, has an ideal life. The social life of Dimbula, Dikoya, &c., when nearly every estate was in the hands of a residential proprietor, was very wholesome and very charming, but the era of Companies has made a great change, and not for the better. I believe, in the long run, the Federated Malay States will be better off for labour supply than Ceylon. The latter has only Tamils and Singalese to draw on; the former Tamils, Malayans, Javanese, and Chinese.

JAVA, MALAY AND CEYLON COMPARED BY PLANTERS

And now we have the comparison extended to Java alongside the Malay States and Ceylon[†] in the following manner:—

SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN CEYLON, MALAYA, AND JAVA FROM A PLANTER'S POINT OF VIEW

The chief points a planter has to consider in determining the advantages or otherwise as a producing country are climate, soil, and population. The two former are influenced to a great extent by the conformation of the country. Ceylon in the planting districts is a mountainous country, and, being in the track of the south-west monsoon, the rainfall varies according to the propinquity of the land to the hills that condense the south-west winds and thus cause rainfall.

It is therefore only in the south-west corner of Ceylon that there is sufficient rainfall for most tropical products, and in that part the rainfall is so plentiful that it renders Ceylon particularly favoured in this respect. But, as compared with Malaya, the rain falls in Ceylon at certain periods of the year—namely, in south-west and north-east monsoons—making the growth of vegetation somewhat different from that in Malaya, where the rainfall is almost continuous throughout the year. The nature of the soil is to some extent determined by this. In Ceylon the detritus from the mountains is washed into spaces between rocks and into the valleys, rendering them

certain proportion in Ceylon and Malay States (and no doubt elsewhere) as likely to be a disappointment! One advantage Ceylon has over the Federated Malay States in dealing with labour is found in the rupee, 1s. 4d. and cents, against the dollar of 2s. 4d. and cents in proportion. A rupee in practice goes nearly as far in Ceylon as the dollar in Malaya.

[†] In passing, the opinion may be mentioned of one with long practical experience in the East to the effect that, "Given labour, Borneo could supply the world's requirements in rubber!"

fertile and rich, where the rainfall is not heavy enough to wash away organic matter. On the other hand, the land on the western side of the Malayan Peninsula, from the continuous, rather moderate, rainfall, is mostly alluvial; for in the hills near the coast the soil is mostly sandy loam, and not rocky as in Ceylon; also, from the fact that it is not so much fed by detritus from the mountains, which is held up by the rocks in Ceylon, it is not so rich as in the latter.

Java differs from the other two countries because it is entirely volcanic, and has its wet and dry seasons according to exposure as regards the south-east and north-west monsoons. For the foregoing reasons the soil is generally rich; being fed by volcanic dust and having a plentiful rainfall, the forest has grown luxuriantly for centuries and has made a store of manures mixed with the free soil of volcanic deposits.

Turning to the population, Ceylon has divers native races; but the requirements of labour are filled by its nearness to Southern India, which has for centuries poured its surplus population into Ceylon. In Malaya the indigenous races are less plentiful; but the industries of the country have been supplemented for years by the Chinese, and are now by Javanese and Tamils from South India to such an extent that the country, though sparsely populated naturally, has now a sufficient and increasing labour force.

In Java the native population is enormous, amounting to some thirty-three millions of intelligent and very tractable natives,* sufficient for all requirements, and being so plentiful that the rates of wages are low.

As regards management of properties, Ceylon has the advantage of the other countries, having a body of superintendents trained methodically, about which it is needless to enlarge. In Malaya the exhausting climate causes much sickness, and renders the work of the planter much harder; nor have managers there the traditions that guide those in Ceylon. In Java the necessity of knowing two or three native languages as well as Dutch makes it difficult for Englishmen to take up the work.

Still another opinion from one with prolonged Eastern experience: "The feature in the Malay States that I think chiefly dif-

*The striking contrast of character between Papuans (or people of Negrito type) and the Malays is exemplified in many little traits. One day when I was rambling in the forest an old man stopped to look at me catching an insect. He stood very quiet till I had pinned and put it away in my collecting-box, when he could contain himself no longer, but bent almost double and enjoyed a hearty roar of laughter. Everyone will recognise this as a true negro trait. A Malay would have stared and asked with a tone of bewilderment what I was doing, for it is but little in his nature to laugh, never heartily, and still less at or in the presence of a stranger, to whom, however, his disdainful glances or whispered remarks are less agreeable than the most boisterous open expression of merriment.—*Wallace*. Another authority says:—"The natives are true Malays, never building a house on dry land if they can find water to set it in, and never going anywhere on foot if they can reach the place in a boat."

ferentiates them from the Ceylon low-country estates relates to the climate. The shallow seas of Malaya cause cool nights on land, differing from the influence on the neighbourhood of the deep sea of Ceylon which keeps the nights hotter. In the Straits and Malay States the night temperature always goes down to 75 degrees, resulting, *inter alia*, in heavy dews and producing the humid atmosphere, with tropical heat, that Hevea revels in. Hence the growth and development are more rapid. The mineral wealth of the country attracted Chinese (who have developed it) as Ceylon never would, and provides easier means of livelihood for such." The Malay States, as is well known, are among the best wooded countries in the world, and the timber available, if the difficulty of extraction can be overcome, may safely be taken as representing enormous potential wealth. In passing it may be well to say it is certain that the prosperity of the Straits colony is due to three factors: (1) The geographical positions of Singapore and Penang, and the facilities afforded for the coaling, watering, and repair of ships; (2) the fact that all the ports of the colony are free; (3) the development of the Malay hinterland.

It is difficult to conceive of a more "humid atmosphere with tropical heat" than is found along the western and south-western coast of Ceylon. An exaggerated (almost satirical) description of life in that quarter by an old resident many years ago ran thus; "Two months in the year you see the sun, and the rest of your days are spent in an atmosphere moist as a hatter's workshop and worse than the steam over a dyer's vat, a seething pest-house." The other side of the sketch, presented in contrast, if one were defending the Ceylon low-country climate, would be thus described: "The days are ever bright, with a refreshing breeze from the sea, or stealing in coolness up the valley; and the nights are not to be surpassed in loveliness when the moonlight falls upon house and tree, and covers all things present with a silvery radiance." A picture with less of brightness and less of moisture would be more nearly correct.

Freedom from volcanic or cyclonic disturbances is a great advantage to Ceylon.

Most of the planting visitors to the Farther East I have consulted seem to agree that Java or any of the other Dutch dependencies in the East is not to be specially recommended to the young Briton who wants to be trained as a planter; Ceylon (if an opening can be got) or Malaya is preferable. Among the Dutch there are many good planters; but, as a rule, the standard is not so high, practical, and strict as in the British colonies. For an all-round regular training of young

tropical planters, all things considered, there is no place like Ceylon; but for openings after the training there may be much to be said for some other countries.

SOCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL COMPARISONS

The same may be said in reference to social and residential advantages, on the whole, although there are exceptionally favoured homes and social circles in the Malay States as well as in Java. Considering the sixty years which cover an established planting enterprise in Ceylon, with its railways, many roads, townships, hospitals, churches, recreation clubs, it is marvellous that with only twenty-five (at most thirty), years in the Malay States from a planter's point of view, there should be so good a comparison between the two in respect of these necessary civilising adjuncts. We can only mention with admiration certain townships like Taiping, Ipoh, Kuala Kangsar, and a capital like Kuala Lumpur, with splendid public buildings, handsome bungalows, cosy homesteads, club, &c. In Ceylon the Europeans all told, of all ages, do not exceed 6,800; in the Federated Malay States there are probably about 2,000; while Java has 85,000 of a European population, most of whom were born and educated and comparatively settled in that island, making it their permanent home, much more than do the British in India, Ceylon, or Malaya. In this way Batavia, the political, and Soerabaya, the commercial, capital of Java, offer advantages and attractions—high-class musical and other entertainments, first-class cafés, well-furnished shops, in books and music especially—scarcely found in the East. Batavia is less populous than Colombo, is about the same distance from the Equator, but the climate is cooler; for trees grow there on the sea-level that grow in Kandy in Central Ceylon. Then also for a change to the cooler hill country in Java there are not a few convenient and interesting townships with beautiful surroundings, like Buitenzorg and its gardens, which may be contrasted with Kandy and Peradeniya and others higher up, though none perhaps so central, accessible, and advantageous as Ceylon's Newara Eliya. The Malay States have yet to establish a suitable central sanatorium with ready access for all divisions. Periodical gatherings of planters and other residents for agri-horticultural shows, races, cricket, and tennis and golf tournaments are not unknown in the Federated Malay States and Java, although perhaps nowhere so well multiplied and patronised as in Ceylon. In respect of sport or big-game shooting all three countries have exceptional advantages.

The "buried cities" and other antiquities of Ceylon are widely known, and certain monuments, inscriptions, and carvings in Malaya are coming now into notice; but few in the West are aware of the vast and most interesting architectural remains in Java, more especially the mysterious Buddhist remains and temples at Boro-Boedor (which James Fergusson describes as "the highest development of Buddhist art") and similar extensive Hindu shrines at Brambanam, near the town of Djokjacarta. Save that there is little to remind us of the hilly "dagobas," a feature at Anuradhapura, Ceylon is behind in the magnitude, and perhaps the beauty, of what residents and visitors can study with great convenience in one of the richest and healthiest districts in Java; and only in Cambodia, I believe, can ruins be found equal in magnitude and interest. The great temple of Boro-Boedor is built upon a small hill, and consists of a central dome and seven ranges of terraced walls covering the slope of the hill, and forming open galleries each below the other and communicating by steps and gateways. The central dome is fifty feet in diameter; around it is a triple circle of seventy-two towers, and the whole building is six hundred and twenty feet square, and about one hundred feet high. In the terrace walls are niches containing cross-legged figures larger than life (to the number of about four hundred), and both sides of all the terrace walls are covered with bas-reliefs crowded with figures and carved in hard stone, and which must occupy an extent of nearly three miles in length. The amount of human labour and skill expended on the Great Pyramid of Egypt sinks into insignificance when compared with that required to complete this sculptured hill temple in the interior of Java.

Some sixty slides of views in Ceylon, Malay States, and Java were shown, the lecturer giving due explanation of each. These included maps, photographs of townships, plantations, products (rubber trees and palms especially), cultivation, the people, factories, scenery, and an interesting series of the Boro-Boedor Buddhist ruins to compare with some of Anuradhapura and Pollonaruwa views in Ceylon.

After the Paper the following discussion took place:-

The CHAIRMAN: I conceive I have been asked to take the chair because for twenty years of my life I lived in the Malay Peninsula, for the last four years of my service have been in Ceylon, and on two occasions for about a week have visited Java. I need hardly tell ladies and gentlemen of your experience that it is, of course, concerning Java I invariably pose as an expert, in common with other globe-trotters

throughout Asia. Mr. Ferguson has spent forty-nine years of his life in Ceylon. He recently visited the Malay Peninsula and the wonderful island of Java, which, but for a trifling oversight on the part of our Foreign Office (which, unfortunately, was unacquainted at the time with the locality occupied by the island upon the map), would have belonged to the British Crown. Mr. Ferguson is well known in Ceylon not only for having filled the important post of an unofficial member of the Legislative Council with distinction, but also as part owner and for a long time the editor of the principal newspaper, the *Ceylon Observer*. He also is a gentleman whose historical knowledge of the colony is unequalled.

Professor WYNDHAM (Director of the Imperial Institute): I can only claim to have been in Ceylon for a few months, but for more than ten years I have followed agricultural developments in the countries under the discussion with close attention. Mr. Ferguson has shown considerable adroitness in instituting his various comparisons. In matters of tropical agriculture it is exceedingly difficult to institute comparisons, particularly if you are going to base predictions upon them. He has alluded to the late Dr. Treub, the head of the great scientific establishment at Buitenzorg, which is maintained at a high efficiency by the far-sighted policy of the Dutch Government. Dr. Treub said to me many years ago that tea infinitely superior to the tea of Ceylon could be grown in Java. I will not discuss that statement, but I may point out that to-day Ceylon exports 200 million pounds of tea, while Java exports between thirty and forty millions. It is impossible to predict the success of a crop unless one knows all the various economic factors which enter into the calculation. We may admit that elsewhere than in Ceylon there are better climates and soils from the agricultural point of view, but I think that in the long run Ceylon, for a variety of reasons, may be trusted to told its own. Difficulties there have been and will be, but the history of the Ceylon planters makes one confident that these difficulties will be overcome. Ceylon at the present time has two very large and flourishing industries in rubber and tea. It is also very strong in another important crop, which to-day may be regarded as the sheet anchor of the tropical planter—cocoanuts. There are also other strings to the bow. I will only refer to the tobacco industry which is carried on in the north of the island by the Tamils. The tobacco is strong and coarse, and its cultivation is carried on in a more or less primitive fashion, but it is of great repute locally, and is much in demand in the south of India. I believe that there are great

possibilities in Ceylon for the cultivation of tobacco of a finer kind suitable for European consumption. Some interesting experiments in this direction are now taking place at the Government Experimental Station and by a private company near Trincomalee. All such work, to be successful, must be based on scientific knowledge. I found that the Ceylon planters fully recognised the importance of scientific experiment, and the Government has given them considerable assistance. I ventured to make one criticism and suggestion in Ceylon which I should like to repeat here. We must all now recognise that tropical planting is a scientific profession in the same sense as medicine or engineering, and that the time has arrived when those who intend to enter that profession should pass through a definite course of training. You are familiar with the present system. A boy of seventeen or eighteen is sent out to the tropics to learn. In Ceylon he is called a "creeper." As a rule he knows nothing about agriculture or the tropics; he goes on an estate where he picks up his knowledge as best he can, and may manage to struggle through to success. It is desirable in future that these boys, before going to the tropics to plant, should pass through some course of training. We have now colleges where excellent courses in the principles of agriculture are given. This is temperate agriculture, but it is valuable in creating the proper mental attitude and "atmosphere" in the first instance. We have also to remember that the sciences on which temperate agriculture depend are the same as for tropical agriculture, and these can be learnt in this country and are a necessary preliminary. After such a course a young man would go out to Ceylon with a sound basis of knowledge and experience. He would not be qualified to embark at once on tropical agriculture. It is desirable to bring into existence in the tropics a college where these young men would be able to gain experience in tropical agriculture. I do not think that a better place can be found for such a college than Ceylon. I throw out this suggestion for consideration. Many parents in this country would welcome some scheme of this kind. I know that the suggestion finds favour with many planters in Ceylon, and especially with the present Governor, Sir Henry MacCallum. It is a matter in which the Government could render assistance, and the college could be utilised for the later stages of the training of those agricultural officers who are so much needed for Government work in all our tropical colonies.

Mr. GILES WALKER: The only topic which occurs to me on which to offer a few remarks is the climate of Ceylon, which may be of interest to those who are thinking of the hills there as a place of

residence. Of course, one's general idea of a tropical country is living in a sweltering heat, and in the lowlands that is more or less the fact; but when you get into the hill-country, especially at an elevation of 4,000 or 5,000 feet, you have a mean temperature of 66° or 67° Fahr., and one of the most healthy climates. I have spent some thirty years of my life in the Ceylon hills. In the hottest weather the shade temperature in the middle of the day never exceeds 80° to 84°, and is usually not above 78°. In the cold weather (December to February) you often get a temperature which falls as low as 40° or perhaps 36°, with occasional frost in damp places on the grass. The climate varies on the two sides of the country, the western being moist and the eastern comparatively dry. Even in the latter the rainfall is from 80 to 90 inches, and on the western side something like 120 inches, while in certain districts it rises to 250 inches. If you accommodate yourself to the climate and live a temperate and sensible life you will enjoy as good health in Ceylon as at home.

Mr. R. N. G. BINGLEY: I arrived in England only three days ago, after an absence of nearly eight years, and though I am supposed to know something about Java (and ought to do so, seeing I have lived there for nearly twenty years), I never expected to be called upon to address an audience like this without some preparation. There were, however, a few points upon which I would like to make a few remarks. It was there suggested that Java is not a good field for the young planter to start life in. I cannot agree with that view. Java has lately been the centre of the inflow of an enormous amount of capital, especially British, with one result—the supply of planters, managers, and assistants is altogether below the demand. So much is this the case that there are many managers drawing salaries which no one would have thought of paying two years ago, and which would make many Ceylon men jump out of their skin at the thought of; sometimes it is a case of managers being practically bought out of the service of the older companies, so urgent is the demand for suitable men. The same applies in a minor degree to assistants who, if any good, can command a different scale of salary from what was the case. Speaking from long experience of Java, and being connected with some twenty estates as agent or director, I can state that at the present time nowhere in the world are there such good opportunities for young men of the right kind. Of course, we don't want the "slugs" and the "idiots" of the family, but if you can send us good men we can do a good deal with them. I absolutely agree with what Professor Dunstan said as to the value to embryo planters of a proper

training at an agricultural college before going out to the East. As regards the question of tea, Mr. Ferguson, in speaking of the increase of Ceylon's annual export to 200 million pounds, as against Java's 38 millions, suggested a comparison which is not quite complete. I think he should have added that up to ten years ago our production in Java was under 15 millions. I don't know what the production of Ceylon was ten years ago, but I am sure that the increase in Java tea in the last ten years is quite out of comparison with that of Ceylon. Some twenty years ago what was generally known as "Java tea" was produced almost entirely from the Chinese variety of the plant, which made an inferior article, with the result that the tea got a bad name on the London market. Since then, however, the best Indian and Ceylon seed (chiefly the Assam variety) has been almost universally used, and during the last ten years the prejudice against Java-grown teas has been gradually broken down, and at the present moment Java tea is going up rapidly not only as regards production but also quality, and is quite up to the Ceylon tea in the average, and fetches about the same price, in some cases more. One word as regards the reference to the proposed extension of cultivation of Robusta coffee in the Malay States. That is a matter which requires very careful consideration beforehand. Robusta coffee has been a very fine thing in Java, and is so still; but it must be remembered the Dutch planters imported *selected* seed and plants of this and other equally good varieties from the countries where they were indigenous, and have taken good care to secure and use only the best seed ever since. If, however, a big demand from other countries for this seed commences, the natural result will be the export of a lot of seed which does not fulfil the conditions of selection which have hitherto existed, and you may be sure it will not be the Java planters who will come off second best. There is a matter of especial interest at the present moment in connection with Java upon which Mr. Ferguson has asked me to say a few words—the security of property. I suppose he had in mind the discussions during the last few months about the rights and titles of the big freeholds in Java, several of which have passed into English hands. I think there has been quite unnecessary excitement about this question. I know the authorities in Java and many at The Hague, and I believe I am right in saying there is nothing to fear as long as the properties are properly managed and the large native resident population properly treated. The Hague Government have passed a law in order to establish their right to expropriate these freeholds in cases where they thought necessary,

but it was expressly provided that such a policy would only be adopted if in the opinion of the Netherlands Indian Government—the Governor-General in Council—it was considered necessary in the general interest. The case of each freehold estate which it was proposed to expropriate would have to be individually dealt with by the Government at The Hague. I do not think there is the least fear that expropriation is likely in the case of the freeholds which have been bought by English companies, and which in all cases I know of are being developed with an enormous amount of capital as fast as they can be, and which are appreciating every year in value to the advantage of Government, native population and shareholders alike. The expropriation of the so-called "sovereign rights," even if the Government did decide upon the desirability of these reverting to itself, is not, in my opinion, of the great importance that people seem to think, because the chief object on all these estates is to encourage as much labour as possible to settle, and one result of this policy is that on many of the estates in question free labour is being gradually dropped altogether or the payment in lieu of same reduced to a minimum. I do not think that the right of exacting free labour is of great importance from an economical point of view, or a matter about which the shareholders need trouble themselves much. In any case, an experience of nearly twenty years under the Dutch-Indian Government convinces me that those who have an interest in the colony may rely upon fair and equitable treatment in these matters, whatever the final decision is.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ferguson for his interesting lecture and for the beautiful photographs he has exhibited. I thought I heard him cast some sort of aspersion upon the possibilities of the climate in the Malay Peninsula—a subject on which I feel deeply. I lived in that country for twenty years, and I like to remember how hot it was—now that I am out of it. I understood him to say that the heat in the low country in Ceylon was so great that he did not believe it could be hotter in Malaya. Mr. Ferguson's capacity for belief must be somewhat limited. The difference between the heat in the Straits Settlements, practically all the year round, and in the low country about Colombo during March, April, and May, is precisely that described by Mark Twain when he said that the difference between what the English called the "hot" and the "cool" season in Calcutta was that the hot weather melted a brass door handle, whereas the cool weather only made it mushy. Anyone interested in the large freehold estates in

Java will have listened with great interest to Mr. Bingley's remarks as to the security of their property, and I trust will carry away a feeling of greater confidence than they had before. But, after all, is it quite discreet of us that at this moment we in England should be talking about the security of property—in Java? There is only one topic on which I should like to speak—a matter which really is the base and foundation of all success of agriculture in the tropics—I mean the question of labour. The people in the tropics are what people who live in temperate zones are accustomed to call lazy. With a horror far greater they would describe us as energetic. That being so, the problem how manual labour is to be performed by Asiatics on any given agricultural property supervised by Europeans becomes a matter of great difficulty for the European planter to solve. In the Malay Peninsula you have an enormous country of virgin forests spreading over hundreds and hundreds of square miles, out of which the estates which have been made are only, as it were, nicks in the trunk of an enormous tree. In Ceylon you have a country handled for thousands of years—probably hardly an inch that has not been cultivated at one time or another. But you have an extremely industrious people, the Tamils, who from time immemorial have come in a great stream into Ceylon, and the proximity of the island to Southern India makes it the easiest point for the emigration of the surplus (Tamil) population, and therefore we are to some extent in a better position than the Malay Peninsula, which is really one enormous forest with an average of hardly more than three or four human beings to the square mile. On the other hand, you have in Java not only climatic conditions which can surpass those of Ceylon and rival those of the Malay Peninsula, but also an enormously industrious indigenous population, which is not to be equalled in any other part of the tropical world. That is a great factor which Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula have to encounter, when you regard the possibility of Java becoming a formidable rival for agricultural products.

INTRODUCTION OF PARA RUBBER IN THE MALAY STATES

(*A comment by H. N. Ridley*)^a

ON account of the importance of the subject we give, at some length, the main parts of a statement made by Mr. Henry N. Ridley, C.M.G. (of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore), showing clearly, and

incontestably, to whom credit is due for the introduction of rubber into the Malay States, for which it has accomplished so much. A myth, showing signs of great vitality, has grown up in connection with this subject, and Mr. Ridley is anxious that credit should be given where credit is due. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., who dealt at considerable length with this matter in a paper on "Ceylon, the Malay States, and Java," read before the Institute on November 29 last, was altogether mistaken, it appears, in attributing to Sir Hugh Low the introduction, and to Sir Frank Swettenham the active encouragement of the industry in the Malay States. The "absolutely correct account" of the beginning of the rubber industry, to quote from the *Ceylon Observer*, which is Mr. Ferguson's own property and under his editorship, is that published by Mr. Ridley in June 1903, again in June 1910, and now summarised in a communication from Mr. Ridley to the Ceylon paper.

It is with some surprise and much regret that I read in your lecture to the Royal Colonial Institute a reiteration of the myth as to the introduction of Para rubber and its cultivation in the Malay Peninsula. It is an entirely erroneous story which I disproved long ago in the "Agricultural Bulletin" (a copy of which I send you). Sir Hugh Low did *not* introduce the Para rubber tree at all from Ceylon or elsewhere. The plants were sent to the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, from Kew, and some were planted in Perak by Mr. Murton, of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, some in Sir Hugh Low's garden, and others (which Low never saw) in other parts of Perak. But it was not from the descendants of these trees that the Peninsula was planted up to any large extent, but from the trees propagated by Mr. Cantley in the Botanic Gardens in Singapore, whence in reality the whole industry sprung.

Of the part played by Sir Frank Swettenham in this I have not fully dilated in my articles on the industry and foundation of the cultivation. He did not believe in the value of the cultivation till he left Singapore, and a few days before that reprimanded me for wasting time on cultivating the tree. Previously, when at length I had worried the planters into trying this cultivation, a Dyak was told to ascend to the top of one of the old trees of Sir Hugh's date and get some rubber. The Dyak did so, and came back and said there was none. Soon after, down came over one hundred of the finest trees in the Peninsula. Mr. R. Derry then attacked the rest of the trees and took out a quantity of first-class rubber and sold it in London at a good price, and stopped the reaction against rubber which set in immediately the story was published that an official had proved the Para tree valueless.

Since the *Hevea* cultivation has proved a success all kinds of people have come to the front and calmly annexed the credit, in spite of the fact that they never did anything at all in the matter; and it eventually became necessary for

me to expose their impostures, which I did in the "Agricultural Bulletin". Still a story once started takes a great deal of time to catch up, especially if it happens to be quite mythical. It was to Messrs. Murton and Cantley that the F.M.S. owe their estates and not to Sir Hugh Low nor Sir Frank Swettenham. Sir Hugh was indeed a great agriculturist, and must rank next to Raffles as all round the greatest man we have had here. If he had remained here, agriculture would have been a century ahead of its present day status; but much of his work was destroyed after he left. The whole story—from documents, letters, archives, and actual knowledge on my part—is published in the "Bulletin," and is indisputable.⁹

It is to be hoped that this explicit statement of Mr. Ridley, which, so far as we know, has never been contradicted, may go a long way towards the establishment of the real facts in this matter. But myths are hard to kill, especially when they are once firmly rooted.

1. Alfred Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, London, Macmillan & Co., 1869. The quotation is an edited version of the material which appears on pp. 75-6 of the book.

2. Cuthbert Woodville Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States*, London, The Malay States Information Agency, 1911.

3. In the event the Dutch authorities did not encourage organized emigration to Malaya, and threw obstacles in the way of individuals who wished to emigrate on their own.

4. J. W. B., *Money, Java, or How to Manage a Colony*, Horst and Blackett, London, 1861.

5. This material, slightly edited, is taken from Swettenham's *British Malaya*, London, John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1929 ed., pp. 270-1.

6. Taken from Swettenham, *British Malaya*, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

7. Taken with slight changes from Swettenham, *ibid.*, p. 297.

8. This was published several months after Ferguson's talk in *United Empire*, now series 2, 11 (Nov. 1911), pp. 798-9.

9. Ridley's views on the beginnings of the rubber industry are contained in the following articles which he published in the *Agricultural Bulletin of the Straits and Federated Malay States*; viz., 'The History of the Introduction of Para Rubber into the Malay Peninsula', vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1903), pp. 2-4; 'The History and Development of Agriculture in the Malay Peninsula', vol. 2, no. 1 (Aug. 1905), pp. 292-317; 'Historical Notes on the Rubber Industry', vol. 9, no. 6 (June 1910), pp. 201-14.

The Federated Malay States

Ernest W. Birch12 March 1912

Chairman: Sir John Anderson

Part I

IN preparing this paper I was very interested to find that in the lecture which Sir Frederick Weld gave in 1884 before the Members of the Royal Colonial Institute, he used for the first time the term "British Malaya." That title has since been adopted by Sir Frank Swettenham for his classic work published in 1906. The term now covers a much larger territory—countries of great potentialities which have expanded in some direction or other under the influence of every Administrator who has controlled them, and from which almost every Civil Servant has parted with pardonable pride and natural affection.

The Governor of the Straits Settlements and the High Commissioner has under his government Singapore, Penang, Province Wellesley, Malacca, the Cocos and Christmas Islands, Labuan and Brunei and the Malay Sultanates of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Johore, Kedah, Trengganu and Kelantan. These countries aggregate over 56,000 square miles in area, or in other words are very nearly the size of England and Wales. To-night I propose to confine my paper to the four Federated Malay States: Perak, Selangor, the Negri Sembilan, and Pahang.

Some 8,000 miles away from England, in the Straits of Malacca, half-way between Ceylon and Hong Kong, on the mainland of the Peninsula lie the Federated Malay States. It had been the policy of the Government of India, up to the time when in 1867 they handed over the Colony of the Straits Settlements to the care of the Colonial Office, to refrain from interfering with the Malay States in the Peninsula. No less an authority than the late Sir William Maxwell, who served for many years in British Malaya and acquired a profound knowledge of the Malays, was of the opinion that, if in 1874

we had persisted in that policy of non-interference, we should have practically permitted independent Chinese colonies to be formed. It is sufficient to say that the proximate cause which led to the appointment of British Residents in these States was the presence, in large numbers, of Chinese in the Peninsula and the powerlessness of the Malays to control them. Civil wars were going on both in Perak and Selangor, and the main thing fought for was the power to collect the revenue from the tin-mines worked by the Chinese. Fortunately at this time a man of energy and decision, Sir Andrew Clarke, was Governor of the Straits. On January 20, 1874, a document known as the Treaty of Pangkor was signed, by which the Sultan of Perak was to receive a British Officer whose advice was to be asked and acted upon in all matters other than those relating to Malay religion and custom; while the collection and control of all revenues and the general administration were to be regulated under the advice of that officer. This policy was extended to the States of Selangor and Sungei Ujong, and before the end of 1874 British Residents were posted to those States. Later, in 1883, Sir Frederick Weld induced the group of small states (called the *Negri Sembilan* or Nine States) to accept a Resident, and lastly, in 1888, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith executed a similar agreement with the Sultan of Pahang—a large State on the east coast.

The first time that the British public became interested in these developments in the Malay States was when, in the winter of 1875, the placards of all the London newspapers gave the news that Mr. J. W. W. Birch, the British Resident in Perak, had been assassinated. That was how, on the station platform at Scarborough, I heard of the death of my father. A punitive expedition followed. The actual murderers, amongst whom were included two chiefs, were executed, and the two rival Sultans were banished.

In 1880 Sir Frederick Weld became Governor. The settlement of new countries appealed to a man who had spent his life in New Zealand and Tasmania, and his was the nature to entirely appreciate the courtesy of the Malay. It is no exaggeration of language to say that he delighted in paying long visits to the Native States, in travelling (not an easy matter in those days, even for young men) over those beautiful countries, and that he enjoyed to an extraordinary degree the interviews which he held (through interpreters) with Malay chiefs, who, knowing that the Governor was always accessible, often came to Singapore to air some grievance or prefer some claim. Sir Frederick had as his advisers Mr. (now Sir) Cecil

Clementi Smith, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. (now Sir) Frank Swettenham, the Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs. No man was better or more ably served. In Perak Sir Hugh Low was Resident. He served in that office from 1876 to 1889, and I cannot do better than quote what he wrote when he retired:

It has been the policy of the various Governors under whom I have served to take care that the natives of the country should share in the prosperity brought about by the development of its resources through the enterprising Chinese adventurers, and I am happy in the knowledge that after an administration of twelve years I leave all classes in greatly improved circumstances, and many of the chiefs enjoying incomes of considerable magnitude.

He might have added that he left a surplus of £210,000 which was spent on railway construction. He died at the ripe age of eighty-one, and his name, affectionately pronounced as one word, often falls from the lips of Perak Malays to this day.

My first visit to the Native States was paid, at Sir Frederick Weld's suggestion, early in 1883. He had made a progress on pony-back through the Western States, and so arduous was the journey that it is reputed that thirteen ponies died. I undertook the journey on foot, and was accompanied by a friend or two for various stages. I believe that I am the only white man who has walked from Malacca to Butterworth,¹ the town in Province Wellesley which is opposite to Penang. My journey was along native paths and bridle-paths with but few primitive roads; for many miles through forest, through padi-fields, and over hills of no mean size. I visited coffee estates and tin-mines. Sir Hugh Low took me for a trip on the Perak river, and I met many Malays who had known and who spoke of my father. It is marvellous to think how the face of the country has changed since then. You can now take this journey, with variations, in the comfortable saloon carriage of a mail train with electric fans, and have your meals served on board the train.

