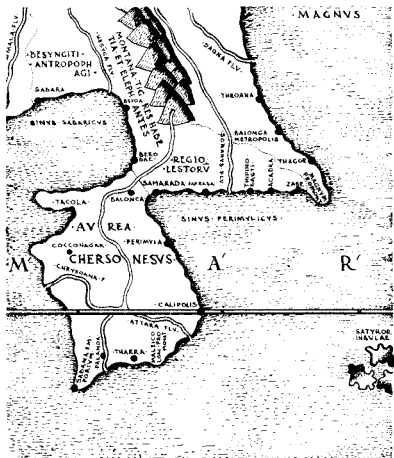


# **HISTORIC MALAYA**

AN OUTLINE HISTORY



*The First Map of the Malay Peninsula  
drawn from information contained in Ptolemy's "Geographike Syntaxis"  
written in Alexandria about A.D. 150.*

# Historic Malaya

AN OUTLINE HISTORY

*by*

M. C. ff SHEPPARD, P.P.T., C.M.G., M.B.E., F.D.

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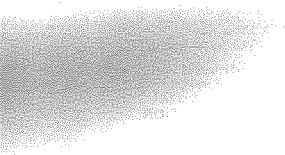
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## **FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION**

HISTORIC MALAYA provides an outline of the history of Malaya, and contains a great deal of information which hitherto has been difficult to obtain from a single volume. It was first published by the Malayan Historical Society at the request of the Federation Government, and has been prescribed as one of the textbooks for the Government examinations in Malay. It formed a supplement to the Malayan Historical Journal.

In this Second Edition the author has made many additions and amendments to his original book, and several illustrations have also been included.





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# I

## PREHISTORIC MALAYA

Archaeological research in Malaya, although far from complete, has furnished proof of human occupation of the Peninsula at least five thousand years ago.

A great deal more remains to be discovered about the prehistoric and proto-historic periods of Malaya, but enough has been uncovered to show that this peninsula was one of the routes by which the prehistoric populations of Indonesia, Melanesia and Australia travelled on their way south to their ultimate homes, and that successive waves of people left some of their numbers in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, possessing an increasingly high level of culture and civilisation.

The earliest known inhabitants had physical characteristics which suggest affinity to present day Melanesians and Papuans: they lived in caves and rock shelters, cooked their food at fires in the caves and sometimes buried their dead in the cave floors. They made rough stone tools and were probably in undisturbed possession until a little before 2,000 B.C. when people with Neolithic culture arrived from the north, possibly from south-western China. These Neolithic immigrants, unlike their Palaeolithic precursors, were agriculturalists and had domesticated animals. The close resemblance between Neolithic stone bracelets found during the 1955 excavations in a cave (Gua Cha) in Kelantan, and Chinese stone rings called "Pi" support this theory which was first advanced by Dr. Heine Geldern.

These immigrants brought with them an advanced material

culture including skill in the making of pottery of high aesthetic as well as utilitarian merit, and great skill in selecting and working stone to make tools and ornaments. The marked contrast between these immigrants and their cave dwelling predecessors is an expression of the contrast between the cultivator and the hunter. The newcomers were also carpenters: this may be deduced from the great quantity of stone adzes and chisels found, and some of the latter only two inches long were probably used for carving. Very few of the stone implements of this period appear to have been used as weapons.

Evidence of a still more highly developed culture dating from about 250 B.C. has been found in two widely separated places in Malaya, at Klang and on the Tembeling river in Pahang. It is known as the Dong-son culture after the name of the place in Indo-China (Vietnam) from which it is believed to have originated. Two large bronze drums and three large bronze bells are the main articles of this period which have so far been discovered in Malaya. They were almost certainly brought here either from Sumatra or Indo-China. It seems probable that there was a settlement of people living near Klang who followed the cultural pattern of Dong-son about 200 B.C., but the drum fragment found on the Tembeling is more likely to have been taken there by people still following the Neolithic way of life, who continued to occupy the interior of Malaya after people with the Dong-son culture had settled along the coasts.

With the coming of the Iron Age in Malaya, we leave pre-history and enter what may be termed a period of proto-history. Archaeological discoveries belonging to this period can be divided into two categories, those probably representing the indigenous populations and those brought in by settlers. The earliest and most mysterious of these is the collection of about 600 beads found by Dr. G. B. Gardner near Kota Tinggi, in Johore, about 20 per cent. of which have been identified as of Roman origin and of the first two or three centuries A.D.

This probably indicates a foreign settlement on the Johore River at a very early date. The most substantial settlements of foreigners on the west coast during this early period of proto-history were near Kedah Peak, where traders and settlers from South India lived from the fourth to the twelfth century A.D. making use of the good anchorage at the mouth of the Merbok River.

At Kuala Selinsing, in North Perak, considerable quantities of wheel-made pottery, gold ornaments, cornelian and glass beads and shell ornaments have been found, side by side with skeletal remains of proto-Malay and Negrito types, which have led the experts to conclude that this was an important indigenous settlement probably flourishing about A.D. 800.

*The Drum head of a Dong-son type from a drum dated about 200 A.D., which was discovered at Bukit Kuala near Klang in A.D. 1944. This drum head which is approximately 23 inches in diameter is now in the Museum Negara, Kuala Lumpur. A similar Bronze Drum head was found in the Tembeling cave in 1926.*



The only other material evidence of indigenous settlements during the proto-historic period, obtained by archaeologists, takes the form of slab graves and iron implements which have been found in Perak, Selangor and Pahang: these are thought to date from the tenth century A.D.

