

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama
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HSM 411 Dokumen-Dokumen dalam Sejarah Malaysia

Masa: [3 jam]

KERTAS PEPERIKSAAN INI MENGANDUNGI ENAM [6] SOALAN DALAM LIMA
PULUH SEMBILAN [59] MUKA SURAT

Jawab TIGA [3] soalan.

Semua soalan membawa nilai markah yang sama.

Anda hendaklah membuat rujukan kepada dokumen-dokumen dan bacaan-bacaan yang berkenaan yang telah digunakan dalam kursus ini.

1. DOKUMEN A

- (a) Berdasarkan dokumen "Penghulu Commission, Perak", bincangkan perubahan kedudukan dan peranan penghulu dalam sistem pentadbiran tempatan di Negeri-Negeri Melayu pada 1890-an.
- (b) Apakah hujahan-hujahan yang dibentangkan oleh Gabenor Weld untuk menyokong pandangannya bahawa British haruslah mengekalkan sistem pemerintahan yang sedia wujud di Negeri-Negeri Melayu.

2. DOKUMEN B

- (a) Berdasarkan bukti-bukti yang didapati daripada dokumen B, sejauhmanakah Pemberontakan Tok Janggut pada tahun 1915 boleh dianggap sebagai pergerakan gulungan pemerintah Pasir Puteh untuk menegakkan semula regim lama dan menghalau semua orang asing dari Negeri Kelantan?
- (b) Mengapa George Maxwell dalam laporannya memberatkan isu "kedudukan kewangan" Negeri Kelantan pada tahun 1915?

.../2

3. DOKUMEN C

- (a) "Sesuatu kajian phenomenon pelacuran dalam sejarah haruslah berdasarkan metodologi dan sumber-sumber sejarah baru". Bincangkan.
- (b) Didasarkan dokumen C, bincangkan mengapa pihak berkuasa tidak memperdulikan hal pelacuran berlesen tetapi amat berasa bimbang terhadap pelacuran tesembunyi.

4. DOKUMEN D

- (a) Bagaimanakah wakil-wakil Persatuan Melayu pada Persidangan 1940 bercadang meningkatkan kedudukan sosio-ekonomi kaum Melayu di Tanah Melayu.
- (b) "Adalah nyata bahawa corak kepimpinan dan ciri-ciri perkembangan politik Melayu dapat dibayangkan dalam usul-usul yang dibentangkan semasa Persidangan Tanah Melayu itu". Bincangkan.

5. DOKUMEN E

- (a) Didasarkan dokumen E sahaja, sejauhmanakah dasar dan amalan pemerintahan Jepun (1942 - 1945) telah menjadikan faktor utama yang mencetuskan perasaan perkauman dikalangan komponen-komponen ethnik selepas Perang Dunia Kedua?
- (b) Apakah dasar Jepun di Tanah Melayu terhadap kaum Melayu yang terbayang dalam propaganda-propaganda Jepun?

6. DOKUMEN F

- (a) Perihal keadaan perburuhan yang wujud di Tanah Melayu pada tahun 1947 wakil-wakil United Planting Association of Malaya menyatakan bahawa "we have expressly refrained from open discussion and from communication to the Press because we considered such a course to be inadvisable". Dari segi tujuan wakil-wakil yang menyerahkan surat memorandum kepada Sir Edward Gent, mengapa mereka mengambil keputusan ini.
- (b) Berdasarkan fakta-fakta yang didapati dalam dokumen ini, bagaimana anda akan menjelaskan berlakunya mogok-mogok militan pada awal tahun 1947?

.../3

.../DOKUMEN A

DOKUMEN A

Khoo Kay Kim, (ed) History of Southeast, South and East Asia: Essays and Documents.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE MALAY STATES