RAILWAYS

The first railway opened in Perak was in 1885, a short length from Port Weld to Taiping, and the first in Selangor was in 1886 connecting the port of Klang with Kuala Lumpur. Since then addition have been made with great regularity whenever the finances of the States permitted, until at the end of 1910 there were 658 miles of railway

open in the Peninsula. The capital account now exceeds six millions sterling and there is a profit on working of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. You can travel now from Penang by the railway steamer to Prai in Province Wellesley—a journey of half an hour—enter the train there and go through Perak, Selangor, the Negri Sembilan, Malacca, and Johore to Singapore after crossing the Johore Straits (twenty minutes in a railway launch). At Ipoh, in Perak, you can branch off and go by rail to visit the Tronoh mines; at Tapah you can be shunted and visit Telok Anson, the port of Perak on the Perak river; at Kuala Lumpur you can stop and visit Port Swettenham, the port of Selangor; at Seremban you can alight and visit Port Dickson, the port of the Negri Sembilan; at Tampin you can get out and pay a visit to the historic old town of Malacca; at Gemas, in Johore, you can break your journey and run up to Triang in Pahang. The whole of this magnificent work has been constructed out of surplus revenue without having recourse to any loans, and there is yet much to be done. In Selangor a line is under construction along the whole of the coast line from the mouth of the Selangor river to Klang. In Perak a line will, it is hoped, be soon commenced to connect Gopeng with Ipoh. The Pahang line now at Triang is to be continued to the northernmost border of Kelantan and the Federated Malay States Government is, under the Treaty with Siam, bound to lend that Power four millions sterling to connect the Kelantan railway with the existing system at Bangkok. The money is to be paid in fixed annual instalments, and the loan is repayable in, I believe, forty years. The railway is to be built to the satisfaction of British engineers in the employ of the Malay States. It will be seen, therefore, that the Government, in order to carry out its engagements, must continue to tax the larger industries, tin and rubber, which flourish within its territories.

Not less admirable than this railway is the network of metalled roads which take the traveller all over the Federated Malay States. There are almost 2,000 miles of metalled roads and about 1,700 miles of unmetalled roads and bridle-paths. The metalled roads are the pride of the Public Works Department and the admiration of visitors to the States. Their perfection is so great that residents of the Malay States consider themselves entitled to grumble if they are allowed to get even temporarily out of order. In the districts where there is the greatest traffic they are being widened to eighteen feet of metalling; and you can roll over them in motors of high speed, through growing padi, through miles of rubber plantations, through dark

forest reserves, through Malay orchards and homesteads, past towns of all sizes, round weird limestone rocks that rise from 100 to 1,200 feet from the plain, over streams and rivers red with mining silt, over clear and beautiful rivers, the largest of which, the Perak river, is crossed by a pontoon bridge 1,400 feet long resting on fifty iron pontoons, through scenery that fascinates and charms the eye, round sharply curving corners, along precipices when hill passes are traversed, until you reach your destination, and can honestly say that the officials of the Public Works Department have done their duty.

Next the buildings in Malaya astonish the visitor. In 1883, so far as I recollect, every building was of wood and not the most respectable were the abodes of the Sultans and chiefs. Now Kuala Lumpur is a town of magnificent edifices. The Sultans have palaces (the Sultan of Perak has built two for himself besides his official Astana), the Residents live in Residencies which give the acme of comfort, officials and unofficials have substantial houses, all the important schools are in capacious and ornamental buildings, convents and churches, two huge museums, solid prisons constructed on up-to-date principles, clubs and recreation grounds in all centres, racecourses in four or five. All Public Departments are concentrated in huge public offices. English banks have established themselves in most of the chief towns. The principal European firms have spent money on their godowns and the chief Chinese have emulated their example. Shopkeepers carry on business in shops of brick and mortar with tiled roofs. Motor cars, motor buses, private carriages, gharis of various shapes, bullock carts, jinrickshas are met with everywhere. So is the face of these countries changed.

The principal factor in this change has been tin. It has been the mainstay of the Malay States ever since the British Protectorate was established. Out of the tin duty and the concomitant revenues supplied by miners, have been built its towns, railways, roads, and public buildings. It was tin that first introduced the Malay States to the notice of the outside world and attracted a huge immigration of Chinese labourers.

MINERALS

Tin, wolfram, gold, and, recently, coal have been found in the Federated Malay States. In 1908, a Malay found pieces of black coal in the bed of a small stream near a forest reserve in Selangor. Recent prospecting has proved the outcrop for a distance of three and a half

miles and down to a depth of 150 feet. It is a comparatively young coal, and as such cannot be expected to rival in value the older coals of the Carboniferous period. A proved marketable tonnage of 3,200,000 tons, over an area of 156 acres, and the likelihood of a much larger area being proved, points to the probability of this coal-field exerting a considerable influence over the destinies of the Federated Malay States, where the industries are dependent on expensive imported coal or firewood, the difficulty of obtaining which is increasing. A chemist of high authority in the City of London has recently placed the calorific value of this coal at about three-quarters that of Cardiff steam coal. Wolfram has occurred with tin in a great many places, but so far in small quantities only—the annual export being only about 90 tons. It is rumoured that there is a veritable hill of wolfram of great potential value in Trengganu. Alluvial gold has been worked, probably for hundreds of years, by the Siamese, and is now worked by Malays in some parts of Pahang. Quartz mining has attracted European capital in the past, but results have flattered only to deceive. The one exception is the Raub mine in Pahang, but this mine should be taken not as an exception, but as an indication of the probability of there being other payable lodes of gold-bearing quartz existing over that very wide stretch of country in Pahang geologically favourable to gold. The Raub mine is a low-grade proposition. It has been worked to a depth of 740 feet; crushing commenced in 1890, and so far 210,000 ounces of gold of a value of but little less than £4 per ounce have been produced.

Alluvial tin ore may be said to exist abundantly in the western States and sparsely in the eastern State of Pahang. Its mode of occurrence is so varied that hours might be spent in discussing the various formations, but it is sufficient to say that, topographically, it is found from the tops of mountains, thousands of feet high, down to the lowest swamps, and from the roots of the surface grass to depths of from one to two hundred feet. The tin-mining industry has always attracted Chinese labour in its thousands and, under an enlightened Government and in the gradual course of the civilisation and instruction of the Chinese labourer, systems of labour have undergone a great change. In the early days of the Larut tin-fields, the labourer was employed only on wages or on piece-work, and he had little direct interest in the prospects of the mine, except that if the mine turned out poorly his wages suffered accordingly. On the supposition that tin-ore was smelted only once or twice a year, and was *then* convertible into cash, the Chinese labourer was only able to

obtain a settlement of his wages at these two periods. For his daily necessities he received *advances* carrying a high rate of interest against the wages he had earned. The employer always kept a shop at which the labourer was compelled to obtain all his food, clothing, and opium, and so at the close of the year, when the final settlement was made, the labourer found himself, after his advances and interest had been paid, with little more than his coat and trousers, and was driven to enter into another engagement with another employer on the same terms. It is no wonder that the employer waxed rich and was able to build palaces in Penang and Singapore. That the Chinese labourers should have poured into the country under these adverse labour circumstances speaks volumes for the healthy and happy lives they were able to spend in it. With the discovery of the richness of the Kinta tin-field—the largest producing tin-field in the world—the system of labour changed. Land was given out to the first applicant, and was held by thousands, rich and poor, and not, as in Larut, by a favoured few. A system of working the land on tribute² became general, and the inequality of the surface deposits made this system exceptionally favourable. Under this system the labourer had a direct interest in the prosperity of the mine. Chinese labourers in their thousands poured into Perak, and those who succeeded brought in their poor relations. The tribute system is now general all over the Peninsula. It has proved the existence of more regular and more valuable deep deposits, and for the exploitation of these deposits capital and engineering skill have been required and the field has been opened for European enterprise.

The most common methods by which Chinese work are open-cast, which is excellent, or by shafting in dry ground, which is wasteful in that it leaves patches of tin between shafts and, when the mine is converted into an open-cast mine, causes untold trouble. The methods of European mining are various: hydraulic sluicing has proved probably the cheapest and most efficacious. Another method much in vogue of recent years is the erection of floating barges supplied with suction dredge plants. A recent innovation is the introduction of bucket and grab dredges. If the tin-bearing ground is of a clayey nature, it is first of all puddled to disintegrate it thoroughly, and then the separation of the tin-ore from the sand, clay, and other impurities is effected either in long Chinese sluice-boxes or in long launders into which are inserted riffles. It is reworked for sale by Chinese tin-dressers whose skill is a marvel to behold. If the ore contains arsenic or sulphur it is roasted and reworked, and if

there is any wolfram present it is passed through a magnetic separator. The ore is then dried either artificially or in the sun, and is ready for the smelter, who, if a European, purchases after assay, or if a Chinaman, by eye and with marvellous accuracy. From the smelter it is shipped to all parts of the world, and is, on account of its great purity, much sought after in the tin-plate trade.

The chief smelters are the Straits Trading Company who have been in the Malay States since 1886, whose presence greatly facilitated the opening of the Kinta Valley and also of the Sungei Besi Valley in Selangor, and who in olden days were, in lean times, of great assistance to the miners and so indirectly to the Government. They have magnificent smelting works on an island near Singapore and also at Butterworth, opposite Penang. The Eastern Smelting Company was started in 1907 and has its headquarters in Penang. Then there are some large Chinese smelting furnaces in various parts of the Peninsula, notably those belonging to Leong Fee, the owner of the Tambun mine in Perak.

No reference to tin-mining in Malaya would be complete without some allusion to the part played by native women—Chinese chiefly, Malays in considerable number, and some Indians who, with shallow wooden plates, wash tin-ore in old mines, in the dumps and ditches of working mines, and in rivers and streams.³ Some 10,000 of these women are granted free passes by Government and recover a very appreciable amount of tin on which duty is paid to Government, and which would, but for their labour, be lost. They earn for themselves and their families from 30s. to £3 a month.

I now come to the vexed question of the tin-duty. The duty used to be 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, but, after Federation and at the first meeting of all the Rulers and Chiefs, held in Perak in July 1897, it was fixed on a sliding scale, the duty going up or down as the price of tin increased or decreased. It must be remembered that this fixation of duty was determined on when the price of tin was in the neighbourhood of £70 per ton and that it received the cordial approval of the Chinese miners who were present and were consulted when it was fixed. It seems unreasonable to object to it now when tin is in the neighbourhood of £190 per ton.⁴ It is true that a royalty of about 13 per cent. is very unusual, but it must be remembered again that the charge is made by Government for the depletion of its capital by the removal of a metal which is probably the only metal that does not return to the country of its origin. In 1909 the Government slightly altered the sliding scale of duty fixed in 1897 and made a sacrifice of

about £100,000 per annum of its tin revenue. I believe and hope that when it is proved to the Government beyond doubt that in individual cases mining is, by nature of the deposit or by remoteness of the situation, inordinately costly, such special circumstances will be met by some rebate on the duty.

Tin has fluctuated enormously in price and there have been fluctuations in the quantity of the output and in the labour force employed. The output of the Federated Malay States is about 45,000 tons (of which Perak claims about 57 per cent.), worth over £6,650,000. The number of persons engaged in mining in 1910 exceeded 170,000.

OPIUM

Closely connected with tin-mining and the presence in the Peninsula of over 400,000 Chinese is, of course, the opium question. The worst form of obtaining a revenue from opium has never been general in the Malay States, viz. the putting up for public tender the right to sell chandu or prepared opium. Such a form has existed in the Coast districts where there was no tin-mining, but it would never have found favour with miners. The method of collecting the revenue was to charge, outside the Coast districts, a duty of £65 per chest. A manufacturing licence was taken out by a shopkeeper or by a mine manager, and the chandu, adulterated with opium dross, was sold to those who wanted it at a price which left, of course, a fair profit to the cooker. At the end of 1908 the duty was raised to £140, and at the end of 1909 to £186 per chest. The Government of the Straits Settlements has now undertaken the preparation of all opium at a Government standard, and this chandu is sold at very enhanced prices by the Government of the Federated Malay States through licensed dealers. In Perak that sale has been placed in as few hands as possible to ensure a certain amount of respectability in the traders and to provide as far as possible against adulteration. The smoking of chandu has been forbidden in all public places licensed by Government, except, of course, in opium saloons, and it is not allowed to be included amongst the articles supplied by miners to their coolies. The so-called "opium dens" of the Malay States are clean, airy, open rooms, properly ventilated; licensees of these saloons are prohibited from carrying on any business other than that of opium smoking in any part of the house. During my tenure of the office of Resident in Perak for the last seven years I have often discussed with towkays this

question of chandu smoking, and have been invariably told that it was on the decrease. The awakening of public opinion in China during the last three years has tended towards this decrease. Since measures have been taken to restrict its use by increasing its cost to the user there has been an ominous increase in the importation of spirituous liquor in the Federated Malay States, and an increase in the more insidious vice of injecting morphia or cocaine.

GAMBLING

The presence of a large Chinese population brings home to the Government of the Federated Malay States the necessity for controlling the vice of public gambling. You must either suppress it, which is the euphonious term for forbidding it, as has been done in the Colony of the Straits Settlements, or you must regulate it. No reasonable person, of course, supposes that it has been suppressed in the Colony, and no one, with any knowledge of Chinese, is so sanguine as to think that it can be suppressed in the Malay States. It has been a great consolation to us in the Federated Malay States that our Police Force, except for petty squeezes by its Indian members, has been free from corruption. In eighteen years I have never once heard it suggested that there is corruption in the Force. Hitherto the right to open gambling tables in such places as the Government permitted—practically in all townships—has been let by public tender. These tables have always been in conspicuous places at the corners of streets, have been well kept and well lighted. They have always been open to inspection by the police, and notorious evil-livers and thieves have known that they were under continual surveillance if they frequented them. They have been to some extent, therefore, an assistance rather than a hindrance to the police. There have been occasional rows and fights, and once or twice a serious riot. They have been almost invariably traced to the fact that some player or players have suspected the croupier of unfair play, but disturbances have been exceedingly rare. A well-known Member of Parliament suggested to me some years ago that we should only license gambling houses in out-of-the-way places, on the outskirts of townships, in back streets; that we should minimise the attractions to people to gamble. That would, I fear, lead to worse evils—to the collection of bad characters, who would hope in such places to escape surveillance and detection, and to constant disturbances of the peace. It is, of course, well not to give the enemy

occasion to blaspheme, but it is quite useless, for the enemy always blasphemes whether he has occasion or not.

THE CHINESE

So far I appear only to have alluded to the vices of the Chinese. I hasten to disabuse the minds of my audience of a bad impression. The Chinaman is many-sided and, as a consequence, he is a very desirable immigrant and citizen from the Government point of view. He is extraordinarily industrious, he can learn any trade, he succeeds in every branch of business, he ingratiate himself for his own purposes with the people of the country, he will take up almost any contract, he is always ready to supply a want, he is fearless in that he will open a little shop and trade far away in the interior—though he knows that the Malay thinks but lightly of the value of a Chinaman's life—but he is a coward in open conflict, and large numbers can easily be dispersed by a resolute few in times of riot; he is faithful if he likes you and will take punishment without a murmur if he knows that he is in the wrong; if he passes his word in business to a white man he will stick to his word, and this in spite of the fact that it is precious to his soul to get the best of a bargain; he is full of filial affection and kind to the poor. I have known and liked many Chinese towkays, and have found them, with the rarest exceptions, fair-dealing. They are great believers in luck, and will follow a Government officer and act on his advice if he is considered to be lucky. Similarly, they will invest money in any place in which they see that Government money is being spent. In the earlier days of my service, I was for a considerable period a land officer. In Singapore, the gambier and pepper planters, and in Malacca the tapioca planters (always Chinese) encroached right and left on Crown land and felled virgin forest. I discovered many encroachments and extracted large fines from the offenders, but with the rarest exceptions none of them bore me any ill-will. I left Malacca in 1892, and one of these encroachers has sent me a Christmas card every year since then. Soon after I became Secretary to the Government of Perak in 1893, I was told that two Chinese wished to see me. They told me that some few years back they had held a Government farm and had failed. They wished to pay their debts, which amounted, I think, to \$17,000. When subscriptions were raised throughout British Possessions to relieve the widows and children of those who fell in the South African War many Chinese came forward and contributed

with the greatest generosity. Five subscribers to the Fund gave amongst them £5,000. In the convict establishment at Taiping carpet making was started as an industry. An instructor came down from India to teach the long-sentence prisoners how to make carpets. One Chinaman, after watching the loom for some time, told the Superintendent that he knew how to make carpets. He was given another loom and told to make one. He did it to his own pattern and inserted the figures 1909 in it. It is quite a nice carpet and is in my possession. A brother officer of mine came up to a beautiful hill bungalow in Perak, 4,000 feet up in the Taiping hills, to spend a few days with me. When he went down, as a memento of the visit he wrote out the words:

“Beatus ille qui procul negotiis”—

and a Chinese village carpenter has carved those words in raised Old English letters out of one of our hardest woods so perfectly that the work could not be bettered in London or elsewhere. The rich Chinaman delights in motor-cars and excellent carriages. His horse-flesh is generally of the best. Many Chinese are fond of racing; some play football and hockey, and some shoot pigeon and snipe.

AGRICULTURE

A great many forms of agriculture have flourished in the Malay States. The chief of these have been tapioca, gambier, pepper, sugar, Liberian coffee, coconuts, rice, and rubber. Of these practically only the last three remain and, with the exception of coffee, I do not regret the loss of the others. Some day I hope that coffee may be revived.

The first official mention of rubber in the Malay States is contained in the administration report of Sir Hugh Low for 1883. He wrote: “Specimens of rubber from six-year-old plants of *Hevea Braziliensis* in the Government Experimental Gardens have been collected.” In various parts of the Federated Malay States there are magnificent old specimen trees to be seen of huge size which will produce upwards of 20 lb. of latex, but it was not till some ten years later that planters began to turn their attention to the cultivation of Para rubber for commercial purposes. Of recent years the Government has thrown itself heart and soul into the question of assisting the cultivation of rubber. It has established an Agricultural Department with a highly-paid director, a mycologist and an entomologist. It has issued loans to a very large amount which for

the most part have been since repaid. It has established a Labour Department to further Indian immigration, and it has listened to the Planters' Associations and brought in regulations dealing with the cultivation of rubber and sale of latex. As a set-off against this assistance it has decreed that all lands granted since 1905 shall after six years bear a quit rent of \$4 or 9s. 4d. per acre, and it levies an export duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*.⁵ The climate, with its constant rainfall, is ideal for the growth of rubber, the soil for the most part exactly suitable, the road and rail communications of the very best, and yet British people, representing large rubber interests in London, have unfavourably compared the conditions in British Malaya to those of Dutch possessions in Netherlands India. But the Government of the Malay States is able to adhere to its conditions and meet the requirements of those who will still apply to it for land, and it knows what others fail to realise, that there is a vast amount of work before it in further extending its road system, in constructing branch railways to meet ever-increasing centres of population, and in making the loan which it has guaranteed to Siam. In 1910 there were 245,000 acres under rubber, and twelve and a quarter million pounds of dry rubber were exported, worth nearly four and a half millions sterling.

LABOUR

On the estates of the Federated Malay States—chiefly, of course, rubber—there are employed 95,000 natives of India; 40,000 Chinese; 23,000 Malays, of whom half are Javanese. Sir William Taylor,⁶ who has taken keen interest in the immigration of natives of India and to whom the success of the organisation of it is largely due, has kindly described it for me as follows:

Systematic recruiting in India of labour for the Federated Malay States is permitted by the Government of India in the Presidency of Madras only. To facilitate the introduction of this labour a weekly service each way, in large and well-found steamers specially adapted for the purpose, is maintained by the British India Steam Navigation Company under contract with, and subsidised by, the Government. Depôts are kept up at Madras and Negapatam for the accommodation of labourers waiting to embark for the Malay Peninsula, a European Superintendent with a sufficient staff being in charge at each place. Native Agents are stationed in all districts of the Madras Presidency to assist in recruiting labour.

Depôts are maintained at Penang and Port Swettenham, the ports of disembarkation for the accommodation of labourers on arrival and before

proceeding to estates. An Indian Immigration Department, with headquarters at Penang, looks after immigration and controls arrangements both in India and the Malay Peninsula. The cost of the passage of labourers from South India to the Malay Peninsula is defrayed from a fund known as the Immigration Fund, into which the proceeds of an assessment levied on all employers of Tamil labour is paid. This assessment is paid by Government departments as well as by private employers, and is calculated upon the number of days' work done for each employer by his Tamil labourers. Employers desiring to increase their labour force by recruiting from India obtain from the Immigration Department licences for some of the most capable of their Tamil labourers whom they send over to Southern India. The licences provide that the labourers recruited thereunder shall be introduced into the Federated Malay States free of debt and that the cost of their bringing over shall not be charged against them. An estate on which the health is good and the management popular can obtain in this way large numbers of labourers at a cheap rate. It should be noted that no Indian labourers are now recruited under indenture, and all are at liberty at any time to leave their employment on a month's notice.

Estates on which Indian labour is employed are visited at frequent intervals by the officers of the Immigration Department with a view to seeing that the provisions of the "Indian Immigration Enactment" for the preservation of the health and welfare of the labourers are being observed. It is the duty of these officers to see that the labourers are healthy and well cared for, that their house accommodation is sufficient and proper, that there is a sufficient supply of wholesome water, that the sanitary arrangements are sufficient and proper, that provision is made for the medical attendance of the sick, that a sufficient quantity of medicine of good quality is provided, and that suitable and sufficient hospital accommodation is available. The enactments dealing with the subject further provide that in the event of estates or localities where Indian labourers are employed being found unsuitable or unfit for their residence or employment the further employment of labourers in such places may be prohibited.

It is pleasant to note the appreciable increase in the immigration of foreign Malays. In the last decennial period the Javanese have increased in numbers from 7,500 to 29,000. I firmly believe that, as more and more rubber comes into the tapping stage, the employment of Malays will increase. The Malay is clever with a knife (men, women, and children equally so), and to sit in the shade and tap rubber-trees⁷ will surely appeal to his temperament as an attractive way of earning a wage. The one drawback is that the Malay will not work for longer periods or with greater regularity than his inclination moves him. For this reason his employment was scorned. Yet when I visited a well-known estate in Perak, managed by a skilled

planter who had served years of apprenticeship in Ceylon and who knew the Tamil character and language intimately, I had the satisfaction of seeing the latex brought in by over 120 persons, of whom all but one were Malays. Many efforts have been made by Government to induce the immigration of natives of India and of Chinese by establishing settlements within the confines of which they would engage in agriculture, but they have all failed, the immigrant wandering away to earn wages.

The cultivation of coconuts has increased very largely. In it there is a satisfactory and safe investment, but the British public think that it is too long to wait for their returns. It is a pity, for it is a form of cultivation to which the country and people are admirably suited, and the uses to which the kernel of the nut is put are increasing.

Rice is, of course, the staple cultivation of the natives of the Peninsula. There are few more beautiful sights than an extensive stretch of padi. For five months it is to be seen in ever-changing colours. The seed is sown in a small fenced-in-nursery. After forty days it is transferred in green sheaves, closely packed together, to the fields which have been ploughed or hoed, on to which water has been led, and in which the water is retained by little ridges built round each field. There neighbourly women, who help each other in the planting season, dibble each plant in regular line till all the sheaves are finished. Then from their houses the Malay families watch the padi grow from a yellowish green to vivid emerald, from emerald to straw colour as it ripens, and then to the golden waving grain. While it is growing it is weeded, poison is set for rats, and scarecrows for the wicked little red-brown padi birds or pipit, some with jet-black and some with snow-white heads. Then, before the heavy rains come, it is reaped. The old-fashioned take a little tucui or curved reaping-knife and snip off each head of grain, packing it into a round basket; the more practical mow it down with a sickle and, taking it by the stalks in bundles, beat off the grain into a square box. Then it is carried home where the padi bin is waiting to receive it. Many of these bins are small houses, square or round, raised off the ground and constructed some of the bark of trees and others of broad planks. Every few days as food is required, the grain is husked and pounded by the women and girls of the household. So in proportion to a good padi year is the happiness and content of a Malay family. In many parts of Malacca, in the Lenggeng Valley, in Sungei Ujong, in the Terachi Jempol and Sri Menanti valleys in Negri Sembilan, in Rembau, in parts of Perak, and above all in Krian, you may motor,

drive, ride or walk through miles of padi land; and if you know and love the Malay you can be entertained by him by the hour in discussing the methods of planting, the habits of padi pests, and the prospects of the harvest. One of the aims I have held constantly before me in a long public service has been the encouragement of the cultivation of rice. It is a pleasure, therefore, to record that the Government of Perak completed in August 1906 an irrigation scheme in Krian at a cost of £200,000 to enable some seventy or eighty thousand acres of land to be regularly planted every year. The reservoir covers ten square miles and there are two hundred miles of main and distributing canals. Until this was done the uncertainty of rain at the proper season spoiled crops and ruined the landholders, most of whom were foreign Malays settled in that glorious district of Perak. This calamity and the absence of potable water often drove the people away.

The irrigation system supplies drinking water to the principal centres, and epidemics of cholera are now of rare occurrence. As a result of the irrigation scheme the population is settled, permanent houses are being built everywhere, more roads and bridle-paths are opening up more padi land, and an immigrant Malay population is pouring in. Two prominent Chinese have erected a rice-mill at a cost of £30,000. In 1910 this mill purchased over 21,000 tons of padi—two-thirds from Krian cultivators—and milled it. It supplied all the Perak hospitals and prisons with parboiled rice and even exported rice, I am informed, to Colombo. At the request and on the advice of the Medical Department this mill does not polish the rice and so destroy its nutritive properties.

As opposed to padi land the Malay always has at least one piece of kampong land. On it he plants a variety of fruit trees—generally far too close together. He rarely confesses to a plentiful supply of fruit, but he generally gets it. The family consume a good deal. Sometimes he hawks it for sale, or puts up a little shanty by the road-side and sells it there; but oftener he trades it off to a Chinaman for such necessities as the shopkeeper has to supply. In such an orchard is the luscious mangosteen, with its claret skin; the green and spiky but evil-smelling durian, the pips of which are good when you have once acquired the taste; the sweet binjai, dearly loved of the Malacca Malay; the mango dodol, a small round, brown-green mango; many kinds of pisang or banana, the langsat, rembia, and delightful duku, the coconut, the areca-nut, and the sireh-leaf which is eaten with it and is a cousin to the pepper-vine, a little tapioca, a few yams, some

ginger, coarse and small chillies, an orange-tree or two, and some limes. If he is well off he has a patch of sago-palm or of nipah-palms, and sometimes he has inherited a dusun or large orchard away from his house. This he generally lets for its produce for the season to a Chinese so soon as the fruit trees flower and bud.

Part II

EDUCATION

As is usual in British Possessions, the importance of Education has been duly considered. There are over 350 schools in the Federated Malay States, and more than 22,000 children of both sexes are enrolled on the registers of those schools. By far the greater number are village schools, in which the Malay language is taught—reading, writing, arithmetic, and some geography. The education is free, and the Koran is taught in such schools. They do much good, because the children learn to be punctual, obedient, and cleanly. In Perak, where the attendance is not compulsory, it is very fairly regular, and I was glad to hear from the Medical Officers who inspected the children that there was no evidence of under-feeding, but little disease, and comparatively little uncleanness. The distribution of quinine and other simple medicines at these schools leads to conversation in the family circle in distant hamlets and induces adults to have recourse to British medical aid. It is very satisfactory to know that this system does not overeducate the boys, and, as an illustration of what I mean, I would mention that in one year out of 2,900 lads who left the Vernacular Schools almost all followed the avocations of their parents or relations, chiefly in agricultural pursuits. The principal schools in which English is taught are twenty-five in number, of which eight are for girls. They are either wholly Government schools, or aided schools chiefly established by Roman Catholic or Methodist Missions. With ever-increasing fields for employment in the four States of the Federation, and in those which have recently come under British protection, it is unlikely that we shall educate more lads than will meet the demand. It has already been proved that we need depend no longer on the product of Southern India or Ceylon for our clerical service. This is no small matter for congratulation because the Chinese and Malay youths, who become

clerks, are infinitely superior in character and physique. They are better English scholars and are more reliable.

I wish to say a few words about the Malay College established in the beginning of 1905. One of the earliest records of the education of Malays is to be found in the administration report of Sir Hugh Low for the year 1884. Raja Ngah Abubakar and a son of the ex-Mantri of Perak were being taught English in Taiping. I well remember two sons of ex-Sultan Abdullah learning English in Malacca. All these four have occupied important positions under Government, and though the Malay College is only seven years old more than sixty of its scholars are now in Government Service. The school is under a most excellent head master in Mr. Hargreaves, and he is running it on the lines of an English public school. It is housed in a magnificent building with spacious playgrounds set in glorious tropical scenery. It is only for Raja boys or boys of gentle birth, and nomination to it is only given by one of the Rulers of the States in consultation with his Resident or Adviser. It is situated at Kuala Kangsar, the residence of the Sultan of Perak, who often visits and takes a real interest in it, but its doors are open to all Malays of high birth in all the Malay States. The school has a Rifle Corps and a very good Association football team. Athletics are very popular with the boys; and I hope to hear that cricket is regularly played there. There are over 120 boys at the school.

HEALTH

The climate of the Federated Malay States is hot and humid. The rainfall varies in places from 65 to 180 inches per annum. The temperature ranges from 69° to 95° Fahrenheit. It would appear that living for Europeans in such a climate would be unpleasant, but it is not, for, owing to the presence of mountain ranges, the nights are cool and sleep is refreshing; it is only rarely that it is interfered with by close heat at night. With a mining population of aliens working in newly-cleared and newly-turned ground, and with a huge immigration of natives from Southern India, there must be a great deal of sickness and a high death-rate. The death-rate for the whole population is 32 per mille. The Government has established hospitals in every township and in many villages. There are hospitals on most of the estates. There are two island leper asylums, one for Malays exclusively. There is just about to be opened a central lunatic asylum. There are village dispensaries and travelling dispensaries which include medicine boats on the Perak and Pahang rivers.

Quinine is widely distributed and anti-malarial measures do not escape attention. There is an Institute of Medical Research carrying on investigations and analyses with a view to contending with the more prevalent forms of disease. There is a skilled service of medical officers whose untiring work always, and especially in times of epidemics, is beyond praise and whose hospitals will bear the closest scrutiny; and they are assisted by English and native nurses and by a staff which it is hoped to strengthen by the establishment in recent years of a medical school in Singapore. Yet no fewer than 80,000 persons were treated in 1910 in our hospitals, with a death-rate of 8 per cent. The diseases which chiefly fill the hospitals are malaria, dysentery, phthisis and beri-beri. There has been a great deal written about the last-named disease in recent years. This scourge claimed in a period of five years over 17,000 patients, of whom 4,000 died. This continued depletion of the labouring classes seriously engaged the attention of Dr. W. L. Braddon, and he traced the disease to rice. Close observation in the Institute of Medical Research has shown that the theory of Dr. Braddon was only a part of the truth, but the experiment of feeding people with parboiled rice, which was Dr. Braddon's suggestion, had been conducted in every prison and hospital in Perak with unfailling success and with an enormous reduction in the death-rate. The dominant theory now is that if rice is not polished in milling it is not denuded of its nutritive qualities and that it is owing to the loss of these nutritive properties that rice has caused beri-beri. I have enlarged somewhat on this particular subject because, in a matter of such great importance to Malaya and to other countries, it would have been pleasant to have seen some substantial recognition of Dr. Braddon's work.

