
UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama
Sidang Akademik 2006/2007

Oktober/November 2006

**HSM 313 – DOKUMEN-DOKUMEN DALAM SEJARAH
MALAYSIA 1**

Masa : 3 jam

Sila pastikan bahawa kertas peperiksaan ini mengandungi LIMA PULUH ENAM muka surat yang bercetak sebelum anda memulakan peperiksaan ini.

Jawab EMPAT soalan sahaja. DUA soalan daripada setiap bahagian.

...2/-

Bahagian A

1. Dengan merujuk kepada Dokumen 1, bincangkan apakah yang cuba digambarkan oleh pihak Bugis tentang kemasukan mereka ke dalam dunia politik Melayu-Johor?
[100 markah]
2. Berdasarkan bahagian I, II, III dan IV dalam Dokumen 2, analisis pemikiran Frank Swettenham tentang dasar kemaraan British di Tanah Melayu pada tahun 1874.
[100 markah]
3. Dengan merujuk kepada Dokumen 3, bincangkan:
 - [a] Mengapa Ordinan Mui Tsai diperkenal oleh kerajaan kolonial pada tahun 1933?
[40 markah]
 - [b] Sejauh manakah fasa-fasa yang terkandung dalam Ordinan Mui Tsai berjaya mengawal sepenuhnya ketidakadilan dalam sistem Mui Tsai di Negeri-Negeri Selat dan Tanah Melayu sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua.
[60 markah]
4. Dengan merujuk kepada Dokumen 4, bincangkan perkara-perkara berikut:
 - [a] Apakah perkara-perkara yang mendorong sultan-sultan Kedah terdahulu menyerahkan Pulau Pinang dan Seberang Perai kepada Syarikat Hindia Timur Inggeris pada tahun 1786 dan 1800?
[50 markah]
 - [b] Apakah tekanan yang dihadapi oleh Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin pada saat surat itu ditulis pada tahun 1810 dan nyatakan tujuan baginda menulis surat tersebut kepada Gabenor Jeneral di India?
[50 markah]

Bahagian B

5. Dengan merujuk kepada Dokumen 5 jawab soalan-soalan berikut:
- [a] Nilai cerita sebenar [tersirat] yang ingin disampaikan oleh pengarangnya melalui *Cerita Tekukur*?
[60 markah]
 - [b] Jelaskan halangan-halangan yang dihadapi oleh kegiatan percetakan semasa cerita ini disiarkan.
[20 markah]
 - [c] Jelaskan latar belakang dan watak-watak sebenar berikut:
 - [i] Tekukur nombor 1874 [5 markah]
 - [ii] Tekukur nombor 1909 [5 markah]
 - [iii] Kuda Putih [5 markah]
 - [iv] Burung Tekukur [5 markah]
6. Berdasarkan Dokumen 6, perincikan:
- [a] Bidang pekerjaan utama yang diceburi penduduk di Negeri-Negeri Melayu Tidak Bersekutu pada 1921.
[30 markah]
 - [b] Mengapakah aktiviti penanaman padi paling ramai disertai penduduk Kelantan dan Kedah berbanding Johor.
[40 markah]
 - [c] Bidang pekerjaan yang paling tinggi diceburi oleh kaum wanita dan mengapa?
[30 markah]
7. Dengan merujuk kepada Dokumen 7, jawab soalan-soalan berikut:
- [a] Sejauh manakah dakwaan James Brooke bahawa semua pertempuran yang terjadi di perairan timur [Kepulauan Melayu] adalah angkara lanun dapat diterima?
[60 markah]

...4/-

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA
Peperiksaan Semester 1
Sidang Akademik 2006/07