WELD TO KIMBERLEY, 21 OCTOBER 1880

1. Again a very great and increasing Chinese population containing a large proportion of the lowest class is an element which requires careful but firm handling. Looking most hopefully as I do on the excellent work we are doing on the Peninsula, and never doubting its success, it is still impossible to shut my eyes to the fact that we are and have been relying on something more than simple advice, and must continue however unostentatiously to do so, unless we are preparing to retire from the country.
2. There are three course open:
 - 1st. To prepare gradually for retiring from the Native states
 - 2nd. To annex them
 - 3rd. To gradually and gently increase our influence as occasion offers over the Peninsula south of Siam, not necessarily with any view of an immediate extension of the Residential system: and in respect to the protected states to determine never to relax our hold, but not to annex whilst it is possible to go on under the present system. In the meantime to work by and through the native governments by advice discreetly but firmly administered.
3. In regard to the first course, the question at once presents itself: Have we been preparing the protected states for self-Government of such a nature as to enable us, if so minded, to abandon them to their own guidance? I concur with Sir William Robinson in thinking did we abandon them, their state would probably be worse than it was when we first intervened. I do not think that anything could justify us in leaving them to anarchy, and our own interests as well as theirs forbid it. Nothing that we have done has taught them to govern themselves; we are merely teaching them to cooperate with us in governing under our guidance. I have always held the theory that to teach men to govern themselves you must throw them a good deal on their own resources: we are doing, necessarily doing, the very reverse. Moreover, I doubt if Asiatics will ever learn to govern themselves, it is contrary to the genius of their race, of their history, of

their religious systems, that they should. Their desire is a mild, just and firm despotism, that we can give them but under the circumstances of the states on the Malay peninsula they are not likely to be able to give it to themselves. Johore may be quoted against my view but the case of this state is itself exceptional and unlike that of any of the other states. When the late Temenggong Ibrahim, the Maharajah's Father, began to turn his attention to Johore, the native population was extremely small; there was little cultivation and the whole revenue even so late as 1852 was \$7200 or about 1800. Now nine-tenths of the population of Johore are Chinese, European, Singapore and Chinese capital is invested in the state, the more readily on account of its close proximity to Singapore, and also because the Maharajah is always advised, not only by Governors, but also by his own European agents, merchants and lawyers. The Maharajah himself is an exceptional Malay ruler; he has lived all his life among Europeans; he is intimately bound up with our own government and has been the personal friend of successive Governors; and after all he has not much for Johore yet, and we do not know what will come after him. Good rulers do doubtless arise in all countries, but judging from the past, native good government hardly seems a plant congenial to the soil, and the increased large Chinese population would present much greater difficulties now to native rulers than it did some years ago.

4. Further it must be borne in mind, that not only has European and Chinese capital been encouraged to flow into the Native States by the order we have established in them, but a large field has been opened to European and Chinese settlement for agricultural 'planting' purposes. This capital is being invested in the confidence that we shall not retire from the protected states or be entirely indifferent to the interests of our countrymen even in native ones where we possess influence. Both Malays and Chinese accept our rule in the protected states as a fact, and the large majority, I doubt not, most gratefully accept it, and further the British Government is by both chiefs and people looked upon as the arbiter between the purely native states, and as the guardians of the people of the Peninsula and it really is so.

5. If this be conceded, the next point to be considered is the advisability of annexation, not of course sudden or immediate, but proximate annexation as circumstances may dictate; and a framing of our policy to accelerate that end. Setting aside any possible unforeseen and exceptional case, I am nor prepared to advocate that policy. I think we can more safely, and on the whole more advantageously to ourselves and to the people, go on as we are doing. Complications may no doubt arise but I fail to see any reason why they may not be as readily averted, or a effectually dealt with, under the present system as under any other whilse the development of the resources of the States and their partial colonization (if I may use the term) by European capitalists can now, I

think, he promoted as rapidly as is desirable, so long as the present impression is fostered that we shall not recede from our present position. Countries in the position of the Malay States want a somewhat elastic form of government: justice and firmness tempered by great discretion and tact, great care in the selection of Governors, of Residents, and even of subordinate agents, and under the direction of the Secretary of State a latitude allowed them, which the more rigid and complicated and expensive system of a political and legal organisation, suited for a British colony does not admit of. The Native States are not. I think, ready for the more perfect or purely British system and most likely to go on well under Residential advice, the influence of which more indirectly, and as it were reflectedly, will gradually permeate the more purely Native States, affording them the opportunities, should wise rulers arise, of imitating the example of our Residents and working out their own good. It is much more likely, however, that the contrast between their own rulers' conduct and that of our Residents, will lead to the speed of a desire which is already felt amongst the people, in Sri Menanti for instance, to throw themselves on our protection.

6. Such are briefly my views up on the first two propositions. I see no valid reason against adhering to the third course which may be said to be nearly that now pursued, at least it is the view by which I, unless otherwise instructed, should be guided so far as circumstances may permit, and I take it to be in accordance with the existing instructions and despatches of the Secretary of State as I understand them.