POPULATION

The Census of the Federated Malay States was taken a year ago. The total population was 1,037,000, showing an increase of 52 per cent. in ten years. There were 433,000 Chinese, 420,000 Malays, 172,000 natives of India, and 3,284 white men. Perak is almost as populous as the other three States put together. The largest centre of population is Kuala Lumpor in Selangor, the capital of Federation, with 46,000 inhabitants. Ipoh in Perak comes next with just half the number, and the only other towns with over 10,000 are Taiping and Kampar in Perak. There are seven males to every three females in the States. This great disparity exists of course only in the immigrant races. It is

a curious tendency of very old Malays to overstate their age, and in a population of a million no less than ninety-six persons returned themselves as centenarians.

TRADE

Last year the value of imports exceeded £5,800,000, and the value of exports was over £11,800,000. Of the exports, tin claims 56 per cent., and rubber 37 per cent. It will be seen that the purchasing power of these States secures for them a sound financial position.

DEFENCE

The Federated Malay States pay no military contribution because there is no British force stationed therein. But they have, since Federation, established a regiment of their own. The Malay States Guides, formed out of the Perak Sikhs, are stationed at Taiping in Perak. The strength of the regiment is 13 British officers, 16 native officers, and 862 N.C.O.'s and men. There is one artillery company under an officer of the Royal Artillery, seconded for a term, and seven companies of Jat Sikhs and Muhammadans under British officers seconded from the Indian Army. The soldierly appearance of the men, whose average height is 5ft. 8½in., their excellent discipline, their good behaviour, and their efficiency in musketry, are quite remarkable. The regiment is under the dual control of the G.O.C. in the Straits and the High Commissioner. By the Treaty of Federation it can be called out for service in the Colony should war break out between H.M.'s Government and that of any other Power. It is inspected annually by the G.O.C. in the Straits, and I have had the privilege of seeing it inspected by Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener and thoroughly overhauled and put through its facings by General Sir John French. A musketry team was brought to England in 1908 and entered in four competitions at Bisley. It succeeded in carrying off the Roberts Cup. For the efficiency of this regiment the Government is indebted to Lt.-Col. Frowd-Walker, C.M.G., who left the Gloucestershire Regiment in 1879 to join the Perak Armed Police, who commanded the Perak Sikhs, and from 1896 to 1910 commanded the Malay States Guides. His extraordinary energy and powers of organisation, assisted by liberal grants of money, have created a splendid force, and his thirty years of service have been full of incidents where he and those under him have done meritorious service. Col. Walker has organised and taken a personal interest in

rifle clubs at various centres in the Malay States, and an annual Bisley is held at Taiping. There are also several ladies' rifle clubs which owe their existence to his initiation, and they, too, compete for various prizes at an annual Ladies' Bisley also held at Taiping.

The Volunteer movement established for some years in Selangor has recently extended to Perak, and there is now a force of British Volunteers about five hundred strong in the States.

SOME OF THE BENEFITS OF BRITISH PROTECTION

It is unnecessary before such an audience to touch upon the many branches of administration common to all Governments. But I propose to review very shortly some of the things we have done for Malaya. There is a geologist in the States who has made many interesting investigations. There is a museum in Taiping which is as complete in its ethnographical department as could be wished. There is an art school at Kuala Kangsar where boys and girls are taught to work in silver and gold at the hands of old Malay experts. There are homes for decrepit Chinese maintained by a trifling weighing charge on tin. There have been published under the editorship of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, now Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, a series of papers on Malay subjects which will, I trust, educate our officers to understand the Malay, and so work for his good. We have recognised many peculiar Malay customs, such as the inheritance of land by women only, in parts of the Negeri Sembilan. There is an efficient Veterinary Department to protect the cattle which constitute a considerable part of the investments of the people. Above all, there has come about a great awakening in the Malay race. Their lands are better cultivated. They have learned to realise that by putting forth some of the energy latent in their muscular bodies they can do more than have enough to eat. They recognise in the British officials friends to whom men and women alike freely come with the assurance of being heard and, if it is possible, being helped. They have been induced to come to hospitals and dispensaries for English medicine, and a purely Malay hospital is now established at Kuala Kangsar. Day by day they are realising that the success of some three score men and boys who are taking some honourable part in the government of the country has opened the door to them, and the application books for employment contain the names of Malays of every degree of education and every class in life. The change that has

been effected in the appearance of these countries in thirty-five years is not more astonishing than this change in the character of the Malay.

GOVERNMENT

The Federal Government of the four States is now complete. The Governor of the Straits Settlements is the High Commissioner and subject, of course, to the Colonial Office is the final authority. At Kuala Lumpur there is a Chief Secretary, and every Department has a Federal Head who resides in Kuala Lumpur and visits the other States. The Federal Council meets twice a year under the presidency of the High Commissioner. The members of it are the four Rulers of the four States, the Chief Secretary, the four British Residents, four British unofficial and two Chinese members. I will briefly describe how the Government of a Malay State is run. There is a State Council which is presided over by the Sultan, and at the Board of which sit (I take Perak as an example) the British Resident, the Secretary to the Resident, the Raja Muda, eight Malay chiefs, and three Chinese members. This Council does not deal with legislation or finance, which are within the province of the Federal Council, but it deals with all other matters—such as capital sentences, conversion of agricultural land into mining blocks, the appointments of native headmen, hereditary or compassionate allowances to Malays of good family, and indeed all questions in which the interests of Malays are involved. In Perak there are under the Sultan and Raja Muda four great chiefs, eight lesser chiefs, and sixteen minor chiefs. The four great offices are not always filled, it being left to the Sultan to say whether there is any person who can claim by birth or relationship to fill the vacant office. Sometimes the character and conduct of the person otherwise entitled to seek the post are not considered by the Sultan to fit him for it, and sometimes claims conflict and the Sultan is loth to decide in favour of one candidate to the exclusion of the other. Of the eight chiefs who, besides the Sultan and the Raja Muda (the heir to the Sultanate), sit in the State Council, three are old and courtly men of a previous generation who command considerable respect and influence and speak but little. Another is the Mantri of Perak whose father was chief of the whole Larut district and who himself has served the Government for many years as an officer in charge of a sub-district. Another is Raja Ngah Abubakar, a fine-looking and reserved Malay chief who is not unlikely to succeed to the great office of Bendahara. His authority is

on the Perak river and for some considerable time he too has been in charge of a sub-district. Another is Raja Chulan, who for many years has been in the Civil Service and been in charge of sub-districts and who has just retired on a pension. He is a perfect English scholar and speak French. Another is the Dato Sri Adika Raja, I.S.O., a charming personality who, next to the Sultan of Perak, is the most intelligent Malay chief in the Peninsula. The services he has rendered to the British Government are numerous, and he counts as his staunch friends probably as many English as any Asiatic in the Far East. Another, the Dato Setia Raja, was for many years confidential clerk to the Sultan and is always ready to place his knowledge and his good nature at your disposal. The three Chinese members are all men of wealth and position and accustomed to meet English and Malays alike.

Each of the seven districts of Perak is placed in charge of a District Officer, who has assistants in sub-districts and a land officer at his headquarters, and who is responsible to the Resident for every branch of administration in his district. I see that in the paper which Sir Hugh Clifford read at the Royal Colonial Institute in 1902, he commented on the fact that district officers who knew their districts and all the people in them were becoming rare. This is so, and I cannot too strongly urge the paramount importance of selecting men for land and district work and of keeping them away from judicial, magisterial and financial appointments. With no people is it more essential to select the right man as a district officer than with the sensitive and reserved Malay, who will come to a British officer in every trouble if he knows him and trusts him, and who will never give aught of his confidence if he does not. Under the district and land officers there is a system of native headmen. They are always Malays of good position, and there are few harder-worked or more meritorious officials than a zealous Penghulu. There are in Perak 47 Assistant Penghulus who are being trained to become Penghulus. They are very carefully selected and serve a term of probation before they are confirmed in their appointments. There are 65 Penghulus, each presiding over a mukim or parish, graded in four classes, and these men stand between the people and the Government.

THE NEW STATES

For the past seven years Sir John Anderson, who is presiding over this meeting, has governed the affairs of the Federated Malay States.

In July 1909 the Anglo-Siamese Treaty came into operation, whereby a portion of the State of Reman was transferred to the Government of Perak and the native States of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu passed under the protection of the British Crown. A British Agent is now stationed in Johore. Sir John cannot but be gratified that he is in no small way responsible for this acquisition of territory, and that countries of great promise are now counted as part of British Malaya. His visits to these new States have sown the seeds of loyalty which is a flourishing tree in the soil of their elder sisters. And I know that my friend the Sultan of Perak, who, as Sir Frank Swettenham puts it, "stands for all that is best in the Malay ruling class," recognises that the administration of Sir John Anderson, while it has completed Federation, has not "altered the fact that the Malays are the people of the country whose confidence we have gained by making their interests our first consideration."

CONCLUSION

The early success of British administration in the Malay States was due to the high character of the officers selected to begin the task of civilisation. On the foundation which their tact and zeal so firmly laid there has been built up an almost unparalleled prosperity. The high principles which actuated the pioneer officers have been well maintained by a body of officials carefully selected and entrusted with responsibility. It cannot be doubted that to the labour of many devoted officials during the past thirty-five years is due the smoothness of the relations that have at all times existed between the British Government and the native rulers.

After the Paper the following discussion took place:—

Mr. J. SCOTT MASON (Kelantan): I think, if I may respectfully say so, the Council is to be congratulated on the choice of the chairman and lecturer—under both of whom I have had the privilege of serving. I think all will agree that it is gratifying that officers retain their interest in the scene of their past labours.

A few years ago the ignorance of the British public with regard to the Malay States was most amazing, but the rubber boom has changed all that, and now there are few people who do not know something of these States, although they generally prefer their own method of pronouncing Malay names. I doubt, however, if many realise even now that Perak and Selangor are intrinsically two of the

richest countries in the world. I doubt if all realise that the Malay States yield more than half the world's supply of tin and that in a few years they will export a very large proportion of the world's supply of rubber. I think that everyone hearing to-night's lecture will carry away a fairly full idea of the country and its potentialities.

It was natural that Sir Ernest Birch, the late Resident of Perak, should deal more fully with the State of Perak, the premier and most populous State, with which the name of Birch is inseparably associated. His remarks apply generally to the western States of the Federation, less so to Pahang. Pahang is the poor relation of the Federation and the only State whose revenue does not largely exceed its expenditure. Its future will depend on agriculture rather than on mineral wealth. But for agriculture there must be an increase of population. There will be little immigration until the cost of living there is reduced. Government is doing its best to remedy this state of things by piercing the country with roads and railways. I spent eight years in Pahang, and in addition to interesting administrative work in a newly opened district I had some excellent big-game shooting. To anyone keen on big-game shooting I can recommend Pahang as a country where big game is not only abundant but is easily accessible. I have shot elephant, bison, and tiger within a stone's throw of the Pahang trunk road, a magnificent motoring road with gorgeous views of jungle scenery. At one time I spent nearly every week-end tracking elephant that had been damaging rice fields during the week. On one occasion, having cycled ahead without the guns, I watched two elephants devour half an acre of sugar cane in about an hour.

The lecturer had so much detail to give us of these countries—Malay officials get considerable practice in announcing annually increasing revenues and populations just as some of them continue on retirement to announce increasing dividends annually—that he had little time to tell us of future possibilities. I should like to refer to coconuts. We have had a rubber boom: many prophesy a coconut boom—or shall I say a boomlet? Coconut growing is indeed an excellent form of cultivation for natives, and one I am never tired of advocating. Coconuts and cattle are an excellent combination.

It must not be thought that though the Malay States have made magnificent progress they have no troubles. The labour question is a difficult one, but it is mainly a question of health. If the estate is unhealthy, even the hardy Chinaman's work is impaired, the Indian dies or runs away, while nothing will induce the Malay to go to it.

The work done in reference to beri-beri has been rightly praised. For anti-malarial work especial credit is due to Dr. Watson. His work has rendered the coast estates of Selangor immune from malaria, and I see he is now giving Singapore the benefit of his experience. Many a hot day have I tramped with him searching drains and swamps for the larvae of the anopheles mosquito. It is gratifying to see that the work done in Selangor is now referred to as an example of what should be done in other parts of the Empire.

The health question is necessarily an important one when so many Indians are annually transplanted to Malaya, bringing with them, as many do, diseases of their own. The increase in the number of immigrants is at the same time a certain sign that the Indian coolie is happy in his Malay home. But still there are many small things that might be done for him. Any small consideration shown on arrival will be well repaid, as first impressions are the strongest and all Indians are great letter-writers. I have sometimes thought that the poor coolies, on entering the Immigration Depôt, might perhaps interpret the signboard to read "All caste abandon ye who enter here." In all dealings with natives to be successful it is necessary to know their language and their prejudices. The thanks of the planters and of many shareholders are undoubtedly due to Sir William Taylor for the organisation of the recruiting scheme which has won for the Malay estate such a good name in India.

No British Resident has set a better example than Sir Ernest Birch in employing Malays in official posts. His example might well be followed in Pahang, where in some districts over 90 per cent. of the population are Malays. I think that British protection would have to be considered somewhat of a failure if after thirty years some Malays had not been sufficiently educated to take a part in the administration of their country. The day has gone for ever when a Malay was considered a sullen, treacherous fellow with predilections to piracy and a tendency to run amuck. He is, however, too often described as lazy or a gentleman. He is almost always the latter, and very often the former, but he can also be a good worker. Anyone who has been on a boating or hunting expedition with good Malays would conclude that they had not a lazy bone in their bodies. In Kelantan the whole of the Public Works Department is Malay. Last year we had over 1,000 Malays at work on road construction with excellent results. All our bridges and buildings have been built by Malays, and we find that though slower than the Chinaman, the Malay contractor takes greater pride in the finish of his work. Excellent

tapping and ploughing is done by Malays on our rubber estates. To those who consider the Malay a worthless worker I would extend an invitation to Kelantan.

Mr. ALFRED DREW: I expect I am one of the few present who visited the Federated Malay States in their early days. I went down the Perak river when Sir Hugh Low was Resident and at that time there were not many other ways of getting about than by the rivers. Now the State is covered with railways and roads. I think Sir E. Birch, in his most interesting paper, has left out one of the main factors of the success of those States, which is that they have been governed by officials who have been not merely officials, but men who have been able to interest themselves in the inhabitants of the country—not only the native inhabitants but Europeans as well. They have always been sympathetic with the planters, and I may say in my opinion, and the opinions of those best able to judge, there has been no better example of this type of official than Sir Ernest Birch himself. I have known him a great number of years and he has been marked out from the earliest times of his service as one who would always give a sympathetic hearing to anyone who had any trouble in the native States. The great reason for the success of these States, I say, has been that the officials have not been hidebound by rules and regulations, and this has enabled them to do what they could not have done in a Colony more tied by red tape. At the present time we are apt to look upon the planters as very lucky fellows, but we forget the years of severe labour and non-success that they had to pass through. It is only in the last few years they have been able to reap the reward which they richly deserve. We have heard that gambling has been regulated rather than suppressed, and I think that would be the policy approved by everyone who knows much about the matter. The Malay States constitute a wonderful country which all who can should see. Indeed I would strongly recommend people who now go about in a rather bored way, making motor tours over roads through the sort of country they have seen hundreds of times, to go to the Malay States for their next motor trip, where they could not fail greatly to enjoy themselves.

Sir HUGH FORT cordially agreed that the success of the Malay States was due not only to the natural wealth of the country and to the energy and loyalty of its public servants, but also to the industry and pertinacity of the miners and planters who were now reaping their reward after a long period of non-success which few people were aware of.

Mr. ARTHUR LAMPARD stated that as a business man he had reluctantly come to the conclusion that for the investment of money the Dutch Colonies, such as Sumatra, were to be preferred to the Federated Malay States. In 1906, he said, when Sir John Anderson took command of the States he inaugurated a certain policy which was distinctly detrimental to the welfare of the Colony as a whole. He introduced a system of export tax to which the lecturer had referred, and was responsible for the raising of the exchange. He had also been responsible for a great deal of taxation on rubber which was entirely unnecessary. As to tin he believed the Government ought to be entitled to extract a certain amount of revenue from that source. The reason of the taxing of tin was that at the time the States were heavily in debt, and they had no other means of getting revenue. It had now risen to about 13 per cent. To-day the conditions were absolutely different. The States had a surplus of over £5,000,000 sterling, and there was no justification for a country exploiting any product and raising money unduly in that way when there was such a surplus. The rubber industry under Sir John Anderson's administration had been exploited not for the benefit of the Malay States, but for carrying out the Tanjong Pagar dock scheme, a scheme which was not justified from the shipping point of view, and if it was the cost ought not to be borne by one Colony alone. The money, he complained, was not being spent for the Federated Malay States, or for the interests from which the money was drawn. He also complained of the rents charged for land. In the Dutch States the conditions were better, and the labour conditions were not the same. If the present policy were continued the prosperity of the country could not go forward as in the past.

The CHAIRMAN: Before concluding the proceedings with a vote of thanks to Sir Ernest Birch, perhaps you will allow me to say a few words in reply to the last speaker. The burden of his complaint was that I had raised taxation in the Federated Malay States in order to spend money on Tanjong Pagar harbour in the Colony of the Straits Settlements. For your information and his, I may say that not one cent of Federated Malay States money has been spent on Tanjong Pagar. The money spent there has been raised on the credit of the Colony of the Straits Settlements in the London market.

Another charge is that, instead of allowing public lands—which are a very valuable asset in the Malay States—to be disposed of at fifty cents, I charged four dollars an acre. I own the soft impeachment, but it is a fact that, in spite of that rent of four dollars, we had

more applicants for land than our Survey Department, which we kept strengthening year after year, could possibly overtake. I should have thought it was part of the business of those responsible for the administration of the country when they are alienating State lands to get the best possible value for them. That at any rate is my idea of the business of the Government. The demand for land was so great that, in certain prospectuses, jungle-land on which not a penny had been spent was advertised as being worth from £3 to £5 an acre. I thought it desirable that the Government should get a little of that in order that money might be available for the opening up of the country. It is not the case that the money which has been raised has been spent out of the country. It has been used in building railways and extending the railway system of the Federated Malay States into adjacent territories. Mr. Lampard tells us the assets amount to about £5,000,000. I should say about half is represented by railway lines, on which interest is paid by neighbouring territories, and the other half is being spent in the same way; and the Federated Malay States may as well extend its railway system and get the utmost advantage from the development of its neighbours instead of putting money into Consols and other securities in this country. The proof that our conditions are regarded as not unfavourable is that there are still more applications for land than can be conveniently dealt with. I am rather sorry that to-night Sir E. Birch should have passed on himself a sort of self-denying ordinance, and that while giving us an enormous amount of valuable and interesting information he did not give us any of those delightful yarns which nobody can tell better. There is no man who more thoroughly knows the country and its people—no man to whom people of every race and creed went more readily with any grievance, and no man in whom they would find a more sympathetic listener. Undoubtedly he left behind him a name amongst the Malays, Chinese, and the Europeans which will long be cherished. He served seven years under me and so I had full opportunity of seeing and knowing the immense value of his work, and not only myself but all his colleagues and everyone who came in contact with him were deeply sorry when, after thirty-two years of strenuous life, he had to retire from the service.

Admiral the Hon. Sir EDMUND FREMANTLE, G.C.B., C.M.G., asked whether Sir Ernest Birch did not think that the vast success of the Malay States was to a great extent due to the fact that the laws were rather more elastic than in Colonies more directly under the Colonial Office.

SIR ERNEST BIRCH: I have no doubt whatever that the success of the Malay States was in the first instance due to the fact that a free hand was given to responsible officers (the Residents) by the Government of the Straits Settlements, and by the Residents to their district officers; and though there are now more rules and regulations than there used to be the responsibility is felt by all the officers, and I am sure they quite willingly undertake it.

A vote of thanks was also given to the chairman for presiding.

1. The distance by road from Malacca to Butterworth is about 530 kilometres or 330 miles.

2. Under the tribute system, labourers held shares in a mine and their incomes were determined by the amount of money the mine earned. As this arrangement became more common, the credit system whereby labourers were provided with goods and services in lieu of wages declined in importance.

3. i.e. 'dulang' washing which is a technique for collecting tin ore from sand by swirling ore-bearing sand and water in a pan to separate out the tin.

4. One reason Chinese miners objected to the tin duty was that it favoured the export of tin as ore, thus giving an advantage to the European smelters in Singapore and Penang over rival Chinese smelting operations in the Federated Malay States.

5. The exchange rate, after hovering around 2s. per Straits dollar for several years, was fixed at 2s. 4d. in 1906.

6. Sir William Taylor, then Resident-General of the Federated Malay States, visited India in 1906 to examine arrangements for procuring labour to be sent to Malaya. His recommendations led to the creation of the Indian Immigration Committee.

7. Sitting in the shade and tapping rubber trees might have the appeal Birch claimed. But for rubber tappers on the estates it did not. In 1913 tappers in Malacca were required to tap 400 trees daily for which they were paid between 40 and 60 cents per day. (See John Drabble, *Rubber in Malaya 1876-1922*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 111.)

Sarawak—An Independent State within the Empire

Charles Hose

27 February 1923

Chairman: Hugh Chisholm

[THE Chairman stated that Dr. Hose felt himself unable to read the paper, but had an efficient substitute in Mrs. Hose, who had paid several visits to Sarawak, and from personal knowledge was well equipped with most of the information that would have to be put into a paper relating to that State. As to Dr. Hose himself, there was no possible person who could give more information at first hand about this part of the British Empire on the North-West Coast of Borneo. I can tell you in confidence (said the Chairman) that Dr. Hose was a schoolfellow of mine in days gone by, and after having left school, he went into residence at Cambridge. He remained in residence only a little over a year. In 1884 he went out to Sarawak. He had a relative in the Bishop of Singapore who was well acquainted with that part of the world. It was owing to his suggestion, I believe, that Charles Hose first went into the service of the Rajah, and he stayed in the Government service until 1907, when he retired from actual administrative work, which was that of a Prime Minister or something similar. Since then he has been mainly at home, but is still connected in an advisory capacity of an important character with the Rajah's State. After he went out, Sarawak was taken under the protection of Great Britain, and made a definite part of the British Dominions. If I may say so, Dr. Hose is an excellent example of the remarkable way in which the wild places of the Empire bring out all the best qualities of the most exceptional men. At school he was an active member of what is called The Bug Society—a cant term used for the Natural History Society. I happened to be looking up some old school lists some time ago, and though Dr. Hose never got further up than the Fourth Form, yet

nearly every term he is distinguished in the School roll by having a little "S" after his name, which I find meant Commended for science. How he got commended for science as taught in those days in our public schools is still a mystery to me, but, though we did not call it science but "bug-hunting," he was very much distinguished among the schoolboys for his wonderful propensity for keeping all sorts of queer beasts down in the village and going out on expeditions for birds and animals of all sorts—doing everything in fact which a schoolboy was considered rather a wrong 'un for doing. At the same time, I may tell you, he showed his qualities on the football and cricket fields. As an administrator his work in Sarawak was very wonderful, but it was not that that would have given him a European or British reputation. It was not that that would have led his old University, Cambridge, in 1901, to give him the Honorary degree of Science, but because he found a virgin field in the way of nature for exploration. He discovered all sorts of new species, some of which I believe are named after him, and the Natural History Museums have many specimens of his original discoveries in the field of zoology. He was also able to study certain fields of anthropology, and, with our friend Professor McDougal, he brought out a classic book on the native tribes of Borneo. He was also the first person to make a map of Sarawak—at any rate, the place had never been authoritatively and officially explored. It was only done privately, I believe, for his own purposes. Whether he was wise to keep the map to himself, I don't know. At any rate, he did a tremendous work and his name is written large in the books which he has produced. He even went so far as to discover oil there. It is now being produced in large quantities, and I may say that, being a tremendous patriot, Dr. Hose insisted from the first that any concession given with regard to oil, should have a clause retaining a large quantity for the use of the British Navy.]

The prevalent idea of Borneo is that it is still a land of "wild men," a country undesirable as a residence, and more or less incapable of development. As far as it is in my power to do so this evening, I should like to try and dispel this erroneous impression—at all events with regard to one part of Borneo which, though governed independently, has, by accepting British protection, provided for the one danger to the State, namely, the risk of foreign aggression.

Sarawak is a storehouse of Nature's treasures; the people are well formed and intelligent, and while they go about untrammelled by

superfluous garments, they show proper modesty, and withal their garments are in themselves picturesque.

It is a land of mountains and great rivers, and is practically one unbroken forest, but although surrounded by islands of volcanic activity, it shows but small traces of such. Kina Balu, 13,593 feet, in the neighbouring State of British North Borneo is the highest mountain. The fauna is large and varied, two anthropoid apes, several species of monkeys and lemurs, wild cattle, rhinoceros, elephants, deer, pig, bears, a large variety of smaller mammals, and the toothless scaly anteater. Crocodiles infest every river, and various species of tortoise, turtle, lizard, frog, and snake abound. Fish of numerous kinds are very plentiful, and the whole forest teems with bird and insect life. There is a wealth of ferns, beautiful orchids and numerous curious plants. The scenery is magnificent, and in every direction may be seen panoramas of the most luxuriant vegetation. The network of rivers and their tributaries afford valuable means of transport throughout the country.

With the exception of the Malays of the Coastal regions all the natives live under tribal organizations, of which the chief groups are Dayaks, Kayans, Kenyahs, Klemantans, Muruts, and Punans—of these people the Dayak is perhaps the best known to Europeans. He is cheerful, sociable, energetic, fond of fun, and an agreeable companion. The Kayans and Kenyahs who are widely distributed throughout the interior in large villages are a fine race and are more skilled in handicrafts than any of the other peoples. Muruts, Kalabits, Tagals, who are more confined to the northern part of the State, are tall and strongly built and perhaps better agriculturalists. Punans, Ukits, and many other small tribes closely allied scattered over the interior, are the most primitive and therefore ethnologically the most interesting. The Punan's dwelling is a mere shelter of sticks and leaves, built in the dense forest in a place where he can obtain the necessary supply of food from jungle fruits and where he can secure game by hunting with the blowpipe and poisoned darts.

Their morality is respectable, even when considered from a Western standpoint, Monogamy is the rule. The social system is far less complicated than is often the case in primitive communities. In the main the people are law-abiding and the Chief's authority is effective. The Chiefs are not only high-minded but very public-spirited.

Rice, cultivated by themselves, is their principal food. They are skilled workers in iron, and their methods of smelting the ore and

forging the metal so obtained are most ingenious. The handicrafts of the tribes generally show intelligence and a feeling for artistic form and decoration.

Head-hunting itself is really a highly intricate and mystical undertaking around which a great wall of custom and ritual has been built. For the people of Sarawak are not bloodthirsty on the whole, and are little addicted to torture, but, as with all barbaric people who live in the forests, they are deeply superstitious, and their existence is governed by hidebound tradition. As to the original purpose of head-hunting, I am inclined to think that the custom is simply a development of the old practice of killing slaves when a Chief died in order that he might have a human spirit to accompany his soul and serve him in the next world, or to carry a prayer to his destination.

The most frequent mode of divination is by means of pig's liver, from the appearance of which the future is read. The ceremony is prefaced by a prayer, when a fire is lighted, the belief being that smoke is a vehicle of communication between man and the gods.

In ancient Mexico and Rome there were Colleges of Augurs who interpreted events by the song and flight of birds, the practice passing over into Christianity and surviving among us, as Mr. Edward Clodd says, in the unsuspected and harmless form of pulling the "wishing-bone," and in the saying "a little bird told me." In Borneo men are deputed to watch the coming of certain birds as omen bringers and the direction of their flight determines the acts of the tribe.

It has often been attempted to exhibit the mental life of barbaric peoples as profoundly different from our own; to assert that they act from motives, and reach conclusions by means of mental processes, so utterly different from our own motives and processes that we cannot hope to interpret or understand their behaviour unless we can first, by some impossible or at least by some hitherto undiscovered method, learn the nature of these mysterious motives and processes. If these views were applied to the peoples of the interior of Sarawak, we should characterize them as fanciful delusions natural to the anthropologist who has spent all the days of his life in a stiff collar and a black coat upon the well-paved ways of civilized society.

I have no hesitation in saying that, the more intimately one becomes acquainted with these people the more fully one realizes the close similarity of their mental processes to one's own. Their primary impulses and emotions seem to be in all respects like our own. It is true they are very unlike the typical civilized man of some of the

older philosophers, whose every action proceeded from a nice and logical calculation of the algebraic sum of pleasures and pains to be derived from alternative lines of conduct; but we ourselves are equally unlike that purely mythical personage. The Kayan or the Dayak often acts impulsively in ways which by no means conduce to further his best interests or deeper purposes; but so do we also. He often reaches conclusions by processes that cannot be logically justified; but so do we also. He often holds, and upon successive occasions acts upon, beliefs that are logically inconsistent with one another; but so do we also.

Along the western coast of Borneo for some 400 odd miles lies the country of Sarawak, the shores of which are washed by the China Sea from Cape Datu in the South to the mouth of the Lawas river in the North. Sarawak territory with an area of some sixty thousand square miles is about the size of England, and surrounds the small State of Brunei with its pile-built town of the same name, formerly the old Capital of the Island. But the purpose of this paper is not so much to give a geographical description of this country and its people but rather to tell you something of the way the State of Sarawak has been administered and developed by the three British Rajahs who have ruled it for over eighty years.

I will now give an account of the system of government and of its progress and development. It has been widely recognized that Sarawak provides the most notable example of a great achievement in successful administration of the affairs of a population in a lowly state of culture by means of an autocracy centred in the person of the British Rajah, who is aided by advisers and administrators appointed by himself. This State thus created with a population of about 600,000 in 1888 came under the protection of the British Government. The text of the Treaty leaves no doubt about the continued independence of Sarawak in respect to its internal affairs. The first article reads: "The State of Sarawak shall continue to be governed and administered by the said Rajah Brooke and his successors as an Independent State under the protection of Great Britain, but such protection shall confer no right on His Majesty's Government to interfere with the internal administration of that State further than is herein provided."

Among all such administrative systems, that of Sarawak has been distinguished, not only by the rapid establishment of peace, order, and a modest prosperity with a minimum display of armed force, but especially by reason of the careful way in which the interests of

the native population have consistently been made the prime object of the Government's solicitude. The story of the success of the first two white Rajahs of Sarawak has several times been told in whole or in part, but I think it is well that I should try to give you this evening some intimate glimpses of the working of the system, as it affects the daily lives of the people, taking my illustrations in the main from incidents with which I have myself been personally concerned. In 1840 from the very inception of his rule, Sir James Brooke laid down and strictly adhered to the principle of associating the natives with himself and his European assistants in the Government of the country, and of respecting and maintaining whatever was not positively objectionable in the laws and customs of the people. This policy has been faithfully followed for nearly a century; the white Rajahs, instead of imposing any system of European-made laws upon the people, as in their position of benevolent despot they might have been tempted to do, have accepted the Mohammedan law and custom in all matters affecting the population of the Mohammedan religion; they have gradually introduced improvements when and where the defects and injustices of the system revealed themselves, and in the work, both of administration and legislation, the Rajahs and their Officers have always sought and enjoyed the advice and co-operation of the Malays. They have maintained the principal Ministries of State, and have continued the tenure of these offices by the Malay nobles who occupied them at the time of Sir James Brooke's accession to power; and, as these men have died or retired in the natural course, others have been chosen to fill the vacancies.

