

PLATE I.



*H.R.H. Sultan Idris ibni Raja Alang Iskandar,
28th. Sultan of Perak, 1887 - 1916.*

Photo National Archives Malaysia.

M. B. R. A. S. REPRINTS

REPRINT NUMBER THREE

A HISTORY OF PERAK

by

R.O.WINSTEDT and R.J.WILKINSON

and

THREE ARTICLES

by

W.E.MAXWELL

Previously published
as Volume XII Part 1.
Journal of the Malayan Branch
of the Royal Asiatic Society
in June 1934

and

in Volumes 2, 9 & 12. of
the Journal of the Straits Branch
of the Royal Asiatic Society
in 1878, 1882 and 1883.

Republished by

The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Printed for the MBRAS
by Perchetakan MAS Sdn Bhd.

Kuala Lumpur

1974.

M
9596113
W114

112120

11 JUN 1979
Perpustakaan Negara
Malaysia

The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Patron

Tun Abdul Razak bin Husein.S.M.N.

Council for 1974

Tan Sri Datuk Nik Ahmed Kamil . . .	President.
Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard	} Vice Presidents
Associate Professor Eunice Thio	
Encik Mohd. Hashim bin Sam Abdul Latiff	
Pengiran M. Shariffuddin	
Professor Ismail Hussein	
Abang Yusuf Puteh	
Professor Zainal Abidin bin Abdul Wahid	} Councillors
Mr. E.L.S. Jennings	
Encik Saad bin Marzuki	
Mr. Christopher Hooi . . .	
Dr. Khoo Kay Kim . . .	
Mr. N.T.S. Chopra . . .	
Encik Mohd. Hashim bin Sam Abdul Latiff . . .	Hon. Treasurer
Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard . . .	Hon. Secretary
Radin Soenarno . . .	Assistant Hon. Secretary

Edited for the Council of the Society
by Tan Sri Datuk Mubin Sheppard

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Preface by R.O.Winstedt	i
Preface by Professor Zainal Abidin bin Abdul Wahid	ii
Notes on the Larut Disturbances, by Dr. Khoo Kay Kim	iv
Introduction by R.O.Winstedt	1
Chapter	
I. Early Civilisations and Primitive Tribes	3
II. The Coming of the Malays	6
III. The Portuguese Period	13
IV. Perak under the Achinese	18
V. The Dutch and Perak	24
VI. Bugis, Siam and the British East India Company	61
VII. The Chinese Miners of Larut	78
VIII. British Intervention	91
IX. The first British Resident	102
X. Protection	115

Appendices :-	Page
(a) Perak versions of the Malacca Dynastic Legends	119
(b) A Perak Dynastic Legend	122
(c) The Perak Dynasty	125
(d) The Perak Chiefs.	134
(e) The Perak <i>Naubat</i> or Royal Band	159
(f) A Perak Palace	161
(g) The Regalia and Royal Heirlooms	163
(h) The Guardian Genies of the State	166
(i) Sultan 'Abdu'llah's <i>Seance</i>	172
(j) The <i>Chiri</i> or Coronation Address	175
(k) Bibliography	177
 Three Articles by W.E.Maxwell	
Notes on Two Perak Manuscripts. (JSBRAS. No.2. Dec.1871.)	181
The History of Perak from Native Sources. (JSBRAS. No.9. June 1882.)	192
Shamanism in Perak. (JSBRAS. No. 12. December 1883.)	216

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plate	
I. H.R.H. Sultan Idris ibni Raja Alang Iskandar, 28th. Sultan of Perak, 1887 – 1916.	<i>Frontespiece.</i>
II. Bronze figure of Buddha, Gupta style; c.8th.century A.D. found at Pengkalan, near Ipoh in 1931.	facing p. 3.
III. Eight Armed bronze Avalokitesvara: c. 7th.to 10th.cent: A.D. found at Bidor in 1936.	facing p. 4.
IV. Bronze figure of Brahmin Rishi: c. 9th.century A.D. found at Jalong, Sungai Siput in 1962.	facing p. 5.
V. Panel of a Perak royal Betel Box.	facing p. 6.
VI. Tomb of H.R.H. Sultan Muzaffar Shah, First Sultan of Perak, ruled 1528 – 1549. At Telok Bakong, Lambor kanan. Parit.	facing p. 8.
VII. Tomb of H.R.H. Sultan Muzaffar Shah II. 10th. Sultan, ruled 1636 – 1653. At Bota.	facing p. 9.
VIII. Lower portion of a Perak royal silver tray.	facing p. 10.
IX. Dutch Fort at Telok Gedong, Pangkor Island. built 1680: abandoned 1748: reconstructed by Muzium Negara 1973.	facing p. 53.
X. Sir Andrew Clarke, Governor, 1873 – 1875.	facing p. 97.

- XI. Raja Lope Yusof ibni Sultan Abdullah Muhammad Shah, facing p. 98.
Regent 1877: installed 27th. Sultan, 1887.
- XII. Raja Muda Abdullah ibni Sultan Jaafar, facing p. 99.
26th. Sultan, 1874 – 1876.
- XIII. Captain T.C.S. Speedy, facing p. 100.
first Assistant Resident Larut. 1874.
- XIV. Mr. J.W.W. Birch, facing p. 101.
first British Resident of Perak, 1874 – 1876.
- XV. Mr. (later Sir) Hugh Low, facing p. 116.
third British Resident of Perak, 1877.
- XVI. Capitan Chung Ah Kwee, facing p. 117.
Leader of the Hai San in Larut,
Member of the first Perak State Council, 1887.
- XVII. Children of Sultan Idris and Tengku Permaisuri, Che Uteh
Mariah. facing p. 130.
- XVIII. Sultan Idris with members of his entourage on the facing p. 131.
eve of his departure for England in 1902.
- XIX. Sultan Abdul Jalil (1916 – 1918) and members of the facing p. 132.
Perak Royal Family.
- XX. Part of the Perak Regalia: facing p. 164.

PREFACE.

A great part of this book deals with the Victorian era. So perhaps one may be pardoned for recalling how Huxley once said that tragedy for Herbert Spencer was a deduction killed by a fact. So chimaerical have been the theories of historians that the modern student demands the evidence before he will accept the finding. Meticulous, even tiresome detail must precede generalisation. There is hardly a deduction in this book: it is a plain unvarnished record of facts. Certainly the scaffolding of history consists of facts and this book pretends no more than to provide scaffolding for a definitive history of Malaya.

Most of the Malay material for this work was collected by us in Perak a quarter of a century ago. Since that time many Portuguese, Dutch and English records have been made accessible.

His Highness Sri Sultan Iskandar, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O. has graciously provided several illustrations. Doctors Bosch and van Stein Callenfels of the Archaeological Department of Netherlands India have been good enough to confirm my surmise that the dish figured in Plates VI—VIII is of Majapahit style. A note on the Sanskrit Coronation Address, has been obtained by the good offices of Dr. C. O. Blagden. Mr. H. D. Noone of the Perak Museum has supplied the latest scientific views on the Sakais, and Mr. T. D. Hughes, a Portuguese scholar in the Malayan Civil Service, has rendered assistance for the chapter on the Portuguese Period.

Chapters VII and VIII and part of X and Appendices (a) and (f) and much of (d) in their original form were the work of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson and have been printed in slightly different form elsewhere. For other chapters he is not responsible.

R.O.W.

PREFACE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REPRINT OF *A HISTORY OF PERAK* BY R.O. WINSTEDT AND R.J. WILKINSON

Once again the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is reprinting another State history of Malaysia. This time, it is *A History of Perak* by R.O. Winstedt and R.J. Wilkinson. *A History of Perak* was first published in the Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XII, Part I, in June 1934. In reprinting this particular issue it is felt that it would be beneficial to include three other articles on Perak which had been published much earlier and at the same time, to add a new article which it is hoped will provide a better understanding and insight into the history of Perak and present Malaysian historiography. The three early articles are "Notes on two Perak Manuscripts" from the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JSBRAS), No. 2, December 1878, "The History of Perak from Native Sources" from JSBRAS, No. 9, June 1882 and "Shamanism in Perak" from JSBRAS, No. 12, December 1883. All these articles were written by W.E. Maxwell. Dr. Khoo Kay Kim of the History Department of the University of Malaya contributes the new article entitled "A Note on the Larut Disturbances."

The reprinting of the *History of Perak* this year is particularly appropriate since it coincides with the centenary of the Pangkor Engagement. Academically one can question whether it is really desirable to reprint the *History of Perak* since some of its contents are open to criticism as has been shown by Dr. Khoo in his article. But the reprint could be justified from the point of view of the dearth of published and easily accessible materials on Perak history despite the reprint of J.F.A. McNair's, *Perak and the Malays*, in 1972. Besides, this work by Winstedt and Wilkinson provides the present students of History a better understanding of Malaysian historiography, especially in the context of centricisms in the writings of Malaysian history. In addition to these, the Appendices provide a wealth of primary source materials which have not been readily available to those who are interested in the history of this country. The chapter on 'The Dutch and Perak' contains valuable translated materials from Dutch sources. These extracts clearly indicate the need to know more of the Dutch materials on Malaysian history. Realising that these are mere excerpts, they certainly whet one's appetite for more translation, at least, of the relevant Dutch historical sources.

It is in this aspect of history, the preservation of primary source materials, that the early British civil servants have made a significant contribution. Four years after Pangkor, the first number of the JSBRAS was published.

The three articles by W.E. Maxwell, taken from the JSBRAS, serve as an interesting background to the *History of Perak*. While one can question his view on the *Sijara Malayu* (Sejarah Melayu) that, "It possesses little value as a historical document, except as regards the reigns of the later kings of Malacca," (JSBRAS, No. 2, December 1878, P. 183) yet one cannot but be thankful that he had written these articles thus providing us with valuable information on source materials and historiographical problems on Malaysian history. Most of the materials used by Maxwell are either no longer in existence or, if they still exist, are difficult to obtain. This further enhances the value of his articles. The "Shamanism in Perak" gives us a picture of an aspect of Malay belief and attitude towards modern medicine at that time. The very fact that these articles had been written in the last century is an attraction in itself.

Dr. Khoo Kay Kim's "Notes on the Larut Disturbances" clearly shows the development and progress in the writing of Malaysian history. It also serves as a reminder to all of us as to the amount of work that has yet to be done in the rewriting of Malaysian history. The importance of the cultural background of the historians of Malaysia does seem to reflect itself through this article.

Since the publication of Winstedt and Wilkinson's *A History of Perak* in 1934, little has been done in the way of writing a general history of Perak. Abdullah Haji Musa (Lubis) compiled the *Sejarah Perak Dahulu Dan Sekarang*, which gives a general account of Perak up to 1957. In 1972, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka published Haji Buyong Adil's, *Sejarah Perak* which deals with the history of the State through the reigns of the different sultans, from the first sultan to the present. Both these works have been written in the Malay language.

The scarcity of a comprehensive and analytical general history of Perak is probably due to the insufficient attention that has been given to the writing of micro-histories of Perak. There have not been adequate studies made at the micro level in order to provide sufficient and reliable data for a macro State history. However, this particular problem may be overcome shortly by the State Histories Project of the History Department of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. In the academic year 1973/74, the Department dealt with eighteen topics on the history of Malacca and in the present session 1974/75, it has chosen twenty-five topics on the history of Perak to be researched and written. Until these and other micro researches have been completed and become the basis for the macro history of Perak, the present reprint has a role to play.

Department of History
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
Kuala Lumpur.
11th August, 1974.

Zainal Abidin b. Abdul Wahid

NOTES ON THE LARUT DISTURBANCES

by Khoo Kay Kim.

Chapter VII of "A History of Perak" is really a slightly revised version of Chapter 10 (entitled 'Larut') of R.J. Wilkinson's work "A History of the Peninsular Malays with chapters on Perak and Selangor" published in 1923.¹ The revision added little that is significant to the original version and therefore the same serious mistakes appear. As is well known, Wilkinson wrote many papers on the history, culture and literature of the Malay Peninsular while serving as a government officer with important responsibilities. It is not surprising that in some of his writings he could not find time to carry out careful and minute research. His account of the Larut disturbances of the 1860s and early 1870s shows evidence of this.

There is no need to comment lengthily on the shortcomings of Chapter VII of "A History of Perak". An elaborate account of the political situation in Larut between 1861 to 1873 has been given elsewhere.² But as "A History of Perak" is to be reprinted, it is necessary to inform readers of some of the serious factual errors which Wilkinson committed. This was, in fact, briefly pointed out some years ago when another book was reviewed.³ The reviewers then wrote:

In his account of the Larut Wars, there is little evidence that Mr. Comber has made any extensive use of the *Correspondence regarding the Disturbances in Perak and Larut, 1826-1873*, and the Straits Settlements Records of the period of the Larut Wars, both of which records are cited in his bibliography. From his bibliography, it is also clear that he has overlooked the *Letters from the Resident Councillor of Penang to the Governor, 1833-1866* (Straits Settlements Records, D.D. Series in the Raffles Museum). If these sources had been consulted more carefully, it would have been impossible to notice that: (a) the Larut disturbances started in July 1861 and not in 1862 (see Letter to Governor,

-
1. For convenient reference to this work see O.U.P.'s reprint of R.J. Wilkinson's *Papers on Malay Subjects* (Kuala Lumpur, 1971), selected and introduced by P.L. Burns.
 2. See Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States*, O.U.P., Kuala Lumpur 1972, pp.67-71, 124-140, 159-175.
 3. This was a review of Leon Comber's *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya* (J.J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher, New York, 1959), by Wong Lin Ken and C.S. Wong. (See *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol.1, No. 1, March 1960, pp.97-114).

12 July 1861, in Straits Settlements Records, D.D. 34); (b) there was another outbreak in 1865 (see Straits Settlements Records, R.41, 4th September 1865). The events of this outbreak had been confusedly mingled with the outbreak of the 1861 disturbances by writers like Sir Richard Winstedt (*A History of Perak*, p.80), R.J. Wilkinson (*A History of the Peninsular Malays*, p.101), Dr. Victor Purcell (*The Chinese in Malaya*, pp.105-106), Wynne (p.264), and Comber (p.102).⁴

As indicated earlier, it was not Winstedt but Wilkinson who was the author of Chapter VII of "A History of Perak". The innumerable errors which appear, to a large extent, reflect the confusion in Wilkinson's mind for he himself admitted (p.79):

It is a hard task to follow the trail of the truth through the maze of the Larut disturbances, but it is lightened if we keep closely to the main line of cleavage, that between the "Four Districts" who were members of the Ghi Hin Triad Society and the "Five Districts" who belonged to the Hai San and Toa-Peh-Kong organizations. The Ghi Hins were mostly Cantonese. . . . In 1867 at Penang there were 25,000 Ghi Hins or one-fifth of the Settlement's population. While the Ghi Hin society was centuries old, the Toa-Peh-Kong society was instituted by Hokkiens in Penang about 1840 and had only 5,000 members, the roll including most of the wealthy merchants of Beach Street and the makers and dealers in arms and ammunition.

Wilkinson, as did several other writers subsequently, tended to equate the situation in Penang with that of Larut. Admittedly, the two situations were not entirely different, for the Chinese in Larut came over from Penang but, as it will be shown later on, it is a mistake to think of the Ghi Hin members in Larut as Cantonese, a group of Chinese more usually referred to as 'Macao people' in the earlier days.⁵

-
4. Ibid., p.112. M.L. Wynne was a senior police officer in Malaya before the War. He completed a work entitled *Triad and Tabut: A Survey of the Origin and Diffusion of Chinese and Mohamedan Secret Societies in the Malay Peninsula A.D. 1800-1935*. It was printed by the government after the War and until 1957 was made available only to high ranking officials and research students with special government permission.
 5. The Cantonese are considered the true natives of Kwangtung Province; the other inhabitants of the Province are said to be migrants, the best known among them are the Hakka. In Malaya, Teochew, Hailam as well as Hakka are categorised as people of Kwangtung and therefore eligible to become members of the Kwangtung Association.

A great deal of confusion has also arisen because of the use of the terms 'Si Kuan' and 'Go Kuan' for it is assumed that the terms can be easily equated with the Ghi Hin and Hai San-Toa Peh Kong combination respectively. Wilkinson did not realise that the Si Kuan (Four Districts) and Go Kuan (Five Districts) did not refer to places outside Kwangtung, hence it is erroneous to include the Hokkien Toa Peh Kong within the group known as Go Kuan.⁶

It would certainly help to disentangle the complicated situation in Larut if a quick survey is made of the composition of the Chinese population there at the time when the outbreak first occurred in mid-1861. It is clear from the records that the earliest group of Chinese to mine tin in Larut were Chen Sang Hakka (members of the Hai San secret society) and their headman was Law Ah Sam, whose name Wilkinson never mentioned. The following are statements made by Ngah Ibrahim himself:⁷

- (1) Law Ah Sam is the head of the Hysan (Hai San) Congsee, and farmed the tin mines at Larut from me.
He is the representative of the original settlers at the mines, and he had as Farmer the management of them.
- (2) Law Ah Sam used to make the distribution of the allotments at the mines.

And it was because of long family ties that Ngah Ibrahim was closely associated with the Chen Sang Hakka. It was believed that Long Jaafar, father of Ngah Ibrahim, became a member of the Hai San society. The Chen Sang, in fact, outnumbered their earlier opponents, the Fui Chew Hakka, in Larut. The majority of the Chen Sang were found in Klian Pauh, the older mining settlement. Out of about 100 shops in Klian Pauh in the early 1860s, prior to the disturbances of 1865, almost 80 belonged to the Chen Sang and only 7 to the Fui Chew. The majority of the Fui Chew stayed in Klian Baharu, a newer mining settlement which shows conclusively that they came later than the Chen Sang. There were only 40 to 50 shops in Klian Baharu, all of which belonged to the Fui Chew who were mainly members of the Ghi Hin society. There were about 4,000 people in Klian Pauh and only about 2,200 in Klian Baharu. Apart from these two groups of Hakka, there were also a small number of Chinese of other territorial-dialect groups there - Eng Teng Hokkien, Kah Yeng Chew Hakka and Hailam.⁸ Although the Chen Sang and Fui Chew

6. For an explanation of the two terms see C.S. Wong, *A Gallery of Chinese Kapitans*, Singapore, 1963, p.102-103.

7. See *The Western Malay States*, p.133.

8. *Ibid.*, p.134.

lived basically apart from each other, there was no real separation between them as Wilkinson claimed (p.80). It has been mentioned that a few Fui Chew owned shops in Klian Pauh. More important still, many of the Fui Chew mine owners employed Chen Sang labourers. In one instance, out of 66 labourers, 50 of them were Chen Sang and, in another case, out of about 100 labourers, almost 90 of them were Chen Sang. It is also known that one Fui Chew mine owner, Li Ah Foy, entered into a partnership for six years, prior to 1861, with a leader of the Chen Sang, one Lee Kwan Kwi.⁹ However, in-group feelings were strong and the slightest misunderstanding could lead to serious conflict. Such a misunderstanding did occur in 1861.

A dispute arose over a water-course involving a Chen Sang and a Fui Chew miner. The Chen Sang took advantage of their numerical strength to attack the Fui Chew. There was no wide scale fighting as the Fui Chew offered little resistance and only one Fui Chew was killed. About a thousand Fui Chew fled to the Malay village at Permatang. Their compatriots in Penang who had substantial investment in the mines appealed to the British Government for assistance. The British stepped in and the Fui Chew were paid a compensation of \$174,474.¹⁰

Wilkinson's account (p.80) is correct only as regards the part played by the Straits Government in forcing the Sultan of Perak to arrange for compensation to be paid to the Fui Chew but his description of the fighting and killing properly belongs to the disturbance of 1865 which Wilkinson was clearly unaware of.

The clash which occurred in 1865 was also caused by a trivial incident which took place in a Fui Chew gambling shop. There is no need to spell out the details of the disturbance which followed.¹¹ Suffice it to say that the Chen Sang were assisted by the Malays and the combined forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the Fui Chew. The battle was carried to the village of Klian Baharu so that almost all the Fui Chew had to flee from Larut. This time the British refused to interfere and the result was that the Chen Sang had complete control of the mines in Larut.

Up to this point, Wilkinson's account is extremely unsatisfactory. Apart from the factual errors already pointed out, it has to be reiterated that the members of the Ghi Hin in Larut were not Cantonese. Conflict occurred between two groups of Hakka people - the Chen Sang and the Fui Chew. Also, it would be somewhat of

9. *Ibid.*, p.70.

10. *Ibid.*, pp.129-130.

a distortion to describe Ngah Ibrahim as an opportunist (p.80) because he assisted the Chen Sang for it has already been mentioned that his close relationship with them dated back to the days of his father.

There is one other serious error in Wilkinson's account which needs comment. On page 81, when referring to the granting of the title *Orang Kaya Menteri* to Ngah Ibrahim, Wilkinson remarked that Ngah Ibrahim "received a document recognising him as ruler of the whole country from the Krian river in the north to the Bruas river in the South". Further down, he wrote: "Among Malays his office (*Orang Kaya Menteri*) give him a right to the designation of *tengku*, a title given generally to royalty, but in Perak to the highest commoner chiefs".

The *Orang Kaya Menteri* was one of the four major chiefs of Perak and by no means even the most senior. He could not be the 'ruler' of Larut. Like the other major chiefs, the territory was assigned to him to administer on behalf of the *Yang Dipertuan*. He could, of course, derive revenue from the district but he was certainly not independent of the Sultan.¹² And he could in no way use the title *Tengku*. Wilkinson himself cited a letter written by Raja Abdullah (p.86) chastising Ngah Ibrahim for being presumptuous enough to allow himself to be called *Tengku*:

He is a traitor to us and does not pay allegiance to Perak. Moreover he calls himself *Tengku*, which means that he is the son of a great Raja; and he has made himself a seal, putting on it *Paduka Seri Maharaja Ibrahim bin Ja'far Menteri Perak*, which is a great crime under the customary law of Perak.¹³

It is evident from available documents that certain British officers made the mistake of calling Ngah Ibrahim *Tengku Menteri* and the mistake has never been rectified.

Wilkinson's discussion of the disturbances in the early 1870s also contains numerous errors. In the first place, by continually looking at the conflict in Larut as a Hai San-Ghi Hin struggle for

11. See *ibid.*, pp.135-138.

12. For a more detailed discussion of the political system in Perak, see *ibid.*, pp.15, 18.

13. The proper title of the *Menteri* was *Orang Kaya Menteri Seri Paduka Tuan*. The use of the title 'Seri Maharaja' brings to mind the title which Temenggong Abu Bakar of Johore acquired for himself from 1862 until he changed the title to Sultan.

supremacy, he did not realise that after the Fui Chew Hakka had fled from Larut in 1865, a new group of Chinese subsequently replaced them. Admittedly, some Fui Chew stayed on but by the early 1870s the Hai San's most formidable rival in Larut were not Fui Chew Hakka but San Neng Cantones, Chinese from the Toi San district in Kwangtung. Incidentally, Fui Chew and San Neng were two of the so-called 'Four Districts' (Si Kuan).¹⁴ Hence, whereas So Ah Cheong or So Ah Chiang was the leader of the Fui Chew in Larut until 1865, in the early 1870s, the immediate leader of the group opposing the Chen Sang in Larut was Chin Ah Yam, a San Neng. Ho Ghi Siu mentioned by Wilkinson as the successor of So Ah Cheong (p.82) was, in reality, the leader of the secret society in Penang known as the Ho Hup Seah, an off-shoot of the Ghi Hin. The San Neng in Larut were also members of the Ho Hup Seah and the available records indicate that Ho Ghi Siu had substantial interests in Larut.¹⁵

In the early 1870s too the immediate cause of the fighting in Larut was a trivial affair believed to be an act of indiscretion committed by Li Ah Kun, one of Ho Ghi Siu's right-hand man, with the wife of a near relative of Chung Keng Kui, one of the leaders of the Chen Sang. But, in effect, relations between the Chen Sang and the San Neng had been tense for some time because of the overbearing attitude of the former in view of their numerical superiority and their previous triumph over the Fui Chew. This was the real cause of the conflict between the two factions.¹⁶

Although most of the details provided by Wilkinson as regards the disturbances of the early 1870s are correct, he seems unable to distinguish one group of Chinese from another, so much so that when he found it impossible to sustain the theory of a clear-cut cleavage between the Cantonese Ghi Hin and the Hakka Hai San, he threw up his hands, as it were, and exclaimed (p.86):

The roving bands were beginning to attach themselves to individual leaders or to plunder indiscriminately without any leader at all. It was ceasing to be a question of "Ghi Hin" or "Hai San": a band of ruffians flying a red flag with a white border would be recognised as "Koh Bu An's men"; a black flag with a red border indicated that they were "Ho Ghi Siu's men"; and so on.

And with the next breath, he called them pirates.

14. See C.S. Wong, *op.cit.*, p.103.

15. See *The Western Malay States*, pp.166-167.

16. The main cause of the disturbances was explained by Munshi Ibrahim, son of Munshi Abdullah, who accompanied C.J. Irving to the Malay states in 1872. See Muhammad Said bin Haji Sulaiman (ed.), *Kisah Pelayaran Muhammad Ibrahim Munshi*, Johor, 1956 (Jawi text), p.63.

The disturbances in Larut in 1872 began with a clash between the Hai San on one side and the Ho Hup Seah as well as Ghi Hin, on the other. By the middle of 1872, the Toa Peh Kong of Penang began to back the Hai San actively. The Toa Peh Kong was principally a Hokkien society and its members comprised some of the wealthiest merchants in Penang who, clearly, had close commercial dealings with the Hai San in Larut. One of the serious mistakes made by previous writers on the Larut disturbances is to connect the Larut trouble of 1865 with the Penang riots of 1867 which in fact did not involve the Hai San at all.¹⁷ The Larut situation badly affected Penang only from 1872 onwards so that for several months chaos reigned in the area between Penang and Larut but the pattern of conflict never changed. One other group of Chinese who were drawn into the conflict at this stage were the Teochew many of whom were found along the coastal area between Sungai Larut and Sungai Krian. They were members of the Ghi Hin society and the most influential member of the Teochew community in the northern part of the Peninsula then was Khaw Boo Aun, who was also the most powerful leader of the Penang Ghi Hin.¹⁸

Wilkinson could not see the logic of the flags used by the various groups of fighters, hence the confusion in his mind. The pattern is, in fact, quite clear:

Toa Peh Kong	— red with black border
Ho Hup Seah (Ho Ghi Siu)	— black with red border
Ghi Hin (Khaw Boo Aun)	— red with white border
Ho Seng ¹⁹	— black with white border

There was also a white flag with red border which was said to be the 'Grand Flag' of the Ghi Hin and was often used by the Cantonese faction of the society.

The need to look at the Larut disturbances not only in terms of hostility between secret societies but also between persons of various territorial-dialect groups is all too evident even from the data which Wilkinson himself used. Discussing Raja Abdullah's attempt to take control of the situation in Larut, Wilkinson cited a proclamation which Raja Abdullah issued in August 1873 (p.89) in which it was stated, *inter alia*, that

17. See my comments in *The Western Malay States*, pp.113-4.

18. *Ibid.*, pp.212-4; see also C.S. Wong, *op.cit.*, pp.81-3.

19. It is believed that the Ho Seng society of Penang supported the Toa Peh Kong and Hai San in the Larut disturbances but the available evidence is somewhat thin.

. . . we intend to put an end to the hostilities that are at present going on at Larut, I hereby order you the Headmen of the Sin-Neng, Teo-Chiu and Hui-Chiu (Fui Chew) factions, with your armed junks and boats to come out of the rivers and creeks of Larut with all possible despatch.

Notice that the three groups of Chinese mentioned in the proclamation were precisely the groups which opposed the Hai San and Toa Peh Kong combination.

There is no necessity to dwell further on the subject. Sufficient has been said to put the situation in Larut in proper perspective so that readers of Wilkinson's account, and for that matter all other accounts subsequent to that, will not be misled by the factual errors that are to be found here and there. The situation was indeed complex but not to the extent that one is unable to discern the pattern of conflict.

Khoo Kay Kim

Department of History,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur.

July 1974.

INTRODUCTION.

On the stage of Perak's modern history there have been many actors: the Malays, the Portuguese, the Achinese, the Dutch, the Bugis from Riau and Selangor, Siam and her vassal Kedah, and the British. To some small degree it was dynastic pride that made Aceh and the Bugis her aggressors, and Siam had hardly any other conscious motive. But at the back of all Perak history has been trade. Trade alone attracted the Europeans, an unassuageable thirst for the purchase of tin and the sale of cloth. Of this thirst, as I have written elsewhere "the most evil symptom was monopoly, the confining of trade to one market, where the purchaser bought not at competitive prices but at prices fixed by the guns of his ships. As far back as we know, monopoly had been a feature of Eastern trade, Hindu, Parthian, Persian and Arab, and it was the desperate effort of the Gujeratis to maintain their monopoly that led to the clash between Malays and Portuguese at Malacca. It was the good fortune of England that the spirit abroad at the beginning of the XIXth century gave her no chance to establish monopolies and induced her to declare for free trade." Along with their struggle for monopoly, the powers also attempted to take toll of all shipping and compel it to resort to their ports. Long before the Portuguese, the great Sumatran state Srivijaya or old Palembang had derived large revenues from toll levied on sea-borne trade: as Chao Ju-Kua wrote in 1225 A.D., "If a merchant ship passes without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack and all are ready to die in the attempt; that is why this country is a great shipping centre."

From her foundation down to the time of British protection Perak suffered every sort of humiliation and defeat and domestic tragedy. The Portuguese built a fort at the mouth of her river in order to command a monopoly of her tin. Jealous of her dealings with the Portuguese, Aceh attacked Perak fifty years after the coming of her Malacca dynasty. It removed five thousand of her subjects and carried ruler after ruler into captivity, until royal descent on the male side was broken. It made treaties directly with the Dutch for the disposal of Perak's tin, and it sent Achinese officials to control the weighing-station at her estuary. For nearly a century the State was the vassal of Aceh. Moreover during half that century Perak was also plagued by the Dutch, who demanded her tin at a price concerted with Aceh, deducted a war indemnity from that price, erected a fort at the Dindings and blockaded the river-mouth. Long before the Dutch had gone, Perak was implicated in the Kedah wars between the Bugis and the Minangkabau followers of the famous Raja Kechil of Siak. The Bugis invaded her in 1728 and in 1742, later compelled her ruler to instal a Bugis chief as Sultan of Selangor and then sent their most notable warrior, Raja Haji, to obtain the hand of a Perak princess for the new potentate. From 1804 till 1806 Perak was

PLATE II.



*Bronze figure of Buddha, Gupta style: c.8th. century A.D.
found at Pengkalan, near Ipoh in 1931.*

I

EARLY CIVILISATIONS AND PRIMITIVE TRIBES

Some seven thousand years ago the caves of Perak were inhabited by people who used palaeoliths, namely stone scrapers and *coup-de-poing* in almond-shaped, oval and elongated forms, painted their bodies with a red pigment, used grinding slabs and pounding stones and fed on fresh-water and marine mollusks. The relics of this civilisation are associated not only with roughly shaped stone-implements of a type found in Sumatra having one side chipped and the other in its natural water-worn condition but also with proto-neoliths or artefacts chipped but having polished edges. The evidence points to the diffusion of palaeolithic civilisation using implements of the Sumatra type through the south-eastern parts of Asia and as far as Sumatra. It has been traced in Perak at rock-shelters at Goa Kajang near Lenggong and at Gunong Pondok. Scientific excavation at Gunong Pondok discovered no pottery in the lower layers. Pottery plain and cord-marked was associated with the later protoneolithic remains. The makers of the protoneoliths, chipped artefacts with only edges polished, may have learnt the art of polishing on bone and horn or from contact with a neolithic people. So far as is known as yet, the mixed palaeolithic and protoneolithic culture of the Perak caves did not reach Sumatra, though it occurs in Siam, Borneo and Luzon: from the abundance of its relics at Bak-son in northern Tonkin it has been called the Bacsonian civilisation.

In remains of a neolithic civilisation when tools completely polished took the place of chipped palaeoliths Perak is rich. Specimens of West Indonesian types such as occur in Sumatra and Bali have been unearthed in the rice-fields and mines of Kinta and Larut and on the bank of the Bernam river at Tanjung Malim. This neolithic civilisation has been ascribed to the second millenium B.C.

Though there is still need of further *data* to complete the chain of evidence the surmise has been hazarded that the older palaeolithic civilisation of the Perak caves may have been that of continental ancestors of the modern Papuans and that polishing may have been introduced by Indonesian tribes. This tentative surmise is based on the evidence of skulls from the caves of Tonkin.*

A civilisation apparently associated with river-banks produced in Perak graves built of granite slabs. These graves have been unearthed at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam River, and at Sungai

*On a trouvé, rien qu'en Indo-Chine, des crânes de race mélanésienne, indonésienne, australoid et negrito, c'est à dire de quatre races différentes. Mais de là quoi de plus probable aussi, que ce n'est bien pas dans une famille, mais même dans plusieurs familles de langues, qu'on pourrait arriver un jour à grouper les parlars de cette partie de L'Asie, c'est à dire que ce n'est pas une mais plusieurs familles austro-asiatiques auxquelles on pourrait aboutir." *Une Fausse Famille Linguistique "L' Austro-Asiatique."* G. de Hevesy. III Congrès International des Linguistes, Rome 1933.

Kruit off the Sungkai River, while another is recorded from the Slim River:—one of them has been rebuilt in the garden of Taiping Museum. These cists are closely related to the dolmen and are of a type not uncommon in Java where they extend from a late neolithic to an iron age:—the Philippines, also, have tombs said to be of a similar type. With the Perak cists have been found iron socketted tools, cornelian beads, stone pounders, rough pottery and bronze utensils. These iron tools have also been unearthed at Klang in Selangor, on the Tembeling in Pahang, at Tanjong Rambutan and Sengat in Kinta and at Bengkong in Batang Padang.

Later still in the iron-age comes the Indian settlement near Kuala Selinsing. Along this beach have been picked up hundreds of cornelian, glass (or paste) and shell beads, portions of bracelets in stone and in blue green glass, some pottery and cross-hatched pottery stamps. The commonest types of glass-beads are opaque yellow, opaque blue, opaque green, clear blue, clear yellow, dark red, and orange paste with dark-red striations. One type has "a core of non-translucent yellowish paste, plated with gold-leaf which is covered with clear yellow glass." Parti-coloured beads thought to be of Indian type have been found in an East-Java dolmen, and beads of most of the Selinsing types occur in Philippine graves of the iron-age and at Santubong in Sarawak and glass-beads on Papan Island off Borneo. A gold ornament possibly of the late Majapahit period, possibly much earlier, was unearthed at Selinsing and in a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree a cornelian seal engraved with the words Sri Vishnuvarmmasya, in Pallava characters of the 7th century A.D. or later. The Selinsing settlement, therefore, was an Indian trading station like others with Pallava inscriptions, Taruma in West Java and Kutai in Borneo. Sri Vijaya used Nagari or north Indian characters but it may have swept over a Pallava Selinsing and left no trace. Perhaps in the eleventh century A.D. it was sacked by the Chola raids on Srivijaya and her dependencies: raids to which the "Malay Annals" seem to allude in the account of the conquest by a "Raja Suran" of Gangganegara "situate on a hill very steep in front and low behind, whose fort still exists inland at the Dindings, a little above the Perak." The name recalls the Ganga-Pallavas.

Thirty years ago in a mine at Tanjong Rambutan was dug up a little bronze Buddha* of the Gupta type. In 1931 there were found at Pengkalan near Ipoh a bronze throne for a seated figure and a very beautiful standing bronze Buddha (Pl. II),* apparently of the earlier Gupta school though Dutch scholars opine that its date is about 750 A.D. and that it is a specimen of Srivijaya work similar to one found in the Palembang river.

* From photographs, Prof. G. Coedes (discoverer of Srivijaya) surmises that both are of the Gupta school. There is a poor illustration of the Tanjong Rambutan Buddha in "Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya": it is in the possession of Mr. Alma Baker, C.M.S., formerly of Batu Gajah.

PLATE III.



*Eight Armed bronze Avalokitesvara: c. 7th. to 10th cent: A.D.
found at Bidor in 1936.*

Photo Muzium Negara.

PLATE IV.



*Bronze figure of Brahmin Rishi: c. 9th. century A.D.
found at Jalong, Sungai Siput in 1962.*

Photo Muzium Negara.

Among the human remains found in Kuala Selinsing have been identified Negrito and Proto-Malayan elements. The Negrito is a small, very dark bullet-headed frizzy-haired individual called in Kedah and Upper Perak a Semang. He is thought to be related not only to the Aetas of the Philippines for whom Spanish writers invented the name Negrito but also to the Mincopies of the Andamans. The Semang are a very primitive people, nomadic, using only wall-less leaf-shelters propped on sticks, ignorant of agriculture and boat-making and subsisting on fruits and wild game. Unfortunately in the 1931 Census no attempt was made to discriminate between them and their more numerous neighbours the Sakai but they are all to be found in Kedah, Perak, Kelantan and Trang and the fact that they live on the northern outskirts of the big Sakai wedge, inhabit swamps and have hardly invaded the mountains suggests that they may have migrated to the Peninsula at a later date than the less primitive Sakai.

Perak is pre-eminently the house of the fairer wavy-haired long-headed Sakai who are now thought to be of Nesiot (Indonesian) stock with admixture of Negrito blood in the north and Proto-Malay blood in the south and some very early Proto-Australoid and Papuo-Malanesoid strain. The Nesiot is a typical hill breed, akin to numerous hill tribes in Indochina and the Malay Archipelago. The older more primitive elements occur in tribes inhabiting the foot-hills and persisting up the main tributary valleys of Perak and Kelantan. The Perak tribes have been divided into the Northern Sakai of Kuala Kangsar and the Central Sakai of Batang Padang. The Sakai language has Mon-Khmer affinities. Their weapon is the blow-pipe. They live in well-built pile houses and plant sugar, millet, tobacco, plantains and hill-rice. Some 20,000 in number, they enter no more than the Negritos into the real life of Perak, though in some districts the Malay shows traces of Sakai and Semang blood.

Malay borrowings from the aborigines are few. With the Malay liking for a matrilineal title to land, Perak legend introduces a negrito girl and her bamboo-born daughter as owners of the land of Perak but with patriarchal inconsistency leaves the mother childless and the daughter a virgin saint. The sword or dagger of office presented to Perak chiefs bears the name of *baur*, a Sakai word for "staff." In the name of one of Perak's guardian genies occurs the Sakai word *alak* meaning "shaman," and there are aboriginal elements in the Perak medium's *séance* (*berhantu*).

This, then, was the stage set for the coming of the Malacca Malays, an interior peopled by the remnants of primitive races that had passed centuries before down to the Malay Archipelago, a country so noted for tin that it had attracted bronze-workers from India, a coast with foreign Hindu settlers exploiting the aborigines.

II

THE COMING OF THE MALAYS.

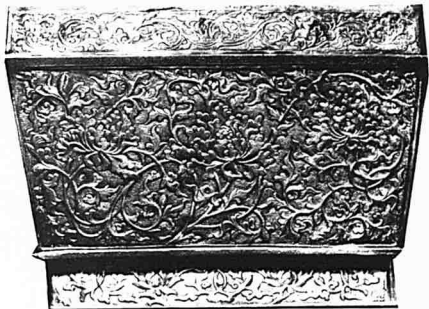
Soon after 1360 Majapahit sacked and burnt Singapore, then almost certainly a colony of the Buddhist empire Srivijaya, that is of Palembang in Sumatra. Its ruler, Parameswara, who according to d'Albuquerque was a prince of Palembang, fled first to Muar and then to Malacca, which under the influence of Gujerati traders soon became Muslim and a great centre for trade.* From the middle of the fifteenth century the descendants of Parameswara, rulers of Malacca who with Islam had adopted the title of Sultan, started an imperialist policy, extending their sway as far inland as Sungai Ujong, over Klang, Pahang, Trengganu and Johor, over Lingga and over Siak, Deli, Kampar and Indragiri in Sumatra. Then in August 1511 Affonso d'Albuquerque captured Malacca. Sultan Mahmud fled first to Pahang, next to Riau whence he was driven by the Portuguese in 1526, and finally to Kampar in Sumatra where he died about 1528.

During the reign (1488-1528) of this Sultan Mahmud, his Bendahara or prime minister the Paduka Tuan (whose grave is at Segamat) accompanied by ten Malacca captains had conquered a place Manjong "formerly a large country," because it was on bad terms with Bruas. In gratitude the Raja of Bruas gave his sister, Putri Siat, to his conqueror's grandson Tun Isap Berakah, by whom she became the mother of Tun Biajid the Bendahara who founded Johor and of Tun Mahmud first Bendahara of Perak. The Raja of Bruas accompanied Paduka Tuan back to Malacca where he was made ruler of Manjong and given a *naubat* or royal band and the title of Tun Aria Bija 'diraja. Acknowledging the Sultan of Malacca as his suzerain he now settled at Manjong. After the Portuguese captured Malacca, Tun Aria Bija 'diraja neglected to pay homage to his suzerain in his exile at Riau, whereupon Tun Isap Berakah, now Sultan Mahmud's Bendahara, fetched his wife's neglectful relative, at the same time marrying his own son Tun Mahmud to that son's cousin, Tun Mah, a daughter of this ruler of Bruas, and putting the young man in charge of Selangor. Was Tun Aria Bija 'diraja a Muslim? It would appear so. Whether he was a full-blooded Malay is unknown.

These references to Bruas in the "Malay Annals" are among the earliest authentic Malay references to any part of Perak. And Perak tradition avers that the decline of Bruas was due to the silting up of a great estuary of the Perak river, now known as Dindings River. Situated on that estuary Bruas possessed an ideal capital: the river silted up, the modern village is many miles to seaward of the old site. One Bruas locality, the Fort (*Kota*), is

* My *History of Johore* contains a chapter on the Hindu and Malacca ancestors of the Perak royal house. R.O.W.,

PLATE V.



Panel of a Perak royal Betel Box.



so placed that one must believe local tradition that the ricefields of Dendang were once a harbour. Formerly, Malays say, little "Buddhas" were picked up about the fort, which is now razed to the ground. The "Main Gate" (*Pintu Gerbang*) is a little pass a mile away and is said to have been once a fort. The "Drumming Ground" (*Tanah Gendang*) is associated with unexplored caverns. Legend declares that the lost town was so large it took a cat three months to do the circuit of the roofs! The site of Manjong is unknown but Bruas has survived in fact and in myth, because it was the spot from which those great Malay imperialists, the Bendaharas of old Malacca, needled the way for the present Perak dynasty.

The authentic account of the early Malay history of Perak occurs in a chapter of Sir Stamford Raffles' copy of the "Malay Annals," which was recently discovered and published by Dr. Blagden. Before that discovery one was disposed to question the Perak claim that its first ruler was the elder son of the last Sultan of old Malacca, scepticism being due to a passage in the "Malay Annals" which led to confusion between Sultan Mansur, second ruler of Perak, and a *Sultan (Muda) Mansur* of Perak who died in the middle of the XVIIth century. But Raja Bongsu the "author" of the Raffles chapters of the "Malay Annals" was almost certainly Sultan 'Abdu'llah Maayat Shah of Johor (b. 1571 d. 1623, patron of Tun Sri Lanang, author of the long-known "Malay Annals"), and anyhow his intimate knowledge of early Johor topography leaves no doubt as to the authenticity and date of his chapters, while written in Johor they record beyond dispute the version of Perak history accepted early in the XVIIth century at the Johor Court. The claim that Muzaffar Shah, first Sultan of Perak, was the elder son of Sultan Mahmud, last Sultan of Malacca, is not therefore an invention of Perak court annalists.

The passage in question from the Raffles manuscript of the "Malay Annals" runs as follows:—

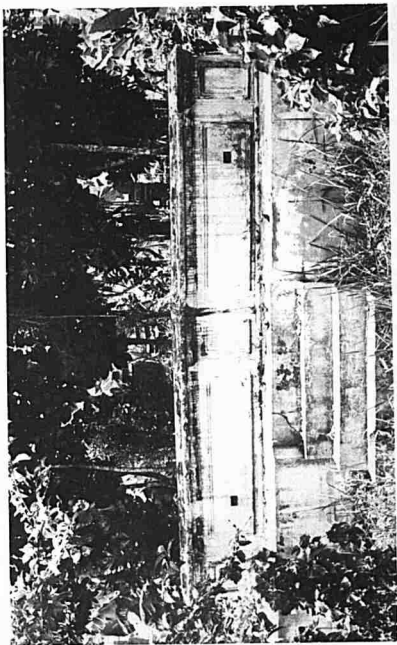
"When Sultan Mahmud died at Kampar the Sultan Muda ascended the throne with the style Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah and the Raja Muda was driven out by the Bendahara and all the chiefs. 'Why am I turned out?' asked the Raja Muda. 'Is it likely that I shall wrest the throne from the Sultan Muda?' The chiefs replied, 'Nevertheless you must quit the country.' The Raja Muda said, 'Wait! my rice is being steamed and is not yet cooked.' But all the chiefs replied, 'Why delay? Now is the time to quit.' So the Raja Muda left Kampar with his wife Tun Trang and his son Raja Mansur.... and they took passage in a boat to Siak and from Siak to Klang. There was a man of Manjong, Situmi by name, who constantly traded from Perak to Klang and he saw the Raja Muda and took him to Perak, where he was enthroned as Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

" Now there was a Sri Agar 'diraja, who had been ordered by his father, Tun Isap Berakah, the Bendahara Paduka Tuan " of Johor, " to live in Selangor. There he had become the son-in-law of a prince, having gone to Kedah and married Raja Stia (? Siti) daughter of the ruler of Kedah; and he had taken his bride to Selangor. Sultan Muzaffar Shah invited this chief to Perak and made him Bendahara. Sultan Muzaffar Shah begat a daughter, Raja Dewi: afterwards he begat Raja Ahmad, Raja 'Abdu'l-Jalil, Raja Fatimah, Raja Hatijah, Raja Tengah; in all his consort Tun Trang bore him sixteen children and he had one son, Raja Muhammad, by a secondary wife.....

" When the news reached Land's End," namely Johor, " that the Sri Agar 'diraja had been created Bendahara in Perak, Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din was exceedingly wroth; and when the Bendahara Paduka Tuan of Johor heard the news, he threw down his head-kerchief and cried, ' I will go bare-headed until I have brought Sri Agar 'diraja before His Highness.' So the Bendahara Paduka Tuan entered the presence bare-headed and wearing only coat and dagger and begged leave from Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din to go to Perak and fetch Sri Agar 'diraja. But the Sultan said, 'No! let us commission Tun Narawangsa to go,' and His Highness asked Tun Narawangsa if he would fetch Sri Agar Raja. Tun Narawangsa replied, ' If Your Highness commanded me to conquer Perak, I would go; but I beg to be excused this errand, because the Queen (*Raja Perempuan*) of Perak is my niece.' Then the Sultan bade Tun Pekerma go and fetch Sri Agar Raja. When Tun Pekerma had fared up the Perak river as far as Labohan Jong, news of his errand reached the (Perak) Bendahara, who sent him rice in a cooking-pot and curry in a bamboo. Tun Pekerma was exceedingly angry and returning to Land's End related his experience to his Sultan in full durbar, whereupon the Bendahara Paduka Tuan begged to go to Perak: ' If any one else goes, Sri Agar Raja will not come. I will take him by the hand and lead him down to my boat. If he refuses, I will draw my creese and stab him: he shall fall dead on the left, I on the right.'

" Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Shah agreed and the (Johor) Bendahara went to Perak, where he was formally received by order of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and taken to the palace. Rice was brought and Sultan Muzaffar said to the Bendahara, ' Come let us eat.' But the Bendahara replied, ' I crave to be excused, for Your Highness is the son of my overlord: let Your Highness eat and let me feed from another dish.' Sultan Muzaffar asked, ' Why so? Should I have invited you, if it were not proper?' The Bendahara Paduka Tuan replied, ' Because it is proper I ask to be excused. People who are not entitled to eat with princes wish to do so for the glory of it: to me it will be no honour, as I am entitled, but I beg to be excused, as Your Highness is the son of my overlord.' But Sultan Muzaffar said, 'No! come and eat, for our long separation has made me long to meet you.' The Bendahara replied,

PLATE VI.



*Tomb of H.R.H. Sultan Muzaffar Shah, First Sultan of Perak,
ruled 1528 - 1549. At Telok Bakong, Lambor Kanan, Perak.*

Photo Muzium Negara.

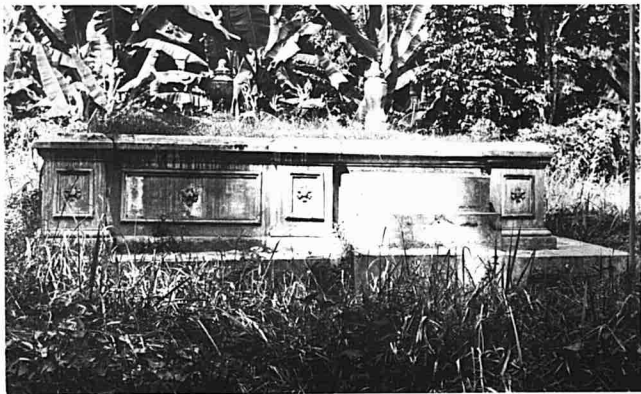


PLATE VII.

*Tomb of H.R.H. Sultan Muzaffar Shah II. 10th. Sultan,
ruled 1636 - 1653. At Bota.*

Photo Muzium Negara.

'Why invite me? Does Your Highness think that the honour will win me over? Let not such a thought enter Your Highness' head. As long as Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah rules at Land's End, I can have no other master.' Sultan Muzaffar answered, 'I say one thing and you another' and he caught hold of the Bendahara's hand and put it on the rice; but the Bendahara took the rice off the plate and placed it on a betel leaf and so ate his meal.

"Afterwards the Bendahara Paduka Tuan took leave of Sultan Muzaffar and went to the house of Sri Agar Raja and led him by the hand to his boat and brought him downstream back to Land's End. And Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah rejoiced that the Bendahara had fetched him."

The contents of the first paragraph of this quotation are identical so far as history is concerned with the account in a Perak genealogy (now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and numbered Maxwell MS. 105) translated in 1882 by Sir William Maxwell. Nor are this manuscript and the Raffles' copy of the "Malay Annals" our only evidence. The ordinary text of those annals records how "Raja Muzaffar was married by Sultan Mahmud to Tun Trang, daughter of Tun Fatimah and Tun 'Ali, and had a son Raja Mansur": Perak genealogies ascribe the name of Mansur to the second Sultan of that State. Again Maxwell MS. 24, one of the fullest and most careful Perak genealogies extant, shows clearly how in Perak the two anomalous Malacca titles of Raja Muda and Sultan Muda were preserved down to the end of the XIXth century. Moreover in 1533 Paolo da Gama encountered off Malacca 27 vessels which Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Johor had sent to help his *brother* the Sultan of Perak: the commander whom Castanheda calls Tuan Barcalar (or perhaps Laksamana) paid his respects to da Gama. As we have seen, Tun Isap Berakah, the Bendahara Paduka Tuan (of Kampar in Sumatra and of Sayong Pinang on the Johor river) had married in Malacca days a Bruas princess, Putri Siat: what more likely than that he should find a new throne for the exiled elder son of Sultan Mahmud in the neighbourhood of his wife's relations? Or, even if he took no such steps, what more likely than that the exiled prince should go there? The mother of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak was a Kelantan princess, Putri Onang Kening; the mother of his half-brother Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Kampar and Johor was Tun Fatimah, daughter of Mutahir, the Malacca Bendahara whom Sultan Mahmud caused to be murdered or perhaps executed in 1510. Tun Fatimah gave her step-son for wife Tun Trang her own daughter by her first husband, Tun 'Ali, whom also Sultan Mahmud had slain for lust of Tun Fatimah; but naturally Tun Fatimah wanted the relic of the old Malacca kingdom for the son of her "hot and forced violation" by Sultan Mahmud and even more naturally the great house of the Bendaharas preferred a ruler with their own blood in his veins.

What inference can be drawn from the anger of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din at the appointment of Perak's first Bendahara? Was it the removal of his appointee, Sri Agar Raja, from Selangor that enraged him? Was it that he considered Perak to be a vassal State? A Perak lullaby, that must have been written in or after the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (alias Mahkota Alam) of Aceh (b. 1590 d. 1636), speaks of the Johor overlord—

*Bunga merah banyak di-taman
Sunting dayang masok ka-dalam:
Di-Mekkah Nabi Akhir-zaman,
Di-Johor Mahkota 'Alam.*

Or did the appointment of the son of his own Bendahara Paduka Tuan (and the son-in-law of a Kedah prince) to the new Perak office make Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din suspicious lest his elder half-brother might try to revive the old Malacca kingdom from the north? For Sri Agar 'diraja was Tun Mahmud, own son of Tun Isap Berakah, the Johor Bendahara who went to Perak to recall him to Land's End. As we have seen, his father had married him to Tun Mah, a daughter of Tun Aria Bija 'diraja, ruler of Bruas and Manjong, which chief was a relative of Tun Sebat, wife of Tun Isap Berakah. Later after the Portuguese took Bentan in 1526, Tun Mahmud had brought twenty ships from Selangor to remove the old Sultan Mahmud to Kampar and for that service got the title of Sri Agar 'diraja, which even in those days appears to have been contracted to Dato' Sagor.*

There seems no doubt that Sultan Muzaffar Shah was succeeded by his son Mansur Shah, who married a sister of Marhum Bukit, wife of the early Ruler of Johor, Sultan Ali Jala 'Abdu'l-Jalil Riayat Shah † (asc. 1580 d. 1597). The Perak account says— "Raja Muzaffar Shah, when he became Raja of Perak, established his capital at Tanah Abang (= Tanah Merah or 'Red Earth') and after death was known as Marhum Tanah Abang," this first capital being in the district of Lambor Kanan on the Perak river. Raja Mansur, who seems to have remained behind in Johor, was then sent to Perak by Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Johor and made his capital at Kota Lama. Soon after his death Perak was conquered by Aceh and remained under Achinese domination for a century.

Considering the short life of tradition in an illiterate and harassed community, except when tradition is crystallized in practice and ceremony, it is clear that it was from its first two rulers that Perak inherited those solemn Indo-Javanese plausibilities of the old Malacca court which have secured the State in its most desperate straits a continuity of culture and have lasted, a gracious entail, down to the present time. In the sixteenth century Malay

* The last To' Sagor in Perak was hanged at Matang for the murder of Mr. Birch, the British Resident, in 1876; and simultaneously the ancient title was abolished.

† Of Pahang and Malacca royal descent.

PLATE VIII.

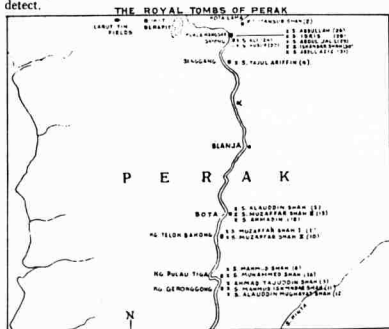


Lower portion of a Perak royal silver tray.

royalty was sacrosanct, its members the shadows of God upon earth and masters of magic. The eldest son of the last ruler of Malacca, greatest of Peninsular empires, did not come to Perak without followers and without tradition. The Perak court still cherishes armlets, a chain, a sword, a seal and a creese, reputed heirlooms from its first Sultan, which must be worn at installation by every one of his successors while, to the music of drums headed miraculously with the skins of tiny lice and of clarionets fashioned miraculously from the narrow stems of nettles, they sit preserving that immobility which to their Buddhist ancestors of Palembang was a mark of the commencing divinity of a king. When in 1526 the Portuguese Mascarenhas drove the father of Perak's first ruler out of Riau, the Sri Nara 'diraja consoled his master by remarking justly enough: "So long as Your Highness lives, ten kingdoms can be created." Bearing this old Malacca title of Sri Nara 'diraja the chief herald at the Kuala Kangsar court is a descendant of Batala (or Basava) that mythical incarnation of Siva's bull, Nandi, sent down to a Sumatran rice-clearing not as in Indian story to revive declining Saiva rites but to instal as ruler of Palembang an Indian prince who, though in legend he is called Sang Sapurba after a nymph of Indra's heaven, is traditionally reputed to have been the father of the first ruler of Singapore and to be the ancestor of the royal houses of Malacca and Perak. Still on the accession of a Perak ruler Sri Nara 'diraja reads the *Chiri* or Sanskrit coronation address, such as hailed his first Malacca ancestor "fortunate great king, smiter of rivals, valorous, whose crown jewels ravish the three worlds, whose touch dispels suffering, protector, pilot over the ocean of battle, confuter of opponents, fortunate overlord of kings of righteousness, supreme lord of the kingdom—Raja Parameswara." And, as at the initiation of a child into one of the higher Hindu castes his teacher whispers the name of the god who is to be the child's special protector through life, so into the ear of each new ruler of Perak this court herald whispers the State secret, namely the real Hindu name of the demigod who descended on that hill rice-clearing in Palembang to become the ancestor and guardian of Perak royalty. Down all the centuries the tie has persisted: the descendant of the herald born from Nandi's vomit is herald to the descendant of the divine prince who rode on Nandi's back.

According to tradition Hang Tuah, the famous Laksamana who fought the Portuguese at Malacca, died and still walks in Perak, while among the royal heirlooms is his creese. Certainly Sultan Muzaffar followed to Perak the house that had provided his Malacca ancestors with their prime ministers. His own first Bendahara Sri Maharaja was a member of the same family, as certainly for a hundred and apparently for two hundred years the Perak Bendaharas continued to be. As in Malacca and Johor, so in Perak it was the duty of the Bendahara to find his lord a palace. All the great offices of the Malacca court were re-created

in Perak: there was a Maharaja 'diraja Penghulu Bendahari, a Temenggong Paduka Raja, a Mantri Paduka Tuan, and there was the old Malacca master of ceremonies, the Maharaja Lela, who could execute traitors and offenders against court etiquette without awaiting the royal mandate. In Johor the title of the Bendahara was alternately Sri Maharaja and Paduka Raja and in Johor as in Malacca the Temenggong was ordinarily promoted Bendahara. In Perak this promotion has lapsed but there is a survival of the old Malacca custom in the title of the Temenggong, and a 1655 agreement between Perak and the Dutch speaks of the contemporary Bendahara Sri Maharaja having been formerly Temenggong. To judge by their titles, Sri Maharaja, Paduka Raja, Maharaja 'diraja and Sri Paduka Tuan, all the Four Great Perak offices must have been held at first by the famous Malacca family of Bendaharas whose members enjoyed the Pasai honorific Tun (or in Perak dialect Tan). A Perak Bendahara famous in legend, Tan Saban, is reputed to have been the last of the house to fill this office of prime minister, and it is claimed that his descendants in Perak have held many old Malacca titles: Laksamana (or admiral), Sri Narawangsa a submerged title of the Sri Adika family, Sri Amar(a) Bangsa 'diraja the more ancient title of the Panglima Kinta, Sri Amar(a) 'diraja the more ancient title of the Panglima Bukit Gantang, Sri Amar(a) 'diwangsa now one of the Sixteen minor chiefs. It is easy to check the authenticity of these early titles: when Hinduism died, the Malay had no guides to Sanskrit. Most of Perak's guardian genies, for example, are late arrivals from the Muslim Deccan: *Pahlawan* Indra Dewi, Sultan 'Ali (Pen)dekar Perkasa, Sultan 'Alam Maya Udara, *Kahar 'Alam* Kesaktian, Anak Jin 'Alam Pertawi, *Israng* Gemala Dewa, *Sri Sultan Mardan 'Alam*, are all hybrid honorifics jumbling Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. And, as we shall see, the Achinese accretions to Perak titles of nobility are not difficult to detect.



Plan of sites of early Royal Graves on the Perak River.

III

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

When Portugal rose to fame and suddenly founded an Eastern empire, destined suddenly to decline, she began a new chapter in the history of East and West and prepared the way for Dutch and British colonial development. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, she took her flag, the Cross of Christ, into almost every sea, the main incentives of these voyages of discovery being missionary enterprise and a desire to tap some of the rich trade of the Orient. In 1488 Bartolomeu Dias doubled the Cape, in 1498 Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, the pioneer of the sea route to India. By the capture of Goa the great Governor Affonso d'Albuquerque secured not only a splendid fortress and harbour but an ideal centre for administering his country's new possessions. And in 1511 he sailed from Cochin and wrested Malacca from the hands of the bewildered Malays.

Lacking until 1580 the men to found a land empire Portugal had at first to be content with trading stations of small area, whose safety depended on her fleets, so that all she could hope to establish in the Malay Peninsula was a fortified port of call where ships trading from India to China and the Spice Islands could water and provision and store merchandise. Even after 1580 when Spain, had she not been absorbed in other interests, might have helped her new dependency with men, the only garrisons maintained by Portugal in the whole of the Malayan region were Malacca, Amboyna and Tidore, a poor protection for a trade then at its zenith among Asiatics whom Portugal regarded as enemies at once of herself and of Christ and who detested Portuguese bigotry. Though the loss in a foray of twelve men from the garrison was a disaster of the first magnitude, yet for one hundred and thirty years after its capture by d'Albuquerque, Malacca remained the greatest Portuguese trading centre in Malayan seas. Writing just before 1638, a few years before the Dutch wrested it from the Portuguese, Barretto de Resende describes it as "a city containing a fortress and surrounded by a stone and mortar wall twenty feet high, twelve palms thick at the foot and seven at the top. It contains six bastions, including the breastwork (*couraca*), each one called by the name engraved on it. All the walls have parapets and each bastion occupies a space of twenty paces and the one named Madre de Deos double that space. The circumference of the whole wall is five hundred and twelve paces, including the space occupied by the bastions. From the bastion de Ospital to that of St. Dominic there is a counterscarp, as also from that of Sanctiago to Madre de Deos, with a ditch in the centre, the whole being fourteen palms wide. The bastions contain forty-one pieces of artillery of twelve to forty-four pounds iron shot. All are of bronze, with the exception of nine iron pieces,

and there are sufficient powder and ammunition in His Majesty's magazines for their supply. The fort within the town where the Captain resides is five storeys high: the Captain lives on the second storey, which is square like the tower, each wall being twenty paces wide. The other apartments are set apart for the Captain's guests and for storing ammunition. On the first floor four thousand candys of rice were stored but are no longer there. . . . There are in the town," beside the garrison, "two hundred and fifty married whites who would possess two thousand black captives of different races, all competent to carry arms of which there is a sufficient supply." d'Eredia notes that "after the fortress had been finished and stood complete with its artillery and garrison of soldiers, it created among the Malayos a feeling of intense dread and astonishment which lasted permanently to the great credit of the Crown of Portugal." It was from this small fastness that the Portuguese organized their trade with the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. And by Portugal, as afterwards by the Dutch and the English, the Malay state of Perak was found to be a great mart for tin.

In 1511 Perak connoted the dying kingdom of Bruas and was hardly more than a fief of the Bendaharas or Prime Ministers of Malacca. Twenty years later, ousted from the throne of Johor by his step-mother, a lady of the same Bendahara family, Sultan Muzaffar Shah, eldest son of the last ruler of Malacca but by a Kelantan mother, sailed north and founded the modern Perak dynasty. Of the relations of his newly founded state with Portugal little at present is known, whatever may await discovery in the archives of Goa; and what is known can be told in a few pages.

In 1537 the king of Acheh had dared to attack Malacca, and in 1547 the rulers of Perak and Pahang with their "brother" Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Johor assembled 300 sail and 8,000 men in the Johor river for an attack on Patani and, when negotiations had settled the dispute, Johor took its fleet to Malacca to help Portugal fight the Achinese: the fleet lay in the Muar river for several days that seemed to the Portuguese years but whether the Perak contingent formed part of this formidable flotilla is not stated. In 1551 Perak and Pahang must have helped Johor at a siege of Malacca, which lasted from June till September, because it was by harrying the ports of Perak, Pahang and Johor that the Portuguese compelled the Malays to raise the siege.

Writing between 1597 and 1600 the Portuguese historian Godinho de Eredia alludes to Perak's wealth in tin as follows:— "Perat is much frequented and is the principal port for the trade in tin or *calayn* in large slabs. . . . Here have been discovered, in the ranges of mountains within its jurisdiction, such large mines of tin or *calayn*, that every year more than three hundred *bares* of tin are extracted to supply the factory of the Captain of Malacca and the trade of the merchants from India."

In 1610 Mr. Samuel Bradshaw, merchant of the East India Company, reported that "at Queda and Pera is great store of tin and lead to be had: who usually truck it for cloth of Surat or other places." But the Indian merchants were in difficulties between Portuguese and Achinese monopolies. In 1613 Thomas Best met in Acheh a "Moor" ship which had fled from Perak "scared by the Portingals who before had taken two of their ships there": on arrival at Acheh ship and goods were confiscated and the crew enslaved "for going to Peracke being the enemies of the King of Achin."

After Nuno Alvarez Botello, Governor of Malacca, had repulsed at the end of 1629 a vigorous Achinese attack on that port, an embassy arrived from the King of Perak, who had been tributary to Acheh, offering to pay tribute in future to Portugal and to deliver up wealth left in Perak by the Achinese. Botello sent Dom Hierome de Silveyra with eleven ships to receive this treasure and to establish peace with Perak.