## II

### EARLY PENINSULA CIVILISATION

From very early in the Christian era there were trading ships plying between India and China, some of which touched at river mouths in the Malay Peninsula. The reports which these traders carried back to their native lands, and the envoys who were sent to China as a result of these visits, have provided some of the most valuable information about this early period.

Although in the centre and south of the Malay Peninsula there are few traces of continuous occupation except by primitive tribes until the fifteenth century, there is ample evidence of the existence of Malay Kingdoms in the north, notably in South Kedah from a very early date. The ancient Malay capital of Kedah on the Merbok river was known to Indians as Kataha or Kadaram and to Arabs as Kalah. It was an exceedingly prosperous trading centre as early as the fourth century A.D. at which goods from India and China and the local produce — high grade camphor wood and tin in particular — were exchanged. The inhabitants were predominantly Buddhist. There was probably a close overland trade link between old Kedah and Ligor (Patani). This prosperity continued until A.D. 1024 when King Rajendra I, the Chola king from the Coromandel coast, attacked and destroyed the capital as part of his campaign to control the land and sea trade routes to China.

The Chinese name for Kedah was Kie-tcha. This was first mentioned by the famous Buddhist pilgrim and scholar I Ching,



who visited Kedah in the seventh century A.D. and also visited Palembang, the capital of the Sri Vijaya Kingdom, and Mo-lo-yu (Jambi). Early Chinese records also state that Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang were Malay States of some importance. There is evidence that these northern Malay States reached a high standard of culture and wealth, and that the craftsmen and artists of the ancient Mon Khmer civilisations prior to the Thai invasion found a ready welcome.

In the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago and the island of Bangka, there were primitive pagan tribes, distinct from the aborigines, who spoke an early form of the Malay language. These may best be described as proto-Malays and they were to be found in the Peninsula before the dawn of recorded history. They lived mainly on the coast and on big rivers.

The Buddhist Kingdom of Sri Vijaya, which I Ching visited, is probably referred to in the Malay Annals, and the earliest stone inscriptions in the Malay language which are known to exist were set up by the rulers of Sri Vijaya in about A.D. 683 in different parts of Sumatra.

Sri Vijaya commanded the southern end of the Malacca Straits and by A.D. 775 it had expanded into an empire and had extended its influence as far north as Ligor (Patani). Kedah seems to have recognised Sri Vijaya as her overlord between the ninth and eleventh centuries though not by conquest or compulsion.

But in Java a powerful enemy was growing in strength. As early as A.D. 992 Palembang was at war with a Javanese kingdom known as Majapahit, and when Rajendra I, the Chola king, attacked Sri Vijaya and her dependencies in 1025, he temporarily overwhelmed them and left them a prey to other powers.

Before the decay of Sri Vijaya took place another Malay kingdom grew up, probably based on Jambi in East Sumatra, which was known in later centuries as the Kingdom of Minang-

kabau, but was at first referred to as "Melayu". Although this kingdom never exercised control over any part of the Malay Peninsula and was part of the Sri Vijaya Empire it was probably the first Malay kingdom to adopt Islam as its religion, and in 1281 envoys from Melayu to China had Muslim names — Sulaiman and Shamsuddin.

Colonists from Palembang founded a separate island kingdom of Temasek (which was also given the Sanscrit name of Singapura) at some date between A.D. 1200 and 1300, but this, together with Palembang, Melayu, parts of Borneo and the whole of the occupied portions of the Malay Peninsula, were overrun and destroyed by Majapahit between A.D. 1360 and 1365. The final defeat of Palembang by the Javanese ended its long history as a Malay centre of influence: the destruction and carnage of the Majapahit conquest of Temasek was so terrible that the memory still haunted the island four centuries later.

The Nagarakrtagama, written in 1365, contains a list of territories and places on the Malay Peninsula which were then claimed as dependencies of Majapahit, which included Pahang, Lankasuka, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, Paka, Dungun (in South Trengganu), Klang, Sungai Ujong and Temasek.

Ayam Wuruk, the Majapahit king, made no attempt to occupy the Malay Peninsula after his conquest, but traces of Majapahit influence are still to be found in Kelantan and Patani. Chinese records refer to Hindu sacrifices in Pahang and Trengganu, which are also attributable to Majapahit, but side by side there were to be found in Trengganu the first records of Islam in the Peninsula, inscribed in the Malay language, on a granite stone whose date is either A.D. 1326 or 1386. This stone is now in the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur. Through the centuries, and irrespective of the ruling power, traders from India and China had crowded the port of Palembang and the town of Jambi and latterly the island capital of Temasek, and the Thais, who had conquered and driven out the Khmers from the territory north of the Malay Peninsula in the late thirteenth century, extended their influence over North Malaya, Pahang

and what remained of Temasek, as soon as the Majapahit conquerors had withdrawn, eager to control a trade route between India and China, which had hitherto been denied to them.