Three, and sometimes four, of these Malay Officers, namely the Datu Bandar, Datu Imaum, and Datu Hakim have been members of the Supreme Council since its institution in 1855. The first the Datu Bandar, is the leading citizen of the Malay community, the Datu Imaum is the religious head of the Mohammedans, and the Datu Hakim is principal of the Malay judges. The Supreme Council consists of these Malay Officers, with three or more of the principal European officers and the Rajah and from its decrees there is no appeal. It decides questions of justice, administration, and legislation, and it continually enriches and improves the law by creating precedents, which serve to guide the local Courts, by deliberately revising and repealing laws, and by adding new laws to the Statute Book. The presence of the Malay Members at the Meeting of the Supreme Council is by no means a mere formality; they take active part in its deliberations and decisions.

Besides the Supreme Council, there exists a larger body, whose functions are purely advisory. It is called the Council Negri or State Council, and consists of the Rajah, the Members of the Supreme Council, those District Officers who are in charge of the more important centres and the principal Native Officers and Penghulus throughout the country in all, some seventy or eighty Members. This Council meets in Kuching, the capital, once every three years under the Presidency of the Rajah. At the meeting of the State Council, topics of general interest are discussed, and the Rajah, speaking in the Malay language to the Members, makes some general review of the state of public affairs and the progress achieved since the previous meeting. But perhaps the principal purpose of the institution is the bringing together, under conditions favourable for friendly intercourse, the leading men of the whole country. Each new Member is formally sworn in, taking an oath of loyalty to the Rajah and his Government. The native Chiefs return from these meetings with an enhanced sense of the importance and dignity of their Office, and with clearer notions of the whole system of government and their places in it.

The principles according to which the government has been conducted cannot be better expressed than in the following words of the late Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke, when he said that a Government such as that of Sarawak may "start from things as we find them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the natives, and letting system and legislation wait on occasion." So the secret of success was found in adapting and improving all that was good in the existing usages of the natives, without indiscriminate destruction of ancient customs. When new wants are felt, the Sarawak Government examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad; and to ensure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of the people is gained for them before they are put in force. The prime duty of the Resident in his Divisions and the District Officer in his district, is to preserve order and to punish crimes of violence. But he is responsible also for every detail of administration, including the collections of taxes and customs duties, the settlement of disputes, the hearing of complaints of all kinds, and the furnishing of reports to the Central Government on all matters of moment, such as the development of trade and protection of traders. Above all, it is his duty to gain the confidence of the Chiefs of the wilder border tribes, and to lead them to accept

the Sarawak flag and the benefits of the Rajah's Government. It is well recognized that the success of a District Officer depends primarily upon his acquiring an intimate knowledge of the people, and establishing and maintaining good relations with them. He is able to establish intimate relations of reciprocal knowledge and confidence with the Chiefs of the many scattered communities of his district by making long journeys up river, and situations not infrequently arise which urgently demand his presence in some outlying part of his district, and which serve as occasions for such journeys.

The management and administration by the Government of the population in the interior, comprising as it does so many tribes of diverse customs, languages, and circumstances, has presented a more varied and in many respects a more difficult problem, but the same principles have been everywhere applied. The backbone of the administrative and judicial system has been constituted by a staff of British Officers carefully chosen by the Rajahs, and increased from time to time as the extension of the boundaries of Sarawak opened new fields for their activities.

Up to the present time the administration of justice by executive Government Officers with the assistance when necessary of native magistrates has given complete satisfaction. Whether in due course it may be found desirable to appoint a separate judiciary remains to be seen. The whole territory is divided into five divisions, each of which again is divided into three or more districts. Each division is administered by a Resident, and each district is under the immediate charge of a District Officer, who is assisted in his multifarious duties by one or more junior English Officers and some three or four "native Officers" selected from the aristocratic class resident in the district. They are appointed by the Rajah on the recommendation of the Resident or District Officer, and receive a regular salary and pension. Their duties are to assist the European Officer in his Police Court work, to hold special Courts for the settlement of purely Malay cases of domestic nature, and to take charge of the station in the absence of the District Officer. The Sarawak flag is the badge of his office, and his position and duties are defined in a document bearing the Rajah's seal and signature. From among the more influential chiefs of the up-river communities, the Rajah also appoints, on the recommendation of the Resident, a certain number in each Division, to the Office of Penghulu, who are also given a flag and a document recording their appointment, and the duties of their

office. The Penghulu has authority not only over his own village, but also over the chiefs and headmen of other communities of the same tribe in that region. He is expected to keep the District Officer informed of any local incident requiring his attention, and to be present at the Court when any of his people are tried for any serious offence; he has authority to try minor cases, both civil and criminal, among his own people.

When an up-river wild man has been charged with a serious offence, the summons sent from the Resident's Court is forwarded to the Penghulu of his tribe, and district, with the instruction that he shall send the man down river to the headquarters of the district. It is then generally possible for the Penghulu to call the man to him and, by explaining to the accused the situation and the order of the Court, he secures his peaceful surrender. But in the case of refusal to obey, or of active resistance, the Penghulu is expected to apply such force as may be necessary for effecting his arrest and conveyance to the headquarters of the Division. In this way, in a well-governed district, the arrest of evil-doers is effected with remarkable sureness, and with far less risk of violence, bloodshed, and the arousal of angry passions, than if the District Officer should send his Police to do the work. The Penghulu is in a much better position than the District Officer to obtain accurate information upon, and a full understanding of, the circumstances of any such up-river incidents, and his help is thus often of the greatest value to the District Officer. If the Penghulu judges that the accused man is innocent, and especially if the charge against him has been made by a member of any other tribe than his own, he will usually accompany the prisoner to headquarters, in order to see that no injustice is done.

Another important function of the Penghulu is the preliminary investigation of breaches of the peace among his people. Like all other varieties of mankind (some few savage tribes excepted) the natives of Sarawak are apt to distort the truth in their own favour in describing from memory incidents that seriously affect their interests. When a party has allowed itself to commit some reprehensible action, such as over hasty and excessive reprisals, a whole village, or even several villages, may conspire together more or less deliberately to invent some plausible version of the affair, which may serve to excuse or justify the act in the eyes of the Government. A good Penghulu will set about the investigation of such an affair with much tact and patience. He will send for those immediately concerned, and patiently hear their version of the incident; if it

departs widely from the truth, he will find reason to suspect the fact, but, instead of charging the people with untruthfulness, or attempting to extort the truth by threats or bullying (as is often done in more civilized courts) he keeps silence, shrugs his shoulders, and tells them to go away and thus puts himself in a position to suggest modification of the new version of the former group. When he has in this way gathered in a variety of accounts of the incident, he finds himself in a position to construct, by a process of moral triangulation, an approximately correct picture. This he now lays before the party immediately concerned, who, seeing that the game is up, fill in the details and supply minor corrections. Throughout this process, the tactful Penghulu never shuts the door upon his informants, or tries to pin them down to their words or make them take them back, rather he keeps the whole story fluid and shifting, so that when the true account has been constructed, the witnesses are not made to feel that they have lost their self-respect.

It has often been stated to the writer that several chiefs in bygone days endeavoured to establish peace throughout wide areas, but that no one of them had achieved any enduring success. For this end, the unifying influence of a central authority and superior power was necessary, and this was supplied by the Rajah. We may liken the whole system of society as now established to a conical structure, consisting of a common apex, from which lines of authority descend to the base, branching as they go, at three principal levels. If we imagine the upper part of this structure cut away at a horizontal plane just above the lowest level of branching, we have a diagrammatic representation of the state of affairs preceding the Rajah's advent—a large number of smaller cones each representing a village unified by the subordination of its members to its chief, but each remaining isolated without any bond of union with its neighbours. At the present time the base of the cone remains almost unchanged, but the Rajah's Government binds together all its isolated groups to form one harmonious whole by means of the hierarchy of Officers whose authority proceeds from the Rajah himself, the apex of the system.

The establishment of the Rajah's Government has thus involved no breaking up of the old forms of society, no attempt to recast it after any foreign model, but has merely supplied the elements that were lacking to the system if it was to enable men to live at peace, to prosper and multiply, and to enjoy the fruits of their labours. But though we describe the society of Sarawak as being now a completed structure, the simile is inadequate and might mislead. The structure

is not that of a rigid building, but of a living organization, and its efficiency and permanence depend upon the unceasing activities of all its parts, each conscious of the whole and of its own essential role in the life of the whole, and each animated by a common spirit of unswerving devotion to, and untiring effort in the cause of, the whole. The Rajah's power rests upon the broad base of the people's willing co-operation. He in turn is for them the symbol of the whole, by the aid of which they are enabled to think of the State as their common country and common object of devotion, and from him there descends, through his officers, the spirit which animates the whole, a spirit of reciprocal confidence, justice, goodwill, and devotion to duty. The system is in fact the realization of the ideal of monarchy or personal government; its successful working depends above all on the character and intellect of the man who stands at the head of the State; and the steady progress of all better aspects of civilization in Sarawak, a progress which has evoked the warm praise of experienced and independent observers, has been due to the fact that the resolution, the tact and sympathy, the wisdom and high ideals, and the advantage of continuous tenure of office, which enabled the first of its English Rajahs to establish their authority has been unfailingly displayed in no less degree by the present Rajah. LONG MAY HE REIGN!

After leaving Cambridge, the present Rajah joined his father in Sarawak in order to study the duties of Government, the management of natives, the work of an out-station officer, and so forth, and during this service in the country, he led several expeditions into the far interior to punish head-hunters, so when he succeeded his father in 1917, he brought with him a vast store of practical knowledge. After his visit Mr. Alleyne Ireland wrote the following: "With such knowledge of administrative systems in the tropics as may be gained by actual observation in almost every part of the British Empire, except the African Colonies, I can say that in no country which I have ever visited are there to be observed so many signs of a wise and generous rule, such abundant indications of good Government, as are to be seen on every hand in Sarawak."

In 1912 the late Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke, decided to establish in England an Advisory Council with functions fully defined, which may be summed up in the following extract from the Proclamation establishing the Council: "To support the Rajah for the time being in carrying out the general policy instituted by my predecessor, the late Rajah, and continued by myself, in furtherance of the best interests

of the Raj and the well-being of the natives thereof." The Offices of the Sarawak State Advisory Council are at Millbank House, Westminster, and I have the honour of being one of its members; their deliberations are presided over by the Rajah when in England. These offices also constitute an Agency, representative of the State, through which all Government business in England, diplomatic, financial, and commercial is conducted.

Mention should be made of the development and progress which has taken place in the country. All Government buildings in Sarawak are good and substantial, and great care has been taken in the matter of hospitals, both European and native. In Kuching, a fine embankment has been built along the river front, which is much appreciated by the community, and is of great value to those engaged in trade, enabling as it does cargoes from native schooners and other vessels to be shipped or landed rapidly.

Another fine piece of work has been the establishment of the pure water supply from Mount Matang, a distance of ten miles, to the inhabitants of the capital. The reservoir was built at a height of some 1,000 feet above the town, and the water carried by pipe across a swamp, and yields an ample supply for the requirements of the inhabitants. Reservoirs have also been constructed in other parts. Sarawak has a weekly Mail Service between Kuching and Singapore, and Miri and Singapore, with several Government vessels of light draught running between the out-stations and the capital. The coast is well lighted.

Schools and libraries have been built and a fine Museum which has a very complete and representative collection of specimens of the Natural History and Ethnography of the country. As to the development of the resources of the country, the Borneo Company, Ltd., has worked very successfully for a great number of years antimony, cinnabar, gold, and silver mines leased to them by the Sarawak Government. The output of gold for many years was approximately 3,000 ounces a month, and of silver 1,000 ounces a month. Alluvial gold is also worked by Chinese.

The large petroleum field discovered many years ago in the Miri district commenced working in 1909, a lease having been granted to the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co., Ltd. This oilfield, which has been so efficiently developed by Lord Bearsted and those exceedingly able men with whom he is associated, is a great triumph for the Shell-Anglo-Saxon Asiatic oil group, and now produces approximately

some 400,000 tons a year of high grade oil, and shows every prospect of much greater development. It is particularly interesting to recall that, when this first lease was made, now fourteen years ago, a clause was inserted at the instance of the Sarawak Government whereby the Company covenanted that a reserve of not less than 10,000 tons of liquid fuel should always be kept in storage for the supply of ships of the British Navy. This was the first case of such a provision being made for the supply of the British Navy from oil resources within the Empire, and the example then set has since been followed elsewhere. During the war the supply from Sarawak was of special value to the Navy in Eastern waters. Coal of a better quality than most Eastern coal is plentiful throughout the country, and two mines have for many years been worked by the Government. There is little doubt that coal of a much higher quality is procurable. Great assistance and encouragement has been given by the Government to agriculture. Pepper, rubber, coco-nuts, and sago (which figures very largely amongst the exports), rice, and other crops have been planted extensively by natives of the country and Chinese, and the Borneo Company, Ltd., has extensive rubber estates under European management.

The present value of trade is about 45 million dollars and is annually increasing; values of the exports and imports are about the same. The Government has also spent a considerable amount on experimental estates for the cultivation of coffee, tea, rubber, tobacco, and chinchona, with the idea of proving that the soil is suitable for the production of such crops. Numerous industries are encouraged amongst the natives, such as the working of jungle produce, rattans, gutta-percha, indiarubber, mangrove bark, camphor; and the collection of the edible nests of the swifts—collocalia, which are in such abundance in the limestone caves—has been under Government supervision for many years, with the result that the output from this industry has increased by some 50 tons of nests per annum within the last twenty-five years. The telephone connects up the various out-stations, and wireless telegraphy has been installed in Kuching, Miri, and other places.

During the present Rajah's reign, much has already been done to improve and re-organize local ordinances. Additions to the staff of various Departments and the increase of salaries and pensions of both Europeans and natives has given great satisfaction to all concerned. Electric lighting has been installed in the principal towns and a Municipal and Sanitary Board established in Kuching. Forestry

Regulations have been drawn up and an efficient staff of Forestry officers appointed. The great wealth of valuable timber with which the country is covered is about to be scientifically exploited, and enterprise in this direction is being encouraged.

An account of this description would be incomplete without some reference to the valuable assistance and help rendered by the Ranee Margaret to the late Rajah in her great love for, and sympathy with, the peoples of Sarawak, amongst whom she has spent so many enjoyable years, and whose manners and customs she knows so well and describes so feelingly in her charming book: "My Life in Sarawak." The present Ranee has also recently written some delightful little sketches bearing chiefly on the habits of the people, with which she is familiar, but the Ranee herself would be better able than me to describe them to you. The continuance in the future of a strong line of Rajahs, imbued with the Brooke tradition and supported by public opinion at home, is the main thing required to carry on the system which has made Sarawak a model of good Government for tropical people. That system is not, as many people suppose, a pure despotism animated by benevolent motives. In theory the Rajah is an autocrat, but in practice, his rule is based on co-operation with his native subjects.

These details of the progress which the country has made under the rule of the three white Rajahs are not familiar to the public, but in its broad outlines the romantic story of how they have brought peace and prosperity to peoples who used to be continually at war among themselves is widely known, and I think that British people cherish with feelings of legitimate pride this story of noble service by a family of their own race, perhaps the greatest achievement in State-making of the nineteenth century.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Hose for his paper, and also to Mrs. Hose for the manner in which she had read the paper and explained the extremely interesting slides.

Admiral The Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle, who seconded the Motion, mentioned that he first visited Sarawak as long ago as 1857, when the country was under the regime of Sir James Brooke, and helped in the suppression of some disturbances, in the course of which Sir James had a narrow escape with his life. At that time, the murderous custom of head-hunting was prevalent amongst the Dyaks. He went a considerable distance up the country and visited the quarters of a good many of these tribes. It was, as had

been stated, an exceedingly picturesque country. He was rather disappointed that the lecturer had not told them a little more about the trade and present Government of the country. He recollected being very much struck on a second visit in 1893, when he was Commander-in-Chief on the China Station. Things had very much changed. He remembered that they had a very efficient Council which transacted a great deal of the business of the country. The country was wonderfully comfortable and settled, and the government was carried out very much through the instrumentality of the Chiefs.

The CHAIRMAN said that before putting the Motion, he desired to read an interesting letter written to the Secretary by Lord Bearsted as follows:

3 Hamilton Place, W. 1.
February 21, 1923.

The Secretary,
Royal Colonial Institute.

Dear Sir,—I am extremely obliged to you for your courtesy in forwarding me an advance copy of Dr. Hose's paper on Sarawak, which I have read with the greatest interest, and upon which I sincerely congratulate him. It is a matter of deep regret to me that I shall not be able to be present at the reading of the paper, and consequently I shall not be able to speak.

I venture to predict that the Oil Industry will be the greatest in the Sarawak Protectorate of all its many assets; and as in the evolution of Sarawak itself, it is most satisfactory to know that it has been developed by individual enterprise, unassisted in any way by the British Government. When the field is fully developed Miri will become one of the greatest ports of the East, and the Rajah will probably have the satisfaction of seeing a large fleet of vessels flying the Sarawak flag.

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) BEARSTED.

The Motion was agreed to and Dr. Hose briefly replied. A vote of thanks was also given to Mr. Chisholm for presiding.

Professor G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S., who would have taken part in the discussion had time permitted, writes:

"Dr. Hose has succeeded in giving us a very vivid picture of the beneficent rule of the three British Rajahs in Sarawak. This interesting experiment in government is well worth studying. For it affords a striking demonstration of the factors that make an administration truly successful and promote peace and contentment among the governed. The rule of the Brookes in

Sarawak has been defined as the best type of Crown Colony government stripped of the disturbing influence of "red tape." But it is something more than that. The administration is based upon the most intimate co-operation between the Rajah and his people, and a deep sympathy with, and understanding of their wants and feelings. The late Dr. Rivers repeatedly insisted upon the fact that the chief factor in causing discontent and promoting depopulation among native peoples is the boredom caused by the interference with those occupations in which they delighted before the coming of Europeans. The Sarawak Government has been able to give its people the benefits of European civilization without destroying the people's own culture. It has succeeded in persuading the people to substitute innocent surrogates for its more objectionable practices. In their task of reconciliation, which is based upon a sympathetic understanding of the people's beliefs, Dr. Hose has played an important part. But to scientists in Europe he is famous as the man who has made the fauna of Sarawak better known than almost any other part of the world, and has interpreted the ethnology of Sarawak with a rare knowledge and insight. Nearly a quarter of a century ago Dr. Hose introduced me to the most interesting member of man's distant pedigree, the Spectral Tarsier from Sarawak, and thus incidentally determined the chief trend of my life's work. Hence I am glad of the opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to him."

Singapore and Naval Geography

Vaughan Cornish**23 June 1925**

Chairman: Sir Arthur Young

[The Chairman, introducing Dr. Cornish, said that there was no one more fitted to give an address on the subject. His interest in geographical research had extended over the long period of 30 years.]

UNDER the terms of the Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments, signed on February 6th, 1922, Hong Kong, hitherto the headquarters of the Royal Navy in eastern waters, cannot be provided with the large dry docks needed for the cleaning and repair of the latest capital ships, and the nearest harbour now available as a maintenance base of the Fleet in the island of Singapore, which is in round figures, 370 nautical miles (430 statute or land miles) west of the meridian of 110°E, now known as "the Washington Line," and is 1,350 nautical miles more distant than Hong Kong from the Japanese ports.

In order to maintain the speed necessary for efficiency, the ships of a modern fleet must have the hull cleaned about every six months, and repairs have also to be done pretty frequently in dry dock. It takes years to construct a dry dock, and herein lies the urgency of the work at Singapore, for we have no dry docks in eastern waters capable of taking capital ships of the bulged type adopted since the battle of Jutland, and these would consequently have periodically to make a 12,000 mile voyage to Malta and back for cleaning and repair. They would thus be much away from their station in time of peace, and repair in war time would be almost impossible, not only on account of the distance, but because of the risk that a damaged ship might block the Suez Canal. The strategical considerations governing the decision to establish a fully-equipped naval maintenance base at Singapore are world-wide in their scope, and not only call for a study of the map of the world, but for a re-orientation of the maps which we are accustomed to use. The difficulty of displaying the

plan of the continents and oceans is not completely solved by the use of a globe, for only half can be seen at once. This drawback is avoided by a map of the world in hemispheres. The main object being usually to display the continents, the map is cut along the continuous meridians 20°W and 160°E which run down the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which is the best practicable division between the lands, although it separates New Zealand and Australia.

This map appears in most atlases and cannot be altogether dispensed with, but the map mostly used is that which only cuts once across the east and west communications of the world. The division is usually down the Pacific, neither dividing the continents nor cutting across the steamship tracks of the Atlantic. The cut is usually along the meridian 180° , which makes the meridian of Greenwich the centre of the map. This division is convenient for time-keeping, but topographically the meridian 160°W is better for the cut, as it is more nearly equal division of this ocean, and keeps most of the islands of the South Pacific together on the Australasian side of the map, instead of representing a considerable proportion as if they were on the opposite side of the world. On the Mercator and other cylindrical projections an attempt is sometimes made to get rid of the drawback of representing the opposite sides of the Pacific as back to back by repeating the Asiatic and Australasian coasts, which thus appear both on the left and right of the map; but, although convenient for reference, this map tends to confuse the mental picture of the world, a very serious drawback, for our power of apprehension when we hear or read the news of world-politics depends in no small measure upon the sharpness of the picture of the world which we carry in our mind. We have, however, entered upon an era, of which the end is not to be expected during the lifetime of present statesmen, in which we require a map of the world which will show without interruption the communications of the Asiatic and Australasian coast of the Pacific westwards and eastwards with Europe and North America respectively. In Chinese affairs the United States does not hold aloof, as is her policy, as far as possible, in Europe; and questions to which the United States is a party cannot be settled by the League of Nations, whose decisions are not binding upon the American Republic. It is, moreover, in North America and Australia, not in Europe, that national status is a practical question for the Japanese; and mainly in the monsoon region of Asia, comprising India as well as China and Japan, that the problem of achieving the harmony of "Colour" confronts the British Empire. The ideal line

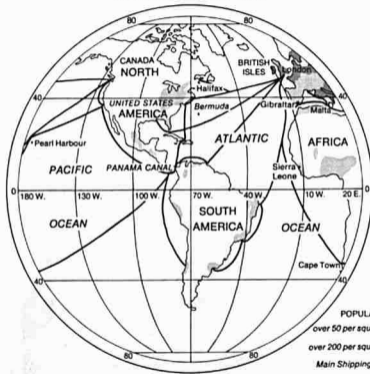
of division for the map would be a meridian not crossed by the fleet of any naval power when cruising between its stations. Previous to the construction of the Panama Canal it would not, I think, have been possible to find this line of division. Until the American navy was provided with this short cut, the voyage from the naval ship-building yards on the Atlantic to the Pacific coast and Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands, took the American fleet eastwards half-way across the Atlantic, for Brazil extends east of the meridian 35°W . Now, however, the line of communication of the American fleet follows the meridian 75°W from Hampton Roads at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay to Windward Passage, between Haiti and Cuba, with the station of Guantanamo on the latter island, to Colon, the fortified entrance port of the Panama Canal. The ruling dimensions of this fine waterway are those of its locks, 1,000 feet long, 110 feet wide, and with a depth of 41 feet, 9 inches of fresh water on the sills of the upper locks, which is equivalent to 40 feet of salt water.

Bermuda and the Atlantic ports of Canada lie east of 70°W , and the chain of stations of the Royal Navy extends eastwards from these ports across the Atlantic and Indian Ocean and as far as the western part of the South Pacific Ocean. Thus it will be found that the meridian 70°W is a good division between the stations ordinarily used by the fleets of the naval powers. This meridian leaves Portland (Maine) on the west, crosses the peninsula of Cape Cod, and traverses Nantucket Island. Thus it leaves every considerable port of the United States on the west and those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia on the east. It crosses Haiti and reaches the continent of South America at almost its most northerly part. There are, indeed, British possessions in the Caribbean west of this line and American possessions east of it, but in neither case are they links in the main chain of naval stations.

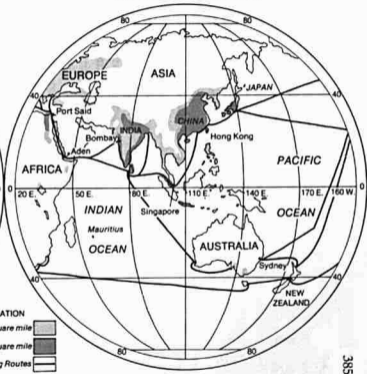
The meridian 70°W keeps wholly to the continent of South America until it crosses the Straits of Magellan and passes through Tierra del Fuego about 60 miles from the frontier of Chile and the Argentine, leaving the Falkland Islands on the east.




Having chosen the meridian 70°W , as the division of the map on account of the relevant fact that fleets turn their backs upon it, our map is consequently centred on the meridian 110°E . The maritime significance of this line is due mainly to the fact that it traverses centrally the East Indian Seas whose intricate channels connect the Indian Ocean with the open waters of the Western Pacific. Further more, as it cuts the Indo-Chinese peninsula on the west and Australia

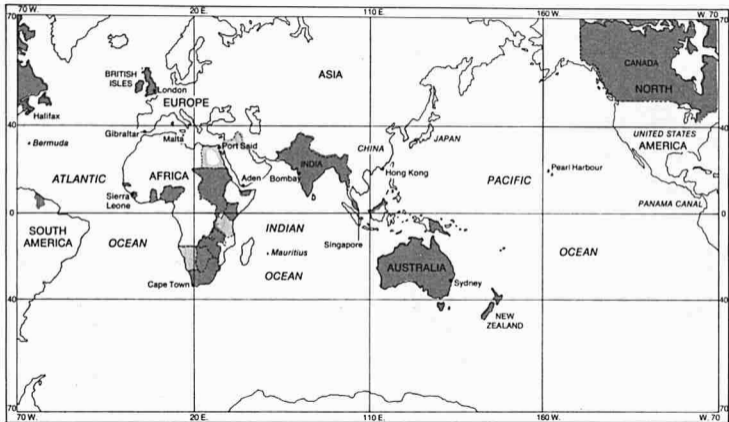
WEST INDIAN HEMISPHERE



EAST INDIAN HEMISPHERE



POPULATION
 over 50 per square mile 
 over 200 per square mile 
 Main Shipping Routes 



ATLANTIC QUADRANT

INDIAN OCEAN QUADRANT

WEST PACIFIC QUADRANT

EAST PACIFIC QUADRANT

on the east, it makes as good a division as any meridian can across a region whose structural lines run from north-west to south-east. This meridian seldom appears upon a map of the world, as the usual practice is to mark either those at intervals of 20° from the meridian of Greenwich, or at 15° , corresponding to a difference of one hour in local time. I recall, for instance, that when illustrating geographical lectures delivered to naval and military officers during the War, I had to mark the line strongly in ink upon the lantern slide maps in order to emphasize its strategical importance. Since those days the attention of everyone has been drawn to this meridian by its selection in the Washington Treaty as the eastern limit beyond which the British Empire is precluded from developing naval bases in Asiatic waters and the Pacific, except in New Zealand, Australia, and the islands held in sovereignty by the latter.

Taking our map of the world centred at 110°E , and divided at 70°W , and studying it in connection with Article XIX of the Washington Treaty of February 6th, 1922, we find that the meridian half-way between the centre and the right hand of the map, that of 160°W , although not mentioned in the treaty, has in fact acquired a new political and strategic importance. Its physical importance as a central meridian of the Pacific has already been referred to. Under the Treaty the United States has agreed not to develop or fortify the Aleutian Islands or any of the Oceanic Islands of the Pacific, except the Hawaiian group. The meridian 160°W , runs just west of Oahu, the Hawaiian island where Pearl Harbour, the naval base, and Honolulu, the commercial port, are situated; and the other principal islands of the group lie to the east. The United States holds no oceanic islands between these and the American continent, so that the territorial restrictions of the Treaty have not, at present, any practical application to America east of 160°W Long. The Aleutian Islands, American Samoa, Guam and the Philippines, which may not be further fortified, all lie in the quadrant between 160°W and 110°E , which I shall call the West Pacific quadrant. Pearl Harbour, the Panama Canal, and the Home Ports, where the United States is not restricted by the territorial provisions of the Treaty, lie in the quadrant between 160°W and 70°W , which I call the East Pacific quadrant.

Of the British islands in the Pacific, the cable station of Fanning Island in $158^{\circ} 23' \text{ W. Long.}$, is almost the only one of even minor strategical importance which is outside the West Pacific quadrant, which also comprises Japan with its possessions and mandated

islands. All the islands formerly held by Germany in the Pacific also lie in this quadrant, some in the northern, others in the southern hemisphere. As the former have been mandated to Japan, the latter to Australia and New Zealand, the Equator has become a political barrier athwart the West Pacific quadrant. If we note the intersections of meridians and parallels it is easy to recognize that the Straits of Singapore are not far from the antipodes of the Panama Canal. The Strait of Sunda, the entrance of the Indian Ocean south of Sumatra, is still closer, Batavia, capital of the Dutch East Indies, being the port most nearly antipodal to that of Panama. Unfortunately, the flat tint laid upon maps so camouflages the solid modelling, that even a circular map of a hemisphere induces forgetfulness of the bulge of the equator. Thus is it only by the meridians and parallels that we are reminded that the route from Panama across the Pacific by way of the Tropics is not a short cut. The actual fact is that the steaming distance from Panama to Manila by way of Pearl Harbour and Guam is the same as by San Francisco and Yokohama.* Even a globe, when turned upon its polar axis and viewed in the usual way, does not always dispel the illusion that the coast of Asia and the Americas embraces the Pacific north of the equator with a bold curve. If, however, the globe be taken in the hands and turned round so as to keep the continental shore directly under the eye from Arica in Chile by way of Alaska and Kamchatka to Singapore, it will be realized that this line of shore, extending more than half-way round the world, is not an enclosing curve, the Asiatic coast continuing in the same direction as the American, as straight in its general direction as the equator itself. This fact illustrates the significance of the mutual undertaking of the United States not to fortify the Aleutian Islands, and of Japan not to notify the Kurile Islands. These long approaching chains are nearer the lines of navigation than appears upon the map, for the course of steamships from Vancouver to Yokohama runs close alongside the chain of the Aleutians and within 50 miles of Shikotan island, one of the Kuriles.†

Japan has also agreed not to undertake naval developments in the Loo Choo Islands, Formosa and the Pescadores. The last named, distant about 300 nautical miles from Hong Kong, lie in the Formosa Strait and are situated close to the Tropic of Cancer, as is the Chinese

*See Table VI, p. IV, *Panama Canal Traffic and Tolls*, by Emory R. Johnson, Special Commissioner, Washington, 1912.