7. It will not be irrelevant to add that the Bendahara of Pahang, which is situated on the East coast and marches with Selangor and Perak, has just written to me to say that it is his desire to visit me in Singapore, if it be my pleasure to receive him. I had some little time ago expressed to envoys sent to me by him my desire to maintain most friendly relations with him, and I look upon his intended visit with much satisfaction. Though several times invited by my predecessors, the Bendahara has never been to Singapore since he obtained the supreme power in Pahang. While on my recent tour in the Native States, I heard confidentially from native sources that it was the Bendahara's wish to come to Singapore to seek my chose friendship and advice; and looking to the position of Pahang with regard to the Western States under our protection, I am of opinion that should the Bendahara seek it, our relations with him may with great advantage to him and to his people and also to the Colony and Protected States, be drawn as close as possible, but advances should come from him, for I hear that offers of advice made to him by Sir Harry Ord, Sir A. Clarke and Sir W. Jervois, though received with great politeness, had apparently but slight effect upon him. I am inclined to think that he has been led to his present step by seeing the increased prosperity of his

western neighbours, and the stagnation of his own country, which possesses such magnificent resources. Standing alone as he does, he is likely to seek a close alliance with the British Government which he, in common, I am told, with all other natives in these seas, looks up to as the most powerful and most just of European powers. It is unnecessary for me to say how much alliance with a state so important by its resources and still more so by its geographical position, would tend to consolidate our position and influence in the Malay Penseinula, and I think that it will be probably wise for me on the arrival of the new steamer, which I have already asked for, to return the visit of the Bendahara and personally to see his country and possibly cross it to Perak on my return thence.

Emily Sadka, The Protected Malay States 1874 - 1895,
University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, m.s. 406 - 407.

PENGHULU COMMISSION, PERAK

Kaulul--Haq

Bahawa maka ada-lah kita Sultan Idris Murshidil-a'adzam Shah KCMG Ibnu Al-Marhom Iskandar Shah Yang Di-Pertuan Negeri Perak Daru-r-ridzuan serta Tuan2 Ahli Meshuarat Council Kerajaan Perak maka kita telah menaruh harap dan perchaya di-dalam mengerja dan menjalankan atoran yang telah kita izinkan maka ada-lah kita menjadi-kan To'Muda Ab. Rahman bin Raja Setia Penghulu daerah Batang Padang serta kita kurniai gaji kepada-nya \$25.00 sa-bulan dengan tiada mendapat chabut.

Yang pertama: Shahadan maka ada-lah kita menjadikan To'Muda Ab. Rahman Penghulu daerah Batang Padang maka kita telah memberi kapada-nya dengan sa-chukup kuasa supaya boleh ia menyelesaikan perkara aduan yang kechil2 di-dalam daerah-nyaserta kita benarkan boleh ia mendenda di-atas perkara itu tiada lebeh daripada lima rial, maka rial denda yang tersebut hendak-lah di-hantar serahkan kadalam perbendaharaan tempat perhimponan rial di-dalam daerah mukim-nya ia-itu di-Tapah.

Yang kedua: Kalakian maka ini-lah kita memberi kapada Penghulu To' Muda Ab. Rahman dengan sachukup kuasa boleh ia mengutipkan segala hasil2 yang telah kita benarkan, maka rial yang tersebut mahu-lah di-masokkan ka-dalam perbendaharaan tempat perhimponan rial di-dalam daerah.

Yang ketiga: Maka jika sakira-nya ada perkara yang besar2 di-dalam daerah-nya ia-itu saperti penyamun dan berbunuh2an atau mati terkejut saketika itu maka yang demikian itu hendak-lah ia tangkapkan yang membuat-nya dan dengan segera-nya-lah ia mahu mendapatkan serta di-beri tahu darihal perkara itu kapada kepala yang memerentahkan daerah-nya dan jika ada orang yang di-kenai penyakit yang berjangkit2 ia-itu saperti ketumbohan atau lain2-nya maka hendak-lah penghulu asingkan dengan berjauhan tempat-nya tiada boleh bersama2 danganorang yang lain.