Barretto de Resende, writing as has been said just before 1638, describes how every May a fleet of three, four or five jaleas carrying fifty or sixty soldiers from the Malacca garrison, would cruise past the Perak coast to Penang to await and escort the ships from Goa, and how every September they would go to Junk Ceylon to await the Portuguese ships from Negapatam. "The sailors, who receive their pay on shore at rare intervals, embark with much good-will, because at times, when they put in at a certain place such as Pera and other ports, they can earn a quartel from the merchants." When in 1647 Governor-General van Lijn sought permission from Acheh for the Dutch to trade with Perak "as the Portuguese had done in the time of Mahkota 'Alam," the Queen replied that it was only by stealth and bribery that the Portuguese had traded with Acheh's vassal, and, had her redoubtable ancestor discovered their doings, he would have attacked them. This must have been bragging; for de Resende evidently refers to merchants at a Portuguese factory and fortress in Perak. He continues:—

"From Malacca to Pera is a distance of forty leagues of coast to the east. The King of this place was for many years a vassal of His Majesty and paid in tribute a large quantity of tin. Three years ago he refused the tribute, saying that only if His Majesty would deliver him from the King of Achem (= Acheh) he would be His Majesty's vassal and pay tribute. He said that the numerous fleets from Achem which throng these seas, frequently attacked his lands, devastating them and taking the people captive. He well knew, he said, how much more important it was to be His Majesty's vassal than to be vassal of the King of Achem. He said that he had no power however to resist the tyrant and his great forces, and that if His Majesty did not supply the means, he himself must seek a remedy in his own kingdom by becoming a vassal of the

King of Achem and paying to him the tribute he formerly paid to His Majesty. In spite of this he was able to resist our fleet when it was sent to chastise him.

"There are great tin mines in his kingdom and five or six quintals of tin are yearly extracted from them. The greater part of it formerly came to Malacca, but now not a third part is sent there. The rest is taken by the Dutch to Achem, and thence they carry it to India with great profit.

"The factory possessed by the Captain of Malacca at Pera was one which at one time yielded greater profit than any other. But now it yields nothing, and for this and other reasons the fortress has become so ruined that in the year 1633 no one could be found willing to fill the post of captain; and a captain was appointed and sent by the viceroy."

"No one could be found willing to fill the post of captain!" The strong hand of d'Albuquerque had gone. "At the time when the Dutch first appeared in the Far East, the power of Portugal was already on the decline. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, when visiting Goa (1583-1589), had found carelessness, incapacity, neglect of duty and corruption prevailing among the colonial officials who owed their appointments chiefly to high rank, nepotism and influence rather than to their own merits. Linschoten thought it a miracle that their ships did not all perish through want of care in stowage and navigation. Their losses on this account were enormous." In Malacca, at first, trade had been the monopoly of the government, whose costly establishments could not be defrayed merely by taxes and tolls and port dues levied on imports and exports and even on ships that did not break cargo. But the Portuguese government failed, as Dutch and English failed later, to keep its monopoly intact, and it had to allow private trade on payment of high duties. So came many permanent settlers, who as Governor-General Anthony van Diemen reported to his Directors in 1642, "thought no more of Portugal but sustained and enriched themselves as if they were natives and had no fatherland." Coen put the capital invested in the East by Spain and Portugal at 50 million guilders but as early as October 1606 when Admiral Matelief won command of the sea, the days of Portuguese empire were already numbered. In 1637 a fleet under Cornelis Symonsz van der Veer captured one *justa*, burnt three and blockaded five in the Dinding river, taking prisoner Admiral Don Francisco Cotinho de Viveres, a priest, nine Portuguese and a hundred others. As late as 1638, de Resende tells us, the fort on the Ilha das Naos off Malacca was not finished, twelve big pieces of artillery destined for it lay unmounted in a field and the fort where the Captain lived no longer had its store of rice. On 14 January 1641, after a siege that had lasted five months, the famous fortress fell before the final assault of six hundred and fifty Netherlanders aided by the Malays of Johor.

For a little while some of the Malay States continued relations with the "white Bengalis," the first Europeans they had ever encountered. The *Dagh-Register*, that wonderful daily journal of the doings of the servants of the Netherlands East India Company, records how in March 1642 the king of Kedah was still refusing trade in tin and elephants to Coromandel ships that had not got Portuguese passes and how as late as 1665 the Dutch had to prevent Portuguese vessels from entering Johor to trade in tin and gold and Sumatra pepper. But in effect the capture of Malacca closed the Portuguese chapter in Malayan history for ever.

IV

PERAK UNDER THE ACHINESE.

Whatever trouble the Portuguese may have caused Perak with their demand for tin, it was a bagatelle compared with the trouble caused by Acheh, her neighbour across a narrow sea.

As early as 500 A.D., Chinese records tell us, the north corner of Sumatra was called Poli, had 136 villages and was ruled by Buddhist kings. In the ninth and tenth centuries Arab traders came there from Malabar and called the country Rami, al-Ramni and Lamari. In 1292 Marco Polo visited Sumatra and found Perlak, later a part of Acheh, Muhammadan, as also was Pasai, another province of later Acheh. About 1323 Fra Odorigo van Pordenone found in Lamori merchandise from distant lands; in 1345 Ibn Batutah found Samudra, yet another province of the later Acheh, walled and towered and using a tin coinage and bar-gold from China. By 1365 the north of Sumatra owed nominal allegiance to Hayam Wuruk, the great Javanese conqueror from Majapahit. In 1412 Acheh was still ruled by a Maharaja but in 1416 a Chinese envoy Ching-Ho reported it a country of Muslim agriculturists, planters of hill-rice and pepper, breeders of cattle and goats and poultry. A hundred years later the Portuguese insistence on a monopoly of trade in Malacca waters drove Eastern merchants to Acheh and made it wealthy and ambitious to confound Portuguese traders and all their allies. Muslim missionaries, related to the Indian merchants, exhorted Acheh to champion Islam against the greedy Infidel.

The first maker of Greater Acheh was Sultan 'Ali Mughayat Shah (d. 1530), conqueror of Daya, Pidië, Pasai and (temporarily) Aru, who in 1521 repulsed the Portuguese fleet under de Brito and in 1524 expelled the Portuguese from the fort they had occupied in Acheh since 1521. The next ruler of note was his son, 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, called after death (1568) the Strong, Marhum Kahar. To gain the throne he had ousted his brother. He hired mercenaries from Gujerat and Malabar, Turkey and Abyssinia. In 1537 he conquered the Bataks in the cause of Islam; he took Aru but in 1540 lost it and a great fleet to Johor; in 1564 he sacked Johor and recaptured Aru; in 1570 he burnt the villages on the Johor river. But though Francisco Barreto, Governor of India from 1555 till 1558 never fulfilled his aim of subduing Acheh and building a fort on the site of its capital, so too Acheh's attacks of 1537 and 1568 on Malacca failed, as her attacks of 1573, 1575, 1582 and 1629 were all to fail. The successor of Marhum Kahar died in 1579 and was succeeded by an infant who reigned three months and then died. The next three Sultans were all murdered. The last of the three was a Perak prince.

In 1540 Perak had helped Johor inflict the crushing defeat on Acheh before Aru. In 1547 the rulers of Perak and Pahang,

having joined their brother of Johor in an abortive expedition to Patani, may have sailed with the Johor fleet to Malacca when to help repel an expected Achinese attack it lay in the Muar river for several days that seemed to the Portuguese years! In 1551 Perak certainly helped Johor besiege Malacca, because in order to get the siege raised the Portuguese harried the harbours of Perak, Johor and Pahang. In spite of this, Johor was Aceh's rival and enemy and at times coquetted with the hated Portuguese so that Aceh had no mercy for Johor's allies. Not long therefore before 1579, a Malay history tells us, "the country of Perak was conquered by the Achinese, who took captive the widow and sixteen children of Him-who-died-at-Kota-Lama," namely the second Sultan of Perak. "After their arrival at Aceh, the eldest son was taken by 'Abd-el-Khana as her husband and became Raja of Aceh" in 1579, with the style Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Mansur Shah. The *Bustanu's-Salatin*, written at Aceh in 1638 by a Gujerati missionary Shaikh Nur'u'd-din, relates how this Perak prince was very religious, encouraged foreign pundits and made his chiefs wear beards and turbans and Arab *jubbah* and made the common folk pray five times a day. "During his reign" the Perak account continues, "he sent his next younger brother to Perak and installed him there as Raja, with his capital at Julang: that place having been flooded seven times, the Raja removed to Geronggong. The Raja of Aceh crossed to Perak to amuse himself and to visit his brother and on his return he died at Kuala Aceh. After that, his mother returned to Perak with all her family." It is highly probable that the death of this Perak ruler of Aceh in 1585 was due to murder, the perpetrator of the act the admiral (or chief pirate!) of his fleet, afterwards Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, who also murdered Raja Ashem, grandson of the Perak prince and son of Sultan Ali Jala 'Abd'u'l-Jalil Shah of Johor.

It was in the reign of 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604) that the Dutch, French and English first visited Aceh. But in 1587 Portugal had come to terms with Aceh, so that when in 1599 Cornelis de Houtman called at the place the Portuguese instigated the Sultan to attack and kill him and many of his men and to take his brother, Frederik de Houtman, prisoner. However by 1601 Aceh was viewing with suspicion the relations between Portugal and Johor, seized a *justa* that had chased an Arab vessel into her harbour, and profoundly distrusted Portugal's request for leave to build a fort at Aceh in return for help against Johor. The old piratical ruler, therefore, allowed the Dutch to open a factory, released Frederik de Houtman and sent envoys to Holland. There are two English accounts of Aceh at this time, one by John Davis who visited it as pilot to a Dutch ship in June 1599 and one by James Lancaster who arrived there on 5 June 1602. The harbour was full of ships from Gujerat, Malabar, Bengal and Pegu and even the Red Sea. The Sultan, a hundred years old but "a lustie man, exceeding grosse and fat" loved soldiers and

gave every newcomer, Dutch and English, a creese and dress of ceremony. A necessary prelude to all business was a formal present: Davis' Baase gave a looking-glass, a drinking-up and a coral bracelet, Lancaster a silver basin with a fountain in the midst of it, a silver cup, a looking-glass, a plumed head-piece, a sword-belt and a feather fan. The court was a scene of barbaric splendour. The king ate off gold plate and fine porcelain, served by forty women who fanned him, poured out Aquavite made of toddy (too strong for Lancaster) and sang and danced and talked of venery. Such a glutton was this "great Bacchus" that "for a Change, with a Cracking Gorge" he would give audience to Dutch and English captains, seated in the river in order to "get a stomache"; or perhaps, business might be conducted at the cockpit. The king drank deep and his guests followed his example: "on 28 July, 1599" writes Davis, "our Baase came aboard with one of the Sabanders, the Secretary, merchants of Mecca, Turks, and Don Alfonso and some Portugals, all which departed passing drunk." The population of this port of mat-walled huts was made up of adventurers of many races, Indians, Arabs, Javanese, Malays and Batak and Nias slaves. Murderer of two rivals to his throne and of a thousand noblemen who had supported Raja Ashem, the old Sultan had no scruples about ruling his rascal people by force: criminals had hands and feet chopped off and were banished to Pulau Weh. It was this royal pirate whom Queen Elizabeth greeted as her "loving Brother," congratulating him on having attacked the Portuguese "in Malacca in the yeare of the Humane Redemption 1575" and asking permission to open an English factory at his capital. In Arabic, learnt from an English Jew, Lancaster did business with "the chief Bishop of the Realme, a man so wise and temperate" that the Englishman got cargoes of pepper, cinnamon and cloves, the right of free trade and a letter and presents for his Virgin Queen. When Lancaster was leaving, the bacchanalian ruler and his court sang very solemnly a psalm for the safety of those about to go down to the sea in ships. Such was life at the capital of Perak's suzerain, haunt of superstitious brutal pirates, needy adventurers and grasping traders.

In 1607 another strong ruler, Iskandar Muda or Perkasa 'Alam, seized the throne, bribing and menacing the chiefs and murdering his uncle the rival claimant. In youth imprisoned as a traitor he had been released to fight de Castro and had driven him back to sea. Now in 1612 he conquered Aru (or Deli); in 1613 and 1615 he sacked Johor for her overtures to Portugal; in 1618 he conquered Pahang, in 1619 Kedah and in 1620 Perak taking 5,000 prisoners, in 1624 Nias and Indragiri; in 1635 he wasted Pahang again for intriguing with the Portuguese. In his letter of 1615 to James I of England, Perkasa 'Alam described himself as overlord of thirty-nine countries, including Batu Sawar (Johor), Pahang and Perak. Under 1625 the *Dagh-Register* notes that Acheh "wants to ruin Jambi as she ruined Johor, Kedah, Perak and Pahang, not

one of which has forgotten it." Under 6 February 1634, it notes how Aceh made excuses for not helping in an attack on Malacca, because she had sent three fleets, one to Perak, one to Aru and one to the west coast of Sumatra. A Malay history tells us the sequel to the conquest of Perak:—

"A sister of Him-who-died-at-Kuala-Acheh" (Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Mansur Shah of Aceh) "had borne two sons in Perak, one of whom was called Tengku Tua and the other Raja Bongsu. Tengku Tua became Raja and in his time the country was again conquered by Iskandar Muda of Aceh. Tengku Tua and Raja Bongsu and all the royal family and all the chiefs were carried captive to Aceh. Raja Mansur, son of Raja Kechil and brother of Him-who-died-inland, escaped to Johor. In Perak were left only Maharaja Lela and Paduka Raja. Maharaja Lela went to Johor to fetch Raja Mansur, who while there had married a Jambi princess: Paduka Raja went to Aceh to fetch Raja Bongsu. The first to return was Maharaja Lela bringing Raja Mansur, whom he proclaimed Raja of Perak (p. 131) with his court at Semat. While they were arranging to fetch his Jambi consort, Paduka Raja arrived with an army from Aceh and established Raja Bongsu as ruler of Perak with the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Raja Mansur was removed to Aceh.

"When Sultan Mahmud Shah died, he was called He-who-died-by-the-river and his son became ruler with the title of Sultan Salahu'd-din. After a while he *presented himself* at Aceh and died there.

"Among the captives at Aceh was a Raja Sulong, son of Raja Mahmud, grandson of Marhum Kasab of Siak: his mother was a daughter of Bendahara Paduka Raja and her name was Tan Dermapala Johara. At Aceh Sultan Mukal (= Mughal — Iskandar II b. 1611 asc. 1636 d. 1641) had given him for wife another captive, daughter of Marhum Muda* Pahang. Now the Sultan sent them both to Perak where Raja Sulong was installed as Sultan Muzaffar Shah.† This ruler was father of Sultan Mahmud Shah of Perak: the mother of Sultan Mahmud was a daughter of Marhum Muda Pahang, grand-niece of Him-who-died-on-the-river-bank, grand-daughter of Him-who-died-at-Kota-Lama and great-grand-daughter of Him-who-died-at-Tanah-Abang," namely the first Sultan of Perak. So on the distaff side the royal Malacca descent of Perak's rulers was preserved as it has been to this day.

Captain Best visited Aceh in 1612 and saw Iskandar Muda, Champion of the World, "a gallant man of Warre, of thirty two

* According to Mr. W. Linehan, M.C.S. and in my opinion rightly, 'Abdu'liah, son of Sultan Ahmad of Pahang and half-brother of Sultan Mughal of Aceh; and, of course, of the royal Malacca line (JRASMB. 1932 X, p. 43). † See p. 127.

yeares, of middle size, full of spirit," "drinking Tobacco in a Silver Pipe" and watching the fierce fights of cocks and rams and elephants, the cruel combats of tame elephants and the "stomackful" encounters of "Buffles." One day, 2 May 1613, as the Reverend Patrick Copland has related, "all Strangers were invited to a banquet sixe miles off, for which purpose two elephants were sent for our Generall. Here were all the dishes brought by water, the boyes holding the dish with one hand and swimming with the other: so did they carrie the strong drinke also, whereof when they had tasted (which they must of all) they threw the rest into the River. It continued from one till five. In it were five hundred dishes well dressed. Our General," Thomas Best, "weary with sitting by the King thus long in the water, was dismissed an houre before the rest. The Captaine of the Dutch house, taking there his bane, either with hot drinke or cold sitting so long in the water, soone after died. The second of June, they were entertained with a fight of foure Elephants, with a wild Tygre tied at a stake, which yet fastening on their Trunks and legges, made them to roare and bleed extremely. This day we were told, that one eye of a Noble man was plucked out, for looking on one of the Kings women washing in a River. Another gentleman wearing a Shash, had his head round cut so farre as that was too large. Some he is said to boyle in scalding oyle, some are sawne apieces, others their legges cut off or spitted alive or empaled on stakes." "The whole territory of Acheh was almost depopulated by wars, executions and oppression. The king endeavoured to repeople the country by his conquests. Having ravaged the kingdoms of Johor, Pahang, Kedah, Perak and Deli, he transported the inhabitants from those places to Acheh, to the number of twenty-two thousand persons. But this barbarous policy did not produce the effect he hoped; for the unhappy people being brought naked to his dominions and not allowed any kind of maintenance on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets." In his letter to King James, Iskandar Muda described himself as "the true Image of a King, in whom raignes the true methode of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Metall and adorned with the most finest colours; whose seat is high and most compleat, like to a Christall River, pure and cleare as the Christall Glasse: From whom floweth the pure streame of Bountie and Justice." The *Bustanu's-Salatin* declares that this ruler was pious, encouraged Muslim missionaries and suppressed gaming and drinking. Having no son he desired Best to entreat King James to send him two white women, declaring that if he should get a son by one of them he would make him English king of Sumatra's Pepper Coast! For the army and fleet and magnificence of Iskandar Muda were all due to his monopoly of the pepper trade over the whole of Sumatra's west coast. As early as 1602 Jan Grenier had found that only Javanese but no Europeans were allowed to buy pepper outside the port of Acheh.

Iskandar Muda, or Crown of the World (Mahkota 'Alam) as he was called after death, had no male heir and adopted a son of Ahmad Shah Sultan of Pahang, whom he carried captive to Acheh in 1618. This ruler, Iskandar II, refused to help the Dutch take Malacca from the Portuguese, because the Dutch were allies of his enemy Johor. Malacca fell on 14 January 1641: Iskandar II died on 15 February. After his death Acheh was ruled by queens for nearly sixty years. Partly female rule, partly the growing power of the Dutch and their protection of Johor and her allies led to the surrender by Acheh of all her conquests in the Malay Peninsula except Perak. The story of Acheh's suzerainty over Perak for the next four decades is involved in the history of Dutch relations with that State. By 1678 Balthasar Bort, Governor of Malacca, reported that "Acheh is impotent and has no appearance of once more attaining any considerable power."

Achinese influence in Perak could still be traced a few years ago in the cut and style of court and wedding dress: in Low's time (1826) "Acheen dresses" were among "the goods most in request." Another survival was a neat lidded golden bowl bearing the Achinese name of *mundam* and reckoned among the regalia until it was stolen not long since. Achinese influence survived in the name of a pattern of cloth—the pattern of *lam* Sayong, *lam* being Achinese for *kampung*. It survives in the practice of addressing the Four Great Chiefs as *Tengku* though most of them are commoners. It survives in the terms *Hulubalang* and *Orang Kaya-Kaya* applied to the Eight Chiefs, nearly all of them territorial lords of large areas.

V

THE DUTCH AND PERAK.

In 1602 the Netherlands, compelling the amalgamation of the several Dutch companies that since 1596 had started to trade in the Orient, gave a monopoly to the Dutch East India Company. In the same year Jacob van Heemskerck anchored off Johor and was welcomed by the Sultan as an ally against the hated Portuguese. van Heemskerck captured a Portuguese caraque from Macao, whose cargo was sold for three and a half million dollars; deeply respected for this exploit he took back to Holland two Malay envoys from Johor, Megat Mansur, who died on the voyage, and Enche' Kamar. In 1606 Admiral Matelief visited Kedah and made a treaty with Johor, promising to help the Sultan capture Malacca from their common enemy, the Portuguese, in return for the right to trade with Johor free of duty and to the exclusion of all other Europeans. The siege of Malacca was begun but abandoned, Matelief growling at Johor's Bendahara, author of the "Malay Annals," for his dilatoriness as a soldier, but in the same year, 1606, the Admiral with eleven ships defeated a Portuguese fleet of twenty-six sail off Malacca and won for Holland that command of the sea which was so vital to the salvation of Portuguese empire. In 1611 the Dutch Company thought of moving their head-office from Java to Johor. In 1615 finding it very costly to maintain 22 forts, 4,000 troops and 30 large ships to fight the Portuguese, it proposed to London that the English East India Company should bear part of the cost and that; Portugal vanquished, the two Companies should divide the Eastern trade. But unlike the Dutch, the London Company was not backed by the English government; it had profited by the Dutch fleet without diminishing its dividends by a doit; it was more interested in India than in the Malay archipelago; in 1614 it instructed its principal agent in the East "in Junckalan and Pera is great store of Tin held as good as English Tin, but it is so bought up that it will require great time and trouble to get it and to adventure in Moor ships would not be safe, and their own Pinnaces too chargable, so I leave it as no way worthy." The Directors temporised. From 1618 English and Dutch were at open war. In 1623 the Dutch massacred a number of Englishmen on Amboyna, one of the Spice Islands, and even before this England had determined to close her factory at Patani and keep posts only at Acheh and Jambi, Japara and Bantam in Java, and Macassar in Celebes. In 1635 the English signed a treaty with moribund Portugal and tended to support her against Holland. On 14 January 1641 the Dutch wrested Malacca from the Portuguese and thereafter dominated the trade-route to the East Indies and to China. In 1649, having driven English commerce almost off the seas, they imposed terms on the Great Mogul and seemed likely to become paramount from China to the Cape of Good Hope. Such in briefest outline was the position of a Company which from 1641 until 1795 was to play so great a part in Perak's history.

Before 1641 references to Perak in the *Dagh-Register* are few and short, one of them a remark in 1634 that Acheh was the only obstacle to the tin trade. Bort says that from 1639 the Dutch Company traded peacefully in Perak by virtue of a contract made with her suzerain, Acheh. Then under 14 June 1641 the *Dagh-Register* tells how a head-merchant Jan Dircxen Puijt anchored between the Sembilan Islands and the Dindings with a cargo worth florins* 17810.18.5 for the Perak trade, a present from the Governor of Malacca for the Sultan and a letter proposing that Perak should stop all dealings with foreigners and sell the whole of its tin to the Company at a reasonable price. The Sultan presented gold creeses to Puijt and his companion Vermeeren but that year forty-one Javanese and Chinese vessels had exported tin from Perak "under passes from the upper-merchants Sourij and Gent, a thing highly prejudicial to the negotiations and inclining the king to support free trade, which must be prevented by cruisers." Awaiting Puijt in Perak had been the merchant Jan Hermansen, for some years superintendent in Perak but now director of the tin-trade with Perak, Kedah, Bangri and Ujong Salang (Junk Ceylon). Hermansen was bound for Kedah. The Sultan said he would consult his chiefs and reply to the Dutch proposal when Hermansen returned. On 19 October Sr. Hermans (*sic*) arrived back in Perak with a cargo of tin and four elephants bought in Kedah for 2087¼ reals (or Spanish dollars), of which one was to die on the voyage to Batavia and another to fall overboard and be drowned! The Sultan still temporized. No monopoly of tin! and in Ligor Coromandel stuffs had a bad market on account of the great supply of cloths from Perak and Kedah. On 29 October, 1641, the yacht *Franeker* sailed from Batavia with 77182 pounds of tin, of which 7722 were got by Sr. Hermans in Kedah, 40598 by Hendrick van Napels at Ujong Salang and 28868 by Puijt in Perak. Puijt was in high favour with the Sultan of Perak, who bestowed on him the title Sri Raja Johan Pahlawan and an Achinese creese and a sword, placed him above the Shahbandar in charge of Perak's port and put a new lodge at his disposal in place of a ramshackle building nearly tumbling into the river. On 13 May Puijt brought to Malacca in the shallop *de Sterre* 26179 pounds of tin. He reported that about 8,000 guilders had been paid in advance against the delivery of tin, that he had left his remaining stock and 450 *bidor* † of tin with his assistant Obbe Heeres and that the Sultan still owed the Company 1700 *bidor* of tin. This year sixty-five

* r^s, r^e. = real, pieces of eight, Spanish dollar. r^d. = rijksdaalder, rixdollar of the Holy Roman Empire (or one of its States), a coin of variable value and usually less than the real. f. = florin or guilder (gl., gldr.) worth 20 stivers, about 1s. 9½d.: three florins or guilders = 1 real or Spanish dollar.

† *bidor*, a slab of tin weighing 3 Dutch pounds or (nowadays) 2½ lbs. avoirdupois. *bhaar*, *bhaer*, *bhar*, = Arabic *bahar*, Sanskrit *bahara* 'a load.' 1 *bahar* = 3 *pikul* or nowadays 400 lbs. avoirdupois. The Dutch reckoned it at 375 of their pounds generally.

Javanese and Chinese vessels had visited Perak, importing small sundries, spoiling the cloth market and carrying away 370 *bahar* of tin. Puijt wanted well-assorted cloths to the value of 12000 guilders and in order to stop the Java and China trade, permission to risk disposal of 70% of his stock against delivery of 250 *bahar* of tin. There was considerable trade with Perak from Acheh and Puijt was of opinion that an agreement could be concluded that beside the Dutch only Acheh should be allowed to engage in the Perak tin trade. At the same time the Governor-General was urging that, as in Portuguese days, cruisers should intercept all Moors' vessels bound for Perak, Kedah and Ujong Salang and bring them to Malacca to pay toll, this measure being designed to increase not only the tin trade but business at Malacca and to make Patani a profitable market for cloth. Accordingly in October the yacht *de Vos* brought to Malacca a *wangkang* bound from Palembang to Perak with a cargo of salt and sundries; but the captain blamed the inefficiency of his helmsman and the boat was released on payment of the ordinary toll. In the same month the yacht *Schagen* captured a Javanese boat off Pulau Parcelar: the cargo was confiscated and the crew condemned to work in chains to frighten others from going to Perak and Kedah without visiting Malacca for permits.

In February 1642 the butler Arent Pater was sent to Deli to exchange for slaves wares unsalable in Perak but worth about 1000 guilders. That shrewd business man Puijt had suggested this method of disposing of wares unsalable in Perak, Kedah and Ujong Salang. In March 1642 Johor had signed a treaty recognizing that all Johor vessels sailing west of Malacca should call there for permits and on 11 July the king of Kedah agreed not to admit ships to his ports without Dutch permits and to sell the Dutch Company half the tin produced in his State at a fixed price. On 22 July, the *de Duijff* brought to Batavia 26176 lbs. of tin purchased by Puijt in Perak for f. 6607.12.14 and on 8 September the *Schagen* brought 28947 lbs. purchased for f. 7342.4. But Puijt still complained of the pooriness of the Perak trade owing to the quantity of cloth imported by Achinese, Javanese, Moors and Bengalis. The Sultan of Perak and his Bendahara resented the regulation that all Indian vessels must call at Malacca for permits, while the Bendahara angry at the treatment of one of his vessels boasted that he would take back the lodge lately given to Puijt. In 1644 things came to a head. The Sultan refused to hand over to a Dutch commissioner, van Gent, a Cambodian ship which claimed to have a pass from a merchant, Bronckman, excusing her from getting a permit at Malacca: His Highness declared that those on board were well-born Minangkabaus under the protection of his suzerain, the Queen of Acheh. The Governor at Malacca sent the yachts *de Vos* and *Liefde* to blockade the Perak river and close it to Malay and Javanese vessels. Perak despatched envoys to Malacca and in October Sr. Walraavan sailed to Perak in the

yacht *Maccareel* with orders to lift the blockade, reopen an office and do anything else likely to secure a monopoly of the trade. A Commissary Vlamingh was sent to Aceh to try to explain the blockade of Perak but his explanations were so unpalatable that Aceh would not lift a finger to persuade Perak to give the Dutch a monopoly. In 1645 an agreement was made between the Dutch and Aceh but in spite of it Moors from India enjoyed the tin trade with Aceh and the Malay Peninsula, and the Company got only "fair words and friendly faces." On 3 July 1647 the Dutch "considering that they snap up all the tin in Perak under our very noses and stuff the country full with their piece-goods" decided to interdict Moors of Surat, Coromandel, Bengal and Pegu from trading with Aceh and the tin countries, a decision that led to the looting of their Surat office in April 1648. But Dutch fleets blockaded the ports of Aceh and Perak, and the Company threatened to close its lodge in Aceh. In December 1647 the Queen of Aceh replied to the request of Governor-General van Lijn that the Dutch might trade with Perak as the Portuguese had done. She pointed out that already Aceh had agreed to equal trading rights for Dutch and Achinese, that wise men make many friends and she would respect all people within her borders including the English, and finally that not even she had been able to get as much as 600 *bahar* of tin for herself from her vassal Perak far less obtain it for the Dutch. After this missive had been read, the Achinese envoys were regaled with betel and sweet wine. In 1648 sitting on a raised stool and guarded by three female lancers and six female musketeers the Susunan of Mataram, under Dutch pressure, issued a mandate ordaining public floggings for any of his people who sailed to Perak. In 1649 the capture by Arend Barentsen of two ships of the Great Mogul with cargoes worth one and a half million dollars led to an agreement with Surat that Moors from there would no longer sail to Aceh, Perak, Kedah, Ujong Salang and Malacca, and after the agreement had been ratified on the Koran fifteen tons of goods were *prematurely* returned to the Suratis! In the same year the Company collected in Malacca, mostly from Perak, 770,000 pounds of tin, an "extraordinary quantity." The Dutch sent to Aceh an ambassador Truijtmán who negotiated a treaty for a monopoly of the Perak tin which caused the English to leave Aceh. The Queen of Aceh despatched an envoy along with Truijtmán to Perak where her mandate was respectfully obeyed. A treaty was signed between the Yang di-pertuan, Sultan of Perak, a dependency of Aceh, and Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn; it recognized that the Queen of Aceh had granted her own people and the Dutch East India Company a monopoly of the tin trade to the exclusion of all other Europeans and Indians and had instructed the Sultan and Chiefs of Perak accordingly. The Sultan promised to eject all foreigners then trading in his State and to forbid them to return. A toll of 11 in 140 was to be paid on tin exported. The price for one *bidor* of tin was fixed

at a quarter real of a specified mint. One *bahar* or 3 *pikul* of tin was fixed as 125 *bidor* of the value of $31\frac{1}{4}$ Spanish dollars. Standard scales, marked by the Sultan and the Company, were to be deposited in the Dutch lodge. The treaty was signed in Perak on 15 August 1650 by the Sultan Yang di-pertuan and his Council, the Bendahara, Bendahara Muda, Orang Kaya Besar and Temenggong. Truitjman took it to Aceh to be ratified and finally "after various oppositions" it was signed again by both parties on 15 December 1650. The Perak lodge was immediately re-opened. Valentijn records the disastrous sequel:—the factory at "Peirah is situated on the Malay coast and is subject to the Queen of Aceh. The establishment which is controlled by an under-merchant is maintained by the East India Company solely for the trade in tin, which is obtained for cash or piece-goods at the rate of 50 rix-dollars the *bahar*, but the people are very foul and murderous and they made no scruple in 1651 of killing all our people. In subsequent years Their Excellencies frequently had occasion to order the Governor and Council to leave the place alone, until a good time arrived for avenging this detestable act, which was afterwards taken in hand."

There is no *Dagh-Register* from 1648 until 1653 when we get one laconic entry for the northern state: "a yacht left at Perak." But on 15 December of that year Joan Truijtmán negotiated a new treaty with Sultan Muzaffar of Perak, of which we hear in yet another treaty of 7 December 1655 made between the Dutch Company and "Sultana Amina Todijn, the young king Muda-Forca, and the Orang Kayas, Dato Bandara Sri Maradia Besa, Sri Maradia 'diraja, Temenggong Sri Maradia Lela, Paduka Radia, Montri Paduka Tuan, Laxamana, Chiefs of Perak submissive to the royal court of Aceh." The following were the provisions of this later agreement. All war and piracy were to cease. As damages for the cutting off of the Dutch lodge in 1651 Perak engaged to pay 50,000 reals in specie, of which part was to be paid in a few days by the delivery of 100 *bahar* of tin valued at 31 reals a *bahar* and the remainder by such instalments as the Queen of Aceh and the Governor-General should decide. The treaty made in Perak on 15 December 1653 between Truijtmán and "the deceased Sultan Muda-Forca" was to be observed: it gave the Dutch a monopoly of the tin-trade and fixed the price of a *bidor* of tin at half a real in specie and the price of a *bahar* (375 lbs.) at $31\frac{1}{4}$ reals. Perak was to give the Company a piece of land on the river, the length of a cannon-shot, as a site for a house and wooden store but no arms heavier than muskets were to be kept there. All disputes were to be referred to Malacca. Accessories to the 1651 massacre were to be executed, including the Shahbandar. The Dato' Bandara, formerly Temenggong, who was to have been summoned to Aceh and relieved of office, would be allowed to continue in office subject to the pleasure of the Queen of Aceh and the Governor-General. The last clause fixed import duties and weighing

fees for cargoes of tin. The treaty of 1655 was ratified in the hall of the Sultana's palace *in the presence of fourteen Achinese chiefs.*

"Shortly after" Bort records, "by reason of Perak's failure to maintain our agents in their rights, the factory was again abandoned." Perak "rode the high horse," sent tin to Aceh and let foreigners intrude on the trade. In 1656 Truijtman was sent to invest the ports of Perak and Aceh. "In July 1656" writes Valentijn, "they sent Joan Truijtman the Commissary, with the ships *Domburg* and *Concordia* to Malacca, which they reached on the 25th, with the ambassadors from Aceh. His instructions were to attack the people of Peirah as enemies but not until he knew the result of his negotiations at Aceh. He was also instructed, after the withdrawal of our factory at Peirah, to keep away all foreigners from that place by blockading the roadstead." Truijtman left on 2 August and blockaded Perak for several months, taking out of all vessels whatever goods he found.

"Ao. 1657. On 25 July Their Excellencies gave orders to avenge the foul massacre in Perak and to occupy Aceh roadstead anew." Balthasar Bort, afterwards Governor of Malacca, was in command, and eleven years later described the effect of the blockade:—"The English stopped their trade at Aceh so long as we allowed the Moors to traffic there, but as soon as we kept the Moors away, they came (according to their old usage) to fish in our troubled waters, insisting on admission yonder, although we maintained a blockade of the harbour. . . . This blockade was kept up in 1656, 1657, 1658 and 1659 and reduced Aceh to such straits for cloth that much gold was sent secretly to Malacca and spent there on cloth; attempts were even made to buy it on our ships, 160 reals being paid for a bale of Company's common Guinea cloth. Wherefore the commanders of the blockading force were moved to demand a good quantity of cloth from Malacca but it was decided not to send it on the ground that we were at war with Aceh and that no traffic is permissible with an enemy." And Bort goes on to let the cat out of the bag: vengeance for the "foul massacre in Perak" veiled the real aim of the blockade, which was to deprive Aceh of Moorish cloth and compel her to buy it from the Company.

In 1659 Aceh must have asked for terms in order to end the blockade. For on 20 June 1659 the Dutch drafted a fresh treaty with Aceh, demanding the execution of the Perak Temenggong, the banishment of the Perak Bendahara, the payment of the agreed indemnity of 50,000 reals, the division of the tin trade between Aceh and the Dutch, the former to enjoy one-third and the latter two-thirds, and finally permission to build a lodge in Perak and a residency in Aceh. At length in the last quarter

of 1659 or perhaps early in 1660 Acheh accepted a treaty with certain modifications. It is printed in Bort's Report on Malacca in 1678:—

“ In the year after the birth of our Prophet Muhammad 1070, on Tuesday, 6 Muharram (= 23 September, 1659) the Capade Muda Lela, attended by the bujangs Cay allula (? = Kaya Lela) and Dendany brought out the *suasa* seal and in the name of God on command from Her Majesty, came with an order from Her Majesty to Kali Malik al-'Adil, Orang Kaya Maharaja Sri Maharaja, Orang Kaya Laksamana Sri Ferdana Mantri, Orang Kaya-Kaya (*cacaya*) Sri Paduka Tuan, Orang Kaya-Kaya Raja Bintara, Orang Kaya-Kaya Sri Paduka Megat, Orang Kaya-Kaya Sri Maharaja Lela, Orang Kaya Raja Udana Lela, Orang Kaya Paduka Sri Nara, Orang Kaya Maharaja Sri Indra, Orang Kaya Raja Mahkota, Orang Kaya Sri Paduka Raja Bintara Muda, Raja Lelawangsa, Paduka Maha Mantri, Sri Ratna Perdana, with all the *hulubalang* and other officers of the royal court: I have made this peace between Achinese and Dutch not again to come to strife. Thus the Governor-General Joan Maatsuijcker has, through Sittria (? = *cheteria*, *khastria*), Sibidi, Indra Stia, Sri Narawangsa, the commander Jacob Keyser and the commander Balthasar Bort made the following demands:—

“ Touching the affairs of Perak; if the Bendahara Paduka Sri Maharaja be not recalled but is forgiven by Her Majesty for all his faults and allowed to remain Bendahara in Perak, then the commanders Jacob Keyser and Balthasar Bort will also petition the Governor-General to forgive his offences and to permit him to continue in Perak, but the Shahbandar (being now Mantri in Perak) shall be summoned to Acheh and handed over to us to be judged.

“ Her Majesty also grants 50 bahar of tin in compensation for the goods of the Company stolen in Perak, which the commander Balthasar Bort shall receive there; also that the price of tin in Perak shall not be higher than 30 reals until the goods of the Company, amounting to 44,000 reals shall be paid for. When all this debt is cleared, the price shall once more be set at what it was formerly, viz. 31¼ reals. Moreover no other traders shall come to Perak to deal in tin, but all traffic therein shall be divided between the Achinese and the Dutch, each taking just half. If any vessel is despatched with tin, whether by Achinese or Dutch, an Achinese and a Dutchman shall always examine it, so that on neither side too much or too little, but by each just the half, is exported.

“ As to dues the right shall remain such as has been customary hitherto without change.”

The rest of the treaty dealt with Sumatran affairs. It was confirmed on Sunday, 10 Muharram, at Her Majesty's banquet in the presence of the two Dutch commanders and of an English captain, William Courtis, with all joy and gladness in Lalla Lalleij the garden of Her Majesty, Shadow of God in the World. This queen, who died on 3 October 1675 A.D. having lost all Aceh's possessions except Perak, bore the style and title Taj al-'Alam, Safiat ad-din Shah. Another account coupled Sidria and the Shah-bandar as offenders to be punished—unless they gave the Company 50 *bahar* of tin as compensation. "Thus," as Sir William Maxwell observes, "all the satisfaction ultimately obtained from the Perak Malays was the promise of the gradual extinction of the indemnity-debt by a reduction of the price of tin by $1\frac{1}{4}$ real per *bhara*. The chiefs were 'forgiven' by the Governor-General, an euphemism which probably conceals the practical impossibility of seizing and executing the persons named. With traders of other nations willing to buy tin at a higher figure, it is clear that the Malays would only submit to the terms extorted by the Dutch as long as the latter were strong enough to enforce them and the position of the monopolists in the plank-house named in the Treaty of 1655 was not an enviable one. They had to prevent the Malays from evading the treaty by smuggling tin down the river past their station, and, with no help nearer than Malacca, they had to live in a flat marshy situation whence fear of the Malays would seldom allow them to move."

Actually the monopolists in the plank-house failed. "On 26 August, 1660," Valentijn records, "Mr. Massis reported to the Governor of Malacca that the Achinese had again broken the newly-made treaty by exporting from Perak more tin than they should. The king of Perak and his chiefs had granted passes to convey the same to Aceh without troubling themselves further. Thereupon the Malacca authorities decided that Massis should try to check this export amicably, and on experiencing nothing but dissimulation, should, as the establishment was on a bad marshy site, ship all the tin and ready money on board the *Alkmaer* and, if need be, keep it there: He was to collect outstanding debts as far as practicable and report on the situation to Bort, the Commissary at Aceh and to Groenewegen at the same place." On 2 December 1660 the *Alkmaer* brought 122 *bahar* of tin to Malacca but Aceh had obtained 585 *bahar*; in spite of all vessels for Kedah and Bengal being intercepted and stopped, the Dutch got little ore from Perak. Later in December the Queen of Aceh was induced to make another pie-crust promise which altered the Company's determination to close the factory in Perak. She ordained that the Company should take over half the tin exported from Perak in Achinese vessels, except that her four chief ministers were to be privileged to export for themselves 30 *bahar* a year: no Achinese vessels except her own were to enter the Perak port without a

permit from the Dutch Resident at Aceh. A month later Balthasar Bort found in the roads at Aceh the *Anna* from Coromandel with a cargo of sixty pieces of ordnance to be exchanged for two elephants, and cloth and sundries to be bartered for 16 elephants valued by the Moors at 700 reals a head. Worse still, from Surat had arrived the *Welcome* with an English envoy, Harry Gerry, who brought presents and a letter to the Queen asking for trading rights in Perak and departed with 200 *bahar* of tin, 100 of pepper, 200 of sappan wood, agila wood, benzoin, camphor, tortoiseshell and ivory. Not only the English and the Moors but traders from Johor, Java and Jambi cut into the Company's trade at Aceh, so that it made no more than florins 16,392.18.2 on cloth being barely 40¼%. Sumatra, Malacca, Johor and Perak were all over-stocked with cloth.

On 28 January, 1661, Paduka Sri Sultana Nur al-'alam (Nakiat ad-din Shah) wrote to Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker reiterating professions of Aceh's good-will. She has sent four emissaries (*bujang*) to Perak to ensure that 1½ reals be deducted from the price of every *bahar* of tin until Perak has liquidated her indemnity debt, but Perak is very poor and will take long to pay. Half the tin cargo of Achinese vessels is to be sold to the Dutch and half that on Perak vessels, unless they belong to the Queen's agents or to Perak chiefs coming to Aceh to pay homage. The royal mint will receive Dutch half crowns and make them legal tender in Perak. For any breach of her commands the Queen will punish her vassal. She gave Balthasar Bort the title of Orang Kaya Commander Raja and a chief's creese and for the Governor-General she sent a present of 50 *bahar* of tin—to be collected in Perak! The Queen deposed the Bendahara, who was *de facto* ruler of Perak, and appointed a Bendahara Muda. But on 16 May Joannes Massys bringing only 51 *bahar* of tin complained that Aceh still got all the ore. On 25 May Gabriel Bruyl reported that the four Achinese emissaries in charge of the indemnity deduction had handed their task over to three Perak men who had no heart in it! The Sultan annoyed at interference was hoping that Kedah would help him expel the Achinese. The yacht *Kleen Amsterdam* sailed to Perak to enforce Dutch treaty rights, but as soon as she left, Perak broke them again and protests to Aceh only excited laughter. There had been a shortage on the Queen's vicarious present of 50 *bahar* of tin to the Governor-General but not one pound would the Sultan of Perak make good. Achinese agents took away *all* the Perak tin on the pretext that it belonged to their queen. The Dutch in Perak tried to prevent the Bendahara and Raja Dewasitty from sailing to Aceh in three vessels carrying 180 *bahar* of tin but the Sultan declared that they were his own emissaries. The Achinese boasted openly that they would rather give a Dutchman a taste of the creese than tin: one day when the Dutch were removing 2 *bahar* of tin from a Delhi-bound ship, only the presence of the English

captain of the *St. Joris** made the Achinese unhand their creeses. The Achinese paid as much as 33 or 34 reals for a *bahar* of Perak tin, but when their ships were ready for sea the Perak people would sell them tin at a loss rather than take it to Malacca. Aceh had stopped any alliance between Perak and Kedah but on 13 August 1661 the ruler of Kedah sent presents to the Bendahara and Orang Kaya Besar to get their help for the export of 20 *bahar* of tin. There was trouble, too, over the acceptance of lion-dollars in Perak, though the Bendahara promised to do his best if they were introduced in Johor, Deli, Bengkalis and other places. However, in spite of difficulties and disappointments, the Dutch decided to maintain the Perak lodge (which had reopened in 1659) for fear that closure would offend the Malays and put trade into English hands.

The *Dagh-Register* records how for two years the Dutch conducted secret negotiations with a Raja Panjang of Selida against Aceh, because the Achinese allowed the English to trade in Perak. On 30 October 1662 the Resident Gabriel Bruyl reported that the English had persuaded the Queen to order the Sultan of Perak help them export 60 *bahar* due to Mr. Lock of Kedah. On 15 November the galliot *Charlois* took 3,000 reals in specie to Perak but a month later was sent to bring back two-thirds of that sum for fear its largeness might cause the Dutch factor to be robbed or murdered. The Perak guard-ship *Kleen Amsterdam* was beached for repairs and sank: the *Charlois* replaced her. On 26 January, 1663, the galliot *Ganges* took an accountant, Jan de Looper, to Perak to relieve the Resident, Adriaen Lucasz, who was very sick. On February 11, the King and Bendahara, quite unashamed over the 135,345 guilders still due on the indemnity, sent a present of 6 *bahar* of tin to Malacca and asked for a pass and a flag (such as long ago Thysz had given) to indicate that their vessels were toll-free. The King also wanted to borrow an Indian goldsmith for two years, and the Bendahara requested a loan of 400 or even 200 reals and a permit to export to Aceh 12 *bahar* of tin which Moors had imported from Kedah. All these requests were refused. But the war and blockade had made the people of Perak bitter and recalcitrant and it was useless to fight them again. In March, when Aceh demanded from Perak envoys the customary annual tribute that accompanied their homage, they replied that, perpetually blockaded by the Dutch in accordance with the treaty Aceh had contracted, Perak could not pay it and, if Aceh resorted to force, Perak would ask Johor to be her suzerain.

* That is, the *St. George*, which seized from the Khankhanan, Mir Jumla, was owned by (Sir) Edward Winter and was to have been returned to her original Nabob owner at Masulipatnam had she not lost all her masts and been damaged beyond repair on her way from Kedah to Malacca, meeting, "with a fierce storme about the Andaman Islands or Nicobar," so that she was "laid up in Malacca, being past recovery to be delivered him." W. Foster's "The English Factories in India, 1661-64," Oxford, 1923, pp. 37-52, 148-157.

On 17 June two Achinese vessels sailed to Perak without the permit that the treaty required from the Dutch Resident at Acheh. The Achinese explored all Perak for ore. Everybody paid, 5, 6 or more reals a *bahar* than the Dutch, who still continued to stick to the treaty and give only 23 to 25 reals at Ujong Salang and 30 reals elsewhere. The Achinese would bid as high as 42 reals a *bahar*. So the Company got no tin and though the deduction of $1\frac{1}{2}$ reals a *bahar* had been abandoned and the Perak indemnity therefore as good as cancelled, yet by July 1663 the Dutch had to raise their price to 34, 35 or 36 reals.

On 20 June 1663 Adriaen Lucasz, after another spell of sick-leave at Malacca, returned to Perak in the yacht *Alkmaer* accompanied by the galley *Malacca*, these ships being needed to help the *Charlois* browbeat three Bantam vessels with large Javanese crews into observing the tin regulations. Lucasz took one-third of their tin and returned to Malacca in September with 140 *bahar*, which the President bought for the now usual price of 40 rix-dollars a *bahar*, exempting three *bahar* which the Perak ruler was presenting to the Sultan of Bantam. On the same trip Lucasz removed three *bahar* from a Johor vessel as a guarantee that Inche Howat, the captain, would sell the rest of his tin at Malacca for 40 rix-dollars a *bahar*, but on 25 August Inche Howat arrived at Malacca so furious that Batavia was asked for instructions in the event of Johor boldly engaging in the tin-trade for Chinese who would otherwise buy at Malacca. In July 1663 it was resolved to close the factories at Acheh, Perak and Ligor. Lucasz advised the Company that its policy of secret overtures to Acheh would be discovered and cause it to forfeit the trust of the Perak Malays for ever. The Company, fearful of the cost of guarding a coast with so many rivers and creeks, refused to guarantee Perak protection against her suzerain and so Perak hesitated to break with Acheh. In October the Company had to lend the Sultan of Perak a *tingang* to bring his envoys to Malacca, as he lacked a vessel of his own, and it sold him 70 or 80 muskets. For the year 1663 the Perak tin trade was reported fair. On 12 October the *Alkmaer* brought 225 *bahar* from Perak; on 28 November the King's brother and the Bendahara sent 70 *bahar* to Malacca; on 4 December Lucasz arrived at the same port with the yacht *Cabo Jacques* and the galley *Malacca* bringing 98 *bahar* and 100 *bidor* of tin; under the date 27 December the *Dagh-Register* records that the tin brought to Malacca amounted to 481,397 pounds, namely

from Ligor	348 <i>bahar</i> and 362 pounds
„ Perak	738 <i>bahar</i>
„ Ujong Salang	11 <i>bahar</i> and 256 „
„ other places	185 <i>bahar</i> and 29 „
	1,282 <i>bahar</i> 647

One *bahar* weighed 375 pounds: Perak alone provided more tin than all the other localities together.

But before the end of 1663 the lodge at Perak was closed. On 29 November a Dutch voyager, Wouter Schouten, arrived in the roadstead between the Dinding and the mainland of Perak and found the *Cabo Diaskes* awaiting the merchant Adriaen Lucasz whose factory in Perak "was at present abandoned, owing to the breaking-out of enmity and disputes between our folk and the Malays of Perak; the trade in tin is stopped for a time and the yacht *Alkmaer* is already on her way from Malacca to blockade the river of Perak; but all the envoys of the kingdom of Perak were now on board the Netherlands ship *Cabo Diaskes* in order to sail with our folk to Malacca for the furtherance of peace." As we have seen, Lucasz arrived at Malacca on 4 December with a cargo of tin: he also brought Perak envoys and letters to Governor Riebeck asking for permission to sell 30 *bahar* to Moors (which was refused) and to send 2 *bahar* to Borneo in order to purchase musical instruments (which was granted), requesting a loan of money for the Bendahara against the security of 20 *bahar* and offering to supply tin for 35 rix-dollars a *bahar* at the Perak estuary or for 40 at Malacca.

Wouter Schouten gives us a sailor's picture of Perak in 1663 which is bright and pleasing beside the dreary business figures of the *Dagh-Register*:—"The country is favoured with Tin Mines, but everywhere in the Interior it is covered with very high Mountains, thick Forests and frightful Wildernesses, and there are many Rhinoceroses, wild Elephants, Buffaloes, Tigers, Crocodiles. Serpents; and many other monsters are to be found. . . . Having reached the neighbourhood of the Watering-place on the inner side of the Island Dinding above-mentioned, we immediately sent a good party of sailors to the Coast of Pera opposite to procure firewood for our further Voyage to Bengal. The others went to Pulo Dinding to fetch fresh water from one of the principal Rivers of the Island, and we, not to be idle, went also on shore with a line of 80 fathoms and brought up fish out of the Gulfs and Bays of the Island Dinding, going on board in the evening with a good haul of all sorts of well-flavoured delicate fish. In the same way, on the next day, the 30th November, our people still being engaged in fetching water and firewood, we roamed all about and visited all parts of the Island Dinding, taking at last a good haul; we remained on shore all night with our Sub-Merchant Abraham de Wijs and others in the same way inclined, and there we enjoyed our catch. Our people had pitched a capital tent in the shady wood not far from the Beach and there we took our repast together and were jovial, taking thought only for the present. Here on a dark night, on an uninhabited Island, in the frightful Forest and vast Wilderness where there were many Serpents and other monsters, we found so much pleasure that for this once we managed to forget all the weary wanderings of the voyage to Bengal, drinking after supper to the health of ourselves and our friends (even those who were not drinkers), every-one taking a little glass one with

another: we kindled a good fire to keep off wild Beasts and passed the rest of the night in many pleasant discourses and tales. Thus we daily pitched water and firewood and caught an abundance of very good Fish, such as Mullet, Pike, Bream, Flounders, Flatfish and Sea Turtles of good flavour. Meanwhile the black Envoys of Pera started with the Netherlands Opperhoofd for Malacca, and we, being at last ready left the Island Dinding on the 3rd December to proceed on the voyage to Bengal, but were scarcely beyond the straits of Pera and out at Sea again, when we were overtaken by such a violent storm from the North and such a heavy Sea that our Topsails nearly flew away and were torn in many pieces; the Fore-yard was broken in the middle and fell down, so that in a distressed condition we were obliged to go back again to Dinding, there to make another Fore-yard and avoid the rage of the violent tempests and yawning billows. Sailing back, we arrived again, towards evening, at the anchorage between the Island Dinding and the Coast of Pera, and we soon got accustomed to the place where we had been before and to which we had now again returned. At night we again had rough and stormy weather, but we now lay quiet encircled by Land and secured against stormy winds and rolling Sea. Our Sailors went on shore early in the morning, cut down one of the largest Trees, and having made out of it a new yard, put it up and also other sails, then weighed anchor and went to sea again."

To return to our ledgers. On 7 February 1664 the President ordered that the $32\frac{1}{2}$ reals a *bahar* then being paid for Perak tin be raised by $\frac{5}{8}$ ths or $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of a real to compensate the Malays for the trouble of bringing it aboard Dutch vessels off their coast, the lodge still being closed: if it were brought to Malacca, the price would be 40 reals free of toll. He also lent the Bendahara 400 reals "to be repaid soon." By April, however, the local price for Perak tin was raised to 35 rix-dollars a *bahar*, over and above the toll of 1 in 100: the Company had also decided to allow Aceh access to Perak and not to take more than half the tin cargoes of Achinese vessels; moreover, until further notice, it was permitting Moors and others to visit Perak. Probably the reason for this leniency is to be found in an entry in the *Dagh-Register* under March 26: "the Perak blockading force could not stand an Achinese attack: more cruisers wanted at Malacca!" Lucasz, however, reported that the Queen of Aceh, dismayed at the closing of the lodge at her capital, had now written to Perak to let the Dutch trade as friends, adding that though they had quitted Aceh she knew of no reason for hostilities. But the Dutch spoil their gesture of generosity, forced though it may have been, by that passion for meticulous accountancy which often marks trading companies. In 1660 the Sri Paduka Tuan, an Achinese chief whose province was the care of foreigners, had been given by Balthasar Bort the privilege of exporting from Perak 30 *bahar* a year of tin free of tax and toll. In 1663 this chief died and was succeeded

by a Sri Paduka Raja, whereupon Riebeck enquired if the aforesaid privilege was to be continued. Now, in April 1664, the answer came that it was to cease! Acheh sent a Sri Maharaja Dewa as its representative to the Perak court, to see that the Dutch did not get too much tin! On 28 June Perak envoys came to Malacca to ask that the Dutch lodge be reopened: but Perak could not keep any of her promises for fear of Acheh and the closing of the lodge had removed the nightmare of sudden massacre. On 19 September the Dutch must have continued to be short of cruisers; for it was resolved that the Achinese should still be allowed ingress to Perak. Still, however, the Dutch seized half the tin exported in Achinese vessels, and Lucasz even took 9 *bahar* out of one of the Queen's ships because now there was no Dutch Resident at Acheh to check cargoes! Under 14 October, 1664, the *Dagh-Register* records that the Company had 656 *bahar* of ore in stock brought from Perak by the Malays of that State, and by the Malays, Portuguese and Chinese of Malacca; on top of that amount, the *Palleacatte* brought a further 164 *bahar*. The output of Perak tin was fair, though the raising of the price from 31¼ to 35 rix-dollars a *bahar* had had no marked effect:—it was not raised for tin taken from Achinese craft. Adriaen Lucasz opined that Perak was now less populous than before and could not produce more tin. At the end of 1664 some Javanese vessels sold rice to Malacca for 20 rix-dollars the *koyan* of 4,800 pounds and passed on to exchange salt for tin at Perak, Kedah and Ujong Salang on the understanding that they would sell the tin at Malacca.

On 19 January 1665 the President at Malacca reported to Batavia that the yacht, *de Fortuijn*, was too small for the Perak blockade and he asked for one or two more ships. Nevertheless the blockade was so effective that very few Achinese vessels now visited Perak, and Malacca got good supplies of tin. Surprised, Batavia warned Johan van Riebeeck at Malacca to beware lest the Achinese were concocting some dirty trick. In September the galliot *Ganges*, unfit for longer voyages pending repair, was sent to Perak because her deck-house was well fitted for the exhibition of goods. In November Lucasz wrote that Perak was tired of Achinese control. The fly-boat *Zuylen*, 4 *tingang* and 1 sloop were now engaged in the blockade. After being closed for two years the lodge was again opened ashore with a fleet in the estuary for its protection.

In 1668, Bort tells us, Batavia sent a memorandum to the Shahbandar at Malacca, laying down *inter alia* that passes for Perak, as also for Johor and Java, had to be signed both by Shahbandar and Governor: the charge was 1 real for a pass to Perak and 1 to 4 reals for anchorage dues according to tonnage. Javanese vessels often sailed with Dutch passes to Perak taking salt, sugar, onions, leeks and various small wares which they bartered for tin to be delivered (solely owing to the blockade)

to the Honourable Company at 40 reals the *bahar*. But in June 1670 the ruler of Japara (in Java) was discouraged from sending salt, rice and pepper to Aceh, Perak and Kedah, because the Company was at war with them.

A letter in the Malacca records dated 5 August 1670 gave orders to take possession of Pulau Dinding and build there a stronghold of wood and another letter dated 31 October 1670 laid down that the garrison should consist of a sergeant, three soldiers and three sailors.

From 1676 the *Dagh-Register* renews its detailed information. In a letter dated 2 March Balthasar Bort reported that the Dutch sloops were often attacked by Malay pirates off the coasts of Perak and Kedah and merrily battered them, though in the Perak river the sloop *Macareel* was surprised under pretence of friendship by two pirate craft and all but two of her crew were killed:— the pirate stayed in Perak and had access to the Sultan! In July off the Perak coast the sloop *Cacap* escaped from Kedah pirates with the loss of three men. In November 1677 a sloop, the *Brak*, was sunk at night in the Perak river through the fault and imprudence of the crew.

For 1678 the most valuable record is the report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca. Though insisting on a garrison of five or six hundred soldiers for that port, he notes that "the power of Johor is much reduced, Aatchin (= Aceh) is impotent, and has no appearance of once more attaining any considerable power and the kings of Pera and Queda are of small account; wherefore only European foes are to be feared in this place." Perak was still Aceh's vassal but her suzerain now demanded little tin. "At the present time 59 men are before Pera, engaged in the blockade of that place and stationed on the island of Dindingh, which the Honourable Company has in its possession, occupying a square wooden fort there provided with 9 pieces of iron ordnance." Their Honours maintained "that all things can be fitly managed" at the office at Perak by one superintendent merchant, one deputy or junior merchant, one first assistant, one assistant as bookkeeper of the yacht there stationed, one captain, one lieutenant and 2 ensigns. Actually there were two assistants too many and a naval force there which really required one armed yacht of 50–60 tons and 2 sloops with 60 men for their crews. This cost more than the old Residency up-river with its ten to twelve men but the greater supply of tin (about 1,200 *bahar* a year) made "the unavoidable expenditure in some measure more tolerable." The 59 men (on the island and in the yacht *Laren*, the sloop *Cacap* and the boat *Dingdingh*) comprised a superintendent, a skipper, a bookkeeper, three assistants, 3 second mates, 2 junior surgeons, 8 soldiers and 40 seamen. Everything the yachts and sloops got from the Company's store was entered in full under the proper date in the ship's accounts and checked once a year. The

Honourable Adriaen Lucasz, now promoted chief merchant second in command and administrator of Trade at Malacca, kept the trade-books, "so well that complaints have never been made": along with those of Indragiri and Perak and the ships' books and all other accounts, they were closed annually on 31 July and sent to Batavia in September or October. Some of the debts were bad. "The king and nobles of Pera owe florins 130,606.12.4, the amount still remaining for them to pay of the 50,000 reals imposed on them by contract in 1659 to pay on account of the despoiling of the Company's factory and murder of its servants in Perak in 1651. Whenever they deliver tin to the Honourable Company for 31¼ reals per bhaar, 1¼ reals are written off this debt but they seldom do this." The outstanding debts in Malacca, Perak and Indragiri in 1678 were florins 842,595.13.4.

Bort made for the superintendent and council in Perak a *resumé* in 1678 of the various orders the Company had issued concerning that State so that they should not be overlooked:—

35 reals a *bahar* in piece-goods or cash might be paid for good quality tin delivered to the Company on the Perak river: payment in piece-goods rather than cash was always to be preferred. Perak vessels with cargoes of tin should be encouraged to sail to Malacca and promised a good reception but the blockading ships had to remove so much of their tin-cargoes as would deprive them of a reason for visiting other places and cause them to sail straight to Malacca, where the tin removed would be paid for at 40 reals a *bahar* on presentation of an order for payment signed by the superintendent in Perak:—the superintendent had also to check and certify the balance of tin left on each ship so that the Company might get it all. The Dutch staff in Perak was threatened with heavy penalties if any of them signed orders for payments in fictitious names so as to keep for themselves the difference between the 30 to 35 reals paid for tin in Perak and the 40 reals paid for it at Malacca. Tin bought at 30 reals had to be entered separately in the invoice and trade books "so as to credit the account of the king and nobles of Perak which still stands at florins 130,606.12.4 on the debit side with 1¼ reals a *bahar*. Discretion must be shown in dealing with tin exported from Perak actually for the queen of Acheh and only a part of it taken out after a suitable agreement has been reached with her ministers; for it is said that only 40 *bhaer* yearly ought to belong to Her Majesty from the country of Perak as an acknowledgment of her suzerainty. The quantity in one year does not usually amount to more: if the rulers of Perak make an earnest petition on the matter, the ship may be allowed to pass without anything being taken from it, so that we may not make ourselves hated." Persons sailing from Perak to Kedah or Bengkalis had to deliver their tin to the Company at 30 reals a *bahar*, or if payment were in piece-goods, at 35 reals, "so as to get more custom for the cloth, whereto all diligence must be applied." Before a Dutch pass was given to

any Perak vessel, it had to produce proof under the seal of the Bendahara that the crew were honest folk and not fugitives. Achinese vessels required no Dutch passes and were to be allowed free ingress to the Perak river.

"The Moorish ships which we may on occasion allow to go to Pera for the purpose of buying elephants and exporting them to Bengale or Cormandel, as we did last year in the case of the yacht Chaffarie of the Nabob Mamet Aminchan, are bound to pay the Company's dues, 10% of the elephants purchased, just as if said animals were brought here and then exported; they are bound also to deliver all their tin to the Honourable Company. Hereto you must give careful heed, assessing the cost of the elephants here and demanding the dues, taking over all the tin (without releasing any), granting passes and putting at the disposal of the owners of the mineral an assignment to enable them to demand payment for it at 40 reals the *bhaer* of 375 lbs., either here in Malacca, or in Bengal or Cormandel, also writing with each ship to the Company's servants in the places, which are its destination, a short note giving the number of the exported elephants, their cost and the dues paid thereon, together with the quantity of tin delivered.

"But you shall not allow other ships and vessels, having no passes issued by us, in Pera, but shall direct them to Malacca to ask for passes and you are authorized to take some goods from Malay or Javanese vessels, which have cargoes of consequence, to be held in pawn as security, in this way hindering them from going to other places, especially if they have come from the North and have passed by Malacca without calling there.

"The people of Queda itself must be refused entrance to Pera: even if they have a pass from our blockading force there, this pass you have to take away and send to us, allowing within the blockade only such natives of that state with their passes issued by us as have nothing but provisions in their vessels or bring some tin to sell to you or to bring themselves to Malacca, otherwise none.

"The people of Pera voyaging to Queda and Bencalis may, on their return, bring only rice, wax, iron and other similar trifling necessaries, without any quantity of piece goods or calicoes, which are brought here from Malacca and Aatchin in more than sufficient quantity for them.

"Company's cloths have hitherto usually been sold in Pera at the following prices, viz.:

1 piece of white salemperis	10- 9½	} biddoors of tin each weighing 3 lbs.
Guinea cloth	18-17½	
brown blue salemperis	-12	
white bethilles	10- 9	
blue bethilles	12	
Sarassa maleije	16	} biddoors of tin each weighing 3 lbs.
Tapie Sarassa	6	
Bafta broottchia	30, 25 to 20	

“ However, you will not be able to tie them down to this rate, but will have power to waive so much of it as by exact enquiry you learn is done up river in Pera by others, following thus merchants’ usage, but taking care that said piece goods and calicoes are not dealt with at a lower rate than they are worth here in Malacca, reckoning the tin that is taken for them at 35 reals per bhaer.

“ The tin which is given in pawn and is paid for here in Malacca at 40 reals the bhaer is almost always smelted into bars easy to handle: so that no allowance must be made for loss in smelting. Such deduction is necessary only in the case of trade tin and then only for what has been actually smelted from small pieces into ingots easy to handle and (it should be estimated) at 1%, at which we are of opinion you will be safe from loss. When receiving the tin you must be careful to see that it is not mixed with lead or fraudulently adulterated with earth or stone.

“ Credit dealings have been definitely forbidden for a long time past by our masters on account of the great loss occasionally suffered therefrom. We therefore recommend you also to avoid the same as far as is in any way feasible. However, if the king and the great nobles sometimes make written request (as is their custom) through their servants for piece goods and calicoes, you may, in order to do them no discourtesy, agree, provided, that is, that the quantity is not too great, and afterwards make civil demand for payment.

“ At every opportunity we must be advised not only of the state of things and of events in Pera but also of the amount of tin in store, so that we may regulate our action accordingly and you may have it when necessary fetched away.

“ You must not occupy a larger area yonder on shore than necessity demands and must not risk much tin there, so that we may not be surprised by rascals and robbed of the tin. Be careful to have the tin in stock sent to us by all ships and sloops coming to Malacca by way of Pera, if they have room or are convenient for this purpose, when the tin amounts to 20, 30 or more bhars.