### III

#### THE MALACCA SULTANATE

The destruction of Temasek (Singapore) by Majapahit led to the rise of Malacca. "Parameswara", a Palembang prince married to a Majapahit princess, attempted to usurp the throne of Temasek by murdering the Raja (a vassal of the Siamese), perhaps with the idea of removing this once prosperous emporium from Siamese control. But he was soon driven out by the ruler of Pahang, also a vassal of Siam, and Parameswara withdrew up the west coast, stopping first in Johore and then choosing a small, but probably long established sea port, called Melaka, as his capital in about A.D. 1400.

In 1405 the Muslim Admiral Cheng Ho brought gifts from the Ming Emperor Yung Lo and a promise of protection from the Siamese. Freed from the danger of Siamese attack Malacca grew into a flourishing cosmopolitan trading centre, while Temasek withered and died.

Parameswara was a Hindu when he came to Malacca and the Chinese report of Yin-King's visit to Malacca as the Imperial Envoy in 1403 mentions this specifically. But in about 1416 he embraced the Muslim religion, influenced by the Muslim ruler of Pasai, who had sent many Arab Teachers and Traders to the Malacca court. He then took the name of Iskandar Shah, his whole family and many of his Court became Muslims and he married a Pasai princess. He probably died in 1424 and was succeeded by a son of middle age, who took the Sri Vijaya title

of Sri Maharaja and the Muslim name of Sultan Muhammad Shah.

Successive rulers of Malacca paid courtesy visits to the Emperor of China, giving and receiving gifts, and ensuring continued protection from interference by the Siamese, until the fourth Sultan, Muzaffar Shah, who succeeded to the throne in about 1445.

The line of trader-Sultans then came to an end and a new generation emerged, and with it the traditional Golden Age of Malacca, an age of expansion and conquest, of increasing wealth and prestige.

Sultan Muzaffar Shah was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mansor Shah in 1459, under whom first Pahang and later Kampar, Siak and Indragiri in Sumatra were conquered, and an attack by a Siamese fleet was heavily defeated. Much of this success was due to the genius of the Malay Bendahara Tun Perak, who served four rulers as Chief Minister and whose relatives were the consorts of Sultan Mansor and his son Sultan Alaedin. Sultan Mahmud Shah, grandson of Sultan Mansor and grand-nephew of Tun Perak, succeeded to the Sultanate in 1488 when his energetic and enlightened father died mysteriously in the prime of life, possibly at Ulu Pagoh on the Muar River, where his grave may still be seen. Sultan Alaedin was planning a pilgrimage to Mecca when he died. Sultan Mahmud was not the eldest son, but through the influence of Bendahara Tun Perak and Laksamana Hang Tuah, the most famous of Malacca's warriors, and of the Temenggong Tun Mutahir who later succeeded as Bendahara, Raja Munawar, the eldest son, who had been sent to rule Kampar, was passed over. It was an ill-fated decision. The young Sultan grew up in a Royal Court which was at the centre of a town with 40,000 inhabitants. Surrounded by favourites he lived a life of ease and licence, leaving the administration of his still growing kingdom to his ministers. During his reign successful campaigns against Manjong (in Perak) and Kelantan brought them under the influence of the Malacca Court, and



*Sultan Mansor Shah of Malacca returns from Java after his marriage to Princess Raden Mas Ayu in about 1461.  
The procession is led by the Malay warrior Hang Tuah brandishing the Kertis of Taming Sari of Majapahit.*



Sultan Mahmud's son by a captive Kelantan princess later became the first ruler of Perak. Patani and Kedah acknowledged themselves as vassals of Malacca, and a fresh attack by Siam was driven off by Laksamana Hang Nadim.

At the height of its glory and influence, in August 1509, the first European fleet sailed into Malacca harbour, led by the Portuguese Admiral Diego Lopez de Sequeira. He had set sail from Portugal sixteen months earlier in search of a trading base in the Far East—an extension of the policy initiated by his patron and paragon the Viceroy Alfonso d'Albuquerque.

Although Sultan Mahmud agreed to receive a Portuguese deputation and a letter from the King of Portugal was read, there followed a long period of inaction, during which no one would trade with the foreigners and Tun Mutahir, the Malay Bendahara, prepared to fight. de Sequiera became impatient, and in the end the accidental firing of an alarm gun on a Portuguese vessel led to hostilities and to the departure of the Admiral and his fleet, leaving twenty of his comrades on shore.

The Bendahara, uncle of the Sultan, who had for a number of years been the most powerful individual in Malacca, was regarded by nearly everyone except the Sultan and his family as the hero of the occasion. Mahmud Shah resented his uncle's popularity and his wealth, and coveted his beautiful daughter, Tun Fatimah. Encouraged by the whole of the Tun Perak family, who had been relegated to the background by the appointment of Tun Mutahir as Bendahara, and by many Muslim Indian merchants who had suffered from his greed and oppression, Sultan Mahmud accepted a charge of treason, which may have had some foundation, and exterminated every member of Tun Mutahir's family, except a boy, Tun Hamzah, and Tun Fatimah, whom he married.

For a short time the Sultan and his new Bendahara, Tun Perak's son, basked in the brilliance of Malacca's sunset, but their joy was turned to horror by the reappearance of the Portuguese fleet, this time in overwhelming strength, on 1st July, 1511.



There were nineteen ships containing 800 Portuguese soldiers and 600 Indians, led by the Viceroy d'Albuquerque himself.