Yang keempat: Demikian lagi pekerjaan penghulu itu hendak-lah menyimpan satu buku register nama-nya ia-itu-lah buku di-tulis nama2 orang yang di-dalam ta'alok daerah-nya baik daripada tanah atau galian dan yang punya danlain perkara bagi yang tersebut di-dalam list yang telah di-beri kapada-nya serta hendak-lah penghulu memberi nasehat segala orang2 di-dalam mukim-nya menyurohkan berbuat bendang supaya meninggalkan perkerjaan ladang kerana ada-lah pekerjaan berladang itu tiada-lah kekal kepenyudahan-nya dan lagi menjadi kebinasaan jua kapada negeri demikian jua mana2 orang

yang belum kena penyakit ketumbuhan itu hendak-lah penghulu ikhtiar serahkan ia kepada Tuan Doctor bertanam beneh ketumbuhan kerana beberapa banyak yang kita ketahui mana2 yang sudah di-tanam beneh itu tiada lagi di-kenai oleh penyakit itu.

Yang kelima: Maka ada-lah saperti segala orang2 di-dalam mukim-nya mahu-lah mengikut dan menurut bagi penghulu yang tersebut ini di-atas surohan-nya yang patut hendak-lah segala orang tulong kerjakan atas yang berpatutan dengan segera-nya.

Yang keenam: Jika siapa2 orang yang engkar daripada surohannya nyata-lah orang itu mendapat kesalahan yang besar tertentu-lah kita jatuhkan denda atas bagi yang demikian tiada lebeh daripada lima ratus rial atau ikut sabagaimana keputusan hakim mempenjarakan akan bekerja berat yang tiada lebeh daripada dua tahun.

Yang ketujuh: Jika ada mereka2 di-dalam daerah-nya itu menaruh kuasa daripada segala raja2 yang dahulu menjadikan ia penghulu di-dalam daerah itu maka sekarang telah kita batalkan tiada boleh di-pakai dan tiada berguna dan mahu-lah di-serahkan surat kenyataan itu kepada penghulu.

Yang kelapan: Demikian lagi jika ada siapa2 mengaku diri-nya jadi penghulu di-dalam mana2 mukim dengan tiada ketetapan daripada kita atau tiada dengan kebenaran daripada British Resident nyata-lah di-kenakan satu denda bagi yang demikian tiada lebeh daripada lima ratus rial atau di-masokkan ka-dalam penjara tiada lebeh daripada dua tahun.

Yang kesembilan: Jika penghulu membuat perkara yang tiada kebenaran daripada kita atau mengutip chukai atau menyuruh orang tiada dengan sapatut-nya atau anyaya pada ra'ayat kita penghulu itu nyata-lah kta murkai dan kita jatuhkan hukum yang berat diatas-nya demikian-lah kita beri ketahui supaya jangan-lah di-perbuat saperti yang tersebut di-atas ini hubaya2 jangan di-lalui ada-nya.

Termaktub di-dalam Office Secretary Government kepada Shb. December 1894.

DOKUMEN B

File No.: 28821 (C.O. 273.426)

Confidential

High Commissioner's Office.

Singapore, 1st June, 1915.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a confidential report upon the recent outbreak in Kelantan. The history of the outbreak has been given concisely in the annexed narrative which was written with a view, subject to Your Excellency's approval, to publication in the local newspapers, especially the Malay papers. In the present confidential report, I endeavour to explain the nature of causes of the outbreak, and submit recommendations for improving the present state of affairs in Kelantan. For the purposes of this report I visited Kelantan from the 17th to the 25th May: at Kota Bahru, the capital, I had two interviews with His Highness the Sultan, and was the guest of the British Adviser; I travelled by train as far as rail-head at Tanah Merah, and thence by launch to Kuala Krai and Kuala Lebir, in the Ulu Kelantan district.

I also went, partly by road and partly across country, from Kota Bahru to Pasir Puteh, the scene of the main outbreak, and happened to be present at the fighting on the 24th May. A map of Kelantan is annexed to this report.

2. Pasir Puteh is one of the two out-districts of Kelantan (Ulu Kelantan being the other, and lies in the south-eastern part of the state, along the coast-line, extending as far as the Trengganu frontier. It takes its name from a small town a few miles up the Semerak River, the only stream of any size in the district. The population recorded in the Census of 1911 was 25,525 out of a total of 286,751 for the whole state. Its revenue for 1914 was only about \$24,000, out of a total State revenue of \$762,772. With the exception of a few struggling European-owned coconut estates, there is no British or foreign enterprise in the district. The local Malays are extremely ignorant and stupid. As is usual in a border district, many of them are cattle-thieves. Their industries are paddy-planting, coconut cultivation and cattle raising. The number of registered fire-arms in the district is 281. There are three Police Stations: Pasir Puteh (16 men) Kuala Semerak (8 men), and Bachok (8 men). The District Officer, Che Abdul Latif, is a Singapore Malay; and all the clerks, police and other government officials are Malays.