“ However all the tin you ship away must be weighed in the Dutch scales, which can be done without loss to you, in such wise that it does not fall short in the weighing, otherwise the Superintendent of Pera (for the Honourable Company cannot suffer thereby) shall be bound to make good the shortage, it being understood that if the pieces are delivered otherwise, *i.e.* short, the signatories of the bill of lading must answer and be liable for any pieces missing.

“ All expenses, wherein you must aim as much as possible at economy and incur none not absolutely necessary, you shall (as has been done in the past) debit to the tin, whenever any is sent to Malacca, for it is only fair that the trade should bear the expenses

incurred in getting it. Remember also to record in the ships' books, as is customary, the ship's expenses, charging the yacht therewith.

"Of the tin exported to Malacca on the one hand and to Aatchin and the countries dependent on that kingdom on the other, you must keep proper record, so that at all times, when required, the quantity on each account can be shown.

"The grant made formerly to Sirij Paducca Tuan, governor of the foreigners in Aatchin, of the right to export 30 bhars of tin yearly from Pera without handing any of it over to us, became invalid on the death of said Orangh Caya, so that you have now to pay no regard to it.

"Any tin supplied to you at 30 reals the bhaer by the nachodas of Aatchin vessels during their stay in Pera, so that they may in return transport a like quantity afterwards to Aatchin (as has been done habitually by many in the past), you shall accept on that condition and allow said nachodas to depart unhindered with the like quantity without committing any fraud, so as not to incur the heavy penalty attaching thereto.

"Tin smuggled in any ships shall, when discovered, be taken out of them, but the owners shall all the same be paid for it at 30 reals the bhaer, if they are men of Pera or Aatchin, but they must be warned not to do it again, on pain of being more hardly dealt with. A notification of each case must be made to the rulers in Pera. If foreigners attempt such smuggling, the tin shall be taken from their ships and confiscated, in whole or in part according to circumstances, to the benefit of the Honourable Company, the discoverers of the smuggling being given a modest present therefrom, so as to encourage them again to keep a sharp look out on other occasions.

"The Honourable Company pays no duties in Pera on imported merchandise and wares, but, on exported tin which is bought at 30 reals the bhaer and at no higher price, we are subject to a duty of 2 reals 24 stivers per bhaer, and, in addition, on each goerab's cargo, which may be reckoned at 100 bhaers, to 3 reals 45 stivers for steelyard hire (*daats loon*), mast, and anchorage money. Fulfilment of which obligation must be continued and his dues must be sent annually to the king in cash or piece goods without reduction of the amount due to His Majesty in any degree, so as to give him no reasons for complaint against us.

"The Civil (*Seville*) reals of eight in specie, which, like the Mexican, are not desired in Pera, although they are good silver and heavy, and moreover are current like other reals here in Malacca, as elsewhere under the Company's rule, for 24 heavy double stivers, you must try to recommend the people of Pera to accept in payment for their tin and, if the provincial dollars could also be introduced and given currency yonder, it would be a very desirable

thing; you must try to get the people of Pera to listen to this and in time to bring it to pass, which should bring you much honour.

" You must diligently endeavour to prevent private individuals from getting even the smallest part of the tin, since it is obligatory on you and on everyone above all things to abstain therefrom, so as to avoid loss and ruin to yourselves.

" The favour of the king and all the ruling nobles of Pera, and among them especially the Dato Bandhara, you must try to gain by courteous and friendly behaviour for the furtherance of the Company's service and in order to secure a great quantity of tin. You must treat the people well and give them no cause for complaint by reason of arrogant speech, as to which the people of Pera are very sensitive. You may, with this end in view, give said rulers small presents, as circumstances may require and as may be to our advantage, without running to excess or going beyond what is moderate, entering in the accounts what you have actually given in presents, if you can prove it.

" In the past some complaints have been made against us of not dealing quite fairly yonder when using the steelyard, on taking delivery of the tin. In order to avoid that scandal in future, the king and the Dato Bandhara recently promised to appoint a trustworthy Pera weigher for the Company and to order him to take up continuous residence near or on the Company's yacht at the mouth of the river. When he comes, you shall be helpful to said weigher and accommodate and treat him courteously, allowing him to weigh on the steelyard all the tin that comes, so that neither one nor the other party comes short, otherwise he must be answerable and liable therefor.

" Last year the English brought their piece goods and calicoes from Queda in a sloop and sold them in Pera taking tin to export in exchange to an amount, according to rumour of about 200 bhaars. In the month of August last they were again in Pera with a ship coming from Suratta by way of Aatchin and Queda (having the said sloop again with them), but, on the resolution of the king and nobles, they were warned off and consequently compelled to depart thence bootless and ashamed, so that we may hope that they will not return to Pera or, if they do, that they will again be warned off by the people of Pera. However, in case English, French or Danes should, contrary to our confident expectation and the efforts you would then make in the future happen to get permission to trade yonder, then you must write news of it to us at the earliest opportunity. In the meanwhile you must not use any rough measures against said Europeans to hinder their trade and to make them depart thence, but must leave them in peace and quiet, though holding no communication with them, or, at any rate, as little as is compatible with good breeding. They too, on

their side, must not oppose us, if we compel the people of Pera to maintain the said contract, since they will have broken it in admitting said Europeans.

" For instance, you must try to prevent the people of Pera from going on board English and French [ships], not allowing them to take any tin on board or to fetch piece goods from them; at first merely forbidding the same, but, if the people of Pera dare to persist in doing it, use such forcible means (without, however, venturing on anything reckless or hazardous) as may be to your hand, taking from them all the tin and piece goods found in their praos and not restoring them until these Europeans are warned off and have departed. You must take care above all that our people do not trade with them, prohibiting this on pain of severe punishment. So long as said Europeans are yonder, no tin must be released for Aatchin, nor must any vessels from Aatchin be allowed to proceed up river to Pera. You must always give us detailed information of all matters touching these things.

" You must also make secret enquiries whether said Europeans have brought with them goods belonging to Moors subject to Malacca's dues and right, which they thus unjustly filch from the Company. In such case you should explain this to them and see that the Moors with their goods are withdrawn. You may give them permission to come here with the goods and trade in them, if they are willing to submit to the payment of the customary dues.

" You must not keep a larger force than 50 men for the blockade, in addition to those who are at present stationed in the house on the island of Dingding, if there is no more work to be done than there is at this time.

" You shall have the order recently issued by the fiscal, Jacob Martensz. Schagen to the authorities on said Dingding conformed to on all points, keeping the people there from infringing it and taking careful note of their good and bad behaviour.

" If English, French, Danish, Portuguese or other Europeans lie in the harbour of Dingding or are in the river of Pera, you must give diligent heed to prevent any malicious or discontented persons from contriving to hide on their ships and so get away.

" You must not deprive our ships passing Pera of their equipment and, if you take anything of which you have need from them, you must give a payment order for it, as is fitting. But, in order commonly to be provided with so much the more willing servants, you shall be empowered to give the equivalent sum in exchange for a signed order to such members of all our ships, yachts and sloops, without exception, happening merely to pass yonder, whether they come from here, Batavia or elsewhere and have other destinations or are on their way from other places hither, as happen to finish their time in Pera and have no desire to sign on again or

to stay there any longer. But this must be done on the understanding that said ships are commanded by skippers; in the case of any special persons of higher degree being on board, permission must be asked with due respect of them and no action taken in this matter without their consent, in accordance with the letter of authorization on this point issued 16 July 1667 to the superintendent of Pera to this end.

" Company's servants, however, who have served their time and are desirous of continuing still longer or who during their time of service are found suitable for and are appointed to some office, shall send us a request in due form for renewed engagement to the Company with increase of pay or to be in such wise improved as the general ordinance indicates.

" The carpenters attached to you in the blockading force must be employed continuously and, if there is urgent work to be done, must work at the sloops and small vessels as well as the yacht to the end that they do good service and that said servants really earn the high wages they get.

" Company's piece goods and calicoes yonder with the blockading force, you must have examined and aired at least every fortnight in fine weather, so that they may not get musty, spotted or damp or be damaged by ants. Loss occurring through neglect of this shall otherwise be put to your account.

" When asking for the cash, piece goods, food, ship's equipment, medicines and other material needed by the Pera blockading force, you shall apply to us here in Malacca by a regular requisition, response to which you have to expect, when opportunity serves, to such extent as we judge useful and as can be spared from our stores. On receipt of any cash, merchandise or other goods, you shall examine, count or weigh them in the presence of the persons bringing them or of two credible witnesses, and shall, on every occasion, report to us in writing on the result and form thereof, so that we may make use of it to have compensation or payment made by those through whose negligence anything shall have been delivered damaged or short and, in order that we may convince them, you can send us also an attestation, signed by the persons who were present at the delivery of the goods.

" Those persons, who allow any of the passing ships to escape us, must be sent hither to be made to suffer here their well merited punishment. But those members of the force stationed under you yonder in the blockade, who happen to commit any fault or offence under civil law, you yourself may judge in accordance with the general ordinance, *the heaviest sentence in your power being keel hauling*, so as to deter others from similar evil course. Delinquents guilty of more criminal offences you shall send under arrest to us to receive sentence here as the facts of the case demand.

" You shall maintain a correspondence with the blockading forces of Queda and Oedjang Salangh, sending letters at every opportunity, wherein you record everything that has happened to you, as they also have orders to; since it is frequently necessary in the interests of the Company that the one should be informed of the condition and actions of the other, so that they may make use of this knowledge the more surely in similar or other circumstances.

" By distributing the sloops and vessels you have at your disposal to lie on watch by night in the river of Pera, you must, as far as possible, contrive to prevent any vessels from going out or coming into the same by stealth and so defrauding the Honourable Company of its lawful rights.

" At all spring tides or whenever there is no necessary work to be done, you must examine the rivers of Barnam, Larot, Dingding and Borrewas together with the streams and creeks in the surrounding districts by means of the sloops, if you have any at your disposal for the purpose, and sometimes have a little cruising done at the Sambilangs.

" In the case of vessels met with, which are not exempt (*onvrij*) or unprovided with a pass, you shall put none of our people in danger, but shall seize the nachoda, or two others of the principal persons, and all the tin they have in the ship and then have the vessels brought to the Pera blockading force, charging our people to take good care of the persons seized and to give not the least opportunity of doing them harm, dealing with the said vessel as stated above.

" Our cruisers may certainly employ arms to secure control of the Saletters, who are usually armed and have no goods or cargo of importance, if they offer resistance and it is consequently impracticable by gentler methods. Preference should, however, be given to the latter over the sternest measures and all unnecessary bloodshed should be avoided. You shall then, when occasion serves send these pirates to us under arrest to be put in chains or otherwise dealt with as the case may demand.

" You must take careful heed to the prevention of all abuses and attacks on honest men in mistake for bad ones. You must give to all the people of Pera going out daily to fish or to drag for *krang* or oysters a free pass note to show to our cruisers, if they meet any.

" In the issue of provisions you must maintain the requisite order according to the general ordinance, and must see to preventing the arrack from being drunk up at once on the sloops, as is customary yonder, but that each man is given daily his ordinary ration, so as to prevent all dissoluteness and needless waste of provisions, you yourself setting a good example in sobriety and numerous other

virtues. You must keep memorandum books of the consumption of all food, drink, ship's and other necessaries, so that you can, when required, give an account of everything. Good care must always be taken of the barrels also and none must be neglected, but all kept in good condition. At every opportunity you must remember to send as many to us as can be spared yonder, so that it may be possible, as necessity arises, to reprovision the blockading force so much the more conveniently.

" You must close the trade books on the last day of June and at the first opportunity after that day send them hither, so that they may be duly entered in the trade books of Malacca. The ships' books must also be here every year in good time, so that they can be sent to Batavia and thence to Holland.

" If circumstances arise as to which no special order is given here, such action shall be taken as you shall judge to be demanded by the interest of the Honourable Company, after you have weighed everything well with the Council, which shall consist of the superintendent, the skipper and the bookkeeper together with all such persons in addition as the general ordinance names.

" In conclusion we recommend you always to be on your guard and in an attitude of defence, keeping both large and small fire-arms ready for use, so as not to be surprised unprepared by our open enemies or false friends, whom, if they have committed an act of hostility against you, you are not bound to respect, but, in such case, may certainly (according to nature's law) resist force by force.

Relying on all of which injunctions, I commend you and the Company's interests entrusted to you to God's beneficent protection."

" Again there was issued an order for Caspar Wensel of Calis in Saxony, sergeant in the service of the Dutch East India Company and also superintendent appointed over the island of Dingding, and those who may be stationed there hereafter, according to which they have, in general, to regulate their action.

" The highly esteemed Honourable Company has not only had an eye on said island of Dingding, which has never yet been held by any of the neighbouring peoples nor been counted as part of their territory, but has for a period of over 20 years almost continuously had its servants there, especially members of the Pera blockading force, who did carpentry and other services and in consequence it has of necessity been occupied by our people from that time, onwards, although only partially. This occupation it is now decided to make complete and therefore to that end to have a house built, so that other Europeans, and especially the English, should not be beforehand with us in taking it and drawing the same island into their sphere and service. The house is now

finished and has been made solid and strong by the work put into it (according to the model given to us by the Governor Balthasar Bort and the Council of Malacca). You shall therefore take up your abode there and take special heed to carry out the following points of order, carefully to maintain and duly to fulfil them.

" In the first place you shall allow all people of nations with whom we are at peace, both Europeans, viz., English, French and Danes, and also Indian peoples to draw water on said island, to cut fire- and other light wood, as also to provide and refresh themselves from the hardships of the sea at their convenience and pleasure without causing any of them in so doing the least annoyance or hindrance, or suffering such to be done to them by your people, no matter what show of justice there might be for it. You must, however, take care that very large and heavy trees suitable for the making of ship's masts, and also redwood trees, are cut and carried away as little as possible on said island by any of said people, excusing your refusal with all politeness by affirming the superior need of the Honourable Company itself.

" But if any of said people have lost any of their masts, yards, etc. through storms or otherwise and have no others to set up in their place, you shall, in such a case of need, have it in your power to grant them permission to provide themselves with the necessary masts, yards and other things of the kind, so as to be able duly to complete their voyage.

" But you must try to accustom said people, one as much as another, to do or carry out nothing on said Dingding, unless they have first asked for and got your consent thereto, so that you may always know who is on or at the said island and then you can, to some extent, regulate their action according as those people are more or less trustworthy.

" All Malay, Javanese or other vessels belonging to Indians, which approach or pass Dingding in the channel in great numbers, must be hailed or signalled to with one or two musketshots, so that the nachodas or chiefs may come ashore to you with their praos. You must then ask them whence they come and whither they are going, demanding their passes in a friendly way. If they possess and show them, you must let them go their way unhindered.

" If, as does happen, it is believed that vessels, especially those belonging to inhabitants of Queda, are returning empty from Pera, and make an attempt to load with tin between the Pera river and the island of Dingding, especially in an inlet on a piece of flat ground called Heckeren and inhabited by various men of Pera, in order to export it to places to the North, then you shall be authorized, when they come to Dingding, to have them examined in a perfectly amicable way, even if they have passes, and to do this, especially in the case of such as are going to Queda, and appear to some

extent to have a cargo; any tin found in them you may land, directing the owners to the Pera blockading force for payment. But you understand, this must be done only if no evident danger is to be seen or suspected in the detention and examination and in the removal of the tin, otherwise such vessels had better be left alone and an endeavour made, before the departure of the same, by some means or other to inform the chief of the Pera blockading force.

"The vessels which have no pass and intend to voyage further than Pera, you must have brought to anchor at Dingding and made to lie there, especially if they are large and have a cargo, the nachodas being ordered to go with their own prao and men to the Pera river (which, with the tide, is only 3 hours' hard rowing away) and fetch safe conduct passes from the Dutch chief on the yacht lying in the blockade. He will no doubt give you orders as to what you are to do or leave alone.

"You must, above all, take good care that the people of Pera or any other people with whom we are at peace, or at any rate not openly at war, are not treated rudely, insolently or vexatiously by you or the common soldiers under you, much less that any act of open enmity in word or deed is committed, so as not to disturb the people's minds or give them any reason or cause for aversion to you.

"Still you must, on occasion, in kindly and honourable terms, defend the Company's right and just claims and try, as regards the foreigners passing by, to make yourself agreeable and, at the same time, with all courtesy; to do the duty now imposed on you and any that shall be ordered in the future.

"Nevertheless you must also, by a constant good watch by night as much as by day and the maintenance of your arms in readiness, see to being always on guard and ready for all open enemies and false friends, so as to make defence and to oppose force with force against any who attack and treat you as enemies, trusting no foreigner over much, but considering that you have to deal with Malays, some of whom are bad and malignant and are actually very desirous of depriving Christians of their lives and property, as various grievous examples have given clear evidence.

"In order to prevent all conceivable and inconceivable mishaps, you shall allow no one to go or voyage elsewhere except duly armed and provided with a gun (of which the natives are very much afraid) and each with a stout broad sword. Moreover you must, if any of your men are away from the house in another bay, be mindful always to have some men armed as above in the prao while the others fish or carry out any other task assigned to them.

"As interpreter with the Malays and other peoples, you can employ the sailor Diego from Bengal, who is fairly well acquainted with the language and has been expressly assigned to you for that purpose.

" Besides aforesaid sailor and yourself, there are 13 persons under your orders, to wit:

- 1 Corporal
- 10 Soldiers and
- 2 Slaves of the Company, one being a joiner.

" You must live with them as befits honest folk, preventing all strife, disputes, wrangling and fighting, but making each man fulfil what is necessary and has been laid upon him.

" Above all you must not neglect divine worship, but have the usual prayers said morning and evening. On Sunday you must also have a sermon read and then God the Lord will graciously preserve and bless you all.

" On weekdays, when there is no more necessary work to be done, you must try to make the flat piece of ground, on which said house is built, larger and larger. You must also plant and sow it with all sorts of fruit trees and also vegetables, for which purpose you shall be provided with garden seeds from Malacca, as opportunity offers. Which fruit and vegetables must be used for the food and maintenance in health of yourself and our men in the Pera blockading force together with the passing ships, but especially for men who are sickly.

" The flag on the staff in front of said level ground you must fly only on Sunday and not on weekdays except when ships or vessels are sighted; at nightfall, and during the day also when it rains, it must be brought in, so that said flag may last the longer.

" There are in the house for your use the following necessities:

- 2 small boxes of assorted nails
- 6 iron shod spades
- 6 pickaxes
- 12 axes
- 2 crowbars
- 12 cane baskets
- 1 prao
- 1 seine net
- 300 musket balls
- 100 lbs. of gunpowder and
- 4 bundles of matches.

" You must above all take good care that there is no neglect of these things, nor needless squandering of the provisions. Other necessities which you will need or receive, you shall be provided with by the chief of the Pera blockading force. He is at present the junior merchant, Sr. Adriaan van der Walle; you are under

his command and must consequently be obedient to him and pay him due honour and respect; you must also carry out the orders he shall in the future think good to give you in addition to those of this memorandum against all irregularities and evil courses, which cannot now be known but with experience will manifest themselves.

" Relying hereupon and on what has been briefly cited above, we commend you all to God's holy protection and remain your friend (Signed) Jacob Martensz. Schaagen. Dingdingh, in the yacht *De Meyboom*, 21st Oct. 1670."

So much for general orders in the most sanctimonious period the world can have ever seen, these rules for the preservation of chartered piracy, true religion and the flag at the Dindings station!

The *Dagh-Register* under August 1678 and the *Plakaatboek* under 9 August 1678 confirm Bort that the burghers and inhabitants of Malacca might not go to Perak or any other port on the west coast of the Peninsula, nor to Johor or Pahang "except with Company's piece-goods bought and paid for." Owing to the number of Indian ships at Malacca and adjacent places, the Council decided that all Moors and others coming from Coromandel without Dutch passes should be arrested and that all those who had passes should pay 20% import and export duties. On 1 December 1678 an assistant, Hendrik Warnær, reached the Perak court in the *Dingdingh* (boat of the blockading yacht *Laaren*) with a complimentary letter from Governor Jacob Jorisse Pitz to the king and a request for tin. After he had been kept idly waiting for eleven days, Warnær asked permission to return, but the king retorted that while Perak envoys had been detained at Malacca for one or two months Warnær was impatient over waiting twelve days or so. The Dutch assistant waited. Still no letter for the Governor and no tin for the Company. Again Warnær craved leave to depart. He was told to wait four days more and was promised tin but the king was angry. At the end of December Warnær arranged to send a surgeon later for the king's reply and got leave to return down-stream. Near Tongtongh a sturdy boat belonging to the Bendahara was pretending to load durians. It came close to the *Dingdingh* and asked for a light which the cautious helmsman refused. But Warnær ran his boat alongside and stood up to pass a light to the Perak skipper (*Nakhoda*), who thereupon creased him and three of his crew. The helmsman and one sailor swam ashore and hid three days in the jungle, after which they returned to the court where the king professed ignorance of the whole affair, although the boat of the aggressors being mastless and oarless and having only paddles cannot have been a foreign sea-going craft. However, to show his innocence, the wily king lent the helmsman a *prahu* with seven men to look for the *Dingdingh*, which was found empty except for the four corpses. A Perak Moor, Sedalebe, brought the two survivors to Malacca.

On 16 February 1680 the king of Perak sent envoys to Malacca to seek the Company's friendship and on 20 April they brought a royal mandate authorising Adriaen Wylant, head officer at the mouth of the Perak river, as follows:—"At one o'clock on Sunday 1092, on 11 Rabul Awel or April, I Paducca Siry Sulthan Mahometza Lilulla Filalem, king of the land of Perak, my Bandara Paducca Siry Mahoraja and the other chiefs, as the head of the royal merchants Orangcaya Paducca Raja, the treasurer Orangcaya Tommagon Siry Mahoraja Lilla, Orangcaya Manttriy Siry Pordana Manterij, the head of the Sitterja (? = *cheteria*, *kshatria* or warriors) Orangcaya Raja Bandara Raja Manawarsa, the head of the royal palace Orangcaya Paducca Siry Truan Mahoraja Lilla, head of the army Orangcaya Laksamana, the chief secretary Abintara Maly Keleyer hereby carry out the request of the Governor and give a sealed document to the head officer stationed at the Perak estuary, granting him full authority to attack and take prisoner all who may try to leave Perak without being able to show any token of receipt" (*ontfangh* i.e. for tin) "and if they happen to resist, to slay them. Verily this the seal of me, king of the country and I have instructed Dato Bandara Paducca Siry Nara, the secretary Siry Lilla Wangsa and all my chiefs to obey this mandate. (Sd.) Raja Sitta (? = Setia) Muda." On 27 October, 1680 the burghers and people of Malacca were again allowed free voyages to Siam, Arakan and Perak in the hope of increasing the imports to their home port.

Under 6 May 1681 the *Dagh-Register* records that the tin and cloth trade had dwindled from competition and smuggling and that the sending of Perak envoys to Malacca had "vanished in smoke." On 30 October the trade was still bad on account of the smuggling by Aceh and Kedah, and the sloop *de Liede* was sent to blockade the Perak river. By 13 March 1682 trade had got worse owing to the unreasonableness of the king and Adriaan Wijlant was in charge of the blockade. The king of Perak and the Moor Sedelebes owed the Company about 48,260 rix-dollars and on 27 December the king sent envoys to Malacca asking the Company to take up residence in Perak again (presumably up-river) and to let Moors from Bengal come upstream to buy elephants.

In 1689 Dampier visited the Dinding Island and has left a vivid account of his experience. "We stood in pretty near the Shore, in Hopes to gain a fresh Land Wind. About ten a Clock the Land Wind came off, a gentle Breeze, and we coasted along the Shore. But a small Tornado coming off from the Shore about Midnight, we broke our Mizen Yard, and being near a Dutch Island called Pulo Dinding, we made in for it, and anchored there the Night ensuing, and found there a Dutch Sloop, mann'd with about thirty Soldiers, at an anchor.

"This is a small Island lying so nigh the Main, that Ships passing by cannot know it to be an Island. It is pretty high



PLATE IX.

*Dutch Fort at Telok Gedong, Pangkor Island.
built 1680: abandoned 1748: reconstructed by Muzium Negara 1973.*

Photo Muzium Negara.



Land and well watered with Brooks. The Mould is blackish, deep and fat in the lower Ground: but the Hills are somewhat rocky, yet in general very woody. The Trees are of divers Sorts, many of which are good Timber, and large enough for any use. Here are also some good for Masts and Yards; they being naturally light yet tough and serviceable. There is good Riding on the East-side, between the Island and the Main. You may come in with the Sea Breeze, and go out with a Land Wind, there is Water enough, and a secure Harbour.

"The *Dutch*, who are the only Inhabitants, have a Fort on the East-side, close by the Sea, in a Bending of the Island, which makes a small Cove for Ships to anchor in. The Fort is built 4 square, without Flankers or Bastions, like a House: every Square is about ten or twelve yards. The Walls are of a good Thickness, made of Stone, and carried up to a good Height, of about thirty Foot, and covered over Head like a dwelling House. There may be about twelve or fourteen Guns in it, some looking out at every Square. These Guns are mounted on a strong Platform, made within the Walls about sixteen Foot high; and there are Steps on the Outside to ascend to the Door that opens to the Platform, there being no other way into the Fort. Here is a Governour and about twenty or thirty Soldiers, who all lodge in the Fort. The Soldiers have their Lodging in the Platform among the Guns, but the Governour has a fair Chamber above it, where he lies with some of the Officers. About a hundred Yards from the Fort on the Bay by the Sea, there is a low timbered House, where the Governour abides all the Day Time. In this House there were two or three Rooms for their Use, but the chiefest was the Governour's Dining-Room. This fronted to the Sea, and the End of it looked towards the Fort. There were two large Windows of about seven or eight Foot square; the lower part of them about four or five Foot from the Ground. These Windows were won't to be left open all the Day, to let in the refreshing Breeze; but in the Night, when the Governour withdrew to the Fort, they were closed with strong Shutters, and the Doors made fast till the next day.

"It was probably for the lucre of the Tin Trade that the *Dutch* built the Fort on the Island; but this not wholly answering their ends, by reason of the distance between it and the Rivers mouth, which is about 4 or 5 Miles, they have also a Guard-ship commonly lying here, and a Sloop with 20 or 30 armed Men, to hinder other Nations from this Trade. For this *Tutaneg* or Tin is a valuable Commodity in the Bay of Bengal, and here purchased reasonably, by giving other Commodities in exchange: neither is this Commodity peculiarly found hereabouts, but farther Northerly also on the Coast: and particularly in the Kingdom of *Queda* there is much of it: The *Dutch* also commonly keep a Guard-ship, and have made some fruitless Essays to bring that Prince and his Subjects to trade only with them; but here over against *P. Dinding*,

no Strangers dare approach to Trade; neither may any Ship come in hither but with consent of the *Dutch*. Therefore as soon as we came to an Anchor at the East-end of the Island, we sent our Boat a-shore to the Governour, to desire leave to wood, water, and cut a new Mizen-yard. He granted our request, and the Boat returned again aboard, and brought word also that Mr. *Coventry* touched here to water, and went out that Morning. The next Morning betimes Captain *Minchin* sent me a-shore to cut a yard. I applied myself to the Governour, and desired one of his Soldiers might go with me, and shew me the best Timber for that use; but he excused himself, saying, that his Soldiers were all busy at present, but that I might go and cut any Tree that I lik'd. So I went into the Woods, where I saw abundance of very fine strait Trees, and cut down such a one as I thought fit for my Turn: and cutting it of a just length, and stripping off the Bark, I left it ready to be fetched away, and returned to the Fort, where I dined with the Governour. Presently after Dinner, our Captain, with Mr. *Richards* and his Wife came a-shore, and I went aboard. The Governour met them at Landing, and conducted them into the Dining-Room I spoke of, where they treated the Governour with Punch, made of Brandy, Sugar and Lime-Juice, which they brought with them from aboard: for here is nothing, not so much as the Governour's Drink, but what is brought from *Malacca*: no Herbs or Fruit growing here: but all is either fetch'd from Malacca, or is brought by the Malayans from the Main. It is not through any sterility in the Soil, for that is very fat and fruitful: neither is it through laziness of the *Dutch*, for that is a Vice they are not guilty of: but it is from a continual fear of the *Malayans*, with whom tho' they have a Commerce, yet dare they not trust them so far, as to be ranging about the Island in any work of Husbandry, or indeed to go far from the Fort for there only they are safe. But to return to the Governour, he, to retaliate the Captain's and Mr. *Richard's* kindness, sent a Boat a fishing, to get some better Entertainment for his Guests, than the Fort yielded at present. About four or five a-Clock the Boat returned with a good Dish of Fish. These were immediately drest for Supper, and the Boat was sent out again to get more for Mr. *Richards* and his Lady to carry aboard with them. In the mean time the Food was brought into the Dining-Room, and placed on the Table. The Dishes and Plates were of Silver, and there was a Silver Punch-Bowl full of Liquor. The Governour, his Guests and some of his Officers were seated, but just as they began to fall to, one of the Soldiers cried out *Malayans*, and spoil'd the Entertainment; for immediately the Governour, without speaking one word, leapt out of one of the Windows, to get as soon as he could to the Fort. His Officers followed, and all the Servants that attended were soon in Motion. Every one of them took the nearest way, some out of the Windows, others out of the Doors, leaving the 3 Guests by themselves, who soon followed with all

the haste they could make without knowing the meaning of this Sudden Consternation of the Governour and his people. But by that time the Captain and Mr. *Richards* and his Wife were got to the Fort, the Governour, who was arrived before, stood at the door to receive them. As soon as they were entered the Fort, the Door was shut, all the Soldiers and Servants being within already: nor was any Man suffered to fetch away the Victuals, or any of the Plate: but they fired several Guns to give notice to the Malayans that they were ready for them; but none of them came on. For this Uproar was occasioned by a *Malayan* Canoa full of armed Men that lay skulking under the Island, close by the Shore: and when the *Dutch* Boat went out the second time to fish, the *Malayans* set on them suddenly and unexpected, with their Cressets and Lances, and killing one or two the rest leapt overboard, and got away, for they were close by the Shore: and they having no Arms were not able to have made any resistance. It was about a Mile from the Fort: and being landed, every one of them made what haste he could to the Fort, and the first that arrived was he who cried in that manner, and frighted the Governour from Supper. Our Boat was at this time a-shore for water, and was filling it in a small Brook by the Banqueting-house. I know not whether our Boats Crew took notice of the Alarm, but the *Dutch* call'd to them; and bid them make haste aboard, which they did; and this made us keep good watch all Night, having all our Guns loaded and primed for Service. But it rained so hard all the night, that I did not much fear being attack'd by any *Malayan*; being informed by one of our Seamen, whom we took in at *Malacca*, that the *Malayans* seldom or never make any attack when it rains. It is what I had before observed of other *Indians*, both *East* and *West*: and tho' then they might make their Attacks with the greatest advantage on Men armed with Hand-guns, yet I never knew it practised; at which I have wondered; for it is then we most fear them, and they might then be most successful, because their Arms, which are usually Lances and Cressets, which these *Malayans* had, could not be damaged by the Rain, as our Guns would be. But they cannot endure to be in the Rain: and it was in the Evening, before the Rain fell, that they assaulted the *Dutch* Boat. The next Morning the *Dutch* Sloop weighed, and went to look after the *Malayans*; but having sailed about the Island, and seeing no Enemies they anchored again. I also sent Men ashore in our Boat to bring off the Mizen-yard that I had cut the Day before: But it was so heavy a kind of Timber, that they could not bring it out of the Woods. Captain *Minchin* was still ashore, and he being acquainted with it, desired the Governour to send a Soldier, to shew our Men what Trees were best for our use: Which he did, and they presently cut a small Tree, about the bigness and length of that which I cut, and brought it aboard. I immediately went to work, and having fitted it for use, bent my Sail, and hoisted it up in its place. In the Evening Captain

Minchin and Mr. *Richards* and his Wife came aboard, having stayed one Night at the Fort; and told me all that happened to them ashore."

In 1690 the Dutch garrison was "cut off" by the Malays under one Panglima Kulup. Hamilton alludes to it—"Perak is properly a part of the Kingdom of Johore but the People are untractable and rebellious and the Government anarchical. Their religion is a heterodox Mahometanism. The Country produces more Tin than any in India but the Inhabitants are so treacherous, faithless and bloody, that no European Nation can keep Factories there with safety: The Dutch tried it once, and the first year had their Factory cut off. They then settled on Pulo Dingding, an Island at the North of the river Perak but about the year 1690 that Factory was also cut off." On 24 June 1693 an order was given that, in consequence of this massacre, no garrison should be posted again at Pulau Dinding but that a stone pillar should be erected there, having on one side the arms of the United East India Company and on the other those of the United Provinces—as a token of Dutch possession. In 1695 and 1721 and 1729 orders were issued for the repair of this stone.—

On 20 November 1745 Governor-General Gustraaf Willem, Baron van Imhoff ordered the rebuilding of the fort at Pulau Dinding: it was to have a garrison of 30 Europeans and 30 Asiatics but *no Bugis*. Then, according to Malacca records under the date 22 October 1746, an under-merchant, Ary Verbrugge, was sent to Perak to ascertain if the king would allow a fort to be erected up-river and agree to sell all tin to the Company. On 25 June 1747 Sultan Muzaffar Shah III of Perak signed an agreement to deliver all tin to the Dutch at the rate of 26 ducatoons (or pillar-dollars, worth 5s. 3d.) a *bahar* of 375 lbs. besides two Spanish dollars payable to the King for duty, granted permission for a fort to be built anywhere on the estuary and agreed to require all vessels to call there for the examination of their cargoes. A Malay history of Perak, the *Misa Melayu*, describes how the Dutch fortified a brick factory (*gudang*) at Pangkalan Halban on Tanjong Putus, where all tin had to be sold to them at 30 reals a *bahar* with 2 reals payable to the Sultan as duty: the Sultan derived a large revenue and all the Malays got a lot of dollars. Every three years the Dutch captain was relieved. One captain obliged Sultan Muzaffar by decoying a Malay traitor into the brick factory "and the will of God was accomplished upon His servant who was not permitted to sin any longer" but taken aboard a sloop and conveyed to Malacca. A factory established up-river, on 18 October 1748 van Imhoff ordered the removal thither of the garrison from Pulau Dinding which was insalubrious.

On 17 October 1765, when Petrus Albertus van der Parra was Governor-General, yet another contract was made between the

Company and the next Sultan of Perak, Muhammad (or Mahmud) Shah:—

“ Governor-General Petrus Albertus van der Parra.

October 17, 1765.

Contract between the Dutch East India Company and Paduca Sri Sultan Muhammad Shah, King of Perak.

1. An upright, true and everlasting confidence and friendship shall subsist between the contracting parties.

2. The King promises to deliver all the tin which his Country produces exclusively to the Company.

3. At the rate of C. 36½ or Spanish Dollars 11½ lbs. per 125 lbs., or per bahar of 375 lbs. Spanish Dollars 34.

4. The King promises to deliver the tin at the Company's Factory where the same as well as what his subjects supply shall be weighed with the Company's Scales and never to deviate from that rule.

5. The King promises to take proper measures to prevent the smuggling of tin and to interdict the exportation of the same, on pain of forfeiting vessel and cargo.

6. If any person were detected to export tin clandestinely, his vessel and cargo shall be confiscated and the produce be divided between the King and the Company.

7. All vessels departing, those of the King and Chiefs not excepted, shall touch at the Factory and be visited there.

8. If the crew of a foreign vessel were to commit hostile actions during the visitation, the King and his subjects shall pursue and seize the same and deliver them over to the Company's Resident.

9. All European Deserters shall be delivered over to the Resident and not be permitted to adopt the Muhammadan religion.

10. The King promises to assist the Dutch Garrison on all occasions and not permit the equipment of pirate vessels.

11. The Company engages to punish her Servants and subjects who should cause any loss to His Highness.

12. The King and Company promise strictly to fulfil all the articles of this Contract.

13. The King finally promises to publish the Tenor of this Contract throughout his dominions.

Signed, Sealed in the Kingdom of Perak,
in the Island Inderasakti, by a Dutch
Commissioner and several Deputies of
His Highness.”

Under the date 29 September, 1767, the *Plakaatboek* records that the Resident of Perak may have 1 police clerk and secretary of justice, 1 dispenser, 1 clerk for trade and 1 paymaster. The same authority reiterates under the dates 3 August 1753, 14 December 1759, 11 June 1767 and October 1781 that voyagers from Perak must carry a pass from the Resident. Under 20 August 1753 it is recorded that the Amfioen (= Afion) Societeit had a monopoly of the opium trade in Acheh and Perak. The contemporary *Misa Melayu* tells how, irked that the most famous of Perak's rulers refused to receive him at Brahmana Indra because he had neglected to inform the Laksamana and Shahbandar of his trip upstream and because he bore no presents, a Tamil interpreter at Tanjong Putus returned to his Dutch employers there and assured them that this Sultan Iskandar Zu'l-Karnain was planning an attack on the factory. The Tamil concocted an "abominable letter" for Batavia, which brought seven sloops posthaste to Perak. The Sultan was displeased and the chiefs agreed that it was awkward, as His Highness had only just started to build a fort and open a settlement at Pulau Chempaka Sari. The Hollanders consented to wait three days downstream. "Then the inner fort was made and by the help of God and His prophet and by the majesty of the Sultan it was completed in three days and guns were ranged around it." When the Dutch came upstream, they found the Sultan, the princes and chiefs fully armed and handsomely dressed and hedged by a guard equipped with muskets, blunderbusses, pistols and spears. Rows and rows of arms and war material were ranged round. When Ary Verbrugge and his companions entered, they doffed their hats and "struck with fear of the Sultan and awe for his grandeur" made no hostile gesture but presented a letter and presents and exchanged elegant conversation, which led to a further "permanent" agreement regarding the sale and purchase of tin. As for the Dutch demand on this occasion, it was in the opinion of the Malay chronicler lighter than usual, being only for the delivery of 300 *bahar* of tin within three days: actually 500 *bahar* were produced and purchased. This passage in the *Misa Melayu* may refer as Sir William Maxwell thought, to the treaty of 1765 but, if so, it was executed (as we know) by Mahmud (or Muhammad) Shah, the younger brother and successor of Iskandar Shah.

Again in Iskandar's reign three sloops brought Commissary Ary Veerbrugge to the court at Kota Lumut to ask for tin to be sent to the Dutch lodge where it would be weighed. But the Sultan decided to build a weighing-station at Kuala Bidor. One day the Dutch captain called out to the Shahbandar, who was passing in a dug-out, to visit him. The Shahbandar refused and was chased by the sailors who asked if he were afraid of meeting tigers in their ketch. "No" said he, "but there are a number of pigs" and he refused to go being a great chief and ashamed to pay attention to infidels. The Dutch fired on him and the Mantri.

At night the Shahbandar escaped up-river to report to the Sultan. The Mantri, thought to be missing, was hiding up a side stream. Just then, ignorant of these happenings, the Laksamana came up from Tanjong Putus and called on the Dutch captain. The captain feared that he had offended the Sultan but "it was all a mistake: his men had been shooting monkeys as white folk must and the Shahbandar had thought they were aiming at him." The Laksamana carried this excuse to the Sultan, who on the advice of his chiefs sent 300 *bahar* of tin aboard the ketch and himself went as far as Tanjong Putus in pursuit of persons who had attacked the Dutch there.

The *Misa Melayu* alludes briefly to one more embassy from Batavia late in Iskandar's reign, and tells how the fleet of the Bugis invaders in 1770 A.D. entered the Perak river and alarmed the Dutch by anchoring off their factory. But hostilities with the English were ending the days of Holland's influence in Perak. In 1783 when the State was visited by Captain Forrest, there was no longer a Dutch factory at Tanjong Putus:—

"The Dutch contract with the King for all the tin at 10 Spanish dollars per *pikul*, but much of it is smuggled to Pulau Pinang by way of Larut and Kuala Kangsar. . . . I went up in a country covered boat from Tanjong Putus to pay my respects to the King of Perak who received me in a large upper-room house with great state having about 20 guards in the room, dressed in black satin garments, embroidered on the breast with a golden dragon; they wore mandarin caps and appeared altogether in the Chinese style; some were armed with halberts, some held pikes in their hands and a few had musquets without bayonets. The King made me sit on a chair before a sofa on which he sat himself: his courtiers, about 12 or 14 in number, all stood. After some little conversation the King asked me if the Dutch meant to return to Perak. I answered that I believed they did, on which he looked grave. He then withdrew: and his brother entertained me with a cold collation at which two more persons sat down. I had presented the King with two pieces of Bengal taffeta and found when I got into the boat a large present of jacks, durians, custard apples and other fruits. I left Perak river in December, 1783. Much rain fell in November."

Before 1792, when Forrest's book was published, the Dutch had again settled at Tanjong Putus. In fact, soon after 1786, when Penang was founded and made a free port by the English, Captain Glass commanding the British troops there wrote that "the Dutch have a small stockade fort in Perak with about 50 people there to prevent the natives from carrying the tin to other markets; but with all their precautions the quantity they used to receive is greatly lessened since the settlement of this island. The people of Perak are in general very ignorant, their revenues so small and their residence so far inland that little is to be feared

from their animosity and less to be hoped from their friendship while connected with the Dutch.... Near Perak river it is well cultivated and it contains 30,000 people, exports annually 5,000 *pikul* of tin which is delivered to the Dutch at 32 Spanish dollars per *bahara* of 428 lbs." In 1795 Malacca was taken by the English and in the same year Christoffel Walbeehm its commandant surrendered the Dutch factory in Perak: "Lord Camelford, then a Lieutenant in the Navy, and Lieutenant Macalister proceeded there with a small force and compelled the Dutch garrison to surrender." In 1818 Malacca was restored to the Dutch but the establishment of Penang had robbed the Dutch of their tin monopoly. "In 1819" says Low, "the Dutch tried to re-establish themselves on the island of Pangkor off the mouth of the Perak river but were unsuccessful."

The decay of the Dutch Company had begun as early as the end of the seventeenth century. Between her naval war with the Commonwealth in 1652 and the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 Holland was constantly at war with England or France or both, a condition that drained her of men and money. The cold-blooded business exploitation of Malayan countries led to endless revolts, whose brutal suppression cost the Company great sums. And there was the dishonesty of the Company's servants to which Bort alludes in his instructions to the Perak Superintendent. These factors made the Company incompetent to retain its monopolies and compelled it gradually to abandon one group of the islands after another. Finally in 1795 a commission appointed by the States General reported that the Company was bankrupt and its commerce almost ruined. In 1798 the newly established Batavian Republic annulled the charter of 1602 and took over the remaining possessions of a Company that had dominated Perak for a century and a half.

VI

BUGIS, SIAM AND THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Bugis from Celebes began to play in Peninsular affairs that leading part they were destined to maintain throughout that century. Great traders and seaman, they earned enough to enable them to purchase chain armour and to confront swords and clumsy cannon with muskets and blunderbusses. Moreover they evolved some sort of tactics and, as compared with the Malays, possessed a science of war.

As early as 1717 there were Bugis forces at Langat and five years later one of the five famous Bugis leaders of that day, Daing Parani, is said to have married the daughter of a Bugis Yam-tuan of Selangor. In 1722 the Bugis finally expelled from Riau Raja Kechil, the Minangkabau pretender to the Johor throne, and established as ruler of Johor and Pahang their own legitimate puppet Sulaiman ibni Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah. Next they sailed to Kedah and established the eldest son of its deceased ruler on the throne of his fathers: warfare accomplished, Daing Parani married the sister of the new Sultan, and a few months later led his forces back to Riau. Thereupon the younger brother of the new Sultan of Kedah invited the Minangkabau pretender, Raja Kechil, to come and support his rival claim to the throne. Nothing loath to thwart in Kedah the Bugis whom he could not drive from Riau, the irrepressible Sumatran warrior accepted the invitation. The Bugis decided to intervene again as Raja Kechil was certain to renew his attacks on Riau if he were successful in Kedah. The ensuing campaign lasted two years. Kedah trade was ruined. Daing Parani was killed. In the end Raja Kechil was defeated and returned to Siak.

The Kedah campaign affected its neighbour. At some time before his death in 1728 Klana Putra, namely Daing Merewah, first Yam-tuan Muda of Riau, invaded Perak. 'Ala'u'd-din Mughayat Shah was then Sultan of that State. During his reign this ruler was attacked by his younger brother Muzaffar Shah who invaded Perak from Bernam (and therefore probably with Bugis aid from Selangor). Muzaffar Shah worsted the Bendahara and the up-river chiefs: "the Bendahara, Megat Iskandar, disappeared and Megat Terawis took his place." The royal brothers were reconciled. It looks as if this were the fighting to which the same Perak manuscript that gives these details alludes with the sententious awe that always marks its references to the Bugis: "the country was thrown into confusion, and tumult was caused by the invasion of a Bugis, Klana. However by the help of God and the intercession of His Prophet it came to nothing and the enemy departed." Malay folk-lore with vague memories of the Bugis Kedah campaign against the Minangkabau Raja Kechil talks of a warrior Megat

Terawis son of a concubine of the ruler of Minangkabau acquiring the office of Perak Bendahara by force of arms and it gives his name the Kedah dialect form of *Terawis* instead of the ordinary form *Terawih*. Anyhow in one of these disturbances consequent on trouble in Kedah Tan Saban must have fallen, last of the old Malacca house to be Bendahara of Perak, and the seal of that great office passed into other hands. The *Misa Melayu* tells us that at Kuala Kangsar Sultan Muzaffar Shah had the son of a Kedah raja for his Bendahara and later one Megat Pendia and finally a Sayid, Sharif Abubakar.

Some time afterwards in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar there was another Bugis invasion of Perak under Daing Chelak who died in 1745. "All the Perak chiefs were at loggerheads so that in the commotion it was impossible to tell friend from foe and even the regalia were nearly endangered. The condition of the Yang di-pertuan," Sultan Muzaffar, "was indescribable not so much on account of the fighting as on account of want of unanimity among his counsellors. At last some of the chiefs joined the Bugis, who then took possession of the regalia. Thereupon the Dato' Bendahara and the chiefs" promoted the Sultan's younger brother Raja Bisnu "from Raja Muda to be Sultan" with the title Muhammad Shah—Muzaffar Shah only regained his throne seven years later when his younger brother died. Of this second Bugis invasion of Perak there is a garbled account in the *Misa Melayu*:—in the time of Muzaffar Shah "Sultan Berkabat a Minangkabau Raja attacked Bukit Gantang," namely from Kedah. "He had been a favorite of Sultan Muzaffar Shah at Kuala Kangsar, and now with two Bugis rajas Daing Matkah and Daing Menchela' he returned claiming to have been adopted by the Sultan as his son. There was severe fighting until Raja Muda Iskandar defeated the adventurers and drove them back to Kuala Pengkalan." According to a history of Johor the date of this second invasion of Perak was 1742 and the Bugis Yam-tuan Muda of Selangor took part in it. Riau chronicles relate that Raja di-Baroh 'Abdul'-Jalil, son of Sultan Sulaiman of Lingga, also took part in this "conquest of Perak from Selangor."

The same history of Johor relates that at some time between the death of Sultan Sulaiman of the Riau-Lingga empire in 1760 and the death of Daing Kemboja, Yam-tuan Muda of Riau, in 1777, the Bugis Raja (Lumu) of Selangor was given the title of Sultan Salahu'd-din Shah by a Sultan of Perak at Pangkor and was later installed in Selangor in the presence of Perak chiefs. The *Misa Melayu* says that this happened in the reign of Sultan Mahmud (or Muhammad) Shah who ascended the Perak throne about 1765 when he made a treaty with the Dutch. Netscher, a careful historian relates how already in January 1756 Sultan Sulaiman of Lingga sent a letter to Daing Kemboja (Raja Muda of Linggi), Raja Tua of Klang and *Sultan Salahu'd-din ruler of*

Selangor, asking whether or not they recognised him as their overlord. The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* suggests that the installation was a bright idea that struck the Perak ruler while Raja Lumu was "amusing himself" at Pangkor, and it adds that the Sultan of Perak was present at the installation of Sultan Salahu'd-din in Selangor and contracted a treaty of amity with him. Soon afterwards the Raja Muda and other Perak chiefs were invited to Selangor for the wedding of Salahu'd-din's daughter to Raja 'Abdu'llah son of the ruler of Kedah and on their return were escorted by their host as far as Kuala Bernam.

Of the next Bugis visit to Perak the *Misa Melayu* gives a vivid picture. That romantic warrior, Raja Haji, called on the Sultan of Selangor to arrange an attack on Kedah. They then visited Perak together and to the dismay of the Dutch anchored a flotilla of twenty boats above their fort. The Laksamana and Shahbandar went upstream to the island Indra Mulia for instructions, reporting that the Pangeran's intentions were alleged to be "nasty." Sultan Mahmud having no choice declared himself unafraid and ordered that Raja Haji and the Sultan of Selangor should be escorted upstream. On arrival Raja Haji was too impressed with the august presence of Sultan Mahmud, his warriors and his boats to nurture evil designs! The visitors merely asked the hand of Sultan Mahmud's niece for the Sultan of Selangor. Sultan Mahmud consented but was furiously angry when it was suggested that the marriage should take place before the Bugis flotilla left the Perak river. Raja Haji, confident of the result of his formidable visit, sailed on to his successful (1770 A.D.) invasion of Kedah and left Sultan Salahu'd-din behind to be married. At Teluk Pedada off the Perak coast Raja Haji had a son borne to him, Raja Ja'far, afterwards Yam-tuan Muda of Riau. So out of Perak history passed the greatest fighter of all the warlike Bugis, to be shot down in 1784 before Malacca, a *badik* in one hand, a Muslim tract in the other, his followers about his knees, an unpainted Delacroix. How this debonair warrior would have smiled over the respectful reference to his visit in one Perak history:—"the army of the Pangeran Raja Bugis entered Perak and he had audience with the King, but by the help of God most High and of the royal dignity, no evil or misfortune ensued to His Highness or to the people of Perak."

In 1772 the Kedah Sultan refused to think of allowing the Madras Government a settlement at Penang unless it undertook to send a force to aid him against Selangor.

About 1800 Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor went to Lingga and stayed there two years endeavouring to get his *Bugis* nephew Raja 'Ali created Yamtuan Muda of Riau which office for years had been in possession of Engku Muda, son of the *Malay* Temenggong Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal. During this time an embassy came from Perak offering the throne of that State to Mahmud, Malay Sultan of Johor, Pahang, Riau, Lingga, the Kerimuns and Singapore.

Evidently the Malay occupation of Riau had led Perak to overestimate the power of Sultan Mahmud as against the Bugis. Anyhow Sultan Ibrahim proceeded in force to Perak to demand why Perak had broken the agreement which was like one coverlet for them both, that night in Perak should be night in Selangor, sickness in Perak be sickness in Selangor and the demise of a ruler of either State be announced to the other State. The Laksamana of Perak asked for ten days to report to his master at Rantau Panjang. But after three days the Perak people closed the bar of their river and started shooting. The Selangor warriors reserving fire till their ships were alongside took first one fort and then another. Perak was worsted, and from 1804 to 1806 was subject to Sultan Ibrahim. In 1805 (A.H. 1220) that potentate, announcing to the British Government his intention of blockading the Perak river, wrote:— "the people of Pinang must not go to Perak at present, for Perak from the river Kurau to Beting Bras Basah is my country. This country I have taken by force of powder and ball, with which custom the Governor of Penang is acquainted." Twenty years afterwards in 1825 the Sultan of Perak wrote to the Chau Phya of Ligor how at the time when Marhum Bongsu lived at the Long Reach (*Rantau Panjang*) Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor attacked Perak whereupon Sultan and chiefs fled upstream to Kuala Plus* to avoid him. A year after this invasion Marhum Bongsu died whereupon the Sultan of Selangor demanded a strip of Perak territory from Kuala Perak up to Kuala Plus* by right of conquest. Perak refused. The Sultan of Selangor attacked but finding a fort erected at Kota Lumut retired and reduced his claim to the territory between Kuala Perak and Kuala Bidor. Again Perak refused and the two rulers agreed to ask other Raia to arbitrate. Selangor lent Perak two guns but when in 1818 Kedah conquered Perak, Selangor demanded and was paid \$500 for the two guns! When in 1825 Sultan 'Abdu'llah ascended the Perak throne, Selangor again demanded territory on the Perak river, but when 'Abdu'llah referred the claimant to his overlord the King of Siam, Selangor agreed to compound for 30 *bahar* of tin!

For at the beginning of the XIXth century Siam resolved to extend her sway over the Malay Peninsula and accordingly in November 1816 commanded Ahmad Tajud-din Sultan of Kedah to attack his neighbour. "It greatly afflicts me to execute this order" wrote the Sultan. "It is not with my good will that I attack Perak nor at all my wish to become the enemy of that Raia but only to avert mischief from my country." Low records that the old Sultan of Perak addressed a letter to Penang "which exhibited the profound ignorance which has ever characterised the rulers of that petty State. He only asked for two ships of war and two thousand troops, one half of the last to be Europeans (100 being perhaps the utmost strength of the latter at the time in the island). . . . He offered at the same time the Dinding islands

* Amended from *Trus* of the Straits Settlements Records.

to the British for nothing and the monopoly of all the tin and rattans in Perak for the yearly sum of two thousand dollars, also elephants in exchange for gun powder at the rate of 60 dollars for each of the height of six feet, and 600 to 900 dollars for those of the largest size. . . . The Raja's offer of the tin monopoly would seem to argue an undervaluation of the produce of his country, for at the rate of duty of 6 dollars the *bahar* which he then enforced, the total produce was only 333 *bahar*, whereas the country yielded or has yielded a much larger quantity annually." Soon after the Dutch left Perak, 2,000 *bahar* a year were exported annually by that State to Penang.

In spite of the damage to the tin trade arising from the invasion of Perak, the East India Company pursued its traditional policy and refused to intervene. By October 1817 Kedah had subdued half of the State. On 2 July 1818 the Sultan of Kedah, sending Colonel Bannerman, Governor of Penang, four rare birds and a promise of rare plants (for which His Excellency had asked), thanked him for dispatching Mr. Cracroft to persuade the Sultan of Perak to send the tribute of Golden and Silver Flowers to Ayuthia:—Mr. Cracroft had just negotiated a treaty with Perak to safe-guard free trade with that State. Though the Sultan of Perak reported that his country was beset by land and sea, evidently its conquest was difficult. On September 12 the Sultan of Kedah was complaining to Penang that the task of subduing Perak was hard enough and now on the top of that Siam commanded him to send 100 war-boats and 300 *koyan* of rice for a force about to oppose the Burmese and, in order to embroil him with England, instructed him that no Kedah rice might be sent to Penang. On October 12 the Bendahara, Laksamana and Temenggong of Kedah were all still engaged in the Perak campaign and, though they would get all the tin they could for sale to Penang, nothing could be promised with the war still unfinished. On 18 November 1818 Sultan 'Abdu'l-Malik Mansur Shah, the old Raja of Perak, reported to Penang that his country was now under the Raja and Bendahara of Kedah. Anderson says that he did not survive many months. 1,000 square miles of country in upper Perak remained Siamese until 1909. In June 1819 the Sultan of Kedah was busy over the dispatch of Perak's Golden-Flower tribute to Ayuthia. In July 1819 anxious as he was to give Pangkor and the Dindings to the English in order to avoid trouble with the Dutch and to help in the suppression of piracy, Ahmad Taju'd-din Halim Shah Sultan of Kedah was too apprehensive of the displeasure of Siam, which had disapproved of Kedah's cession of Penang. "It is true I conquered Perak. The King, Raja Muda and Bendahara transferred the government to me. I directed my agents to depose the old king, invest the Raja Muda with the chief authority and promote the Bendahara to be Raja Muda, but they begged to retain their present titles during the life of the old king, who, they undertook, should cease to exercise authority or take part in councils. I

assented, and Perak and its dependencies were placed under the Raja Muda and Bendahara jointly, subject to my superintendence and control. The Raja Muda exercises over Perak, Pangkor and adjacent dependencies the functions of a sovereign tributary to Siam." At the same time the Raja Kechil Besar and Orang Kaya Besar were removed to Kedah. So for the first time in history a State that had been subject to Acheh and Bugis Selangor but never to Siam now became tributary to the Lord of the White Elephant.

On 28 March 1819 Timmerman Thysen, the Governor of Malacca, suggested to Selangor a new treaty on the lines of its treaty with the Dutch in 1780 and expressed his pleasure at the intention of Selangor to assist Perak, so that, Siamese expelled, Perak also could renew its treaty with the Dutch! On December 8 the Raja of Kedah complained to Penang that the Bugis Raja Husain from Selangor, who formerly lived at the Dindings (where he opened a tin-mine on Pulau Talang), assisted pirates with provisions and had now gone to Tanjong Putus on the Perak river where pirates were again assembled. On 4 November 1820 the Raja of Kedah stated that he did not know if the chiefs of Kurau and Larut had conspired to commit piracy but Perak being under him he will enquire and prohibit its ruler from receiving pirates.

By 1822 mainly with the help of Selangor Perak had expelled her Siamese conquerors but she had to agree to pay tribute to Sultan Ibrahim, who as early as 1819 had left a relative Raja Husain to collect it. "His sons, the Raja Muda and Tuanku Husain, the chief of the settlement at the Dindings, have established posts about thirty miles from the mouth of the river and levy a toll on all tin exported by that channel." So Anderson.

Soon afterwards the Raja of Ligor, a Siamese state on the north-east frontier of Perak, prepared to reconquer Perak and according to the British forced its helpless ruler to sign letters invoking Siamese protection against Selangor. But did the Raja of Perak act so much under the compulsion of Siam as on account of the exactions of Selangor? In December 1821 what Crawford described as Siam's "extremely contemptible" army had conquered Kedah. Ligor occupied Perak and ordered the Sultan to send Siam the Gold and Silver Flowers of a tributary state; in 1824 the Bendahara, Sri Adika Raja, To' "Peggah" and Maharaja Dinda took them to Ligor and were escorted home by 40 Siamese boats, which the Perak chiefs then loaded with 205 *bahar* of tin for Ligor. The Sultan of Selangor captured these boats and stationed Raja Husain at Kuala Bidor to levy duties on articles taken up and down the Perak river. In January 1825 Perak was invoking Siamese aid against Selangor and the Sultan wrote of his happiness that Perak had been placed under Ligor, the Perak chiefs retaining executive control. In April His Highness sent the Raja Kechil Muda, Orang Kaya Besar, Sri Lela Paduka, Maharaja Stia and

Paduka Sri Nara as envoys to Ligor to reiterate the request for aid. That was the version Ligor dispatched to Penang, and it seems certain that all the while Perak was taking the only course its weakness allowed and trying to play off Siam against Selangor and Selangor against Siam, while the British East India Company refrained from armed intervention:—in 1824 the Supreme Government entertained “the strongest doubts of the practicability of inducing the arrogant and haughty Court of Siam to waive its pretensions” and questioned “the expediency of agitating the proposition at all.” Quite probably Perak gladly let the Selangor Sultan intercept her forced tribute to Siam and then irked by Selangor exactions and terrified of Siamese vengeance turned again to Ligor. Accordingly on 1 June 1825 the Sultan of Perak informed Governor Fullerton that “at present Perak is under the Siamese, which prevents me from daring to express my wishes to my friend.” On 2 June 1825 the Chau Phya of Ligor reported that Siam had been asked by Perak to expel the Selangor forces, though Siam would not send troops if Governor Fullerton could settle the trouble: he wanted, however, a permit from Penang for 30 or 40 Siamese boats to take the Raja Kechil Muda of Perak home and bring back from Perak its Golden Flowers, tin and other tribute to Siam. In fact, only the bluff and determination of Governor Fullerton, who acting against orders from the Indian government in June 1825 menaced Siam with war, saved Perak and Selangor from cruel invasion such as had overtaken Kedah. In 1825 after its conquests on the Tenasserim coast the Indian Government sent a Captain Burney to Ligor, where the Raja expressed the intention of dispatching 3,000 men by land to help Perak against Selangor. Burney contrived to frustrate this filibustering expedition, denying that Perak was a dependency of Siam and declaring that the English Company could not be indifferent over rights secured to it by treaty as the successor of the Dutch Company. On July 31, 1825 a preliminary treaty signed by Burney and the Raja of Ligor for the consideration of Madras and Bangkok engaged that the Siamese should neither attack nor colonize Perak and Selangor and that the British should not occupy Perak but merely prevent Selangor from disturbing its peace and evict the tax-collector, Raja Husain. As Mr. Mills writes, “to Burney’s mind the great point gained by the treaty was that henceforth the Penang Council had for the first time a legal right to prevent all Siamese troops and galleys from going to Perak and Selangor. Burney also succeeded in persuading the Raja of Ligor not to insist in the treaty on a clause compelling Perak to send the tribute of the Golden Flowers to Bangkok. Whether it was sent or not was left to the decision of the Sultan of Perak, Burney agreeing that the British would make no objection if he should wish to do so. Since to send the *Bunga Mas* was the last thing the Sultan would willingly agree to, Burney had won a very important success for the Company.” Fullerton, delighted at Burney’s treaty, then

appointed the pamphleteer, John Anderson of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service, Penang, to visit Perak and Selangor and settle the disputes outstanding between them without committing the Company to armed intervention. On 20 August Anderson negotiated a treaty with the venerable Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor confirming the commercial treaty of 1818, fixing the Bernam river as the boundary with Perak, engaging that no Selangor armament should enter Perak by land or sea and that Raja Husain should be removed from Perak for ever. Six days later Ibrahim wrote direct to Governor Fullerton announcing that when he had reinstated the Sultan of Perak with royal honours, *they had made an engagement for the imposition of a duty of \$12 a bahar on Perak tin*, half to go to himself and half to the ruler of Perak, and adding that he had no control over Raja Husain as he had married an aunt of the Sultan of Perak! But the Sultan of Perak, being a "very insignificant person and under great apprehension" was prepared not only to scrap his aunt's husband but to repudiate or ignore any previous engagement with Selangor. Accordingly on 6 September 1825 he signed a treaty accepting the Bernam River as Perak's boundary, engaging not to attack Selangor and to remove Raja Husain from Perak, promising to grant no monopolies and *fixing the duty on tin at \$6 a bahar*. In an access of fear or humility, he even pretended that he would like the British to annex his State, allowing him only a small pension; and with Kedah's plight before him he wrote to Fullerton offering to send Siam the tribute of the Golden Flower, if Fullerton should so advise.

For Ligor continued to play with the weakness of Perak as a cat plays with a mouse. Not daring to attack Perak after the preliminary Burney treaty of 31 July 1825, the Chau Phya yet sent a small force under the guise of an embassy to assist the Sultan in his government, an embassy whose recall Fullerton at once demanded. On 8 August 1825 Fullerton wrote to the Chau Phya that while Britain had no desire to occupy Perak or any other State near Penang, it would prevent the peace of neighbouring States being disturbed by Siam or by Malay aggressors. On 6 September the Chau Phya wrote from Ligor that he was anxious to learn the result of Anderson's mission of Perak and on 9 September that at the request of famine-stricken Perak he was sending there four boats laden each with 5 *koyan* of rice and carrying twenty-two men. Governor Fullerton advised the Chau Phya that the presence of numerous pirates rendered this inadvisable, that Mr. Anderson was taking grain to Perak and that, as soon as Raja Husain and the Selangor people left, Penang traders would import abundance of rice. A British cruiser was sent to the Perak river to ensure the departure of Raja Husain. On 14 October the Sultan of Perak wrote to Fullerton that he entrusted the government of Perak to the English and to the Chau Phya of Ligor! On 3 November Sultan Ibrahim complained that that was always Perak's answer, when the Sultan was asked to defray his debt of 3,128 Spanish dollars

to Selangor:—the Sultan of Perak protested that Ibrahim had debited him with the debts of other Perak folk, which he could not collect. On 15 December 1825 Sultan Ibrahim wrote noting that Fullerton would settle Perak's debt, which otherwise Selangor would collect, and asking why Fullerton had allowed the Siamese to proceed to Perak, restore the old Laksamana and appoint Nakhoda Muhammad Raja Mahkota? The next day Fullerton wrote a letter of protest to Ligor. On 20 September 1826 when Perak presented a counter-claim for \$2,787, the debt to Selangor was still under British consideration.

Gradually the Bugis passed out of Perak politics, except for the courteous survival in Selangor culture of the practice of inviting Perak chiefs to be present at the installation of her Sultans.