While protracted negotiations took place, d'Albuquerque learnt that he could rely on the trading population to take no part in any fighting which might follow, and he decided to make his objective nothing less than the substitution of a Portuguese for a Malay Government. The release by the Sultan of the Portuguese prisoners who had lived in Malacca for two years, gave him further first-hand information about conditions on shore and he decided to attack the Malay stronghold on the hill overlooking the river. Raja Alaedin, the Sultan's younger son, was the leader of the Malay resistance and led attacks in person with great bravery. On the first two days after long and bitter fighting the Portuguese were forced to withdraw to their ships each night, but their armour, superior weapons, discipline and leadership decided the issue and on 11th August, when d'Albuquerque renewed his attack, he found that the Sultan and Raja Alaedin had withdrawn up river to Pagoh and the town was his.

Although the fall of Malacca in 1511 destroyed the Malay Empire which had united the whole of the Peninsula and the East Sumatran Kingdoms under a single overlord, there remained a unifying influence which the Portuguese could not injure — Islam. The Muslim religion had spread through the Peninsula including Patani with the armies and envoys of Mansur Shah and his successors, and Kampar, Rokan, Indragiri and Siak on the Sumatran coast had followed the Malacca example. It was Malacca also which was responsible for the introduction of Islam to Java, through the Javanese merchant princes and traders who formed such a large and prosperous community in the city both before and after the arrival of the Portuguese. By 1498 the coastal area of East Java was already predominantly Muslim and it is probable that Majapahit fell between 1513 and 1528 before a coalition of Muslim States composed of Madura, Tuban, Surabaya and Demak, the last named then becoming the most influential kingdom in the whole of Java.

## IV

### THE PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH IN MALACCA

d'Albuquerque could not afford to garrison Malacca with the force which he had used to capture it — which represented the whole of the available troops of Portuguese India. He constructed a stone fortress, using Malays as slave labour and the stone of Malay mosques and graves as material, and after introducing various administrative measures, including a new currency, and subduing an attempted rebellion by the Javanese, he sailed for Goa, leaving Ruy de Aranjó, who had been the Sultan's prisoner, as Captain, with a garrison so small that both his friends in the town and his enemies in other parts thought it an act of foolhardiness.

But for over a century Malacca was held against all attackers, whether Malay, Javanese, Achinese or Dutch, by an impudently small force, sometimes defending d'Albuquerque's fortress, deservedly named *A Famosa*, and sometimes sallying forth by sea to destroy a trading post. The Portuguese policy was to capture and dominate the trade of the Far East. They did not seek to administer the people over whom they exercised trading suzerainty, they allowed Asian communities in Malacca a wide measure of self government under their own "Captains", but they would tolerate no rival. So long as the Portuguese fleet had command of the eastern seas Malacca was secure, but when the Dutch Admiral, Cornelis Matelief, won a decisive victory over the Portuguese fleet in the Straits of Malacca in 1606 her fate was sealed and Malacca was finally captured by the Dutch

after a seige which began in June 1640, and ended with the surrender of the few survivors on 14th January, 1641.

The Dutch conquered Malacca not so much because they needed it as a trading centre, for they had established their own headquarters at Batavia in Java in 1619, but to ensure that their trade rivals, the Portuguese and the English, could not compete with them in Malayan waters. During the whole period of Dutch occupation, lasting 130 years, Malacca never paid its way as a separate trading unit, but proved useful as a supply base for other small trading posts opened by the Dutch in Selangor and Perak.

The Dutch later discovered that they had to face competition from another trade rival, the Bugis, who had gained control of the Malay Kingdom of Riau-Johore in 1721, and who on two occasions boldly but unsuccessfully attacked Malacca in 1756 and 1784. Open war broke out between the Bugis and the Dutch in 1756, but though it was patched up by a peace treaty in 1758, the Bugis domination of all the Malay Kingdoms along the West Coast was a continuing threat to Dutch trading monopolies. Fresh hostilities began again in 1782 which led to the death of the redoubtable Raja Haji, the Bugis leader and Under-King, near Malacca. A Dutch Resident was then appointed (in 1785) to the court of the young Sultan Mahmud Riayat Shah in Riau.

The Dutch surrendered Malacca to the British in 1795, without resistance, because the French, with whom the British were at war, had seized Holland. They reoccupied it again from 1801 to 1807, then handed it over a second time until 1818 and finally gave it up in exchange for Eencoolen on the West Coast of Sumatra in March 1824.

## V

### THE RIAU-JOHORE SULTANATE

Sultan Mahmud, ex-ruler of Malacca, set up his new capital on the island of Bentan, one of the Riau Islands, and for a time successfully resisted Portuguese attacks, but in 1526 he was finally defeated and driven out and he died at Kampar in Sumatra.

For more than a century thereafter his heirs and successors fought a triangular campaign against Aceh, the powerful Sumatran trading kingdom, and the Portuguese, with disastrous results. In 1564 Sultan Alauddin II was taken captive to Aceh and his capital at Johore Lama was destroyed, and again in 1613 and 1615 Aceh sacked Johore and took the Sultan, Sultan Alauddin III, and thousands of his subjects prisoner because he was in communication with the Portuguese. It was during this period of adversity that the "Sejarah Melayu" — the Malay Annals — was compiled on the initiative of Raja Abdullah, brother of the captive Sultan and of his Bendahara Tun Sri Lanang.