HSM 313 DOKUMEN-DOKUMEN DALAM SEJARAH MALAYSIA 1

DOKUMEN 1

Persetiaan Melayu-Bugis

Syahadan adapun Raja Kecil setelah musta'ib//lah// kelengkapannya, maka ia pun menyuruh /pergi/ ke kuala Johor, dan ke Singapura, akan seorang (daripada) menterinya yang pandai memujuk(-mujuk) dan menipu-nipu /iaitu/ memasukkan /pertipuan/ kepada hati rakyat(-rakyat) (di situ),² dengan perkataan (yang manis serta)² mengatakan /pula/ "(Yang) ini /Raja Kecil dengan/ sebenar-benarnya putera Marhum Mangkat di Julang. Sekarang ini adalah ia hendak (berangkat) ke Johor, hendak mengambil pusakanya menjadi raja. Maka barang siapa rakyat yang tiada mau mengikut /kepadanya/, nanti ditimpa daulat Marhum Mangkat di Julang, tiada selamat sampai kepada anak cucu cicitnya. Syahadan barang siapa (yang) menyertai anak Marhum (Mangkat di Julang) itu, mendapatlah kurnia/nya/ daripada Raja Kecil, dan Raja Kecil sudah sedia dengan beberapa kayu kain yang baik/-baik/ akan dipersalin³ jenang batin itu, apalagi raja negara." Syahadan (kata sahib al-hikayat) apabila mendengar **segala rakyat (laut itu)** akan perkataan suruhan Raja Kecil itu, maka (relalah semuanya bersama-sama Raja Kecil), /jadi/ menjawablah segala mereka/-mereka/ itu /demikian katanya/, "Silakanlah Raja Kecil datang (ke Johor), saya semua adalah menyertai." Kemudian/nya maka/ suruhan itu pun pergi/lah/ pula kepada laksamana bapak Encik Pung itu, membawa surat Raja Kecil. Maka laksamana pun relalah (pula) belot.

...6/-

Syahadan apabila selesailah (ber)jalan tipu hikmat itu, maka Raja Kecik (pun) datanglah beberapa kelengkapan //hendak// melanggar Johor itu. Maka tiadalah rakyat-rakyat Johor itu⁴ memberi tahu ke dalam negeri lagi //kepada baginda//. Maka masuk(lah) segala kelengkapan itu ke dalam Johor dengan terserkap⁵ /sahaja/. Maka terkejutlah orang (yang di dalam negeri) Johor, mengatakan, "Musuh datang melanggar." Maka dipermaklumkan (oranglah) kepada Yang Dipertuan Muda. Maka tiada dihiraukan //oleh Yang Dipertuan Muda// sebab ia lagi⁶ main catur. (Dua tiga kali dipersembahkan oleh orang maka tiada juga Yang Dipertuan Muda itu pedulikan). Maka Raja Kecik /pun/ serta //segala// /orang/ Minangkabau (pun) sampailah ke Pangkalan Rama lalulah naik ke jambatan dengan segala pendekar-pendekarnya dan (hulubalang menteri,) menyembunyikan //setingar// /dan/ senapangnya. Maka melawanlah orang-orang //negeri// Johor itu, berperang mana-mana (yang) sempat berbunuh-bunuhan(lah) sehari(-hari) itu. Maka banyaklah orang Johor belot ke(pada) sebelah Minangkabau, kerana laksamana kepala perangnya ((telah belot)). Maka Raja Muda pun mengamuk isterinya. Setelah sudah ia //mengamuk// /isterinya itu maka/ //baharu ia// keluar mengamuk pula, kerana fikirannya daripada isterinya diambil //oleh// Minangkabau diperbuatnya gundik, terlebih baik biar hilang sekali. Kemudian Yang Dipertuan Muda pun mengamuk menyerbukan dirinya kepada pihak sebelah Raja Kecik itu. Lalu(lah) berkejar-kejaran hambat-berhambat/an/ hingga sampai ke/pada/ Kayu Anak nama tempat(nya). Maka Yang Dipertuan Muda pun mangkatlah di situ, sebab sabur-menyabur orang beramuk itu.

Syahadan tatkala sudah mangkat Yang Dipertuan Muda itu maka Johor pun alahlah. Maka tinggallah /Baginda/ Sultan Abd al-Jalil (maka keluar ia) dari dalam kotanya (itu) pergi ke/pada/ kampung yang lain pula. Maka musyawarahlah Sultan Abd al-Jalil itu, "Baik mengamukkah, atau baik menyerahkan diri?"

Maka muafakatliah segala menteri(-menteri)nya //itu//, "Baik/lah/ menyerahkan diri." Maka lalulah Sultan Abd al-Jalil pergi kepada Raja Kecik dengan tiada

bersenjata, menyerahkan diri//nya//. Maka tiadalah diapa-apakan oleh Raja Kecil (akan Sultan Abd al-Jalil) itu, diperbaik-baikinya sambil katanya, "Ayah saya hendak jadikan Bendahara semula".