†See *Ocean Passages for the World*, published by order of the Admiralty.

port of Swatow on the opposite mainland. This strait, which marks the boundary between the Japanese and Occidental portions of the immense chain of islands which fringes Eastern Asia and constitutes Australasia, is an important passage, so that the Pescadores occupy a commanding position. The chain of the Loo Choo and other islands connecting Formosa with Japan proper makes a strong line of naval communication, and the withdrawal by Japan of her sphere of naval development in these parts from 21°N to 29°N is an important concession. America on her part has agreed not to develop naval bases in the Philippines or at Guam, the place of call between Pearl Harbour and the Philippines. The Bonin islands north of Guam, which belong to Japan, are also not to be strengthened. Another concession offsetting the undertaking of the Japanese with reference to the Pescadores and Loo Choo islands is that of the British Government not to undertake naval development in Hong Kong or British Borneo, which involves a withdrawal from 22°N to 1°N, the latitude of Singapore. Here I must combat the contention of Rear-Admiral A. P. Niblack, U.S.N., that "there is nothing in the [Washington] Treaty which prevents the development and fortification of a naval base at Kowloon,* opposite Hong Kong, as it is the leased territory and on the main land of China, hence not insular."† Article XIX, which contains the territorial provisions has three clauses, relating to America, the British Empire and Japan respectively. The first refers to "the insular possessions which the United States now holds." The third to "the following insular territories and possessions of Japan," the second to "Hong Kong and the insular possessions which the British Empire now holds." In political geography the name Hong Kong means the Crown Colony so designated, of which Kowloon is a part, so that the fortification of Kowloon, as it appears to me, is both contrary to the intention of the Washington Treaty, and also forbidden by the wording of Article XIX. The decision not to strengthen the Loo Choo Islands, Formosa, the Pescadores and Hong Kong, must be viewed also from the Chinese standpoint. Taken together with the restoration of Kiaochow by Japan, as agreed in a treaty signed at Washington, February 4th, 1922, this is a

*The peninsula of Kowloon, where the wharves and docks are situated, has been held by Great Britain in full sovereignty since 1860. The "Kowloon Extension" was leased in 1898.

†See *Brassey's Naval Annual*, 1925, Chapter VIII, *American Naval Policy*, by Rear-Admiral A. P. Niblack, U.S.N., p. 106.

loosening of the armed cordon drawn in front of the ports of China from the Canton River to the peninsula of Shantung.

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Having now examined the two quadrants in which lie the communications from the Atlantic shipyards of the United States, west-about to the Philippines and China, let us examine the British communications from the Atlantic coast of Canada on the left of our map eastwards to India and Australasia. A direct line connecting Halifax, Nova Scotia, east-about with Fremantle, Western Australia, about half the circumference of the world, straight upon the globe, but curved in an S upon the Mercator Map, passes through Lower Egypt in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, conforming in a general way with our most important line of inter-Imperial communications.* At one extremity lies the Canadian railway system, at the other the railway system of Australia. Between Canada and the western ports of Great Britain the route is not flanked by foreign ports. In the Mediterranean, on the contrary, it is closely flanked by the ports of two naval powers, France and Italy, as well as by those of several other nations. This vulnerable part of the route is, however, provided in Gibraltar and Malta with a pair of naval stations better equipped than the oversea naval stations of any other Power in any part of the world. The Suez Canal, the one part of the route which is dominated from the land, is protected by the British garrison in Egypt. Our naval communications with eastern waters are, however, not merely dependent upon the security of this waterway, but upon its adequacy, and it is, therefore, important that the extent of the improvements recently effected by the Suez Canal Company, and those now in progress, should be precisely stated. At the time of writing† ships are authorized to pass through the Canal drawing as much as 32 feet, which is greater than the draught of any ship in the Royal Navy. The limit is determined by allowing for an accumulation of loose sand of one metre thickness and a clearance of at least one metre between the ship's keel and the surface of this loose deposit. The soft nature of the bed of the Canal makes the process of

* See also *The Geographical Position of the British Empire*, Presidential address to the Geographical Section of the British Association, 1923, by Vaughan Cornish.

† Information received from the *Bureau de Renseignements* (London) *Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez*, April 6th, 1925.

deepening relatively easy, and under the scheme authorized in 1921, and now being carried out, the excavated depth will be 42 feet 8 inches, which will give a depth of clean salt water above the deposit of loose sand of 39 feet 5 inches, allowing the passage of ships drawing 35, or perhaps, 36 feet. In the communication of M. Ed. Quellennec, Technical Adviser of the Suez Canal Company, to the International Congress of Navigation in London (1923), it is stated that:—

"This new scheme provides . . . for the transit of ships measuring 45,000 tons gross, length 265 metres [870 feet], width 29 metres [95.1 feet], draught 10.67 metres [35 feet]," but the width, or beam, appears to be merely mentioned incidentally as that of the class of merchant ships for which the scheme is specially intended to provide. The Company does not lay down a specific rule as to beam, or even as to length, but for draught only; and even the present width of the canal is sufficient not only for the beam of the largest merchant ships, but for the much greater beam of our bulged capital ships, which is 106 feet. At the present time the narrowest parts of the canal are 147 feet across at a depth of 32.9 feet, and, as the sides slope gently, this broadens out to 350 feet at the surface, allowing a large margin at the depth of the ship's greatest bulging. That there is plenty of room is illustrated by the recorded fact that, in January, 1916, two ships passed one another at a point where the bottom of the canal was 147 feet wide, of which one, the "Franconia," had a beam of 71.35 feet and the other, the French battleship "Jauregui-bery," a beam of 72.7 feet, making a total of 144 feet; and expert opinion can be quoted in favour of the view that no ship is too long to pass through.*

As regards the length of ships which can be accommodated, we know that the battle-cruiser "Renown," with an extreme length of 794 feet, has passed through, and there is only one ship of greater length in the navy, the "Hood," of 860 feet extreme length. This is shorter than some of the ocean liners, and as naval ships answer the helm much more readily and turn more sharply, the present dimensions of the canal are probably sufficient to permit the passage of the "Hood." Thus, the energy and enterprise of the Suez Canal Company have provided a waterway which is adequate, and bids fair to continue adequate, to the needs of the Royal Navy. From Egypt to India our maritime communications are not flanked by the home

*Letter from the *Bureau de Renseignements*, April 14th, 1925.

ports of any naval power. At the narrow strait of Bab el Mandeb we hold the island of Perim, which might otherwise be a menace, and the fortified port of Aden provides a half-way fuelling station. At Colombo is the parting of the ways for the Far East and Australia respectively. The Australian route, 3,121 miles from Colombo to Fremantle, is flanked by the East Indian Islands with their numerous passages. Beyond them lie the home ports of Japan, the third power of the world in respect of effective ships, and having the strategic advantage of a compact Empire and a position remote from all foreign shipbuilding yards. In the early days of the twentieth century the Royal Navy had all necessary facilities for securing the passages of the East Indian Islands, Hong Kong being then adequately maintained as naval dockyard, garrisoned, and fortified. I well remember the imposing spectacle presented by our great warships gathered there in 1903, the year before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war. Shortly before my visit to Hong Kong I had seen a powerful Russian squadron at Port Said *en route* for Port Arthur; after leaving Hong Kong we met a strong Japanese squadron cruising by the Loo Choo Islands, and when we entered Tokyo Bay the best part of the American battle fleet were lying at anchor, as well as Russian cruisers from Vladivostock. In those days, when it needed no imagination to realize the magnitude of rival interests in Far Eastern waters, there was solid satisfaction in the prospect from the peak at Hong Kong, the bird's eye view of a Malta in the East. Now, however, under the terms of the Washington Treaty, Hong Kong cannot again be reconstituted as a base of this class, and the ability of the fleet to guard the passages of the East Indian Islands will depend upon the development of a first class naval dockyard at Singapore. It is, however, an accepted principle that such establishments should be few and strong, and before arriving at a final judgment upon the Singapore policy we must complete the present survey of our lines of maritime communication, and see if there be any position of equal importance which equally calls for strengthening. Proceeding southwards from Gibraltar, instead of by the Mediterranean, we see that communication between Great Britain and South Africa is strengthened by the ample harbourage of Freetown, Sierra Leone (a port commonly called "Sierra Leone" for short) and communication between South Africa and India by the deep and sheltered haven of Port Louis in the Island of Mauritius.

The route from the Cape to Tasmania and New Zealand is far removed from all foreign naval bases; the Pacific routes to New

Zealand from Great Britain can be dispensed with for naval purposes; foreign naval stations eastward of New Zealand are too distant to call for consideration; and, as railways provide communication from the Atlantic ports of Canada to British Columbia, the military reinforcement of that province from Great Britain is not dependent upon the navigation of the Pacific. Thus we arrive by a process of exclusion at the final result that the one great gap of a remediable character, which exists in the strategical communications of the Empire is at the passages to the Indian Ocean between the East Indian Islands; so that the claims of Singapore are paramount. I use the cautionary phrase "of a remediable character," because, even if we fall back on the Cape route to the Indian Ocean and West Pacific, the intervals between our naval stations are flanked in the Channel and Bay of Biscay by the home ports of the French, and in the Atlantic by the ports of their North African Possessions. Alike in Europe, Africa, and Asia, the British and French stand cheek by jowl, mutually vulnerable, and with corresponding advantages of alliance.



Still keeping the Washington Line, 110°E , in front, let us narrow our field of view to the hemisphere, to that which we can see when looking at a globe from this direction. The view is then bounded by the meridians 20°E and 160°W . This hemisphere comprises the Indian Ocean quadrant and West Pacific quadrant, and as the central meridian passes through the East Indian archipelago, may be called the East Indian Hemisphere. From the standpoint of racial and historical geography, it is more truly Oriental than the map usually called "the Eastern Hemisphere," which is centred on the meridian 70°E , for the latter unites Europeans and Asiatics and separates Europeans and Americans. The map of the East Indian hemisphere keeps Constantinople and Cairo united with Asia, which is in accordance with their religious adherence; and although the inclusion of Moscow is contrary to the main racial affinity of the Russians, it accords with the important physical fact that the metropolitan part of Russia is situated upon rivers which do not flow towards the Atlantic, but to the interior of Asia. Within 400 nautical miles of the centre of the hemisphere stands Singapore, the new eastern Capital of the British Navy, its position focal as well as central, for it is the meeting of maritime ways from north-west,

north-east and south-east, as well as a haven on the air-ways. Malta, the nearest first-class station of the British Navy, lies outside the hemisphere, and Pearl Harbour in Hawaii, the naval outpost of the United States, away on the right, is also hidden by the shoulder of the world. In the East Indian hemisphere, Japan is seen as the only country where capital ships are built. Australia and New Zealand, in the West Pacific quadrant, appear in their isolation from other White men's lands, and, if the map of the land be shaded so as to indicate density of population, we see how the half of mankind is concentrated in the monsoon region of Asia and the neighbouring East Indian islands. In order to realize the great importance of the Singapore Strait, at the eastern entrance of the long Strait of Malacca, as a gateway of the Indian Empire, it is only necessary to examine an orographical map, which shows how the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas, with their eastern and south-eastern ramifications, debar land communications with China. With reference to other eastern approaches of the Indian Ocean the significant distances from Singapore are: Batavia, near the Straits of Sunda, 525 nautical miles; Straits of Lombok (east of Java) 963 nautical miles; Port Darwin (north coast of Australia) 1,887 nautical miles.

The strategical importance of Singapore is, however, not only naval, for it is a necessary aerodrome between India and Australia, and, therefore, an essential link in the aerial communications between Australia and Great Britain. Thus, even if in the course of the twentieth century the task of protecting maritime communications become more aerial and less naval, the strategical importance of Singapore will not necessarily diminish. The Island of Singapore, where the port of the same name is situated, has almost exactly the length and breadth of the Isle of Wight, has a general similarity of outline, and is similarly oriented. The port, which stands on the south-east-facing shore in a position recalling that of Ventnor, in the Isle of Wight, has a depth of 40 feet of water in the approach even at low tide. The highway of traffic which it faces, as the Isle of Wight faces the English Channel, is now known as Singapore Strait, the narrow passage between Singapore Island and the mainland being known as Johore Strait, or sometimes as the Old Strait, which is short for "Singapore Old Strait." Singapore Strait (the main strait on the south of the island) has a width of about nine miles across to Batam and Bintang, islands of the same order of magnitude as Singapore. These, with the numerous smaller islands in the vicinity, are Dutch possessions. The island of Singapore is under direct

British sovereignty, being the metropolitan part of a Crown Colony called the Straits Settlements, which must not be confused with the Federated Malay States, which are a British Protectorate. The neighbouring part of the mainland, the terminal portion of the Malay Peninsula, is the State of Johore, not one of the Protected group, but connected with the Empire by a treaty under which the Sultan agrees to accept and act upon the advice of a British officer, who has the title of General Advisor. The Islands of Batam and Bintang and numerous smaller islands in the vicinity of Singapore are, as I have mentioned, Dutch possessions, part of the immense insular dominion of Holland in East Indian waters. Apart from the question of defence, the duties which these possessions entail upon a neutral are very heavy, since the archipelago must be policed in order to ensure that belligerents make no use of the innumerable anchorages beyond that allowed by international law. In this connection it is suggestive that in the conference held in Rome under the auspices of the League of Nations the Government of the Netherlands put forward a programme for more than doubling the strength of their navy, a proposal in striking contrast to the programmes of mere maintenance or relatively small increase put forward by Denmark, Greece, Norway, Spain and Sweden.

The commercial port of Singapore, being situated at the southern turning point of Asia, is very largely used as a port of call for the Far East, and is also largely used for transshipment of goods to and from the East Indian archipelago; besides having its own proper trade in goods brought there for sale. There are only about a dozen ports in the world with as large a total trade, and in Asia only two whose trade is distinctly larger, namely Hong Kong and Colombo.* The commercial port has five dry docks, of which the largest is the King's Dock, with a depth of 30 feet 9 inches over the sill at high water of ordinary neap tides, a length of 873 feet, and a breadth at sill-level of 93 feet.† The breadth is, therefore, insufficient to admit capital ships provided with the bulges now adopted as protection against torpedoes, which have a beam of from 101 to 106 feet; neither have we any other dry docks in Asiatic waters which will take in these vessels.

The Singapore Naval Yard, where two docks capable of taking

* *Whitaker's Almanac*, 1925.

† See *Dominions Royal Commission, Memoranda as to the chief Harbours of the British Empire*, 1917, p. 83.

bulged capital ships and air-craft carriers are to be provided,* is situated on the north of the island in a position somewhat similar to that of Cowes in the Isle of Wight, facing the mainland across Johore Strait, which is narrower than the straits which separate the Isle of Wight from the mainland of Hampshire. West of the dockyard the Strait is crossed by a railway viaduct, and as this is not provided with a swingbridge sufficient to permit the passage of a large ship, the naval yard is practically limited to one entrance, that on the east.

Of the 24 armoured ships in the present Navy, the nine bulged ships are the up-to-date vessels embodying the lessons of the battle of Jutland, and of the 15 ships which can now be taken in at Singapore 13 will be scrapped in the course of ten years under the terms of the Washington Treaty.† If the new vessels which replace them have a beam equal to that of the other post-Jutland ships, there will only be two capital ships able to enter the King's Dock at Singapore in ten years from now. About that time, however, the two new naval docks are due for completion.‡

* . . .

The word "Singapore" has come to have associations with the White Australia policy. This has been uncritically described as an effort to prevent congested populations in Asia from colonizing empty lands. In point of fact it does not do so, for the Asiatic coolie has empty land at the doors of his own country. The Asiatic lands, continental and insular, adjacent to Japan, China, and India, which are suitable in soil and climate for colonization by Asiatics, exceed in area all the land of tropical Australia, California, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, put together. The real effect of the exclusion policy is to hinder the Asiatic from earning large wages and making high profits. If this results in his colonizing his own Continent, the upshot will be beneficial to his descendants, for it is in Asia, not in Occidental countries, that the Oriental can enjoy full national life and develop his own civilization. Of the problems of the East-Indian hemisphere which will occupy the attention of the nations of the world for many decades, none are of greater importance than those relating to China. As the possession of a naval

*One graving dock and one floating dock.

†See *Brassey's Naval Annual*, 1925, pp. 382-84.

‡See *e.g.*, *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 56, No. 17, March 13th, 1924, p. 770.

base at Malta has lent weight to the word of His Majesty's Government in Balkan affairs, so will the naval base at Singapore help to ensure that our voice shall be heard in the settlement of the affairs of China. As a trading nation and Oriental Power, the United Kingdom has great material interests involved in China; and as a nation of humanitarian idealists, for such in fact we are, we are bound in conscience to take a hand in safeguarding the future of the Chinese, the most populous of all nations, unrivalled in industry, yet sunk in poverty, civilized, but politically helpless.

The considerations which I have put forward are, I think, sufficient to show that the efficiency of the Navy in the West Pacific and Indian Ocean quadrants is dependent upon the construction of a fully-equipped naval dockyard in those waters, and that Singapore has the most commanding strategical position which our territories provide for the eastern Capital of the Navy. The defence of the island is strategically favoured by its remoteness from the main bases of other naval powers. The number of islands in the neighbourhood is a tactical drawback, minimized, however, by the fact that they are under the efficient government of a minor European power. I have no doubt that, if the subject were generally studied, there would be an overwhelming majority in favour of the conclusion that a naval dockyard in eastern waters is essential to the efficiency of the fleet; and I think that a substantial majority would agree with the recommendation of the Admiralty that it should be at Singapore. The view that the project is provocative is usually supported by a line of argument which almost ignores the Indian Ocean and concentrates attention on the Pacific. This is, however, an unbalanced view of the strategical geography. The essential fact is that, unless the communications of the Indian Ocean be secured, a United British Empire can only continue by the favour and sufferance of foreign powers.

Captain ALTHAM, R.N., said he felt honoured in being asked by the Institute to say a few words on the question. He proposed to devote himself to its purely naval aspect. If we were to understand the extent of our naval responsibilities we must, as the great Lord Salisbury once said, "study large maps." Owing to the lack of the study of such maps we were wont to remain insular in our outlook, and as a result often failed to appreciate how extensive are our interests all over the world, and how they can be preserved only by maintaining a balance of power comparable with those interests. It

would be difficult to have a more timely lecture than the present in view of the existing situation in China. If it had done nothing else, the situation there had shown how unbalanced were our forces in that quarter of the world. It was a curious coincidence that while great national British interests were being assailed in China the great mass of the United States fleet was half-way across the Pacific Ocean, after having been engaged in manoeuvres based round their great outpost in the Pacific. At the same time, just round the corner, so to speak, was the whole mass of the Japanese navy. With as large interests at least as those of any other power, we were unable, at the present time, to send out and maintain in those waters for any considerable period fleets that were comparable with those of Japan or the United States. In passing, he might remind them that the latter, based on Pearl Harbour, was much nearer the scene of the present troubles than our nearest base of Malta. He had consulted the Navy List and found that 20 years ago we maintained no less than five first-class battleships and four big protected cruisers of some 11,000 tons in the Chinese waters—a very different representation of our power from that which we maintain to-day.

He thought we were inclined to mix up repair bases with operation bases. Those who had motor cars realized that, from time to time, a car had to go into dock, as it were, while at other times the car kept on running, merely calling at fuel stations. A battleship was just the same. These fueling stations would have to be dotted round as jumping-off places from which various forces could operate against the enemy. But at the back of the operation bases must be those big garage or repair bases. Singapore was not necessarily an operation base. It formed a bulwark to the lines of communication across the ocean. Dr. Cornish had shown why Singapore was such an important strategical centre. It had been suggested that Sydney would be just as good and in many ways better, because Sydney would have the backing of the whole resources of Australia. He controverted that view. A repair base, such as Singapore, must be fitted to contain a large fleet from the homeland, and one must realize the enormous difficulty of feeding a string of supplies right up to Sydney. Australia did not contain the resources necessary to maintain a big fleet. Moreover, the cost of creating a base such as we possessed at Singapore would be absolutely prohibitive at the present rate of wages in Australia. It would cost between 20 and 30 million pounds to build a dry dock alone in that country, while the total cost of Singapore was estimated at something under 10 million. He suggested that this

Singapore controversy during the past three or four years had been converted from a question of what was an Imperial need to a mere political tag. It was high time that we should get back to this Imperial need. Our whole position in the Far East was in extreme jeopardy. We were there literally on the sufferance of the two next great sea powers. Exceptional efforts should therefore be made to restore our position. Floating equipment should be despatched as a temporary expedient. It would not be a substitute for permanent works but the floating dock now destined for Malta should be sent on to Singapore; the China squadron should be augmented by the despatch of a battle cruiser to be followed by others when available. This would do no more than restore our pre-War strength in these waters and enable us to exercise that influence on affairs in the Far East that our interest and the geographical position of the Dominions and other British territory justified.

COMMANDER MARSDEN, R.N., thanked Dr. Cornish for his admirable address, which would undoubtedly help people to realize how much this Empire depended on keeping open our trade routes. At the present time, he said, if we were defending our trade routes they would be attacked by the strongest cruisers afloat on the ocean. We wanted cruisers of the same kind to counteract their activities. If we were attacked by battleships we must in that respect also keep our end up. Therefore, we must have a strong navy to look after the strongest ships afloat. It seemed to be really necessary to keep on reiterating that the sea is the life of this Empire. We did not know who the enemy would be, but we must keep on the footing that we should be able to maintain our trade routes against any possible or probable enemy. There could be no question of provocation when measures were taken simply to protect your own interests. Our actions, he contended, are not provocative to Japan.

Dr. H. B. MORSE spoke of the importance that was attached to the Singapore area by the early navigators, particularly by the Portuguese, and said there were many lessons to be learnt from history to show the important functions which Singapore would fulfil in the future.

Miss EUPHEMIA SMITH urged that the protection of our Empire ought not to be a matter of controversy in any quarter.

The Rev. W. J. MACKAIN reminded the meeting that not many years ago Trincomalee in Ceylon was used as a naval base, and suggested that Singapore might be regarded as a substitute for that station.

Mr. HUGH GUNN said how much he enjoyed Dr. Cornish's address and that he particularly appreciated the admirable maps which had illustrated it. He urged that everything possible should be done to encourage the people of our Empire to realize the connection of one part with the other and the absolute necessity of communications by sea as the connecting link.

The CHAIRMAN moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Cornish for his admirable and instructive address—an address which, he said, had proved that the very existence of our Empire depended on the command of the sea. Our land forces would have been helpless in the late war if our Navy with the whole-hearted co-operation of our splendid Mercantile Service had not obtained that command. In a future war the air and chemicals would, no doubt, have a large say, but there must be very few people who did not consider that the Empire must insure itself by keeping the command of the sea and giving the Navy adequate and efficient bases for its operations. In this connection he recalled that the real discoverer and founder of Singapore was Sir Stamford Raffles. It was a pity, he thought, that that distinguished man—one of our greatest Empire builders—was now so little remembered, though there was a memorial to him in Westminster Abbey.

Dr. CORNISH briefly replied. A vote of thanks was given to Sir Arthur Young for presiding.

Replying on the discussion, Dr. Vaughan Cornish said that they were much indebted to Captain Altham for his clear statement as to the two classes of naval bases (other than Constructional), viz.: the Maintenance and the Operational. With reference to what had been said about Sydney, this position was in no sense a substitute for Singapore even in relation to the safety of Australia. The prime object of the naval bases of the Empire was not the local defence of the separate lands, but the maintenance of communications between the lands. For this a position flanking the line from Great Britain to Australia was much better than a point at the further end of that line.

Some Problems of Education and Public Health in Malaya

George Maxwell

8 March 1927

Chairman: Sir Charles Lucas

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., who presided, said that Malaya was one of the parts of the world in which British administration had been most conspicuously fruitful—fruitful in the method of indirect control, upon which Sir Frederick Lugard had written so much and so well—a method of governing through native machinery, through the native leaders of the people, and in accordance with their customs. To all who had followed the record of British rule in Malaya, some names had become almost household words. This was especially true of the name of Maxwell. The lecturer's grandfather was Chief Judge of Singapore, having gone out some 70 years ago.¹ His son, the father of the lecturer, Sir William Maxwell, whom he himself knew very well, was one of the very foremost of the band of exceptionally able men who laid the foundations of the Malay protectorate, while Sir George Maxwell himself, in the third generation, had been markedly able and effective as Chief Secretary. He might add that the lecturer's father, Sir William Maxwell, was the first of quite a number of able men whom the Malay Peninsula supplied to be Governors on the West Coast of Africa. He owed a personal debt of gratitude to Sir George Maxwell in connection with the Royal Colonial Institute work on "The Empire at War," and expressed to him now his acknowledgement of the endless trouble which he took in order that those sections relating to Malaya should be adequate and do justice to that great province.

Sir GEORGE MAXWELL, having thanked the Chairman for the kind terms in which he had referred to his family, said that when he was asked to read a Paper it was suggested that he should make some observations on Malaya as a whole, but he decided to concentrate on one or two subjects. What he had to say about them was from the

point of view of an administrator concerned with the general problems of the country, and not that of the Education or Medical Department.

EDUCATION.—It is convenient to classify the educational system of Malaya under the headings of education in English and education in the vernacular languages respectively. To which side the Government attaches the great importance, I cannot say; and I can well imagine that the Government would not like to make an official pronouncement. I myself have always considered education in the vernacular to be the more important, and have not hesitated on occasion to express a purely personal opinion to that effect. The Education Department, quite unconsciously to a certain extent, I think, devotes the greater part of its attention to the English side. The tendency for this is great. The English schools absorb by far the greatest part of the European staff and practically the whole of the English-speaking Asiatic staff. The status of the European and English-speaking Asiatic masters is far higher than that of the Asiatic masters of the vernacular schools, and they express their feelings, ideas and requirements with far greater freedom. The boys at the English schools in the big towns are more in evidence than the boys of the vernacular schools. As a rule, too, they belong to a wealthier class, and their parents are men of influence in the country. The English schools are much bigger than the vernacular schools; and generally speaking, I am afraid that they attract considerably more than their fair share of attention.

The Malay vernacular schools for boys and girls throughout Malaya are exclusively maintained by the Governments, and the education is absolutely free. The Chinese vernacular schools, with, I think, only a solitary exception, are maintained by the Chinese communities of the places in which the schools are situated. The pupils generally pay small monthly school fees; and since 1923 the Government has instituted a grant-in-aid system on a capitation basis. The Tamil vernacular schools are mostly in, or near, the rubber estates. Some are Government institutions; and some of the others receive a grant-in-aid. A more generous salary scale for teachers in the Chinese and Tamil vernacular schools would produce a better man than can be attracted at present, and a more liberal grant-in-aid would be helpful.

I have taken the figures of the 1921 census of the Federated Malay States relating to the ages of children between five and fourteen, and compared them with returns of the school enrolments for the year

1925. Five is admittedly below the school joining age, and fourteen is below the school leaving age; these are, however, the only figures available, and they will serve. These figures show that in the Federated Malay States, education at a vernacular school is obtained by one Malay boy in two, by one Malay girl in twenty, one Chinese boy in two, and one Tamil boy in every two and a half. Although due allowance must be made for the number of Malays, Chinese and Tamils at the English schools, these figures are not satisfactory in themselves; and it is rather disconcerting to find that the Chinese community, by a system of purely voluntary contribution, can provide education for its nationality in as high a proportion as that provided by the Government for the Malays. The ideal, I think, should be that every Malay village, however isolated, which could provide, let us say, 30 boys of school age, should have a Malay school.

A practical difficulty has always been the one not so much of finding the money for school buildings as of getting the Public Works Department to build them. It is difficult to get a contractor, who is almost always a Chinese, to take a contract to build a school in some remote Malay village to which access is difficult. His artisans, who are also almost always Chinese, don't care about it, and the building isn't big enough to make the contract attractive. On the other hand, the Malay village would be perfectly happy with a school building and teachers' houses of wood and thatch, or even bamboo and thatch, like their own houses. The Public Works Department is out of its element in this sort of work. The attempt has been made, time after time, with the utmost goodwill; and often the District Officers have come to their assistance with excellent results. But somehow or another, back again we drift to specifications and plans, and to type blank school, type blank teachers' house, type blank outhouses, and so on. It must readily be conceded that permanent, or semi-permanent, buildings are really more economical than those of the Malay temporary type. On the other hand it is better to have an inferior article than an unattainable one; and if the Government is successfully to make an intensive campaign to catch up arrears, and provide the Malay schools which are urgently required, some reorganization will be necessary. Just as every big business organization has an "Estates Branch" or "Estates Office" so the Education Department might be given an Engineer, who might be styled "Officer in Charge, School Buildings." It would be his duty amongst other things to arrange with village headmen and

village contractors for the erection of school buildings. It is seldom possible to arrange to a suitable premises in a Malay village; and this is where the Malay schools are at a disadvantage to the Chinese schools, which are almost always in a rented house in a town. There should be no real difficulty in adjusting this officer's functions between the Public Works Department on one side, and the Education Department on the other. If any one is surprised at the idea of attaching an engineer to the Education Department, I would mention an analogous case, where medical officers are attached to the Railway Department. Some years ago, I discovered that the General Manager for Railways really could not deal with the general health of his staff, and especially with anti-malarial measures; and I arranged for two medical officers to be attached exclusively to his department. The results are excellent.

It is a matter of real and immediate urgency that the Government should pick up the arrears of providing an adequate supply of Malay schools, and should also encourage the supply of Chinese and Tamil schools. I have no hesitation in saying that every boy who cannot get an elementary education in his native language cannot be expected to be satisfied with his lot in life, or with the Government, which to some extent is responsible. Every dissatisfied boy and man is a potential danger to the country; and in the light of this thought, the figures which I have given you regarding the ratio of education to non-education afford matter for reflection.

The education at the Malay schools has greatly improved in recent years. A really good class of Malay vernacular schoolmaster is trained at the Sultan Idris Training College. The College has nearly 250 students, who take a course of three years, with free board and lodging at Government expense. After passing out of the College, they enter the Education Department. When I opened this institution in 1922, I expressed the hope that a similar training college would be established for Malay schoolmistresses for vernacular girls' schools. This is a real want, but nothing has yet been done to supply it.

Of the English schools, the first to be mentioned is the Malay College at Kuala Kangsar, where the sons of Malay royalties and chiefs receive a free English education, including free board and lodging. The students, of whom there are about 130, are all boarders, and most of them enter the Government service when they pass out of the College. There are in the Federated Malay States only 21 Government English schools as against 24 "grant-in-aid" English

schools. All the Government schools are for boys. It is sad that, though there are ten "grant-in-aid" girls' schools, there is not a single Government girls' school. The "grant-in-aid" schools are mostly maintained by American and French missions. It seems hardly right that the country should be so dependent upon foreign missions and foreign teachers, and some ratio might well be fixed between the number and capacity of the Government schools and those of the "grant-in-aid" schools. The Government grant-in-aid makes good the difference between the schools' expenditure and their revenue from very cheap school fees. Personally, I do not like the system. The headmasters dislike, and indeed cannot fail to dislike, a system under which their entire dependence is daily accentuated. The headmaster of a big English "grant-in-aid" school with, let us say, 800 boys, and with a big staff of European masters, has to refer to the Education Department if he wants to get a duster, or a feather brush, costing a penny-ha' penny; and he is liable to be called upon to explain why the last one wore out in two months, whereas the one before that had lasted three months, and the average age was statistically known to be two-point-something. This cannot but be distasteful to both sides. It is however inevitable under the present system. Under the system of "capitation" grants, which until recent years was in force, it did not arise.