When the Dutch made their successful attack on Malacca in 1641 they counted Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah II of Johore as their ally, and, freed from the attacks of Aceh by the death of its great warrior-king Iskandar Muda four years earlier, the Johore Malays experienced an unwonted period of peace, which might have resulted in a new era of prosperity and restored influence had their ruler been content to live on good terms with his neighbours. But a quarrel with the ruler of Jambi over a broken promise of marriage resulted in a long-drawn-out war

which culminated in the sacking of Batu Sawar, the Johore capital, in 1673. The old Sultan died in exile in Pahang three years later and his energetic cousin then established himself in Riau with the title of Sultan Ibrahim and took his revenge on Jambi in alliance with the Dutch. But his reign was a short one and when he died, perhaps poisoned, in 1685, his only son, Mahmud, succeeded him. Sultan Mahmud proved sadistic and a pervert and he was murdered when on his way to the Kota Tinggi mosque in 1699, and with him died the last of the ancient Malacca dynasty.

Sultan Mahmud's Bendahara, Abdul Jalil, descendant of the original Malacca Bendaharas, seized the throne of Johore on his death, but he lacked the vigour and warlike qualities needed by an eighteenth century usurper beset as he was, not only by jealous rivalries at his court, but by two new external enemies, a Minangkabau pretender named Raja Kechil and a group of Bugis adventurers from Celebes led by the warrior Daeng Parani.

Raja Kechil, the ruler of Siak in Sumatra, captured Johore Lama and seized the throne in 1717, allowing Sultan Abdul Jalil to resume his former position of Bendahara. But Raja Kechil jilted Abdul Jalil's elder daughter Tengku Tengah in favour of her younger sister Tengku Kamariah and accelerated a rebellion. Tengku Tengah and her nineteen-year-old brother Tengku Sulaiman invited the Bugis warrior Daeng Parani and his five brothers to drive out Raja Kechil with promises of high rank and Tengku Tengah's hand in marriage. Abdul Jalil was murdered on Raja Kechil's orders before the plot could be put into action but in 1721 Daeng Parani drove out Raja Kechil and placed Tengku Sulaiman on the Johore-Riau throne, where he reigned for forty years.

Sultan Sulaiman and his heirs were dominated by the Bugis, whose leader held the key post of Yam Tuan Muda or Under-King at the Malay Court. This was still the position when Sultan Mahmud of Riau, grandson of Sultan Sulaiman, died in 1812 leaving two sons, Tengku Hussain, the elder, and Tengku



*Daeng Param, the eldest of the six Bugis brothers from the Celebes who came to Johore early in the eighteenth century and dominated Sultan Sulaiman and the Riau-Johore Kingdom.*



Abdul Rahman. The Bugis Under-King, Raja Ali, who had brought up Tengku Abdul Rahman since childhood, arranged for his protégé to be proclaimed Sultan of Riau-Johore while Tengku Hussain was away in Pahang, marrying the daughter of the Temenggong, Engku Muda, the principal rival of the Bugis Raja Ali. The Dutch accepted and recognised Tengku Abdul Rahman as Sultan and the Temenggong, powerless to remedy the injustice, retired to the sparsely inhabited island of Singapore.



## VI

### RELATIONS BETWEEN SIAM AND THE NORTHERN MALAY STATES — FOUNDATION OF PENANG

Although Siamese aggression in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula had been effectively checked by Malacca in the fifteenth century, the destruction of that Kingdom in 1511 by the Portuguese (who cultivated Siamese friendship) had the effect of reviving their pretensions to the northern Malay States: Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu. The Siamese suzerainty over these States was vague, fitfully exercised and often resisted. The practice, however, grew up for the States to send periodically to Siam a ceremonial present of "Golden Flowers" (*bunga emas*). This offering was one of those ambiguous courtesies which, according to the varying relations of strength and weakness of the parties concerned, might be interpreted as anything between a polite neighbourly gesture and an acknowledgement of overlordship. The Siamese suzerainty, when exercised, was resented by the Malays, and in the case of Kedah the issue became acute when Captain Francis Light in August 1786, on behalf of the East India Company, took possession of the Island of Penang, which hitherto had formed part of Kedah. The terms for the cession of Penang to the British were negotiated by Light. Chief amongst those demanded by the Sultan were a guarantee of military assistance in the event of attack upon Kedah by land (that is to say, by Siam, Selangor under the Bugis, or Burma) and the annual payment of a sum of \$30,000. Although Light forwarded these terms to India for acceptance and proceeded to take possession of the island, the Company

rejected the request for protection while declining to give up possession.

In 1791 the Sultan was defeated in an attempt to retake the island by force. By a treaty made in 1800 between Kedah and the Company, the cession of Penang, to which Province Wellesley was now added, was confirmed, and the Company agreed to pay the Kedah ruler \$10,000 a year while they remained in possession of these places. The treaty was silent as to military assistance. Throughout the negotiations for the cession of Penang the Kedah ruler had omitted to consult Siam. The Siamese were furious at this neglect of their alleged suzerainty, but they bided their time.

In 1821 came their opportunity for vengeance. A Siamese force, under the Raja of Ligor, invaded and conquered Kedah. No quarter was given to the inhabitants and many thousands were massacred, Kedah losing thereby, it was claimed, more than half its population. The Sultan, Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Shah, was driven into exile in Penang and the Siamese assumed direct control of the country, a state of affairs which continued until 1842 when the Siamese officials were recalled and the ex-Sultan was reinstated, though Perlis, which hitherto formed part of Kedah, was placed under a separate Raja.