3. Pasir Puteh is about 30 miles from Kota Bahru, the capital. An earth road has been made from Kota Bahru as far as Gunong, about half the distance, and is fit for light motor traffic in dry weather. The remainder of the journey has to be made across the padi-fields, which are a sheet of water in the wet season. The only other communication between Kota Bahru and Pasir Puteh is by sea. There are no telegraphs or telephones in the district. The deplorable lack of communication is the subject of a later part of this report.

4. The Pasir Puteh district was in former days governed by a Chief (Tunku) who owed allegiance to the Raja of Kelantan, but whose rulership was practically uncontrolled. The last Chief who had such power was Tunku Sri Mah. In the recent outbreak, the two leaders were Ungku Besar, his grandson, and Haji Mat Hassan (better known as To' Janggut), his right-hand man; and their declared intention was to drive out of all Europeans and all foreigners of every nationality, to establish the old regime and (ridiculous as it may appear) to have taxes only once in every three years.

Opposition to the land-tax was the principal cause of the outbreak, and it is necessary therefore to explain briefly the nature of the change in the system of taxation.

The new "land Rules" came into force in the 1st January 1915, and substituted a "land-tax" (mis-named "land-rent" in the official translation) for the "produce-taxes". The rates at which the produce taxes were paid under the old system were as follows:

Padi-tax (A) Upon padi-fields planted from nurseries: calculated upon native measurements, and corresponding to a rate of 93 3/4 cents per cultivated acre;

Padi-tax (B) Upon padi-fields sown with seed: calculated upon native measurements, and corresponding to a corresponding 46 3/4 cents per cultivated acre;

There was no tax upon land which had not been cultivated; upon land on which the crop had failed; or upon land used for nurseries.

Coconut-tax 3 cents per annum upon every tree in bearing.

Durian tree & tree-tax 12 1/2 cents per annum upon every tree in bearing.

Betel-vine-tax 1 cent per annum upon every tree in bearing.

Particular attention is invited to the words underlined.

The new land-tax is collected at the following rates.

\$1 to \$1.20 per acre per annum for 1st class land
80 cents per acre per annum for 2nd class land
60 cents per acre per annum for 3rd class land
40 cents per acre per annum for 4th class land

A rule provides that when new land is taken up, remission "of rent" (i.e. land-tax) may be granted for a period not exceeding five "years".

7. Padi-fields, which under the old taxation would come under class "A", would be 1st class or 2nd class land under the new system, and class "B" padi-fields would be either 3rd or 4th class land. It will be seen therefore that the tax per acre upon 2nd and 4th class padi-land is less under the new system than it was under the old system, whilst the tax upon 1st class and 3rd class land is higher. The crux, however is that under the new system, the land proprietor has to pay in respect of his padi land whether he cultivates it or not, whereas under the old system this was not so.

He has also to pay upon the land used for nurseries, and to pay whether his crop has been a failure or not. Similarly, in respect of the land covered by his coconut, durian and betel-leaf trees, he has to pay whether the trees are in bearing or not. Again under the old system, land given up to the cultivation of any trees, other than those specified above, was exempt from taxation. This is not so now.

8. It will be seen therefore that the new land-tax (which practically corresponds to the "land-rent" of the Colony and the Federated Malay States) is decidedly heavier than the old produce-tax. The produce-tax too was collected in a haphazard manner by the village headman, who found it easy not to include his friends amongst the people on his list, and politically expedient to omit all persons of standing at court. Under the new system, the maps will prevent any evasion. Another point which is objected to in the system is that many chiefs, who enjoyed a partial exemption under the old law, are by the new rules compelled to pay.

9. In addition to the land-tax, there is a scale of fees for the preparation of land-titles, (which are at present practically non-existent) and another scale for survey-fees. For the preparation of a "permit" (which is the first preliminary title, and is issued upon a mere measurement of boundary lines, without observation of angles) a fee of \$2 is charged. This is heavy; and when a man owns several small blocks of poor land, becomes oppressive. I am informed by the District Officer, Pasir Putih, that in his district, where the land is poor on the whole, a man generally owns four or five blocks of land, each of which is of an average area of an acre, and an average value of \$40.