But Siam had still to be handled. In the latter half of 1825 the Indian Government approved of the draft Burney treaty and of Anderson's errand to Perak and Selangor and decided to send Burney to Siam on a purely "complimentary and conciliatory" mission, with a commercial treaty and the safeguarding of the independence of the Malay States as secondary objects not to be pressed. Fullerton, however, instructed Burney to press for the restoration of the ex-Sultan of Kedah and for Siam's claims on Perak to be limited to the sending of tribute. Burney's negotiations lasted till June 1826. Siam claimed no suzerainty over Selangor but insisted that the Sultan of Perak wanted to pay tribute: if the English would protect Perak from Selangor, Siam would merely send embassies "to settle and instruct the chief of Perak and give him a title and great presents, in the same manner as the other countries subject to Siam." Inadvertently the Siamese admitted that before the conquest by Kedah in 1818 Siam had no right or claim in Perak, and Burney pressed the rights of the British as inheritors of Dutch treaty-rights. Finally Siam and the English both promised not to attack or disturb Perak or Selangor, while the English engaged not to let Selangor attack Perak. The English Company would not interfere if Ligor or Perak should desire to exchange diplomatic missions of forty or fifty men. Both parties engaged that "the Raja of Perak shall govern the country according to his own will. Should he desire to send the Gold and Silver Flowers to Siam as heretofore, the English will not prevent his doing as he may desire." This was satisfactory but in 1826 Sultan 'Abdu'llah Mu'azzam Shah of Perak informed Penang that Siamese "embassies" were treating him as a conquered ruler and had bribed the Raja Muda and other chiefs to take their side. On 20 September 1826 the Sultan wrote to the Governor at Pulau Pinang that the Siamese, who had stayed ten months in Perak had gone, but as "a lowly man in awe of" the Governor and "afraid of the Siamese" he enquired if he ought to send the tribute of the Golden Flowers. Before he got that letter, (on 23 September) Fullerton wrote a stern letter to Ligor, declaring that the despatch of Siamese troops or embassies to Perak

was a breach of the Burney treaty and might lead to war between Great Britain and Siam. The Chau Phya of Ligor replied that the continued presence of Siamese in Perak had been due to his absence at Ayuthia where he had been helping Burney over a treaty:—"the Siamese and Malays sent by me to Perak accompanied the Raja Kechil Muda, younger brother of the Sultan, and the Sultan wrote me at Ayuthia that he had detained them and when I returned would send them back with a Perak chief to wait on me: I have now sent a letter directing their return." On 10 October Sultan 'Abdu'llah wrote again expressing his satisfaction that Captain Burney had induced Siam to recognize the independence of Perak: for "it is my desire to govern it agreeably to former custom and I wish no connection with any Siamese or Malay chiefs to east or west nor will I permit them to interfere in the government of Perak. The Golden Flowers I will send no more to Siam or to Selangor or any Malay Raja. Even if only 20 or 30 soldiers or messengers arrive from Siam or any Malay Raja I will not receive them. Merchants can come and go. My resources are at present limited but I am collecting my ryots who fled owing to the disturbances. I rely on the Company to help me against Siam, Selangor and any rebel Perak chiefs. My difficulties I have explained to Captain James Low." For the Governor of Penang had despatched a British "embassy" consisting of Captain Low and forty Sepoys with "a Bombay H.C. Cruizer at his command" to warn Siamese to leave Perak, to advise the Sultan to write Penang a letter expressing his desire (in the terms of the Burney treaty) to "govern his country according to his own will" and to repeat the usual vague promise of help in case of Siamese aggression. A rabid hater of Siamese pretensions Low proceeded actively to help the Sultan deal with the pro-Siamese chiefs of Perak and then, against all traditions of the Company's policy, to make a treaty involving it in Perak affairs "to an extent which was never contemplated or desired." "The Siamese force" writes Low, "forthwith evacuated their position on the bank of the river and the Raja dismissed those who had intrigued with the Siamese and formed a steady government." Elsewhere he describes the ceremony of forming that steady government:—"A large concourse of people were assembled. The chiefs and their attendants were seated on carpets and mats on the floor. In front of the sopha on which the Raja sat, were arranged a low stool on which lay the Koran and a large jar of consecrated water on the top of which was a model of a crown. The Raja advancing dipped the regalia, consisting of armour, in the water, and placed them against a pillow. The new ministers and other officers then approached and had the oath tendered to them. This oath consists of two parts and is very short. The first part is the promise of fidelity; the second imprecates every calamity to afflict the juror and his family to remote generations should he betray the trust and confidence reposed in him. The characteristic levity of the

Malayan disposition was not even repressed by this solemn act, for the Raja and some of his chiefs indulged their mirth occasionally, to the evident mortification of some of his chiefs then present whose gravity was ludicrously contrasted with it. Several of those who had intrigued with the Siamese betrayed evident symptoms of alarm. Indeed under a less indulgent Prince they must have lost their heads." A Malay MS. records that Bendahara Radin, a grandson of the sixteenth Sultan, went to Ligor, and that in 1826 the English had his brother Raja Muda Ngah Laut created Yang di-pertuan Muda, Bendahara Chulan (afterwards twenty-first Sultan) created Raja Muda, Raja 'Abdu'llah (afterwards twenty-second Sultan) created Raja di-Hilir. Low's treaty of 18 October 1826 which though always recognised appears never to have been formally ratified, stipulated that Perak should not pay tribute to Siam, Selangor or any one else, or receive embassies, armaments, or the smallest parties of men other than non-political traders: these conditions fulfilled, the British engaged to assist the Sultan to expel any Siamese or Malays who "may at any time enter the Perak Country with political views or for the purpose of interfering in any way with the Government of His Majesty." "These measures" as Low complacently remarks, "secured the independence of Perak." At the same time, he continues, "the Raja wanted to see the English flag hoisted in Perak and he proffered a written deed, ceding to them the island of Pangkor off the mouth of the river, but neither of these offers was accepted by the British Government"—though in 1819 the English had wanted to occupy Great and Little Pangkor and the territory on both banks of the Sungai Dinding, and the Sultan of Kedah had said he dared not risk the displeasure of Perak, while the Sultan of Perak had wanted payment for the concession. On 20 October the Sultan sent the Bendahara, the Orang Kaya Besar, the Laksamana and Sri Dewa Raja to Penang to borrow \$10,000 and get 400 muskets with ammunition on credit. "I regard Perak," His Highness wrote, "as under the superintendence or in the safe-keeping of the Honourable East India Company which must protect it and superintend its Government as if it were an English State." On 25 October, he wrote to Low engaging to build a fort at Kota Lumut and maintain a force there to combat pirates, to erect a small house there for the temporary accommodation of any British officer, to order the Laksamana and Shabbandar to build a fort at Kuala Bidor and settle that district, to expel harbourers of pirates from all coastal towns, to enforce payment of debts to foreign traders, to prevent slave-traffic in British subjects, to encourage agriculture, to arrange for the collection of export duties and to establish schools. On 3 November Governor Fullerton wrote a guarded letter to Ligor, warning the Chau Phya that further breaches of the Burney treaty in Perak might lead to war with the British and on 7 November he reported the doings of the Chau Phya to the ministry at Bangkok: Low's treaty he referred to the Governor-General.

Not yet, however, did Siam abandon its pretensions. In November 1826 the Raja of Perak asked for a British agent to come and advise him, reporting that he had sent the Temenggong to make excuses and tell thirty Siamese, who had arrived at Pulau Kamiri on the Plus, that he would not meet them; but Ligor declared that the Siamese were only taking return presents to the Sultan. In March 1827 the Chau Phya sent silks for the Sultan and his chiefs and promised a boat-load of sugar and rice, at the same time inviting the Sultan to come to Ligor and proceed to Ayuthia, so pleased was the Lord of the White Elephant that His Highness desired to be the slave and tributary of Siam. The Sultan replied that, according to the Governor of Penang, a treaty had been made between Siam and the East India Company, stipulating that the Siamese should not again enter Perak: "so I think it unnecessary for me, a poor man, to wait on the Chau Phya and I beg to be excused. The Chau Phya is correct in saying that the Sri Adika Raja captured an elephant six cubits tall: I had the animal cared for and meant to send it to the Chau Phya but after a month in captivity it died." On 10 March Sultan 'Abdu'llah thanked the Governor of Penang for sending a cruiser with \$3,500 (less the cost of a ketch and *prahu* bought for him), 200 muskets, two casks of powder, 500 bundles of ball cartridge and 1,000 musket flints: he promised to co-operate with Captain Low against pirates, especially against Nakhoda Udin, since 1822 appointed Penghulu at Kurau by the Ligorian (as Low termed him) but so bold a pirate that he frequently raided Penang and kidnapped British subjects to sell into slavery. To the delight of the Sultan of Perak Low fired on Kurau, burnt the village and wrote to Alang 'aidin (Pengkulu Bukit Gantang) and Isma Yatim (Serama Maharaja) to hunt down Udin's associates. Udin was captured by the Police at Penang, where (as Fullerton informed the Chau Phya) he had "the audacity to come." As the court at Penang did not possess Admiralty jurisdiction, it was not competent to try Udin. So as he appeared to be a Siamese subject he was sent to Ligor with a polite request that he should be dealt with effectually. The Chau Phya, as Mr. Mills relates, "was very seriously annoyed, and when in June 1827 Burney came to Ligor to exchange the ratified copies of the treaty of 1826 with Siam, he complained bitterly of the attack on Udin.... He contended that Kurau was part of Kedah, and not of Perak, denied that Udin was a pirate and also attacked Low's treaty with Perak in 1826 as a piece of sharp practice." The Raja talked over Burney, who informed the Supreme Government that Kurau was Siamese and Udin not a pirate: Burney further criticised the Penang Council and Captain Low for their interference in Perak. Low was suspended from political employment. However, Fullerton proved that in 1825 Burney had put up a map showing Kurau to be in Perak and had also advocated for Perak the very policy Low was suspended for pursuing: he also put up clear evidence that Udin was a pirate. On 12 July

1827 he sent Ligor a copy of Burney's map and declared that the destruction of Kurau and the capture of Udin were in order and required no discussion. On 6 September, however, he informed Ligor that he would hear Udin's defence and he wrote to the Raja of Perak to send witnesses against him. In November 1827 the Supreme Government climbed down and reinstated Low. But as late as February 1828 Fullerton was still investigating the Kurau incident to judge from the arrival in Penang of two Perak chiefs, Sri Maharaja and Tan Jana Pahlawan headman of Kurau, who were cognisant of Udin's transgressions.

Though his very name has been forgotten at Kuala Kangsar, Captain James Low was the saviour of Perak, risking his own career to save her from Siamese suzerainty and spare her the cruel fate of Kedah. And along with the name of Low, Perak ought to inscribe in letters of gold the name of Robert Fullerton, Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca, who inspired and defended the insubordination of his officer Captain Low.

Relieved of the Siamese menace Sultan 'Abdu'llah endeavoured to organize the administration of his country. On 15th June 1827 he informed Penang, "If my life is spared, I shall visit every part of Perak, establish the several districts in the old way and appoint chiefs so that the country may be settled." He summoned all the chiefs and persuaded them to live with him at Pasir Panjang Indra Mulia, and he employed one, Puteh Abubakar of Penang, to help him in the conduct of public affairs. Low found 'Abdu'llah "a very quiet person and very indulgent to his subjects.... He hears complaints and settles business early in the morning, breakfasts about 10 and dines about sun-set or later.... On the weekly fast days the Raja assembles all his officers and attendants in the Mosque and repeats along with his Imams and them selected passages from the Kuran.... As they become warmed by their devotions they nod and shake their heads violently in concert.... One day the Raja gave a feast to his people, it being an anniversary. A long and slightly built shed was prepared as a kitchen. Here five or six huge iron pots were placed over fires. In each of these about thirty fowls were boiled. They live, however, very plainly, fish, rice and a little seasoning with fruits being their common food. Very few of them will taste wine and none drink spirits. The Raja and his people dress in very ordinary garb except on occasions of ceremony and at these periods only, they are clothed from the waist upwards.... The women seem partial to sky-blue cotton and can dress themselves with considerable neatness. They display a good deal of the upper part of the body, only throwing their upper dress which is a narrow piece of cloth carelessly across the breast.... Many appeared to have as fair complexions as the Chinese. It was particularly remarked by all our party that the distinguishing characteristic of the Hottentot women, although in a less degree, is very generally a *prominent* one among the

females of Perak." That was a picture of Perak in 1826 when Siamese "embassies" had slaughtered all the cattle and left only a few goats, buffaloes and poultry. Low's mission changed all that. But there were still domestic troubles, about which the Sultan often took Penang into his confidence, gladly accepting advice. In July 1828 the Raja Muda let the opium, gambling and spirit farms to Amoy Chinese, though they were let already to another! It required force to remove the Amoy people. On 2 November the Dato' Srinara returning from Penang was attacked off Pangkor by four pirate *perahu*; the Raja Mahkota came to his aid; Perak lost two men killed and five wounded but captured a pirate junk containing 4 *koyan* of rice, six Chinese, two Siamese "padris" and one Haji. On 4 November the Governor warned the Sultan of Perak on no account to receive the ex-Raja of Kedah within his borders as it would lead to further trouble with Siam. On 29 February 1829 Penang suggested that Perak might liquidate an old debt for cash and muskets by sending tin. On 26 March 1829 the Sultan informed Fullerton that as requested he had sent the Orang Kaya Besar from Ijok and other forces to expel from Krian, Tengku Long Puteh, a brother-in-law of that enemy of Siam, the ex-Sultan of Kedah. Penang warned 'Abdu'llah not to encourage Patani immigrants from Pulau and Baling, for fear of offending Ligor. Perak was still very poor. The Raja wrote to the Resident-Councillor, Penang, begging him to induce a Chinese ship to visit Perak annually and buy elephants "which would be a great relief to the poor distressed inhabitants." He could not pay his debt in tin-ore, as he was assured "the consequence of removing ore to such a distance would ruin the mines!" but in August 1829 he did send a *perahu* with tin. In 1830 Captain Parker and Lord Frederick Beauclerc visited Perak and the Sultan addressed a letter to their chief Sir Edward Owen K.C.B., Rear-Admiral of the Blue, thanking him for the promise of a man-o'-war in the event of invasion.

In 1830 the Straits Settlements had ceased to have a Governor and became a Residency subject to Bengal. So in a letter dated 26 June 1831 Sultan Shahabu'd-din announced to the Resident his accession to the Perak throne. Still Perak had its troubles. At the end of 1831 the Sultan sent the Laksamana to report a rice famine and obtain on credit ten guns with powder and ball, some cash and four or five *koyan* of rice. In January 1832 the Raja Muda reported a conspiracy by the Bendahara against the new Sultan. In April the Sultan reported a rumour that Selangor had assembled twenty boats to attack Perak, but the advent in May of an English merchant, George Stuart, allayed the panic of the Perak people and the Sultan appointed Mr. Stuart his confidential agent in the Colony. The Selangor scare lasted several years and seems to have been connected with a Perak debt to that State. In 1837 the Sultan of Perak thanked the Resident-Councillor, Penang, for telling him that Selangor would not invade his country

and he denied having approached Ligor for aid. In 1842 there were further rumours which led to the Sultan of Selangor being warned by the British.

In 1831 when the Malays rose against the Siamese in Kedah, the ex-Sultan Ahmad Tajud-din, unbowed by the stoppage since 1827 of his annual allowance of \$10,000, at last left Penang for Malacca rather than risk removal by force. But in 1836 having got leave to visit Deli he left Malacca and bolted to Bruas to collect forces to invade Kedah. Nothing would persuade him to desist and two British warships had to visit Bruas, destroy the Malay fleet and carry the ex-Sultan back to Malacca. Two years later the Kedah Malays again rebelled against Siam but in 1839 were re-conquered. Then in 1842 backed by a letter from Governor Bonham the ex-Sultan after twenty years of exile tendered his submission to the Lord of the White Elephant and was restored to the throne of a State which Siam had found it unprofitable to hold by force. Flushed with success the turbulent old Sultan seized Krian claiming it to be part of Kedah. The Sultan of Perak asked for British assistance in accordance with Low's treaty. On 22 November the Governor warned Sultan Shahabu'd-din not to attack his aggressor, advised the Sultan of Kedah to relinquish his claim and asked the Chau Phya of Ligor to remonstrate with him. On 13 May 1844 Ahmad Tajud-din was informed that the Supreme Government was withholding its annual payment to him of \$10,000 a year until he should quit Krian and remain peaceably in Kedah for twelve months. Even this did not move him. Only in 1848 did he retire when the Governor threatened armed intervention. In that year, 1848, the Sultan of Perak applied for arms and ammunition to be used against the Laksamana who had usurped the revenue from duty on tin exported down the Perak River!

In 1851 and 1852 only a few letters passed between Penang and Perak. On 7 January 1851 Mr. Blundell, Resident Councillor, Penang, told the Sultan of Perak that he and not the British must arrest one Megat 'Arif and his gang of marauders for disturbing Krian: Mr. Blundell sent for Megat 'Arif and got his promise to reform, but Megat 'Arif broke his promise and Blundell invoked the aid of the Sultan of Kedah. At the end of the year the Governor, Colonel Butterworth, sent a schooner to Bruas to investigate a case of piracy and in December informed Sultan 'Abdu'llah Muhammad Shah of Perak that thirteen pirates had been captured, four of whom were hanged and the rest banished to Bombay for life; the Raja Kechil Sulong of Perak appeared to have shared the spoils. Resident Councillor Lewis wrote several letters to Che' Long Ja'far of Larut about the rendition of fugitive convicts and the detention of tin bought by a Penang Chinese.

Then came civil war in Perak. As early as 8 August 1851 Governor Butterworth had expressed doubts to the Sultan of Selangor as to his story of dissensions in Perak, adding that anyhow

it was no concern of the British. Soon however there was trouble between the Sultan of Perak and Bendahara (later Sultan) Ja'far when a British man-of-war was sent to protect the customs station for tin at Kota Stia. On 17 March 1853 the Governor replied to Raja Ngah 'Ali of Perak, asking what he meant by the sentence "The Sultan has left his palace." Who occupied it? There must be a ruler. Butterworth refused the ivory tusks Raja Ngah 'Ali had sent, declaring that it was not an English custom to accept presents. Actually the Sultan had fled and taken refuge with the Laksamana. In April the Governor informed the Sultan that Low's treaty stipulated for British aid only in the event of external aggression: on 18 May he replied to the Sri Adika Raja, Panglima Kinta, Shahbandar and Panglima Bukit Gantang that not he but their Sultan, 'Abdu'llah Muhammad Shah, should receive their complaints about the disturbances caused by the Sultan's son, Raja Yusuf; in June he informed the Sultan that the Governor-General still refused him permission to intervene but the Sultan could appeal to Kedah for help if he liked. In September 1853 the officer administering the government, Blundell, informed Fort William that influential chiefs had deposed the Sultan and elevated the Raja Muda to the throne. The Sultan was said to be a debauchee whose sons were beyond his control and ruined the country. Blundell had advised Kedah that our treaty with Siam forbade armed interference, and he suggested to India that he should be authorized to arbitrate between the parties. In June 1854 a claimant to the Perak throne wrote to the Governor describing himself as Sultan Safi-u'd-din Mu'azzam Shah. In July Blundell went to Perak and interviewed the Raja Muda and chiefs. On 23 November 1855 the Governor was still advising Sultan 'Abdu'llah Muhammad Shah that he could not intervene in the domestic affairs of Perak. "When Sultan 'Abdu'llah Muhammad Shah died," wrote Swettenham in 1880, "he and his son were in open warfare with by far the greater part of the chiefs of Perak and when the time came to elect a Bendahara, Yusuf's claims by birth were outbalanced by his unpopularity." On 3 September 1857 the Governor congratulated Sultan Ngah Ja'far on his accession. Of this ruler as a practical administrator Sir Frank has left a vivid picture. One day a woman of his harem came out to listen to the Kuran-chanting of a Trengganu man famous for his voice. Aggrieved at this her relations wanted to kill the Trengganu man but feared his famous creese. They consulted the Sultan, who replied, "Take his creese first, you fools, and then kill him." One of the relatives then made an excuse to borrow the creese, and the others stabbed the Trengganu Rizzio till their weapons met in his body.

In 1858 the East India Company came to an end and the Straits Settlements passed under the control of the India Office. Two of the grievances the local public had nursed against the old Company were that it had pusillanimously sacrificed the exiled Sultan of Kedah to Siam and that it refused to interfere in the

domestic affairs of the Malay States. Not until after 1867 when the India Office had transferred the Colony to the care of the Colonial Office, was this policy of aloofness abandoned.

In 1867 in view of requests from Straits-born Chinese to settle there the Sultan of Perak was asked to arrange for the cession of the Dindings in accordance with the treaty of 1826, which had given to the East India Company "the Pulo Dindings and the islands of Pangkor, together with all and every one of the islands hitherto included within the Perak State" in order that piracy might be suppressed. In 1868 the Laksamana pretended to agree with the British view that this was meant to embrace both banks of the Dindings River but the Sultan disapproved of the occupation of both the banks though he would allow a settlement between Pulau Talang and the River Dinding on payment of a subsidy. Downing Street objecting to the occupation of new and disputed territory, the matter remained in abeyance until the Pangkor treaty of 1874 defined the boundaries in accordance with the British view and so aroused the suspicion of the Malays at a singularly inopportune time.

Again, in January 1870 the Sultan of Perak requested the Governor's aid to rectify Selangor's encroachment on the Perak side of the Bernam River.

The narrow interests of the old trading company, the indifference of the India Office to an outlying region were now things of the past. As early as 1862 there had been the writing on the walls of the Chinese *kongsi* houses in Larut: the old policy of isolation was doomed.

VII

THE CHINESE MINERS OF LARUT.

The district of Larut (with its subdistricts of Krian, Matang and Selama) lies outside the valley of the Perak River. A narrow tract of country, situated between the Perak watershed and the sea, it may be said to have come only within the sphere of influence of the older river-state. Before the nineteenth century Larut had been virtually a no-man's-land; for the Malay who loves the banks of great streams saw little to attract him in the desolate swamp-country by the coast. Of the principal Perak territorial chiefs only one, the Panglima Bukit Gantang, had any footing in Larut; and he was simply a warden of the marches guarding the pass that gave access to a large and isolated district. In 1817 Panglima Alang 'aidin could muster only twelve muskets at Bukit Gantang to resist the Kedah invaders. But the British acquisition of Province Wellesley drew attention more and more to the possibilities of the adjacent districts under Perak rule. In 1861 the Governor of the Colony congratulated the Sultan of Perak on having leased Krian to a Mr. Lewis for agriculture for twenty years. The district was beginning to attract settlers. Larut was in Perak but not of it; it was to owe its population and prosperity to people from beyond the borders of the state.

The first man to see the great possibilities of Larut was a certain Long Ja'far. This Ja'far was not (as is usually believed) a shrewd trader from Penang or Province Wellesley, but a Perak-born Malay, son of a minor chief, the Dato' Paduka, and grandson of another petty chief, a Dato' Johan. As his brother had married a daughter of the Panglima Bukit Gantang, Long Ja'far came to settle near the present township of Taipeng. When he arrived he found that there were only three Chinese to be exploited in the whole of Larut; but after the discovery of rich mining land he succeeded in attracting many more adventurers to the place. His first mines were at *Kĕlian Pauh*, where the Taipeng gaol now stands. At a later date an elephant that was being used by the miners escaped into the Kamunting jungles and when recaptured was found to be covered with mud rich in tin. The prospecting done by this elephant led to a rush to Kamunting—to the "new mines," or *Kĕlian Baharu* as the place came to be called.

There is a Malay proverb to the effect that a man need not forget his own interests when working for the State. Long Ja'far acted up to this rule. Beginning as a mere representative of the Sultan he bought from his master one after another the various sources of revenue in the province. On 6 November 1850 he obtained his first title to Larut; he received it from the Raja Muda Ngah 'Ali (acting for the Sultan), the Temenggong, the Panglimas of Bukit Gantang and Kinta, the Shahbandar and the Sri Adika Raja. The document runs:

"Che' Long Ja'far has opened up one of the provinces of Perak called Larut and all its rivers to make tin-mines; this he has done by his own diligence and at his own expense. We express our entire approval of the diligence he has bestowed and the expense he has incurred in Larut, and his children shall receive the district as their own property. . . . What is written in this deed can never be annulled by anyone."

On 8 November 1856 the then usurper Sultan, Ngah Ja'far, (unsupported by any chiefs) confirmed in his own name the Raja Muda's grant. Long Ja'far died and was succeeded by his son, Che' Ngah Ibrahim, a youngster in the twenties who applied at once to the Sultan for recognition and was granted powers even greater than those his father had possessed. The new deed—dated the 24 May 1858, and bearing the seals of Sultan Ngah Ja'far, the Raja Muda and the Raja Bendahara—contains the following passages:

"Be it known that after due deliberation with our princes and chiefs, we bestow a province of this country of Perak upon Ngah Ibrahim bin Ja'far to be governed by him and to become his property. Moreover, we make known the boundaries of that dependency to be as follows: from Larut to Krian and Bagan Tiang—these are the boundaries that make up the province of Larut. . . ."

"Now we confirm Long Ja'far's son's Government; and this cannot be revoked—whether Ngah Ibrahim does well or wickedly—by anyone who may hold the sovereignty of Perak.

"Therefore we endow Ngah Ibrahim with the power of legislation and give him authority to correspond and to settle matters with other countries and with the British Government without reference to us three (the Sultan, Raja Muda and Bēndahara) or to anyone who may hold sovereignty in Perak."

Up to now we have been dealing with titular or official authority. But the Chinese miners played a very important if informal part in the real government of Larut. They were immigrants from many different districts, and were divided by their clannish ideals of patriotism into as many warring elements. In time these elements formed themselves into coalitions, one representing four and the other five of the Chinese districts from which the miners came. Given Chinese clannishness and the party-spirit engendered by their masonic societies, any petty quarrel between the men of two rival villages had in it the seeds of a clan-fight, a general riot or even civil war. It is a hard task to follow the trail of the truth through the maze of the Larut disturbances, but it is lightened if we keep closely to the main line of cleavage, that between the

" Four Districts " ¹ who were members of the Ghi Hin Triad Society and the " Five Districts " ² who belonged to the Hai San and Toa-Peh-Kong organizations. The Ghi-Hins were mostly Cantonese, bound by an oath and the drinking of one another's blood: at initiation a new member swore that at the Society's order he would attend marriage, funeral or fight, and assist fellow-members to escape from justice even if guilty of arson, robbery or murder. In 1867 at Penang there were 25,000 Ghi-Hins or one-fifth of the Settlement's population. While the Ghi-Hin society was centuries old, the Toa-Peh-Kong society was instituted by Hokkiens in Penang about 1840 and had only 5,000 members, the roll including most of the wealthy merchants of Beach Street and the makers and dealers in arms and ammunition. From the day of its foundation the Toa-Peh-Kong society had been antagonistic to the Ghi-Hins.

In 1862 the mines at Klian Pauh ³ were being worked by Hai San men under a leader named Chang Keng Kwi while the Kamunting mines a few miles away were the scene of the labours of Ghi Hin men under So Ah Chiang. Separation made for peace. But it chanced that some Ghi Hin men were staying temporarily at Klian Pauh and one of them was imprudent enough to get mixed up in a brawl in the gaming-saloon. At once there arose the party cry, " Kill, kill these interlopers "; and fourteen unhappy wretches were seized and locked up for the night in the lodge of the Hai San Society. Mercy did not come with the morning. A sharpened bamboo was thrust into each man's throat so that his life-blood might spurt through to dye the banners of the lodge. One man only of the fourteen lived to tell the tale. Kamunting was in a ferment at once. Any luckless Klian Pauh miner who happened to pass through the village was lynched; and tribal war broke out between the two villages. Both sides appealed to the Malay head of the district.

Ngah Ibrahim was an opportunist. As soon as he saw that the Hai-San men (who had begun the disturbances) were the stronger party he threw in his lot with them, put to death So Ah Chiang, and drove the Ghi Hin men out of Larut. The dispossessed miners appealed to the British Government.

Colonel Cavenagh, Governor of the Straits, did not disregard the appeal. He sent a ship of war to the Perak coast to get settlement of a claim for damages by Go Kuan British subjects, assessed by the Sultan's agent, the Laksamana, at \$17,447.04. When payment was not made, he ordered a blockade of the coast. Sultan Ja'far could neither pay nor force the Larut chief to pay. He could only implore Ngah Ibrahim to be reasonable. Ngah Ibrahim offered to pay if it was made worth his while. He also had been suffering from the blockade and was prepared to yield, but he asked for a further concession of authority. The Sultan

¹ Si-Kuan.

² Go-Kuan.

³ Now Taipeng.

was ready to grant it. Ngah Ibrahim paid the money in May, 1862, and on 12 June 1862 Sultan Ja'far informed Governor Cavenagh that Che' Ngah Ibrahim had had restored to him the government of Larut with full powers and his father-in-law the Laksamana to advise him. Relieved of anxiety the Governor now wrote to the Sultan, requesting that he would stick to Low's treaty and not impose a duty of more than \$6 a *bahar* on tin.

On 23 October 1863 Ngah Ibrahim was granted the title of *Orang Kaya Mantri*, a title of the highest rank in Perak, and received a document recognising him as ruler of the whole country from the Krian river in the north to the Bruas river in the south. "We give the government of the aforesaid entire country to the Orang Kaya Mantri, whether he acts well or ill, with all its subjects and its soldiers, its lands and its waters, its timber, its plants and rattans, its *damar*, its shells, its mines, its hills and its mountains, and all the immigrants who dwell thereon, whether they be Chinese or Dutch—with power to frame laws and to admit men to the Muhammadan religion, to kill, to fine and to pardon and (as our representative) to give in marriage the guardianless. . . . If any man makes disturbances or disowns the Mantri's authority, he commits a sin against God, against Muhammad and against Us. If he disown the Mantri, we will seize his property; if he resist the Mantri, we will kill him."

On 31 March 1864 after due deliberation with rajas and chiefs Sultan Ja'far "bestowed a dependency of the country of Perak upon Ngah Ibrahim bin Ja'far to be governed by him. . . . He can govern them as he pleases and make any laws he thinks fit. . . . The wishes and laws of Ngah Ibrahim are our own laws also. Let every one remember this and do not dispute the laws of Ngah Ibrahim bin Ja'far."

Had Ngah Ibrahim now got a freehold title and absolute possession of Larut or was he merely enjoying the usufruct of the province in accordance with the usual Malay law of land tenure and so long as he could govern it effectually? He claimed absolute right, though in 1874 at Pangkor Thomas Braddell advised that he enjoyed only the usufruct and had forfeited that by his mal-administration.

For the moment Ngah Ibrahim was the actual ruler of Larut. Had he been of royal birth, he might have been accepted by all as an independent prince, but the lack of this condition prejudiced his claim to sovereignty. Among Europeans he was known as the "Raja of Larut" or as the "Mantri of Larut." Among Malays his office gave him a right to the designation of *těngku*, a title given generally to royalty, but in Perak to the highest commoner chiefs. His seal suggested his pretensions. In short his position was one which an able man might have converted in time into a Sultanate; but it exposed its holder to the feelings of jealousy and

hatred that dog the *nouveau riche*. Ngah Ibrahim was not quite equal to the opportunities that had come his way. He was a man of ability and ambition; he built a road, maintained a small police force, and made some slight effort to govern the country on European lines, while at the same time he strove to earn popularity among his countrymen by entertaining all comers lavishly at his home near Bukit Gantang. A Malay, it was natural that he should overvalue the applause and support of the Malays while he underrated the strength and intelligence of the Chinese. He knew that the miners could have no political ambitions in a desolate country which they visited only for money-making. He misread the lesson of 1862 into thinking that even if clan-fights arose they must end in the destruction of one or other party and the further assertion of Malay predominance. Drawing a large revenue (some \$200,000 a year or more) from his dominion over Larut he was content to maintain his authority with a force of not more than 40 constables and to leave his 40,000 Chinese subjects to govern themselves through their own masonic lodges. They lived unmolested in their mining-camps; he was content to hold the toll-stations on the coast and levy duty on all exports and imports.

The conditions of life in the mining-camps were discreditable to all concerned. The annual death rate was about fifty per cent.; it was heaviest among coolies engaged in clearing the jungle or in opening new mines. High rates of profit attracted others to fill vacancies; but those rates were misleading. The mine-owners received as royalty in kind a large percentage of the tin mined by the coolies, bought the rest of the tin at rates below the market-price, supplied the coolies with the necessaries of life at a very high figure, and owned the opium saloons and gambling dens in which the coolies' surplus gains were dissipated. The coolies perished, but the mine-owners became wealthy men and soon left the hard life of Larut for the amenities of Chinese society in Penang. The local control of the mines passed from the wealthy owners to impecunious and irresponsible relatives and attorneys who were bent on becoming rich in their turn. At the time of the troubles in 1862 the leading Hai-San Chinese at Klian Pauh was Chang Keng Kwi; and the Ghi Hin leader who succeeded So Ah Chiang at Kamunting was Ho Ghi Siu. Ten years later both these leaders were wealthy residents of Penang; and their mines were managed by their attorneys. Li Ah Kun, Ghi Siu's attorney, was accused of an intrigue with the wife of a near relative of Ah Kwi. This scandal came to light at a time when the passions of both sides were inflamed by a boundary dispute. Ah Kwi's men seized Li Ah Kun and the accused lady, placed each of them in one of the crate-like baskets used by Chinese for the transport of pigs; and, after marching them about for some time in this ignominious guise, ended by submerging the pair in the waters of a disused alluvial mine and holding them there till life was extinct. This outrage caused Ho Ghi Siu's men to take up

arms at once. The elders of the great lodges intervened. To avoid the losses entailed by clan-fights a system of arbitration had been set up; and it was agreed that a sum of \$2,000 should be paid by instalments as compensation to the heirs of Li Ah Kun. The first instalment was paid. Before the second instalment could be paid a further dispute had arisen and had led to riots. There was now a small civil war in Larut.

The Hai-San miners outnumbered the Ghi Hin in the proportion of nearly two to one. In the riots of 1862 they had driven their opponents out of the country; and since that time they had always been supported by the Mantri as they were the stronger side. The Ghi Hin miners had taken the lesson to heart. Numerically the weaker, they had prepared for war by laying in supplies of munitions and engaging professional fighting men. These men made a bold attack upon the over-confident Hai-San miners, drove them out of their camps, and hustled them into the Mantri's fort at Matang. By 26 March 1872 the Ghi Hin (or Si-Kuan) faction had completely beaten the Hai San (or Go-Kuan) faction.

The Mantri was in a dilemma. He had supported the Hai-San men since 1862 in the belief that their superior numbers made them the stronger party. He found now that he had backed the wrong side. He had the mortification of seeing the Larut mines, the source of his revenues, in the hands of enemies; and he wrote at once to Sir Harry Ord, the Governor of the Straits, to explain that he had permitted the ingress of professional fighters because he understood that they were to be used for fighting only the miners, but that they had proved to be "bad men" who were prepared to fight anybody and had even attacked his Malay police. Meanwhile he engaged (at a cost of \$15,000) junks and other transport to take the Hai-San refugees to Penang. As soon as he had got rid of their embarrassing presence he began to make overtures to the victorious Ghi Hin. He was indifferent which side won, so long as he continued to receive the revenues of Larut.

As soon as the Hai-San miners reached a haven of safety in Penang, they began to petition Governor Ord for redress. Governor Ord sent the petitions to the Mantri, and expressed the hope that "his friend" would do what was right in the matter. "His friend" could not do anything. The Hai-San miners had brought expulsion on themselves: it takes two sides to make a riot, and their side was not the weaker. Some non-committal answer had to be sent, so the Mantri replied by saying that the petitioners' statements were untrue. Sir Harry Ord in his turn pointed out to the Hai-San men that Larut lay outside his jurisdiction and that the British Government had no right to interfere.

It was a weak line to take. The passions aroused by bloodshed and civil war cannot be calmed by legal quibbles or by a policy of *laissez faire*. The Hai-San miners in Penang turned from

the written to the unwritten law and began to buy arms and ammunition with a view to the reconquest of their property. They even attempted the life of their chief enemy, the Ghi Hin leader Ho Ghi Siu, at his Penang residence. It was now the turn of the Mantri and of Ho Ghi Siu to appeal to the British Government against the policy of *laissez faire*. They begged Sir Harry Ord and the Acting Lieutenant-Governor to put an end to the conspiracies against the peace of Larut. To add to the confusion, Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah of Perak, who claimed to be the rightful Sultan, angry because the Mantri supported Sultan Isma'il, gave written authority to the victorious Ghi Hins to fight vigorously, promising if they won to defray half their expenses and lease them the Larut mines! He even gave them his seal which a Ghi-Hin baker affixed to a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, Penang! Again just before the death of Sultan 'Ali, 'Abdu'llah, angry because the Mantri would not give him money, granted a needy Eurasian, Mr. Bacon, a fifteen years' lease of the Krian farms for \$5,500 a year. Bacon wanted the Mantri's signature but the Mantri reported it to Sultan 'Ali, who published a notice in the Penang paper that he annulled the lease as no one but the Sultan could give it. Now in 1872 Bacon, still anxious to recover his money, was trying to levy taxes on rice, wood and rattans as well as a head tax in the north of Larut, showing documents from 'Abdu'llah and the Mantri selling him the farms over an area of 800 square miles for \$2,000! Mr. (later Sir) George W. R. Campbell, Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, warned 'Abdu'llah and Bacon not to break the law.

For the Hai-Sans warnings were useless. A red-faced Hai-San Chinese brought a bogus action for debt against the Mantri and seized his warship, the *Betara Bayu*, under an order of the court, at the very moment when the Hai-San junks set sail. The acting Lieutenant-Governor could do nothing to stop them. On 16 October 1872 he followed the little armada with his seven marine policemen; but as the junks cleared for action and "seemed very determined," he did not like to take the responsibility for violent measures. On 18 October he returned to Penang and let the miners fight it out. By the time that the order of court had done its work and the Mantri's steamer had been released, the Hai-San junks had reached Larut and were taking full advantage of the opportunities their legal advisers had put in their way. When the Hai-San junks first arrived off the coast the Ghi Hin leaders had left their mining-camps and were at Matang discussing the appointment of a *Capitan China*. For the moment their men were leaderless and could not resist the well-organized surprise attack made upon them. Hundreds perished in the fighting; several hundred more died of exposure or privation in the jungle. In October 1872 two thousand refugees found their way to Penang, of whom more than a hundred were wounded. All the Ghi-Hin women fell into the hands of their enemies. A few preferred suicide to dishonour; the rest were divided

up between the Hai-San headmen and the Mantri's chiefs, for the Mantri had taken up once more his old policy of siding with the victors.

The influx of wounded and ruined fugitives and the fate of their womenfolk roused the Ghi Hin faction in Penang to passionate wrath. Reconciliation was impossible. There was no serious appeal to the Governor who on 26 October issued a proclamation calling attention to Sections 125 and 126 of the Penal Code! The Ghi Hin leader, Ho Ghi Siu, bought up junks and enlisted fighting-men in order to beat his opponents at their own game. In December, 1872, he raided the Larut coast and seized Matang. That was as far as he could go. The strength of the Hai San miners and the difficult character of the country made it impossible for him to reconquer the mines. He then changed his methods. He began to blockade the coast. No tin could be exported, no food imported. Early in January the *Fair Malacca*, a small vessel flying the British flag, was fired at by the Ghi Hin junks and forbidden to enter the Larut river. As no blockade by such lawless belligerents could be regarded as legal, the senior naval officer (Captain Denison) was called upon as "a policeman of the seas" to seize the junks that had been guilty of this "piratical attack" on the *Fair Malacca*. On entering the Larut river he found a number of vessels fully manned and armed, with boarding-nets ready and stinkpots at their mastheads. Their crews described themselves merely as Ho Ghi Siu's men. No resistance was offered when Captain Denison seized two junks which were recognized as having taken part in the "attack," and there was no protest beyond a request that the treatment might be meted out by Captain Denison to Hai San men also.

The seizure of these junks did not end the blockade but it changed its character. The Ghi Hin leaders abandoned junk-warfare for the use of long war-boats or war-canoes, each manned by twenty or twenty-five men. These boats could escape with ease from any cutter or war-junk or heavy steam-launch; their range of action was great owing to their light draught and the length of the inland waterways; and their powers of offence were serious when they were massed in any numbers in a tortuous and narrow tidal river. The war became a river-war. The coast of Larut is a maze of interlaced tidal creeks and rivers, which enabled the boats to raid the sugar-plantations and fishing-villages as well as the mines, to spread the area of disturbance, and to interfere still further with the Hai San food-supplies. Distress was acute both among the Hai San men in the mines and among the Ghi Hin men in the boats, who in their turn were being denied access to the sea. Bloodshed was not great, as the fightingmen were out for loot rather than for slaughter; still, once at least a war-boat was seen to be carrying a ghastly cargo of newly-severed human heads.

Early in 1873 the Mantri had decided that Larut was not a safe place of residence for a trimmer. He moved to the lower reaches of the Krian river (which then formed the boundary between the Colony and Perak); and to make escape into Colonial territory still easier, he lived in a boat. In February he recognised 'Abdu'llah as Sultan, while 'Abdu'llah recognised him as Mantri. In April 'Abdu'llah came to the Krian river. The Chinese leaders had ceased to pay for legal whitewash, *de jure* rights and the help of helpless Malay chiefs. On board the Mantri's little steamer 'Abdu'llah even conferred the title of Raja Muda on his old rival Raja Yusuf. On April 14 "Sultan" 'Abdu'llah and the Laksamana signed a document containing the following passage:—"We acknowledge and confirm the Orang Kaya Mantri, even as before so during our reign, to hold for ever the Government of Larut and its dependencies. This cannot be changed." But they fell out again a few weeks later. In July the Mantri had secured the services of Captain Speedy of the Penang police and sent him to India to recruit sepoys.

The period from February to August, 1873, was one of serious anxiety for the British authorities. River war-fare was going on; raids were common; the fighting was coming closer and closer to the British border. The roving bands were beginning to attach themselves to individual leaders or to plunder indiscriminately without any leader at all. It was ceasing to be a question of "Ghi Hin" or "Hai San": a band of ruffians flying a red flag with a white border would be recognized as "Koh Bu An's men"; a black flag with a red border indicated that they were "Ho Ghi Siu's men"; and so on. Other bands were openly piratical. Clan-fights and fights on a small scale between the partisans of Chinese "towkays" began to take place in Penang and were assisted by a close alliance between certain local lawyers and the Larut belligerents. Convictions were hard to obtain in a country where false witnesses could be suborned and witnesses of truth terrified into silence. The lawyers could always give the whole piratical struggle a coating of legal whitewash by securing for the marauders the patronage of some *de-jure* Malay Chief. If a Cantonese professional freebooter happened to be caught plundering a trading-junk, the capture was usually followed by a lawyer's letter saying that the freebooter was a soldier employed by the "Sultan" (Abdullah) or by "the Raja" (the Mantri), as the case might be. Indeed at a later date the captain of one of Her Majesty's ships found a Penang solicitor living in a piratical stockade on the Larut river, and expressed very bluntly his disbelief of the lawyer's assurance that he was there for amusement.

In August, 1873, the fear of Chinese civil war in Penang forced Lieutenant-Governor Anson to take action. On 10 August he called a meeting of rival leaders at his office. There were present: the Mantri, Raja 'Abdu'llah, Ho Ghi Siu (Ghi Hin),

and Chang Ah Kwi (Hai San), besides Captain Grant of the *Midge* and Tengku Zia-u'd-din, Regent of Selangor. The Lieutenant-Governor induced both parties to consent to an armistice pending arbitration by himself. But it was one thing to agree in Penang to an armistice, and quite another matter to get the Larut belligerents to lay down their arms. The only member of the conference who was prepared to attempt the impossible was Raja 'Abdu'llah who had nothing to lose and whose assurances were taken too seriously. He started at once for Larut on board *H.M.S. Midge*, and issued the following proclamation:

"Having signed an agreement with the Tengku Mantri of Larut, yesterday the 10th day of August, 1873, in the presence of the Honourable Colonel Anson, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang; Tengku Zia-u'd-din, Viceroy of Selangor; Commander Grant of *H.M.S. Midge*; Ho Ghi Siu; Sayid Zin; Chang Ah Kwi; Tengku Yusuf and others;—to the effect that we intend to put an end to the hostilities that are at present going on at Larut, I hereby order you the Headmen of the Sin-Neng, Teo-Chiu and Hui-Chiu factions, with your armed junks and boats to come out of the rivers and creeks of Larut with all possible despatch, and come and anchor close to *H.M.S. Midge*, now anchored outside the Larut River. If you fail to obey this order you must take the consequences. Again, if you have disputes to settle, the headmen and towkays of either faction can go to Penang and refer the disputes to the Lieutenant-Governor. Lastly I order that all your headmen and towkays who are now at Larut will come on board the *Midge*, and meet me."

Raja 'Abdu'llah had counted on the help of Ho Ghi Siu, whose word was law in Ghi Hin circles. Ho Ghi Siu was in no mood to support his "chief"; he gave every one the slip and stayed behind in Penang. Raja 'Abdu'llah made excuses but was afraid to admit his weakness. He went unwillingly to Larut, refused to land lest his "followers" should fire on him, and declined to authorize any attempt to force a passage into the river. Though the *Midge* was accompanied by two steamers full of rice for the starving miners, the whole flotilla had to return to Penang with its mission unfulfilled. The Ghi Hin men refused to lay down their arms.

On 14 August Captain Grant returned to Penang and reported what had happened. Raja 'Abdu'llah wrote as follows to Colonel Anson: "We inform our friend that we went to Larut in the *Midge*, accompanied by the Mantri. We wished to put a stop to the Chinese disturbances at Larut, but the towkays and headmen did not go with us; moreover at the time we met our friend we stated that if those headmen did not go with us we should be unable to settle the disturbances. At the present time we are not well enough to meet our friend. When we have recovered we will come and meet our friend."

The failure of this attempt to settle matters by arbitration put Ho Ghi Siu and his Ghi Hin associates in the wrong. Colonel Anson turned to the other side, telegraphed to Governor Ord (who left at once for Penang), and approved of the Mantri's plan to recruit Indian troops and employ Captain Speedy of the Penang police for service in Larut. Raja 'Abdu'llah was furious. On 2 August he wrote two letters protesting against the employment of British subjects in Perak and deposing the Mantri from all his offices:—

"How often have we told the Mantri to step in and end the disturbances created by these Chinese? But the Chinese go on making trouble, and the Mantri will not hearken to our advice. He has left Larut and is now living in Penang where he hatches deep-laid schemes aiming at dominion over all Perak. Larut is become a waste; and as for Ngah Ibrahim bin Ja'far, a native of Perak and a slave of our father and of us, great indeed is his sin towards us. He is a traitor to us and does not pay allegiance to Perak. Moreover he calls himself *Tengku*, which means that he is the son of a great Raja; and he has made himself a larger seal, putting on it *Paduka Seri Maharaja Ibrahim bin Ja'far Mantèri Perak*, which is a great crime under the customary law of Perak. Now therefore from Wednesday 21 August, 1873, we annul all the powers that he has received from former Sultans and the powers that he has received from us, and all his titles. Never again may he hold sway in any province of Perak."

When Governor Ord arrived at Penang he answered this letter by inviting Raja 'Abdu'llah to a conference on Larut affairs. The Raja replied on 2 September, "We also would like very much to meet our friend; but we are unable to do so this time as we are suffering from a slight sickness; so we send our Panglima Besar along with our lawyer to the meeting." But the Governor had no wish to meet these gentlemen.

On 3 September 1873 Sir Henry Ord took the decisive step of recognizing the Mantri as the independent ruler of Larut and of throwing the whole weight of British support on the side of that chief and of the Hai-San Chinese. "As I am satisfied, from the various documents which the Orang Kaya Mantri has produced, that he is the lawful ruler of Larut and, as such, independent of the Sultan or any authority in Perak, he will now be recognized by the Government as the independent ruler of Larut." This decision was conveyed to the Mantri in a letter dated 5 September, and was repeated in an ambiguous way in the Legislative Council on 9th September. The Governor also repealed in the Mantri's favour the proclamation forbidding the export of arms to Larut.

The dependence of Larut on Perak meant divided authority, rival leaders and a continuance of civil war. Sir Harry Ord hoped to restore order in Larut by depriving the recalcitrant Ghi Hin

party of its supplies of arms and ammunition and by permitting the Mantri to recruit troops and buy military stores. The plan was good in a limited way. Its success could not be immediate, and it failed to remove the real grievances of the Ghi Hin whose mines and women-folk were to be left in the possession of those very doubtful guardians of law and order the Hai-San miners and the Mantri.

The disturbances continued. On 12 and 13 September Malay vessels were plundered and their sailors killed. On 15 September Captain Grant of the *Midge* was proceeding up the Larut river in his gig, followed by a small Malay schooner, when he was attacked by two Ghi Hin warboats. The Malay at the schooner's tiller left his post at the first sign of danger and allowed his vessel to fly up into the wind and run aground. While the naval men were trying to get the schooner off the mudbank they were subjected to a heavy fire and returned to the *Midge* with two young officers wounded. The *Midge* then went back to Penang.

Meanwhile Raja 'Abdu'llah and his Ghi Hin friends had not been idle. On 15 September some of the latter blew up the Mantri's private residence at Penang, wounding five men and killing a policeman. Two days later Raja 'Abdu'llah wrote that some Ghi Hin men had been unlucky enough to wound two British officers of the *Midge* while defending themselves against a piratical attack by the Mantri, and he asked that vengeance might be taken on the Mantri as the real culprit. But in spite of this explanation and of the outcries of the Ghi Hin lawyer, the *Midge* and the *Thalia* shelled the stockades at Selinsing, captured two junks and a longboat, and inflicted serious losses on the "pirates." On that same day a small Malay trader was attacked by warboats; six of the crew were killed or wounded and the sum of \$544 was carried off. On 22 September Raja 'Abdu'llah suddenly appeared on the scene in a steamer; he also was captured and taken back to Penang. On 29 September Captain Speedy sailed for Larut with a flotilla of two steamers and fifteen small sailing-craft to convey arms, munitions and stores to the Hai San miners. Raja Yusuf, whom 'Abdu'llah had left in charge of Bukit Gantang fled, and Speedy occupied it. The Ghi Hin miners temporarily cowed and driven from the coast did not lay down their arms and were still formidable. Lieutenant-Governor Anson kept complaining that the Mantri and Captain Speedy were more intent on working the mines than on suppressing piracy; the Mantri replied that he was strong enough to hold the mines but not to put an end to the warboats. Governor Ord left the country and Sir Andrew Clarke succeeded him. The Ghi Hin men had not been hunted down, but they were being blockaded and starved. To seaward lay the British gunboats; to landward were Captain Speedy and his Sikhs. The end was merely a matter of time. On 20 January 1874 at Pangkor the headmen of both Chinese factions signed an agreement to pay Her Majesty

Queen Victoria \$50,000 if they failed to live in Larut peaceably and in accordance with the law. They consented to have their forces disarmed and their stockades destroyed. On 23 February the Commissioners appointed for this latter task (Captain Dunlop, Messrs. F. A. Swettenham and W. A. Pickering) reported that it was done. The Commissioners also rescued and restored to their relatives a large number of Chinese women, including one taken as a concubine by the Mantri, who complained that she had been beaten not only by her lord's wife but also by the Mantri himself, unstable in love as in policy.

VIII BRITISH INTERVENTION.

Well enough one of the Chinese leaders in Larut exclaimed: "When the British flag is seen over Perak, every Chinese will go down on his knees and bless God." As early as 1864 the Singapore newspapers had suggested that England should offer to purchase the country, but at that time Singapore can hardly have had firsthand knowledge of social conditions under Malay rule in Perak. None but a Muslim had legal rights. The Perak Code laid it down, for example, that forest land became the property of the person who cleared it, only provided he was a Muhammadan. The aborigines, as infidels, were hunted down and enslaved and, as Mr. Birch wrote in 1874, not the slightest notice was taken of the murder of a Sakai. Even the Muslim infirm can hardly be said to have enjoyed rights in a society where might only counted. When Sultan Muzaffar Shah was suffering from his last illness, a mad woman found in the palace was killed as a witch. In the reign of his successor, Iskandar Shah, the Sri Maharaja had allowed one of his dependents, a Tamil Muslim girl, to become betrothed but withdrew his permission, wanting to marry her himself: her fiance seized her by force but was thwarted by the aggrieved chief giving her to the Sultan as a slave!

And the condition of slaves in Perak was pitiable. Malay Codes are often academic but little can be expected from practice when the Perak law prescribed that "if a slave assaults a free-man, he shall be assaulted in turn and have his hands nailed down, while the free-man shall be at liberty to enjoy the slave's wife." "The loan of a slave was like the borrowing of a stick." Any man harbouring a runaway slave had his ears fillipped with a small rattan and any female harbourer had her head shaved and was beaten. On the discovery of the pregnancy of a female slave, her purchaser could return her as damaged goods but her child remained his property.

In 1874 there were 3,000 slaves in Perak, one sixteenth of the whole population. "Every Raja and Chief was accompanied, when he went abroad and was served at home, by numerous dependents, debts-bondsmen and slaves, who lived in or near his house and belonged to his household. If they misbehaved, they might be beaten and tortured, and slaves might be killed. . . . The desire to possess some particular person sometimes led to the invention of fictitious debts, and people were liable with little hope of redress to be dragged from their homes. . . . No work that debt-bondsmen performed for their creditors and masters operated to lessen the debt: they served in his household, cultivated his fields and worked in his mines, but such service was merely a necessary incident of their position. . . . Sometimes the master fed and clothed them but more often they had to supply themselves with all

necessaries notwithstanding that their labour was forfeited to the master's service." In Perak there was seldom recognition of the right of a female debtor to freedom once she had become her master's mistress. Nor was heed paid to the rule that wife and children could not be held liable for a debt incurred without their knowledge. In Kinta the debts of bondsmen were swelled by a species of compound interest. A man might owe a *bahar* of tin: if he did not pay in six months, local custom made him liable for a *bahar* at the Penang price, say three times its value in Kinta. The debt was then put down at three *bahar*! And every six months the same compound calculation was repeated!

Class distinctions were rigid. In the districts of Kampar, Sungkai and Pulau Tiga, where there were no powerful chiefs to protect their dependents, royal messengers could carry the ruler's creese or sword and carry off the young women to become palace attendants. "Usually they led a life of prostitution with the knowledge and consent of the Raja and his household, and by their means a number of male attendants were always about the court and the importance of the Raja was thereby outwardly increased." To strike a royal slave involved the penalty of death. Anybody who enticed a royal slave away had to make good the value fourteenfold: if the slave belonged to a Raja, sevenfold; if to a Mantri, five-fold; if to a Sayid, three-fold; if to a common person, two-fold: too poor to pay, the enticer was killed.

In Krian in 1874 it was difficult to get \$10 an *orlong* for excellent rice-land, the price being calculated merely on the cost of the labour for clearing the field: when the British introduced security of tenure, the price rose to \$60 or \$70. For under Malay custom no subject could hold freehold property or enjoy more than the usufruct of land, conditional on continuous occupation, the payment of tithes and taxes and the rendering of customary services or in other words forced labour. "Whenever the Sultan or any Raja or Chief of sufficient authority," I quote Sir Frank Swettenham, "wanted labour for any public or private work—such as the clearing of a river, the building of a mosque or house, the manning of boats for a journey, then all the men within reach were summoned, through the village headmen, to come and undertake this forced labour, for which no payment was ever made, and though the labourers were supposed to be fed as long as the work lasted, that was not always done." And famine was frequent and food an ever present worry. Poor as the harvests were and at the mercy of an uncertain rainfall, produce and cattle and poultry were likely to be seized by invaders as Colonel Low found in 1826 the Siamese had seized them.

Taxation was heavy. Export duties were: \$6 to \$10 a *bahar* on tin, \$3 a *pikul* on gutta, \$2 a *pikul* on resins, \$1.25 a *pikul* on hides, \$2 on a 100 rattans. There are numerous import duties: \$4 a *koyan* on rice, \$50 a chest on opium, \$16 a *koyan* on salt,

\$2 a *pikul* on Javanese and \$1.50 a *pikul* on Chinese tobacco; 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* on cottons and silks. At every river-mouth the local chief had a custom-station and duties were demanded at every station past which goods were conveyed! Even "Eyes," the equivalent of the modern policeman got his tithe of poultry, rope, pots and pans, needles, gold and silk thread, coconuts and fish and demanded \$2 a mast from vessels passing his coign of vantage.

There were no anaesthetics for those wounded in the constant fighting and no cure for malaria, beri-beri and yaws. The dread of disease took the form of dread of ghostly powers, so that the State, which did nothing else for the creature comforts of the people, used periodically to consult their welfare by organising great ceremonies to expel malignant demons from its borders and propitiate kindly guardian influences. It was ceremony that made life tolerable for the Perak peasant—ceremony and the feudal system. Raped, tortured or enslaved, every individual commanded the interest of somebody, even if it were a malevolent interest. The peasant was the hewer of wood and drawer of water at the births and marriages of his chiefs and he cut and carried their huge biers but he saw the show and took part in it. His masters lived for ceremonies their only amusement, and destiny was now about to stage two fateful ceremonies, first the installation as ruler, of Bendahara Isma'il, and a little later a shaman's *séance* which was produced in evidence that cost the lives of two great Perak chiefs and the exile of a Sultan.

Generally a Perak Sultan is succeeded by the Raja Muda. The Bendahara or Prime Minister takes possession of the regalia of the deceased ruler and temporarily administers the government. At the expiration of seven days he sends or heads a deputation to the Raja Muda inviting him as heir-presumptive to attend the obsequies and be installed as Sultan. Accordingly after the death of Sultan 'Ali at Sayong on 26 May 1871, Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah, son of Sultan Ja'far and brother-in-law of Sultan 'Ali, was invited to attend the obsequies. The invitation was not in proper form, as none of the upcountry chiefs wanted him for their ruler. No yellow umbrella and no house-boat accompanied the invitation. The first invitation came not from Bendahara Isma'il but from 'Abdu'llah's brother-in-law, son of the deceased Sultan, who sent a messenger wearing one of the deceased's kerchiefs, a more polite intimation than any missive but still not formal. 'Abdu'llah hesitated to go to Sayong as he feared that on the way upriver he might be attacked at Senggang by another claimant Raja Yusuf. So the Bendahara sent—no yellow umbrella, no big chief to invite his attendance but first To' Dewa of Lambor and then S'inda Maharaja. Meanwhile, disgusted at her consort's cowardice, 'Abdu'llah's wife (sister of the dead Sultan), Raja Tipah, ran away with Raja Daud, a Selangor raja. At Durian Sa-batang the Lak-samana trained his guns on the abductor's boat but Raja Daud

tied himself to Raja Tipah and defied the Laksamana to shed the white blood of a Perak princess. 'Abdu'llah divorced his erring spouse and attempted no revenge. But how could he face her nephew at Sayong? or Isma'il, who had adopted her? or Raja Yusuf contemptuous of weaklings and cowards? After waiting thirty-two days with the body of their late king an offence to heaven, the chiefs lost patience and on 28 June installed Isma'il, who had been Bendahara to two Sultans. The new ruler took the title of Isma'il Mu'abidin Shah and was accepted by all the chiefs (except the Laksamana) and at first by the British government. But trouble soon began. Isma'il took the official scales of the customs officer at Kuala Perak away from the Laksamana's son and gave them to a chief just appointed by himself, the Raja Mahkota. Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah and the Shahbandar attacked the Raja Mahkota and seized the scales. Probably the Sultan would have attacked 'Abdu'llah, had not the Larut troubles occupied him. Still it was not till 1872 that those like the Eurasian Bacon to whom the improvident 'Abdu'llah had granted valuable concessions began to cast doubts on the validity of Isma'il's Sultanate:— one of Sultan 'Ali's last letters to Lieutenant-Governor Anson, dated 18 March 1871, had asked that British subjects should be prevented from negotiating for farms in Perak with his brother-in-law, the Raja Muda. Now in 1872 Governor Ord sent Mr. Irving, Auditor-General of the Straits Settlements, along with an interpreter (Ibrahim son of Munshi 'Abdu'llah) lent by the Maharaja of Johor, to investigate on the spot who was the rightful ruler. On 25 April Mr. Irving met Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah in the presence of the Mantri (whom he styled the Raja of Larut) and of the Mantri's father-in-law, the Laksamana Muhammad Amin. The Eurasian, Mr. Bacon, made a speech asserting 'Abdu'llah's claims. When the Raja Muda had gone, the Mantri took Irving aside and told him in confidence that the election of Isma'il was valid and could not now after a whole year be annulled. By far the wealthiest Perak chief, the Mantri was suspected of aiming at the throne and, as Swettenham noted, "to gain this end his best plan was to obtain a precedent for breaking the line of succession" and to support a ruler older than himself. Irving came to the conclusion that this untrustworthy trimmer the Mantri owed Larut to a corrupt bargain to support Isma'il's claim to the Sultanate! And without meeting Isma'il he stigmatised him as "an impracticable Malay of the old school," and advised the government to get that lover of European ways 'Abdu'llah installed as Sultan, which he was optimist enough to say "might be done very unobtrusively!" Unlike Isma'il, 'Abdu'llah would not conspire with Raja Mahdi and Sayid Mashhor against Zia-u'd-din, the Kedah viceroy of Selangor. In short, 'Abdu'llah's election might restore harmony from Kedah to Johor! But on 9 May Wan Hasan the Temenggong Paduka Raja of Perak addressed a strong letter to

the Governor, protesting that the election of Isma'il, a just fair prince, could not be annulled after a reign of a year, that another Bendahara in the person of Raja 'Usman (a son of Sultan 'Ali) had been appointed and that 'Abdu'llah stood in the position of grandson to Sultan Isma'il and had caused a lot of trouble to him and to Perak. The Temenggong added that besides himself there had been present at Isma'il's election the two sons of Sultan 'Ali, the Mantri, the Orang Kaya Balai Maharaja Lela, the Sri Agar 'diraja, the Panglima Kinta, the Sri Maharaja Lela and the Sri Nara 'diraja as well as the sons of the Panglima Bukit Gantang and of the Sri Adika Raja who were acting in the place of their fathers. Only the Laksamana and Shahbandar were absent. All the chiefs present had talked of 'Abdu'llah the cuckold as having been ever useless to his country, and unanimously elected Isma'il. Later the Laksamana and Shahbandar expressed their agreement. On 12 May the Mantri also wrote to the Governor that Isma'il should remain Sultan. The Governor suggested summoning all the Perak chiefs finally to decide who should be their ruler. The chiefs rightly declared that the matter was settled and refused to come.

On 12 March 1873 'Abdu'llah applied to the Lieutenant-Governor of Penang for a pass for arms for himself and his men as they were going to investigate the disturbances in Larut; the letter was not answered as the "Raja Muda alias Sultan" was merely fleeing from small creditors at Penang. On 28 April he claimed that he had at last been elected Sultan by many of the Perak chiefs including the Mantri, and he collected the revenues of Kuala Perak for his maintenance. He meddled in the Larut troubles pretending to help the British and be on the side of law and order but, according to Sultan Isma'il, received payment for taking sides. In spite of 'Abdu'llah's efforts, the British government refused to recognize him, but it also declined to recognize Isma'il. Isma'il, though a Perak prince only on the distaff side, was no usurper but had been peaceably and properly elected. He was the rightful ruler and 'Abdu'llah only a pretender when Sir Harry Ord left the Straits and was succeeded by Sir Andrew Clarke, a change of Governors that happened to coincide with a change of policy on the part of the Colonial Office.

When in 1868 Sir Harry Ord had made a treaty with Kedah, the Colonial Office, while not disapproving of the treaty, laid down for the instruction of its administrators that "it would generally be undesirable that a Governor should enter into negotiations with native rulers, still less that he should conclude any agreement with them, except in pursuance of an object or policy considered and approved by Her Majesty's Government." These instructions are logical enough. But the "policy considered and approved by Her Majesty's Government" in the days of Sir Harry Ord was one of the strictest non-intervention. When, in July, 1872,

a number of Malacca traders sent a petition to the Government about the losses to which they were being put by the Selangor disturbances, they received the following reply:

“ It is the policy of Her Majesty’s Government not to interfere in the affairs of these countries except where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories, and if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy that they are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is impossible for the Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property.”

This answer was formally approved by Lord Kimberley in December, 1872. The same rule of absolute neutrality was laid down once more for the Governor’s guidance in a despatch dated 5 July, 1873. From that date, however, there are indications of a change of policy. Writing to Mr. Seymour Clarke on 5 August, 1873, the Colonial Office qualified its assertion of neutrality by stating that hitherto it had been the practice of the British Government not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Native States. In a despatch to the Governor, six weeks later, on 20 September, 1873, the policy of non-intervention was avowedly given up.

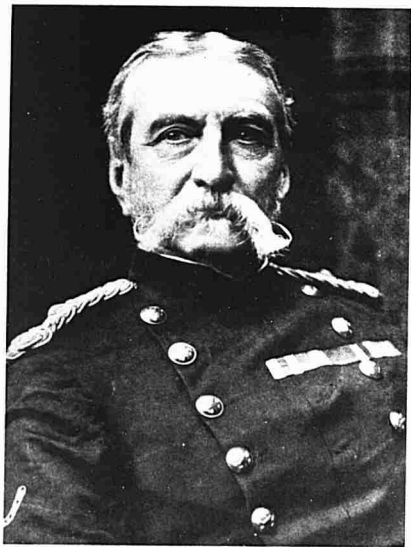
“ Her Majesty’s Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States; but, looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Government. . . . Her Majesty’s Government find it incumbent to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked.

“ I have to request that you will carefully ascertain, as far as you are able, the actual condition of affairs in each State and that you will report to me whether there are in your opinion any steps which can properly be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories. I should wish you, especially, to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the States. Such an appointment could, of course, only be made with the full consent of the native Government, and the expenses connected with it would have to be defrayed by the Government of the Straits Settlements.”

It seems clear, therefore, that in August, 1873, the Secretary of State had been contemplating a change of policy and that in September, 1873, that change became accomplished. If the aban-



PLATE X.



Sir Andrew Clarke, Governor, 1873 - 1875.