The following figures of school enrolments in the Federated Malay States may be interesting:—

Malay boys' schools, about	26,00 pupils
Malay girls' schools, about	3,000 pupils
*Chinese boys' and girls', about	15,000 pupils
*Tamil boys' and girls', about	8,000 pupils
English schools, boys' and girls', all nationalities, nearly	14,000 pupils

I have time for only a passing mention of "Raffles College." In January, 1919, Singapore celebrated the centenary of its founding by Stamford Raffles, and I had the honour of being chairman of a committee to advise how the centenary could best be commemorated. We unanimously recommended the establishment of a college to be named after Raffles. When this recommendation was approved, I was chairman of another committee to collect funds from the public. The response was splendid. The donations varied from a cheque of \$150,000, and several for \$50,000, down to the dollar of

*The number of girls is very small.

the peasant. Thousands of Malays in the remotest villages of the peninsula, to whom Singapore was only a name, gladly and even enthusiastically paid a dollar or two to a scheme to "make teaching higher." The various Governments gave generous support. All this was in 1919. The delay since then has been regrettable owing to difficulties, but at last a start has been made, and some buildings are being erected.

The general education policy of the Federated Malay States Government was expressed by me in my annual report for 1920 in the following words:-

"The aim of the Government is not to turn out a few well-educated youths, nor yet numbers of less well-educated boys; rather it is to improve the bulk of the people and to make the son of the fisherman or peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been, and a man whose education will enable him to understand how his own lot in life fits in with the scheme of life around him."

The fees at the English schools are very low—some five or six shillings a month—and the Federated Malay States Government is most liberal in its "free list." I see, in my annual report for 1925, that nearly 25 per cent. of the pupils pay no school fees. In the circumstances it is inevitable that there should be an insistent demand by parents for more and yet more English schools. Parents, however humble their situation may be, can so easily afford to pay the school fees; and everyone knows that an English-educated boy draws a far higher salary than a boy who only knows his own language, and has an opening for an advancement which is closed to the other. The Government, whilst admitting that more English schools are urgently required, and expressing its intention of providing them, has declared that in this matter it will be guided by regard to the power of the country to absorb the annual output of the English schools, rather than by the very natural, and indeed pathetic, urge of the parents. In being guided in this way, the Government make due allowance for the obvious fact that a certain percentage of boys who pass examinations cannot, unfortunately, obtain or keep appointments. There must be an ample, a more than ample, allowance for wastage of the material, and expansion of the country. I am afraid that the policy is not altogether popular. The cry of the parents is for English schools everywhere; and in a debate in the Federal Council, there was talk of "supply and demand," the "survival of the fittest," and the "devil take the hindermost." Unfortunately the experience

of other countries, in Asia and elsewhere, has been that the failures not only go too readily to "the devil," but they try to take the country with them. The present policy is sound, and I trust that it will not be upset. One point is of essential importance; it is that the son or daughter of the poor man should have an absolutely equal chance of admission to an English school with the child of a millionaire.

I repeat that the difference in wage-earning capacity is great between the boy equipped with nothing but a vernacular education and the boy who has been to an English school. There is a mid-way house, however, namely the "Trade School" and the "Technical School." In the former, the boy gets a training in the vernacular, which makes him a skilled artisan; and in the latter an education in English, which fits him for a much higher position in a technical career. At a certain stage in a boy's development, it becomes fairly clear whether he can better rely upon his head, or his hands, for his success in life. If his head is not up to standard requirements, he ought to make use of his hands; and, giving up a hopeless struggle in the lower classes of an English school, ought to betake himself to a Trade School. The need for Trade Schools is all the greater by reason of the fact, firstly, that the country is dependent upon Chinese skilled labour, which mainly is imported, and secondly, that Malays, if properly trained, make good artisans. They are particularly good electricians, and apt in all lighter work; but generally are not fond of heavier tasks. The Trengganu Malays, however, are good carpenters, masons and smiths; and special attention to their training is now given by the Trengganu Government.

In the circumstances, it is matter for regret that the Federated Malay States Government has, as yet, done so little. The Education Department has no technical schools, and only one trade school—a very small one—which is merely experimental and has not even got a headmaster. A motor mechanic is in charge. Nothing has as yet been done in the Colony of the Straits Settlements; and the reply given in the Legislative Council last December to one of the Chinese members by the Director of Education was to the effect that he proposed to ask for a trade school for the Colony in 1928, but was not satisfied, however, that Singapore was the best place for it. As the male population of Singapore City between the ages of 10 and 14 numbered between 12,000 and 13,000 at the census of 1921, there seems, nevertheless, to be an opening, not only for one, but for many Trade Schools in that city. As a whole, Malaya is in arrears in

this respect. It is a rich country, and it has been called a "country of arrears," but this is a matter in which it cannot afford to lag behind the educated countries.

I would like to return to a much more encouraging aspect of the educational subject. It refers to the Federated Malay States alone, and is our scholarship system. Every year there is an examination for which the best boys from every Malay vernacular school go up. The successful competitors obtain a scholarship, tenable for no less than seven years, which gives them a free education at an English school, and free board and lodging at a Government hostel. At the end of the scholarship period, the boys ought to pass the Junior or Senior Cambridge examination, and to qualify for a number of appointments in the various clerical and subordinate services of the Government. Employment in the business firms is, of course, also open to them. Last year, there were about 350 of these scholarships. The system might, with advantage, be extended to the Chinese and Tamil vernacular schools.

But this is not all. Every year, about six appointments in the Administrative Branch of the Malay Officer's Scheme are opened to competitive examination. Half the appointments are given to the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, and the other half to the Malays of the English schools. The successful competitors, after a further two years' course of tuition, enter the Government service as "Probationers," and work in the District and Land Offices. Later, after passing the same law examination as the European Cadets appointed by the Colonial Office, they become Magistrates or Assistant District Officers. They are also eligible for promotion into the "Malayan Civil Service" proper. Five Malays have already entered the "Malayan Civil Service" in this way. Three Malay officers, all of them magistrates, are now studying in London at the Inner Temple, at Government expense, with a view to qualifying for further promotion in the Government service. It will thus be seen that the intelligent Malay boy has an open path, entirely at Government expense from first to last, from the Malay school of his village to an English school, and thence into the "Malayan Civil Service." In this passing mention of Malays in this country, I would like to take the opportunity of expressing the appreciation of every student from Malaya, whether of Malay, Chinese or other nationality, to the Victoria League and to the Malayan Student's Society, for the hospitality, kindness and assistance in every form extended to them during their stay in this country. The Victoria League is in Cromwell

Road, and the Malayan Students' Society in Cannon Street. Their exact addresses can be found in the Telephone Directory; and if anyone in this country would like to get into touch with the students from Malaya, he need only communicate with one or the other of these two associations.

Before leaving the subject of education, I ought perhaps to refer to the vexed question of whether the head of the Education Department should be a Civil Servant or an educationalist by profession. The argument in favour of the Civil Servant is that he has administrative training and experience; against him it is alleged with some truth that he is Director of Education one day, and that the day before, or the day after, he may have been, or may become, Postmaster-General, Secretary for Agriculture, Commissioner of Customs, or Director of Fisheries. They say, too, with some force, that in each capacity he is regarded by the Government as being the embodiment of all that there is to be said, and known, upon any subject connected with his department for the time being. Against the educationalist, it is said that he may be—but only may be—an impractical theorist or a crank, and that the probabilities are that he will not be as good an administrator as a Civil Servant. We have been fortunate in our Directors of Education, who for many years past have been members of the Civil Service, but my personal opinion is in favour of the trained educationalist.

PUBLIC HEALTH.—Public Health seems to follow naturally upon education. In matters of Public Health the Federated Malay States has a record of which it has reason to be proud. From a Government point of view, the Medical Department is sub-divided into three: there is the Curative side, the Preventive side, and the Research side. They are all closely connected, and it is inevitable, and indeed often desirable, that Prevention and Cure should overlap one another, and overlap, and be overlapped, by Research. Our Leper Asylum at Kuala Lumpur affords a good example of the connection between Research and Cure. I have known the place for many years; and until a few years ago it was the most awful place I have ever seen. Those who remember Rudyard Kipling's story of "The Stranger Ride of Morrowby Jukes" can imagine it. That is the story of a man who, in a fever delirium, rode his pony across an Indian sand desert and was thrown into a horrible sand pit inhabited by some extremely unpleasant people. Everything at the asylum changed soon after Dr. Travers was put in charge. He experimented with a new cure, in which he combined a Chinese remedy known as *Tai Foong Chee*,

with the well-known Chaulmoogra nut. The Chaulmoogra preparation is generally injected into the patient. Dr. Travers gave his by the mouth. The results have been most striking. Open sores and ulcers close up; and in some cases there is every appearance of a cure having been effected, and the patient is released from the asylum. Although the results are not the same in all cases, the change in the asylum has been wonderful. Formerly there was the squalor in which utter misery seems to find some consolation. Now there are not only flower gardens and vegetable patches, but such unexpected things as a clubroom, a brass and string band, and theatricals. It is all due to hope; and you can see hope in every leper's eye when Dr. Travers made his daily rounds.

Dr. Travers was also concerned in an interesting experiment in which Prevention and Cure overlapped. This was in connection with the opium habit. In 1923, the Anti-Opium Societies of the Federated Malay States formed the opinion that the Government looked with a favourable eye upon opium because of the revenue derived from it. I invited a deputation from the societies to meet me. When the delegates called, I gave them a full assurance that the Government was in no way influenced by the revenue, and made them three offers as my own personal contribution to a constructive policy.

First.—I invited them to nominate two members to the Public Health Education Committee (which I had recently organized) in order to give special attention to propaganda against opium.

Secondly.—I offered them the resources of the Medical Research Institute for investigation of the various herbal and other cures for the opium habit.

Thirdly.—I offered to set aside in every hospital special wards for treatment and cure of the opium habit.

At the same time, I promised to consider most sympathetically any constructive policy that the Anti-Opium Societies, for their part, might put forward. My three offers were gratefully accepted. Dr. Travers, who was then in charge of the Kuala Lumpur hospital, devoted himself most enthusiastically to the anti-opium wards. Now, the year 1923 was one of acute trade depression in Malaya, owing to the fall in the price of tin and rubber; and the Chinese opium addicts with reduced wages or income, could not afford the expensive luxury of opium. They were anxious to get rid of the opium habit; and almost every hospital had a long waiting list. The system started by Dr. Travers, and followed in the other hospitals,

had a three weeks' course, commencing with a series of treatments of atropine, followed by a period of reaction and recovery. The first week was most painful and depressing; but the patients, all of whom were voluntary inmates, in perfect normal health—quite different, that is to say, from a man suffering from a definite disease—stood it wonderfully. They encouraged one another; and the men who were near the end of their treatment, would go and sit by the men who were in the early acute stages, and urge them to stick to it, and see it through. The men who went out sent in their friends. For some time all went well. Then the price of tin and rubber improved, the general business depression passed away, wages recovered their former level; the Chinaman found that he could again afford the luxury of opium; the waiting lists for admission to the hospitals emptied; the hospital wards were only partially filled, and then last of all, the wards were closed. It was a fine experiment, and its failure was a keen disappointment to the Government. I say this with absolute sincerity, for it is far easier to check the consumption of opium—or alcohol—by diminishing the demand for it than by restricting the supply of it. I should like to see those hospital wards re-opened, even though they may be only partially filled; and I should like to see a really intensive anti-opium propaganda campaign. The Public Health Education Committee and the Anti-Opium Societies are doing their best; but I am sure that they will agree that there is an opening for trained propagandists. The Government has committed itself to a policy of restricting, and eventually prohibiting, the supply of opium. That decision is unalterable; and no one, I think, wishes to see it altered. The difficulty will be in carrying it out. It may well be—if we have regard to the heart-rending struggle of "Prohibition" in America—that every dollar the Government now spends on educative and curative methods of diminishing the demand for opium will save ten dollars in the future in precautions against smuggling, not only of opium, but of all the deleterious drugs, such as cocaine and morphia, which can be used to take its place.

There is in every district of the Federated Malay States a Government hospital which serves a very useful purpose. It is in the nature of a collection of one-storeyed wards, with separate buildings for an office, operating room, store room, &c. The patients are mainly Chinese and Tamils of the class that ordinarily live in coolie lines. They readily go to hospitals when ill. The Malay, on the other hand, having his own house, and his wife to look after him, prefers to be treated at home. He is quite glad to be an outdoor patient at the

travelling dispensaries. We have in the Federated Malay States a really admirable Central Mental Hospital, and are building a Central Leper Asylum, and a Central Decrepit Asylum. On the Research side, we have the Institute of Medical Research, which has been established for over 20 years, and which is known all over the world. A Pasteur Institute is attached to it. Important discoveries have been made—especially in regard to beri-beri, typhoid, typhus, dysentery, and malaria. The Preventive side of the Department is comparatively new. It is not so very long ago that a very senior medical officer, to my horror, declared that the department fulfilled its duty by treating patients when they presented themselves at an admission ward.

Infant welfare work only made a real start in the last four years, but has already obtained such a hold upon the people that there is an insistent demand by all Asiatic nationalities for more, and yet more, infant welfare centres. These centres are always situated in the most densely populated parts of the towns, whereas the hospitals are generally in the suburbs. At first, the nursing sisters were ill received at the patients' houses. Now anyone, man, woman or child, will willingly go miles out of his or her way to help them to find a house. Two or three years ago a lady medical officer, speaking of these visits, said to me, "the mothers and children are easy enough to get on with, but the old grandmothers are something awful." Last year, she said to me: "Well and sure, Sir George, the old grandmothers aren't so bad after all. I think that this gives a fair impression of the scope for infant welfare, the appreciation of the community, and the tact of the Lady Medical Officers and Visiting Sisters. It is entirely a Government concern.

A campaign which may have very far-reaching results in improving the general stamina of the Malay population had a very unassuming beginning. The Malays suffer from a disease known to them as "puru," and in the West Indies as "yaws." It is a disease of the blood, in which there is a spirochæte. Children suffer terribly from it, and their faces, especially near the mouth, and often their whole bodies, are covered with open ulcers. An adult, who has had "puru" as a child, exhibits a curious thickening of the skin of the palms and the soles of the feet. It was discovered that injections of novarsenobenzol effected a cure, not only complete, but almost magical in its rapidity. Four injections are really required, but, within three days of the first injection the open sores heal up as if a miracle had taken place. When, as British Resident of Perak, I was visiting the district of Kuala Kangsar, I found there an unusual crowd of Malays

at the district hospital. I questioned Dr. Viswalingam, the medical officer in charge, and learnt that Malays were coming from long distances—hundreds of miles in some cases—to bring children to him for novarsenobenzol treatment. He suggested to me that an organized campaign throughout the villages could not fail to do good. Soon afterwards I became Chief Secretary to Government, Federated Malay States, and issued the necessary instructions. That campaign has had a wonderful success. It has been taken up in the Straits Settlements, the Unfederated States, Brunei, Sarawak, and I believe, British North Borneo. Our only difficulty is that the apparent cure is so complete after the first injection that parents are satisfied with it, and do not bring the child back for the complete course of treatment. We are getting over this by propaganda, pamphlets, and educative methods. If we can stamp out "puru," as we ought to do, within the next few years, we may well expect to see an increase in the strength, energy, and virility of the Malays.

Vaccination for smallpox is in England the subject of acute controversy. Without expressing an opinion, I would like to tell a story. Kedah is one of the Unfederated States. When, in 1909, suzerainty over it was transferred from Siam to Great Britain, I was sent there as the first British Adviser. A few years before the Kedah Government had appointed a European medical officer, who had found smallpox an endemic disease, and had instituted a most vigorous campaign of vaccination. There was compulsory vaccination of all children everywhere, compulsory vaccination of all persons in any smallpox-infected area, and "peaceful persuasion" at all times of anyone within range of a vaccinator's syringe. One day, the medical officer and I were talking about some matters connected with the vaccination of adults, and he said that persons who had had smallpox were not vaccinated, and added casually that the returns of adult vaccinations were affected by the fact that every adult Kedah Malay in two had had smallpox. I expressed my astonishment and referred to the appalling mortality represented by this survivorship; but he said that he was fairly certain that he was right. As it was impossible to prove such a statement except by a medical census of the country at great trouble and unjustifiable expense, I asked him whether he would accept the test of a return of the adult Kedah Malay population in the jails. He agreed, and a census was taken. It showed that about 57 per cent. of the two or three hundred adult Kedah Malay convicts had had smallpox. I forget the exact figures. At the next meeting of the Kedah States Council, I mentioned a fact which seemed to me to be

almost incredible. The Malay members were not in the least surprised. All that they said was that they would have expected the percentage to be somewhat higher. Now this story doesn't prove anything. It isn't an argument of any kind. There need be no connection between it and the fact that the annual reports of the past five years record only 44 cases of smallpox with only nine deaths in a population of 350,000 in those five years. The intensive vaccination campaign may have had nothing to do with it. All that I say is that the gaol census was interesting, and that the latest returns of smallpox are encouraging; and let us leave it at that.

We have recently organized in the Federated Malay States a successful system of travelling dispensaries—by light motor lorry and by motor-boat. They work to a scheduled table of time and place; and everyone in the district knows that on certain days of the week, at fixed hours, the travelling dispensary will be at an appointed place for a specific time, and that it will then move on to its next halting place. Mixtures for coughs, influenza, and stomachic troubles, ointments for skin diseases, wounds, burns and sores, powders, bandages, &c., are handed out; everything is free of charge; and what is most important, a record is kept of the name and address of the patient, the ailment and the treatment. There is a free supply of quinine, not only at these travelling dispensaries, but also at rural post offices, and police stations, and at the houses of the village *penghulus* (headman).

Malaria is the curse of the country. In the Federated Malay States, in 1925, fevers, mostly malarial, were the cause of 42 per cent. of the deaths. When I became Chief Secretary to Government in 1921, I found that the Malaria Advisory Board had not had a meeting for some years, and had practically ceased to function. I revived it, and in order to impart to it a certain amount of propulsive force, or what some people call "kick," I made myself chairman. This was a purely advisory board, and the majority of the members were experts in one subject or another connected with malaria. I also established in every district throughout the Federated Malay States, Mosquito Destruction Boards, which were given complete executive powers, and full control over their expenditure votes, and over their staffs, and their works. The central advisory organization came into close and friendly contact with the district executive organizations; and the annual expenditure estimates and programmes of works of the District Boards had to be referred to the Central Board before being submitted to Government for approval. This very important

provision secured uniformity and co-ordination, and also often prevented unnecessary expenditure.

After careful study of the subject, I enunciated three propositions. They were as follows:—

(i) Every land proprietor is under the burden of carrying out proper and reasonable anti-malarial measures upon his land, provided that in the case of small-holdings and town or village areas, the Mosquito Destruction Board may assume the burden, and recoup itself by an assessment;

(ii) The railway is responsible for railway reservations, and the Mosquito Destruction Boards for all State lands and reservations;

(iii) In order that anti-malarial measures may be effectual, there should be co-operation of proprietors of contiguous estates amongst themselves and with the Mosquito Destruction Boards and the Health Officers.

The first proposition was entirely new in respect of the liability of the land proprietors, for in the past they had carried out only such anti-malarial measures as benefited their own employees, and had had no regard to anything that was dangerous to their neighbours but not to themselves. The proviso relating to small-holdings imposed on the Mosquito Destruction Boards a liability which they could take up if they thought fit to do so. The second and third propositions stated, in clean terms, a policy upon which the Malaria Advisory Board had been working since its re-constitution, but which it had not yet publicly declared.

I put these propositions before the Malaria Advisory Board, which recommended them to the Government, and later, in my other capacity of Chief Secretary to Government, I had the pleasure of giving them official approval as the Government policy. Since then the Government policy has been widely and continuously advertised. I found a convenient opportunity some time later to carry matters to a further stage. A Commission was appointed in April, 1924, to enquire and advise upon the measures to be taken to improve conditions in regard to health, sanitation, and prevention of disease on rubber and other estates; upon the system of estate hospitals, and nursing and medical attendance therein; and upon the system of visiting estates by medical practitioners.

In October, 1924, the Commission submitted a careful and useful report with recommendations for improvements, upon a co-operative basis, in respect of the hospital arrangements and the medical visits. It dealt, however, almost entirely, with curative

measures, and made no proposals for co-operation in anti-malarial works. When the report reached my office table, I drew attention to this omission in a long covering memorandum and formulated a scheme for a co-operative system which would include, not only the rubber estates, but also all contiguous mining lands, small-holdings, State lands and State reservations. My scheme was approved by the High Commissioner, and a Bill was immediately drafted to give legal force to it. After careful discussion with the planters, the miners, and the private medical practitioners, the Bill was passed by the Federal Council last November, and became law under the title of "The Health Boards Enactment, 1926." The provisions of this law are, briefly:—There is a Central Health Board, with a marked preponderance of unofficials. The Board is a body corporate, and appoints a salaried full-time Administrator. It can employ and pay its own staff of medical officers, and can also employ and remunerate the private medical practitioners who have done, and are doing wonderful work, both curative and preventive, for the rubber estates. Local Health Boards are appointed by the British Residents after consultation with the Central Board, and are put in charge of specified areas known as Local Board Areas. The Local Board submits to the Central Board its recommendations for co-operative curative measures on the estates, such as hospitals, dispensaries ambulances, and so forth; and for the employment and payment of medical practitioners, dressers, midwives and attendants for visits not only to the estates but to small-holdings; but also, what is most important of all, the Local Board submits its schemes for preventive measures, especially anti-malarial works, on all estates, mining lands, small-holdings, and State lands and reservations. The Central Board may require any scheme to be amended. When the scheme is approved, it is carried into effect by the Central, and not the Local, Board. The area to which any scheme applies is known as a "scheme area"; and in any Local Board area there may be dozens of "scheme areas," whose sizes vary with the nature of the particular problems presented by them.

The Central Board has the power to impose an annual cess, or cesses, upon all estates and mining lands inside any "scheme area." These cesses, which may be separate or consolidated, are collected by the Local Government land officers, and paid by them to the Central Board. The convenience, to put it mildly, to the Central Board can easily be imagined. The Government pays to the Central Board a contribution at the same rate in respect of all small-holdings,

and has power to recoup itself, if it wishes to do so, by a levy upon the small-holders. That, however, is no concern of the Central Board, which in any event gets its cheque from the Government. When it is remembered that this payment is made by the Government in respect of numbers of small privately-owned properties, it is difficult to exaggerate the generosity. In addition to this, the Government pays, in respect of State lands and reservations, the same cess per acre as is paid in respect of private lands. It also pays for the visits of the medical practitioners to the small-holdings on the curative work I have already mentioned. For a bold, comprehensive, and generous scheme, aiming at the maximum of co-operative private enterprise, and a minimum of Government control, it would be difficult to find an equal anywhere in the world to this piece of legislation. I have, I fear, taken up some time in telling you how it started, and by what degree it was evolved; and my excuse must be a pardonable pride in my connection with it. That it has been possible to introduce this legislation is entirely due to the brilliant work of a number of medical practitioners unconnected with the Government, and wholly employed or remunerated by the rubber estates. Of them the best known is Sir Malcolm Watson, whose book, "Malaria Control in Malaya," is a classic on the subject. He would, I know, be the first to say that there are many estate medical officers whose successes in freeing estates from malaria have been as remarkable as his own. I would like to mention some names, but the list would be long, and I should not like to take the responsibility of deciding where to stop. The full history of these successes has yet to be written, and I hope that some one will give his attention to it.

There is yet a further stage of development, which we have not yet reached in our legislation. The law applies only to such small-holdings as are included in a "scheme area," in which there are rubber or other estates. There is no provision for a "scheme-area" consisting only of small-holdings, or consisting of small-holdings and State lands. Such places are now, in accordance with the proviso to the first of my three propositions, mentioned already, in the charge of the Mosquito Destruction Boards, if they care to assume the burden. When the Central Health Board and the Local Health Boards get into full working order, it may be possible to arrange for them to take charge of these places as "scheme areas."

I wish, however, to state, with all the emphasis at my command, that important as all these anti-malarial measures are, they approach the subject of malaria from one side only. They are concerned solely

with the elimination of the mosquito by the destruction of its breeding place in water. It is purely a territorial question, and that is why we put the burden on the proprietor of the land. The other side of the problem deals with preventing the mosquito from being infected with malaria. We think so much of ourselves getting infected with malaria by a mosquito, that we are apt to forget that the malaria-carrying mosquito is first of all infected by a human being. Briefly stated, the case is "don't infect the mosquito, and the mosquito won't infect you."

As every one knows, the mosquito gets infection by feeding on a human being who has the malarial parasite in the blood under his skin. The parasite is sucked into the mosquito's stomach with the blood. It goes through a cycle of change, and escapes through the wall of the mosquito's stomach into its salivary glands, and then, after some twelve days in the mosquito, is expelled by it into some other human being, when it inserts its proboscis for another blood-sucking meal. The mosquito thus has first to feed on a malarial subject, then it must live about twelve days, and then it must find another person on whom to feed. The problem is to reduce the chances of the mosquito becoming infected in the first place; and the obvious way of doing this is by reducing the number of days that a malarial patient carries the parasite in the blood under his skin. If medical science can reduce the number of days that a human being thus carries the parasite, it reduces the chances of the mosquito becoming infected; and, therefore, reduces the amount of malaria in the country. If a man could be cured of malaria to such an extent, firstly that he would only be infective to a mosquito for one-half, let us say, of the time that he now is, and secondly, that his chances of a "relapse" (as apart from a "fresh infection") were reducing by, say, one-half, we can see the difference that it would make to the probabilities of mosquitoes becoming infected and carrying the infection to other people. The subject is receiving the most earnest attention of the Research Officers of the Federated Malay States Institute of Medical Research. They are working with the various alkaloids of cinchona to discover the one that is the quickest and most powerful in its effect upon the parasite; they are also at work upon certain preparations of arsenic; and they are in touch with the Medical Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office.

There is no suggestion of the problem of not infecting the mosquito replacing in any way, or in any degree interfering with, the problem of destroying the mosquito. We now definitely know that

many areas of Malaya—where we have *anopheles maculatus*, for instance—can be freed from malaria by a system of draining, or oiling, or both, and thus destroying the breeding grounds. But we also know, to our sorrow, that there are some areas—I emphasize the word "some"—saturated by brackish water, in which *anopheles ludlowi* breeds, that cannot be treated either by draining or by oiling. The two problems exist side by side. The problem of not infecting the mosquito is one of world-wide importance, and can be studied in any part of Europe, America, Africa, Asia, and Australia, where there is malaria. It differs entirely therefore from the problem of mosquito destruction, which, as I have said, is purely local and even territorial. To what extent the problem is being considered in the various colonies and protectorates under the Colonial Office, I do not know. Doubtless, questions of finance, of numerical efficiency of staff, of qualifications of personnel, and of adequacy of equipment in each colony or protectorate, have a direct effect upon the amount of attention that is given to the problem in each place. I cannot say to what extent the Research Officers of, let us say, the Federated Malay States, West Africa, the West Indies and East Africa are in touch with one another, nor to what extent each man works on the lines that he has thought out for himself, or on lines suggested to him by some central advisory authority with reference to the work that is being done elsewhere. It is a problem which, by its nature, seems to ask for organized and systematized team work, and I venture to suggest that it is a matter which might very well be taken up by the Health Committee of the League of Nations.

Sir FRANK SWETTENHAM, G.C.M.G., C.H., said he very sincerely offered his congratulations to Sir George Maxwell for his thoughtful and able paper. As regards education, he had spoken of the education of a people who until comparatively recently were unknown by the rest of the world. He noticed that Sir George Maxwell wanted schools to be built—a very admirable proposal—and said that wherever thirty Malay children were gathered together he would like to give them a school. In that he entirely agreed with him. But Sir George said that when he wished to have a school built the Public Works Department never could find the time, and made the suggestion that there should be an engineer whose sole business would be to build Malay schools. He would like to ask why Sir George himself did not put that idea into practice? Sir Frank continued:

I believe when you begin to educate people like the Malays you must think a good many times. I am one who believes that in India

we have been quite wrong about the education of the people, and I hope very much that the same thing will not be done in the Malay States, in which I am much more interested. I noticed the other day in the Malay newspapers, *apropos* of what is taking place in China at the present time, which is not very pleasant for us, a letter in which the writer said he had spent thirty years in China and asked why we should wish to give the Chinese a form of education to which they are not accustomed and which they do not want. It makes one furiously to think, because there are many things we do in the West which may not appeal either to the 400,000,000 of China or to the much smaller number of Malays, and therefore, when the lecturer regrets—unless I misunderstood him—that the number of English schools in Malaya is not as large as it might be, I feel that instead we should increase the number of schools which teach the Malays in their own language, and teach them simple things which would be of use in the kind of life before them. Indeed, I am not sure you are making the Malays any better, certainly not happier, by teaching things which are foreign to them. I was very much surprised to hear him say that there are still no technical schools there. It is more than 20 years since I left Malaya, and there was even then a good deal of talk about these schools. The reason they were not introduced was that there was not enough money, but no one can say that there is not enough money now, because it was only the other day that the Malay States made a present of £2,000,000 to the Imperial Government, and I find on enquiry that since the War they have made a present of about £5,000,000 to the Imperial Government. I think the form of education which is mainly required for Malays generally is technical education. The Lecturer said something about what has been done to deal with mosquitoes, and I wish to say, as I have said before—I believe at a meeting of the Institute—that I cannot find words to express my great admiration for the skill and genius of the people who discovered that the mosquito is the carrier of malaria. Sir Ronald Ross has my enormous admiration for work which has been of infinite benefit to humanity. The Lecturer says, "We think so much of ourselves getting infected with malaria by a mosquito that we are apt to forget that the malaria-carrying mosquito is first of all infected by a human being. Briefly stated, the case is, 'Don't infect the mosquito, and the mosquito won't infect you.'" Now, I suppose that at this time we all of us do understand what an unpleasant thing this mosquito is. It settles on somebody who is infected and carries the infection to somebody who is not. But how did it all start? (Much

laughter.) There must have been some original person—some very unpleasant person, infected with malaria, and then the mosquito carried it about. But where did he get it? Some 20 years ago I asked the question, and was told I was an unbeliever and all sorts of horrible things! But there it is, and if it is true that some man or other, or some lady or other, was originally infected, you might kill every possible mosquito, and there might still be some source of infection.

Colonel Sir RONALD ROSS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., said he had just come back from Federated Malay States, where he motored about 600 miles with Sir Malcolm Watson, who had been very properly mentioned in the address for his anti-malaria work. The work there was the most brilliant work done in this way in the British Empire, and probably in the world. We had heard of the anti-malarial work at Panama: but, of course, that work was done with the aid of the whole wealth of the United States in connection with the Canal, while the work in the Federated Malay States was done with the help of the funds subscribed by private bodies and the Colony itself—not at the expense of the whole Empire. The first who started that work was Sir Malcolm Watson, helped largely by several other medical men—for instance, the late Dr. Hamilton Wright and Dr. Travers. Wherever he went he heard the name of Sir George Maxwell mentioned with admiration and affection as one who had done most important work in this campaign. That work in the Federated Malay States had been gradually reducing the sick rate to a very marked extent. It was a quarter of a century since he [Sir Ronald Ross] told the world what to do, and it was only just beginning now. After going through the Federated Malay States he went through Burma and on to Calcutta. He might say at once, that the Federated Malay States led the way in the British Empire and throughout the world. He thanked Sir George Maxwell for his most interesting address. Sir Frank Swettenham had asked a number of questions. He did not know how the process started, but the facts remained.