10. From the Government point of view, the land-tax is undoubtedly preferable to the produce-tax and there is no intention of abandoning it. I have however, represented to the British Adviser, for the consideration of the State Council, that the fee of \$2 for registration of a permit might well be done away with: more especially as the permit has later to be surrendered in exchange for a permanent title, when a fresh registration fee and a survey fee (including a charge for the cost of boundary marks) become payable.

11. The land-tax is only being collected upon holdings, in respect of which permits have been prepared, after measurement of the area, only some thirty permits were ready for issue in Pasir Puteh district in April; and only one was taken out. In respect of all the holdings in the district (some tens of thousands, of lots perhaps) the old "produce-tax" is still being collected. The peasants had not therefore felt the new tax. They only knew that it was coming.

12. It is worthy of note that no opposition to the new tax has been shown in the Ulu Kelantan district, where some sixty permits have been taken out, or in the Kota Bahru district, where more than a hundred permits have been issued.

13. A great mistake was made by the Kelantan Government in not taking more care to explain to the peasantry the nature of the alteration in the taxation. This omission will have to be remedied, for when a tax affects the peasant's most valuable property, and is, in the majority of cases, the only direct tax that he pays, it is essential that he should understand it. It is important too that he should realize the benefit of having a title for his land.

14. In addition to the feeling against the land-tax, there are other causes for the outbreak. In the first place, though there is nothing to show that any German, Turkish or Indian seditionist influence has been at work in Kelantan, nevertheless the Kelantan people have for some months past undoubtedly believed the Great Britain was being defeated in the European war. When the Singapore mutiny took place in February, wild stories spread through the state of the massacres of Europeans and the successes of the mutineers. It was commonly believed that all the European troops and all the British Battleships had left the East for Europe. So firmly did the Kelantan Malays believe in British impotence in the Straits Settlements that, when the British Adviser made it known that British troops and a British Man-of-war were on their way to Kelantan, the news was received with incredulity even in the highest circles; and the arrival of Colonial Brownlow's force and of H.M.S. "Cadmus" created a feeling almost approaching bewilderment.

15. In the opinion of the British Adviser, His Highness the Sultan has, ever since the Singapore mutiny, believed that the down - fall of the British Empire was at hand. A marked change has been noted in His Highness's attitude, and unwanted opposition and difficulties have been experienced by the British Adviser within the last two months both in the State Council and in routine work. It is not that His Highness has anything to do with the outbreak. All that is meant is that his behaviour reflected the opinion which he shared with other people in the country. It is beyond doubt too that since the Singapore mutiny, the Kelantan Malays, as a whole, have been far less respectful to Europeans, and have in many cases tended to adopt an insolent and truculent attitude.

16. Amongst the more ignorant classes, and in the more backward districts, the feeling naturally arose that an opportunity had occurred for expelling the British Officials. To the ignorant Malays of Pasir Puteh, there was nothing ridiculous in Ungku Besar's hope of seizing Pasir Puteh, and ruling it himself. It must be remembered that, only a few years ago, such a thing would have been possible.

17. There is yet another factor in the case. The movement against the land-tax in Pasir Puteh, and Ungku Besar's aspirations had the support of certain "ungkus" of high rank in Kota Bahru. His Highness the Sultan told me that he was certain of this. He would not give me any names, as he was still making enquiries. I may however say the persons suspected by the British Adviser are the Tunku Besar, the Tunku Bendahara, the Ungku Chik Penambang. All three are members of the State Council and the first two are uncles of the Sultan. It is believed -- but it is really only a matter for suspicion -- that their object was not only to rouse the whole of Kelantan against the foreigners, as soon as the Pasir Puteh outbreak had proved successful, but to depose the Sultan in favour of one of themselves.

18. It will be seen in the narrative that the outbreak with the exception of two minor affairs, was confined to the Pasir Puteh district. The Malays of the other districts however were only waiting to see the result of the movement in Pasir Puteh. When Colonel Brownlow's force and H.M.S. "Cadmus" arrived, the Malays of Kota Bahru district threw in their lot with them and with the Government. If that military and naval force had not been sent from Singapore, the Sultan would have got no response to his forced levy.