Photo Donald Davies.

donment of the old neutral attitude is to be ascribed to the representations of any Governor, it must have been due to the counsels of Sir Harry Ord. But as Sir Harry Ord was on the eve of retiring, the orders of the Colonial Office were not directed to him (though he was still in office) but to the Governor-designate, Sir Andrew Clarke, who happened to be in England when this all-important despatch was written. Not that the counsels of Governors could have been sufficient to bring about so great a change, had they not been aided by events. In 1873 Larut was being torn in two by rival secret societies; Perak proper was in a state of anarchy; Selangor was in the throes of civil war; even in Negri Sembilan there were serious disturbances. The whole Peninsula, as Sir Harry Ord pointed out, was in the hands of the lawless and the turbulent.

The policy of inaction that had been pursued between 1867 and 1873 must have been very galling to an administrator of the masterful temperament of Governor Ord. Local feeling was all in favour of intervention. In February, 1869, when Raja Yusuf laid his claim to the throne of Perak before the Straits authorities, the Colonial Secretary (Colonel Macpherson) openly expressed to the Governor his regret that it was not possible to take advantage of the opportunity and govern the country through a British nominee. In 1871 a committee (of which Major McNair was a member) definitely proposed that Residents should be sent to the Native States. In 1872, Sir George W. R. Campbell, when acting as Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, wrote in a similar strain:

“ I speak with diffidence, being so new to this portion of the East, but I think it is worth consideration whether the appointment under the British Government of a British Resident or Political Agent for certain of the Malay States would not, as in India, have a markedly beneficial effect. Such Resident or Political Agent would need to be an officer of some position and standing and a man of good judgment and good personal manner, and he should, of course, have a thorough knowledge of the Malay language. . . . In India, in many a native-ruled State, it is marvellous what work a single well-selected British officer has effected in such matters as roads, schools, and police—even within the compass of a few years.”

These quotations make it plain that the introduction of the residential system into the Malay States was not the result of any sudden inspiration on the part of a new Governor. It was brought about by the course of events and by the advocacy of many Colonial officials—Sir Harry Ord, Colonels Anson and Macpherson, Major McNair and Sir George Campbell, among others. Sir Andrew Clarke's connection with it was fortuitous. Before leaving England he had been told what to do. He landed at Singapore in November, 1873, and signed the Pangkor Treaty on 20 January, 1874. But

there were many possible ways of intervening in Perak affairs; and Sir Andrew Clarke must be judged by the way he elected to take—his reversal of Sir Harry Ord's policy towards the Mantri, his recognition of Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah as Sultan, his choice of Mr. Birch as Resident, and his guidance of Mr. Birch's line of action.

At the time of the Pangkor treaty Sir Andrew Clarke was probably ignorant that his predecessor had recognized the Mantri as the independent ruler of Larut. The papers on the subject were in Penang and were forwarded to him on 23 January, 1874, after the treaty had been signed. Sir Harry Ord's statement in the Singapore Council had not been explicit. Sir Harry had regarded the Larut troubles as a Penang matter and had been guided largely by the advice of Lieutenant-Governor Anson; Sir Andrew Clarke, as a newcomer, was influenced by Singapore counsellors, especially by Mr. Braddell who had never been to Larut and could have only an imperfect acquaintance with the facts. The new Governor had been instructed and advised to introduce the residential system, but had not been told how to do it. He seized the first chance that presented itself. Raja 'Abdu'llah, after his capture by the men of the *Midge*, had been released by Colonel Anson, the Lieutenant-Governor, and after borrowing \$1,000 through the Shahbandar sailed to Singapore. He was a discredited man; and his rival, the Mantri, was the recognized ruler of Larut. Raja 'Abdu'llah was ready to agree to the residential system or indeed to any other system that would secure his advancement. He lived at the expense of Kim Ching, the Chinese Consul for Siam in whose favour he executed a bond making his host collector of the Larut revenues for ten years, provided Kim Ching could get the British to recognize his Sultanate. Mr. W. H. Read, a member of Council, took 'Abdu'llah to the Governor and induced him to write a letter dated 30 December 1873 asking for a Resident at his court. This was the opening that Sir Andrew had desired. He took up Raja 'Abdu'llah's cause, thinking—on the facts before him—that it would be a fair compromise if Raja 'Abdu'llah recognized the Mantri as Mantri, and the Mantri recognized the Raja as Sultan. It was not a fair compromise. The British Government had already recognized the Mantri as the independent ruler of Larut; and the Mantri demurred to being regarded as his rival's subordinate. Sir Andrew Clarke and Mr. Braddell, unaware of this recognition and in all good faith, regarded the Mantri as an obstinate and recalcitrant individual who was making unnecessary difficulties and putting forward indefensible pretensions. Mr. Braddell's journal of the Pangkor negotiations has to be read in the light of what was known to the Governor and to himself, and not in the light of the true facts. Thus when Mr. Braddell says that the Mantri was obliged to admit that he had no right to the title of *těngku* Mr. Braddell could not have been aware that the Perak use of the title was not the Singapore use, and that

PLATE XI.



*Raja Lope Yusof ibni Sultan Abdullah Muhammad Shah,
Regent 1877: installed 27th. Sultan, 1887.*

Photo Donald Davies.

PLATE XII.



*Raja Muda Abdullah ibni Sultan Jaafar,
26th. Sultan, 1874 - 1876.*

Photo National Archives Malaysia.

previous Mantris had been styled *těngku* long before the time of Ibrahim bin Ja'far: what the Mantri may have admitted was that he was not a *těngku* in its Singapore meaning, "the son of a prince."

On 20 January 1874 Sir Andrew Clarke managed to persuade the Bendahara, the Temenggong and the Mantri to join with the Lower Perak Chiefs, the Sri Agar 'diraja, the Laksamana (cousin of 'Abdu'llah's mother) and his assistant the Raja Mahkota, and the Shahbandar, all of whom really favoured 'Abdu'llah on account of his mother, to sign the Pangkor treaty. Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah became Sultan and agreed to accept a British Resident "whose advice must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom." He was the rightful heir and was intelligent and Europeanized, and to disallow his claim to the throne because he failed to attend a funeral seemed to the British "frivolous." In spite of the formal legality of his election Sultan Isma'il was deposed but was to be given a title and a pension of \$1,000 a month. The Bendahara retained his office. The Mantri, in disgrace for his vacillating ineffective control of the Larut miners suffered the eclipse of all his hopes and was retained in his office only because Sir Andrew thought it would make for peace. He wanted a chair like the three Rajas present but was pushed down on the deck by Major McNair among the commoner chiefs. His nominee and friend had lost the Perak throne to Sultan 'Abdu'llah, the supporter of the Ghi Hins. The Mantri had to foot the bill to the Colony for Larut disturbances which 'Abdu'llah had fostered. And he who had aspired to a throne now became the salaried chief of a province subject to 'Abdu'llah. No wonder that he openly demurred. It is true that in the middle of 1873 he had written to 'Abdu'llah promising to vote for his election to the throne but that was in return for 'Abdu'llah's promise not to interfere in Larut; and three or four days after getting the Mantri's letter 'Abdu'llah had joined his Chinese enemies. All the chiefs objected to ceding more than the island of Pangkor to Great Britain but to please his creditor Kim Ching, 'Abdu'llah consented to cede a strip of the mainland too.

As soon as the new Sultan had returned well-pleased to Batak Rabbit, the Laksamana and other chiefs held meetings of protest against the treaty and opined that the cession of the Dindings spelt the cession of Perak. In the eyes of the Laksamana the one good point about the treaty was that the Resident could not interfere with Malay custom and they could continue to capture and enslave as many aborigines as they liked. The Mantri went off and paid a lawyer a retaining fee of \$12,000 to put his case before the British parliament, a procedure never adopted because 'Abdu'llah fearful for his throne vetoed it. Naturally Sultan Isma'il was furious. When Birch and Swettenham went to Blanja to induce him to surrender the regalia, he professed annoyance because

they did not sit cross-legged in Oriental fashion, and gave them neither boatmen nor elephants for their return journey. He threatened to kill one Kulop Riau for having built a road and imported a few hundred Mendelings from Sumatra to open mines at Sungai Raya, because, he said, roads and mines attracted Europeans: he seized all the tin and imposed such heavy taxes that the mining population fell from more than two thousand to four hundred. Meanwhile 'Abdu'llah made haste to feather his nest before a Resident arrived: he got an advance of \$13,000 from a Singapore Chinese, Cheng Ti, for the right to collect all taxes at the mouth of the Perak river and, as Mr. Braddell had warned him in July not to give such rights without the Governor's consent, he made out the agreement in the Shahbandar's name!

For the post of Resident of Perak was not filled at once. Captain Speedy, who had been in the Mantri's service and was well acquainted with local conditions, was appointed Assistant Resident. He was instructed to see to the immediate and complete disarmament of the Larut Chinese and the destruction of their stockades. In this work he was assisted by three Commissioners, one of whom (Mr. Pickering) had exceptional knowledge of Chinese affairs and amused Chinese coolies by his skill on the bag-pipes! These officers were able to report on 23 February that they had disarmed and destroyed every stockade in the country, that they had rescued 45 Chinese women who had been captured in the disturbances, and that they had induced the rival Chinese factions to agree to a definite partition of the mines. Peace was restored. The Chinese, tired with fighting, welcomed the restoration of law and order; but the Commissioners complained of their treatment at the hands of the Mantri who was dissatisfied with the subordinate position he had been made to accept.

The revenue of Larut in the palmy days of the Mantri had been about \$18,000 a month, of which \$15,000 had been collected in the form of royalty and export duty on tin. The revenue from tin in March, 1874, the first month of the new regime, amounted only to \$1,338. The estimated expenditure for the Larut establishments (exclusive of buildings, public works, launches and other special expenditure) was put by Captain Speedy at \$3,000 a month. By May the revenue had reached \$3,217 with the promise of a still greater increase as soon as the removal of the over-burden enabled the rich tin-deposits to be tapped in the deeper mines. By the end of the year the financial position of Larut was satisfactory. Much trouble, however, was caused through attempts made by Sultan 'Abdu'llah to levy revenue in the district otherwise than through the ordinary official channels. In March 1874, for example, he had sold to one 'Abdu'l-Karim the right to open mines, rice-fields and plantations on the right bank of the Krian river, a job that caused trouble for years. And there was fear of civil war. In August 'Abdu'llah, who always listened to every rumour, reported

PLATE XIII.



*Captain T.C.S. Speedy,
first Assistant Resident Larut. 1874-1876.*

Photo National Archives Malaysia.

PLATE XIV.



*Mr. J.W.W. Birch,
first British Resident of Perak, 1874 - 1876.*

Photo National Archives Malaysia.

that ex-Sultan Isma'il and Raja Yusuf were preparing for hostilities, had in fact already started them with the son of the Sri Adika Raja at Kuala Tampan and Banggul Belimbing in Upper Perak. Isma'il hoped still that the Maharaja of Johor was serving his interests and he declared that he would always accept British advice and denied that he had conspired with the Raja of Tongkak.

In October 1874, Sir Andrew Clarke, having weighed the claims of Thomas Braddell, Major McNair and James Wheeler Woodford Birch chose the last to be first British Resident of Perak. Apparently Sultan 'Abdu'llah had asked for him. On December 30 the Governor reported to the Earl of Carnarvon, then Secretary of State, that "fully conscious of the heavy responsibility he had assumed in making this selection," he was convinced that his ability, "his tact and judgment in dealing with natives" his long experience as a settlement officer in Ceylon and his untiring physical energy and endurance made Mr. Birch thoroughly competent for a very difficult task. All appointments to the Malay States were then temporary so that the selection of officers lay with the Governor.

IX

THE FIRST BRITISH RESIDENT.

For almost a year they faced one another, those two protagonists at the estuary of the Perak river.

One was an English gentleman with all the virtues and defects of his class period and upbringing, brave, honourable, kind, a lover of thrift and order, a strong confident administrator who worked heartily as unto—Dr. Arnold. He had about as much psychological insight as others of his complacent generation and though he had served for years in Ceylon, never clearly saw the Asiatic ruler against his historic background of Hinduism, harems and monopolies, but only as an anomaly against the very modern background of an English public school. Having no insight he had about as much sense of humour as the average Victorian was allowed to display. He had reached an age when from habitude the East no longer holds illusion and glamour for the European. Years in the tropics had tinged his nordic energy with nervous irritability. Not far from the end of his official career he was a man in a hurry to carry Victorian light to Perak while still he had time; for even long experience had failed to bring home to his unimaginative mind that hurry is futile in the training of childlike chieftains, especially when they are sensitive proud and spoiled. Besides he had a public-schoolboy's loyalty to superiors, who had instructed him: "it only requires that the wishes of government should be made known to native rulers to secure implicit obedience." He was sent to Perak to educate its chiefs in administration on lines entirely new to them but he knew no Malay and could not talk to his pupils. His pliant interpreter from the Colony had no fine public-school "scorn of consequence" but interpreted as far as possible to avoid rebuke and give satisfaction to all parties: "these are not the Kuran," he remarked when posting the notices that caused Birch's murder; "they can be disregarded as soon as the Resident leaves!"

The other protagonist was a young Malay raja with the charming manners of his class and the vices proper to the spoiled darling of a royal harem, sensitive as a woman to slights and shades of manner, fastidious as a woman over dress, an extravagant libertine, vain, timid and adept at intrigue. Duty was a concept entirely foreign to him. Work of a kind was a tiresome necessity for without intelligent effort it was impossible to borrow enough money for his harem, his gambling and his cock-fighting. Unpleasant business, even the avenging of honour, must wait till tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow; an elementary instinct of self-preservation that European administrators and Chinese creditors seemed strangely and inconveniently to lack. The one principle ever present in his royal mind was the divine right of kings. On the distaff side he was descended from the Laksamanas; the Mantri

also was related to the Laksamanas by ties of marriage, yet when the Mantri failed to lend 'Abdu'llah money and took his bought title to the rich tin-fields of Larut seriously, then 'Abdu'llah had had no scruple about siding with the Mantri's Chinese enemies and trying to diddle him out of Larut. To rajas of that time the ordinary ryot was of little more account than a beast of the field: after the murder of Mr. Birch 'Abdu'llah said to his chiefs, "Let us appear friendly with the Europeans by going up and getting hold of some of the low class men who actually killed Mr. Birch and handing them over! We can spread a report that Mr. Birch brought it on himself by interfering with the Pasir Salak women." Quite rightly Thomas Braddell described the Sultan as "more than ordinarily sharp and intelligent," but the Sultan was a frog under a coconut-shell, as ignorant of the ways of civilisation as he was of the size and might of the British empire. Not for more than a year yet was he to learn that this quixotic white race would sacrifice comfort, riches and life to punish the murderers of its servant, to avenge that queer thing its honour. A lonely pathetic figure of an Englishman with narrow rigid ideas as his daily companions! A pathetic spoilt-child Raja, with a crowd of sycophants always round him and only the pernicious ideas he absorbed from them in his mind! These were the protagonists in that long duel, when Mr. Birch landed at Batak Rabit on 5 November 1874 and confronted 'Abdu'llah as Perak's first Resident, eager to pour new wine into old bottles.

Very soon indeed, Birch adopted his rôle of mentor. Four days after arrival, he wrote in that full and frank diary, which is at once his own condemnation and excuse, the motto destined to wreck his hopes and his life: "I see that nothing but decision is necessary with these people." Some fifteen days later he added: "Firmness will, I trust, do it all; and with 'Abdu'llah one must be firm and even peremptory. God help a country left to a man like that, unadvised by sound counsellors! I very often despair when I think of him; but he will only be a puppet and, I believe, do all that one advises." Peremptory with a Sultan, with whom even his own father had never been peremptory! Firm with a clever timid youth, who saw in firmness only rudeness and longed to get rid of his tormentor; a polite weak youth whose words, as he said himself "caused him to be much indebted to the English."

The Resident's task was of immense and novel difficulty. To the half feudal half robber financial system of Perak he had seen no counterpart. But his self-confident nature did not hesitate. After a few days at Batak Rabit he went to Durian Sa-batang, where he at once explained to the Laksamana and Mantri his programme for the future. There was to be only one opium farm and the taxes on all rivers were to be collected by government officers backed by a police force. There was to be one high court

judge for the whole State, who would sentence *unlawful tax-gatherers!* Blind to the shattering effect of this programme on his feudal audience he went upriver to Kuala Kangsar and was assured by his interpreter that both Sultan Isma'il and Raja Yusuf would acknowledge 'Abdu'llah and sign the Pangkor treaty. Returning to Bandar, however, Birch got news from Penang that on 16 October, three weeks before his own arrival, Isma'il, Yusuf and the up-country chiefs including the Mantri had met a Penang lawyer at Blanja, and decided that they would fight rather than surrender the regalia to 'Abdu'llah and that the Mantri should pay the lawyer \$25,000 to go to England with Raja Yusuf to represent their case. The day after getting this challenge Birch posted the Governor's proclamation of 2 November, holding the signatories of the Pangkor treaty responsible for the observance of its provisions! Openly friendly the chiefs now sent word to Isma'il on no account to surrender the regalia or sign the treaty for fear of strengthening Mr. Birch's eager usurping hands.

For the first half of December Mr. Birch toured Batang Padang and Bidor. At Bidor he burnt to the ground the house of Raja Ngah, Tengku Panglima Besar and cousin of ex-Sultan Isma'il, because the Raja was levying taxes on the local mines. Firmness, he trusted, would do all! Had he not said to Isma'il on his recent visit: "I would tell the chiefs of Perak that...we would not allow any of them to levy taxes in their own names but must have the revenue all collected at proper and stated places and by a fixed method and in the name of the Sultan only; and if they chose to attempt to take taxes, or rather *levy blackmail, on their own account*, the result would be that we should stop it by force.... On the whole the interview was a very satisfactory one." On 14 December he, the earnest rationalist form-master, wrote his report to the headmaster at Singapore: "it concerns us little what were the old customs of the country nor do I think they are worthy of any consideration." He proposed to substitute new custom duties for those levied by the Shahbandar at Kuala Perak; to abolish the tin-duties on the Batang Padang to which the Sultan, the Laksamana and some other chiefs had an ancient right and to replace them by a royalty of \$9 a *bahar* to be collected at Kuala Perak; to introduce taxes on arms, boats and rice; to regularize port duties at Kota Stia and to establish one joint opium, spirit and gambling farm for the whole State. With the headmaster behind him, he seems to have anticipated no recalcitrancy in his feudal pupils at the loss of their age-long pocket-money! His interpreter told him that Sultan 'Abdu'llah was even anxious to give letters of appointment to new and efficient headmen and Mr. Birch never stopped to remember that the Sultan loved to assert his newly won power and that the sale of offices had historical precedent.

Before the year was out, Birch planned a meeting of chiefs at Blanja when Isma'il should surrender the regalia and accept

'Abdu'llah as Sultan. Having got an advance of \$5,000 for his expenses, 'Abdu'llah reluctantly agreed to be present. For two Malay partisans of Raja Yusuf who were coming to frustrate the proposals on his agenda Birch issued warrants of arrest! But he could not prevent the Mantri from having a preliminary private interview with 'Abdu'llah and assuring him that "the Colonial Office would never interfere in the Malay Peninsula" and "if we go before the law, the Pangkor treaty will be void." Nor could he hinder a secret message from 'Abdu'llah to Isma'il—"I am now ascending the river, not by my own desire but by that of Mr. Birch. If he asks for the regalia or desires to instal me, do not consent. Should you consent to my installation as Sultan, Perak will be given over to the English; for my words have caused me to be much indebted to them.... Should I myself ask for the regalia in the presence of Mr. Birch, do not consent to give them up!" Ignorant of these secret plottings the Resident records the meeting of the chiefs in his diary:—

"1875 January 5. A lovely morning.... I sent round to all the chiefs and saw the Bendahara, and we arranged for 10 a.m. The Sultan and the Bendahara were not awake at 9 a.m., and I sent again to them. At last we got them to move about 12. As soon as I saw them move I sent for them to come and wait. I had the place very well arranged under the circumstances: two chairs with yellow damask for the Sultan and Ex-Sultan; Yusuf¹ on one side and Usman² on the other; then myself and Bacon³; then Talbot⁴ and Mr. Nanta⁵; and then all the Datus sitting on carpets in front. I went in front of 'Abdu'llah and took him up to Isma'il. The old man came forward with both hands out but 'Abdu'llah never took them; and he then in a most polite and kind manner pointed to him a chair and begged him to sit down. He then called the Bendahara Usman and put him in the next chair to him, first referring to me as to where he should sit. I then called Yusuf who stood behind Isma'il to sit next to 'Abdu'llah; and as soon as I did so he came, and Isma'il desired him to sit there. Isma'il then asked me if the Datus should sit down, and we all took our seats. Isma'il said a few nice kind words to 'Abdu'llah, and he looked at him and just bent his head but nothing more. Isma'il then called the Datu Bandar who knelt and kissed his hand; then Datu Sagor; then Raja Mahkota. The Mantri whom I saw coming up with the Datus across the sand managed to keep out and went away to the Mosque. The Temenggong who had come from Kinta never showed. The Maharaja Lela who had got

¹ Raja Yusuf, a claimant of the Sultanate: afterwards Sultan Yusuf of Perak. ² The Bendahara. ³ Mr. Birch's clerk interpreter. ⁴ Mr. A. P. Talbot of the Straits Settlements service. ⁵ A Dutch-planter.

expenses and sworn on my hand that he would sign the treaty, kept away and said he had a boil. Several others who had accompanied 'Abdu'llah, Rajas and sons of Datus, came and kissed Isma'il's hand. Then there was an awful pause. 'Abdu'llah looked very sulky. Isma'il made several attempts at conversation with him but to no effect. I then said that speaking in the Governor's name I would wish to express our congratulations at this meeting in the presence of so many Chiefs—that I noted the absence of three who were here, and of Panglima Kinta whom I had hoped to see, and I regretted the absence also of Sri Maharaja Lela, but he had sent his son to represent him—and in those they must remember I included all the living Chiefs of Perak as far as we could get reliably the names, for we only knew reliably of two out of the Sixteen alive, six out of the Eight, and three out of the Four. That it was many years since such a meeting had taken place—not even at Sultan 'Ali's funeral—and I hoped it was the beginning of good days for the country of Perak—that I should not any longer see the constant quarrels and bickerings that had been now for some years troubling Perak where no justice had reigned and nothing but might had prevailed. I dilated a little on their fine country, and I assured them, once the Chinese and Europeans felt that peace prevailed and protection for their lives and property existed, they would flock in for purposes of mining and of agriculture, that all this would raise the revenue of the country, and that I felt quite sure the Governor would have great pleasure in writing to the Queen's Government that at last the two Sultans had met and that every hope now existed of peace in Perak. To this, Isma'il said 'Yes'; 'Abdu'llah never spoke. After another long pause in which I made every sign I could to 'Abdu'llah—and so did Bacon and the Munshi—to speak to Isma'il and to Yusuf, while he would take no notice but smile, the Munshi asked permission to say a few words, which I gave, as did Isma'il, and he prayed for the Queen, the Governor, for me, Sultan Isma'il and Sultan 'Abdu'llah, and for blessing on the reconciliation and the meeting; and three times all the people gave their Amen in the usual way. Again a pause—which Isma'il broke by getting into conversation with one Datu or the other, and I then carried it on generally for some time on rice-cultivation, in which all joined but 'Abdu'llah. I brought Yusuf in by addressing him and spoke to him two or three times. Isma'il then sent for 'Abdu'llah's son who lives with Isma'il but who has been lately with the Bendahara, and he kept it up lively, child as he is, about cocks and cock-fighting principally, and the women who nurse him. Then I tried the effect of cigars, and syrup and water,—improved a little; oranges and

biscuits carried it on; but Yusuf who must have noticed my signs to 'Abdu'llah to speak to him, at last told me he was going to leave as he was hot and tired, and went out. . . . After making every effort on my part, Bacon's, and Munshi's and Isma'il's—who gladly and in a very nice manner helped, I saw nothing could be done, and as we had been there three hours I took my leave with civil speeches, and hoped the friendly intercourse now begun would get stronger every day by interchange of visits."

On 31 January 1875 Mr. Birch and the Sultan selected a place above Bandar as a site for the Residency, changing its name of Ayer Mati to Bandar Baharu. On 3 February Birch asked 'Abdu'llah to sign proclamations authorizing the Resident to collect all taxes at one place. 'Abdu'llah replied that he must consult his Perak chiefs in council. Seven days later the Resident called at Batak Rabbit on his way to Penang to let the Perak opium and spirit farms: again he mentioned the proclamations and got a reply that the Resident must first bring from Penang the uniform which the Sultan had ordered from Europe at the cost of \$4,000! That Savile Row uniform in which perched on the back of a half-naked retainer His resplendent Highness was to be carried from his houseboat through water and over squelching mudbanks to august interviews in riparian clearings from primaeval forest.

While the cat was away at Penang, the mice were at their old games in Perak. The Sultan took over the Kinta farm from the Bendahara paying him \$300 a month for it and he let the opium and gambling farm at Bandar to a Raja Ngah. What were Mr. Birch's proposed proclamations against his royal need for dollars? What were Sir Andrew Clarke's "great yet simple principles of good government" against his practical experience of raising the wind? He asked Mr. Birch on his return when he was to govern Perak without British aid? He felt he could do it. The next day, being March 20, the Laksamana, Shahbandar and Sri Agar 'diraja waited on Mr. Birch and said that the Sultan had appointed them his delegates for all discussions about administration. The Resident refused to recognise them. On 25 March the Mantri arrived to remove his family and dependents to a place of safety. Mr. Birch attended a meeting of chiefs, at which the Sultan and the Mantri were present and listened once more to his programme for future taxation. In the words of one of the Sultan's servants the chiefs reached the conclusion that Mr. Birch "had nothing to fill his own belly and came to Perak to collect the revenue of others." They listened aghast to proposals that might have come from a high-handed "Dutch sailor," and they refused to accept them. The Maharaja Lela built a formidable stockade round his house at Pasir Salak.

Mr. Birch tried to persuade the Sultan to accompany him to Penang to meet Sir Andrew Clarke but 'Abdu'llah not without

reason was shy of encountering Governors. More courageous and level-headed was the Laksamana who feared a customs war at Kuala Perak and the shelling of his coastal district by British gunboats. The Governor was worried by the Mantri's creditors and nothing came of this interview except that on his way back to Singapore the Governor stopped at Pangkor to send a stern letter of reproof to 'Abdu'llah for breaking the Pangkor treaty and not leaving all taxation to the Resident. 'Abdu'llah complained that everybody tried to get him into scrapes, professed penitence and was told he must affix his seal to all revenue measures of which the Governor approved. On 26 April Birch left for Kinta and on 3 May met the ex-Sultan and tried to induce him to visit the Governor at Singapore but Isma'il pleaded that one of his children was very ill.

While Birch was away, the Laksamana hoping against hope persuaded 'Abdu'llah to send a deputation to the Governor at Singapore. The head of the deputation, which included the Laksamana, was Raja (afterwards Sultan) Idris. There were minor grievances over the headstrong way in which the Resident, heedless of local evidence, had wrongly fixed the Krian and Dinding boundaries. But the Malay chiefs were statesmanlike and decided to represent to the Governor only major grievances. They wanted His Excellency's sympathetic intervention to prevent the Resident from interfering with religion and custom, from acting without consulting Sultan and chiefs, from depriving them of the feudal dues that were the only source of their income and from harbouring refugee slaves their property. The deputation reached Singapore at an inopportune moment. Sir Andrew Clarke was handing over his office to Sir William Jervois. Displeased at the Sultan's action he warned the delegates never to bring letters to the Governor that had not been seen by Mr. Birch and wrote (17 May) to 'Abdu'llah to obey the new Governor, describing himself as "the Governor who lifted you out of your misery and sorrow, giving you position and honour"—and Mr. Birch! Raja Idris then tried to get Kim Ching to come and collect the revenues of Larut under the document 'Abdu'llah had formerly given him: a wealthy Chinese merchant from Singapore accustomed to Europeans might be some check on the Resident. But Kim Ching also failed them: he had surrendered the document to the Governor and depended on the British to collect the money 'Abdu'llah owed him.

On May 10 Mr. Birch had returned to the Residency from Kinta and while Raja Idris and the other delegates were on their way to the Governor, he made another telltale entry in his diary:—"If the plebiscite were taken and the chiefs consulted, all would go with Isma'il; and Isma'il would, I am sure, beforehand pledge himself to go with the Resident and act by the advice of the British Resident. . . . I have waited as patiently as any man could wait for signs of improvement but none come." Two days later

he was told by one of Isma'il's supporters of the secret deputation to Singapore. Undeterred he asked 'Abdu'llah to affix his seal to notices introducing new taxes: 'Abdu'llah said that the Laksamana and Raja Idris were away and he must await their return, but he signed a land grant on receipt of \$500, grumbling the while that he was paid only when the Resident wanted him to seal papers.

On 28 May Mr. Birch said a grateful good-bye at Penang to Sir Andrew Clarke, the chief whose selection of him had signed his death-warrant and whose recent rejection of the Malay deputation had robbed him of all chance of reprieve. *Te saluto moriturus!* This was irony of the gods. And the gods mingling tears with laughter, provided comic relief for the catastrophe. Raja Idris and his delegates had travelled from Singapore on the same steamer as the retiring Governor: Sir Andrew said nothing about the representations of the Malay Chiefs but the Laksamana and Raja Idris told Mr. Birch that they were "now in hopes 'Abdu'llah will behave properly and take your advice." Mr. Birch a child in the ways of Malay diplomacy or indeed of any diplomacy accepted this as "the correct version" of their errand. On his way back to the Residency he met the Shahbandar at Kota Stia and threatened him with banishment if he continued to collect taxes in defiance of the Pangkor treaty: the Shahbandar "evidently frightened" still had enough courage to opine that the Resident could take no action without the sealed concurrence of the Sultan. On 8 June he made another entry in that diary which was the Olympians' cruellest and best joke, their victim's own admission of divine justice and the sole monument time should leave of his fame. "I told the Sultan a good deal of wholesome truth and that if he did not take care he would soon be put off the throne by the British Government...that he would take no advice and would do nothing; that we could not and would not stand this much longer; that a revenue must be raised for the country and that he and the Shahbandar and Dato' Mata-Mata could not be allowed to go on squeezing as they were doing, levying the only taxes of the country."

The Resident saw that toll-stations at intervals of every few miles along the Perak river must limit the output of tin and damage trade. But his proposals for a state revenue made a clean sweep of feudal dues and, ignorant of what revenue his proposals would bring, he made the chiefs no firm offer of compensation: in his eyes, they were robbers from the Sultan downwards. His actions might appear arbitrary but the event would justify the means. Month after month he had asked 'Abdu'llah to sign notices to regulate taxation; in June he grew desperate and threatened him with banishment if he did not sign before the end of the month; on 'Abdu'llah's entreaty the time was extended until 20 July. During the interval the Resident toured Larut and Kuala

Kangsar: at Kota Lama armed Malays refused to allow him to land, saying that they obeyed only their local chief and cared nothing for the Sultan.

Meanwhile the Sultan despatched letters to all the great chiefs inviting them to a consultation "as the British wanted to govern the country and upset the old customs." At Senggang Raja Yusuf showed the letter to the Resident, adding that the British had much better govern Perak than leave that puppet 'Abdu'llah on the throne. On 20 July the meeting of chiefs was held at Durian Sa-Batang. Raja Dris and his cousin Raja Musa, the Laksamana, Sri Agar 'diraja, Shahbandar, Maharaja Lela, To' Muda 'Abdu'l-ghafur soon to be Panglima Bukit Gantang, the Raja Mahkota, with representatives of the Bendahara, the Sri Maharaja Lela, the Mantri and the Temenggong, all were present. Birch had made 'Abdu'llah the leader of his people and did not know it. The Sultan read a letter from Isma'il agreeing to any plan for the removal of Mr. Birch. The Laksamana lamented that their mission to the Governor had failed and suggested poison, but the meeting favoured acceptance of an offer by the Maharaja Lela to stab the Resident, if there were no other mode of quietus, and all agreed to invite the co-operation of Isma'il and the upriver chiefs for driving the British out of Perak. Were the Laksamana and the Maharaja Lela serious? A wish that a man may die need not mean instigation to murder: in one place in his diary Mr. Birch had written: "the best thing that could happen to the country would be Sultan's death." But the nerves of the Perak chiefs were frayed, their appeal to the Governor had failed and they were desperate men.

Immediately after this meeting the Sultan had to hurry down to Batak Rabit to meet the Resident and his exigent creditor, Kim Ching. Kim Ching, his stomach upset by the bad drinking water, rated the Sultan so soundly that the royal debtor signed papers appointing the Resident and Raja Idris judges, surrendering the collection of revenue to the Resident and Shahbandar and acknowledging indebtedness to Kim Ching in the sum \$16,000. But the royal seal was broken and could not be affixed! Birch was angry. The Sultan, furious at an alliance between the Resident and his insulting creditor, is said to have then ordered an attack on Kota Stia as soon as Mr. Birch was killed. In spite of this with the inconsistency of a weak harassed man he briefed a Penang lawyer to discover if Birch could not be removed by legal means and at the same time sent to Penang \$2,000 to buy muskets and ammunition. In spite of his troubles and his resentment against the British he tried to borrow \$5,000 from Colonel Anson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, in order to buy himself a diamond star for the Governor's impending visit!

Meantime the Laksamana came to Batak Rabit angry and humiliated because excise officers had searched his wife's boat for

contraband opium. He found Sultan 'Abdu'llah fuming because a clerk at the Residency had, in the absence of his master, refused to surrender two refugee slave women and one free-women betrothed without the royal sanction to Birch's Cingalese servant. On 10 August, returning from Singapore, the Resident had an interview with Raja Dris at Batak Rabbit but did not visit the Sultan. "Formerly," grumbled 'Abdu'llah, "the Resident always stopped and spoke to me: now I have given him full powers, he disregards me." The Maharaja Lela and his brother-in-law, Pandak Indut, now visited Batak Rabbit and 'Abdu'llah gave the Maharaja Lela a document authorising him to govern independently the district from Pasir Salak to Sungai Dedap and to collect taxes on the Sungai Dedap. To it was affixed the "broken" seal.

On 12 August Birch was warned of a plot to send a woman to the Residency in the guise of a runaway slave to poison his food. A trader was fined \$250 by the Sultan for refusing to pay duty at the old Malay toll-house at Kuala Kinta: when he showed a copy of the Governor's proclamation about taxes, the collector had advised him to tear it up and throw into the river when all the pieces would stick to the jakes down-stream! On 17 August 'Abdu'llah called on Birch on a vain errand to borrow \$5,000 to entertain the Governor on his visit. Birch told him that the Governor would not call on him and seized the occasion to insist on arresting one of 'Abdu'llah's boatmen for past rowdyism in a native theatre. The Sultan tried to laugh about it but declared later that he had never been so insulted in his life, and sent off a boat to Pasir Panjang to fetch the state wizard Raja Kechil Muda to hold a *séance* and enquire if the guardian genies of Perak would destroy Mr. Birch. Before the *séance* began, the Sultan said, "If there be any spirits left in Perak, let us look into the future and see if there is any means by which he may die and his steamer be wrecked on the Perak bar." The Sultan himself was one of the mediums and declared that Mr. Birch would die within a month. He stabbed a flour mannikin repeatedly and said, "See! in a month Mr. Birch will be dead." He paid another medium, Raja Ahmat, \$100 to produce Birch's spirit of life in the form of a butterfly, which was killed with a knife. The excuse for the ceremony was the Sultan's illness but the Sultan was walking about quite well and threatened death to any one who should speak of the *séance* to the English.

Mr. Birch had gone upriver to inform ex-Sultan Isma'il of the Governor's coming and invite him to sign a letter accepting British administration if he were recognised as Sultan. On the way the Resident snatched a spear out of the hands of the Sri Agar 'diraja who met him at Kampong Gajah, and he told that great chief that it was disrespectful to come into his presence armed! From Kinta Sultan Isma'il not only sent excuses for not signing the letter but at the prompting of his chiefs he secretly

promised them to give the Maharaja Lela authority to carry out "the plan agreed on at Durian Sa-Batang." While Mr. Birch joined the Governor on his yacht at the Dindings, two of the Sultan's female slaves ran away to the Residency where the caretaker, Mr. Keyt, refused to surrender them.

Travelling overland from Larut the Governor, Sir William Jervois, went to Senggang, where Raja (afterwards Sultan) Yusuf wished the British would take over the entire management of affairs. On 11 September Sir William reached Blanja, where the ex-Sultan was waiting with all his chiefs, and asked if Isma'il would hand over the administration of Perak to the Governor of the Straits Settlements: neither Isma'il nor his chiefs were ready with a definite answer. The Governor passed on downstream, received 'Abdu'llah (complete with Star) at Bandar Baharu and surrendered to His Highness two fugitive slaves with a lecture on debt-slavery and a proposal that the Perak chiefs should accept allowances and hand over the government to the British. 'Abdu'llah asked for a fortnight to consult his chiefs. The Governor embarked on the *Pluto* and returned to Singapore. Again Mr. Birch was alone. He heard on all sides that 'Abdu'llah's people wanted to kill him but he was a brave man.

On 18 September Mr. Birch told five women slaves who had escaped to Kota Stia that they could go where they liked, and he sent them to Pangkor. The air was thick with rumours. Yusuf and Idris (both of them destined to be Sultans) accepted the Governor's proposals and drew their allowances. Mr. Birch telegraphed to Singapore: "Arrangement between Isma'il and 'Abdu'llah appears impossible. Isma'il has sent a useless and very impertinent letter to you. . . . A small body of troops placed here, as soon as you can conveniently, and a gun-boat with sepoy at Kuala Kangsar will keep order easily and prevent any attempts at disturbances. There is a strong hope among the majority of Perak that you will carry out your promise. Many good men have collected here and offered themselves to government; amongst them Isma'il's brothers and Yusuf's sons. 'Abdu'llah is impracticable." The same day Birch wrote in his diary, "We have heard nothing from 'Abdu'llah or of him except that he and the Shahbandar are very desirous of polishing me off." On 24 September, however, 'Abdu'llah, Raja Dris and the Shahbandar came to the Residency and 'Abdu'llah promised to write a letter similar to that written to the Governor by Raja Yusuf and Raja Dris, but the next day he sent to ask for \$1,500, which was refused pending receipt of the letter. On 29 September the Resident warned the Sultan to write the promised letter or abide by the consequences. On 30 September the *Pluto* brought a letter from the Governor reproving the Sultan for his attitude and offering him recognition as Sultan and a large allowance if he would authorize the British to govern Perak in his name. Mr. Birch also got a letter from Sir William

Jervois offering the Sultanate to Raja Yusuf, if 'Abdu'llah refused to submit. Unaware of these letters, 'Abdu'llah accepted an allowance of \$2,000 a month and British administration in his royal name, with a promise that until debt-salary had been investigated the Resident would return fugitive slaves. The Resident had won. Now was the time to show this naughty princeling that he was a firm master. The next morning he spent in drafting for 'Abdu'llah's signature a completely different letter from that forwarded by the Governor and he redrafted in a more stringent form the proclamations he had presented so often for 'Abdu'llah's seal. 'Abdu'llah protested that Malay judges should try cases concerned with the Muslim religion and with Malay custom. Mr. Birch granted only the point concerning religion and told the Sultan that unless the drafts were signed and sealed that evening, he would send Yusuf the Governor's letter offering him the throne. 'Abdu'llah yielded.

A second time the Sultan's two slave girls ran away accompanied by a slave concubine of the Shahbandar. The Sultan, the Laksamana and the Shahbandar paddled down to Bandar Baharu where with the Resident's permission the distracted Shahbandar made a frantic but futile search for the runaways. At the same time Mr. Birch informed the Malay chiefs that in view of the fresh powers 'Abdu'llah had now given him, he would not surrender the Sultan's women should they complain of ill-treatment! Moreover Mr. Birch seized the occasion of their visit to Bandar Baharu to urge the Laksamana and the exasperated Shahbandar to sign a letter similar to that signed by Rajas Yusuf and Idris! The Sultan now told his clerk to write a letter authorizing the Maharaja Lela to kill this incomprehensible white man.

On 12 October the Resident took the fugitive slave girls to Pangkor in his own yacht and disguised as boatmen. On 18 October Mr. Birch sent copies of the proclamations about the new system of taxation for the approval of Raja Yusuf. Yusuf replied that he and Dris heartily approved but advised that troops should be summoned before the proclamations were issued and he was certain that an example must be made of the Laksamana, Shahbandar and Maharaja Lela or of one of them and a village or two must be burnt. But on 26 October Mr. Swettenham, just returned from Singapore, found his chief still sanguine that all would go well. The next day the Resident posted the new proclamations at the Residency to a salute of twenty-one guns and left for Kuala Kinta where he pulled down the Bendahara's toll-house! *Queen deus vult perdere*—In secret session the Sultan and his chiefs agreed that when the Resident went up to Pasir Salak the Maharaja Lela should fulfil his promise and kill him. The Sultan sent supplies and ammunition and a valuable creese to the Maharaja Lela.

At 11 p.m. on 1 November accompanied by a small Sepoy guard Mr. Birch arrived at Pasir Salak, moored close by the Maharaja Lela's house and slept in his boat. It was now three days since his assassins had been appointed. Unsuspecting he allowed his companion Mr. Abbott, a naval lieutenant, to cross the river at dawn to shoot. The sepoys and boatmen went ashore to cook their rice. Mr. Birch who was recovering from a sprained ankle sat in his boat smoking a cigar. The Dato' Sagor came aboard and talked for half an hour. The Resident sought an interview with the Maharaja Lela but his request was refused. The Maharaja Lela seated in his open hall of audience declared that he would submit to no one but the Sultan, and he sat waiting to hear if the Resident would post those proclamations about taxation which boded the end of feudal rights and feudal rule; he had ordered his men to tear them down and, if they were posted again, to run amuck and kill. The Resident directed his clerk, Mat Arshad, to stick the notices on the wooden walls of the Chinese shop-house ten yards away, and himself entered the floating bath-house to which his boat was tied. A sepoy sentry armed with a revolver guarded the door. Mat Arshad shouted to his master that the Malays were tearing down the proclamations, at which Mr. Birch called back to him to post them again. Mat Arshad set about the job, pushing one of the crowd aside. The Malays stabbed the elderly whiskered clerk and leaping on to the bath-house speared the Resident through the flimsy palm-leaf walls: as he lay half in the stream, one man Seputum hacked him with a sword; the body fell into the river and disappeared. The sentry jumped into the water without having fired a shot: no one had given the order! The Dato' Sagor stood a silent accomplice.

As so often in tragedy, the end was squalid butchery.

X

PROTECTION.

After the murder of Mr. Birch there was a hubbub. The Maharaja Lela came from his house down to the river and ordered his followers to fire on the deceased's boats and kill all the sepoys and boatmen. He then divided the Resident's belongings between the murderers. There was no more than \$50 in cash, so that Seputum the man who slashed at Mr. Birch with a sword, got only a creese belonging to his victim instead of the \$30 he had been promised; and he went home with a head-ache and slept. Stockades were hastily thrown up and there was feasting for two days. On the day after the murder some Bugis recovered the body of the Resident and the Maharaja Lela took two rings off the fingers, one a snake ring, and presented them to his wife. News of the assassination was sent to 'Abdu'llah and to Isma'il at Blanja. On 4 November Mr. (now Sir Frank) Swettenham coming from Kuala Kangsar called at Blanja, heard of the murder, refused to be enticed to spend the night ashore and though chased contrived to reach the Residency safe and undetected. 'Abdu'llah had hurried there already with a fleet of armed boats, offering assistance: he had vetoed an attack on the Residency by the Maharaja Lela's men, as he was on the spot and wished not to appear involved in the business: Mr. Swettenham distrustful told him that his assistance was not required. On 5 November Lieutenant Abbot and his fifty sepoys were reinforced by sixty men of the 1-10th regiment under Captain Innes, acting Commissioner of Perak, and by some police. Two days later they burnt Bandar Tua, a sight that made the Maharaja Lela weep publicly for the probable fate of his own house, but Captain Innes and two soldiers were killed and the attack on Pasir Salak was dropped. 'Abdu'llah was surprised and delighted. "If a hundred thousand whites come," he exclaimed, "the Maharaja Lela will kill them all." On 9 November the Governor arrived with 150 troops whereupon the Sultan, Laksamana and Shahbandar met him with professions of loyalty. The Laksamana warned the Malays that he would cut the tongue out of any one who revealed their complicity with the Maharaja Lela. The Maharaja Lela was persuaded to flee upriver to Isma'il but To' Sagor refused to budge, saying that he had no food and would be eaten by mosquitos and hunted down by Sayid Masshor, as in fact he was a few months later, though ostensibly he was brought in by Sultan 'Abdu'llah! On 15 November Pasir Salak was captured. Across the river the Dato' Sagor, terribly afraid, trembled in his stockade. The country was occupied by British troops and a guerilla campaign ensued which has been described by Major McNair and by Sir Frank Swettenham and vividly and amusingly by Sir George Scott (of Burma fame but then a war correspondent) in a story called "Needs explaining" in his book "Cursed Luck." As late as June 1876 the new

Resident. James Guthrie Davidson, suggested that he should settle in a stockade near Kota Lama with fifty or sixty troops, though the Governor vetoed such action as an undignified confession of failure. But oppressed by the Rajas, the bulk of the Malay peasants had neither desire nor means to fight the English. All the murderers were hunted down. The "common" fellow Seputum was brought in by Sultan 'Abdu'llah and was the first to hang. Sultan Isma'il, innocent of breaking a treaty he had never signed, was removed for the good of his country to Johor where he arrived on 27 March 1876*. After trial before two Malay judges with two British assessors, the Maharaja Lela (who surrendered in July 1876) and Dato' Sagor were hanged at Matang on 20 January 1877. By August 1876 the evidence against 'Abdu'llah was so strong that he was summoned to Singapore for an enquiry not whether he was guilty of crime but whether treachery had made it inexpedient to allow him to retain his throne. In spite of the belated defence of a spurious royal seal used in his name, the evidence was damning. In fact all but three or four of the Perak chiefs were involved though clemency was extended to everybody except 'Abdu'llah, the Mantri, the Laksamana and the Shahbandar, all of whom on the recommendation of the Governor and the Executive Council of the Straits Settlements were banished to the Seychelles. The finding of the Executive Council was fair: "It must be admitted that provocation was given to the Sultan and his chiefs. The late Mr. Birch was a most zealous and conscientious officer. He was, however, much thwarted from the outset, and there is reason to believe that his manner may at times have been overbearing. It must also be admitted in some instances he showed a want of respect for Malay custom. It was also injudicious to interfere with local taxes before the general scale of allowances had been fixed in lieu of them." A brave honourable though indiscreet man, allotted an impossible task, but, as Sir Frank Swettenham has written with scrupulous moderation, "by the action which his death made necessary, the State of Perak gained in twelve months what ten years of 'advice' could hardly have accomplished," debt-slavery was abolished and the poor and oppressed, of whom James Wheeler Woodford Birch was ever the friend and champion, came under a government before which all men are free and all men are under the law equal.

The war hardly made administration easier. Davidson found Perak bankrupt. Within the armed camps he was a nonentity beside the Generals; outside the armed camps the whole people was sullenly hostile. He could not afford to go on paying troops to overawe the country, yet their departure might mean a return to anarchy. The troops could not stay indefinitely. In September 1876 it was proposed to replace them by a strong police force.

* He settled at Sekudai and there died on 4 September, 1889.

PLATE XV.



*Mr. (later Sir) Hugh Low,
third British Resident of Perak, 1877-1889.*

Photo Donald Davies.

PLATE XVI.



*Capitan Chung Ah Kwee,
Leader of the Hai San in Larut,
Member of the first Perak State Council 1887.*

Photo: National Archives Malaysia.

On 25 September Davidson wrote:—"We are to have a police-force about 800 strong for Perak and Larut to be composed partly of Sikhs and the greater part of Malays. The Headquarters will be here (Kuala Kangsar) where the officer in charge will reside. There will be an assistant and two European Inspectors in Larut, a European Inspector or other officer in Kinta, and another Inspector at Bandar Baharu. These are all the European officers proposed with the exception of one at Kuala Kangsar to drill and take immediate charge of the men there."

But there was a difficulty. On 4 October Davidson wrote:—"I believe it has been resolved to raise a police-force for Perak, but it does not seem at all settled where the money is to come from, and this is the slight difficulty that blocks the way."

Davidson had every reason to be alarmed. Finance is the foundation of all government. The need of revenue had forced Birch to take the measures which had brought about the Perak war. The new Resident had to face all the difficulties that had overwhelmed his predecessor and the further difficulty created by the need of maintaining a strong force to overawe the country. Not till January 1877 could he dispose with troops in Kinta. A month later he resigned the service and retired from a very unpleasant position.

He was succeeded by Mr.—afterwards Sir Hugh—Low, the real author of the prosperity of Perak and incidentally of the other Malay States. The policy of this great Resident is worthy of the most careful study even if the policy adopted was sketched by a Governor whose advisers had learnt wisdom—writers on Malaya have never given Sir Hugh the meed of honour that is his due.

Low was confronted with all the revenue-difficulties of Birch, with a heavy war debt, with the need of replacing military forces by a costly constabulary and with a discontented population under many turbulent leaders. His position seemed almost hopeless. He recognized that any attempt to govern a people by overawing them was unsound on financial grounds if on no others. He reduced the cost of the police by giving police duties to native headmen and relieving many villages of their police-stations. He settled the question of the feudal revenues of the chiefs by making them local headmen and giving them a substantial percentage of all Government dues collected by them in their districts. He secured a very useful addition to the revenue by substituting a definite land-tax for the indefinite right possessed by the State to the forced labour of its people. He created a State Council of leading men whom he consulted on all important issues; and he took the views of the people before appointing a local chief. He had the satisfaction of seeing the Perak debt paid off in a few years and the abolition

of debt-slavery by the end of 1883. Students of administration will find much to interest them in such measures as his appointment of Chinese to the State Council; his introduction of cultivation-clauses and building-clauses into land-tenure; his system of dealing with water-rights, forests and revenue-farms; and his policy of economic development by means of roads and railways.

The population, estimated in 1879 at 81,084 souls rose by 1891 to 214,254.

A

PERAK VERSIONS OF THE MALACCA DYNASTIC LEGEND.

Once there was a prince Fatihu'l-Arzi, great-grandson of Alexander the Great. He set out to conquer China but the minister of the Emperor of China filled a junk with eighty old men of eighty and a cargo of needles and he planted fruit-trees on the decks and set out to meet the fleet of Fatihu'l-Arzi. When the invading fleet met this junk, Fatihu'l-Arzi's men hailed her and asked whence she came. "From China, years ago," replied the minister. "The crew were boys when we left China and these needles were iron bars: moreover these trees have grown on deck from the seeds of fruit we ate as boys." So instead of the interminable voyage to China Fatihu'l-Arzi determined to visit the depths of the sea. He was let down in a glass chest and he came to a town called Bahrain ruled by a Muslim genie, Raja Suran, and he married Princess Chahaya Khairani, daughter of Raja Suran, and begat two sons, Raja Kilan and Raja Chulan and then returned to the earth. When Raja Kilan and Raja Chulan had grown up, they set out to find their father and they came to a rice-clearing in the land of Minangkabau where they were greeted and entertained by the owners, Dang Pok and Dang Malini. Raja Kilan returned to his mother but Raja Chulan married the daughter of Demang Lebar Daun, chief of that country, and begat a son. And at the time of that son's birth, a bull belonging to Demang Lebar Daun vomited and out of the vomit came a child with the manuscript of the Perak coronation address in his hand. And when the child of the Bull's vomit grew up, Demang Lebar Daun said unto him, "Thine is the family which shall instal Malay kings: else is their installation invalid. But before one of thy family instal a king, he shall receive the title Sri Nara 'diraja. Then shall he give his ruler a title and whisper the state secret in his ear and read the coronation address. After that he shall light the royal candle and ask for how many tunes by the royal band his ruler can sit immobile on the throne."

On an auspicious day Demang Lebar Daun took his grandson and the child of the Bull's vomit to the top of Mount Si-Guntang and gave his grandson a silver bow and a silver arrow, saying, "Shoot, and where the arrow falls thou shalt be king. Call the country Perak, that is, Silver." And the arrow flew for seven days and seven nights and fell at Pulau Indra Sakti, opposite Bandar in Lower Perak.

This version of the story then continues as in the legend collected by Sir William Maxwell (*vide* pp. 122-3). Generally the above version calls the grandson of Demang Lebar Daun

Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din, rightly associating the story of the silver arrow, which is borrowed from the Kedah story Marong Mahawangsa, with what we shall find to be a king of Kedah. Elsewhere, inconsistently, it calls him Muzaffar Shah, father of Mansur Shah, and has him installed by Sri Nara 'diraja and Amar 'diraja; it adds that it was Sultan Mansur Shah who divided the Perak chiefs into the Four, the Eight, the Sixteen and the Thirty-Two.

There is another variant of the story. Once four princes came out of the sea, sons of a Raja Chulan and of Princess Darustan, daughter of King Fatihu'l-Arzi. They were descendants of Alexander the Great. Their names were Nila Utama, Nila Pandita, Nila Pendaga and Nila Kechil Bongsu. The first became Emperor of Byzantium and China, the second Sultan of Singapore and Malacca, the third Sultan of Perak. In this wanderings Raja Kechil Bongsu gave Singapore its name of Lion-City because of a lion he saw on the shore. In the Singapore straits the jealous god of the sea raised such a tempest that the prince had to throw away his crown and change his name (to Muzaffar Shah) in order to avoid shipwreck. So the Sultans of Perak have no crown and in the little strait of Lembayan the fish rise to the surface, dazzled by the splendour of its jewels. Muzaffar Shah reached the Perak river. Over the Shoal of the Wet Rice (*Beting Bras Basah*) a great serpent stretched its coils from bank to bank. Then said the prince's saintly counsellor, Demang Lebar Daun, "Among your heirlooms is the blade of King Fatihu'l-Arzi, the magic sword *chura simanjakini*, once owned by the king of the sea. Take it and slay the serpent." So Muzaffar Shah took the sword and, his thoughts fixed on his ancestors, slew the serpent at one blow. Howbeit the magic sword was dented as men may see to this day.

These legends are Perak variants of the stories told in the "Malay Annals" of the founders of the Palembang and Singapore dynasties. Even there they are folk-lore (JRASMB., 1926, vol. IV pp. 413-419). Nila Uttama, for instance, is Tilottama, an Apsara or nymph of Indra's heaven! The serpent of the Shoal of the Wet Rice is an avatar of Sakti-Muna whom Sang Sapurba (another Apsara!) slew with the sword *Chemundang Giri* (Hewer of Mountains) or *Chura Semandang-kini*, notching his sword in 190 places but gaining the throne of Minangkabau. Both are avatars of the demon of Ujjain, capital of Malwa in western India, which was slain by Vikramaditya, grandson of Indra (*ib.*).

The names Raja Suran and Raja Chulan may refer to the Chula kings who were at enmity with Srivijaya and raided Bruas in the XIth century A.D. The country Bahrain stands for Bruas, whose history the purely romantic tale called *Hikayat Shamsu'l-Bahrain* (JRASSB. No. 47) is supposed in Perak to record!

The Kedah story of the silver arrow comes from a Perso-Arabic source. Elisha bade Joash king of Israel shoot an arrow eastward out of the window "the arrow of the Lord's deliverance from Syria" (2 Kings, Chapter 13, verses 14-17). The shooting of an arrow to determine a site was practised by the Persians both in Sassanian and Muslim times and was also done by Arabs. (JRASSB., 1920, LXXXII p. 137).

B

A PERAK DYNASTIC LEGEND.

There are two well-known accounts of the coming of the present Malay dynasty to Perak, one apochryphal, one (pp. 7, 8, 9) well authenticated.

The apochryphal version (JRASSB. 1882, No. 9, p. 89) relates how, when "Baginda Dai," later referred to as Sultan Mahmud, "reigned at Johor Lama," he despatched one Nakhoda Kasim¹ to look for a place suitable for settlement. Reaching Bruas Nakhoda Kasim heard of the Perak river and travelling as a huckster of salt and tobacco came to Temong in Upper Perak. While her father was selling produce to Nakhoda Kasim, a Negrito girl paring sugarcane cut her finger. The blood that gushed out was white. Nakhoda Kasim married her. Soon after their marriage there came a great flood and in the foam of her bathing-place the Nakhoda's wife found a girl, whom the couple adopted and called Tan Puteh alias 'teh Purba alias Dato' Temong.²

Now one day Negritos, hunting at Mousedeer Hill (*Bukit Pelandok*) near the river Plus, found a thick-jointed bamboo containing a male infant. In due course this infant, To' Changkat Pelandok, married Tan Puteh but the marriage was never consummated. When To' Changkat Pelandok died, he left Tan Puteh mistress of Perak and bade her seek a Raja from the family of his master Sultan Mahmud of Johor (*sic*). Her minister, Tan Saban of Tanah Merah, got a prince complete with regalia from Johor. Leaning over the boat's side to look at fish (or else in a great storm when he threw it to the gods of the sea), this prince lost his crown at Slat Lembayan on the Perak river, so that the rulers of Perak have no crown to this day. Near Kota Stia the prince was met by Tan Puteh and Tan Saban and escorted to Kota Lumut, where he married a daughter of Tan Saban and was installed as Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din. After a short reign, during which he organised a political constitution, he died leaving a son about two years old.

Sultan Malik Shah, nephew of the deceased ruler, hastened from Siak to his uncle's place at Tanah Abang (or Red Earth) and broke the neck of the young heir. The chiefs accepted the usurper, all except the grandfather of the murdered boy, Tan Saban, who fought Malik Shah for three years. One day at Kota Lama Tan Saban's leg was grazed by a magic bullet from the matchlock of Megat Terawis, a Minangkabau adventurer in the Sultan's forces. The bullet bore the terrifying inscription: "This is Megat Terawis,

¹ A variant MS. calls him Nakhoda Ragam from Siak. His grave is at Teluk Perang. ² To this day her descendants cherish her grave with its stone *nisan* at Kuala Temong.

son of a concubine of the Raja of Pagar Ruyong: wherever it falls, he will become a chief." Knowing that he must now die, Tan Saban left his daughter and his property to Megat Terawis. Tan Saban died and Megat Terawis became a chief—one account says he became Bendahara.

Not long after this Sultan Malik Shah went upriver to fix the boundary between Perak and Patani. On the mountain Titi Wangsa he found a wild cotton-tree with white flowers on the Perak side and red on the Patani side, and at the foot of the mountain was a great rock in the river. With his sword the Sultan cleft the rock so that the water ran on one side to Perak and on the other to Patani. So he fixed the boundary. On his return Malik Shah halted at Chegar Galah where a small stream ran white into the Perak river. Sent to examine its whiteness Megat Terawis found an *aruan* fish with large white breasts suckling her young! So the Sultan called the country Perak which means Silver!

It is needless to criticize the mythical elements in this story. The tale of a Bamboo Princess occurs also in the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, and in the Kedah and Achinese Annals: the Rajas of Raman may not eat bamboo-shoots because their ancestor came out of the bamboo and the "Malay Annals" tell of a Champa prince born from an areca-palm spathe (*Malay Reader*—Winstedt and Blagden, Oxford 1917, p. 182).

The story of the Negrito girl is a compromise between the matrilineal predilections of Malay jurists and the aristocrat preferences of the Perak court, which drew the line at negrito blood in the veins of the royal family.

There are many historical inaccuracies in the legend. No Baginda Dai' ever reigned at Johor Lama: Daik on the island of Lingga was the capital of the Johor family in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries! Sultan Mahmud of Daik died in 1812 A.D.! Royal houses are conservative and no ruler of Malacca or Johor ever used the title Taju'd-din, "Ornament of the Faith." It has been the title of no authentic ruler of Perak though it was that of a Kedah Sultan, Ahmad Taju'd-din, who conquered and ruled Perak from 1818 until 1822, when Selangor restored the rightful Perak Sultan, Malik (Mansur) Shah (Anderson's *Considerations*, p. 188). Terawis too is a Kedah dialect form of Terawih. Certainly no member of the Megat family had usurped the office of Bendahara in the XVIIth century, when the early Sultans of Perak reigned: working on the generations of the Megat family tree, Wilkinson computed that they were Bendaharas of Perak from 1670 to 1770 A.D. Nor again, as we shall see, does Tan Saban enter into the authentic story of the first Sultan of Perak. How should he? The pedigree of the Sri Adika Raja family has des-

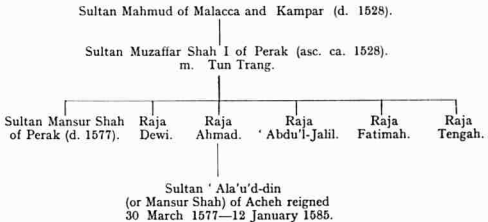
cendants from Tan Saban in the fourth generation who flourished as late as 1780 and 1800 A.D.! The authentic founder of the Perak dynasty created a Tun Mahmud, son of Tun Isap Berakah his first Bendahara, and when the "Malay Annals" were composed at the beginning of the XVIIth century the Bendahara of Perak (*Sejarah Melayu* p. 227) was a Tun Mai who had married a cousin of the wife of Tun Sri Lanang (fl. 1580-1615), author of the "Malay Annals."

It looks as if the names of Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din and Sultan Malik Shah must belong not to the sixteenth but to the nineteenth century. Has uncritical tradition jumbled the Kedah invasion of 1818 with the Kedah meddling in the reign of the eighteenth century Sultan Muzaffar Shah, who made a Kedah raja his first Bendahara and Megats his Orang Kaya Besar and his Temenggong? It looks as if uncritical history has been imposed upon uncritical legend.

C

THE PERAK DYNASTY.

Sultan Muzaffar I of Perak was the son of Sultan Mahmud, the Ruler driven from Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511 (p. *supra*). He married Tun Trang, daughter of his step-mother Tun Fatimah, a lady of the Bendahara family of Malacca. They had a son Raja Mansur (*Sejarah Melayu* p. 228), who became second Sultan of Perak. Either he or his father had sixteen children, of whom three were sons: Raffles' copy of the "Malay Annals" makes them children of Muzaffar, the Perak account children of Mansur. Perhaps the "Annals" are right. For they give the name of Muzaffar's second son as Raja Ahmad, and the *Bustanu's-Salatin* (Niemann's *Bloemlezing*, Hague 1907, vol. II p. 123) gives this name to the father of the next *de jure* Perak ruler who was carried captive to Acheh and became Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of that country on 30 March 1577. The tree will then run:—



One MS. (Maxwell 44) whose account, it must be admitted, is confused, makes the third ruler of Perak a Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, and adds that on his death his younger sister, a Raja Kamariah, married her cousin from Johor, who became Sultan Taju'l-'Arifin.

A Perak story (Maxwell MS. 105; JRASSB. 1882, IX, pp. 95, 108), which is our only authority for the first Achinese invasion continues:—"After the death of Sultan Mansur Shah, Perak was conquered by Acheh and the widow of Sultan Mansur Shah and her sixteen children went captives to Acheh. Her eldest son was taken by 'Abdu'l-Khana for her husband and became Sultan

('Ala'u'd-din or Mansur) of Aceh. During his reign he sent his next younger brother to rule Perak with his capital at Julang, which owing to floods was abandoned for Geronggong. Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Aceh is said to have twice visited Perak to organize its government: on the second occasion he was murdered by his captains at the mouth of the river at Aceh and became known as Sri Pada mangkat di-Kuala.

The name of the younger brother of this Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, who was made by him third ruler of Perak is unknown: it is mere guess-work to call him Ahmad Taju'd-din (JRASSB. 1907, No. XLVIII, p. 98). All we know is that he was termed Marhum Muda and left a son Raja Kechil.

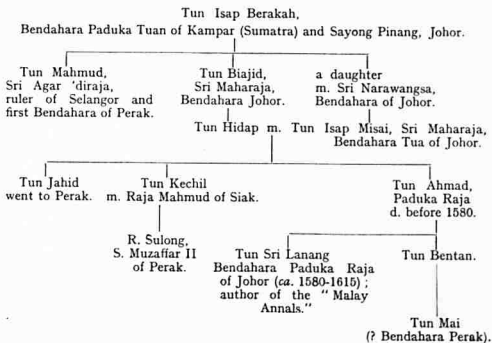
He was succeeded by his younger brother, Marhum Muda Mangkat di-Tebing, "The Younger who died on the River-Bank," whom tradition without authority calls Sultan Taju'l-Arifin (*ib.*).

This ruler was succeeded by the son of Raja Kechil, who became known as Marhum Mangkat di-darat, "He who died inland": tradition says his name was 'Ali and his title 'Ala'u'd-din Shah.

A sister of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Aceh bore two sons in Perak, Tengku Tua and Raja Bongsu. Tengku Tua became sixth Sultan and tradition calls him Mukadam Shah. During this reign—perhaps about 1619 when he invaded Kedah—the redoubtable Mahkota 'Alam of Aceh carried captive to Aceh all the Perak royal family except Raja Mansur (younger brother if the Sultan-who-died-inland) who escaped to Johor (where he married Raja Empuan Jambi) and was fetched thence by Dato' Sri Nara 'diraja to be installed Sultan of Perak at Semat. Aceh thereupon seized and took him to Aceh and (at the request of the Maharaja Lela) installed the younger brother of Mukadam Shah, Raja Bongsu (Yusuf *ib.*) in his stead with the title Sultan Mahmud Shah, afterwards called "He who died in the low land." His son, Raja Kobat (*ib.*), succeeded and was known as Sultan Salahu'd-din or Marhum Pulau Tiga: he, too, died a captive at Aceh. With him the Perak line on the male side died out: *apabila dia mati, putus keturunan, tiada-lah raja lagi di-Perak* (Maxwell MS. 24).