Siam, under the Chakri dynasty, was more powerful than at any time in her history and decided to revive her claim to suzerainty over the other northern Malay States as well. The British East India Company viewed this with growing concern and sent first John Crawfurd and then Captain John Burney to Bangkok in 1822 and 1826 to negotiate a treaty, the essential clause of which provided for non-interference by Siam in Kedah, Perak, Selangor, Kelantan and Trengganu. Burney concluded this agreement in 1826, but although Perak and Selangor were freed from further Siamese intervention in their internal affairs, Kedah remained in Siamese hands until 1842, Kelantan was virtually under Siamese control within ten years, and an attempt to replace the Sultan of Trengganu by a Siamese nominee in 1862 was only prevented by the vigorous, if misguided, action

of Governor Cavanagh in bombarding Kuala Trengganu. The threat of Siamese encroachment was not finally removed until the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, in which Siam transferred "all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration and control whatsoever which she possesses" over Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu to Great Britain, and British Advisers were appointed to each State by Sir John Anderson, the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

## VII

### SINGAPORE

Malacca was returned to the Dutch by the Convention of London in 1814 (though it was not reoccupied by them until 1818), but long before this date the limitations of Penang, both as a trading centre and a naval base, had become painfully obvious, owing to the transfer back to the Dutch of Java. Britain was confronted with the restoration of the Dutch trading monopoly over the whole of the Malayan Archipelago, and in an effort to break this Sir Stamford Raffles, an official of the East India Company who had risen in the short period of twelve years from being an Assistant Secretary in Penang to the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra, was sent by Lord Hastings, the Governor-General of India, to seek a new trading station south of Malacca.

Accompanied by Colonel Farquhar, who had been Resident of Malacca until the Dutch reoccupation, Raffles landed on the sparsely inhabited island of Singapore on 28th January, 1819 and immediately decided that it was the ideal site for his purpose. The Temenggong of Johore, who had retired to the island in voluntary exile to avoid Bugis domination, signed a preliminary agreement two days later giving Raffles permission to establish a settlement, but both parties realised that such an agreement required the confirmation of the Sultan of Johore before it could be valid. Tengku Hussain, the eldest son of the deceased Sultan Mahmud of Riau, who had been passed over by the Bugis in favour of his younger brother, Tengku Abdul Rahman, was living in poverty in Riau, and he willingly came to Singapore

at the Temenggong's invitation and there he was proclaimed Sultan of Johore by Raffles on 6th February, 1819. On the same day Sultan Hussain and the Temenggong signed a treaty confirming the preliminary agreement and granting the East India Company the right to build factories in his territory, in return for which he and the Temenggong were to receive annual allowances of \$5,000 and \$3,000 respectively.

In spite of violent protests by the Dutch, Raffles' inspired enterprise was given official backing by the Governor-General and India House in London, and the Treaty of London of 17th March, 1824 finally included Singapore with Malacca among the territories over which the Dutch surrendered any further claim. In the same year Sultan Hussain and Temenggong Abdul Rahman concluded a treaty with Crawford, the Resident, in which they transferred the Island of Singapore for ever to Britain.

Raffles' "Malta of the East" rapidly justified his hopes. A year after its occupation the population numbered ten thousand, and by 1823 the value of imports and exports in his free trade port exceeded thirteen million dollars.

The next fifty years have been described as "half a century of inactivity". This is only true in so far as British policy towards the Malay States was concerned, where a policy of non-intervention was strictly enforced. But Singapore grew with remarkable rapidity, Penang developed at a modest pace and only Malacca stagnated.

## VIII

### THE MALAY STATES BEFORE AND AFTER BRITISH INTERVENTION

We have seen how the ancient Malacca dynasty ended with the murder of Sultan Mahmud III at Kota Tinggi in 1699 and how members of the original Bendahara family replaced him and transferred their capital to Riau, under the domination of the Bugis. These Sultans deputed their principal ministers, the Bendahara and the Temenggong, to represent them and govern in their name, the Bendahara in Pahang and the Temenggong in Johore. When the Riau royal family divided into the Singapore branch under British protection and the Lingga branch under Dutch control, both these great officials began to pay less attention to their titular suzerains and to assume the position of independent princes until at last the British recognised Temenggong Abu Bakar as Sultan of Johore in 1877 and Bendahara Wan Ahmad as Sultan of Pahang in 1882.

The eighteenth century Sultans of Riau-Johore could no longer exercise effective control over the mainland, and as a result two separate territories established their independence: Selangor, with its headquarters at the ancient river stronghold of Klang, famous since the days of Bendahara Tun Perak of Malacca, and a group of small Minangkabau States now known as Negeri Sembilan. The first Sultan of Selangor was the Bugis Raja Lumu, son of Daeng Chelak, one of the Bugis warriors who in 1721 ousted Raja Kechil from Johore; he was recognised as Sultan in 1743 and his descendants have ruled Selangor ever

since. The Minangkabau migration from Sumatra began in the sixteenth century, first to Naning (Alor Gajah) and Rembau, and later as far north as Jelai and Jelebu and as far south as Segamat, but it was not until they were in danger of Bugis domination that they united in 1773 under a Sumatran prince of Minangkabau descent named Raja Melewar, the ancestor of the present Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan.