19. It was a more coincidence that His Highness the Sultan of Trengganu was in Kelantan from the 3rd to the 5th May. His Highness was making a formal return of a call paid by the Sultan of Kelantan last year. The date had been fixed for some time, and the Sultan of Trengganu, when he heard of the trouble in Pasir Puteh, did not consider it of sufficient importance to justify a postponement of his visit. There has

been no trouble in Trengganu, where His Highness has issued a Proclamation forbidding his people to harbour any of the Pasir Puteh rioters.

20. I now come to the consideration of the steps to be taken to punish the offenders, to restore public confidence, and security, to improve the administration, and to prevent a similar outbreak in the future.

21. It is beyond all doubt that the people of Pasir Puteh district, as a whole, were practically united in their sympathy with the rioters, though, so far as can be judged, not more than two or three hundred men actually took up arms. His Highness the Sultan, in conversation with me, strongly expressed the opinion that the whole district should be punished, and I suggested a fine upon every house in the district, unless the owner was either known to be loyal or could prove his loyalty. His Highness highly approved of the suggestion, and the matter will be considered in State Council. Another suggestion that I made was that all the fire-arms in the district should be called in, and that they should only be re-issued in cases where loyalty is known or can be proved.

22. Of the five ring-leaders in the outbreak, two are shewn by the Narrative to have been accounted for. So long as the other three are at large, there is the danger of another outbreak. It is necessary therefore to relax no effort to secure them, and the permission of the Trengganu Government to enter its territory, if necessary, must be obtained. The British Adviser Kelantan has addressed the British Agent, Trengganu upon the subject. In addition to these three men, some sixty persons have been mentioned by name in the various police investigations as having taken part in rioting or looting, and these people must be brought to trial. Until the principal offenders have been caught, and the various police cases connected with the outbreak have been disposed of, it will not be safe to reduce the detachment of Malay States Guides in Kelantan below its present number of 240 men.

The Malay States Guides are now distributed as follows:

A Pasir Puteh, 100 men (infantry) under Major Berton and two native officers, with Dr. Wood in medical charge;

At Kota Bahru 50 men (infantry) and 40 gunners of the mule battery (without the mules) under Captain Blandford and a Native Officer;

At Tanah Merah (on the railway) 42 men under a Native Officer;

At Pasir Mas (also on the railway) 8 men and a Non-Commissioned Officer.

23. The police force of the State consists of two Europeans, 221 Malays and 63 Sikhs, of whom the 2 Europeans, 127 Malays and 48 Sikhs are concentrated in Kots Bahru. The remaining 94 Malays and 15 Sikhs are distributed throughout the State in 14 police stations. Colonel Brownlow R.A., in a telegram from Kelantan to His Excellency the General Officer Commanding on the 11th May, expressed the opinion that a permanent garrison or "a large increase of police force is essential". I venture to qualify this statement by the addition of the words "until there are better road communications" - I consider that as soon as the present excitement has subsided the present force of 280 Malay States Guides could be reduced to 100 Sikhs (50 at Pasir Puteh, 25 at Kota Bahru, and 25 at Kuala Krai) and that when roads from Kota Bahru to Pasir Puteh and Kuala Krai are open to fast light motor traffic this number might safely be reduced to 50 Sikhs, who might than be stationed at Kota Bahru.

24. Pasir Puteh's position near the Kelantan-Trengganu frontier makes it, as has been stated above, a resort of the bad characters of both States. Owing to the inefficiency of the police in both States, cattle-thefts are almost unchecked. A police station at Bukit Petir, on the frontier, would if properly supervised and connected with Pasir Puteh by telephone, do much to ameliorate the present disgraceful state of affairs.

25. It is essential that an European should be stationed at Pasir Puteh as District Officer. His presence will improve the morale and conduct of the police, and will inspire confidence amongst the Malay peasants, Chinese traders and European planters alike. The late Mr. Mason, when British Adviser, is said to have promised the European planters of the district that an European District Officer would be stationed in Pasir Puteh as soon as the revenue of the district reached \$24,000 per annum. This figure was attained last year, and the British Adviser proposes to ask the State Council to station Mr. Pepys at Pasir Puteh. The present District Officer, Che Abdul Latif, is unpopular in Pasir Puteh. It is complained that he is overbearing and brutal to the peasants. From what I saw, I doubt the truth of this. My opinion is that he is unpopular, firstly because he is regarded as a tax-collector, and secondly because he is a foreign Malay. He is capable officer, and should, I think, remain with Mr. Pepys for a month or two in Pasir Puteh to assist him in putting the office in order and should then be transferred to Kota Bahru or Ulu Kelantan as Assistant District Officer or Land Officer.