But among the captives at Aceh was a Raja Sulong son of Raja Mahmud son of Marhum Kasab of Siak: Maxwell MS. 24 interpolates Raja Brahim between Raja Mahmud and Marhum Kasab and states that the line descended from Nila Pahlawan. Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca had conquered Siak, its ruler Maharaja Permaisura of the Minangkabau line of Pagar Ruyong being killed and his son Megat Kudu being installed as Sultan Ibrahim of Siak and given Maharaja Dewi a daughter of his

suzerain to wife (*Sejarah Melayu* pp. 121-2) by whom he was the father of Raja 'Abdu'llah, styled Sultan Khoja Ahmad Shah. This Sultan of Siak married a daughter of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca and by her had two sons, Raja Jamal and Raja Blajit (JRASSB. 1925, p. 14). But who was Marhum Kasab? The *Sejarah Melayu* (p. 263) record that Sultan Ali Jalla 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah of Johor (rd. 1580-1597) made one of his sons, Hasan, Raja of Siak, which leads one to suppose that Raja Sulong was of the royal house of Johor. Writing to Governor-General Antonie van Diemen on 12 December 1637 Cornelis Simonsz. van der Veer confuses him with his wife (p. 21 *supra*)—"the newly appointed king of Perak is nephew of the king of Acheh, whose forebear was king of Pahang." For while Raja Sulong was a captive at Acheh, Sultan Mughal or Iskandar II (b. 1611 d. 1641) of Acheh (son of Sultan Ahmad Shah of Pahang) found him a princess for bride, whose father had been Marhum Muda of Pahang and *her mother grand-daughter of the second Sultan of Perak, Mansur Shah, and great-grand-daughter of the first*. The Achinese sent this couple to Perak and installed Raja Sulong as Muzaffar Shah II. He was a *roi jaineant*, at any rate so short of arm that his consort gave him a slave-girl, Che Perbu, to perform his ablutions—by her he had four children, ancestors of the Rajas at Slat Pulau. He died at Geronggong. The "Malay Annals" (p. 164) gives the following pedigree of his maternal descent:—



A treaty made between the Dutch and Perak on 7 December 1655 refers to a treaty made by the late *Sultan Muda Forca* (— Muzaffar) on 15 December 1653, so that Muzaffar Shah II must have died in 1654 or 1655 (*Bij. T.L. Vê. Kon. Inst. van N.J., Deel LVII*, 1907). Who succeeded him? All Perak accounts say it was his son, Sultan Mahmud—Marhum Besar Aulia'llah—whose mother was grand-daughter of the second and great-grand-daughter of the first Sultan of Perak. But was there a queen regent while he was an infant? The treaty made between the Dutch and Perak on 7 December 1655 refers in its preamble to *Sultana Amina Todijn and the young king Muda Forca*, which last must be a mistake for the son of Muzaffar II. One account relates that the royal consort of Raja Sulong died while her children were young, so that we cannot say who this Sultanah was. Maxwell MS. 24 says that Mahmud was installed as an infant by the Sultanah of Aceh who gave him a creese and that when the royal drums (*naubat*) sounded he was dandled by his aunt, who was possibly regent and styled Sultanah. Or was Amina Todijn Sultanah of Aceh?

The "Malay Annals" (p. 168) wrongly suggest that the ruler after Sultan Mahmud was his brother Mansur, "who is now Raja of Perak": actually Mansur died at Pulau Tiga as Sultan (or Yang di-pertuan) Muda, presumably predeceasing his elder brother and never ascending the throne, though three of his sons became Sultans in turn. The second son Muzaffar fought the eldest 'Ala'u'd-din for the throne, the former probably backed by the Laksamana and the Bugis from Bernam and the latter by Raja Kechil's Minangkabau adherents in Kedah and by Bendahara Megat Iskandar, whose pretensions were hateful to the Lower Perak chiefs and who after the royal brothers had made peace disappeared and was succeeded as Bendahara by Megat Terawis, who in turn was succeeded by Sri Dewa Raja (Maxwell MS. 24).

The next four rulers of Perak were brothers: the eldest died a young man about 1728 and the youngest, Sultan Ahmadin, died very old in 1806. On his death the domestic troubles, which always beset the Perak throne in the absence of a foreign foe, started once more. For three months the body of the Sultan Ahmadin was kept at Sayong on the way to burial at Brahmana Indra. The deceased's nephew, Bendahara Mahmud, grandson of Sultan Mahmud who died about 1773, would not come to the funeral. Finally the Raja Muda buried the dead ruler and ascended the throne as Sultan 'Abdu'l-Malik Mansur Shah. The new Sultan ruled from Pasir Garam, but up-river Bendahara Mahmud held sway. The new Sultan's daughter, Che' Puan Busu, married a Raja Ahmad and bore him a son afterwards Sultan Ngah Ja'far. Who was this Raja Ahmad? Maxwell MS. 103 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society (translated in JRASSB. 1884, XIII p. 313) nowhere gives his pedigree, calls him incidentally "son

of the reigning Sultan" (a term often covering "son-in-law") and makes a mistake over the name and family of his wife. A Perak MS. collected by myself and now in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies speaks of him as the son of a Raja Said. Another Perak pedigree admits that Che' Puan Busu married this Raja Ahmad but wrongly makes Sultan Ngah Ja'far the son of his uncle! Maxwell MS. 44 mentions him once in a hopelessly corrupt passage and elsewhere calls him merely the father of Sultan Ja'far. Maxwell MS. 24 records how "at that time Perak was split into two at Denai Blanja on the left bank of the Perak river and at Chondrong Kandis on the right. Upstream the Bendahara Raja Mahmud ruled from Sayong. Downstream Sultan 'Abdu'l-Malik Mansur Shah ruled at Pasir Garam: his children were Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah, Raja Aminah (wife of Raja Ngah Laut) and Che' Puan Busu. Now Raja Ahmad, who had the title of Raja Kechil Tengah, married Che' Long, who had the title of Raja Che' Puan Bongsu (or Busu) and she bore him three children, a girl Raja Che' Puan Muda... and sons Raja Ngah Ja'far and Raja Alang Iskandar." This passage implies that a Raja Ahmad married a daughter of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Malik Mansur Shah and begat the future Sultan Ngah Ja'far who as Raja Muda lived at Pengkalan Pegoh, Kinta, and as Sultan at Pasir Panjang Indra Mulia. A pedigree collected in Perak corroborates this and describes Raja Ahmad as a raja from Daik: moreover Sultan Idris himself used to declare that he was descended from a Raja of Daik, that is the old Lingga, capital of the Riau-Lingga Empire. Perak tradition says that Raja Ahmad was invited to Perak by Sultan 'Abdu'l-Malik Mansur Shah as a famous warrior, perhaps to fight Kedah, perhaps to resist Bendahara Mahmud. Not only did he marry the Sultan's daughter but he got his brother-in-law made the next Sultan and his own son made Bendahara. Finally according to the evidence of Laksamana Muhammad Amin at the signing of the Pangkor treaty, Raja Ahmad was made Sultan Muda. If Raja Ahmad came from Daik, then like the present rulers of Johor and Pahang he was descended from the Bendaharas of Malacca.

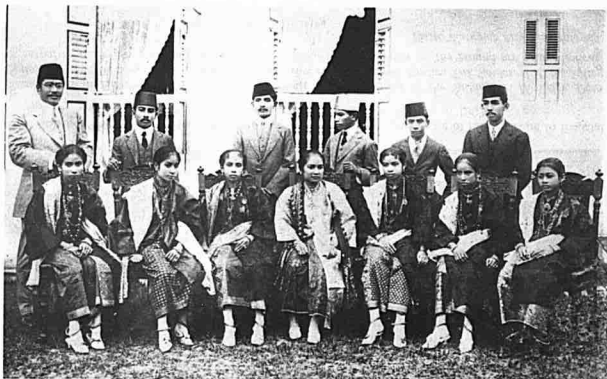
Again. In the next reign internecine troubles broke out, the Siamese having bribed some of the royal family to take their side, so that in 1926 Captain Low went from Penang and presided at the installation of fresh Raja chiefs.

Even after the English had freed Perak of danger from Siam and Selangor, the Perak royal house was divided against itself. In 1832 Raja Muda reported to the Governor of the Straits Settlements a conspiracy by the Bendahara against the new Sultan Shahabu'd-din.

Yet again in 1853 the next ruler, Sultan 'Abdu'llah Muhammad Shah, had to leave his palace and a pretender described himself as Sultan Safi-u'd-din Mu'azzam Shah, but the British seem to have quashed the rebellion (p. 76).

When this Sultan 'Abdu'llah died, Sultan Ja'far was elected his successor though not present at the obsequies. And his successor 'Ali was away in Larut for four months after the death of Ja'far (JRASSB. 1880, VI p. 165). Yet in the absence of civil disturbance the heir presumptive must attend the Sultan's funeral.

Finally in 1872 there came the famous struggle between Sultan Isma'il and the Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah.

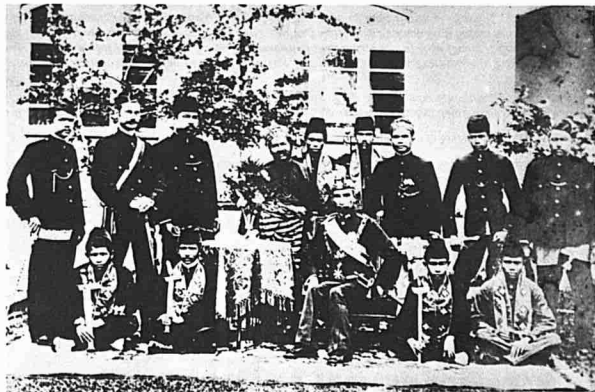


Children of Sultan Idris and Tengku Permaisuri Che Uteh Mariah.

L to R, Standing: Raja Chulan ibni Sultan Abdullah; Raja Harun al-Rashid ibni Sultan Idris; Raja Abdul Rashid ibni Sultan Idris; Raja Haji Shuib ibni Sultan Idris; Raja Shaharuddin ibni Sultan Idris; Raja Abdul Aziz bin Raja Muda Musa.

seated: Raja Halijah binti Sultan Idris, (wife of Raja Abdul Aziz; later Raja Perempuan of Perak); Raja Kimas (wife of Raja Abdul Rashid); Raja Puteh Kalsom binti Sultan Idris, (wife of Raja Chulan); Tengku Permaisuri Che Uteh Mariah; Raja Arbiah binti Sultan Idris (not married); Raja Fatimah binti Sultan Idris, (later Tengku Ampuan Selangor); Raja Mahtra binti Sultan Abdullah (wife of Raja Harun al-Rashid).

Photo National Archives Malaysia.

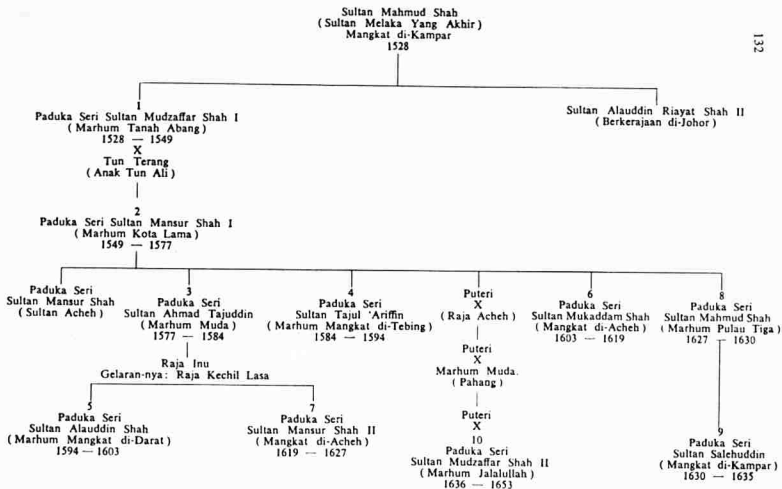


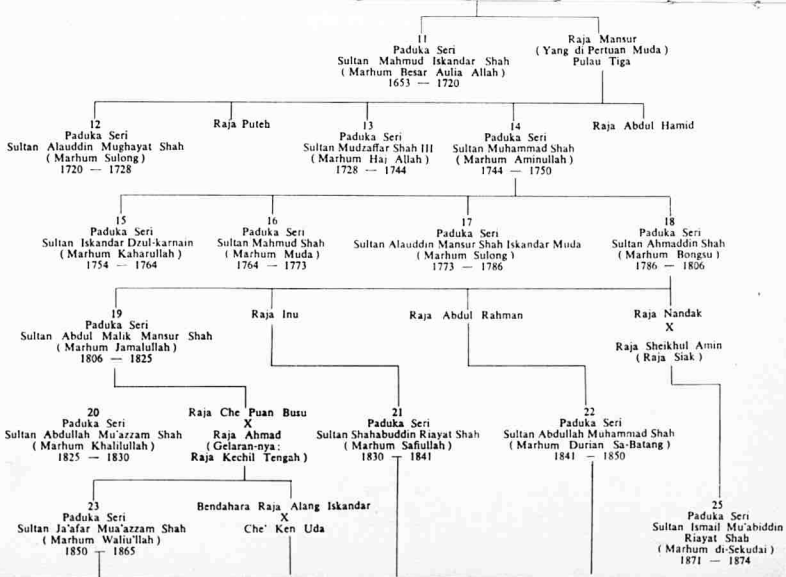
H.H. Sultan Idris of Perak in front of Istana Negara Kuala Kangsar, on the eve of his departure to England to attend the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh in 1902.

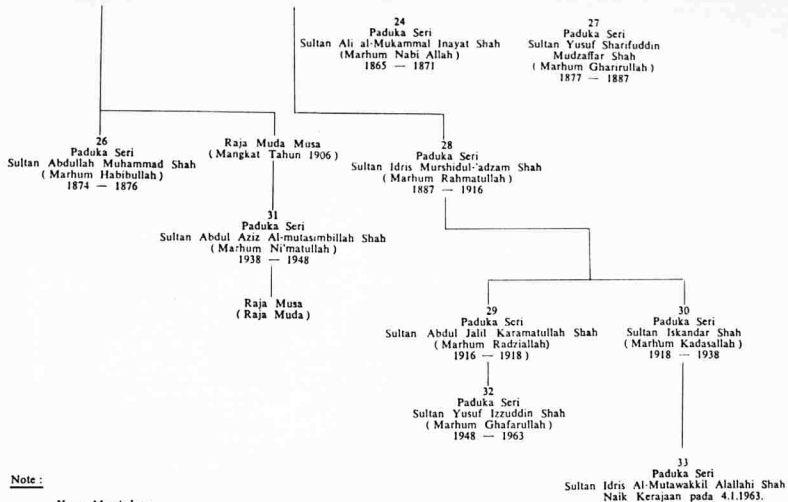
Standing (L to R): Bentara Toh Raja Di-Boungsu; Private Secretary to the Sultan, Mr. H. Velge; Dato Setia; Dato Panglima Kinta; Dato Seri Adika Raja; Bentara Tok Rakna; Bentara Tok Sandar. H.H. the Sultan is seated in the centre. Standing at the back are two Kundang. Seated on the ground are four Kundang.

Photo National Archives Malaysia.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF PERAK.







Note :

X — Married to.

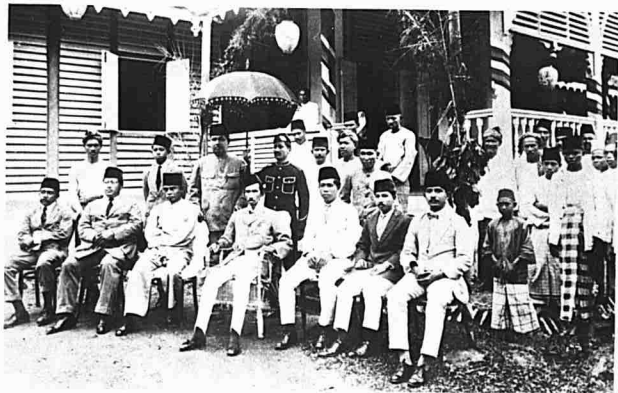


PLATE XIX.

Sultan Abdul Jalil & members of Perak Royal Family.

L. to R. Seated: Raja Abdul Malek ibni Sultan Abdullah: Raja Chulan ibni Sultan Abdullah: Raja Alang Iskandar ibni Sultan Idris: Sultan Abdul Jalil ibni Sultan Idris, (29th Sultan of Perak 1916 – 1918): Raja Kamarulzaman bin Raja Mansur: Raja Harun al-Rashid ibni Sultan Idris: Raja Abdul Rashid ibni Sultan Idris. Group photo outside the Rest House, Tanjong Malim. taken c.1917.

Photo: National Archives Malaysia.

D

THE PERAK CHIEFS.
THE RAJAS.

I. SULTAN.

The full title of the ruler is *Duli yang maha mulia Maulana Paduka Sri Sultan, Yang di-pertuan nĕgĕri Perak, Daru'r-rizwan*. His principal revenues came from duties on imports and exports by the mouth of the Perak river (*chukai Kuala Perak*). In 1874 this source of revenue was let for \$12,000 a year, of which the Sultan got \$10,000 and the two great port officers, the Laksamana and Shahbandar, \$1,000 each. Duties were charged on rice, salt, opium, tobacco, tin, rattans, hides, gutta, gums, salt-fish and oil. In theory absolute, a Sultan was expected to consult his great chiefs who else might question the authenticity of his mandates. So in the old treaties with the Dutch the great officers of State are named along with the ruler, as also in the Pangkor treaty. And the Mantri got his charter for Larut countersigned by many of the leading chiefs.

With the approval of the chiefs, the Raja Muda succeeded a Sultan. The idea of a *giliran* or rotation between three branches of the royal family is modern and accidental.

The consort of the ruler, if royal, is styled *Raja Perempuan*, if a commoner *Raja Permaisuri*.

II. RAJA MUDA.

The full description of the heir-presumptive is: *yang teramat mulia tuanku Raja Muda Wakilu's-Sultan*. His treasury (*tong*) depended on revenues from gambling houses, opium saloons and spirit shops. In 1874 a village opium or gambling den would let for \$30 a month. But the Raja Muda got only a part of this revenue.

His wife, if royal, was styled *Raja Empuan Besar*; if a commoner, formerly *Raja Dewa Nata* but now *Che' Puan Muda*.

III. SULTAN MUDA.

When the first Sultan of Perak was Raja Muda and heir-presumptive of the last Sultan of Malacca, his father created a younger son by a lady of the Bendahara family Sultan Muda, and the Raja Muda was driven into exile. The title Sultan Muda has been preserved in Perak. In some cases, as in that of Mansur Shah, younger brother of the childless eleventh ruler, it stood for heir-presumptive and may have been given as a greater honour than the style Raja Muda. That eleventh ruler adopted his nephews

and styled the eldest Raja Radin first Raja Muda and later Sultan Muda (—a younger brother of Raja Radin seems to have intrigued with the Bugis and anyhow got himself made Sultan of Bernam). Sultan Muda Radin succeeded his uncle on the throne. The next three Sultan Mudas were foreigners: an Arab Sayid, Raja Sharif Bisnu, son-in-law of Marhum Kahar (d. 1754) and by him created Sultan Muda 'Ala'u'd-din; next, the Daik Raja, Sultan Muda Ahmad, son-in-law of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Malik Mansur Shah (reigned 1806-25), and lastly it was proposed by Laksamana Muhammad Amin as a consolation title for Ex-Sultan Isma'il in 1874. Probably the first two of these foreigners claimed magic powers. An Arab Sayid would certainly be credited with them and actually an old list of Perak chiefs, which gives this Sayid as the contemporary Sultan Muda, states that the duties of the office are those of State Medicine-man, namely annually to revive the regalia and royal instruments of music and on occasion to invoke the guardian genies of the country. Reviving the royal weapons would certainly be within the province of a warrior Raja from Daik. Any stranger is credited with greater magic than life-long acquaintances. Anyhow long before the time of its last holder, a *keramat* elder brother of Sultan Idris, the title had become associated with the office of State Medicine-man. The holding of such an office by a member of the royal house is an interesting survival in culture. In 1875 it was the Raja Kechil Muda who held the famous *séance* to discover if the guardian genies of Perak would rid the country of Mr. Birch.

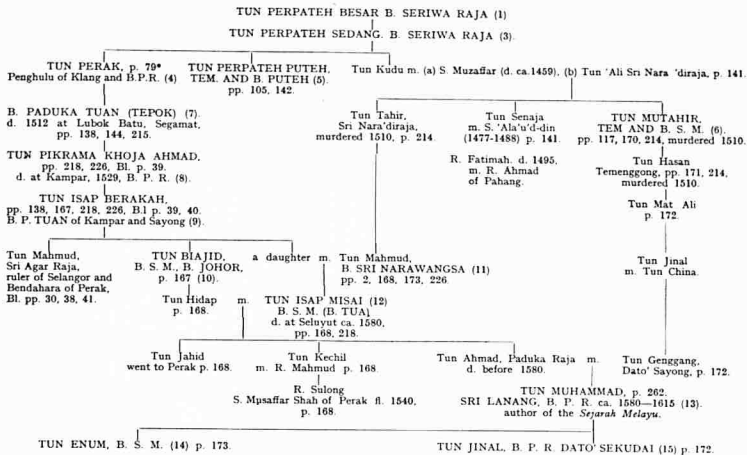
IV. RAJA HEIRS OF THE STATE.

Known collectively as *waris nĕgĕri*, they are divided into *waris benĕh dan tanah* "heirs on the side both of father and of mother," *waris benĕh* "heirs by paternal descent" and *waris tanah* "heirs by maternal descent." The highest offices for these Rajas (below Sultan, Raja Muda and Bendahara) are: Raja di-Hilir, Raja Kechil Besar, Raja Kechil Muda, Raja Kechil Tengah and Raja Kechil Bongsu in that order of rank. They are under the Raja Muda and are addressed colloquially as *engku*, while the commoner chiefs are under the Bendahara.

THE BENDAHARAS OF MALACCA, JOHOR AND PERAK.

136

A History of Perak.



*Page references to Shellabear's *Sejarah Melayu*, rom. 2nd ed., Singapore, 1909 and Bl. to SRASMB Vol. III Pt. 1, 1925, pp. 10—52
B.—Bendahara. B.S.M.—Bendahara Sri Maharaja. B.P.R.—Bendahara Paduka Raja.

THE FOUR GREAT CHIEFS.

These were known as the *Orang Besar Empat* or *Orang Empat di-Balai*, namely The Big Four or The Court Four. Except for the Bendahara, who since the latter half of the eighteenth century has been a Raja, they are styled *Orang Kaya*. They are

I. Raja Bendahara.

II. Orang Kaya Besar Maharaja 'diraja, Penghulu Bendahari.

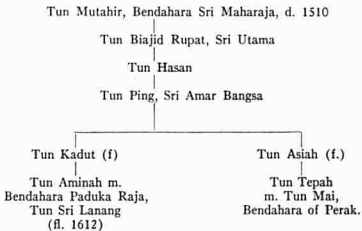
III. Orang Kaya Temenggong Paduka Raja.

VI. Orang Kaya Mantri Paduka Tuan.

All except the Temenggong have been at one time Sayids, who in Perak are addressed as *Tengku*. All Four have been addressed as *Tengku* from the time of Achinese domination.

I. BENDAHARA.

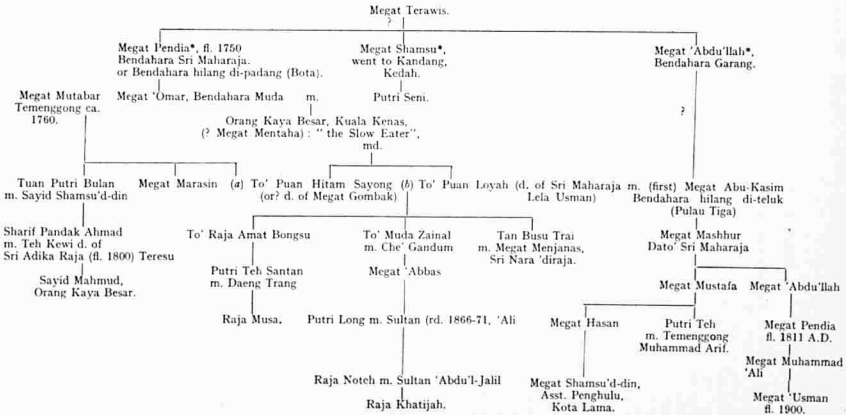
The first Perak Bendahara (*supra* p. 8) was Tun Mahmud (created ca. 1530), son of Tun Isap Berakah, Bendahara Paduka Tuan of Kampar in Sumatra and Sayong in Johor, and brother of Tun Biajid, Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who was known as Bendahara Johor for the part he played in founding that State (JRASMB. vol. X, pt. III, 1932, pp. 12, 15, 18). At the time (ca. 1612) when the "Malay Annals" were written by Tun Sri Lanang the Perak Bendahara was still a member of the great Malacca house of Bendaharas, apparently one Tun Mai, husband of a cousin of the wife of Tun Sri Lanang. Taking the tree up to Tun Mutahir, who was murdered or executed by Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca in 1510 the year before d'Albuquerque captured that port, the genealogy runs as follows:—



The text of the *Sejarah Melayu* (pp. 226-7) is ambiguous and Tun Tepah may be not daughter but grand-daughter of Tun Asiah.

In old Malacca, the title of Bendahara was associated with the titles *Seriwa Raja*, *Sri Amar(a) 'diraja*, *Paduka Tuan*, *Sri Maharaja*, *Sri Narawangsa* and *Paduka Raja* (*ib.* p. 170). In an agreement between Perak and the Dutch of 1655 A.D. the Perak Bendahara is called "Dato' Bandara Sri Maharaja Besar," in the 1660 treaty between Aceh and the Dutch "Bendahara Paduka Sri Maharaja." In the Johor and Riau-Lingga Empire the title was alternately *Sri Maharaja* and *Paduka Raja*: also in those kingdoms, as in old Malacca, the Temenggong was ordinarily promoted Bendahara. In Perak there is still a relic of this system in the title, *Paduka Raja*, for the Temenggong. A 1655 agreement between Perak and the Dutch speaks of the then Bendahara *Paduka Sri Maharaja* of Perak having been formerly its Temenggong. To judge by their titles (*Paduka*) *Sri Maharaja*, *Paduka Raja*, *Maharaja 'diraja* and *Sri Paduka Tuan*, all the Four Great Perak offices must have been held at first by the famous Malacca family of Bendaharas whose members enjoyed the *Pasai* honorific *Tun*, or in Perak dialect *Tan*, and even in Malacca days had provided Bendaharas for outlying feudatories like Pahang and Sumatran *Kampar*. *Tan Saban* (pp. 62, 122) is reputed to have been a member of this house and his descendants in Perak have held also the old Malacca titles *Sri Narawangsa* and *Sri Amar(a) 'diraja* (pp. 150, 152).

By the time of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Mughayat Shah (d. ca. 1728), the *Tan* family had lost the office, possibly owing to the civil wars that marked his reign. About this time, says one account, "Bendahara Megat Iskandar disappeared and Megat Terawih became Bendahara. . . . After the death of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, the Bendahara also died and *Sri Dewa Raja* became Bendahara" (*JRASSB.* 1882, No. 9, pp. 104, 105). When the next Sultan *Muzaffar Shah* retreated upriver from *Brahmana Indra* and made a capital at *Kuala Kangsar*, his Bendahara was a *Kedah* prince *Raja Alang*, his *Orang Kaya Besar* was *Megat Pintal* (or ? *Pendia*), his Temenggong *Megat Mutabar* and his *Mantri Pakih Yusoh*. Later, when he returned to *Brahmana Indra*, *Muzaffar Shah* chose new ministers; *Megat Pendia* was made Bendahara *Sri Maharaja*, *Tan Marasin Orang Kaya Besar Sri Maharaja 'diraja*, *Tan Bantan Temenggong Paduka Raja* and *Sharif Husain Mantri Sri Paduka Tuan* (*Misa Melayu*, pp. 5, 15, 17). The fact that a *Kedah* prince was made this ruler's Bendahara may be significant: *Terawih* is *Kedah* dialect for *Terawih* and the whole story of *Tan Saban* (last of his house to be Bendahara of Perak) and of an adventurer *Megat Terawih* may properly belong to these civil wars. The tree of the *Megats* has been compiled from three different manuscript sources but is uncertain in a few places marked with a dotted line:—



* Whoever their father was, these three were brothers. The genealogies of Megat Iskandar, Megat Pintal and Megat Mutabar have not been found: perhaps Pintal is a misspelling of Pendia.

On the death of Bendahara Megat Pendia Sultan Muzaffar (d. 1754) appointed Sharif Abubakar (one of the great Sayid house in Perak, p. 144) to the vacant office, but a few years later Sultan Iskandar accepted the Sayid's resignation and gave the office to his own brother afterwards Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah. The *Misa Melayu* relates that, when Sultan Iskandar was building a new palace at Pulau Indra Sakti, His Highness was so exacting that the Bendahara, Temenggong and Mantri all returned their swords of office. It was then that the first royal Bendahara was appointed. But a letter written in April 1680 (*Dagh-Register* 1680 p. 366) by Sultan Mahmud Shah to the Governor of Malacca seems to show that in his reign not only was there a "Bandara Paducca Siry Maharaja" and a "Dato Bandara Paducca Siry Nara" but also a royal Bendahara "head of the Sitterja (? — *kshatria*) Orangcaya Raja Bandara, Raja Manawarsa" (? — Shah)! After it had become royal the office ranked next below Raja Muda in the direct line to the Sultanate. About 1851, however, no member of the Perak royal house could be found acceptable for the office. So a Raja Isma'il, of Siak descent on his father's side (but of Perak descent on the distaff side) was made Bendahara to be premier chief but not heir to the throne. Three Sultans, Shahabu'd-din, 'Abdu'llah and Ja'far, died during his tenure of office and Raja Isma'il made no claim to become Raja Muda. But when Sultan 'Ali died in 1871, the Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah was too timid to claim the throne and the chiefs elected Bendahara Raja Isma'il their ruler. Now, again, the holder is regarded as second heir to the throne, and is described as *teramat mulia tuanku Raja Bendahara wakil u's-Sultan, waziru'l-kabir*.

The Perak Bendahara was prime minister and commander-in-chief. As in Malacca and old Johor, so in Perak it fell to the Bendahara to provide his Sultan with a palace. When a Sultan died, the Bendahara at once took the regalia and became regent. After seven days he would invite the Raja Muda to the palace to receive the regalia and be installed. The Bendahara bore all the expenses of the installation.

In Perak the Bendahara used to get his revenue from tolls on the imports and exports of the Kinta river. Once a year he could send the royal musicians (*orang kalur*) round the villages to bear his sword of office (*baur*) and collect a capitation-tax of 50 cents from every household: this revenue was known as *beman kalur*.

The wife of the Bendahara, if royal, is styled Raja Empuan Kechil, but, if a commoner, Bendahara Empuan or, colloquially, Che' Puan Bendahara. At one time he had an assistant Raja Indra Lela of the Sungai Raya branch of the Temenggong family, who was in charge of Sungai Raya. When Bendahara Iskandar, grandfather of the present ruler, lived at Teja, the Panglima Teja was his assistant and has remained one of the Sixteen.

II. ORANG KAYA BESAR.

Colloquially termed Orang Kaya Besar, this chief has the long title Orang Kaya Besar Sri Maharaja 'diraja Penghulu Bendahari. The title Orang Kaya Besar does not occur in the "Malay Annals," perhaps because it is colloquial, perhaps because in Malacca days the greatest commoner chief was the Bendahara. Nor does it occur in the 1655 treaty between Aceh and the Dutch. There the holder of this Perak office is merely called Sri Maharaja 'diraja, and one might wonder whether even the *Misa Melayu*, written after the Bendahara had become a prince and heir to the throne, did not use the term Orang Kaya Besar anachronistically, except that in the 1650 treaty between Perak and Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn the signatories are described as "the Sultan Yang di-pertuan and his council, the Bandara, Bandara Muda, *Orang Kaya Besar* and Temenggong!" One can only suppose that even the commoner Bendahara was regarded as *sui generis*. The treaties bear witness to the age of this office, and there is evidence that originally it also belonged to the great Tan (or Tun) family. We read in the *Malay Annals* (p. 226): "Tun Hamzah, a son of Sri Nara 'diraja, who escaped the extermination of the Bendahara family, was created Penghulu Bendahari and also styled Sri Nara 'diraja: he was the greatest favourite of Sultan Mahmud"—last Malay ruler of Malacca. And the Perak Sri Nara 'diraja family claims, that, before the Megats usurped the office, their house provided two Orang Kaya Besar, the first a son of Sri Nara 'diraja Samah and grandson of Sri Nara 'diraja Pandak and the second Tan Pandak, son of a Tan Dewi (or Din). Another Perak account says that originally the office belonged to "the family vomited out by the bull" (namely whose ancestor was Batala, herald of Sang Sapurba. p. 119) and in Perak that family held the office of Sri Nara 'diraja, or chief court herald. It was natural that an officer of the court, Sri Nara 'diraja, should be promoted to a higher office within the royal precincts. For the Orang Kaya Besar was the Sultan's treasurer, secretary and chamberlain: he collected the ruler's revenues, dealt with his correspondence and had charge of his household.

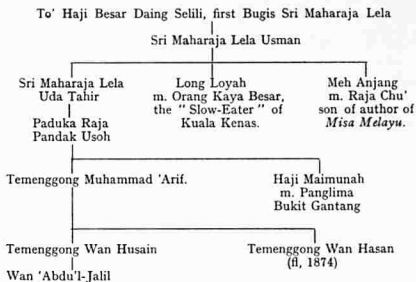
As related above, the office was usurped by the Megats in the time of Sultan Muzaffar Shah (reigned ca. 1728-54). That ruler first gave it to a Megat Penda (or Pintal) but later restored it to a *Tan* named Marasin, though afterwards it went to another Megat, the "Slow-Eater," of Kuala Kenas whose two next successors in the office were also Megats. Next in the nineteenth century one Kanda 'Abdu'l-Majid held the office and then Sultan Isma'il gave it to Sayid Mahmud, on the distaff side a descendant of the "Slow-Eater." The last holder, Sayid Ja'far (p. 144) was another member of the Perak Sayid family. These Sayids enjoyed the revenues of Pachat and were free of tolls at the mouth of the Perak river.

The wife of this officer was styled Orang Kaya Puan or colloquially To' Puan. His deputy was Sri Amar Ferdana 'diwangsa or Amar 'diwangsa, a title once held by descendants of Tan Saban, (but chiefs of Pachat since Sayids got the office of Orang Kaya Besar) and still one of the Sixteen Minor Chiefs.

III. TEMENGGONG.

The full title is Temenggong Paduka Raja. In old Malacca and in the Lingga-Riau kingdom the Temenggong succeeded the Bendahara. As we have seen above, the titles of the Perak Bendaharas and Temenggongs are a relic of this rotation and the 1655 treaty between Perak and the Dutch speaks of the "Dato' Bendara, formerly Temenggong" so that apparently the early Perak Temenggongs were of the great Malacca Tun family. One MS. says that "Temenggongs are of the family of Tan Saban or persons chosen by the ruler," and the name of four Temenggongs of this family have survived, one in a genealogy, one in the *Misa Melayu*, two in a Perak MS. history. But even as early as 1650 the Orang Kaya Besar ranked before the Temenggong, the treaty of that year between Perak and Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn being signed "by the Sultan Yang di-pertuan and his Council, the Bendara, Bendara Muda, *Orang Kaya Besar and Temenggong.*" The 1655 treaty between Perak and the Netherlands East India Company is puzzling, the chiefs cited being "the Orang Kayas Dato' Bandara Sri Maharaja Besar, Sri Maharaja, Sri Maharaja 'diraja (= Orang Kaya Besar), Temenggong Sri Maharaja Lela, Paduka Raja, Mantri Paduka Tuan, Laksamana." Is this correct and was a Sri Maharaja Lela then Temenggong, as later in the eighteenth century a family of Bugis Daings usurped the titles of Sri Maharaja Lela, Paduka Raja and Temenggong? or should we transpose the words Sri Maharaja Lela and Paduka Raja? A letter of April 1680 from Sultan Mahmud Shah of Perak to the Governor of Malacca also speaks of the "Orangcaya Tommagon Siry Maharaja Lilla" as if one person only were intended (p. 52 *supra*).

To' Pajar, He-who-was-lost-on-a-plain (great-grandson of Tan Saban) and Tan Bantan (*Misa Melayu* p. 17), in the time of Sultan Muzaffar Shah (reigned ca. 1728-1754), are the only Temenggongs of the great Bendahara family whose names have survived. In that reign, as we have seen, a Megat Mutabar held the office for a while. But already at the beginning of the eighteenth century and in the reign of Muzaffar Shah's predecessor the Bugis Klana Jaya (Daing Merewah d. 1728) had invaded Perak, in 1742 Daing Chela' conquered it and later a Bugis raja visited Perak and compelled the Sultan to recognise him as first Sultan of Selangor. Consequent on this period of Bugis influence came the usurpation of three ancient Malacca titles by the family of Daing Selili: the tree runs as follows—



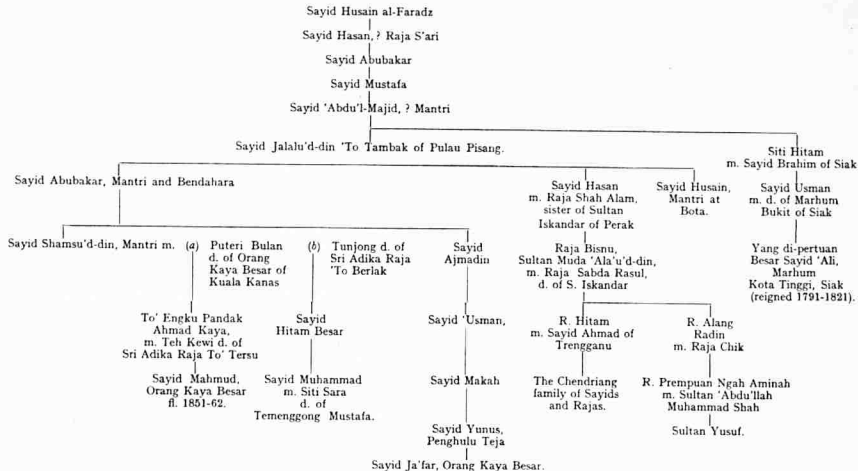
About the end of the XVIIIth century there was a Temenggong Pa' Hujan who opened Prai. A cousin of Orang Kaya Besar Sayid Mahmud (fl. 1851) married the daughter of a Temenggong Mustafa whose father was Temenggong Isahak; and Mustafa is said to have begotten a son who also became Temenggong.

The Temenggong was the Sultan's dagger (*keris pandak*). It was his duty to look after forts and moats and prisons. He was in charge of all markets and of weights and measures. At night he conducted rounds in search of criminals and he was chief of executioners. He derived his revenues from a monopoly of the sale of salt and ataps, from fees on weights and measures and from the smaller fines he inflicted—the larger went to the Sultan.

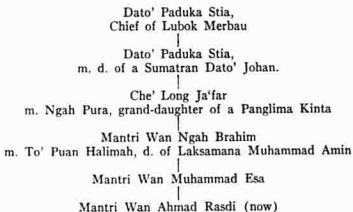
The wife of a Temenggong is styled To' Puan. His deputy is styled Sri Lela Paduka and is one of the Sixteen Minor Chiefs.

IV. MANTRI.

The full title is Orang Kaya Mantri Sri Paduka Tuan. The earliest mention of the office and title is in the 1655 treaty between Perak and the Dutch. It is safe to assume that originally it was held by the great Malacca Bendahara family. About 1659 a Shahbandar seems to have been promoted Mantri (p. 30). But the earliest Mantri known to us by name is Fakh Yusoh under Muzaffar Shih (1728-1754), and later in the same reign two brothers, Mantri Sharif Husain and Mantri Sharif Abubakar who was later promoted Bendahara (p. 144). These Sharifs were of the great Hadramaut house of Ahmad bin Esa al-Mohajir, whose descendants include families so well-known in the Malayan region as a's-Sakhaf, al-'Aidarus, al-Kadri and al-Habshi. (JRASSB. 1918 No. 79, pp. 49-54). The first of the family to come to Perak was Sayid Husain al-Faradz and the pedigree shows the importance of his descendants—



In 1862 Sultan Ja'far took the office away from these Sayids and conferred it on the *de facto* ruler of Larut, Che Ngah Brahim, son of a Paduka Stia, which is still the title of one of the Sixteen Minor Chiefs, the assistant (*kapit*) of the Panglima Bukit Gantang from whose family the Paduka Stia was chosen. The Panglimas of Bukit Gantangs were descended from Tan Saban and the bestowal of the title of Mantri on Ngah Ibrahim (if his father were of the old Panglima house) is an interesting instance of an ancient title being restored to the great family, which originally held it. Yet people regarded Ngah Ibrahim as an upstart! The pedigree of his family runs:—



The wife of the Mantri was a To' Puan—one list calls his heir Raja Kenanyi (?).

THE EIGHT CHIEFS.

The Eight Chiefs (*Orang Besar Delapan*) or in Achinese nomenclature Eight Captains (*Hulubalang Delapan*) take precedence after the Four Great Chiefs. While the Four are styled *Orang Kaya*, the Eight are styled in Achinese fashion *Orang Kaya-Kaya* and addressed as Dato'. In the order assigned to them by the Perak State Council in 1905 (cf. Notes and Queries RASSB. 1885, I p. 7) they are—

- I. Orang Kaya-Kaya Maharaja Lela Tan Lela Putra.
- II. " " " Laksamana Raja Mahkota.
- III. " " " Sri Adika Raja Shahbandar Muda.
- IV. " " " Panglima Kinta, Sri Amar Bangsa
'diraja.
- V. " " " Panglima Bukit Gantang, Sri Amar
'diraja.

- VI. Orang Kaya-Kaya Shahbandar Paduka Indra.
 VII. " " " Stia Bijaya 'diraja (formerly Sri
 Agar 'diraja).
 VIII. " " " Imam Paduka Tuan.

The same eight were recognised in 1872 except that the Shahbandar came fourth then, and Sri Agar 'diraja (To' Sagor) was the seventh.

I. ORANG KAYA-KAYA MAHARAJA LELA TAN LELA PUTRA.

This chief is a relic of the Malacca court. At court ceremonies he should stand prominent with naked sword ready to behead any person guilty of breach of loyalty or etiquette. His prerogative was to execute for such crimes without awaiting the royal mandate. He was above the law—until at his home Pasir Salak he instigated the murder of Mr. J. W. W. Birch, Resident of Perak, and had his office and title abolished—so that his genealogy is lost or hidden.

Perhaps it is this chief who is mentioned in the 1655 treaty between Perak and the Dutch with the style Temenggong Sri Maharaja Lela. Perhaps at that time just as a Temenggong was promoted Bendahara, so a Sri Maharaja Lela could be promoted Temenggong. The treaty of 1680 speaks of "the treasurer Orang Kaya Temenggong Sri Maharaja Lela" and "the head of the royal palace Orang Kaya Paduka Sri Tuan Maharaja Lela." It seems clear that even then there were two officers bearing the title Maharaja Lela and that both of them enjoyed the honorific Sri. One wonders if one of these offices was an Achinese accretion to the Perak nobility?

In the nineteenth century the last Maharaja Lela was territorial chief of Pasir Salak and drew his revenues from that district and from customs and dues from Sungai Dedap.

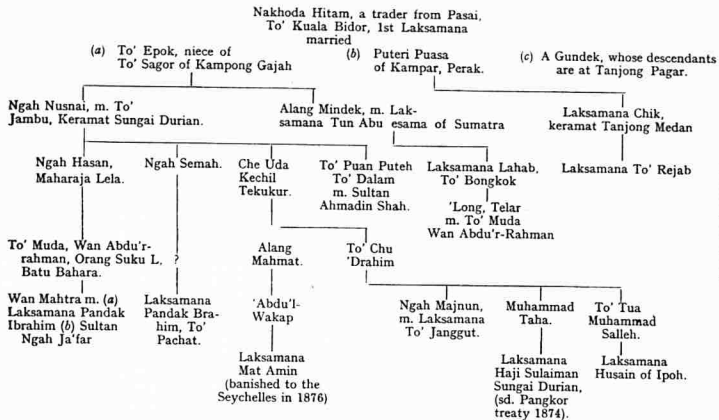
The wife of a Maharaja Lela was a To' Puan. His heir (*bakal*) was styled Maharaja Anakda and his assistant (*golok-golok*) Maharaja Si-Rama,—afterwards the title of the assistant to the Orang Kaya-Kaya Stia Bijaya 'diraja at Kampong Gajah.

II. ORANG KAYA-KAYA LAKSAMANA RAJA MAHKOTA.

The Laksamana or Admiral is found at most Malay Courts and was a chief of old Malacca, where the title was once given to the family of the famous Hang Tuah. The Laksamana appears as one of the signatories of the 1655 treaty between Perak and the Netherlands East India Company. Tradition relates that the office belonged once to the descendants of Tan Kesak of the family of Tan Saban Balik, but that family lost it at least as early as

the reign of Muzaffar Shah (rd. ca. 1728-1754), if not earlier in the days of Aceh's effective suzerainty. The *Misa Melayu* (pp. 42-3) gives the following account of the acquisition of the title by its present holders:—"There was a man of Haru, called Nakhoda (or Tan) Pasumah, who in the time of Marhum Haji Allah (= Muzaffar Shah) had become Laksamana with authority over the mouth of the Perak river and over the people at Tanjong Putus, but he had not been formally installed. And now Sultan Iskandar 'Inayat Shah determined to give him the formal title in order to increase his loyalty. Tan Pasumah was summoned from Tanjong Putus to Pulau Tiga and the Sultan sent a captain to present him with a suit of raiment. Having donned the suit, he entered the presence, where a herald read out the *chiri* and his title Laksamana Orang Kaya-Kaya. He was sprinkled with rose-water and did homage. After receiving a plate of *sireh* he was taken in procession on an elephant and went down to his ship." Certainly he was a Sumatran but not a Tan.

Perak folk-lore, anxious to make the Laksamanas scions of the ancient Malacca Tans, who came from Pasai (JRASSB. Notes and Queries No. I, p. 47: 1885), relates how the first ancestor of the present Laksamana family was a Pasai fisherman who with his wife lived on the Perak river, so poor that the pair had only one garment between them and when one went out the other had to stay inside their mosquito-net. Repeatedly the fish were removed from his traps, until one day hidden under calladium leaves in the water he discovered that the thief was a genie dressed as a Haji and seized hold of him. "Let me go," cried the genie, "and I will give you your heart's desire." The fisherman asked for release from poverty, whereupon the genie spat into his mouth and promised that he would be the greatest chief in Perak and his descendants prosperous for seven generations. He was called To' Kuala Bidor and a daughter of his married Sultan Ahmadin who died about 1806: the children of Laksamana Muhammad Amin (who was banished along with Sultan 'Abdu'llah to the Seychelles) claimed to belong to the seventh generation in direct descent from this founder of their family's fortunes—unless perhaps more than one Laksamana was known as To' Kuala Bidor. The following is the genealogy:—



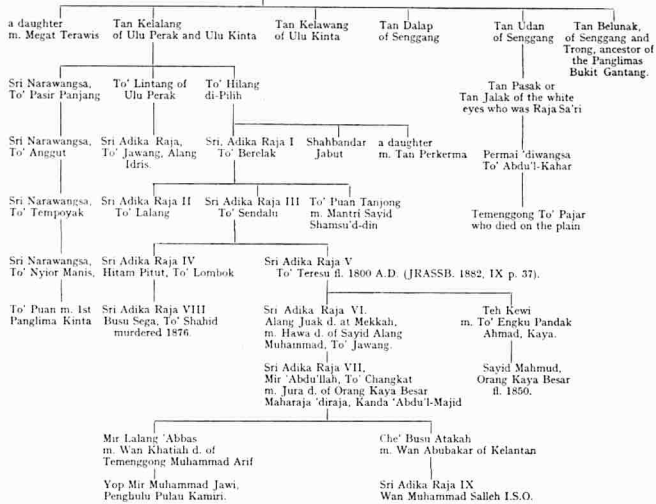
The authority of the Laksamana extended "up-river as far as the tide can reach, down-river to the line where the surf breaks on the bar and the gray-mullet come to the surface." He also had charge of the whole sea coast. Whenever the Sultan's boats entered tidal waters, the Laksamana had the right to place his boat at the head of the fleet. At all times he could erect a flag-staff (*galah*) in the bows of his boat and blow a royal trumpet (but of brass) as king of the sea. His crew could sit under a *kajang* roof. It was his duty to guard against foreign foes and to assist those in trouble at sea. He worked in concert with the Shahbandar and examined incoming and outgoing ships. He administered justice in Lower Perak and derived a certain revenue from fines. He also levied tolls on the river Batang Padang and received a small share of the tolls on the Perak river.

The wife of a Laksamana is styled To' Puan. His heir is Dato' Raja Mahkota or To' Muda. His deputy (*kapit*) was styled Rakna Pahlawan and his assistant (*golok-golok*) Sri Dewa Raja (? Indra).

III. ORANG KAYA-KAYA SRI ADIKA RAJA SHAHBANDAR MUDA.

Colloquially this title is known as S'adika Raja. This great territorial office still belongs to the family of Tan Saban, last Perak Bendahara of the original Malacca house, though the genealogy shows that the first known Sri Adika Raja belonged to the eighteenth century. One generation earlier the family held the title of Sri Narawangsa: the father of the Johor Bendahara, Tun Isap Misai, was a Narawangsa (*Sejarah Melayu* p. 173) and Sri Narawangsa, like Sri Agar Raja, was a Pahang title in the earliest Johor days. The tree runs:—

Tan Saban Balik,
d. at Bukit Merah



The Sri Adika Raja held in the higher reaches of the Perak river the position the Laksamana had near the sea. In his own waters he too could erect a flagstaff and blow a royal trumpet. He too was king in his own sphere, the prince of the shallows (*anak raja di-hujung karang*). His sphere reached from Kuala Temong (above Kuala Kangsar) to the white cotton-tree that marked the watershed between Perak and Patani.

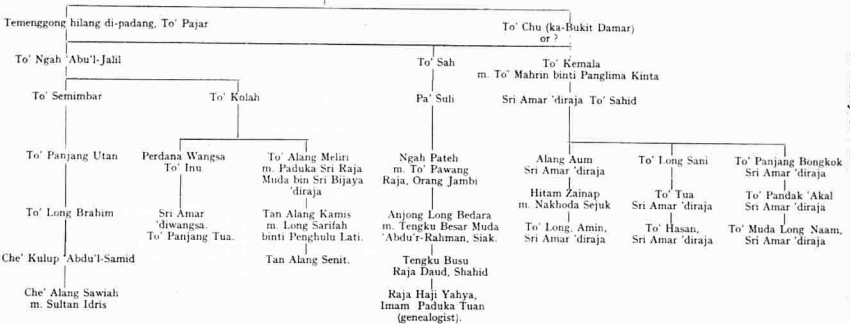
The Sri Adika enjoyed revenue from his district besides certain tolls (\$2 a *bahara* on tin and \$2 a *pikul* on *getah rambong* and gutta-percha), fines, fees and a capitation-tax of 70 *gantang* of rice from every household.

His wife was a To' Puan. His deputy was styled Shahbandar Muda or Shahbandar Ulu or To' Muda.

IV. ORANG KAYA-KAYA PANGLIMA KINTA, SRI AMAR BANGSA 'DIRAJA.

The title, Sri Amar Bangsa 'diraja was the title of the Malacca Bendahara of Pahang in the days of the last Sultan of Malacca (*Sejarah Melayu*, p. 181). A Sri Amar Wangsa was an ancestor of Tun Mai, an early Bendahara of Perak. Although the genealogy puts the first Panglima Kinta in the first half of the eighteenth century, yet the office has always belonged to descendants (on the distaff side) of Tan Saban:—

Tun Saban Balik
 Tun Undan
 Tun Psak Jalak, puteh mata
 (Jadi Raja sa-hari)
 Dato 'Abdu'l-kahar, Permi 'diwangsa.



This chief ruled the Kinta river valley from its watershed down to Kuala Punt. Guarding the State's eastern frontier on the borders of Pahang and Kelantan, he is described as warden of the left gunwale (*pěminggang kiri*) of the ship of State. He received a royalty of 10 per cent. on all tin won in his district, besides the usual fines and fees. He had to send annually 100 *bahara* of tin as tribute to the Sultan and was given in return a complimentary present of \$100 worth of articles for distribution among his ryots.

He wife was styled a To' Puan. His heir (*bakal*) was a To' Muda or according to one list To' Senara (= Sri Nara) Shah, and his chief assistant Sri Paduka Wangsa.

V. ORANG KAYA-KAYA BUKIT GANTANG, SRI AMAR 'DIRAJA.

The title Sri Amar 'diraja was that of the Malacca Bendahara of Kampar (Sumatra) in the time of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Malacca. This Perak office belonged to the same family, reckoning descent from Tan Saban's son, Tan Belunak who settled at Trong, though the first *known* holder according to the tree can hardly have antedated the eighteenth century.

This Panglima was warden of the western gunwale (*pěminggang kanan*) of the ship of State, holding the pass that led from the Perak river to the plains of Larut. He drew his income from his district, though in the nineteenth century the Mantri, a member of this Bukit Gantang family (p. 145), secured all the revenues of Larut for himself, and the title Panglima Bukit Gantang fell into abeyance until its restoration in the present reign. The tree runs:—



Alang 'aidin was given the title for his prowess in the wars with Kedah early in the nineteenth century.

The wife of the Panglima is a To' Puan. His heir's title is To' Muda and that of his assistant, Paduka Stia.

VI. ORANG KAYA-KAYA SHAHBANDAR PADUKA INDRA.

This officer was a Lower Perak chief, who acted as harbour master, customs' officer, protector of immigrants and superintendent of trade. He received a commission on what he collected.

The office was not confined to one family or even to Perak Malays. The deputy (*kapit*), Panglima Prang Kiri, was generally promoted to it. One account calls his *bakal* Sri Dewa Raja.

His wife was not a To' Puan. Only the importance of the Perak estuary, especially in Dutch days, has promoted this officer to be one of the Eight: the *Misa Melayu* (p. 7) describes him and the Laksamana as "the keys of the country" at that period. In 1659 a Shahbandar had been promoted Mantri.

VII. ORANG KAYA-KAYA SRI AGAR 'DIRAJA.

Colloquially this title was abbreviated to To' Sagor and sometimes taken to connote the keeper of the royal dug-outs! It was borne by Tun Mahmud, first Bendahara of Perak (c. 1530), while he was still governor of Selangor under Mahmud, Sultan of Malacca and (Sumatran) Kampar (JRASMB. 1925, vol. III pp. 15, 40). Evidently, therefore, the title is a relic of Perak's old Malacca constitution.

This chief ruled the banks of the Perak river between Kampong Gajah and Pulau Tiga. He was also theoretically controller of all that lay within the fence of the royal household, builder of palaces and the Raja's rafts. He derived revenue from his district and certain river tolls (*bebas chukai kuala*).

His wife was a To' Puan and his assistant (*golok-golok*) bore the title of Paduka Raja.

Perak is often compared by Malays to a ship. The Laksamana was in charge of the anchor (*juru batu*), the Sri Adika of the helm (*juru mudi*), the Panglima Kinta rowed on the left, the Panglima Bukit Gantang on the right and the Sri Agar poled or attended to the royal passengers.

The last Dato' Sri Agar 'diraja (the son of one Muhammad Zin) was executed for complicity in the murder of Mr. Birch. One of the most ancient of Perak titles was then abolished and its place in the Eight given to the new dignity of Orang Kaya-Kaya Sri Stia Bijaya 'diraja, a title that carries no territorial authority.

VIII. ORANG KAYA-KAYA IMAM PADUKA TUAN SRI 'DIRAJA.

This officer is an ecclesiastical dignitary. The lateness of his title is shown by its mixture of Malay, Arabic and Sanskrit. In 1680 the chief ecclesiastical dignitary was "Facky Maly Keleyer" or perhaps Fakih Malik alamin, a religious title still extant in

Perak. In a list of the Eight collected by Sir William Maxwell (RASSB. Notes and Queries, 1885, No. 1, p. 7) the Imam Paduka Tuan does not appear, his place being taken by the very ancient Malacca title of the chief herald, Sri Nara 'diraja, whose family genealogies show to have furnished two holders of the office of Orang Kaya Besar in Perak.

Lists of the time of the pious Sultan Isma'il (e.g. Maxwell MS. 44 R.A.S. London) even raise the Imam Paduka Tuan to be one of the Four Great Chiefs in place of the Bendahara who is regarded as a member of the royal family: Maxwell MS. 44 fills the vacancy in the Eight by the Sri Dewa Raja, now one of the Sixteen.

The Imam Paduka Tuan served as a sort of chief *kathi* and derived his income from the contributions of the pious. His wife was not a To' Puan nor, of course, is the post hereditary. One list gives the Imam Raja Mahkota as his successor.

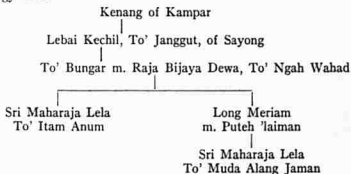
THE SIXTEEN MINOR CHIEFS.

According to a decision of the Perak State Council in 1905 the Sixteen, who rank next below the Eight, are

Sri Maharaja Lela	Panglima Teja
Sri Lela Paduka	Shahbandar Muda
Maharaja Indra Muda	Stia Maharaja
Maharaja 'diraja	Sri Indrabongsu
Paduka Stia	Maharaja Dewa
Sri Dewa Raja	Paduka Raja
Sri Amar 'diraja	Amar 'diwangsa
Raja Mahkota	Ferdana

But this list of the Sixteen Dato' is official and based on modern circumstances: it is in no sense historical.

Eight lists of these chiefs have been collated. In all of them a Sri Maharaja Lela appears as head of the Sixteen. A fragmentary genealogy runs:—



Sultan 'Ali was overtaken by his fatal illness in 1871 at Sayong in the house of Sri Maharaja Lela Alang Jaman.

In seven of the lists appears Sri Amar 'diraja, a title reputed to go back to Tan Saban and held formerly by a family that includes a Temenggong but now a minor title of the Panglima Kinta family given to the headman of Sungai Trap. The tree (JRASSB. (1918) No. 79, p. 58) of the original holders is given above (p. 152). In seven of my lists appears Maharaja Dewa, the title of a minor chief of Lambor, one of whose functions was to look after tin-fields: in 1664 Aceh sent a Sri Maharaja Dewa to Perak to supervise the export of tin. In six of the lists appear the names of Paduka Stia (*kapit* and kinsman of the Panglima Bukit Gantang), of Raja Mahkota heir to the Laksamana, and of Paduka Raja, once perhaps the title of the assistant to the Sri Agar 'diraja but now a minor chief chosen from any good local family as headman of that former seat of royalty Pulau Tiga. In five of the lists are found the Shahbandar Muda, deputy and assistant (*kapit*) of the Sri Adika Raja. In four appear Sri Indrawangsa (corrupted as in Johor to Indrabongsu) of Bota once a royal seat, Ferdana Mantri also of Bota, and Sri Lela Paduka, assistant to the Temenggong. In three lists appear Maharaja 'diraja, Sri Dewa Raja assistant to the Laksamana (about 1728 A.D. an officer with this title became Bendahara JRASMB. No. 9, p. 105; 1882), and Amar 'diwangsa. In the *Misa Melayu* (pp. 41, 70, 74) we read that under Sultan Iskandar Zu'l-Karnain there was an old captain (*hulubalang*) Tan Hamad, a follower of the Orang Kaya Besar, entitled Sri Amar 'diwangsa (or wangsa for short), who was Penghulu of Pachat and head of all the Sultan's servants at Pulau Tiga: he built and at its opening sprinkled with rice-paste the new palace of Sultan Iskandar and had the 'diwangsa in his title changed to Tentu Wangsa—which seems corrupt. A more modern MS. corroborates that he was of the Tan family and was chief of Pachat and assistant to the Orang Kaya Besar. Seven of my lists, but not the official list of 1905, include the title Senongsa or Sri Narawangsa, an old title held formerly by the Sri Adika Raja branch of the Tan Saban house and later by the Panglima Kinta family:—under the last Sultan of Malacca Tun Narawangsa was the title of the chief court herald (*Sejarah Melayu* p. 226). Four of the lists, but not the 1905 list, contain Maharaja Si' Rama alias Tan Jana Lela, assistant and kinsman of the Maharaja Lela, and the title Sri Amar Ferdana Wangsa, a title once held by the Sri Amar 'diraja branch of the Tan Saban house (*vide supra*) and, as it was that of the chief of Pachat, evidently identical with the Amar 'diwangsa above. Only two lists, of which the 1905 list is one, include Maharaja Indra Muda, Stia Maharaja and Panglima Teja, but in the *Misa Melayu* (p. 131) we read

*Panglima Maharaja Indera Muda
Dengan Sri Lela bersama-lah ada.*

Only one includes Sri Bijaya Indra, head of the clan born from the vomit of Vishnu's bull: another puts him in the Sixteen.

The general principle is clear. The Sixteen Minor Chiefs mostly held titles belonging to the families of the Four Great and the Eight Major Chiefs. Accident, often the accident of locality, might create new titles: once the seat of royalty, Bota, for example, possesses two minor titles, Sri Indrawangsa and Ferdana Mantri. Accident may submerge a title as it has submerged the ancient titles Sri Narawangsa and Ferdana Wangsa and as in historical times the murder of Mr. Birch caused the abolition of the titles Sri Agar 'diraja and Maharaja Lela and of that of the former's assistant Sri Stia Bakti Maharaja Paduka. Royal favour and the character and intelligence of individual chiefs must have often raised and lowered the precedence of lesser offices.

THE THIRTY-TWO.

At the head of these, the smallest fry of the Perak nobility, appears Tan Dewa Sakti, Penghulu of Batang Padang. The names of the rest vary so much that it is doubtful if there ever was a complete list except in theory and perhaps at the initiation of the class.

Certain ancient titles deserve remark, for example Permai 'diwangsa (an assistant of Sri Amar 'diwangsa of Pachat) a title once belonging to the Tan Saban family.

Some of the lists include the minor assistants of busy court and territorial chiefs. For example, two lists give the following *kapit* of the Shahbandar Muda: Raja Lela Muda, Tan Dewa Mahkota, Tan Lela Putra, Lela Stia, Tan Lela Pekerma, Sri Adika Mantri. Two lists give the following *kapit* of the Sri Maharaja Lela: Sri Lela Paduka, Maharaja Bijaya Kerma, Raja Bijaya Dewa, Ferdana Lela and (two late hybrid titles) Raja Dewa Shahdan and Raja Dewa Ahmad. The Paduka Stia, chief assistant of the Panglima Bukit Gantang, had three helpers: Stia Muda, Sri Nara Paduka, Sri Lela Stia. Assistants of the Maharaja Lela were Maharaja S'i-Rama and Maharaja Anakda. Tan Dewa Indra is cited as headman of Layang-Layang in one list and as assistant to the Paduka Sri Indra in another. In 1828 a Sri Rama Maharaja was a headman in Larut and a Tun Jana Pahlawan was headman of Kurau—another list makes him *kapit* of a Johan Pahlawan. To' Stia Kerma was headman of Sungkai, Tan Lela Stia of Leng-gong (JRASSB. 1882 IX p. 21), Raja Indra Lela of Sungai Raya, a Dato' Amar of Paching and there are two Panglimas, offices perhaps of Achinese origin, Panglima Teja and Panglima Kampar.

Several lists include various of the court-heralds. These functionaries bear the following titles:—

1. Sri Nara 'diraja, a very ancient title going back to old Malacca and in early Perak borne by great officers of State

(p. 141), now "subdued to what he works in" the principal herald: in the XVIIIth century Bentara Kiri (*Misa Melayu*, p. 110).

2. Sri Dewa Maharaja, who in the XVIIIth century was principal herald (*ib.*, p. 103):—

*Sri Dewa Maharaja kepala bentara
Ka-bawah duli sangat mesra.*

3. Maharaja Dinda. These three heralds should be of the family of the Bull's Vomit, and the Sri Dewa Maharaja or the Maharaja Dinda becomes chief herald in turn. Persons of other families are occasionally appointed but soon die. The principal herald enjoyed the revenue from tin-smelting on the right of the Perak river and his chief assistant from tin-smelting on the left bank.

4. Paduka S(r)i Indra.
5. Raja (a)'di Muda.
6. Sri Rakna.
7. Sandar (? — Sri Indra) Maharaja.
8. Raja (a)di Bongsu (= Bangsa, Wangsa).

The heralds of the Raja Muda are styled Sri Indra Muda and Sri Indra Jaya. There was a Sri Indra Muda in the XVIIIth century (*ib.* p. 104).

The titles of the chief court-musicians (*Orang Kalur*) are To Stia Guna and Stia Indra.

The court writers are styled: Pakeh si-Raja Mantri, Pakeh si-Raja 'diraja and Pakeh si-Raja Muda.

Ladies in waiting on the Sultan's consort are: Sri Nara Suri, To' Suri, Rakna Senari, Rakna Wati, Kemala Sri, To' Kesumba, To' Tun, To' Mandu. Those for the wife of the Raja Muda are: Rakna Muda and Rakna Jaya.