Perak, whose first recorded ruler was a son of the last Sultan of Malacca, suffered terrible ravages at the hands of the Achinese in the first half of the seventeenth century but her rulers can trace their descent from the Malacca Sultanate to this day. The State should have become wealthy and powerful since she could claim to produce more tin than any other Malay Kingdom in the Peninsula but eighteenth century Bugis interference and nineteenth century Siamese invasion, coupled with internal rivalries, continued to wreck her peace and to ruin her prosperity.

The first three-quarters of the nineteenth century saw a slow but significant change in the internal political structure of the Malay States of the West Coast. The Malacca Sultanate, from which they all derived to a greater or less extent, had been a city-state centred on a port and living by trade rather than by agriculture. All power was concentrated in the hands of the Sultan and the officers of his court. In the nineteenth century Malay States, however, power was dispersed. The *pax Britannica* removed the threat of external attack and a growing agricultural population began to spread out over the territory. The development of tin-mining, and especially the introduction of Chinese miners working by new methods, made it possible for greater revenues to be obtained by the control of a district than by service at the Sultan's Court. The nobles, still bearing the titles of Court offices, drifted away from the Sultan to become district chiefs, rich and therefore powerful from their local revenues. This process of change explains the contrast between the passivity of the Malay States towards the British in

this century as compared with their spirited resistance to Portuguese and Dutch in earlier periods.

The three settlements of Singapore, Malacca and Penang were transferred from the control of the supreme Government of India to that of the Colonial Office in 1867, and this enabled the Governor and the leading merchants in the Straits Settlements to represent the deplorable conditions in the Malay States more effectively, and to press for a new policy of intervention. It was Lord Kimberley, the Liberal Prime Minister, who issued the instructions in September 1873 which directed the Governor to "rescue the fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked", and when Sir Andrew Clarke landed in Singapore two months later he lost no time in carrying them out. Perak, with rival claimants to the Sultanate and with a bitter and devastating clan war between Chinese miners in Larut, demanded and received priority. In January 1874 Clarke temporarily settled the succession by the Pangkor engagement and secured the agreement of Sultan Abdullah to the appointment of a British Resident (J. W. W. Birch) who was to advise on the collection and control of all revenues and on the general administration of the state. The heads of the Chinese factions were also present and they signed a bond, under heavy penalties, to disarm completely and to keep the peace.

Before the end of 1874 Residents had also been appointed in Selangor (J. G. Davidson), and Sungei Ujong, the most prosperous member of the Minangkabau confederation (Captain P. J. Murray, R.N.), and a measure of peace and order had been restored. British advice was later extended to the rest of Negeri Sembilan, and to Pahang in 1887, and the four States were united in a Federation in July 1895 with its capital in Kuala Lumpur. Kuala Lumpur had grown from a small mining village brought into existence by the initiative of Raja Abdullah, son-in-law of Sultan Abdul Samad, in 1859. It had been developed by the enterprise and determination of Yap Ah Loy, the



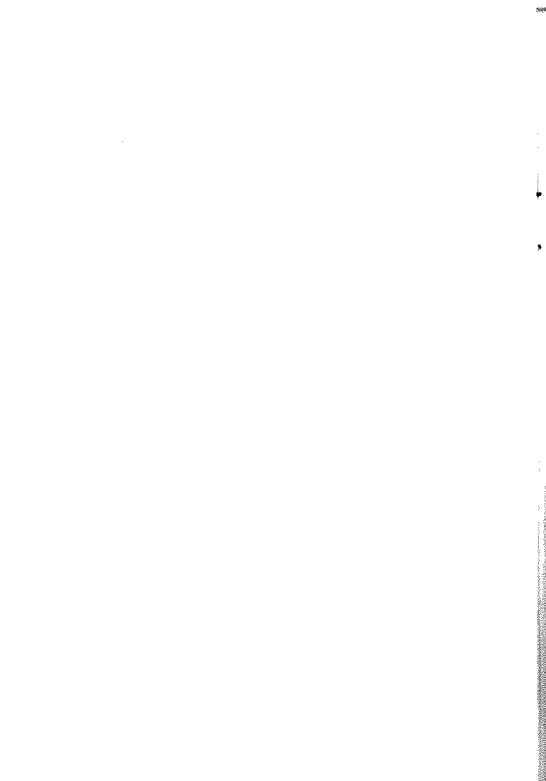
"Capitan China", and was rescued from anarchy by Tunku Kudin, the Kedah-born Viceroy and another son-in-law of the Sultan. After the end of the civil war in 1874 Kuala Lumpur was gradually rebuilt and when Mr. Frank Swettenham was appointed British Resident in 1882 an efficient administration was introduced in which Yap Ah Loy joined energetically. In the development of the Residential system the wisdom, skill and sympathetic understanding of Sir Hugh Low in Perak, Hugh Clifford in Pahang and Sir Frank Swettenham in Selangor and Perak and later as the first Resident General, did much to establish sound administration and to reconcile the Malay ruling class to the new régime. Both the Federated Malay States and the States of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore, which remained outside the Federation, continued under a separate form of administration from the Straits Settlements and were never declared British territory.