Syahadan tiada/lah/ berapa lamanya //antaranya// maka Raja Kecil pun bertunang(an)lah dengan putera Sultan Abd al-Jalil itu, yang bernama Tengku Tengah. Di dalam //pada// (hal itu) pada (ketika) hari raya, maka datanglah Sultan Abd al-Jalil putera-berputera mengunjungi Raja Kecil. ((Maka)) putera//nya seorang perempuan// yang bernama Tengku Kamariah, (dibawanya) bersama-sama. Maka terpandanglah Raja Kecil //itu// akan paras Tengku Kamariah itu, berahilah ia pula. Maka (Sultan Abd al-Jalil balik, lalu) dipintanya pula Tengku Kamariah itu, tiadalah (jadi) dengan Tengku Tengah itu. Maka tiadalah terkata-kata Sultan Abd al-Jalil itu, kerana lebih-lebih maklum(lah) orang sudah alah. Syahadan maka /di/nikah/kan/lah Tengku Kamariah itu dengan Raja Kecil, betapa adat ((raja)) yang besar-besar bernikah kawin, demikianlah halnya. Maka tetaplah Raja Kecil itu di dalam negeri Johor, maka seolah-olah//nya/ negeri Johor itu beraja(kan raja), dualah pada masa itu adanya.

Maka tersebutlah perkataan opu-opu raja Bugis yang pergi ke Langat. Maka apabila sampai ia ke Langat maka muafakatliah ia dengan (segala) Bugis di situ menyiapkan alat peperangan, akan tetapi tiadalah tentu yang hendak dibantunya, kerana barang siapa yang patut ((pada)) timu-timunya, itulah yang hendak dibantunya. Maka di dalam hal itu (telah) didengarnya //negeri// Johor tengah berperang Sultan Abd al-Jalil dengan Raja Kecil maka segeralah ia masuk ke (negeri) Johor dengan segala kelengkapan(nya seperti punggawa indera guru serta juak-juak-nya sekalian). Maka apabila tibalah ia ke Johor (maka) dilihatnya negeri Johor sudah alah, dan Raja Kecil pun menjadi menantu //kepada// Sultan Abd al-Jalil. Maka ia pun heranlah seraya katanya, "**Bagaimana negeri sebesar ini dengan mudahnya saja alah?**" Maka lalu ia berjumpa Raja Kecil, maka diperjamu oleh Raja Kecil betapa adat raja-raja berjamu(-jamu). Kemudian (maka) ia pun (balik) turun ke perahunya. Syahadan adapun //Baginda// Sultan Abd al-Jalil serta //dengan// bendaharanya dan paduka (anakanda) baginda (itu iaitu) Raja Sulaiman,

duduklah (ia) di dalam dukacita kesusahan, diperhina-hinakan oleh Raja Kecil serta pula dikhabarkan hendak (dipulangkan-nya) /baginda itu/ jadi bendahara semula. Maka /dengan perkataan itu/ terbakarlah hatinya putera-berputera dan pada ketika hari yang besar /itu/, //maka// disuruhnya /lah/ putera-putera Sultan Abd al-Jalil membawa semberab jawatannya.² (Maka) makin³ bertambah-tambahlah pecah hatinya Sultan itu putera-puteranya akan diperbuatan oleh Raja Kecil (yang demikian itu) sementelahnya pula Raja Sulaiman hati orang muda sangatlah panasnya. Lalu(lah ia) bermuafakat berdua beradik (dengan) Tengku Tengah /iaitu/ hendak didudukannya /Tengku Tengah itu/ dengan raja Bugis (iaitu Opu Dahing Parani) mudah-mudahan //men//dapat jalan (yang) menghapuskan malunya itu. Maka relalah /ia/ //saudaranya// Tengku Tengah itu (men)jadi isteri opu-opu itu.

Syahadan tersebut di dalam siarah Siak, adalah /yang/ Tengku Tengah itulah yang sangat-sangat hendak menghapuskan kemaluannya itu. Maka muafakat(lah) ia dengan saudaranya Raja Sulaiman (itu), maka lalu ia memanggil opu-opu itu makan. Kemudian Tengku Tengah pun berdiri di pintu selasar membuka bidai, melepak suban/nya/ di telinga sambil ia berkata, "Hai raja Bugis, jikalau sungguh tuan hamba berani, tutuplah kemaluan hamba ini anak-beranak saudara-bersaudara! Maka ((apabila)) tertutup kemaluan beta semua (ini), maka relalah beta(semua ini) menjadi hamba raja Bugis: jika hendak disuruh jadi penanak nasi ((raja)) sekalipun relalah beta."