Sir GEORGE MAXWELL said he had been asked why he did not do anything in the way of appointing engineers to the Education Department. The answer was that, during the first few years he was Chief Secretary, they were suffering from the greatest depression that the country had ever been through, and were spending as little money as possible—that was the policy of the Government—and later the engineers on the staff were required for picking up urgent arrears. The staff was now being increased.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks, asked those present to study the paper. It showed how increasingly the native races under our charge are taking steps to procure education and taking advantage of medical science and skill. He asked them at the same time to bear in mind what is set forth about us in China by those who are stirring up anti-British feeling. It was a very extraordinary thing that those able people, the Chinese, when they came under British control, seemed to fall in so easily with British ways and had such a real confidence in British friendship. That that was so was a result of the work of those British men whom our race had been fortunate enough to turn out.

1. i.e., Peter Benson Maxwell.

Tropical Agriculture in Malaya, Ceylon and Java

W. G. Ormsby-Gore

11 July 1928

Chairman: Sir Laurence Guillemard

THE RT. HON. W. G. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave an address on "Tropical Agriculture in Malaya, Ceylon and Java," at a meeting of the Institute held at Edward VII Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on Wednesday, July 11th.

Sir Laurence Guillemard, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., who presided said:

The circumstance to which I owe the honour of being in the Chair is that for seven strenuous but wonderful years I had the privilege of administering the Government of that delectable land Malaya, which, in addition to being a most fascinating country, is already one of the most interesting and important possessions of the Crown, and is quite certain in the near future to become more important and more interesting. The longer I stayed in that country the more wishful I became that one day one of the Ministers attached to the Colonial Office would come out and see Malaya for himself, for, after all, they only see the far-off Dependencies from the Colonial Office point of view, and if they can go out and see a place for themselves, it is very good for the Colony in question, and, with all reverence be it spoken, may even be good for the Minister himself—for Ministers, after all, are our fellow human creatures. When I heard that Mr. Ormsby-Gore was going, I was very pleased, because I have worked with him, and I know the interest and keenness which he brings to bear on any work which falls to his lot. I am very glad that he went, and we are very glad to welcome him back.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: It was very largely due to you, Sir, that I undertook a yet further tour in the tropics and visited British Malaya. What you have said represents a sentiment which has been very forcibly brought home to me ever since I first went to the Colonial Office. For some five years I have worked in that office, and have had to deal, from time to time, with papers and documents and telegrams dealing with British Malaya, and quite frankly I must say that however clearly your dispatches were worded—and they

were very clear—I still felt that there was something lacking. When it was decided that I was to go to Malaya there was a certain amount of public criticism in this country. It was said why was not Mr. Ormsby-Gore staying at the Colonial Office and consulting people there who knew Malaya. Unfortunately, there was not a single person in the Colonial Office who had ever been there, and I am more than satisfied from my experience that it was quite impossible for the Colonial Office to do its bit by staying and doing one's job in Whitehall. That sort of thing might be all right in the nineteenth century, but is not good enough for the twentieth. Nobody can attempt to administer or control or initiate or direct by merely remaining at Whitehall. He has got to go out and get into direct contact with the people on whom the main responsibility of development rests, namely, the people on the spot; to see things through their eyes and get to know their conditions and problems—not with the idea of controlling and interfering, but with the idea of helping to the best of one's ability to bring the experience of one part of the world to bear on the problems of the other.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore then read the following paper:—

Following on my tours of the West Indies, East Africa and West Africa, I have just completed a tour of some 20,000 miles, for the purpose of visiting three countries in the south-east of Asia, namely British Malaya, Ceylon and the Dutch Island of Java.

Owing to the shortness of time I had to concentrate my enquiries on three main subjects, namely, tropical agriculture, public health, and education. My report, however, will not be exclusively confined to these three subjects, as I shall be touching upon questions of roads and railways, forestry, veterinary activities and various commercial questions—not excluding special attention to the rubber industry.

It is quite obvious that I should occupy many hours of your time in attempting to survey the whole field, and therefore I propose tonight to give a brief introductory account of some of my observations in regard to one of my three main subjects, namely, tropical agriculture. This, after all, is the chief basis of life and wealth of the three countries which I visited, and it is upon the further development of the various agricultural crops that the prosperity of the inhabitants mainly depends.

I regard the chief value of such a tour—and of any report I may make as a result of such a tour—as affording an opportunity of bringing together facts and data regarding what is being actually done in a group of closely analogous territories. It is not so much with the idea of expressing opinions of my own, but with a view to

letting the facts speak for themselves, and giving to those engaged on the same problems in other parts of the tropics some account of the achievements and endeavours in each particular field, which are being made in that group of territories.

This method of comparative study of technical and semi-technical problems is probably the greatest contribution that anybody at the Colonial Office can give to the general development of the Empire, and I should like to say at the outset that not the least valuable experience during my recent tour was the opportunity that I had, thanks to the courtesy of, and facilities provided by the Dutch Government, of seeing at first hand the agricultural work that is going on in Java. I say this, not with the idea of drawing invidious comparisons or of praising or blaming, but merely with a view to relating facts which can bring to light suggestions of value, not only to the countries which I visited, but to all interested in the practice and science of tropical agriculture.

I must begin with the elementary geographical facts.

British Malaya lies between the Equator and 7° north. It has an area of approximately 53,000 square miles, *i.e.*, it is very little smaller than England (without Wales), and contains a mixed population of Chinese, Malays, Indians and Europeans, totalling approximately 4,000,000.

It is only very partially developed economically; the greater portion of the Peninsula is still virgin jungle.

Climatically, it is almost unique. There is a rainfall throughout the year, brought by the north-east monsoon from October to March, and by the south-west monsoon from April to September. The temperature hardly varies, seldom going, at the lower levels, below 70° at night, or exceeding 90° in the shade on the hottest day. The climate is therefore amazingly uniform and monotonous. There is no winter and no cessation of plant growth. The rainfall, of course, varies according to altitude from some 60 inches a year in the driest area, to 250 inches a year on the mountains.

Ceylon lies between 6° and 10° north of the Equator. It is about half the size of British Malaya. It contains a population of over five millions. Half the Islands, namely, the central uplands, and the west and south-west, are climatically similar to Malaya, *i.e.*, they both get monsoons and have a rainfall ranging from 100 inches to 300 inches a year, widely distributed throughout the year. Ceylon, however, has two dry zones, one in the north-west and one in the south-east, and each of these zones only gets the north-east monsoon in the winter

months—if winter it can be called. The total rainfall in these areas varies between 25 inches and 60 inches a year. Both these dry zones are uniformly low lying.

Java lies between latitude 4° and 8° south of the Equator. In area it is almost exactly the same size as British Malaya, *i.e.*, it is slightly smaller than England. It contains, however, no less than 38,000,000 inhabitants. In this it is unique in the Malay Archipelago, for the whole of the rest of the Dutch East Indies—some 14 times the area of Java—have between them only 14,000,000 inhabitants. Climatologically, it is very similar to Malaya; it gets both monsoons, although the south-west monsoon in their winter months, namely, June, July and August, is very scanty in the central and eastern portions of the Island, and in those months irrigation becomes of the first importance.

Ceylon is more developed than Malaya, and Java is more developed than Ceylon. In fact, Java is cultivated throughout the plains and right up the mountain sides, up to an altitude of about 6,000 feet, and the only natural jungle left are the forests, on the high mountain tops, which are conserved for hydrological purposes.

Whereas in Malaya and Ceylon the soil consists of alluvial deposits, and the results of attrition and erosion of the ancient igneous rocks which form the geological basis of both, the similar geological basis of Java has been intruded, in much more recent times, by a long chain of volcanic peaks, many of them still active, which have introduced a new factor from the agricultural point of view lacking in the other two otherwise similar countries.

Owing to the pressure of population upon land in Java there has been far greater necessity forced upon the Government and population to get the utmost out of every acre of soil that has been harnessed to the needs of man. Whereas in Malaya and Ceylon there is still unoccupied land capable of cultivation to be brought under cultivation, in Java it is entirely a problem of intensifying production upon land already harnessed. This, no doubt, accounts for a certain difference in outlook, and is one of the main reasons why the application of modern scientific discoveries to the problems of tropical agriculture has been pushed further in Java than in the neighbouring countries.

There are further contrasts to be noted. British Malaya is a very new country, and such development as has taken place is largely the result of the efforts of the last 30 years. Ceylon has been continuously under British administration since the end of the Napoleonic wars.

Java, having been under British rule during the Napoleonic wars, has been the main overseas possession of the Dutch since those wars, and it is only natural, therefore, that we should expect a greater variety of effort in Java and Ceylon than has yet been found possible in Malaya.

I fear I must worry you with a certain number of figures to illustrate what I mean by the variety of tropical production obtaining in the three countries. Fairly accurate statistics are available for Ceylon and Java, but the agricultural statistics for Malaya are very imperfect, and only approximate figures can be given.

In Malaya there are three main cultures:—

(1) Rubber	2,400,000 acres
(2) Rice	636,000 acres
(3) Coconuts	492,000 acres

The estimated cultivated area of all other crops in Malaya, such as pineapples, oil palms, fibres, tapioca and maize, probably does not exceed 100,000 acres—in all, a cultivated area of about 3,600,000 acres.

In Ceylon there are sixteen principal crops. The four most important are:—

(1) Coconuts	890,000 acres
(2) Rice	834,000 acres
(3) Rubber	475,000 acres
(4) Tea	442,000 acres

The other crops are: Sesame, arecanut, palmyra palm, citronella, cocoa, cinnamon, tobacco, cardamons, papaya, cotton, sugar-cane, and a great variety of minor grain and vegetable crops. The total developed area of Ceylon is only just over 3,000,000 acres.

The statistics for Java are more complete, and must be divided into native agriculture and non-native plantations. The total cultivated area of Java, apart from planted forests, such as teak, is rather more than 17,000,000 acres, of which 15,000,000 acres are devoted to native agriculture, and only 1,500,000 acres to European estates. The 15,500,000 acres are composed as follows:—

Rice	8,000,000 acres
Maize	4,000,000 acres
Cassava (tapioca)	1,800,000 acres
Ground nuts	460,000 acres
Soya beans	450,000 acres
Other crops	790,000 acres

The European estate area consists of:—

Rubber	445,000 acres
Sugar	436,000 acres
Coffee	236,000 acres
Tea	209,000 acres
Tobacco	65,500 acres
Quinine	44,500 acres
Cassava	28,000 acres
Kapok	25,000 acres
Coconuts	22,000 acres
Sisal	15,000 acres
Cocoa	11,000 acres
Pepper	3,000 acres

A certain amount of plantation crops of coconuts, kapok and pepper are also included in the native-grown area of miscellaneous crops totalling 790,000 acres.

The dominant factor in Java is, of course, the enormous proportion of the Island that is given up to the cultivation of rice. Here we have a country, approximately the same size as England and with practically the same population, which, without any Manchesters or Sheffields, without any minerals or secondary industries, practically feeds itself. Over 90 per cent. of the rice required to feed the 38,000,000 people of Java with their staple food, is home grown. Of the 8,000,000 acres allotted to rice, thanks to the hydraulic engineering of the Dutch, and to the skill of the native inhabitants in minor irrigation, no less than 7,000,000 acres are under permanent perennial irrigation, and only 1,000,000 acres of rice under rain cultivation. In 1925, the yield of the 7,000,000 acres of irrigated rice fields was no less than 6,058,000 metric tons of rice. To give you some idea of what this means in the way of intensity of production, it is only necessary to quote the contrast with British India, including Burma, with its vast area and its enormous population. In 1924, British India, including Burma, had no less than 81,000,000 acres cultivated with rice, with a total production of only just over 30,000,000 tons, *i.e.*, the yield per acre in Java is considerably more than double that in British India.

But by far the most remarkable tropical industry of Java, where modern scientific methods can be seen carried to their further limit, is in the work of the European sugar companies.

Although Java has only a little over 400,000 acres under sugar in any one year, it is the second sugar producer of the world, second

only to Cuba, and it attains this enormous crop, amounting in this year to between 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 tons of soft sugar, by getting a yield per acre considerably above that obtained in any other part of the world. In Java, sugar is grown upon the native-owned, irrigated rice fields, as a rotation crop once in three years, or, in a few districts, once in two years. All the land, other than that of the factory site, is hired from the native owners, and the European companies have the use of this land for 12 months at a time only. It then goes back into rice, until it is again taken up for sugar.

The enormous yields, and the tremendous profits obtained from the sugar industry are due entirely to the results of scientific research, and not merely to scientific research in the combating of disease and pests, but in the much more skilled scientific work of plant genetics and soil science. It is in the breeding of ever new and ever higher-yielding varieties of cane, and in the cultivation of the soil, both physically and by means of green and artificial manures, that the astonishing results have been obtained.

The sugar industry in Java was amongst the first to appreciate the significance of science and their great central research station at Passoroean, in East Java, dates back to the year 1887.

It started in a small way to combat insect and fungus pests, and it has grown and grown until it is now the most advanced scientific agricultural station in the world. From the very first it has been entirely financed by the sugar planters themselves, and, nowadays, the cost to the sugar planters of the research station, its staff and its 3,000 experimental plots distributed in different parts of the Island, is approximately £110,000 a year. It has a staff of 50 European scientists of various nationalities, and some 200 trained native assistants. It is entirely a private enterprise.

Remarkable as are its achievements in the fundamental study of soil science in tropical conditions, its outstanding achievement is in genetics, and I must give you an example to show what is involved in this branch of agricultural science. There has been ceaseless labour for a period of years to produce not only a cane with an ever higher sugar content, but also a cane that will grow and mature quickly, and a cane that is resistant to diseases and suitable to the climatic and soil conditions. This year, some 66 per cent. of the total area under sugar in Java has been planted with a cane known as Passoroean No. 2878. This cane is the result of the most elaborate hybridization over a period of years, and the most interesting thing about it is the introduction into its ancestry, four generations back, of one wild

cane growing in the marshes of Java that contains no sugar at all, and is not even a sugar-cane, but by reason of the fact that it is a wild cane growing in Java it is immune from disease and is a robust and fast grower. The selection of this strain in the ancestry of No. 2878, and its effective crossing with various sugar-yielding canes to obtain the final result, was the outcome of microscopical work on the part of the cytologists on the chromosomes, or genetical factors, which are reproduced and re-associated in, of course, Mendelian variations, in the various descendants. The net commercial result is that No. 2878 adds 15 per cent. to the yield of sugar per acre, as well as the robust characteristics and rapid growth required under the ecological (environmental) conditions.

No sooner has one achievement like this been realized after years of work than that achievement is already regarded as obsolescent. That is to say work has already begun on still further improvements. This requires a high degree of knowledge and skill, as well as team work on a scale which is seldom attempted in tropical agriculture, and I quote it as an example of the type of work which we have got to go in for over the whole range of crops, in the effective harnessing of the wonderful natural bounty of tropical soils.

From my point of view, the morning I spent at Passoroean was the most valuable, most significant and most suggestive I spent in all my Colonial tours.

Although Passoroean is, both in scale and quality, the finest research institute I have seen anywhere, it is by no means the only important agricultural research station to be visited in Java. There are six other research institutes, all of which are maintained by planters' syndicates, over and above the research institutes maintained by the Government. These six private agricultural research institutes are:—

- (1) Tea Research Institute at Buitenzorg, founded in 1893;
 - (2) Rubber Research Institute, also at Buitenzorg, founded in 1913;
 - (3) Coffee Research Station at Malang in East Java;
 - (4) The Djember Research Station in East Java for tobacco and rubber;
 - (5) The Quinine Station at Tjinjoroean;
- and a sixth experimental station at Salatiga in middle Java.

The two latter are associated with Government work, but the others are wholly maintained by the planters' syndicates. Each is staffed with chemists, geneticists, entomologists, agriculturists,

&c., and deals with the whole range of problems arising out of the improvement of the particular crop studied.

The Quinine Station is associated with the big Government cinchona plantation and, thanks to the scientific work done there, the Dutch have almost a world monopoly in the production of quinine. Here again the most important work has been the genetical work. The Government experimental plantation has approximately 1,000,000 trees under control, the yield of each tree being estimable. The success of the industry has been due to the grafting of the high yielding *Cinchona legeriana* on to other stocks, followed later by elaborate seed selection.

Over and above these institutions there is the work of the Government Agricultural Department which, on the research side, is occupied mainly with the improvement of native agriculture, and with the problems of soil conservation and green manuring. As these last two subjects form one of the principal efforts of the Department of Agriculture in Ceylon, and as they are of immense significance for Malaya, and other tropical countries, I propose to say something about them in connection with the admirable scientific work in Ceylon.

The headquarters of the Department of Agriculture in the Netherlands Indies are at Buitenzorg, and the work is associated around the main economic experimental gardens, the Botanical Gardens, which are a tropical counterpart of Kew, the central forestry station, and the veterinary research station, all in that town. In all, there are resident in the small town of Buitenzorg something over 100 European scientists, attached to one or other of the various research stations and institutions. This mere association on such a scale is an immense incentive to effort, but I wish to turn at once from the research side to what is called the educational side.

It is quite obvious that however great an assembly of brains and money are devoted to agricultural research, there will not be a translation of their results into practice unless there is a plentiful supply of both Europeans and natives, familiar with the work and capable of bringing the new knowledge not merely to the plantations, but to the villages and to the ordinary peasant. It is in this that the success of the Dutch is so outstanding.

At the centre, there is the Agricultural College at Buitenzorg for persons of all races. This institution corresponds in some measure to our Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad. It provides a three years' course for young men between the ages of 17

and 22, who have completed a secondary education at a school in which Dutch is the medium of instruction. The College contains about 160 students, *i.e.*, takes between 50 and 60 new students each year. At the time of my visit, 114 of the students taking the three years' course were natives of Java, and 16 of the outer islands. The remainder of the pupils were planters or plantation staff. The College has a European staff of seven Lecturers or Professors, all of whom possess scientific degrees, and there is an additional whole or part time European staff of nine. Approximately 70 per cent. of the students who have taken the full agricultural course have entered Government service under the Department of Agriculture, the remaining 30 per cent. being engaged either on European plantations or on agriculture on their own account. This College was founded in 1913.

Below this College there are two Agricultural Secondary Schools, one established at Soekabumi in 1912, and the other at Malang in East Java, founded in 1919. These schools take pupils at approximately the age of 15. In Soekabumi School there are at present 112 natives of Java and 10 from the outer islands. The course at each of these Agricultural Secondary Schools lasts two years.

In addition to these two Secondary Schools, where the medium of instruction is Dutch, there are eight upper primary vernacular agricultural schools in different parts of the Island, where native agricultural assistants can begin their scientific training in their own vernacular. In addition to these schools of agricultural education there is a Veterinary College at Buitenzorg, established in 1907. Pupils enter any time after the age of 17 years and take a four years' course. There are at present 47 students, *viz.*, 29 from Java and 18 from the outer islands. These institutions collectively provide the personnel for the various grades in the agricultural extension service whose activities are observable in every corner of the Island.

Nothing struck me more than the high quality of the ordinary peasant cultivation, not merely on the irrigated areas, but even up the mountain sides above the irrigated areas where the other native crops are grown. In the ordinary village gardens you see being practised the use of green manures, the rotation of crops, and all the latest devices for preventing soil deterioration and soil erosion, and it was clear that the general high standard of agriculture throughout Java could never have been attained had it not been for the early establishment of these various educational institutions which turn

out a continuous supply of local men with the necessary scientific and technical qualification.

After this somewhat cursory review of agricultural activities in Java I turn to British Malaya, in which the Department of Agriculture was not founded until 1904. The Rubber Research Institute, maintained by the rubber industry, has only just begun to function and is a product of the last two years. It will be seen that Java has had an immense start in time alone. The headquarters of the Agricultural Department in Malaya are at Kuala Lumpur, in the Federated Malay States, where the offices and laboratories are situated in very small, crowded, and ill-equipped buildings. For the first 18 years the experimental plots were on a small scale and in the neighbourhood of the laboratories, but, since 1921, the Agricultural Department has opened up a new large experimental station some 17 miles distant from the headquarters at a place called Serdang. It is on a considerable scale and embraces 1,000 acres; but it has, as yet, no laboratories, and the scientific staff continues to work in Kuala Lumpur. Serdang is really only beginning its potential usefulness, but at least it illustrates the variety of crops which can be grown at the lower altitudes in Malaya.

In addition to this the Department has a station in Malacca, and a station in the north of Perak, for the selection of pure line strains of rice. There is also a small coconut research station at Klang in Selangor. It has a few field officers in the Federated Malay States, and in Kedah and Johore, but there are as yet no representatives of the Agricultural Department in the States of Kelantan and Trengganu. There is no agricultural school, but a Committee has recently reported (1927), in favour of the early establishment of a school of agriculture at Serdang. Paragraph 2 of their report reads as follows:—

"We have been impressed by the frequency with which the establishment of a school for agricultural education in Malaya has been urged both by the Agricultural and Educational Departments during the last 12 years. It has perhaps been on account of the difficulty of deciding on the scope of such an institution that the schemes have hitherto failed to materialize."

Great as is the need for improving both the quality and quantity of agricultural research work in Malaya, I feel that the establishment of a school of agriculture, particularly for the training of Malay and other assistants for the Agricultural Department, has a prior claim to consideration. The Department of Agriculture in British Malaya has from time to time suffered from the loss of some of its best men.

These, after appointment, have abandoned service and gone into private employ, notably on the large and progressive European rubber estates in the Dutch Island of Sumatra, where they have been conspicuous in their work for the scientific development of foreign plantations, notably in the introduction of bud-grafting.

The success of the rubber industry in British Malaya is due not so much to any efforts in the direction of scientific agriculture, though these are beginning on a few of the more progressive estates, such as Prangbese near Kajang, on the Dunlop Estates in Malacca and Johore, and on the American (Harvard) Estates in Kedah, but rather to the fact that rubber has been planted on virgin soil freshly cut out of jungle, in climatic conditions which are ideally suited, in many respects far better suited than are either Java or Ceylon to the successful cultivation of the tree. Malaya has the great advantage of complete absence of winter or of a dry season, with the result that the wintering period, when the leaves of the *Hevea* tree (one of the only deciduous trees you see growing in Malaya) are off the trees, is remarkably short. It is, perhaps, very largely owing to the considerable profits that have been made in recent years out of rubber in Malaya that so little attention has been devoted to the development, or the introduction, of any other crops. But the future of plantation rubber, with its high over-head charges for European personnel, for local agents, visiting agents, commissions, directorates in London and elsewhere, and competition with the native industry now rapidly expanding in Sumatra, Borneo and even Malaya, must, in my opinion, depend upon the superior scientific treatment of the crop on the European plantations. In fact, whereas the cost of production in the native industry amounts to little more than the cost of tapping, the European estates have many other charges to bear, and it is only by getting very much higher yields per acre, and by the maintenance of the trees in superior health by means of manuring and soil conservation, that they will be able ultimately to compete. All these factors will, no doubt, receive the attention of the Malayan industry now that it has its new Rubber Research Institute; but, in the matter of planting of selected trees with their high yielding capacity, Java, Sumatra and Ceylon are already ahead of Malaya.

As I have already stated, in Ceylon the largest area under any one crop is that devoted to coconuts. Though the area is placed at 890,000 acres, this is probably an under-estimate if all the trees inter-planted with fruit trees and other crops on native holdings are taken into account. The annual harvest of coconuts in Ceylon is now

well over 1,000,000,000 nuts per annum, and more has been done in Ceylon to organize the production and export of all the coconut bi-products, other than the ordinary copra, than in any other part of the British Empire. The Legislative Council of Ceylon has before it at this moment a proposal to establish a specific coconut research scheme, financed by a cess upon the industry, and to devote special attention to the genetical factors in connection with the improvement of this crop.

Of the area planted with rubber in Ceylon, approximately 50 per cent. is owned by European companies, and 50 per cent. by natives of Ceylon, *i.e.*, Sinhalese, Tamils, and others. Among the latter there are a considerable number of small holdings.

Undoubtedly, mistakes have been made in Ceylon in attempting to plant rubber at too high an altitude. Even under favourable rainfall conditions the growth of the rubber tree at altitudes over 1,500 feet is slow, and the yields of rubber per acre are much less than at lower altitudes. Diseases such as *oidium*, and secondary leaf fall in rubber, and physiological effects such as brown bast, are more common on the higher plantations. In fact, it is doubtful whether the upland estates can ever compete with plantations more favourably situated in the lowlands. The night temperature more than anything else seems to delimit the rubber belt of the world. The three diseases I have referred to are almost entirely the effect of malnutrition or hostile environmental characteristics, and their danger is lessened if the general health of the tree can be adequately maintained. In fact the best method of combating such diseases is the maintenance of the general health and vigour of the plant.

The most significant contrast between rubber in Ceylon and Malaya is seen in the general use throughout Ceylon of cover crops for the prevention of soil erosion. This has largely been the work of the last six years, and now it is rare to see a rubber plantation in Ceylon without a green cover crop of *dolcia hosei* (*vigna*) or of *centrosema*. It is equally rare to see any old-established rubber plantation in Malaya, where cover crops have been introduced. The Agricultural Department in Malaya have agitated for the introduction of cover crops for the past 20 years, but it is only recently that the Directors of the various companies, and the visiting agents, have got over the "clean weeding" policy of old times. During the last three years it is only fair to say that 70 per cent. of the new areas planted up with rubber in Malaya have been planted with cover crops. In fact, one of the British-owned estates in Java has been doing

quite a good business in exporting cover crop seed from Java to Malaya. The object of the cover crop is, of course, to preserve the tilth and humus in the top soil from being washed away by the tropical rains. If this most valuable part of the soil is washed away the yield of rubber goes down, and the tree is generally weakened. On occasion it has been found difficult to introduce the necessary cover crop owing to the heavy shade of a long established rubber plantation, but by combining the introductions of the cover crop with a dressing of artificial manures it is usually possible to get the cover crop well established in one or two years.

A great deal of attention is being paid nowadays in Ceylon to the use of manures in the production of all tropical crops, particularly tea and coconuts, and they have also been introduced by the more progressive rubber planters. Probably the most remarkable results of these more scientific methods of cultivation adopted in Ceylon can be seen on the tea estates, and I was furnished with a series of very remarkable figures showing the increased yields of tea per acre due entirely to the use of green manures, and chemical manures, over a period of years. A great deal of experimental work has been done in this direction both by the Department of Agriculture and by the planters themselves, and a great deal of experimental work is needed before the most commercially profitable mixtures, and chemical manures in particular, can be ascertained. This work is even more complex in rubber than it is in the case of tea.

In the cultivation of coconuts *Tephrosia candida* is the most popular green manure crop. In many of the tea plantations a single species is made to serve both the duty of shade tree, protection against erosion, and green manure crop, and nothing is more noticeable in Ceylon than the widespread introduction of the leguminous tree from Nicaragua in Central America, known by the botanical name *Gliricidia maculata*.

A leguminous green manure has a two-fold virtue. When the plant is growing, its roots form nodules in the soil which have the effect of storing nitrogen in the soil, while its leaves and branches can be cut annually, thrown on the ground and finally dug in to form a mulch rich in nitrogenous humus. I saw a greater variety of these green manure crops being tried out in different altitudes, and in different cultures in Ceylon, than in Java where the green manure crop most universally seen is *crotolaria*. In this connection it must be remembered that under tropical conditions nitrogen obtained from artificial chemical manures is very easily lost by leaching, and green

manuring has physical as well as chemical benefits to provide. Incidentally, some very important work is being done by the Agricultural Chemists at Peradeniya, on the nitrification of tropical soils.

In Ceylon, scientific work is concentrated at Peradeniya, near Candy. At Peradeniya there are situated:—

- (1) The Royal Botanical Gardens (146 acres).
- (2) Central Economic Station (547 acres).
- (3) Headquarters of the Director of Agriculture.
- (4) The Central Laboratory and the large and well-equipped block of laboratories.
- (5) The Agricultural School.
- (6) The headquarters of the Rubber Research Institute.

Peradeniya lies at an altitude of 1,500 feet above sea level, has an annual rainfall of 88 inches, distributed over 170 days, and a mean temperature of 76°. It is a little high for rubber and a little low for tea. However, both these crops can be successfully, if not ideally, cultivated there.

The new Tea Research Station is at Nuwara Eliya, at an altitude of about 6,000 feet, near where the bulk of the high quality tea of Ceylon is grown. Rubber research work is being carried out partly south-east of Colombo, at the Culloden Estate, and partly at the old Botanical Gardens at Heneratgoda, about 18 miles north-east of Colombo. It is of interest that this garden was established in 1876 for the reception of the original plants germinated at Kew from the rubber seeds brought by Sir Henry Wickham from the Amazon. A group of the original trees still stands, and among them is the famous Heneratgoda No. 2 which, so far as I am aware, is the highest yielding rubber tree so far known. This tree gave, over a continuous tapping period of nearly five years, an average yield of 96 lbs. of dry rubber per annum. I dare say this figure does not mean much to you. The average estate tree on an ordinary plantation yields about 4 lbs. of dry rubber per annum. In fact, the ordinary rubber plantation expects to get between 350 and 500 lbs. of rubber per acre per annum. An acre planted with 80 H. No. 2 trees would give a yield of over 7,000 lbs. per acre per annum.

The next important point to note is that trees grown from the seeds of H. No. 2 are rarely high yielders. In fact, the yield of the vast majority of the seedlings whose mother tree is H. No. 2, and whose father is unknown, is not above that of the ordinary estate tree. Everything points to the fact that though Sir Henry Wickham was

fortunate in bringing some seeds from the Amazon which proved to be very high yielders, the seeds themselves collected in the forests of Brazil were the result of generations of cross fertilization. Since rubber has been established in the Far East, this process of promiscuous cross fertilization has gone on for an average of about seven generations, with a result that all the various genetical factors have become inextricably mixed, and nowadays there is no guarantee that any large proportion of the seeds of a high-yielding mother tree, even when crossed with the pollen of another high-yielding tree, will result in high-yielding seedlings. In fact, all the evidence goes to show that even with the most approved and carefully controlled methods of seed selection, the vast majority of seedlings will be the ordinary low-yielding tree. It is this fact that has compelled scientists to seek some other method of propagating high-yielding rubber trees, and the device invented by the Dutch, and now increasingly practised in Java and Sumatra, is the method of bud-grafting—to my mind by far the most important and significant development that has ever taken place in the history of the rubber industry.

The two principal estates on which bud-grafting was first introduced are the United States Rubber Plantations, and the A.V.R.O.S. Rubber Experimental Station, both in Sumatra. The Director of the Research at the former, Mr. J. Grantham, formerly in the employ of the Malayan Department of Agriculture, started in 1917 estimating the individual latex yield of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million trees on a single estate of 27,000 acres. The results obtained by 1921 were:

	<i>Trees</i>
Class I—Estimated average yield of dry rubber, 14 lbs. or over, was for	1,292
Class II—Estimated average yield of dry rubber, 10 lbs. or over, was for	31,487
Class III—Estimated average yield of dry rubber, 7 lbs. or over, was for	198,411
Remainder (about 3 lbs.)	4,268,809
Total Trees	4,500,000

In 1923, 250 of the best trees in Class I were selected for daily records of yield in dry rubber. The best single tree out of the 4,500,000 examined, gave a yield of 55 lbs. in 1924 and 52 lbs. in

1925; while 17 trees in 1924 and 21 trees in 1925 exceeded 30 lbs. The above trees are all in ordinary plantations of 80 to the acre.