Military titles were: Panglima Besar, Panglima Perang Kanan, Panglima Perang Kiri, Panglima Dalam and Panglima Muda. Ecclesiastical dignitaries were: Imam Sri Raja of Kota Lama Kanan, Imam Sri Jidin of Sayong, Imam si-Raja Pakih of Kota Lama Kiri, Imam si-Raja Mahkota of Bota, Imam Malik alamin of Ketior, Imam Shaikh-u'l-Islam of Pasir Salak, Imam si-Raja 'diraja of Geronggong, Imam si-Raja Dalam of the Sultan's palace. A very curious set of titles for Muslim dignitaries!

E

THE PERAK NAUBAT OR ROYAL BAND.

These instruments consist of

- (1) two drums, the frame made of the heart of a piece of freak wood, the drum-head of lice of former days.—*Gëndang nobat* (Persian) *itu, baloh-nya dari-pada tēras kayu jarun, kulit-nya itu tuma, bukan-nya tuma zaman ini ia-itu tuma dahulu kala, dan tēras jarun itu pun bukan-nya jarun zaman ini ia-itu jarun dahulu kala.*

Von de Wall gives *jarun* (West Sumatra) — “a freak of nature, a pattern,” which seems to make sense here. But another Perak reading is *jērun* (unid.)

- (2) a kettle-drum (*nēkara*, variant *nangkara*) of the same materials.
- (3) A long silver trumpet (*nafiri*, Persian) with a large mouth (*chēropong*). On this mouth (Pl. III) is represented a tusked dragon with uplifted tail ending in a *lingga*; a type of decoration still used in Javanese and Balinese art.
- (4) A clarionet (*sērunai*, Persian) made of the hard wood of a nettle of former days (and also *gēlēnggang gajah* or *g. bēsar*).

Ada pun sērunai itu di-pērbuat dāri-pada kayu tēras jēlatang, bukan-nya jēlatang zaman ini, jēlatang zaman dahulu kala, batang-nya bulat dan bērlombang pula kēchil-kēchil supaya boleh mēmbunyikan lagu-nya.

Miniature objects of the magician's supernatural world, drums can be headed with lice-skins and clarionets made out of nettles (JRASMB. Vol. III, 1925).

The above royal instruments are played in Perak on various occasions:—the installation of Sultan or chief, the marriage or circumcision of a scion of the ruler; on the removal of the regalia from one house to another; at the beginning of the Fasting Month; on the feast at the end of that month (*Hari Raya Puasa*) and on the Feast of the Pilgrims (*Hari Raya Haji*); on occasions when the Ruler proceeds to the river for ceremonial ablutions and prayers; when water for ablutions is brought from the river at a ruler's wedding; at *biram halil* (cf. Hikayat Pasai, JRASSB. No. 66, p. 12 and JIA. Vol. IV, p. 733), a ceremony on the Feast of the Pilgrims when the ruler arranges rajas and chiefs in order of precedence, the Bendahara being summoned last as head of the chiefs; at the death of a ruler or his royal consort, of the Raja Muda or his chief wife, of the Bendahara or his chief wife. (At the death of the ruler or his

consort, nine guns are also fired; at the death of the Raja Muda or his wife, seven; at the death of the Bendahara or his wife, five. Similarly at the wedding of a child of the ruler, nine guns are fired; at the wedding of a child of the Raja Muda, seven; at the wedding of a child of the Bendahara, five).

Twelve tunes (*man*) are played on the royal instruments, there being special tunes appropriate for joyful and sorrowful occasions and for royal processions. At his installation the Sultan has to wear some of the regalia, viz. a sword, a neckchain, snake armlets, a seal, a creese, and to sit motionless while the band plays a certain series (*man*) of notes a certain number of times. The Sultan fixes the number of *man* he can sit out, but the number should not exceed nine or be less than four. Any movement on the Sultan's part at this time would be extremely inauspicious—which reminds one that to be able to sit perfectly rigid for hours was considered by Siamese Buddhists to be a sign of the commencing divinity of a king (JRASSB. No. 26, p. 164). Another Perak account says the number of *man* should not exceed twelve or be less than seven.

The royal Perak instruments are part of the original regalia of the State (JRASSB. No. 9, p. 91), and are closely associated with its guardian spirits (*jin kerajaan*).

One of the chief duties of the Sultan Muda or State magician of Perak in bye-gone years was to 'keep alive' (*mēmulek*) the state weapons, to conduct a feast for the royal musical instruments and to sacrifice to the guardian spirits of the State. At the annual ceremony held for this purpose the State magician and his assistant "did obeisance to the regalia, offered delicacies to the thousand guardian spirits and poured upon the royal drums and into the royal trumpets drink, which vanished miraculously as though imbibed."

In Perak the musicians, who alone may play these royal instruments, are termed *orang Kalur*, and their chief bears the title *Dato' Sëtia Guna*. This chief has the duty of airing the royal instruments from time to time, when they are placed in a kiosk encircled with a line of fowl's feathers stuck in the ground. Any young prince or chief who crosses that line is caught by the *Dato' Sëtia Guna* and taken before the ruler to be fined \$25 (*tengah tiga-puloh rial*). The fine goes to the *Dato' Sëtia Guna* and his men. The *orang Kalur* are descended from a follower of Raja Suran—who came out of the sea, as told in the "Malay Annals." They receive no salary but have the right to levy a tax of 25 cents a year on every Perak family (*këlamin*).

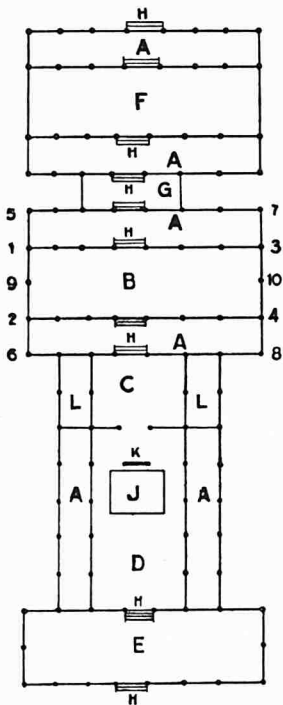
For all the instruments except the *gëndang* the names are foreign.

F

A PERAK PALACE.

Over twenty years ago the following ground-plan of a Perak palace of Malay type was drawn. The letters on the plan indicate the various parts of the palace:—

- A *sĕrambi*, verandahs.
- B *istana*, palace proper.
- C *balai rong*, inner hall, sometimes reserved for ladies.
- D *balai bĕsar*, central hall or audience.
- E *balai pĕnghadapan*, outer hall of audience.
- F *pĕnangguh*, kitchen.
- G *sĕlang*, passage.
- H *pintu tangga*, doors and steps.
- J *pĕtĕrana*, dais for princes of the blood.
- K *singasana*, throne.
- L *bilek kundang*, rooms for pages.
- 1—4 *tiang sudut*, corner pillars.
- 5—8 *tiang rembat guntong*, verandah pillars.
- 9, 10 *tiang tinggi*, tall central pillars.



G

THE REGALIA AND ROYAL HEIRLOOMS.

Strictly the Perak regalia consist of five articles that every Sultan must wear at his installation:—

- (1) the sword *chura si-manjakimi*, hung from a chain slung over the shoulder. The guardian spirits of the kingdom (*jin kerajaan*) are apt to press on it at the time of installation, and Sultan Idris wore a pad on his shoulder and felt the pressure three times. Like swords of some other Malay rulers it is supposed to have been the sword of Alexander the Great and ought to be notched from having hacked the serpent *saktimuna* but it is not notched. The blade is of Arabic or Indian workmanship. The upper part of its hilt is covered with Kuranic texts in modern Arabic lettering, while the lower part has a rough surface made to resemble shagreen—
- (2) a chain of coconut-flower pattern (*rantai bunga nyior*).
- (3) armlets (*pontoh bernaga*) representing a dragon with a jewel on his crest, the Wasuki or Antaboga of Javanese myth (Pl. V);
- (4) a creese (*keris pestaka* or *keris terjawa lok lima*) with sheath of gold;
- (5) a thunder-seal (*chap halilintar kayu gamat*) or small silver-seal with a piece of wood (that has rotted away) passing through the handle. The seal bears the inscription "The Illustrious Sultan Muhammad Shah, God's Shadow upon Earth" (*Seri Sultan Muhammad Shah Zil Allah fi'alam*). The "Malay Annals" mention *kayu kampil* as the seal of Alexander the Great.

Besides these regalia the first Sultan Muzaffar Shah left

- (1) two snake armlets (*pontoh ular lidi*), worn by the Sultan's principal wife;
- (2) the betel-nut boxes known as the box of the weeping dragon (*puan naga taru*) and the oblong box (*puan bujor* Pl. IV) that are borne behind the Sultan and his chief wife;
- (3) a talisman of petrified dew (*mestika embun*), given him by To' Temong, the girl saint of Upper Perak: slightly smaller than a billiard-ball it is really glass.

Other heirlooms are:—

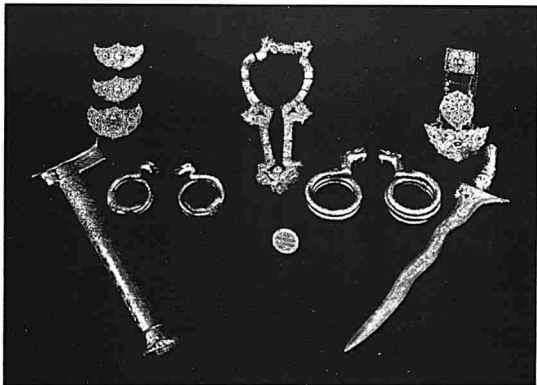
- (a) creeses *i.e.* the gold-sheathed creese of Laksamana Hang Tuah who fought the Portuguese from 1509 to 1526 and

is said to haunt Upper Perak (*Hikayat Hang Tuah* ed. Shellabear, Singapore, 1908-9, p. 292); a creese (*keris Bali Istambul*) made by Bendahara Alang Iskandar (d. 1849) with a sheath of very beautiful wood, and a small creese with blade of gold, said to have been owned by a Sultan who flourished about 1700 A.D.

- (b) two European swords with heavy basket hilts—the larger (*pedang rajawali*) with a hilt of *cloisonné* work, the smaller (*pedang perbujang*) with a hilt of gold and copper alloy (*suasa*)
- (c) a non-Malayan waist-belt, made up of sixteen *niello* or *cloisonné* plates.
- (d) a breast ornament, with an Arabic name (*kanching halkah*), for the front of a woman's dress, made of a sort of mosaic of gems. Two dragons approach each other with heads and tails, their bodies curving outwards; between their heads is a fish; below them two dragons stretch downwards parallel to each other; at the bottom are two more dragons crossed (Pl. XIII).
- (e) two silver pedestal trays, used at the Sultan's meals. One of them (Pls. VI, VII, VIII) probably dates from the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. and may have been made in old Malacca where Malay, Javanese and Chinese influences met and intermingled. The presence of plants and animals in the decoration suggests a period when Islam was a recent and weak influence. The style of some of the animals resembles that of Majapahit art from the fourteenth till the sixteenth century A.D. Especially noteworthy in the decoration is a mythical beast, with big round ears, a short rabbit-like tail and hooves or claws which occurs often on the bas-reliefs of East-Javanese buildings. Carvings on Chandi Panataran have animal groups reminiscent of the decoration on this tray.

Inside this tray has been screwed (perhaps later) a flat silver plate (Pl. VIII). It is adorned with a grape *motif* such as occurs on Chinese porcelain, though the pattern on the plate has a Renaissance look and a fox and may have been copied from a European original.

There is a replica of this tray (the most interesting and ancient piece among the Perak heirlooms) in Raffles Museum, Singapore.



Part of the Perak Regalia:

L. to R. top row: Agok; Kanching Halkah; Dokoh. Centre row: Pontok Bernaga, (gold dragon armlets), worn by the Raja Perempuan (L) & the Sultan (R). below, centre: Chap Halilintar, flanking the other articles: Hang Tuah's Keris and sheath.

(f) a betel-box of Siamese niello.

In addition some articles were lost by Sultan Isma'il in the Perak war of 1876. Moreover after that war the swords of state (*baur*) of Sultan 'Abdu'llah, the Mantri, the Laksamana and the Shahbandar were confiscated and have been lost. The sword of the Bendahara is also said to have been lost. And a covered golden bowl with an Achinese name (*mundam*) was stolen by workmen but there is a replica of it in Raffles' Museum, Singapore.

H

THE GUARDIAN GENIES OF THE STATE.

A list of the guardian jinn (*jin kĕrajaan*) of Perak "or, to give them their other name, the genies of the royal drums and trumpets, whose indwelling spirits were fed and revived annually," was made many years ago by the late Raja Haji Yahya bin Raja Muhammad Ali of Chendriang, who on the distaff side was descended from Sultan Iskandar Zu'l-Karnain and whose family had numbered a state *pawang* (Sultan Muda) among its members (p. 132).

The great jinns invoked by the Sultan Muda and his assistant, the Raja Kechil Muda, were:—

- (1) *Sri Sultan Kĕmbar Udara* "The Gracious Twin Sultan of the Air," who is twin-brother and servant (*junjongan*) of the Raja Kechil Bongsu (? error for *Muda*).
- (2) *Mahkota Muda* "The Young Crown (? prince)"
—*Sultan pun raja yang sidi sakti.*
Sultan pun dewa yang tĕrus durja.
"Ruler possessed of magic powers, godling of clear vision (lit. clear of countenance.)"
- (3) *Pahlawan Indra Dewa* "champion of godlings of earth and sky."
- (4) *Sultan 'Ali Degar Pĕrkasa* "Sultan 'Ali the Mighty Warrior," addressed as
Sultan pahlawan !
Sharij dari paksina ka-daksina !
Bĕridar-lah pahlawan 'alam !
Sultan pun (etc. as for (2) *supra*).
"Champion Sultan, lord from east to west, pass round us, champion of the world, ruler" etc. He is honoured by a yellow head-cloth.
- (5) *Sultan 'Alam Maya Udara* "Sultan of the world of unsubstantial Air," who is addressed *Kapitan junjong dunia udara yang tĕrlayang-layang di-udara* "prop of the world of air, who flutters in the air." He flies in a crystal car followed by all the Sultans of all the world. When a Sultan does obeisance to him, he turns his car and flies to the posy which is worn above the ear and attaches man to the spirit world (*bĕrdali ka-jinjang malai, lantas ka-karangan suntung*).
- (6) *Sri Sultan Dunia Udara* "the gracious Sultan of the world of air," who is the familiar of the State *pawang* (Sultan Muda) and is present on the *puadai* or narrow mat on which the Sultan Muda sits at a *sĕance* (*bĕrhantu*).

- (7) *Kahar 'Alam Kēsaktian* "Mighty lord of the world of magic."
- (8) *Anak Jin Dato' di-langit*, "The child of the grandsire genie of the sky."
- (9) *Sultan Ahmad Pērkaśa Dunia*, "Sultan Ahmad Champion of the world," who is addressed
Sultan pun raja yang sidi sakti !
Sultan pun alam yang tērus durja !
 and is called upon by the same tune used to invoke Degar Pahlawan (? — (4)).
- (10) *Johan (? Bisal) Pērkaśa 'Alam* "The champion warrior of the world," who is addressed as (9) is addressed.
- (11) *Sultan Pahlawan Indra Dewa* cf. (3), who is honoured with a green head-cloth.
- (12) *Anak Jin 'Alam Pērtawi* "The child of the genie of (? Pertewi — earth)," honoured with a silk head-cloth like Mardan Kilat's.
- (13) *Sultan Ahmad Mēngērna Dewa Bisal (?) Pahlawan Kēsaktian* "Sultan Ahmad the bright warrior godling of magic," honoured like (4) with a yellow cloth.
- (14) *Makkota Si Raja Jin*, "the crown prince of genies," who sits throned on the breeze and like (5) flies to the ear-posy. He is honoured by a yellow cloth or cloth of gold like Mardan 'Alam's.
- (15) *Rakna Gamira* "The Passionate Princess," honoured by a silk cloth.
- (16) *Rakna Gēmpita* "The Thundering Princess," honoured by a silk cloth like *Mambang Kuning* "the yellow Fairy."
- (17) *Sultan Pahlawan Degar Kilat* "Warrior Champion King of Lightning," who like Mardan Kilat is honoured with a green silk head-cloth.
- (18) *Israng Gēmala Dewa* "The yellow jewel of a godling," who was invoked as *Raja di-gunong angsoka, 'Alam di-padang anta pērmata* "Prince of the mountain where the *asoka* tree grows, Lord of the jewelled plain;" flies on a winged monster (*wilmana*), alights on the ear-posy and is honoured with a green head-cloth.

For *israng* see "A Malay Reader" by Winstedt and Blagden, page 188.

'*Alam di-padang* is puzzling. Sometimes *Halām* is found: van Ronkel's "Catalogus," p. 139. Can it — *Shah 'Alam* ?

- (19) *Sri Sultan 'Alam Kēsoma* "the gracious Sultan of the world of Flowers,"—honoured with a green cloth.
- (20) *Sultan Pahlawan Chakēra Dunia* "warrior Sultan of the circle of the world," who rides on a magic jewel, alights on the ear-posy and like Johan 'Ali is honoured with a yellow silk head-covering. He is invoked—
*Raja bukan sa-barang raja,
 Dewa bukan sa-barang dewa,
 Raja di-bēting Bēras Basah,
 Alam di-padang sēri mutia.*
- (21) *Sri Sultan Brahma Gēmala* "the gracious jewel of a Sultan, Brahma"—honoured with a white cloth.
- (22) *Sri Sultan 'Alam Bisnu* "Vishnu, gracious Sultan of the world," who like Johan 'Ali is honoured with a yellow cloth.
- (23) *Sri Sultan Mēngērna Dewa* "the gracious many-coloured godling Sultan," who is honoured with a cloth like Pahlawan Muda's.
- (24) *Sultan Pahlawan Kēsaktian* "the Warrior Sultan of Magic Power."
- (25) *Sri Sultan Mardan 'Alam* "Gracious Sultan of Heroes."
- (26) *Sri Sultan Mardan Kilat* "Gracious Sultan of the Heroes of the lightning."
- (27) *Sultan Mardan Ardekas*—the name of a magic steed in the reputed old Bruas *Hikayat Shamsu'l-Bahrain* (JRASSB. No. 47).
- (28) *Sultan Kēchil 'Alam Udara* "Little Ruler of the world of Air," *junjongan Raja Kēchil Sulong*.
- (29) *Bērma Indra Sakti* "the Mighty Lord Brahma," who flies throned in a car that is followed by all *dewa* and all *halam*. When a *halam* does obeisance, he turns his car. He is present in the ear-posy.
- (30) *Sultan Sulaiman*, "King Solomon."
- (31) *Baginda Muda*, "Young Conqueror."
- (32) *Panglima Bēsar Sri di-Laut* "Gracious Sea Captain."
- (33) *Nenek Mudik*, "the Grandsire that comes upstream."
- (34) The four children of the Prince of the Iron Pestle (*Raja Antan Bēsī*).
- (35) (?) *Singa tualang* — ?

- (36) *Anak raja gēlombang laut* "the young prince of the sea-rollers."

Sir Frank Swettenham ("Malay Sketches," pp. 135-9) was told that the four principal Perak genies were Nos. 6, 3, 14 and 4 of the above list, and that these four were the guardians of Sultan and state.

Common Perak folk had common genies, viz. (1) *Megat Lela Mēngērna*—a genie royal only on the distaff side; (2) *Panglima Raja*; (3) *Dunia Hulubalang Bēsar*; (4) *Pahlawan Gagah*; (5) *Anak Zanggi*; (6) *Kubang (?) surai changgal panjang*; (7) *Budak kēchil jambul panjang*; (8) *Pērka bintang tēmabor*; (9) *Mambang Kuning*; (10) *Anak burung ēnggang*; (11) *Mēgat Dewata*; (12) *To' Sri Lēlang*; (13) *'Umar Ummaiya*; (14) *'Alam Tabut*; (15) *Hantu Blian* the tiger spirit called *Alak Muda*; (16) *Sri Kutip*; (17) *Bujang Sēla*; (18) *Bujang Tarum* "the blackamoor boy"; (19) *Dato' Gunong Bērēmbun*—and 199 others!

The Perak genies are a strange crew. The State genies include Brahma and Vishnu, the Prophet Solomon and 'Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad, 'Ali the mighty warrior whose battle-cry so startled the cashew that ever since the nut has grown outside the fruit. The names of most remind one of the titles in Malay romance. One of the state genies is a magic horse mentioned in the romance of *Shamsu'l-bahrain*! One of the commoner genies is 'Umar Ummaiya, the Ulysses of the Persian romance of Amir Hamzah! The name *alak* for the tiger-spirit is the Sakai word for shaman, whose familiar the tiger is.

The ceremony of inviting the spirits to the feast given to the regalia is described by Raja Haji as follows.

The musicians desire to summon, say, Sri Sultan Mardan Kilat. They beat their drums (*rēbana*) and cry

Ka-lawang dunia, mari raja ! weh !

Seri Sultan lalu-lah bērarak

Bērangkat lalu ka-jinjang malai

Lantas lalu ka-tirai ratna

"To the gate of the world, come prince!

Proceed, Sultan, to the ear-posy,

Enter forthwith the jewelled curtain"

The drums and the invocation cease, while the spirit descends and speaks through the mouth of the wizard.

The hall is full of wizards invoking their familiars with the appropriate tunes. One invokes the tiger-spirit.

Hai zanggi ! si-anak zanggi

Bēsar-lah heman dēngan si-heman !

Bēsar-lah karib dēngan si-karib !

Bērpusing naik bērijētēra turun

*Bêrkat këramat To' Ali,
Mambang yang bêrjantai di-pintu langit !*
" Ho warrior ! young warrior !
We grew up close friends.
Come up, revolving !
Descend, rotating !
In virtue of the sacred Ali,
Spirit that hangs at the gate of the sky."

And from his mat the wizard asks, ' What news ? ' while the musician tells him that the ruler invites all good spirits to tomorrow's feast. Drums crash and again the musicians invoke their familiars (*anak yang-nya*)

*Hai bapong, si-bujang bapong !
Bêrhimpun-lah anak yang sembilan-puluh sembilan
Mari datang mêngadap guru,
Guru ada di-tirai ratna*
" Come spirits ninety and nine !
Come and confront your teacher
Your teacher is in the jewelled curtain."

If it is the tiger-spirit who is possessing the wizard, then the man trembles and roars and leaps about on his mat, while the musicians beat their drums and sing his praises so that he may not harm those present. The music stops and through the wizard the spirit demands why he is summoned.

The next day the Sultan Muda, the Raja Kechil Muda and all the lesser wizards assemble with their musicians. Cooling rice paste, yellow rice and censers are carried to the spot where a square nine-storeyed ' hall ' (*balai*) is to be erected by men from the village of Pasir Garam. The Raja Kechil Muda fixes the first post. The top is crowned with an image of the *jëntayu*, a mythical bird whereon Vishnu rides. *Jari lipan* or palm fronds are tied to each storey and hung with palm-leaf cases of sweetmeats (*kêtuapat lèpat dodol wajik*). On the topmost storey are set the head of a pink buffalo, and clay and bamboo water vessels. Beside this hall is built on sixteen posts an altar (*kêngkolong*) with offerings for various spirits and devils. In front of it is built a receptacle (*sangka*) for toasted rice offered to spirits of the dead (*këramat*). At dusk the Sultan Muda ascends the large hall and waves (*mêlambai*). The Raja Kechil Muda and the lesser wizards go to the altar and *sangka* and wave there. Then the Raja Kechil Muda falls into a trance (*mênyêlap*) shouts and ascends to the mat prepared for him on the ' hall.' Twelve musicians beat their drums and cry,

*Hai halam !
Sultan pun raja yang sidi sakti !
Halam pun dewa yang têrus durja !
Raja di-tasek indêra chahaya !
Halam di-padang biram gêmala !*

Raja ! weh ! dēngar sēmbah patek

Raja ! weh ! dēngar sēmbah bayu

Bērangkat lalu ka-tirai ratna

Langsong lantās ka-karangan sunting !

" Ho ! my lord ! Ruler of miraculous powers ! Lord of clear vision ! Prince of a lake of heavenly brightness ! Lord of the dark plain ! Prince, come, hear our cry ! Hear the cry of thy slaves ! Come to the jewelled curtain ! Enter the ear-posy."

Then there is a rest. The performers feast. After that headed by the Sultan Muda all the wizards are possessed (*bērhantu*) to the sound of drums and invocations. The instruments of the royal band join in the music. Next to the mat on which the two State wizards sit are arranged royal virgins and to right and left royal princelings holding the regalia. The two wizards do obeisance to the thousand genies (*arak-arak jin sa-ribu*). Drink is poured on and into all the royal drums, trumpets clarionets. In former times not one drop fell on the mats; it was as though the liquid was drunk up by men. Just before daybreak all the wizards took the Sultan to bathe in the hall and so bathed the genies of the state (*mēmbawa duli yang dipērtuan bērsiram di-balai itu yaani mēnyiramkan jin kērajaan itu*). On the third night was the final *bērhantu*.

The Sultan paid \$100 for the feasting of the regalia and the ceremonial bathing. The Sultan Muda and the Raja Kechil Muda kept \$25 each and gave the rest to the other wizards.

I

SULTAN 'ABDU'LLAH'S SEANCE.

Giving evidence as to the events leading to the murder of Mr. Birch, several witnesses described this *seance*.

Kulup Mat Raus said: "clean mats were laid all over the dining compartment of the audience-hall; over these were spread carpets. A new fine sleeping mat was laid in the centre of the compartment with one white mattress over it and another doubled in two and placed at one end so as to form a cushion. Seven squares of yellow cloth were placed atop the cushion, and in the centre of the yellow cloth a white bowl inverted served as a candlestick for a large candle about three inches in diameter. Four large umbrellas red above and yellow below were put one at each corner of the compartment. Four candlesticks with ordinary English candles were placed at each corner of the cushion. Three jars of water were set on the right side of the cushion. These arrangements were for the use of the Sultan when he became possessed. Similar arrangements without umbrellas were prepared for the Raja Kechil Muda.

"On the first night there were three women in charge of a tray of incense for the Sultan's use and three in charge of incense for the Raja Kechil Muda.

"Before the ceremony began, Sultan 'Abdu'llah smoked opium and said to the chiefs, 'If there be any Prophets or Spirits left in Perak, let us look into Mr. Birch's future and see if there are any means by which he may die and his steamer be wrecked on the bar of Kuala Perak.'

"At 9 p.m. Raja Ahmat, son of the Raja Kechil Muda, took the place prepared for his father, while on his right hand sat his father with a drum and 3 or 4 women with tambourines. Raja Ahmat lit the big candle and the women lit the small and set fire to the incense. Raja Kechil Muda chanted an incantation to the sound of the drum and the tambourines, while his son sat with a red silk scarf over his head, his arms and body jerking and quivering. At last the son said, 'What is the news? Why am I called up?' Raja Kechil Muda answered, 'By order of Sultan 'Abdu'llah. You are to co-operate with the other spirits, after which the Sultan will carry out the work.' Possessed by a spirit, Raja Ahmat answered 'Very good.' Then he performed certain ceremonies with the incense and pots of water, and the spirit left him. To the same music he became possessed of a second spirit, which gave the same reply:—I cannot remember the names of the spirits. While Raja Ahmat sat possessed, the Sultan got up and sat on the mat arranged for him and went through the same performance and also became possessed, asking 'Why do you call

me here?' Raja Kechil Muda replied, 'We want you to co-operate with all the other Perak spirits to help the man now possessed, our Sultan, because Mr. Birch and the white people are behaving improperly towards him' and the spirit answered, 'Very good.' Twice more the Sultan was possessed, twice the same request was made and twice the same answer given. The ceremony finished, and the Sultan gave orders that no one should visit him before noon next day.

"On the second night the spirits asked to be paid. Raja Kechil Muda answered that they would get a boat-load of offerings when Mr. Birch was dead. The Sultan became possessed of three spirits and the third declared that the spirit who should kill Mr. Birch abode at Kuala Perak.

"On the third night Raja Ahmat became possessed of three spirits and the Sultan of seven. When he was possessed of the seventh, he drew his creese, danced, fall down several times as if the spirit had cast him down.

"Then Sultan 'Abdu'llah sat on his mat and Raja Ahmat made the figure of a man out of flour on a plantain leaf which was on a plate and held it over the incense for some time and he set it down between them. The spirit possessing the Sultan cried out for people to keep quiet and at a distance. The Sultan and Raja Ahmat covered their heads with scarves, bent over the plate facing one another in silence and then stabbed the figure several times. The Sultan wrapt the plate in a napkin and put it aside. Then he and Raja Ahmad stood with arms folded, each facing his own candle until the spirits had gone out of them. When it was all over, Sultan 'Abdu'llah said, 'See! In a month Mr. Birch will be dead.'"

Alang Nur said. "I was present at the *séance*. The spirit with which Raja Ahmat was possessed said to Raja Kechil Muda, 'You have called me up and ordered me to do this work for the man with the white eyes. You have not paid me yet. Pay me now!' Raja Kechil Muda answered, 'How can I pay you now when there are more light-eyed men in Perak than ever? Wait until they have been driven out of the country.' Raja Ahmat's spirit replied, 'As you refuse to pay me for the work I have done already, it is useless to send for me again.'"

Indut said. "..... Sultan 'Abdu'llah asked, 'Can you get Mr. Birch's spirit?' Raja Ahmad said, 'Yes, if you pay me.' The Sultan asked, 'How much?' Raja Ahmad answered, '\$100.' Then Raja Ahmad spread a white cloth and took parched rice in his hands and blew it on to the cloth. In his left hand he took a fan and drew a man's figure and struck it with the fan. He hit it once with the fan to no purpose. He drew the figure again

and hit it with the fan, and there rose something like a butterfly which rested on the cloth and did not fly away. He struck the butterfly with a knife and it looked as if its blood were on the flour. Then when the butterfly was dead, Raja Ahmad spoke and said that the Sultan's wish would be fulfilled. The Sultan asked, 'Will what I want happen?' Raja Ahmad said, 'It will.' Sultan 'Abdu'llah was with Raja Ahmad at the cloth taking part in the ceremony."

I have corrected *devils* to *spirits* throughout and slightly improved the English of this unpublished evidence, taken from *Vols. I and II, Perak Enquiry Papers (unprinted), Straits Settlements Records, Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.*

J THE CHIRI OR CORONATION ADDRESS.

I.

In Leyden's *Malay Annals* (London 1821, p. 24) is printed in Bengali characters a Malacca *chiri*, which perhaps was corrupt from the first and seems to show Tamil influence, as *visarga* appears to be represented in it not only by *-ha* but also by *-kū*. With extreme diffidence a distinguished Sanskrit scholar ventures the following interpretation, remarking that *prasasti* of this kind are usually in rhymed prose.

Aho svasti Ho! hail!

pahaka [hopelessly corrupt or ? *paduka*]

sri-maharajah svarat the fortunate great king, the autocrat.

tra corrupt.

sapatna-prakarana smiting rivals.

bhumi-bhajana-vikramalamkarana decorated with valour (ranging over) the vessel of the earth. [Or *bhumi-bhajana* may be a separate title: compare the synonym *avani-bhajana* assumed by Mahendravikrama Pallava.]

mukuta-ratna-hrta-tribhuvana who seizes or ravishes the three worlds by the jewels of his crown

sparsa-kriya-vitatanka by the action of whose touch sufferings or pains are dispelled.

dharma-yag-yata restricted to speech of righteousness. [Doubtful because in classical Sanskrit *yag-yata* always means 'silent.']

sarana-vitarana-simhasana-vara whose fine throne bestows protection.

vikrama-ranarnava-navikah pilot over the ocean of battle by his valour.

sadayanudevaviha [corrupt but containing the adjective *sadaya*]

para-vadi-[dusikah] confuting opponent disputants.

mauna-muni-manikah honouring saints of silence [or perhaps *manya-muni* 'saints deserving honour,' though *mauna-muni* are known in India].

sri-dharma-rajadhiraja fortunate overlord of kings of righteousness

rajya-paramesvarah supreme lord of the kingdom [we should expect *raja-*]

II.

In JRASSB. 1882 X, p. 287 from four MSS. of the "Malay Annals" at the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, is printed in Arabic characters the following:—

Aho svasti (corrupted *susnt* and *sust*) *paduka sri maharaja sraat* (or *sraait*) *sri spt bhuvana suran dum buji bal pikrama ngng* (or *skng*) *krna* (or *krt*) *mkt* (? *mukuta*) *rana* (or *ratna*) *muka tri bhuvana prlrsng* (or *prasng* or

prng) skrit *bnā tngk drmun* (or *derma rana*) *bsran* (or *shran*) *kt ran singgasana wan* (or *ran*) *vikrma wan* (or *udt*) *rumb* (or *rtn* or *runi*) *plaudk* (or *plauik*) *sdila diw did praudi* (or *prauidi*) *kal mul muli malk* (var. *malik*) *sri-dharma-rajadiraja permaisuri*. Evidently this is identical with I above.

III.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1881*, p. 82 Maxwell has printed a Perak *chiri*, a farrago of Sanskrit, Arabic and Malay, which like the Malacca *chiri* shows Tamil influence in such forms (usual in all Malay) as *pavala* and *manikam*, which are nearer to the Tamil *pavalam* and *manikya* than to the Sanskrit *pravala* and *manikya*.

*Sastata*¹ *sastatab* *parmadah*² *parkhara* *parkhanah* *parmakab* *parmakam* *saujana*³ *saujanam* *bhawana*⁴ *bawanam* *bakarma* *bakarnam*⁵ *sawarna*⁶ *sawarnam* *banki* *bica* *tunikah* *tingi dari darandah*⁷ *dari darakkata* *malarakta*⁸ *mahdeya* *baupala* *biram*⁹ *bidariam*¹⁰ *nilam*¹¹ *pawalam*¹² *murdakam* *kaumalam*¹³ *sawarna*¹⁴ *manikam*¹⁵ *shahra* *Allah badan badana* *Allah tajila* *jibarat samasta* *parwaban* *sanam awinna karti nagari nugara sari* *Saguntang Maha Meru dipatikatu* *izna payanti aho sawasti maha sawasti* *Maharaja Indara Candara baupati*¹⁶ *bahutan anu karunia nama anu tawat jiwat pari purnanta* *tegeh menegohkan stia bakti ka-bawah duli paduka seri* *Sultan 'adilullah* *wazaina kayubaki di-lanjutkan Allah kerajaan paduka seri* *Sultan Muzaffar Shah Zillu'llahi fi'l-'alam bi-rahmati kaya arhama al-rahimina*.

The parts not underlined are partly Malay and partly corrupt Arabic. The transliteration differs a little from that of Sir William Maxwell, who makes *wau* — not *au* but *o*. This *chiri* was used apparently not to instal a Sultan but to bestow a title on a chief "to bind him to loyal service beneath the feet of the gracious Sultan, fount of Allah's justice, whose rule be prolonged, the gracious Sultan Muzaffar Shah, shadow of Allah upon earth." One may infer that this ruler was Muzaffar Shah, founder (ca. 1530 A.D.) of the Malacca dynasty in Perak.

The same distinguished Sanskrit scholar has suggested the following interpretation of individual words:—

¹ *svasti* hail! ² *parama* highest, chief. ³ *sujana* virtuous (or *saujanya* goodness). ⁴ *bhawana* manifestation, meditation (or *bhavana* being, man, heaven, place of being). ⁵ *vikrama* valour. ⁶ *suvarna* gold. ⁷ *daridra* poor. ⁸ *malarakta* dirt and blood. ⁹ *bhupala vira* king-hero. ¹⁰ *vaidurya* beryl. ¹¹ *nila* turquoise, sapphire. ¹² *pavala* (Sanskrit *pravala*) coral. ¹³ *komala* tender. ¹⁴ *suvarna* gold. ¹⁵ *manikya* ruby. ¹⁶ *bhupati* lord of the earth.

K

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I.

Report on Cave Explorations in Perak Dr. Ph. v. Stein Callenfels and I. H. N. Evans, F.M.S. Museums Journal, 1928, vol. XII, pt. 6; *Preliminary Report on the Exploration of a Rock-shelter in the Batu Kurau Parish, Perak* I. H. N. Evans, *ib.* vol. IX, pt. 1; *On a Find of Stone Implements at Tanjong Malim* *ib.* vol. IX, pt. 4; *A Hoard of Stone Implements from Batu Gajah, ib.* vol. XII, pt. 2; *On Slab-built graves in Perak, On ancient remains from Kuala Selinsing, Perak, ib.* vol. XII, pt. 5; *A Further Note on the Kuala Selinsing Settlement, Notes on the relationship between Philippine Iron-age Antiquities and some from Perak, ib.* vol. XII, pt. 7; *On a Stone Implement from Kinta, Perak, Notes on recent finds at Kuala Selinsing, ib.* vol. XV, pt. 1; *A Further Slab-built grave at Sungkai, Perak, ib.*, vol. XV, pt. 2; *Excavations at Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak, Buddhist bronzes from Kinta, Perak, ib.*, vol. XV, pt. 3; *Bijdrage tot de Chronologie van het Neolithicum in Zuid-Oost Azië*, Dr. v. St. Callenfels, Royal Batavian Society's Oudheidkundig Verslag 1926, pp. 174-180; *Problems of the Stone-Age in the Far East*, Dr. v. St. Callenfels, Proceedings of the Fourth Pacific Science Congress, vol. III, Batavia, 1930, pp. 375-8; *Archaeology* by N. S. Krom, Science in the Netherlands East Indies, Amsterdam pp. 287-290; *Recherches sur le Préhistorique Indochinois* Madeleine Colani, Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient t. XXX, nos 3-4; *Praehistorica Asia Orientalis* Hanoi, 1932; The Prehistory of Malaya, R. O. Winstedt, JRASMB. 1932, X, pt. I.

II.

Le Royaume de Crivijaya, G. Coedès, Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient XVIII, 1918, No. 6; *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, romanised, 2nd ed. Singapore, 1909, pp. 21, 167-8, 228 and *passim*; *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, N. E. Krom, 1931; *History of Johore*, Winstedt, JRASMB., 1932, X, pp. 5-15; *Variant Version of the Malay Annals*, C. O. Blagden, *ib.* 1925, III, pp. 14, 15, 28, 30, 34-45; *A History of the Peninsular Malays*, R. J. Wilkinson, 3rd ed., Singapore, 1923, pp. 84-8; *History Part I, Papers on Malay Subjects*, R. J. Wilkinson, Kuala Lumpur, 1908, pp. 69-70, 73-89; Maxwell MSS. 24 (a full and accurate genealogy of the Perak royal family), 44 (inaccurate list of Perak rulers and chiefs), 103 (translated JRASSB. No. 14, pp. 305-321), 105 (an abbreviated *Sejarah Melayu*, followed by a history of Perak (fols. 25-36, translated JRASSB. No. 9, p. 95), Library, Royal Asiatic Society, London; *Life and Customs, Part II*, P.M.S.,

R. O. Winstedt, K. Lumpor, 1909, p. 74; JRASSB. IX, p. 91, XXVI p. 164; Epigraphia Indica, Fleet, vol. V, p. 240; Shaman Saiva and Sufi. R. O. Winstedt, London, p. 13.

III.

d'Albuquerque's Commentaries, London, 1880, vol. II, pp. 82-169; The Book of Duarte Barbosa tr. by L. M. Dames, 2 vols. London, 1918-21; Mendez Pinto, Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand, tr. H. Cogan, London, 1891, pp. 49-76; Barretto de Resende's Account of Malacca, JRASSB., 1911, LX, pp. 2, 6, 7, 11; The Malay Peninsula and Europe in the Past, H. Muller, *ib.*, 1914, LXVII, pp. 58, 60-4; d'Eredia JRASMB., 1930, VIII, pt. I, pp. 228, 234-5; British Malaya, L. A. Mills, *ib.*, 1925, III, pt. 2, pp. 1-3; The Portuguese in India, F. C. Danvers, London, 1894, vol. II, pp. 232-3; Letters to the East India Company, F. C. Danvers, London, 1896, vol. I, pp. 76, 270.

IV.

Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften, G. K. Niemann, Leiden, 1907, vol. II, pp. 120-140; Dagh-Register Gehouden uit Casteel Batavia, Royal Batavian Society, Batavia; Purchas his Pilgrimes; The History of Perak from Native Sources, W. E. Maxwell, JRASSB., 1882, IX, pp. 100-2; *ib.*, 1898, XXXI, pp. 108-130; 1910, LIV, p. 77, 1920, LXXXII, p. 151; JRASMB. 1932, X, pp. 43-44; The Achehnese, C. Snouck Hurgronje, tr. A. W. S. O' Sullivan, Leyden, 1906, vol. I, pp. 70-73; History of Sumatra, W. Marsden, 3rd ed., p. 446; Critisch Overzicht van de in Maleische Werken vervatte gegevens over de geschiedenis van het Sultanaat van Atjeh, Raden Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Bijdragen Kon. Instituut voor de Taal Land en-Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, The Hague, Deel. 65 (1910), pp. 159, 160, 180 and *passim*; Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie, Leiden *sub* Atjeh; Letters to the East India Company, vol. I, p. 79; Verovering van Melaka op de Portugesen in 1640-1, R. A. Leupe, Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, 7 Deel, 1 stuk, 2 ser., 2 deel, 1 stuk, pp. 137, 382.

V.

Dagh-Register 1625-1682; Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811, J. A. van der Chijs, Batavian Society, 1885-1890; Balthasar Bort's Report on Malacca JRASMB., V, pp. 25-6, 34, 37, 104, 117, 124, 132, 134, 142, 145-156, 179, 196-7; Mills' British Malaya *ib.* 1925, I, pt. 2, pp. 1-17 and *passim*; Winstedt's Johore *ib.* 1932, X, *passim*; JRASSB. 1882, X, pp. 245-268A, 1883, XI, p. 169, 1914, LXVII pp. 57-84, 1891, XXIII, pp. 35-48;

An Account of the East Indies, A. W. Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1727, vol. II, p. 73; Misa Melayu (XVIII century Perak history) R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1919, pp. 82-87, 148, 151; Oud en-Nieuw Oost-Indien, Fr. Valentijn, Dordrecht, 1724; Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, Captain Forrest, London, 1792; Political and Commercial Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, John Anderson, Penang, 1824, pp. 52-3, 189; Journal of the Indian Archipelago, I, p. 187, IV, p. 21; Notes and Queries RASSB. No. I, p. 31; Bijdragen Kon. Instituut voor Taal Land en-Volkenkunde van N. I., Deel LVII, 1907 Deel LXXXVII 1931—Corpus Diplomaticum Nederlands-Indicum J. E. Heeres; The English Factories in India 1646-1650, W. Foster, Oxford 1923, pp. 168, 170, 210; 1661-4, p. 376.

VI.

Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis, Hans Overbeck, JRASMB., 1926, IV, pp. 339-381 esp. 357-362; Winstedt's Johore *ib.* 1932, X, pp. 2, 167-8, Mills *ib.* 1925 I, pt. 2, pp. 25, 138, 143; *Tuhfat al Nafis ib.* 1932, X, pt. 2, pp. 189-193; JRASSB. 1881, VI, p. 178; 1882 IX, pp. 105-7, 1887 XVIII, pp. 349-52, 1910, LIV, pp. 147-153; Straits Settlements Records (Colonial Secretariat, Singapore), F. 1-7 Letters from Native Rulers 1817-20, 1824-37, 1865-74, G. 1-7 Letters to Native Rulers 1817-19, 1822-31, 1841-5, 1850-73, R. 25, 28, Governor's Letters to Bengal 1853-6; Misa Melayu, pp. 5, 6, 12; J. Anderson *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 86-7, 186, 189; Journal of the Indian Archipelago, 1850, IV, pp. 18, 108, 116, 497-504; Notes and Queries RASSB. No. 4, p. 105; Treaties and Engagements, Malay States and Borneo, ed. W. G. Maxwell and W. S. Gibson, London, 1924; The Crawford Papers, A Collection of Official Records relating to the Mission of Dr. John Crawford sent to Siam by the Government of India in 1821 (from India Office Records), Bangkok 1915; An Anecdotal History of Singapore, C. B. Buckley, vol. II, p. 709.

VII.

Straits Settlements Records F. 7, G. 6 and 7 and Corr. *re* Perak and Larut Disturbances; History Part I, R. J. Wilkinson, K. Lumpur 1908, pp. 89-97, 102-5; A History of the Peninsular Malays, R. J. Wilkinson 3rd ed., 1923 pp. 99-114; JRASSB. 1881, VI, pp. 165-170, 1895, XXVIII, p. 31; Buckley *op. cit.* II, p. 722-3; Perak and the Malays, F. McNair, London, 1878, pp. 348-360; British Malaya, Sir F. Swettenham, London, 1907, pp. 117-125; Report of the Commissioners under Clause XIII of the Perak Engagement dated 20 January, 1874 and Journal of their Expedition to Perak (printed); Report of the Commissioners on

The Penang Riots, Penang 1868; Correspondence relating to the affairs of certain Native States in the Malay Peninsula C. llll (presented to Parliament 31 July 1874), London.

VIII.

Straits Settlements Records F. 7, G. 7; History Pt. I, R. J. Wilkinson, pp. 98-100; History of Peninsular Malays, R. J. Wilkinson, pp. 115-122; Sir F. Swettenham *op. cit.* pp. 173-194; JRASSB. 1890, XXII, pp. 247-291; E. McNair *op. cit.* pp. 361-374; Confidential Despatches from the Secretary of State 1874-7; Sir Andrew Clarke's Despatch No. 43 of 24 Feb. 1874 with enclosures (printed); Papers relating to the introduction of the Residential System into Perak in 1874 (printed).

IX.

MS. Diary, J. W. W. Birch, Taiping Secretariat, Perak; F. McNair *op. cit.* pp. 375-413; Swettenham *op. cit.* pp. 194-215; Cursed Luck (the story 'Needs Explaining' in), Sir G. Scott, London, 1908; Peninsular Malays, R. J. Wilkinson, pp. 123-140; About Perak, F. A. Swettenham, Singapore, 1893, pp. 4-19; Enquiry as to Complicity of Chiefs in the Perak Outrages (C. B. Plunket) Government Printing Office, Singapore, 1876; Confidential Despatches from the Secretary of State 1875-7 (Government House, Singapore); Proceedings of the Executive Council upon the case of Ex-Sultan 'Abdu'llah and other Perak chiefs, Paper laid before the Legislative Council of the S.S. 2 April, 1877; Malay Sketches (esp. J. W. W. Birch and A Personal Incident), Sir F. A. Swettenham, London, 1921, The Real Malay, *ib.*; Further correspondence relating to certain Native States in the Malay Peninsula C. 1505 and C. 1512 and C. 1709 (presented to Parliament), London, 1876 and 1877.

NOTES ON TWO PERAK MANUSCRIPTS.

BY W. E. MAXWELL.

Malay history is very little more advanced than it was when Crawford remarked on the meagre and unsatisfactory nature of the notices which we possess on "this curious and interesting subject." (1) The *Sijara Malayu*, or history of the Malacca kings, is the work of a Mohamedan who grafted events which were recent in his time upon legends whose real place is in Hindoo mythology. It possesses little value as a historical document, except as regards the reigns of the later kings of Malacca.

The "*Marong Mahawangsa*," or "Kedah Annals," professes to treat of the early history of the State of Kedah, and though not justifying, as a historical document, the credit attached to it by its translator, Col. Low, it hardly merits, perhaps, the sweeping condemnation of Mr. Crawford, who described it as "a dateless tissue of rank fable from which not a grain of reliable knowledge can be gathered." (2) If, as there seems good reason for believing, the Hindoo legends in these works are traceable to the Brahminical scriptures of India, their value from an ethnological point of view may perhaps some day be better appreciated. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* fares no better at Mr. Crawford's hands than the work of the Kedah historian. It is described as "a most absurd and puerile production. It contains no historical fact upon which the slightest reliance can be placed; no date whatever, and, if we except the faithful picture of native mind and manners which it unconsciously affords, is utterly worthless and contemptible." (3)

Leyden in his Essay on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese nations (4) gives the following account of Malay historical manuscripts:

1 Descriptive Dictionary, sub voce Queda.

2 Crawford, Hist. Ind. Arch. Vol. II. p. 371.

3 Crawford, Hist. Ind. Arch. vol. II. p. 371.

4 Asiatic Researches. Vol. X. p. 180.

“ There are many *Malayu* compositions of a historical nature, though they are not so common as the classes that have been enumerated; such as the *Hikayat Rajah bongsu*, which I have not seen, but which has been described to me as a genealogical history of the Malay Rajahs. The *Hikayat Malaka*, which relates the founding of that city by a *Javanese* adventurer, the arrival of the Portuguese and the combats of the Malays with Albuquerque and the other Portuguese commanders. The *Hikayat Pitrajaya-Putti*, or history of an ancient Raja of Malacca, the *Hikayat Achi*, or history of Achi or Achin in Sumatra and the *Hikayat Hang Tuha*, or the adventures of a Malay Chief during the reign of the last Raja of Malacca, and the account of a Malay Embassy sent to Mekka and Constantinople to request assistance against the Portuguese. Such historical narrations are extremely numerous, indeed there is reason to believe that there is one of every state or tribe; and though occasionally embellished by fiction, it is only from them that we can obtain an outline of the Malay history and of the progress of the nation.”

Leyden wrote seventy years ago, but, owing probably to the limited intercourse of Europeans with the native States of the Peninsula, little has been discovered since his time to justify his belief that separate historical narrations existed for every state or tribe. The publication of a translation of the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* by Col. Low (5) is, as far as I know, the only acquisition of importance.

In Perak I have lost no opportunity of enquiring for historical manuscripts, and have succeeded in obtaining two, of which I propose to give a short account in this paper.

The first is a short genealogy of the Mohamedan kings of Pêrak. It is a well-thumbed little book of 72 pages, which formerly belonged to the Raja Bëndahara, and has evidently been treated as a treasure, for it is wrapped up in an embroidered napkin (*tetampan*) and an outer wrapper of yellow cloth. The first page is missing but I hope to get it supplied from memory or from another copy.

The book commences with an abstract of the *Sijara Malayu* and the Malay kings are traced from Palembang to Singhapura, and from Singhapura to Malacca. A Summary

(5) *Journal Indian Archipelago* Vol. III. p. 1.

of the history of the Malacca kings is given, which differs in some particulars from the account translated by Leyden. (6) The Portuguese are not mentioned, singularly enough, but Sultan Mahmud Shah, in whose reign Malacca was taken by Albuquerque, is summarily dismissed in the following sentence; "It was this Sultan who is spoken of by people as "Murhom Kampar" and the time that he reigned in Malacca was thirty years. It was in his time that Malacca was taken by the people of Moar, and he fled to Pahang for a year, and thence to Bentan, where he spent twelve years, and thence to Kampar, where he remained for five years. Thus the whole time that he was Raja was forty-eight years."

The Perak manuscript makes out that the first king of Perak *Sultan Muzafar Shah* was the son of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca by a princess of Kelantan. Raja Muzafar, according to this account, was brought up as heir apparent of the throne of Malacca, but was dis-inherited by his father in favour of Raja Ala-eddin, the son of the Sultan's favourite wife Tun Fatima. After the death of Sultan Mahmud (*Murhom Kampar*) Raja Muzafar was turned out of the country (Johor?) by the Chiefs and went to Siak and thence to Klang. At Klang he was found by a man of "Manjong" (Perak) by whose influence he was installed as Raja in Perak.

So far the MS. account, but this does not agree either with the *Sijara Malayu* or with local tradition in Perak.

According to the *Sijara Malayu* (Leyden's translation, p. 265) the first Sultan of Perak was "Tun Viajet surnamed Sri Maha Raja," who was formerly Bēndahara of Johor and "who was originally appointed Raja over Perak under the title of Sultan Muzafar Shah. He married the Princess of Perak and begot Sultan Mansur *who reigns at present.*"

The Johor origin of the Perak Rajas is confirmed by tradition, though the manuscript before me makes the connection collateral only. After relating the installation of Muzafar Shah as Sultan in Perak, the Perak historian makes a digression to Johor, explains that Raja Ala-eddin (younger brother of Muzafar Shah and son of Sultan Mahmud Shah of Malacca) became Sultan of Johor, and gives a list of six Rajas who succeeded him that Kingdom. The royal line of Johor ended (says the Perak manuscript) with "*Murhom Maugkat di Kota Tinggi*" and the sovereignty became vested in the family of the Johor Bēndahara.

(6) Leyden's Malay Annals Longuan 1821.

Returning to the first Raja of Perak, the chronicler, forgetting that he has just stated that Muzafar Shah went to Perak from Klang, makes Johor his starting point after all. "He begot a son named Raja Mansur, who remained at Johor when his father went to Perak, and who married a sister of *Murhom Bukit* (wife of Raja Julil of Johor). Raja Muzafar Shah, when he became Raja of Perak, established his capital at Tanah Abang, and after his death was known as "*Murhom Tanah Abang*." Then Sultan Ala-eddin sent Raja Mansur and his wife to Perak, and they reigned there and established their capital at Kota Lama."

It is clear I think that the Perak historian was not satisfied with a Johor Bēndahara as the progenitor of a line of kings and has somewhat clumsily tried to adapt history to the necessity of establishing a connection with the Royal house of Malacca and thus obtaining for the Perak Rajas the benefit of an apocryphal descent from Alexander of Macedonia.

The manuscript gives a few details regarding the reigns of twelve Perak Rajas commencing with Muzafar Shah (to whose accession I should be inclined to assign the date A.D. 1550) and ending with Mahmud Shah, in whose time the Bugis invasion of Kedah (A.D. 1770) took place. The average duration of one reign is about 19 years. Two invasions of Perak by the Achinese are recorded, both of which resulted in the defeat of the Perak Malays and the captivity of members of the Royal family and of various Chiefs. Two Bugis invasions are also mentioned.

An allusion which has a special interest for Europeans is the mention of the Dutch factory at Tanjong Putus in the Perak river, in the reigns of Sultan Iskander (about A. D. 1756) and of his predecessor, Sultan Muzafar Shah (*Murhom Haji*.)

No dates are given in this manuscript, but it is possible to supply them in some places from what is known of the history of Achin and Johor. Perak gave Achin one of her most famous kings, Mansur Shah, whose persevering attacks upon the Portuguese in Malacca are a matter of authentic history. Crawford assigns the year 1567 as the date of his accession in Achin. The Perak chronicler does not mention him by name, but in relating the events of the first Achinese invasion states that the eldest son of the Perak king (*Murhom Kota Lama*) was among the captives and was taken by the Queen of Achin as her husband. This was no doubt the

well known Mansur Shah. The circumstances of his death are not related, though the Achinese account states that, like many other kings of Achin, he came to a violent end. The author of the historical sketch under notice simply "states that the King of Achin went across to Perak to amuse himself, and to visit his relations and to re-organise the kingdom of Perak. When he returned from his visit to Perak and reached Kwala Achih he died. The name by which he was known after his death was "*Sri Pada Mangkat di Kwala.*"

The conclusion of this little work shews, I think, that it was written out for one of the late Bandaharas of Perak, I obtained it from the late Raja Osman, the last Perak Bandahara. The final paragraph records how the office of Bandahara, which had always been held by a Chief, was for the first time vested in a Raja in the person of Raja Kechil Muda the son of Sultan Mahmud Shah (*Murhom Muda di Pulo Besar Indra Mulia*). In the words of the historian, "he took the title of *Raja Bandahara Wakil al Sultan Wasir al Kabir* and ruled over the country of Perak. He lived at Sayong by the long sandy shore. After he had ruled Perak for a long time he returned to the mercy of God most high and was known after his death as *Murhom Sayong di Pasir Panjang.*"

The title of Raja Bandahara was first used in the time of Sultan Iskandar (*Murhom Kahar*) A.D. 1756—1770.

The second manuscript is a historical work entitled "*Misal Malayu,*" or "*An Example for Malays,*" which relates the principal events of the reign of Sultan Iskandar of Perak (*Murhom Kahar*), of his immediate predecessors Sultans Mohamed Shah and Muzafar Shah and of his successor Sultan Mahmud Shah. Sultan Iskandar was Raja Muda during two reigns before he himself succeeded to the throne. His actual reign as Sultan lasted for fourteen years, but he must have governed Perak *de facto* for a very much longer period. He seems to have been the strongest of the Perak sovereigns and the days of *Murhom Kahar* are still spoken of in Perak as a kind of golden age, when everything was peaceful and prosperous, when chiefs obeyed the Sultan and the ryots followed their chiefs cheerfully.

The author of the *Misal Malayu* was Raja Cholan, who received the title of *Raja Kechil Besar* in the reign of Sultan Muzafar Shah. He is remembered in Perak by the name of

Murhom Pulo Juwa. He commences his narrative by a short account of the genealogy of Sultan Muzafar Shah, with whose reign the history opens. Then follows a description of a revolution which resulted in the proclamation of another Sultan who established himself in lower Perak under the title of *Sultan Mohamed Shah*, while the rightful Sultan had to retreat up the river to Kwala Kungsa, "where he built a palace and fortified it." The reconciliation of the rival Rajas and the restoration of Muzafar Shah to power by the voluntary surrender of his power by Mohamed Shah are related in detail. The latter did not long survive his retirement. Two important events happened in the later years of Muzafar Shah, an invasion of Perak by some Bugis adventurers under one *Raja Bakabat* and the re-establishment of the Dutch factory on the Perak river. The Bugis invaders must have entered Perak by what is now called the Larut river and penetrated as far as Bukit Gantang, where they were defeated by the Perak forces despatched from Kwala Kungsa under the Raja Muda and pursued to *Kwala Pangkalan* (probably the Larut river) whence it may be supposed they made their escape from the country by sea.

The first mention of the Dutch gives some interesting particulars regarding the reopening of their commercial intercourse with Perak, which it may be inferred had been stopped for some time. I subjoin a short extract.

"The Dutch were ordered by their Raja to proceed from Batavia to Malacca and thence to Perak and they asked the Raja of Perak to grant them a place for a settlement and they selected Pangkalan Halban. Their object was the purchase of tin, and the price they gave was thirty two dollars a bhara exclusive of a tax of two dollars a bhara. All their wishes met with the approval of *Sultan Muzafar Shah*. And the Dutch lived at *Pangkalan Halban* and built a warehouse and stockaded it all round. After this no one was permitted to export tin, for all of it had to be given to the Dutch, but thenceforth dollars, not tin, were taken out of the country on trading voyages. As for the Dutch themselves, their Captain was changed once in every three years. And in the course of the long period during which they occupied *Pangkalan Halban* and had charge of Kwala Perak they paid an immense number of dollars to the Sultan in the way of duty and numbers of people in the Country became wealthy."

The illness and death of Mozafar Shah are related with considerable fullness of detail and the date of the latter event is given, which is valuable as enabling the reader to fix approximate dates for other events recorded in the narration. Mozafar Shah died on Friday the 11th of Zulkhaidah A. H. 1167 (A. D. 1756). Among other incidents of his illness we read that "there was a woman in the palace whom the king ordered to be killed and she was accordingly executed, for she was out of her mind." The unfortunate creature was no doubt suspected of being a witch and of having caused the Raja's illness by her spells. But this violent remedy was unavailing, for the chronicle states that "after this, the king's illness grew more and more severe." (Perak seems to have been an unsafe place for reputed witches, for not long ago when visiting S. Jarum Mas on the Perak coast I was shewn the place (*Kwala Bujang Limbas*) where a former Panglima Bukit Gantang had caused a beautiful woman named Allang Suyoh to be executed for witchcraft. She was known among the people as *Bujang Limbas*.)

The Raja Muda who succeeded to the throne took the title of Sultan Iskandar Zulkarnein. In describing the domestic events of his reign, the author has exhausted his vocabulary and it is the detailed accounts of the Court ceremonies on all sorts of occasions that make the work so valuable in the eyes of Malays. Accounts of palace festivities, the installation of chiefs the amusements of truthful princes, the superstitious ceremonies practised in cases of illness, religious observances, and royal progresses fill page after page, while events of historical interest receive comparatively little notice.

The former, though curious, possess little general interest and I propose here to translate only one passage, which gives the reason for a singular superstition which to this day prevents a Perak sovereign from inhabiting the house in which his predecessor had died.

"It is related that the king (Iskandar Shah) determined to remove from *Brahman Indra*, for he did not feel easy in mind while he remained in the abode of the late Raja. And he took thought day and night how he might fix upon a spot in which he might establish a capital for his own reign. Then the king said (to the Raja Muda and the

“assembled nobles), for my part I cannot find it in my heart
 “to remain here any longer, for it is distasteful to me to
 “have the royal drum (*nobat*) sounded so near to the grave
 “of the late king. It is, therefore, my wish to remove
 “from *Brahman Indra*.”

On the 17th October 1765, according to Dutch records, a treaty was made between the Dutch East India Company and “Paduca Siry (Sri) Sultan Mohamed Shah, King “of Pera.” It is interesting to find in the Malay manuscript under notice an account of the negotiations which led to this treaty and of the circumstances connected with the signing of it. Even the names of the Dutch officials are given; barely recognisable, it is true, in their Malay rendering. The fact that the name of the reigning Sultan in the Malay narration is Iskander Shah, while that in the treaty is Mohamed Shah, need not, I think, cast a doubt on the veracity of the native account, for Europeans are extremely likely to have made a mistake about native names. If the name was *Iskander Shah bin Al Merhom Mohamed Shah*, the mistake is easily accounted for.

Iskander Shah fixed his residence at Pulo Champaka Sri, near Pasir Panjang on the Perak river, and dignified it, after the manner of Malay Rajas, with a high-sounding name, “*Pulau Indra Sakti*.” Kling, Bugis, and Menangkabau traders are mentioned as frequenting the new town and the Chinese had a separate quarter to themselves. In recording the establishment of the new capital the historian preserves the following *pantun* composed, he says, on the occasion:

Zeman Sultan Raja Iskander
 Membuat negeri di Pulo Champaka
 Elok-nia pekan dengan bandar
 Tempat dagang sentri berniaga.
 Membuat negeri di Pulo Champaka
 Di glar Pulo Indra Sakti
 Dagang sentri datang berniaga
 Kabawa duli berbuat bakti.
 Tuanku raja Sultan Iskander
 Takhta di Pulo Indra Sakti
 Endak nia jangan lagi di sadar
 Kuat pun sudah bagi di hati,
 Takhta di Pulo Indra Sakti
 Di sembah tintra sa isi negeri
 Kuat pun sudah bagi di hati
 Bertambah kabesaran-nia sahari-hari.

To which he adds the following verse of his own ;

Sungei Singkir selat bentarang *
 Kapitan Pulo Indra Sakti
 Patek nen pikir dagang yang korang
 Niat ta sampei bagei di hati

A mission to India was one of the principal events of Iskandar Shah's reign and the despatch of a Kling trader, named *Tamby Kachil*, to the Coromandel Coast (*benou Kling*) to persuade ship-owners to come to Perak to buy elephants, his return with a ship, his enthusiastic reception and the embarkation of the elephants are graphically described. But the royal amusements and ceremonies receive much more of the author's attention than incidents of this kind. They are relieved here and there by enlivening touches, as when we read, on the occasion of a public rejoicing when all nationalities shared in the general festivities, that "the Dutch went through their exercises with muskets and blunderbuses" and the Chinese musical instruments were exceedingly "numerous and sounded like the noise of frogs in a pond" when rain is just commencing to fall."

In another place "the Panglima of Larut" is described as presenting himself before the Sultan at Sayong "with all his followers (*Sakei*), people of Bukit Gantang and people of Penkalan and Permatang, an exceedingly large number," an allusion to localities which have become well known of late years.

An expedition which Sultan Iskander made to the mouth of the Perak river is celebrated in a long form which takes up a number of pages in the latter part of the book. To have descended the river to the sea was evidently a feat of no small magnitude for a Raja of Perak of those days and was accordingly immortalised in a fitting manner. It is too long, however, for translation here, and too diffuse for extracts.

After a reign of fourteen years Sultan Iskander died and received the posthumous title of "*Murhom Kamhar-ullah*." He was succeeded by Sultan Mahmud Shah of whose reign a short account is given, and with whose death and the accession of Sultan Aladin the chronicle ends. In his time the Raja of Selangor visited Perak and is stated to have received the *nobal*, the *insignia* of royalty, and the title of *Sultan Saladin* from the Perak sovereign. The latter

subsequently visited Salangor and was escorted back as far as Kwala Bernam by the newly created Raja.

A Bugis invasion of Kedah,* which is no doubt that spoken of by English writers as having occurred in the year 1770, is then described by the Perak historian in the following passage.

"It is related that a certain Bugis Chief, one Raja Haji, whom people called Pangeran, came from Rhio to Salangore, the reigning sovereign of that kingdom being a relation of his. There he concerted measures for an attack upon Kedah and stopped at Perak on his way. He cast anchor just below the Dutch fort and the Dutchmen were a good deal alarmed when they saw his numerous his vessels were. He gave out that he wanted to see the Raja of Perak, so the Laksamana and the Shahbandar went up the river to *Pulo Besar Indra Mulia* and presented themselves before the Sultan with the intelligence that the Pangeran had arrived with the Raja of Salangore and had anchored below the Dutch fort and that he wanted an audience with His Highness. They said that he had a great number of prahus, one hundred and twenty sail, more or less, and asked for His Highness instructions as they had heard that the stranger meditated some evil design upon the kingdom of Perak. Then the King said "Let him come up the river. I have no fear or apprehension." At the same time His Highness ordered that all his nobles and warriors and men-at-arms should be collected and fully equipped with their weapons and accoutrements. When they were all assembled at *Pulo Besar Indra Mulia*, the Pangeran came up the river and as far up as Telok Panadah the river was crowded with his vessels from bank to bank. Then His Highness said "Being up the Pengeran to see me." So he was led up by the Laksamana and the Shahbandar and entered the presence of Sultan Mahmud Shad with the King of Selangor. And whom he looked upon the face of the Sultan he was seized with great fear and alarm, which was increased when he

* Murhom Kiangnan of Kedah had two brothers and several Nephews who thought themselves injured by the election of Abdullah (son of the Sultan by a slave girl) to the succession. In the year 1770 they raised a rebellion and brought the people of Selangor and Perak to their assistance. They entered Kedah but finding the people did not join them they burned Alorstar, then a very flourishing town, and at the Kwala took several of the Coast vessels and carried off a considerable deal of plunder. The old King was so much enraged that he forbade them ever returning to the country. The disappointed Princes returned to Salangore where they died in want and misery. *Capt. Light in Anderson's Considerations*; p. 153.