Johore retained her independence until 1914, though her ruler (Sultan Abu Bakar) had established direct relationships with Queen Victoria as early as 1873 when he visited London, but Sultan Ibrahim, his son, now concluded a treaty and received a General Adviser, thus providing the final link with the High Commissioner for the Malay States, who was also Governor of the Straits Settlements.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which enabled the sea journey from England to be completed in forty-two days instead of one hundred and sixteen, led to a notable increase in trade, which stimulated economic enterprises on the mainland. The first rubber seeds arrived in Malaya from Brazil via Kew Gardens, London, in 1877 and were planted at Kuala Kangsar, Perak, but it was not until 1888 that the correct method of extracting latex, by "tapping" the bark of the tree, was discovered by H. N. Ridley, the Director of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore. On that day the modern rubber industry in Malaya was born, though it was nearly ten years later before



*Tunku Kadin of Kedah, son-in-law of the Sultan of Selangor, and Capitan Yap Ah Loy, who together won the Selangor Civil War and recaptured the ruins of Kuala Lumpur in 1873.*



any extensive areas of land in the Federated Malay States were systematically planted with rubber.

The population increased in a spectacular manner. Chinese miners had been encouraged to enter the tin-mining areas by earlier Malay rulers and chiefs, but now they flocked in of their own accord, while South Indian labour was recruited by rubber estate owners and by 1920 Malaya was exporting 196,000 tons of rubber a year.

In the Federated Malay States a Federal Council had been created by Sir John Anderson in 1909. The High Commissioner presided over the Council which consisted of the four Rulers, the Resident General, the four British Residents and four un-officials, nominated by the High Commissioner. The membership remained unchanged until 1927 when the Rulers withdrew, the officials were increased to thirteen and the un-officials to eleven.

The proceedings of the Council then began to adopt something of the modern aspect of Government and Opposition. There was no further change until the Japanese invaded Malaya in December, 1941. Singapore fell on 15th February, 1942, and the Japanese Occupation continued for three and a half years.

On the eve of a campaign for the liberation of Malaya the Japanese surrendered unconditionally and in September 1945, a British Military Administration was established under Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander, South-east Asia, who made his headquarters in Singapore. This was followed by the publication by the British Government in January 1946, of a White Paper setting out proposals for a Malayan Union, which would unite the whole of the Peninsula under a Governor and a strong central Government, and deprive the Rulers and the States of all but nominal authority.

These proposals caused a storm of protests from the Malays, and led to the rapid formation of the United Malays National Organisation with branches all over the country. Their opposi-

tion was strongly supported by a group of retired Malayan Civil Servants in England, including the nonagenarian Sir Frank Swettenham, and the scheme for a Malayan Union was abandoned. In its place the Federation of Malaya Agreement was signed in Kuala Lumpur on 21st January, 1948, and came into force on 1st February of that year. This agreement provided for a High Commissioner and a Federal Legislative Council containing seventy-five members, fifty of whom were unofficials. A considerable degree of authority was restored to Their Highnesses the Rulers, acting in consultation with their State Executive Councils, and a form of common citizenship was created for all who acknowledged Malaya as their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty. Within this framework the Settlements of Penang and Malacca remained British territory. Singapore continued as a separate Colony under its own Governor.

The year in which the Federation was inaugurated saw the outbreak of a Communist revolt. The Communists had hoped to gain control of the country in September 1945, but they were forestalled by the arrival of the British Military Administration. During the next two years they made increasingly determined efforts to paralyse the economic recovery of the country and finally launched a campaign of violence and murder in which the principal targets were British rubber planters and tin miners, and those Chinese who actively opposed them. A state of Emergency was declared in June 1948. Captured documents have shown that they had hoped to declare a Communist Republic on 3rd August, 1948.

The number of Communist terrorists probably never exceeded 7,000, the majority of them Chinese, but they were well armed with weapons hidden after the Japanese Occupation, and in the face of determined Government resistance they retired to the deep jungle where they proved an elusive enemy.

In spite of increasingly effective measures, which were greatly stimulated by the leadership of General Sir Gerald

Templer, who was High Commissioner and Director of Operations from 1952 to 1954, the Communist hard-core were still in armed revolt when the British Government and the leaders of the Alliance Government (elected in July, 1955) together with the representatives of Their Highnesses the Rulers signed a report on the London Constitutional Conference on 8th February, 1956, whereby self-government was granted to the Federation of Malaya and full independence within the Commonwealth promised by August, 1957.

In March 1956 an independent Constitutional Commission, headed by Lord Reid, was appointed. Their report, which formed the basis for the constitution of Independent Malaya, was published in February 1957, and on 10th July, the Legislative Council accepted the Constitutional proposals which had been finalised after full consultation between the three partners of the Alliance Government and the British Government. On 5th August, the Federation of Malaya Agreement 1957 was signed by Their Highnesses the Rulers and by the High Commissioner on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, and on 15th August, a Bill entitled the Federal Constitution Ordinance, giving effect to the acceptance of the Constitution, was passed unanimously by the Legislative Council.

Malaya achieved her Independence on 31st August, 1957. The instrument of Independence was handed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, representing Her Majesty the Queen, to Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister, in the Merdeka Stadium, that morning in the presence of Their Highnesses the Rulers, His Excellency Sir Donald MacGillivray, the retiring High Commissioner, representatives of other nations and nearly 30,000 Malaysians. On the following morning His Majesty Tuanku Abdul Rahman ibni Almarhum Tuanku Muhammad, Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, was installed as Paramount Ruler of the Federation of Malaya for a period of five years.