The United States Rubber Plantations began bud-grafting from selected mother trees on an area of 10 acres in August, 1918, and on a large scale in 1920. Tapping of 60 budded trees began in May, 1922. The A.V.R.O.S. General Experimental Station began planting out budded areas in 1918 and 1919, and the first published results, given by Dr. Hensser in *Archief voor de Rubber Kultur*, January, 1924, are based on tappings made in February, 1923. The "Bandong Datar" Company has also published results of 700 budded trees, all planted in 1918.

But bud-grafting is not a simple process. For one thing, not all high-yielding trees will transmit their high-yielding qualities even by the method of bud-grafting. Further, there are other factors such as vigour and the general character of the plant which must be borne in mind in addition to high yields of rubber. Further, not all scions will take successfully on to all stocks, and the scientific relation of stock to scion has yet to be worked out. I have heard it stated in Malaya that there are grounds for believing that grafted rubber trees are more liable to disease than seedlings. I cannot find any scientific evidence for any such statement. One thing, however, seems to me to be fairly clear. If, as seems likely by the method of bud-grafting, the average yield of rubber per tree can be immensely increased, then the tree will probably require more food, and the introduction of bud-grafting will have to go hand in hand with manurial experiments of a far-reaching kind.

I shall be dealing with all these points at some considerable length in my report, and I now wish to return to the work of the Agricultural Department in Ceylon.

Far wider effort is being made in Ceylon than in Malaya in the selection of higher yielding strains of rice. This work is going on at two main stations, and 19 other subordinate stations, who are working out the various types of seed most suited to the different types of soil, the different elevations, and the different maturing periods requisite in the Ceylon rice industry.

Further, the Agricultural School at Peradeniya is quite first class. It has a dairy farm as well as its own cultivable plots, while a good deal of the teaching is done actually in the secondary experimental station of the Department. This school, which was established in 1916, is residential, and open to pupils of over 17 years of age. Of the 180 students who have passed through the school, 60 have entered the

service of the Agricultural Department, the remainder have gone on to estates. In addition to the courses for agricultural students there is a one-year course in agriculture for selected vernacular school teachers. In this way Ceylon is rapidly building up its own agricultural extension service, and the selection of Kandy as the site of the proposed University of Ceylon has been largely influenced by the importance of the early establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture at that University.

Finally, I should like to say that Ceylon is particularly fortunate in possessing Mr. Stockdale as its Director of Agriculture. It is very largely due to his efforts that Ceylon is in the forefront of modern tropical agriculture. Java started early, and has had more men and more money engaged in agricultural research and its application. Also, the scientific staff in Java has had the full backing and support both of Government and the planting community. Successful management of plantations in the tropics now requires two elements, viz., skill and understanding in the management of labour, and a real knowledge of agricultural sciences. In the former we frequently excel; in the latter, still have much to learn.

I have already taken up too much time in introducing this very important subject to your notice and I cannot tax your patience by any attempt to touch upon all the other fields of investigation which I undertook in the three countries. Nor have I had time to deal with the treatment of many of the crops whose cultivation can be studied with great advantage in South-east Asia. The importance of animal husbandry and its development is clearly a part of the subject which I have touched upon, and yet I feel I have no time to give you even an outline of the data which I have collected on that subject. I hope, therefore, you will regard this as just an instalment of the material which I have been able to obtain in the few weeks of yet another absorbingly interesting tour in the tropics.

Dr. A. W. HILL, C.M.G., F.R.S., Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, said that having preceded Mr. Ormsby-Gore in a journey to Java, Malaya and Ceylon, he would like to congratulate him on the extraordinarily able way in which he had put together the facts that had come under his observation. Mr. Ormsby-Gore had told them quite truly in what directions the Dutch excel, but in some ways they had more advantages than he had indicated. In Java, they had only one comparatively small problem to tackle, whereas our commitments embraced problems of every sort and kind. Our Home Country was not very much larger than Holland, yet we had

to supply scientific workers for a very much larger area than the Dutch, so that we could not concentrate as they had done; in fact, when we spoke of the work of the Dutch it was really Java where their scientific work had been concentrated, whereas ours was extended all over the world. Like Mr. Ormsby-Gore, he was himself very much struck with the excellent work done in our Agricultural Department in Ceylon, and was particularly proud of Mr. Stockdale's connection with that work, for he was one of his own pupils.

Mr. E. T. CAMPBELL, M.P., recalled that he was for some years British Vice-Consul in Java, and that he had been in that country for over 20 years. He was pleased and proud to hear from Mr. Ormsby-Gore what had been accomplished in those parts of the world. He might mention that before Raffles was there, his grand-uncle started the firm of Maclaine Watson & Co., which had been in existence for a hundred years in Java. The British had done great things in that country; many of the Rubber Estates in the Dutch East Indies were British owned and controlled, and in research and other matters we had stood alongside the Dutch for our mutual benefit. There was no doubt that in the Dutch East Indies the British and the Dutch worked a great deal harder than men in Malaya or Ceylon. "I was only twice home in 21 years," said Mr. Campbell, "and yet I am going to play cricket to-morrow. We go out there, and our main idea is not to amuse ourselves—though we do that, too—but to get on with the job and clear out of the country as quickly as possible. That is what my aim was, and that is what I did; but we left somebody behind there, and the firm is still carrying on."

Mr. OLIVER MARKS, C.M.G., as one who had lived for a certain number of years in Malaya, said that though Mr. Ormsby-Gore had put the Malayese rather in the background he did not think he had intended to do so, and one or two points should be mentioned in fairness to them. They had tried cover-crops for rubber, and he believed they were abandoned because it was found the climate was a good deal wetter and that they introduced disease, especially root disease. But after all they had nearly 2,000,000 acres more rubber in Malaya than Ceylon or Java, and that said a great deal for the country. Another drawback was that they had had an almost too generous Government, and whatever anyone wanted he would go to the Governor for. The planters had had very hard times. It was only when other crops failed they began to consider rubber. As regarding budding, he thought Mr. Ormsby-Gore was not quite

correct in saying the experiment was first tried in Java. To his knowledge Mr. Gallagher, an official of the Agricultural Department, also made the experiment. It was only that the Government could not, or would not, give the salary Mr. Gallagher was offered to go to Java, that prevented this experiment being completed in Malaya. He had carried out a wonderful experiment with bud-grafting; but there was no certainty yet of the effect that it would have, and a leading scientist had said that the experiments, which had also been carried out in Malaya, had not been entirely successful.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Ormsby-Gore for his extraordinarily interesting address, and speaking for himself, said he knew people had to learn a good deal to know about conditions in Malaya. He had said he hoped this visit would educate the Minister to some extent, but Mr. Ormsby-Gore had turned the tables on them and had given them a great deal that ought to help towards the solution of many of the problems which lay before them, especially in regard to rubber.

Sir J. SANDEMAN ALLEN, M.P., seconding the motion for a vote of thanks, said they were very grateful to Mr. Ormsby-Gore after the very hard work he had evidently done. It was a great comfort to this country, he said, to feel that the Colonial Office to-day was in possession of so much extraordinarily valuable material—not only paper material, but human material. It was a great comfort to feel that our Government has had the time and the determination to take these things up in such a way as to enable our people to understand these problems, because he felt himself that our people were quite capable of grappling with them once they realized them. He wanted the Royal Colonial Institute to back up Mr. Ormsby-Gore and everyone who was taking up the demand that we should devote deeper and closer study to these problems in a scientific way.

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE, in reply, thanked the various speakers for their valuable addition to the points he had endeavoured to make. With regard to bud culture, he was afraid that everywhere one went one found a prejudice against what is new. Although there might be difficulties, he was confident there had been quite enough experience for 10 years about grafting to show that you could get a far higher yield than by the method of seeding. Every single advance in science made in any country had had to fight its way against the innate conservatism of those who had always done it in a different way. He spoke rather warmly because the whole object of his tour was not popular, but to try to help in improving the quality of cultivation

and get things on modern progressive scientific lines. In his opinion we had natural advantages in Malaya over Java and Sumatra for rubber-growing, and if we proceeded on proper scientific lines Malaya could beat the world. If, on the other hand, everything new was considered to be wrong he was certain the inevitable result would be that a number of people would lose some of their money.

A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman for presiding.

Appendices

Appendix A Three summarized presentations

DURING the 1930s the journal *United Empire* published brief summaries of three presentations that dealt with British Malaya. The first was by A. S. Haynes, a member of the Malayan Civil Service who had served in Malaya since 1901. He appeared before the Royal Colonial Institute after his retirement in 1934, and spoke concerning several contemporary issues including the policy to increase domestic food production, decentralization, and restrictions on Chinese immigration. A second talk was presented in January 1937 to the Education Circle by O. T. Dussek, a former principal of the Sultan Idris Training College, who discussed Malay vernacular education. The third paper, given on 4 February 1937, was by Dr. Harold A. Tempany, Director of Agriculture in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States from 1929 until 1936, and subsequently Assistant Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for Colonies. In his talk, given before the Planters' Group, Tempany explained the progress of efforts to expand rice production in Malaya.

1

BRITISH MALAYA

A. S. Haynes

27 July 1934

MR. HAYNES, lately British Adviser, Kelantan, and Acting Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, said: British Malaya was geographically so small that on a map of the world it appeared as hardly more than a thin thread. Economically it was so rich that in 1926 overseas imports and exports exceeded the total of the trade of the whole of the rest of the Colonial

Dependencies put together. Strategically, Singapore, at its southern-most point, was one of the most important places in the Empire, and this was now recognized by the construction of a great naval base and an up-to-date air base. Singapore had become even something more than Raffles' dream of "The Malta of the East." This thin thread had contained a number of different administrations. Firstly, the Straits Settlements, a Crown Colony comprising Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Secondly, nine separate Malay States, each with its own Malay Ruler, and each having a direct treaty relation with Great Britain. Four are federated and are styled the Federated Malay States; five are unfederated and are separate entities as regards their finances. Over all is the Governor. In the Straits Settlements he is styled Governor; in the Malay States, which are under British protection, he is styled High Commissioner. It is through the Governor, under the general direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the broad lines of unity in policy are secured in fundamental matters such as defence and any others where the interests are common.

Mr. Haynes confined himself to problems under the headings of the Land, the People, and the Government. Regarding the land, he said the proper conservation of the primeval forest in the right places was a vital matter. Fortunately the necessity had been recognized for many years past, and there was a strong and highly qualified Forest Department. Rubber and tin had hitherto formed the basis for the great wealth of the country. As regards agriculture, the profits from rubber were so large that little else was planted. The most serious problem of all was rice cultivation. The necessity of feeding imported labour and the ever-increasing immigrant population, coupled with the decline of rice cultivation owing to the attractions of rubber, required large imports of rice. The food crisis of 1919 was a grave warning. The rice crop failed in all the countries which normally supplied Malaya; the Government had to step in, appoint a Food Controller, and buy rice itself. The loss to Government and employers was enormous. A striking contrast was afforded by the unfederated States of Kedah and Kelantan; they, with their large Malay population and developed rice lands, had no shortage of food. Action taken after inquiry by a Rice Cultivation Committee resulted in an increase in the area under rice from 657,198 acres with a yield of 151,873 tons in the 1929-30 season, to 766,910 acres with a yield of 291,197 tons in 1932-33.

On the subject of the people, Mr. Haynes said the Malay had shown himself to be capable of performing any manual labour required. Tin, rubber and other industries created an urgent demand for labour which only immigration could meet; and the masses of China and India had answered the call in a way that had upset the racial balance. The debt which Malaya owed to the enterprise and industry of the Chinese, the Indians and the Ceylonese was incalculable; but a point was reached at which alien immigration must be controlled if the Malay was not to be completely swamped

in his own land. Recently, and as some think, rather late in the day, a law giving power to restrict alien immigration was passed on the lines of similar laws in force in neighbouring countries.

A solution of the racial problem would be to get the Malays so thick on the ground (as the Javanese are in Java) that they could provide labour for Government and other employers. That they could do this was shown by Kelantan, where out of a total of 360,000 the Malays number over 330,000 with only 17,000 Chinese. "The Chinese population is complex. There are two main divisions—so called Straits-born Chinese and alien Chinese. The former have made Malaya their home, are a loyal and intelligent community, proud of their British citizenship and prominent in the economic development of the country. The alien Chinese, attracted by the opportunities for amassing wealth in the Malay Peninsula, have entered in enormous numbers. While contributing to rapid development they have also contributed to the problems of administration. As early as 1913 legislation had to be passed to preserve land for the Malays; and gang-robbers, gunmen, secret societies and anti-British propaganda have had to be dealt with at considerable cost. The last is the most insidious and the most dangerous. The more stable elements among the Chinese generally sympathize with firm Government action in a manner which their public utterances hardly reveal. Meanwhile the Malay is awaking to his opportunities, and it is this which has roused feeling amongst some aliens, the feeling, some say, of the spider interrupted in the process of swallowing the fly."

Dealing with the Government, Mr. Haynes spoke of the much debated problem of decentralization in the Federated Malay States, explained why Federation was necessary, and how circumstances led to federal encroachments on State rights; and to protests and doubts which both Sir Laurence Guillemard and Sir Cecil Clementi met sympathetically. The policy of decentralization recommended by Sir Samuel Wilson in his most valuable report is the right one, said Mr. Haynes. The Federation is *not* being broken up; federal finance is *not* being transferred to the individual States; policy in important matters is *not* being handed over for different treatment by four different States. "The broad lines of policy in common matters are controlled by the High Commissioner, who secures uniformity where it is necessary. And what about efficiency? When reading recently a brief account of a distinguished man, I was struck by the following words 'Unlike many Administrators, he was no centralizer. Each was encouraged to achieve efficiency in his own way.' And this, it seems to me, is the efficiency to be sought, something to which people are encouraged and not driven, something spontaneous and alive, not soulless and dead. A mere material efficiency is not an end in itself."

There was no truth in the suggestion that it was only the Federation which attracted capital. Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in his Report on Malaya of 1928,

pointed out that economic progress had depended far more on geographical position and development of communication by road and rail than on constitutional factors. He instanced the progress of unfederated Johore, whilst Pahang, though federated, lagged behind. "It is," said Mr. Haynes, "British control above all which attracts capital, and that control will remain in existence throughout the Peninsula in accordance with our treaty engagements. This is fundamental and imperative. History will judge of our use of that control not in terms of mere material wealth or machine-like efficiency in administration, but of the effect that administration has had on the lives and character of the people." Fulfilment of our ideas of trusteeship had brought us not only the material advantages which flow from an enormous expansion of British trade; not only the firm commitment to our rule of the Malay Rulers who provided from their public revenues the battleship "Malaya" and contributed £2,000,000 to the naval base at Singapore; but the sure trust and unswerving loyalty of a people whom to know was to love.

2

EDUCATION IN BRITISH MALAYA

O. T. Dussek**January 1937**

AT the January meeting of the Education Circle Mr. O. T. Dussek, late Principal of Sultan Idris College, and Assistant Director for Malay Schools, gave a brief survey of educational work in the S.S. and F.M.S. with special reference to the Malay Vernacular Schools and the function of the Sultan Idris College. It was not quite clear whether the Malay language has any linguistic value, but those boys who had been grounded in their own language made good progress when they entered English schools. There is, however, a difficulty in that both Arabic and Roman scripts are in use.

Mr. DUSSEK quoted freely from official reports, and gave the figures of pupils enrolled in the various English and Vernacular medium schools. While English schools are generously supported by Government, he considers them too stereotyped and not too suitable for most environments. He feels Vernacular Schools are far more important, and their curriculum is definitely designed to meet the needs of a rural community, special stress being laid upon gardening and handicrafts. The standard of intelligence is high, and in certain directions, notably in mechanics and motor engineering, Malays show great promise. Carpentry, be it noted, is of no use, because the Chinese will not let Malays enter the trade. Basketry is general and popular.

Mr. Dussek displayed some most attractive pieces of Malay handwork, which, however, he had to admit were of little commercial value.

His description of the Sultan Idris College was followed with keen interest. Primarily intended for training Malay teachers, it is almost a Vernacular University. It offers a higher course in Malay literature, and has undertaken the publication of Malay books, plays and music. Art and applied arts and crafts hold a prominent place in its curriculum, while it also supervises the administration of Malay Schools, thus keeping close contact with the environment it seeks to serve. A similar institution for training woman teachers has now been set up at Malacca. One improvement still is needed, full recognition of the need for a good training in Malay of education officers sent out from England. It was abundantly clear that a good knowledge of the language was essential for those who would assume responsibility for the education of these talented but backward people.

3

RICE CULTIVATION IN BRITISH MALAYA

H. A. Tempany**4 February 1937**

AT the meeting of the Planters' Group on February 4th, when Mr. W. G. Freeman presided, Dr. H. A. TEMPANY C.B.E., Assistant Agricultural Adviser to the Colonial Office, and late Agricultural Adviser to the Malay States, spoke on "Rice Cultivation in British Malaya." He said that the rapid emergence of Malaya from comparative obscurity to prominence as a rubber producing country tended to withdraw attention from the fact that Malayan agriculture is in reality considerably diversified. The area under coconuts, oil palms, pineapples and rice now approximates $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, and a further $\frac{1}{4}$ million acres are devoted to the cultivation of minor crops. This diversity is a result of the appreciation, by the administration, rulers and inhabitants of Malaya, of the danger of entire dependence on one staple, leading, particularly of late years, to a definite policy directed to its avoidance.

The consumption of rice had been rising for a number of years while local production had tended to diminish, resulting in a steadily increasing volume of imports; and in the year 1930 the imports attained the figure of 590,000 tons, while local production was estimated to amount to 150,000 tons. In face of the growing severity of the depression and the diminishing purchasing power of exportable commodities and particularly a disastrous fall in prices for rubber and tin, the situation called for action to develop further the

internal production of the staple food. In 1930 the then High Commissioner, Sir Cecil Clementi, appointed a committee to consider the best steps to be taken to encourage rice cultivation in Malaya. The recommendations of that committee form, to a large extent, the basis of Government policy in this respect at the present time.

From the outset it was realized that protective measures which would have the immediate result of raising the price of food to the large majority of the population could not for a moment be contemplated, and the most powerful of all, namely the fiscal policy of imposing import duties on imported rice, was ruled out. The administration therefore followed the only alternative of providing services for the encouragement and fostering of rice growing combined with the liberal use of propaganda.

A chief measure was the formation of a separate organization, the Drainage and Irrigation Department, for control and management of water supply in rice growing areas by undertaking and maintaining irrigation and drainage works and elaborating and establishing methods of flood control. Simultaneously steps were taken to increase production along two lines. The first consisted in the improvement of conditions and yields in existing areas. The second comprised the opening up of new areas of land suitable for rice cultivation, but not at present occupied. With a view to assisting developments in both directions the agricultural services have been greatly strengthened.

The decision to encourage the extension of rice cultivation was followed by prohibition of alienation of any further land suitable for growing rice, for the cultivation of money crops such as rubber, etc., and it is estimated that from 600,000 to 1,000,000 acres of land remain available for rice production. The problem of opening up new land, however, presented difficulties. Chief among these was that of providing settlers. It being undesirable to attract settlers from outside the country, it became a question of so siting new areas that they would attract cultivators from other parts of the country where there was a definite demand for rice land.

Three major schemes, providing ultimately for the development of about 35,000 acres of land in Selangor, about 40,000 acres in Lower Perak, and about 10,000 acres, additional to the existing cultivation, in Krian, and a number of smaller projects, have been embarked upon. The progress made may be measured by the fact that so far about 10,000 acres in Selangor, 6,000 acres in Lower Perak and 4,000 acres in the Krian area, most of which, five years ago, were swamp jungle of the most impenetrable description, have been successfully brought under cultivation.

To assist developments committees have been appointed, usually under the chairmanship of the District Officer, with representatives of the agricultural, irrigation and co-operative departments, the settlement officer and representatives of the settlers and cultivators. In addition, many schemes have been undertaken for the improvement of existing rice fields.

The results have been striking. There has been a nett increase in the area under rice cultivation of 100,000 acres since 1930, the total area at present in cultivation being 734,730 acres. The yield per acre has risen steadily from 183 gantangs ($5\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.) of paddy to 272 gantangs. The total estimated crop for 1935 was 315,000 tons as compared with 153,000 tons in 1931. Thus the yield has doubled in the space of six years, while the total rice production is now 41 per cent of the total consumption of the Peninsula, as contrasted with 25 per cent in 1931.

Dr. Tempany looked for further advances in the future, though with improvement in conditions and in the absence of fiscal protection it is unlikely that they will be on the spectacular scale that has occurred in the past. A striking fact is that these active measures for the encouragement of rice cultivation, which have demanded not inconsiderable expenditure, were undertaken at a time when economic conditions were at their worst. Although the necessity for economy on every hand was paramount, the Malayan Governments did not hesitate to provide funds for these developments. The extra expenditure involved was met partly from ordinary revenue, partly from loan funds and surplus balances, and in the Federated Malay States from the proceeds of a special import tax on rice which was fixed at a figure which, although it did not perceptibly affect the retail price, yet yielded in the aggregate a considerable sum. With the advent of improved financial conditions the tax was withdrawn, and the whole expenditure is now being met from ordinary revenue.

In conclusion, Dr. Tempany pointed out that the development of rice cultivation in Malaya shows the type of result that can be achieved by close collaboration between administrative and technical branches in an agreed policy which is accepted and supported by the cultivators, and that the matter has broad implications which concern not only Malaya but also Colonial agricultural policy as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN, inviting discussion, expressed admiration of Dr. Tempany's lucid presentation of a very important and obviously very complex piece of administrative work. While it is true that reliance on one cash crop does not make for economic self-sufficiency, Mr. Freeman suggested that in places which are densely populated there are difficulties that have not had to be faced in Malaya.

DR. E. H. TRIPP asked if Dr. Tempany could give any reason for the tremendous variation in yield of rice per acre in different parts of the world. The yield figures given by Dr. Tempany did not appear to confirm the contention that $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land will support a family of six. Was the use of fertilizers in rice production an economic proposition in Malaya?

DR. A. E. SNELLEN had had a similar problem to face in Dutch Guiana, plus the fact that rice grown in that area cannot compete with that grown in the East. Difficulties had been experienced as regards drying and hulling. The soil in Dutch Guiana was very fertile, and fertilizers were never used.

MR. H. HAMEL SMITH wondered if there might not be a market for rice husks for making rayon.

LT.-COL. J. B. EATON, Head of the Rubber Research Institute, Malaya, pointed out the increased rate of progress possible when special departments can be created to deal with one particular problem, and referred to the value of special Irrigation Department formed in Malaya. He would stress the importance in all cases of having special officers to deal with each crop.

MR. A. CAVENDISH, Administration Officer, Malaya, described the progress made in the development of co-operative societies to help the cultivators.

MRS. MUNRO-FAURE had observed no reference, in the schemes outlined by Dr. Tempany, to the provision of educational facilities for the cultivators.

MR. E. A. ANDREWS endorsed the remarks of Lt.-Col. Eaton with regard to the importance of having special officers to deal with each crop.

MR. J. H. MORTON would like to know what steps, if any, were taken to equalize the moisture content of the grain.

In reply, Dr. Tempany agreed with Mr. Freeman that it is easier to extend the cultivation of staple foods in countries which possess large undeveloped areas. He must admit that the settlers lived an amphibian existence to a great extent, but in drawing up schemes for extension the presence or absence of sufficient high land was taken into account. In answer to Dr. Tripp, he explained that yields vary considerably in different areas. While his production figure was an average for the whole of Malaya, there are districts where the yield is sufficient to support a family of six and yet leave a considerable surplus. Phosphoric acid had been found to be the dominant fertilizer needed for rice, and natural deposits of this mineral occur in Kedah. Rice is grown with the aid of mechanical cultivation in Australia and in California, but the benefit of protective tariffs probably helps in those cases. The cost of preparing the land for tractor cultivation generally imposes the handicap of a tremendous overhead. He thoroughly agreed with the remarks of Lt.-Col. Eaton and Mr. Andrews. Wherever settlements are opened up vernacular schools are established, though attendance is not compulsory. Interest in education is increasing, however, and now parents are beginning to allow girls to attend school.

MR. R. D. ANSTEAD, proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Tempany, said he could well appreciate, from his experience in Madras, the difficulties that had had to be overcome in promoting the extension of rice cultivation in Malaya, and he would like the meeting to remember that the striking progress described in the paper was largely due to the energy and enthusiasm of Dr. Tempany himself.

Appendix B

Notes on Some of the Participants in the Discussions

WILLIAM ADAMSON (1832–11 March 1917) Adamson was a merchant at Singapore where he served as a member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council; he was also a director of the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company. *Source: Who Was Who, 1916–1928.* (Talk 2)

SIR JOHN ANDERSON (23 January 1858–24 March 1918) Anderson's early career was spent in the Colonial Office. From 1904 to 1911 he served as Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States. He was Permanent Under-Secretary for Colonies from 1911 to 1916, and Governor of Ceylon 1917 to 1918. *Source: Who Was Who, 1916–1928.* (Talk 11)

MAJOR SIR MAURICE ALEXANDER CAMERON (30 November 1855–16 May 1936) Cameron was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich; he served as Deputy Colonial Engineer and Surveyor-General of the Straits Settlements from 1883 to 1892, and as Crown Agent for the Colonies from 1895 to 1920. *Source: Who Was Who, 1929–1940.* (Talk 8)

(MAJOR) **SIR EDWARD FEETHAM COATES** (28 February 1853–14 August 1921) Coates was a stockbroker in England (in the firm of Coates, Son, & Co.) and was active in local government. *Source: Who Was Who, 1916–1928.* (Talk 5)

NOEL DENISON (d. 2 August 1893) Denison first went to South-East Asia in February 1869, to join the Sarawak administration. He later served as Collector of Land Revenue and Magistrate in Krian and Lower Perak Districts in the state of Perak. (Talk 2)

DR NICHOLAS BELFIELD DENNYS, Ph. D. Dennys went to China as a student interpreter in 1863. From 1866 until 1876 he edited the Hong Kong *China Mail*; in 1877 he became Assistant Protector of Chinese in Singapore, and later in the same year became Secretary, Librarian, and Curator of the Raffles Museum in Singapore. (Talk 2)

ALFRED DENT (1844–23 November 1927) Dent was a merchant who began doing business in China and Ceylon during the 1860s, and was one of the principal founders of the British North Borneo Company. *Source: Who Was Who, 1916–1928.* (Talk 3)

VICE-ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR EDWARD FREMANTLE (15 June 1836–10 February 1929) Fremantle was Commander-in-Chief for the East Indies from 1888 to 1891, and for China from 1892 to 1895. He was promoted to Rear-Admiral in 1901. *Source: Who Was Who, 1929–1940.* (Talks 5, 11)

SAMUEL GILFILLAN began his career as a merchant during the 1850s with the Borneo Company. He was a partner in Adamson, Gilfillan and Co., one of the major agency houses operating in the Straits Settlements, and remained a director of the company after retiring to London in 1881. (Talk 8)

SIR LAURENCE NUNNS GUILLEMARD (7 June 1862–13 December 1951), after a career spent dealing with finance in the English Government (at the Treasury, the Board of Inland Revenue, and the Board of Customs and Excise), became Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States from 1919 to 1927. *Source: Who Was Who, 1951–1960.* (Talk 15)

DUDLEY FRANCIS AMELIUS HERVEY (7 January 1849–1 June 1911) Hervey came to the Straits Settlements as a cadet in the colonial service in 1867 and became Resident Councillor of Malacca in 1883, retiring on pension in 1893. He published a number of articles on Malaya in scholarly journals. *Source: Who Was Who, 1897–1916.* (Talk 5)

(LIEUT.-GEN.) SIR WILLIAM FRANCIS DRUMMOND JERVOIS (10 September 1821–17 August 1897) Jervois was educated at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich and served at the War Office from 1856 to 1875. In 1875 he was made Governor of the Straits Settlements where he remained until 1877; he later held colonial governorships in Australia and New Zealand. *Source: Who Was Who, 1897–1915.* (Talk 4)

ARTHUR LAMPARD was a director of Harrisons & Crosfield. It was through his farsighted confidence in the fledgling rubber industry that his firm became one of the largest rubber agencies in South-East Asia. (Talk 11)

SIR HUGH LOW (10 May 1824–18 April 1905) began his career as an official in the administration of Labuan, where he served from 1848 until 1877, when he became British Resident of Perak. He remained in Perak until his retirement in 1889. Low is given credit for shaping

the British administrative pattern in Perak, the first state in the Malay Peninsula to come under British control, and for successfully introducing a number of contentious reforms, including the abolition of slavery, into Perak. (Talks 2, 4, 5, 6, 7)

SIR CHARLES LUCAS (7 August 1853–7 May 1931), a barrister by training, served in the Colonial Office for a number of years. From 1920 to 1927 he was a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. *Source: Who Was Who, 1929–1940.* (Talks 14, 19)

OLIVER MARKS (10 September 1866–24 May 1940) Marks was a planter in Ceylon from 1887 to 1891 and joined the Malayan government as Superintendent of the Government Plantation, Perak, in 1891. He then joined the administrative service and after holding various posts served briefly as British Resident of Negeri Sembilan (1920) and of Perak (1921) before retiring in 1922. *Source: Who Was Who, 1929–1940.* (Talk 15)

DR HOSEA BALLOU MORSE (18 July 1855–13 February 1934) Morse, who served in the Imperial Chinese Customs Service from 1874 to 1909, was a noted scholar and wrote a number of major works on China. *Source: Who Was Who, 1929–1940.* (Talk 13)

SIR WILLIAM C. F. ROBINSON (1835–2 May 1897) Robinson served as Governor of a number of Britain's colonial possessions particularly in Australia. He was Governor of the Straits Settlements from 1877 until 1879, immediately preceding Weld. *Source: Who Was Who, 1897–1915.* (Talks 4, 8)

THOMAS SHELFORD (1839–1900) was a prominent resident of Singapore, working in the trading firm of Paterson, Simons & Co., and for many years an outspoken member of the Straits Legislative Council. (Talk 7)

SIR CECIL CLEMENTI-SMITH (23 December 1840–6 February 1916) Smith, who began his service in Asia after being selected as student interpreter for Hong Kong in 1863, joined the Straits Settlements administration in 1878 and served as Governor from 1887 to 1893. *Source: Who Was Who, 1916–1928.* (Talks 5, 6, 7)

LIEUT.-COL. SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE (15 October 1850–3 March 1931) Temple was in the Indian Army and served both in

India and in Burma. He was also a distinguished scholar and a member of many learned societies. *Source: Who Was Who 1929-40.* (Talk 3)

WILLIAM HOOD TREACHER (1 December 1849-3 May 1919) Treacher spent his career in Borneo and Malaya; he was the first Governor of British North Borneo (1881-7), served as British Resident in Selangor and Perak during the 1890s, and was Resident-General from 1902 until his retirement in 1904. *Source: Who Was Who, 1916-1928.* (Talk 7)

CPT. SIR ARTHUR YOUNG (31 October 1854-20 October 1938) Young, who was educated at Sandhurst and served for a number of years in Cyprus, went to the Straits Settlements as Colonial Secretary in 1906 and was Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States from 1911 to 1919. *Source: Who Was Who, 1929-1940.* (Talk 13)

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG (21 June 1817-9 November 1913) Young, who served as Vice-President of the Royal Colonial Institute, published widely on colonial affairs and was known as a champion of schemes for promoting the permanent union of the colonies with the mother country. *Source: Who Was Who, 1897-1915.* (Talk 9)

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