See also Newbold Vol. II. p. 6.

saw the grandeur of His Highness and the preparations of the warriors. After that he ceased to entertain any further evil intentions against the sovereign of Perak.

When the Raja of Selangor crowd leave to depart in order to accompany his relation the Pangeran in the invasion Kedah, Sultan Mahmud Shah sent his youngest brother Raja Kechil Bongsu with the former. And Kedah was defeated and then the invaders returned each to his own country."

This is the last event recorded in the reign of Mahmud Shah, whose death occurred after he had reigned eight years in Perak. His successor was Sultan Ala-eddin Mansur Shah, with a catalogue of whose virtues the history closes. It was probably concluded in his reign about one hundred years ago.

Though they abound with oriental exaggeration and the most tedious recapitulation, and though historical data are disappointingly scarce, these are not without some interest and value, as I think the extracts which I have given will shew. It is satisfactory to have any written account at all of the Perak Rajas on purely native authority and the general accuracy of the *Misal Malayu* has been borne out, wherever possible, by a comparison of the facts related in it with accounts of the same events obtained from European sources. I could wish that it were in my power to lay before the Society translations of the manuscripts of which I have here given a brief sketch, for there are now opportunities for annotating the text by reference to local traditions, and of getting explanations about various customs and ceremonies of the Perak Malays, which will diminish as civilization extends and as the days of Malay rule recede further into the past. But on the present occasion I must content myself with this short Summary, which has been very hastily drawn up and which professes to be nothing more than a general description of the only Perak histories I have yet seen.

THE HISTORY OF PERAK FROM NATIVE SOURCES.

BY

W. E. MAXWELL.

EXTRACT FROM THE *Marong Mukawangsa* RELATING TO THE
FOUNDING OF A KINGDOM CALLED PERAK.

"One day Raja MARONG MAHA PODISAT went into his outer audience hall, where all his ministers, warriors and officers were in attendance, and commanded the four *Mantris* to equip an expedition with all the necessary officers and armed men, and with horses and elephants, arms and accoutrements. The four *Mantris* did as they were ordered, and when all was ready they informed the Raja. The latter waited for a lucky day and an auspicious moment, and then desired his second son to set out. The Prince took leave after saluting his father and mother, and all the ministers, officers and warriors who followed him performed obeisance before the Raja. They then set out in search of a place of settlement, directing their course between South and East intending to select a place with good soil and there to build a town with fort' moat, palace and *balei*. They amused themselves in every forest, wood and thicket through which they passed, crossing numbers of hills and mountains, and stopping here and there to hunt wild beasts, or to fish if they happened to fall in with a pool or lake.

"After they had pursued their quest for some time, they came to the tributary of a large river which flowed down to the sea. Further on they came to a large sheet of water, in the midst of which were four islands. The Prince was much pleased with the appearance of the islands, and straightway took a silver arrow and fitted it to his bow named *Indra Sakti* and said: 'O arrow of the bow *Indra Sakti*, fall thou on good soil in this group of islands; wherever thou mayest chance to fall, there will I make a palace in

which to live.' He then drew his bow and discharged the arrow, which flew upwards with the rapidity of lightning and with a humming sound like that made by a beetle as it flies round a flower, and went out of sight. Presently it came in sight again, and fell upon one of the islands, which, on that account, was called *Palau Indra Sakti*. On that spot was erected a town with fort, palace and *balei*, and all the people who were living scattered about in the vicinity were collected together, and set to work on the various buildings. The Prince reigned here with great justice and generosity, and all the poor and indigent prayed for him that he might be preserved in his state and dignity. And Raja MARONG MAHA PODISAT and his Counsellors called this country *Negri Perak*, from its connection with the silver arrow. The Prince was then formally established as Raja in Perak, and he sent an embassy to inform the King, his father, of the fact, and his power increased, and numbers of people flocked to Perak on account of the justice and liberality of his administration."⁽¹⁾

Of this story, it is necessary to say that it has no local currency in Perak, and that the Perak Malay commences the history of his country with the legend of the white Semang.⁽²⁾ I have, however, heard an attempt to reconcile both legends by the statement that it was after the dynasty founded by the son of the Kedah Raja had died out, that the new line of kings from Johor was brought in.

It is not easy to name any spot in Perak which corresponds in the least with the lake and islands described in the text. Colonel Low suggests the Dindings, or some tract near the Bruas river. The latter is probably the oldest settled district in Perak. The *Sajarah Malayu* mentions a "Raja of Bruas" before there was a Raja of Perak of the Johor line. Local traditions, too, all speak of Bruas as the ancient seat of government. Localities on that river

⁽¹⁾ Translated from a copy of the *Marong Mahawangsa* in my possession. See also Colonel Low's translation, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, III., 176.

⁽²⁾ I have given this legend at length in a paper recently contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. N. S. Vol. XIII., Part IV

are identified by natives as the scenes of the fabulous adventures described in the *Hikayat Shamsu-l-bahrin* (¹), and it is traditionally related that the Bruas was formerly connected with the Perak river at a place now called Tepus, but then called Tumbus. An-

(¹) See a short description of this work in VAN DER TUUK'S account of the Malay M.S.S. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 61.

The following extract is translated from a copy in my possession. It is the opening passage, and summarises the adventures described in the body of the work. The mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan names is very characteristic of Malay Romances:—

“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God knoweth the truth.

“This is the tale of *Shamsu-l-bahrin*, the incidents of which are related by the author in the most elegant language. This prince was descended on the male side from the posterity of God's Prophet ADAM, on whom be blessings and peace, and on the female side from the stock of Raja INDRA.* He it was who was famed for his nobility, beauty of form, benevolence, wisdom, and fidelity. And it was he who was endowed with the twelve virtues, and who had exceeding compassion for those servants of God who suffered injustice, and who aided them to the utmost of his power wherever he might be. This was the prince who was widely renowned in the lands of the Jin, and the Peri, the Dewa, Mambang, Indra, and Chandra. Even down to mankind all feared and admired and stood astonished at his wisdom and prudence, to which must be added his boldness and courage and his supernatural power and knowledge of all the secret sciences and arts. He it was who possessed himself of the bow of *Rama Bisnu*, † called *Kinduzau Braksana*, ‡ (of exceeding virtue not to be surpassed in those days), having taken

* In Hindu mythology, *Indra* is the king of heaven.

† *Bisnu* = *Vishnu*, one of the gods of the Hindu Triad. *Rama* is one of the incarnations of *Vishnu*.

‡ *Rama's* bow and arrows are famed in the *Ramayana*.

cient tombs at Bruas support the popular tradition of its importance as a settlement in former times. The most venerable spot in

it from *Yan al Jan*. He it was who rode upon the horse named *Mardan Darakas*, the offspring of *Yan al Jan*; and it was he who slew the Jin called *Mula Bazat*, who dwelt on the mountain *Maha Prabat* guarding the sword of *Yapat*,* the son of the Prophet *Noah*, on whom be peace; and who possessed himself of the sword of *Yapat*, the son of *Noah*, which is not to be surpassed in this world. He it was who was a pupil of *Brama Sakti*,† whose like there was not for supernatural virtues. He too it was who slit the nose of the son of the Raja *Mambang Gangga Mahadira*, and who cut off the ears of the son of Raja *Dewa Mahajata*. It was he who slew the demon *Daniara*, whose bulk was that of a mountain, and the *Dewa Puteh* who had fifty heads and one hundred arms. He too, took the ivory tablet bearing the picture of the princess *Chandra Nulela* from the hands of the Jin whose name is *Samu*. It was he who killed Raja *Dewa*, in the world called *Harmandau Dewa*, and also the Raja of the Spirits of the Green Sea, whose name was *Chakra Kahana*. He it was who was imprisoned by *Chakra Kahana* for the space of a year and seven months in an iron prison, and yet came to no harm. It was he who slew the dragon in the sea of *Para-Lankapuri*, and who took the princess *Langli Ilang* at the lake of the four brothers; and he also took the jewelled bracelet, the workmanship of Raja *Jemshid*, which was wonderful to behold, and, over and above that, of magic power and virtue. He it was who slew the spirit of the sea of *Para-Lankapuri*, whose name was *Darma Gangga* and the demon *Hasta Brama*, whose body was two hundred fathoms long, whose skin was red like fire, whose hair fell down to his ankles, whose tongue reached to his knees, and who had tusks seven fathoms in length. And it was he who slew the Jin that dwelt below the earth whose name was *Pattamah Sakti*, and whose supernatural power was such that his brightness reached to the heavens. He it was who killed the Raja of all the *Dewa* and

* *Yapat*=Japhet.

† *Brama Sakti* is described as an ascetic living a life of religious anacidity. Possibly the incident has been derived from some one of the *paruses* in which god *Brama's* appearances on earth in the character of a religious mendicant are related.

Perak, however, is Tumung on the Perak river, a few miles North of Kwala Kangsa which is the scene of the legend of the white Semang already alluded to.

THE LEGEND OF THE WHITE SEMANG.

(Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N. S. XIII., Part IV.)

"Baginda DAJ reigned in Johor Lama.⁽¹⁾ He despatched a trusted counsellor, one Nakhodah KASIM, to sail forth and look for a suitable place for a settlement, for there were plenty of willing emigrants. Nakhodah KASIM got ready a fleet of prahus and sailed up the Straits of Malacca, hugging the coast, till he reached Bruas (a district and river in Perak). While there, he saw that a brisk trade was being carried on between the coast and the interior, imported goods being despatched up the country and native produce brought down from the inland districts. He made inquiries and was told that there was a big river in the interior. His curiosity was now aroused and he penetrated on foot into the interior and discovered the Perak river. Here he traded, like the natives of the country, making trips up and down the river, and selling salt and tobacco^(*) at the villages by the river-side. On one of these trips he reached Tumung in the North of Perak, and made fast his boat

the spirits of the sea, the land and the water, whose name was, Raja *Baranggi*, whose sway extended from the East to the West from the South to the North, and to whom all spirits were subject. God knoweth the truth!"

(¹) Johor Lama was the old capital of the State of Johor, which is the southernmost of the Malay States of the Peninsula.

(*) Tobacco was first introduced into the Eastern Archipelago by the Portuguese at Malacca in the sixteenth century. Anachronisms of this kind are common in native histories.

to the bank. After a few days the Semangs (Perak was not yet populated by Malays) came down from their hills to buy salt. They came loaded with the produce of their gardens—sugar-canes, plantains and edible roots—and brought their wives and families with them.

"A Semang girl, while her father was bargaining at the boat, took up a sugar-cane and commenced to strip off the rind with a knife; in doing so she accidentally cut her hand. Blood issued from the wound, but what was the astonishment of all around her when they saw that its colour was not red but pure white! A report of this prodigy quickly spread from mouth to mouth, and Nakhodah KASIM landed from his boat to see it with his own eyes. It occurred to him that this was a family not to be lost sight of, he loaded the father with presents, and, in a month's time, by dint of constant attentions, he had so far won the confidence of the shy Semangs that he was able to ask for the girl in marriage. The father agreed and Nakhodah KASIM and his wife settled at Kuala Tumung, where they built a house and planted fruit-trees.

"Now, the Perak river overflows its banks once a year, and sometimes there are very great floods. Soon after the marriage of Nakhodah KASIM with the white Semang, an unprecedented flood occurred and quantities of foam came down the river. Round the piles of the bathing-house, which, in accordance with Malay custom, stood in the bed of the river close to the bank in front of the house, the floating volumes of foam collected in a mass the size of an elephant. Nakhodah KASIM's wife went to bathe, and finding this island of froth in her way she attempted to move it away with a stick; she removed the upper portion of it and disclosed a female infant sitting in the midst of it enveloped all round with cloud-like foam. The child showed no fear and the white Semang, carefully lifting her, carried her up to the house, heralding her discovery by loud shouts to her husband. The couple adopted the child willingly, for they had no children, and they treated her thenceforward as their own. They assembled the villagers and gave them a feast, solemnly announcing their adoption of the daughter of the river and their intention of leaving to her everything that they possessed.

.. The child was called TAN PUTEU, but her father gave her the

name of **TEH PURBA**.⁽¹⁾ As she grew up the wealth of her foster-parents increased; the village grew in extent and population, and gradually became an important place.

"One day some Semangs were hunting at a hill near the river Plus, called Bukit Pasir Puteh, or Bukit Pelandok. They heard their dogs barking furiously, but, on following them up, found no quarry, only a large bamboo (*buluh b'rtong*), small at the top and bottom, and having one large thick joint, which seemed to be attracting the attention of the dogs. They split open the thick part of the stem and found in it a male child, whom they forthwith took to Nakhodah KASIM. The latter adopted him as his son, and when the two children were grown up they were betrothed, and in due time were married. The marriage was, however, merely nominal, for TAN PUTEH PURBA preserved her virginity, and TOH CHANGKAT PELANDOK, her husband, returned to his native district, Plus. Nakhodah KASIM at length died, leaving TAN PUTEH mistress of the whole of Perak. As he lay dying, he told her his history, how he had come from the land of Johor, of the Raja of which he was an attendant, and how he had been despatched to find a suitable place for a settlement. He declared the name of his master to be Sultan MAHMUD of Johor, and with his dying breath directed that a Raja for Perak should be asked for from that country.

"TAN PUTEH now called one of her ministers, TAN SABAN, whom she had adopted in his childhood. He came of a noble family, and belonged to the district called *Tanah Merah* (Red Earth). A wife had been found for him by TAN PUTEH, and he had two children, both girls. TAN SABAN was commanded by his mistress to open negotiations with Johor, and this having been done, a prince of the royal house of that kingdom, who traced his descent from the old line of Menangkaban, sailed for Perak to assume the sovereignty. He brought with him the insignia of royalty, namely, the royal drums (*gandang nobat*), the pipes (*uafiri*), the flutes (*surruai* and *bangai*), the betel-box (*pinan uagu taru*), the sword

(¹) *Tek*, short for *Puteh*, white; *Párba*, or *párca*, Sanskrit "first." This name is also given to the first Malay Raja in the *Sajarah Malayu*.

(*chora mandakini*), the sword (*perbujang*), the sceptre (*kaya gamit*), the jewel (*kamala*), the '*surat chiri*,' the seal of state (*chap halilitar*), and the umbrella (*ubar-ubar*). All these were inclosed in a box called *Bauinan*.

"One his way up the Perak river the new Raja stopped at Selat Lembajayan for amusement. One of his attendants happened to point out some fish in the water, and, in leaning over the boat's side to look at them, the Raja lost his crown, which fell from his head and immediately sank. His people dived in vain for it, and from that day to this no Sultan of Perak has had a crown. Near Kota Setia the Raja was received by TAN PUTEH, TAN SABAN and all the chief men of the country, who escorted him to Kota Lumut. Here he was formally installed as Sultan of Perak under the title of AHAMAD TAJ-UDDIN SHAH, and one of the daughters of TAN SABAN was given to him in marriage. It is this Raja to whom the Perak Malays popularly ascribe the political organization of the country under the control of chiefs of various ranks, each having definite duties to perform. After a short reign, AHAMAD TAJ-UDDIN SHAH died, leaving one son about two years old.

"As soon as the Sultan's death was known in Johor, a nephew of his (who was afterwards known as Sultan MALIK SHAH) started at once for Perak. Having reached his late uncle's *astana* (palace) at Tanah Abang, to which place the capital had been removed from Kota Lumut, he called for the nurses and attendants of the infant Raja and demanded permission to visit his young cousin. He was accordingly introduced into the prince's apartment, and seizing the child by violence broke his neck and killed him. He then seized the royal sword and other insignia and established himself as Raja under the title of Sultan MALIK SHAH. By degrees all the chiefs and people came in and accepted the usurper as their sovereign, with the single exception of TAN SABAN, the grandfather of the murdered boy. His obstinate refusal to recognize MALIK SHAH led to a sanguinary war, which lasted for three years. TAN SABAN was gradually driven further and further up the Perak river. He fortified numerous places on its banks, but his forts were taken one after another, and on each occasion he retreated to another stronghold. His most determined stand was made Kota Lama, where he

fortified a strong position. This was closely invested by the Sultan's forces, and a long siege ensued. During the siege an unknown warrior joined the Sultan's army. He came from Pagaruyong in Menangkabau and was the illegitimate son of the Great Sultan of that country, by a concubine. In consequence of his illegitimate birth, he was driven forth from his native country, having for his sole fortune a matchlock (*istinggarda*)⁽¹⁾ and four bullets, on each of which was inscribed the words, 'This is the son of the concubine of the Raja of Pagaruyong; his name is **MAGAT TERAWIS**;⁽²⁾ wherever his bullet falls he will become a chief.' **MAGAT TERAWIS** did not declare his name or origin to the Perak men, but served with them as an obscure soldier. At length, having selected an auspicious day, he asked one of the Sultan's followers to point out **TAN SABAN** to him. This the man had no difficulty in doing, for **TAN SABAN** was frequently to be seen on the outworks of his fort across the river dressed in garments of conspicuous colours. In the morning he wore red, at midday yellow, and in the evening his clothes were green.⁽³⁾ When he was pointed out to **MAGAT**

(1) Another anachronism. So, cannons are mentioned in several places in the *Thousand and One Nights*. See *LANE'S translation*, vol. ii., p. 329, note 100. The *istinggarda* (Portuguese *espingarda*) is the old-fashioned matchlock, specimens of which may still be found in use among the Malays. In former times a bow and four arrows may probably have occupied the place given to the matchlock and bullets in this narrative.

(2) *Magat*, a Malay title of Sanskrit origin. *Māgadhā* (Sansk.) = the son of a Vaiçya by a Kshatriya woman. In Malay, *magat* is applied to a chief who is noble on one side only.

(3) A superstitious observance found among more than one Indo-Chinese nation. "Le général en chef doit se conformer à plusieurs coutumes et observances superstitieuses; par exemple, il faut qu'il mette une robe de couleur différente pour chaque jour de la semaine; le dimanche il s'habille en blanc, le lundi en jaune, le mardi en vert, le mercredi en rouge, le jeudi en bleu, le vendredi en noir, et le samedi en violet."—*PALLEGOIX, Description de Siam*, vol. i., p. 319.

Regarding the signification attached to various colours by the Turks and Arabs, see *LANE'S Thousand and One Nights*, vol. ii., p. 326, note 78.

TERAWIS, it was the morning, and he was dressed in red. MAGAT TERAWIS levelled his matchlock and fired, and his bullet struck TAN SABAN's leg. The skin was hardly broken and the bullet fell to the ground at the chief's feet; but, on taking it up and reading the inscription, he knew that he had received his death-wound. He retired to his house, and, after ordering his flag to be hauled down, despatched a messenger to the opposite camp to call the warrior whose name he had read on the bullet. Inquiries for MAGAT TERAWIS were fruitless at first, for no one knew the name. At length he declared himself and went across the river with TAN SABAN's messenger, who brought him into the presence of the dying man. The latter said to him, 'MAGAT TERAWIS, thou art my son in this world and the next, and my property is thine. I likewise give thee my daughter in marriage, and do thou serve the Raja faithfully in my place, and not be rebellious as I have been.' TAN SABAN then sued for the Sultan's pardon, which was granted to him, and the marriage of his daughter with MAGAT TERAWIS was permitted to take place. Then TAN SABAN died, and he was buried with all the honours due to a Malay chief.⁽¹⁾ MAGAT TERAWIS was raised to the rank of a chief, and one account says that he became Bandahara.⁽²⁾

"Not long after this, the Sultan, taking MAGAT TERAWIS with him, ascended the Perak river to its source, in order to fix the boundary between Perak and Patani. At the foot of the mountain Titi Wangsa they found a great rock in the middle of the stream, from beneath which the water issued, and there was a wild cotton-tree upon the mountain, which bore both red and white flowers, the white flowers being on the side facing Perak, and the red ones on the side turned towards Patani. Then the

(1) This legendary war of TAN SABAN with the second king of Perak owes its origin probably to mythological accounts of the wars of Salivahana and Vikramaditya, which Hindu settlers, not improbably, brought to Malay countries. *Saban* is a natural corruption of Salivahana.

(2) *Bandahara*, treasurer. (Sansk. *bhandagara*, treasure), the highest title given to a subject in a Malay State.

Sultan climbed up upon the big rock in the middle of the river, and drawing forth his sword *Perbujang*, he smote the rock and clove it in two, so that the water ran down in one direction to Perak and in the other to Patani. This was declared to be the boundary between the two countries.

"On their return down-stream, the Raja and his followers halted at Chigar Galah, where a small stream runs into the river Perak. They were struck with astonishment at finding the water of this stream as white as *santan* (the grated pulp of the cocoanut mixed with water). *MAGAT TERAWIS*, who was despatched to the source of the stream to discover the cause of this phenomenon, found there a large fish of the kind called *harnau* engaged in suckling her young one. She had large white breasts from which milk issued.⁽¹⁾

"He returned and told the Raja, who called the river 'Perak' ('silver'), in allusion to its exceeding whiteness. Then he returned to Kota Lama."

TRANSLATION OF PART OF PERAK SALSILA, OR "BOOK OF
DESCENT," OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, COMMENCING
WITH THE DEATH OF SULTAN MAHMUD, THE
LAST KING OF MALACCA.

"Sultan MAHMUD fell sick, and in his illness he gave orders that the Bandahara, Paduka Tuan, the Sri Nara Diraja, and two or three other Chiefs should be summoned. And the King leaned on

⁽¹⁾ This recalls the account in Northern mythology of the four rivers which are said to flow from the teats of the cow Audhumla.

In a great many Malay myths the colour *white* is an all-important feature. In this legend we have the white Semang and the white river. In others white animals and white birds are introduced.

the shoulder of Sri Nara Diraja, so that his forehead touched that of the latter, and Sultan MAHMUD SHAH said: 'In my belief my sickness is unto death, therefore I give the Sultan Muda into the charge of ye all, for he is yet a boy.' Then the Bandahara and all the Chiefs said: 'Tuanku, may God avert from your Highness all evil, nevertheless, if the grass should wither in the court-yard of your Highness, we will by no means do ought in breach of your commands,' and the King was greatly comforted by the assurance of the Bandahara and the Chiefs.

"And after a few days Sultan MAHMUD SHAH died, and his body was buried by the people with all the honours customary in burying Rajas when they are dead. It was this Sultan who was called after his death *Marhum Kampar*, and the time that he had reigned in Malacca was thirty years, and at the end of that time Malacca was conquered by MOR⁽¹⁾ and he fled to Pahang for a year, and thence to Bentan, where he spent twelve years, and thence to Kampar, where he remained for five years. Thus the whole time that he was Raja was forty-eight years. (*) As soon as *Marhum Kampar* was dead the Sultan Muda was made Raja under the title of Sultan ALA-EDDIN AYAT SHAH. Raja MOZAFAR was driven out by the Bandahara and all the Chiefs, and he said: 'Why am I driven out? Am I going to wrest the sovereignty from Inche TAN (*) by force?' All the Chiefs said: 'Away with Raja MOZAFAR SHAH from this country.' Then said Raja MOZAFAR SHAH: 'Wait a while, for my rice is still on the fire and is not yet cooked.' But the Chiefs said: 'Of what use is it to wait longer? Go down now without de-

(¹) ملك ملاك الهله دري مور The capture of Malacca by the Portuguese under ALBUQUERQUE is of course the event alluded to. The *Sajarah Malayu* mentions a Portuguese "Captain Mor." LEYDEN'S Malay Annals, p. 326. I am indebted to Mr. NORONHA for the information that "Capitão-mór" (literally Captain-in-Chief) was an ancient rank in the Portuguese Navy corresponding more or less nearly with "Admiral of the Fleet."

(*) See Journal of the Indian Archipelago, Vol. IX., p. 68.

(*) This is an allusion to TAN FATIMA, the favourite wife of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH, in favour of whose son ALA-EDDIN (according to this account) the real heir MOZAFAR SHAH was disinherited.

lay.' So Raja MOZAFAR SHAH went down with his wife TAN TRANG and one of the late King's sons, Raja MANSUR, who lived with him. And Raja MOZAFAR SHAH said to the Chiefs: 'Take word to Inche TAN that if I die, Si MANSUR must be received back by her.' And the Chiefs said: 'Very well.' Then Raja MOZAFAR SHAH took a passage on board a vessel—*baluk*—⁽¹⁾ and went to Siak, and thence to Kalang where he dwelt quietly. And there was a certain man of *Manjong*, ⁽²⁾ SIU-MIA by name, who was constantly trading between Perak and Kalang. And he saw Raja MOZAFAR SHAH at Kalang and he brought him to Perak and made him Raja there, and the King took the title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH. ⁽³⁾

"His younger brother (who inherited the throne of Johor) was entitled Sultan ALA-EDDIN AYAT SHAH. He dwelt at Johor, fixing his capital at Pasir Raja. He had two daughters, the elder of whom was married to Raja JALIL, a grandson of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH (his mother having been a daughter of the late Sultan). His father was one Raja TUNGGAL, who was not of the line of the Malay Kings.

"When Sultan ALA-EDDIN died, he was called by the people *Mar-*

⁽¹⁾ *Baluk*. The Arabic *fulk*, which signifies a ship or other vessel; whence "felucca."

⁽²⁾ *Manjong*. This name appears to have been given in old times to some portion of the State of Perak, but I can get no information about it in Perak itself. The *Sajarah Malaya* contains an account of an expedition against *Manjong* despatched by Sultan MAHMUD of Malacca. There was then a "Raja of Bruas." "*Manjong* was formerly a great country and was not on friendly terms with Bruas." LEYDEN'S Malay Annals, p. 264. The name of the trader SIU-MIA seems to be Indian.

⁽³⁾ According to the *Sajarah Malaya*, the Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH who became Raja of Perak was quite a different person from Raja MOZAFAR, the son of the last Sultan of Malacca. The former was nephew of the Raja of Bruas and became Bandahara of Johor. His name was TUN VIAJET, and he took the title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH on becoming Raja of Perak. LEYDEN'S Malay Annals, p. 265.

him *Sayyid Mangkat di Aceh* (1). Then Raja JALIL became Raja: he had two sons by a concubine. He it was who had the *nobat*, or royal drum, both in his own right and in that of his wife. When he died the people named him *Marhum Batu*. And his consort, after her death, was called *Marhum Bukit*. Then the eldest son of Raja JALIL became Raja, and he begot Raja BUJANG. And when this King died, he was called *Marhum Kampar*.

"And his younger brother succeeded him and had a son called Raja BAJAU. When this King died the people called him *Marhum Tembalau*. Then Raja BUJANG became Raja, and Raja BAJAU became Raja Muda. The Raja Muda had a son called Raja IBRAHIM, who was adopted by Raja BUJANG. When Raja BUJANG died the people called him *Marhum Mangkat di Pahang*. Then Raja IBRAHIM was made Raja, and when he died he was called *Marhum Dongsu*. Then the son of Raja IBRAHIM became Raja: it was this sovereign who was called *Marhum Mangkat di Kota Tinggi*. He had no offspring, and with him ended the line of Malay Kings in Johor.

But his Bandahara had many children and grandchildren, and

(1) "MARHUM SAYYID who died at Aceh"

Marhum, one who has found mercy, i.e., the deceased. It is the custom of Malays to discontinue after the death of a King the use of the title which he bore during his life. A new title is invented for the deceased monarch by which he is ever afterwards known. The existence of a similar custom among other Indo-Chinese races has been noticed by Colonel YULE: "There is also a custom of dropping or concealing the proper name of the King. This exists in Burma and (according to LA LOUBERE) in Siam. The various Kings of those countries are generally distinguished by some nickname derived from facts in their reign or personal relations and applied to them after their decease. Thus we hear among the Burmese Kings of "The King dethroned by foreigners," "The King who fled from the Chinese," "The grandfather King," and even "the King thrown into the water." Now this has a close parallel in the Archipelago. Among the Kings of Macassar, we find one King known only as the "Throat-cutter;" another as "He who ran amuck;" a third, "The beheaded;" a fourth, "He who was beaten to death on his own staircase." Colonel YULE ascribes the origin of this custom to Ancient India. *Journal Anthropol. Institute*.

this Johor Bandahara was of the same stock as the Malay Kings, for the origin of the Malay Bandaharas was in Singapura. The King of Singapura was Raja SINGA, (1) who came out of the sea, and who married a princess, the daughter of DEMANG LEBAR DAUN; he reigned at Singapura, and had two sons, the elder of whom became Raja and the younger Bandahara. It was ordained by the Malay Rajas, as to the male descendants of the Bandahara, that they could not intermarry with the family of the Raja, but must seek wives elsewhere. They were, however, entitled to be addressed with respect, and it was lawful for the members of the royal family to take wives of the descendants of the Bandahara, and these were addressed as Raja also (2). This is the account of the descent of the Malay Rajas and Bandaharas of the line of Singapura down to that of Johor.

"After the death of *Marhum Mangkat di Kota Tinggi*, the Johor Bandahara became Raja. Raja MOZAFAR SHAH, who had gone to Perak, had a son named Raja MANSUR (3) who remained behind at Johor when his father went to Perak, and who married a sister of *Marhum Bukit*.

"Raja MOZAFAR SHAH, when he became Raja of Perak, established his capital at Tanah Abang, and after his death he became known as *Marhum di Tanah Abang*. Then Raja MANSUR and his wife were sent by Sultan ALA-EDDIN (of Johor) to Perak, and they were established in the sovereignty there. They made their capital at Kota Lama. They had sixteen children, three of whom were sons.

(1). No Raja SINGA is mentioned in the *Sajarah Malaya*, but the name of the mythical founder of Singapura matters little, for the whole account of it is mythological not historical. The table of the genealogy of the early Malay Kings, which will be found in Vol. IX. of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, p. 66, assumes the historical accuracy of Malay chronicles, though the early portions of them belong entirely to the domain of mythology.

(2). See LEYDEN'S *Malay Annals*, p. 48.

(3). Raja MANSUR is mentioned in the *Sajarah Malaya* as "he who reigns at present," an allusion which supplies some evidence of the date of that work. Raja MANSUR was the father of Sultan MANSUR SHAH of Aceh, who, when he died in A. H. 993, was old enough to have a grandson to succeed him.

When Raja MANSUR died the people called him *Marhum di Kota Lama*.

"After this the country was conquered by the men of Aceh, and the widow of *Marhum di Kota Lama* and her sixteen children were taken as captives to Aceh. After their arrival there, the eldest son of *Marhum di Kota Lama* was taken by ABD-EL-KHANA as her husband and became Raja of Aceh.⁽¹⁾ During his reign he sent his next younger brother to Perak, and installed him there as Raja, with his capital at Julang. That place having been inundated by floods seven times, the Raja moved his residence to Garonggong.

"And the Raja of Aceh went across to Perak to amuse himself and to visit his brother, on whom he had bestowed the kingdom. On his return from his visit to Perak, he had just reached Kuala Aceh when he died.⁽²⁾ He was called by the people *Sri Pada Maugkat di Kuala*.⁽³⁾

"After that the mother of *Sri Pada Maugkat di Kuala* returned to Perak with all her family; one of his sisters had in the meantime married at Aceh and had given birth to a daughter who accompanied her mother to Perak.

"And the brother of *Sri Pada Maugkat di Kuala*, who reigned in Perak, begot a son named Raja KECIL. After this King died he was spoken of by the people as *Marhum Muda*. His younger brother then became Raja. It was at that time that *Marhum Pahang* created his son Raja Muda (of Pahang) because he was about to

(1). It is interesting to compare this with the genealogy of the the Kings of Aceh. Paduka Sri Sultan MANSUR SHAH, described as the King of Perak, reigned in Aceh for 8 years 3 months and 3 days, and was killed on Monday, the 17th Muharram, A. H. 993 (A. D. 1585). See *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV., 599; CRAWFURD, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, II., 506.

(2). According to CRAWFURD, MANSUR SHAH, his queen and many of the principal nobility, were murdered by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. A grandson of MANSUR SHAH, known as Sultan BUJANG, who succeeded him, was murdered three years later by the same Chief, who then usurped the throne.

(3). "Sri PADA who died at the mouth of the river." *Çri-pāda*, "Holy feet," is by Buddhists employed as a title of Buddha. Malays, though Muhammadans, are not particular as to the origin of the Sanskrit titles they adopt.

ask in marriage for him a princess of the royal family of Perak. The object of this was to take advantage of the custom which requires reigning sovereigns to take their wives with them into their own countries. After *Marhum Muda* of Pahang had made his son Raja Muda, he sent to Perak to demand in marriage for him the niece of *Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala*, who had come from Aceh. The Pahang escort came as far as Kuala Tambalang at the head of the river Sak. And the Raja Muda of Pahang was installed as Raja by his father [who abdicated in his favour?] in order to complete the happiness of the royal couple. And he returned to Pahang and reigned there, and begot two daughters. And when he died the people [of Perak?] called him *Marhum Muda Pahang*. After his death his widow and his two children were sent back to Perak by his successor.

"And after a time the brother of *Marhum Muda* of Perak died, and the people called him *Marhum Muda Mangkat di Tebing* (*).

"Then the son of Raja KECIL, who was also the grandson of *Marhum Muda*, became Raja. He was known after his death as *Marhum Mangkat di Darat* (*).

"A sister of *Marhum Sri Pada Mangkat di Kuala* had borne two sons in Perak, one of whom was called Tunku TUAH, and the other Raja BONGSU, Tunku TUAH now became Raja. In his time the country was again conquered by *Marhum Makota 'Alam* (†) of Aceh. Tunku TUAH and Raja BONGSU and all the members of the royal family and all the Chiefs were carried captive to Aceh. And the two daughters of *Marhum Muda Pahang* were made captive also with their mother. But Raja MANSUR, son of Raja KECIL

(*) "The younger, who died on the river-bank."

(*) "He who died in the country."

(†) Although I do not find the title *Marhum Makota 'Alam*, "Crown of the World" in the Aceh Annals, there can be little doubt that the sovereign meant is Sultan ISKANDAR MUDA, the greatest of all the Kings of Aceh, who, during his long reign, conquered most of the neighbouring States. It was to him that JAMES I. sent a letter and presents (including two brass guns) by Captain BEST. Louis XIII. of France sent Commodore BEAULIEU with letters and presents to him in 1621. *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, IV., 603, note 8.

and brother of *Marhum Mangkat di Darat*, made his escape to Johor. And there were left in Perak only Maharaja Lela and Paduka Raja, the former of whom went to Johor to fetch Raja MANSUR. The latter, while in Johor, had married Raja AMPUN JAMBI. Paduka Raja, on the other hand, went to Acheh to fetch Raja BONGSU. The first to arrive in Perak was Maharaja Lela bringing Raja MANSUR, whom he proclaimed Raja of Perak with his Court at Semat. Raja AMPUN JAMBI was left behind in Johor, and while they were arranging to send for her, Paduka Raja arrived with an army from Acheh, and brought Raja BONGSU and established him as Raja in Perak under the title of Sultan MAHMUD SHAH. Raja MANSUR was taken away to Acheh. When Sultan MAHMUD SHAH died he was named *Marhum Mangkat di Baroh*.⁽¹⁾

"Then Raja KUBAT, the son of *Marhum Mangkat di Baroh*, became Raja, and took the title of Sultan SALA-EDDIN. And after a time he presented himself at Acheh and there died, and people speak of him since as *Marhum Mangkat di Acheh*.⁽²⁾

"Now among the captives at Acheh, there was a son of Raja MAHMUD, grandson of *Marhum Kasab* of Siak (his mother was a daughter of Bandahara Paduka Raja, and her name was TANDA MAPALA JOHARA). His name was Raja SULONG. He had married at Acheh, where Sultan MUKAL⁽³⁾ had given him as a wife a daughter of *Marhum Muda Pahang*, herself also a captive at Acheh. Raja SULONG and his wife were sent over by Sultan MUKAL to Perak, where he (Raja SULONG) was installed as Raja and took the royal title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH.

"This sovereign was father of the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak, afterwards known as Sultan MAHMUD SHAH. The mother of the latter was daughter of *Marhum Muda Pahang*, grand-niece of *Marhum Mangkat di Tebing*, grand-daughter of *Marhum Kota Lama*, and great-grand-daughter of *Marhum Tanah Abang*.

"Sultan MAHMUD SHAH had six brothers and sisters, four of the

(1). "He who died by the river-side."

(2). "He who died at Acheh."

(3). This is evidently Sultan MAGHUL, who succeeded his father-in-law Sultan ISKANDAR MUDA of Acheh, in A.H. 1015 (A.D. 1635).

full blood, namely two brothers and two sisters, and two of the half-blood on the father's side. His full brother, Raja MANSUR, was called Yang-di-per-tuan Muda, and had ten children—seven sons and three daughters. And when Sultan MAHMUD SHAH died, the people called him *Marhum Besar*.

"During his life-time, *Marhum Besar* had adopted three of his nephews—Raja RADIN, Raja INU and Raja BISNU.⁽¹⁾ Raja RADIN was created Raja Muda, and was afterwards called Sultan Muda. Raja INU was made Raja at Bernam under the title of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH and was honoured with the insignia of royalty and with a following of warriors and officers according to custom.

"After *Marhum Besar* had returned to the mercy of God, Sultan Muda was made Raja of Perak, and took the title of Sultan ALA-EDDIN GHRAYAT SHAH. His younger brother, Raja BISNU became Raja Muda, and carried on the government under his brother the Sultan.

"After Sultan ALA-EDDIN had been Sultan for some time, Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH came from Bernam and invaded Perak. And by the decree of God most high, who executes his will upon all his creatures by any means that he may choose, there was dissension among the Chiefs of Perak. And there was war between the Raja of Bernam and the Toh Bandahara and the Chiefs of Perak and all was fighting and confusion, one with another. And the Yang-di-per-tuan of Bernam was defeated, and after a battle he had to move down the river. After this the Laksamana reinforced the Raja of Bernam and his *peuglimas*, and brought them up the river to Bandar. Again there was a battle with the Toh Bandahara of Perak and the Chiefs, and the latter were worsted and had to retreat up the river.

"The Laksamana halted below Bandar, and sent forward an agent to present himself before the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak with a respectful message to His Highness and the Raja Muda to the effect that he (the Laksamana) had no intention of being disloyal to the three royal brothers, but that his only desire was to meet with the Datoh Bandahara and his warriors, for it seemed as if they wished to make themselves equal to their Highnesses. 'And so,' said the

(¹). Vishnu.

messenger, 'I have come up the river and have presented myself before the Yang-di-per-tuan, and the Raja Muda and have respectfully made known to them all that the Laksamana has bid me communicate.'

"Then the Sultan and the Raja Muda reflected and took counsel about the matter saying: 'If we allow this to take place (i.e., a war between the Bandahara and Laksamana) the quarrel will spread all over the country.' And when the Sultan had decided what to do, he went hastily to look for his younger brother at the elephant yard. And when he arrived there, the three royal brothers embraced and kissed each other. After this the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak started up the river for Sayong, where he abode for a long time, and where the royal drums (*naubat*)⁽¹⁾ of Sultan ALA-EDDIN were heard for many a day.

"After a time the Bandahara, MAGAT ISKANDAU, disappeared, and was succeeded by MAGAT TERAWIH, who became Bandahara. And all parties agreed to return to the old order of things; the Yang-di-per-tuan of Perak returned to Kota Garongong, and the Yang-di-per-tuan of Bernam returned to Bernam. So the three brothers were all firmly established in their respective jurisdictions. Some time afterwards Sultan ALA-EDDIN made a journey to Bernam to amuse himself and to visit his younger brother, Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH. On his arrival at Bernam, he joined his brother, and they enjoyed themselves after the manner of Malay Rajas, and after a time he returned with safety to Perak. And it pleased God, who is ever to be praised and most high, to bestow the blessing of peace upon the rule of the Raja Muda, the King's brother, who administered the government under his elder brother in concert with the Ministers and Officers of State, the warriors and chamberlains, who

(1) *Naubat* (Hindustani, from Arabic), "Instruments of music sounding at the gate of a great man at certain intervals." Shakespeare's Hindustani Dictionary. Among the Malays, the use of the *naubat* is confined to the reigning Rajas of a few States, and the privilege is one of the most valued insignia of royalty. In Perak, the office of musician used to be an hereditary one, the performers were called *orang kalau*, and a special tax was levied for their support. The instruments are of several kinds; the great drum is called *gendang naubat*.

were organised in accordance with the customs of Malay Kings.

"Sultan ALA-EDDIN had two children—one son and one daughter. The name of his son was Raja KECHIK BONGSU, and the princess was called Raja KECHIK AMPUN. The Raja Muda had eight children—five sons and three daughters—by several mothers. The only two who had the same father and mother were two sons, the elder of whom was called Raja ISKANDAR and the younger Raja KEI AMAS. By other mothers there were three more—Raja ALA-EDDIN, Raja INU and Raja KECHIK. And the Yang-di-per-tuan and his brother, the Raja Muda, agreed upon a marriage between Raja KEI AMAS and Raja KECHIK AMPUN.

"After Sultan ALA-EDDIN had been on the throne of Perak for about seven years, there came a revolution of the world, when he died. Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH then removed from Bernam to Perak and from being Yang-di-per-tuan in Bernam became Raja of Perak. His brother, the Raja Muda, continued to act in that capacity and to govern the country on behalf of his elder brother. After the death of Sultan ALA-EDDIN he was called *Marhum Sulong*. The Bandahara, too, died and was succeeded by Sri Dewa Raja, who became Bandahara. Order was established, and the country was at rest, and the port was populous and frequented by traders.

"There is a tributary stream below the fort called Bidor and this, too, was a populous place. The Laksamana was ordered by the two Rajas (the Sultan and the Raja Muda) to take charge of this place. And after a time he died, and their Highnesses created his son Laksamana in his stead. About this time, by the will of God, the country was thrown into confusion, and tumult was caused among the people by the invasion of a Bugis named KLANA. This, however, by the help of God and the blessing and intercession of the Prophet, came to nothing, and the enemy departed. But some time afterwards there came a fresh invasion of Bugis men under DAING CHELAK. All the Chiefs of Perak were at enmity one with another, so there was fresh confusion and commotion in the country until it was impossible to tell friends from foes, and even the regalia were nearly being endangered.

"As for the Yang-di-per-tuan, his condition was indescribable, not so much on account of the fighting as on account of the want

of any unanimity among his counsellors, everyone working against everyone else.

"At last some of the Chiefs joined the Bugis, and destruction was near at hand, for the Bugis took possession of the regalia in consequence of the quarrels between the Chiefs of the country. Then the Toh Bandahara and the Chiefs made the Raja Muda Sultan. And the King knew not what to think, such was the confusion owing to the conduct of the Chiefs which had nearly led to the loss of the regalia.

"The investment of the Raja Muda with the *nobat* was duly celebrated by the Chiefs and the warriors and officers of Perak; and, by the decree of God, the reign of Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH ceased, and his brother, the Raja Muda, became Raja and was duly installed by the Chiefs under the title of Sultan MUHAMMAD SHAH. Raja ISKANDAR, the younger brother of the Raja, became his Raja Bandahara, and Chiefs, warriors and officers were appointed.

"For about seven years Sultan MUHAMMAD SHAH was established in his sovereignty, and then he returned to the mercy of God, and was called *Marhum Aminullah*:⁽¹⁾ The insignia of royalty were then returned to Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH, whose son was confirmed as Raja Muda. And the country was at peace, and Tanjong Putus was populous, and the Dutch too were permitted to live and build a fort at Tanjong Putus and to buy tin and to trade.

"And there came a time when the Raja thought of a certain project which he discussed with his Chiefs and the members of the royal family, and when it was agreed upon he sanctioned it. He had a daughter named Raja BUDAK RASUL and it was his desire to give her in marriage to the Raja Muda. Every one was pleased with the arrangement, for every one in the State, from the Yang-di-per-tuan downwards, was agreed in the opinion that the Raja Muda was the pillar on whom the royal succession depended. So the King made every preparation for the marriage, and after wait-

(1). It was probably the tomb of *Marhum Aminullah* that Colonel Low saw near Pulo Tiga in 1826, and described as the tomb of AMINA, a female. Journal of the Indian Archipelago. IV.. 501.

ing for an auspicious day, the princess was married to the Raja Muda.

"After Sultan MOZAFAR SHAH had reigned a short time longer, he returned to the mercy of God most high, and was called *Marhum Haji* (*). And the Raja Muda succeeded him on the throne; he fixed his capital at Pulo Indra Sakti, and his younger brother became Raja Muda. After a time the King went down to the sea to amuse himself, and at the same time to erect a fort at Tanjong Putus. He was attended in his journey by his brothers and sons and warriors and thousands of ryots were in his train. He went for amusement as far as Kuala Susunan, and by the help of God, whose perfection he extolled, no evil or misfortune befell him, and he returned in safety to his palace. After this the Dutch received permission to guard Kuala Perak, and to stamp all the tin with letters. The length of the King's reign on the throne of Perak was fourteen years, and he then returned to the mercy of God. And when he died he was entitled *Marhum Kahar*.

"His younger brother, the Raja Muda, because Raja in his stead, and established himself at Pulo Besar Indra Mulia (*). And the country was settled and peaceful.

"About this time the army of Pangiran Raja Bugis entered Perak, and that Chief had an interview with the King, but by the help of God most high, and the dignity of the King, no evil or misfortune ensued to His Highness or to the people of Perak.

"When the King had reigned for eight years, he returned to the mercy of God most high, and was entitled *Marhum Muda di Pulo Besar Indra Mulia*.

"It was this sovereign who begot Raja IBRAHIM, who was after-

(*) Miraculous stories are current in Perak of the piety of *Marhum Haji*. He used to go to Mecca and back every Friday, and on one occasion, to convince the sceptical, he produced three green dates which he had brought back with him from the sacred city! His tomb is opposite Bota.

(*) Pulo Besar is near Bandar Baharu, the place selected for the first British Residency. *Indra Mulia* is a title given to the place which the reigning Sultan honours by selecting for his residence for the time being.

wards called Raja Kechik Muda. And Raja Kechik Muda begot Raja MAHMUD, and took the higher title of *Raja Bandakara Wakil el Sultan Wazir el Kabir*, and ruled over the country of Perak. He lived at Sayong by the long sandy shore. After he had ruled Perak for a long time, he returned to the mercy of God most high, and was called when he died *Marhum Sayong di Pasir Panjang*."



SHAMANISM IN PERAK.



OME acquaintance with the black art is essential to every Malay medical practitioner. Simple remedies for wounds and bruises are generally well understood, and some of the more common diseases—such as fever, small-pox, &c.—are often successfully, if not skilfully, treated with native remedies. Bone-setting, too, is a branch of the healing science in which Malays sometimes shew much expertness. But, if the cause of a disease is not apparent, or if such alarming symptoms as insensibility or delirium set in, it is usually presumed that evil spirits are at the bottom of the mischief, and sorcery, not medicine, has to be resorted to. Arabic works on medicine have been translated into Malay, and there may be read learned disquisitions on the parts and functions of the human body, which, in point of scientific accuracy, are of the age of GALEN and ARISTOTLE. Demoniack possession, though it has always been a popular theory among the Arabs (in common with other Semitic nations) for explaining various forms of disease, is not an idea which the Malays have imported from the West. Their beliefs regarding the distribution, powers and manner of propitiation of the evil spirits, to whom they often ascribe human disease and suffering, are relics of the days when spirit-worship was the religion of their primitive ancestors. The early rites of the aboriginal inhabitants of Sumatra and the Peninsula must have been modified at some period by Hindu settlers from India, for traces of Brahminical worship are traceable in the rude chants and invocations sung by Malay *pawang*s, to this day, by Muhammadan sick-beds. Where Muhammadanism is strongest, namely in the sea-ports and European settlements (whence a constant communication with Mecca is kept up), Malay ideas on the influence of devils on disease partake more of the Semitic type. The evil spirits are *sheitan* or *jin*, and pious Arabic sentences are used as charms and invocations. But in remoter districts, downright heathenism may be met with. The

demons to the terrified villagers of many an inland *kampong* have a distinct personality. They must be met by the employment of other demons to counteract their influence, or they must be propitiated by bloody sacrifices.

In the State of Perak, it is usual to ascribe nearly every disease to supernatural agency. Medicine is often dispensed with altogether, and all hope of recovery is made to rest on the result of the incantations of professional *pawang*s. According to the belief of the people (professed Mohamedans for generations and generations!) the mountains and rivers of their country, the ground on which they tread, the air which they breathe, and the forests in which they seek for rattans, gutta, gums and other produce, abound with spirits of various kinds and of varying powers and dispositions. The malicious *bajang* is the most dreaded, for he is a goblin of inveterate hostility to mankind. Scarcely less formidable is the *langsuyar*, a kind of "white lady" or "Banshee," who may be heard sometimes amid the darkness of a tropical night moaning among the branches of the trees or soothing the child which she carries in her unsubstantial arms. The hunter spirit (*hantu pemburu*), who with his wife and child sometimes rushes past the peasant's huts at night in a whirlwind, pursuing with his four ghostly dogs an unseen quarry, is a potent source of evil, and there are many others too numerous to mention.

When the malice of some one of these many demons has caused sickness in a Malay family in Perak, help is summoned in the shape of a *pawang*, or medicine-man, who has a catalogue of spells at his command and is known for his familiarity with evil-spirits. The diagnosis may be effected in two ways. Either the *pawang* becomes entranced and sees (*tilik*) in his disembodied form secrets concealed from ordinary mortals and is able on recovering sensibility to declare the nature and cause of the disease, or else he calls down (*wurunukan*) some familiar demon (whom he has probably inherited from his *guru* or preceptor), and, becoming possessed by him, speaks, at his prompting, words of wisdom or folly as the case may be.

Some years ago I was a witness at a *kampong*, or village, in Perak

of the ceremonies performed in a Malay household for the recovery of a member of it who was lying dangerously ill.

The patient was a young married woman, little more than a child in years, whose first baby was only a few days old. The symptoms, which declared to the Malays so plainly the agency of evil-spirits, were probably paroxysms of puerperal fever and these had left the patient so weak that when I saw her she was lying in an insensible state.

The scene was the centre portion of a large Malay house feebly lighted with two or three oil lamps on the floor. The sick girl lay on a bed in a recess formed by curtaining off a space on three sides the fourth being open. Opposite to the patient, facing her left side as she lay on her back, sat the *paawang*, CHE JOHAN by name, a big muscular Malay, grasping a large bunch of leaves in each hand. Between him and the bed were the lamps above mentioned. On the other two sides of a square, of which the lamps were the centre, were ranged the people of the house, neighbours, visitors and strangers according to their respective ranks. I occupied the place of honour, being nearest to the head of the curtained recess and having it on my right hand. All the men present, myself included, sat cross-legged on the floor. Round the couch were eight or ten women watching every movement of the sufferer and prepared to restrain her if she became violent in her delirium. The whole building was crowded with people, figures being discernible wherever the flickering light of the lamps happened to shed a transient gleam. Polite salutations were exchanged and a few expressions of condolence and sympathy addressed to the relations. The latter described the manner of the diabolical seizure and the behaviour of the sufferer when possessed. It was agreed on all hands that the poor girl lying insensible before us was the victim of demoniacal possession, and that her only chance of recovery lay in the exorcism of the devil who was in her.

Presently the sound of a small drum called attention to the proceedings of the *paawang*.

The drum was beaten by a wild-looking man, who at the same time commenced a shrill chant addressed to the *lanfu blian*, or

tiger-spirits, to which class of demons CHE JOHAN's familiar belongs. The air was not unpleasing, the words were difficult to catch, but the lines flowed in an easy rhythm and the metre was very regular. A performer of this kind is essential to every *pawang*, and, as in the present instance, is very often his own wife. She is commonly called *bidu*, or (in cases of royal *séances*) *biduan*.^{*} In the invocation of the tiger-spirits, however, a peculiar nomenclature is adopted for everything, the *bidu* becomes *pengindin*, and the drum which she beats (which has only one end of the cylinder covered) is called *katubong*.

The *pawang*, naked from the waist upwards, had bound about him a couple of cords which crossed the back and breast, being brought over one shoulder and under the other arm respectively. He also wore strings round his wrists.

These cords are supposed to protect the *pawang*, or medium, from the malevolence of the evil spirits by whom he may be possessed. The same idea is found in Ceylon. According to the *Mahawangso*, Vishnu in order to protect Wijayo and his followers from the sorceries of the Yakshas, met them on their landing in Ceylon and *tied threads on their arms*.[†] Among the people of Laos, too, the same virtue is ascribed to ligatures of thread over which a charm has been pronounced. "Le grand remède universel, c'est de l'eau lustrale qu'on fait boire au malade, après lui avoir attaché des fils de coton bénits aux bras et aux jambes pour empêcher l'influence des gonies malfaisants."[‡]

As the *pengindin* screamed out her chant, the *pawang* seemed to become subject to some unseen influence and to lose control over himself. Sitting rigid at first, holding in each hand a huge bunch of leaves (*dauu changlun*), he presently began to nod like a man overpowered with sleep, then he sniffed at the leaves, waved them over his head, and struck one bunch against the other. Finally, he fell forward burying his face in the leaves and sniffing in imita-

^{*} Sansk. *vidhārā*, a widow; Lat. *vidua*.

[†] Tennent's "Ceylon," I, 340, n.

[‡] Pallegoix—"Description de Siam," I, 43.

tion of a wild animal. He was now on all fours, and became as violent as the necessity of keeping to the circumscribed limits of his mat would permit. He growled and roared and worried invisible objects on the mat. Presently he sat up again, striking his chest and shoulders with the bunches of leaves, and soon afterwards the music stopped. We had now before us, not SUE JOHAN, but simply his body possessed for the time being by the tiger-demon—*bujang gëlap* or *the dark dragon*. Henceforth, as long as the *séance* lasted, he spoke in a feigned voice, pronouncing Malay words with the peculiar intonation of the Sakai aborigines and introducing frequently Sakai words and phrases unintelligible to most of the Malays present. Every one who spoke to him addressed him as "Bujang Gëlap." The master of the house was the first to do so. Pointing to the insensible form of the poor girl on the couch beside him, he explained that she was grievously attacked by some power of evil, and asked "Bujang Gëlap" to put forth his supernatural power to expel the demon that was afflicting her. The latter asked a few questions, said the case was a difficult one, and then commenced some fresh incantations.

Returning to his mat, which he had temporarily quitted to look at the patient and to converse with the family, he took up a handful of *bertih* (rice parched in the husk) and scattered it broadcast around him. Then, after much growling and muttering, he rose to his feet and performed a singular dance to the accompaniment of the shrill chant and monotonous tom-tom of the *pengindin*. Presently he danced forward past the lamps close to the bedside of the insensible girl, and then himself chanted a long incantation commencing "Hei———i———i———i———i jin" (O! spirit) the first word being enormously lengthened out. Then he sprinkled the couch and the patient with *bertih* (parched rice) and sprinkled her with *tepong tawar*, a fluid held in a brass bowl and showered about liberally by means of an *aspergium* composed of a bunch of fresh leaves. Then once more he returned to his mat, and the wild chorus of the *pengindin*, which had been momentarily stilled during the ceremonies by the bedside, burst out once more. After this the *pawang* was again seized with the violent symptoms which had attended his first possession by "Bujang Gëlap." He

roared and growled and sniffed about uneasily until it was evident from his movements that he wanted to get under the mat. An accommodating person sitting close by lifted up the mat for him and he crawled under it on all fours and lay down entirely concealed from view. The chorus and the drum went on, and I hardly knew which to admire most—the physical endurance of the woman who sang so persistently at the top of her voice without any symptom of fatigue, or her marvellous memory. The invocations were very long, but she never seemed to hesitate for a word. There must, however, have been a good deal of repetition, I imagine.

After a retirement which had lasted for about a quarter of an hour, during which he had kept perfectly still and motionless, the *psawang* shewed symptoms of returning vitality. The mat was removed, and he resumed his seat upon it, yawned, uttered a few ejaculations in his feigned voice, and then sat up to be questioned. A desultory conversation then ensued, the *pengindia* acting as interpreter when the Sakai dialect used by "Bujang Gëlap" was unintelligible to the audience. The result was declared to be that the tiger-spirit had identified the demon which was causing the suffering of the sick person present. A thrill of horror went round the assemblage when this was announced to be a dumb *langsuyar* (banshee). The correctness of this finding was then discussed and it seemed to command popular favour, for it was universally remarked that the patient had been insensible for two whole days, during the latter part of which time she had been quite silent. This was now, of course, accounted for by the dumbness of the evil spirit which possessed her.

The women round the sick-bed now said that the patient was trying to move, and all turned to look at this manifestation of demoniacal power. It was only a momentary access of delirium marked by convulsive movements of one arm, rolling of the eyes and movement of the lips and jaws. No sound escaped from the sufferer, another proof of the correctness of the *psawang's* diagnosis, and presently she was still again, after many fervent ejaculations of *Astaghfir Allah* (I beg forgiveness of God) from those present.

"Bujang Gëlap" continued his efforts for the cure of the patient

for a long time. Again and again he strewed the place with *bertih* and sprinkled the patient with *tepong tasar*. Once he charmed eight grains of *bertih* which were put into her mouth. He chanted long invocations, danced wild dances, and beat himself with his bunches of leaves. But all in vain, the dumb *longsuyar* still held possession of the sufferer. In the intervals of the ceremonies, the *pawang* conversed occasionally with members of the family, always retaining his assumed voice and using Sakai phrases. He even condescended to accept a Malay cigarette (*roko*), which he called by the Sakai word *nyut*.

At length he pleaded fatigue, and gave place to an old man who dealt with a different class of demons altogether. The spirits which he professed to be able to influence are the *hantu sungkei*, or the demons of the Sungkei river, a particular district in Perak.

His method of procedure differed a good deal from that of the *pawang* of the *hantu blian*. Instead of the old woman with a little drum, he had a male *bidu* with a large round tambourine. A single bunch of *pinang* leaves replaced in his hands the two large bunches of *dauu changlun* which "Bujang Gélap" had carried. After the preliminary sprinkling of *bertih* by the new *pawang*, the *bidu* commenced to chant an invocation to the Sungkei spirits, addressing them in turn by name. The symptoms of possession on the part of the *pawang* were convulsive shaking and shivering, especially in the hand and arm which bore the bunch of *pinang* leaves. Both tune and metre were quite different from those employed in addressing the *hantu blian*. The old Sungkei *pawang* proved a failure, for after endless chanting and after he had been possessed successively by "Panglima Raja," "Anak Janggi," "Hulubalang Raja" and "Mambang Dundang," all powerful Sungkei spirits, he was unable to declare anything, and left us as wise as we were before.

What a common incident in Eastern tales is the dire illness of some lovely princess, for effecting whose recovery an agonised father offers half of his kingdom and the hand of the lady in marriage! There is always some favoured hero who applies some magical remedy and restores the princess to health after the medical profession has been

completely baffled. But think of what the patient has had to undergo at the hands of the unsuccessful competitors, before the right man takes the case in hand! Think of all the doses administered by rival doctors, or prepared by sympathetic friends, each one assured that he is going to cure the disease and win the King's favour! I have been reminded of these things sometimes when I have seen or heard something of the treatment adopted in Malay families in cases of dangerous illness. In the household of a Perak Raja, *carte blancs* would be given to any one representing himself to have a remedy, on the occasion of a desperate sickness such as that which called for the scenes which I have imperfectly described. Any medicine offered would be gratefully received and administered, and very likely, before it could possibly take effect, some one else's prescription would be poured down the patient's throat on the top of it. It is thought to be a mark of sympathy and solicitude to suggest and prepare remedies, and they are usually accepted and tried in turn. to the imminent danger, I should imagine, of the unfortunate person experimented on. When a child is born in a royal house in Perak, all the old ladies in the country concoct and send to the scene of the interesting event doses called *salusuk*, which the mother has to swallow with great impartiality. It will be seen from this what an important part unprofessional zeal may play in sick chambers among the Malays. On the occasion I speak of, numbers of friends and relations brought their own specifics, but the state of the patient prevented their use.* I must, however, describe the dedication of a *balei berpusing*, or "revolving hall," which was arranged and carried out at the instance of one of the relations.

* It is right that I should explain that every effort had been made to persuade the family to adopt civilised remedies, and to give up the proposed resort to the *pawang*s. There was no English Doctor in Perak then, but the officers at the Residency had a medicine-chest and one or two simple medical works. The head of the family, however, declared that, if the *pawang*s were not employed and the girl died, her other relations would charge him with not having done all in his power to save her. English medicines would be thankfully received, but they would be administered in their turn with native remedies. The sex of the patient rendered interference in nursing and feeding her impossible. A large proportion of persons who die up-country in Perak are ushered out of the world by the drum and chant of the *pawang* and *bidu*.

It was after the Sungkei demons had been invoked in vain that propitiatory offerings in a *balei berpusing* were resorted to.

The two *paswangs* already present were asked to give their aid, their mats were spread afresh, their lamps re-trimmed, and their bowls of parched rice replenished by officious attendants. Presently, a couple of men brought in a neat model of a Perak mosque. The house of prayer in an inland Malay village is a very simple affair. It is usually a square building with a door or window on each of the four sides. The main roof of the edifice, instead of terminating in a point, is surmounted by a little square crow's nest with a peaked roof. This was exactly reproduced in white wood very neatly and artistically finished. At the bottom of the miniature building was a single bamboo support, the end of which being hollow fitted like a socket upon an upright rod fixed on the floor. The one leg of the model being thus fitted on to a stationary upright, the little house could be turned round and round at will, presenting each door in turn to each point of the compass. As soon as it was fixed, a kind of frill or border, made of young coconut leaves with a deep fringe of the same material, was tied round the base of the model so that the ends hung down, entirely concealing the bamboo leg and the simple mechanism by which it worked upon its pivot. This fringe is called *jari lipan* or "centipede's legs" from some fancied resemblance to the liberal numbers of members with which Nature has gifted that insect. When this had been tied round the miniature mosque and the ends of the fringe had been docked with a pair of scissors by a female slave, so as to admit of the model revolving freely, it was time to fill the interior with the propitiatory sacrifices. This was the task of the nearest relations and of the representatives of the old lady, in accordance with whose vow the *balei berpusing* was being dedicated.

The offerings to demons when made in this manner are of four kinds—*lemak*, *manis*, *masam*, *pedas* (the fat, the sweet, the sour, the pungent). The "fat" consisted of a fowl sacrificed then and there before us. The blood was caught in a leaf and placed in the centre of the miniature building, or *balei*, as I shall now call it. The feathers were plucked out, the entails removed, and the

body divided into joints. Every part of the bird was then placed reverently inside the *balei*, including the feathers and entrails. The wings were tied to the streamers of the fringe outside, as were innumerable sweet offerings—*wajil*, *dodul*, *tebu*, *pisang* (confectionery, pastry, sugar-cane and plantains). I did not ascertain what the sour and the pungent consisted of, but they were no doubt contained in small saucers and other receptacles which I saw being poked through the little doors of the toy house.

When all was ready, the drumming, the invocations and the performances of the *pawang*s began again. Each in turn, after having repeated much of what I have already described, advanced to the couch of the patient and waved the evil spirits away from it into the little *balei*, which was placed close by. The demons were coaxed, entreated and threatened by turns. Each *pawang*, armed with a bunch of leaves dipped into a bowl of *tepong tawar*, guided an indefinite number of the evil ones into the place where the feast had been spread for them. The incantations and waving went on for a long time, and it wanted only an hour or two of dawn when it was concluded that the last of the demons had entered the receptacle. The *balei* was then lifted up and carried off down to the river (on the bank of which the house stood) escorted by the *pawang*s, who with more charms and incantations drove the spirits in front of them to the water side. Then the *balei berpusing*, with its array of delicacies and its freight of wickedness, was set afloat on the river and soon disappeared down the stream in the darkness. The last ceremony was the repetition of a formula as the party returned to the house from the river. One of the men belonging to the family called out to the women in the house "*Semboh betah?*" "Is there any improvement?" And a shrill female voice shouted back the prescribed reply "*Ber-lari ber-jalan*" "Running and walking," in allusion either to the state of the patient, implying that she was up and about again, or else to the hasty retreat of the evil-spirits, I am not quite sure which.

No improvement, however, took place, and though the efforts of the *pawang*s were redoubled on the following night, and the

services of other and more famous medicine-men were retained, the poor little patient never recovered consciousness and died within four and twenty hours after the *balai berpusing*, which ought to have contained all the powers of evil lately afflicting her, had been cast adrift on the Perak river.

W. E. MAXWELL.

W.E. Maxwell
a biographical note

Born 1846: son of Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, (one time Recorder and Judge in the Straits Settelements). Served in Malaya from 1869 to 1895, latterly as British Resident, Selangor (1889), Colonial Secretary, 1890. Founder of 'Maxwell's Hill, Taiping (1876) when Assistant Resident Larut. Keen supporter and contributor to the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (over 30. articles or notes). Vice President of the Society in 1894-95. Died at sea, while Governor of the Gold Coast, West Africa, December, 1897. Father of Sir George Maxwell, later Chief Secretary F.M.S.