26. I come now to the crying need of Kelantan - that of communications. Two roads and a few telephone connections are required immediately. From a military point of view, they will minimize the possibility, and the danger of such an outbreak as this: from an administrative point of view, they will lighten and facilitate the work of every government

department; and from the economic point of view they will be invaluable in developing the resources of the country. I am making these roads and telephones the subject of a separate, non-confidential report, and will not therefore discuss them in detail in this report. I will only say that the roads are from Kota Bahru to Pasir Puteh, and from Kota Bahru to Kuala Krai. On both roads the earthwork and bridging have been completed for some miles. Lack of funds has brought the work to a stand still. Estimates supplied to me by the Director of Works and Surveys, Kelantan, give a cost of \$200,000 for the completion of the Kota Bahru - Pasir Puteh road (28 mile), \$152,000 for the completion of the Kota Bahru - Kuala Krai road (44 miles) and \$11,600 for telephones connecting the police stations in Pasir Puteh district. This expenditure would be distributed over two or perhaps three years. Not more than \$100,000 would be required during the current year.

27. The Kelantan Government has not the funds with which to undertake these works, and I understand that neither the Colony nor the Federated Malay States Government is in a position to lend it money. In the circumstances, it may be possible for the Kelantan Government to raise money by a loan from the Mercantile Bank, or perhaps from Towkay Loke Yew. I am convinced that these two roads should be constructed at once as a matter of military precaution, and every one with whom I have discussed the matter has expressed the same opinion.

28. His Highness the Sultan, who was greatly alarmed by the recent outbreak, is not only anxious that the road to Pasir Puteh should be put in hand at once, but wants to have it carried on into Trengganu. So far as I can judge, it is another eight miles from Pasir Puteh to the Trengganu frontier, and thence fifty miles to the capital of Trengganu. That such a road would be of inestimable value in bringing about a better state of affairs in Trengganu is beyond doubt. The road would be worth building as a matter of military precaution alone.

29. I stated in paragraph 27 that the Kelantan Government was not in a position to pay for the construction of the roads advocated in this report. It is necessary therefore to consider its financial position. Its assets and liabilities are set forth in the statement attached, which is taken from the British Adviser's annual report for 1914. The principal indebtedness is in respect of the following loans.

i.	Loan from the Federated Malay States in respect of the payment under the Draft Cancellation Deed	\$3,000,000
ii.	Loan from the Federated Malay States for general purposes, especially for survey	250,000
iii.	Loan from the Straits Settlements for general purposes	120,000

		\$3,370,000

Its revenue and expenditure for the last six years have been as follows in round figures:

	Total Revenue	Total Expenditure	Expenditure on special Services, P.W.D.
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1909	371,000	377,000	9,000
1910	419,000	404,000	44,000
1911	488,000	570,000	82,000 (\$78,000 on roads)
1912	536,000	665,000	126,000 (\$56,000 on roads)
1913	676,000	672,000	104,000 (\$31,000 on roads)
1914	763,000	806,000	38,000 (\$22,000 on roads)

Though the revenue has increased in a satisfactory manner, it has been outstripped by the expenditure - a very expensive item of special expenditure being the survey of the State and the agricultural holdings. There is practically no mining in the State, and the only present hope of increased revenue lies in the development of the Land Revenue. No sudden large increase of revenue can therefore be expected; and the State will not be able to repay any loan for many years to come. It should however be able to pay the interest upon the loan required for the road constructions indicated in this report, as well as upon the loans it has already contracted.

30. In this connection, I may say that I am of the opinion that Kelantan is certain to enter the Federation before many years are over -- possibly as soon as Pahang and Kelantan are linked by railway. The Malays are unable to take their part in the administration of the State, and the work falls upon a very small staff of European Officers.

31. This last matter for consideration in this long and diffuse report is that of payment of the cost of the expeditionary force to suppress the outbreak. I venture to suggest that no charge be made for the services rendered by H.M.S. "Cadmus", that in respect of the troops from Singapore all charges, except actual salaries, be paid by Kelantan and that in respect of the Malay States Guides salaries as well as all charges should be paid --. His Highness will appreciate the distinctions; and the fact that admission to the Federation would entitle Kelantan to the services of the Malay States Guides, free of charge, will make its impression on His Highness's mind.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant

W. George Maxwell

Acting Secretary to the High Commissioner