Maka apabila /opu-opu dan/ Opu Dahing Parani mendengar kata Tengku Tengah itu maka ia pun menjawab seraya katanya, "Insya-Allah, seboleh(-boleh)nya /hamba tolonglah dan/hambalah menutup kemaluan tengku semua anak-beranak adik-beradik." Kemudian baharulah berjanji Raja Sulaiman dengan opu-opu itu jika hasil maksudnya yang opu-opu lima beradik (itu), salah seoranglah menjadi Yang Dipertuan Muda turun-menurun. Setelah selesai berjanji itu maka mengadap ia /Raja Sulaiman itu/ kepada //paduka// ayahanda //bagindanya// dipermaklumkan² /segala/ hal-ehwal maksudnya itu. Maka dikabulkan³ oleh ayahandanya ikhtiar puteranya itu. Maka lalu/lah/ dinikahkannya saudaranya Tengku Tengah itu dengan Opu Dahing Parani betapa adat istiadat raja-raja nikah kahwin. Maka berkasih-

British Rule in Malaya

F. A. Swettenham

31 March 1896

Chairman: Sir Cecil Clementi Smith

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

I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN MALĀYA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Pérak	\$235,666
Selangor	138,216
Sungei Ujong	35,537
Negeri Sembilan	32,797
Pahang	28,367
Total	470,583

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester 1

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HSM 313 DOKUMEN-DOKUMEN DALAM SEJARAH MALAYSIA 1

DOKUMEN 3

**STRAITS SETTLEMENTS MUI TSAI ORDINANCE AS CONTAINED IN THE
1936 EDITIONS OF THE LAWS OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.**

*Ordinance
No. 5 of 1932.*

Mui Tsai

Relating to Mui tsai.

(1st January, 1933)

Short title.

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Mui Tsai Ordinance.

Interpretation.

2. In this Ordinance, unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context-

“Employer “ means a person who has acquired the custody, possession, control or guardianship of a mui tsai;

“ Mui tsai “ means a female domestic servant the custody, possession, control or guardianship of whom has been acquired, either directly or indirectly, within or without the Colony, by way of purchase, gift or inheritance, or by way of pledge for or in settlement of a debt:

Provided that any female domestic servant the custody, possession, control or guardianship of whom has been acquired in any such manner as aforesaid shall cease to be a mui tsai on attaining the age of 18 years or on marriage, whichever shall first happen;

“Protector” means the Secretary for Chinese Affairs and includes the Protectors and Assistant Protectors of Chinese in any Settlement.

Acquisition
of mui tsai
prohibited.

3. No person shall, after the first day of January, 1933, acquire the custody, possession, control or guardianship of a mui tsai.

Registration
of mui tsai.

4. – (1) Every person who on the first day of January, 1933, shall have a mui tsai in his custody, possession, control or guardianship in the Colony shall register such mui tsai in the prescribed manner within six months after such date.

(2) It shall be lawful for the Protector his absolute discretion, to refuse to register any particular mui tsai and to remove any particular mui tsai from the register.

Prohibition
of unregistered
mui tsai.

5. Subject to the period allowed for registration, and subject to the provisions of section 9, no person shall have in his custody, possession, control or guardianship an unregistered mui tsai.

Unregistered
mui tsai
brought
into the Colony.

6. No person shall, after the first day of January, 1933, bring or cause to be brought into the Colony any mui tsai unless such mui tsai-

(a) has previously been in the Colony and has been registered under this Ordinance; or

(b) has been registered as a mui tsai under the law for the time being in force in some other British Colony or in a British Protectorate or in a Malay State under the British protection.

Treatment
of mui tsai.

7. – (1) No employer of a mui tsai shall overwork or ill-treat mui tsai.

(2) Every employer of a mui tsai shall provide such mui tsai with wages at a rate not less than such minimum rate as may be prescribed, and with sufficient food, clothing of a reasonable kind and, in case of illness, proper medical attendance.

Disputes
concerning
wages.

8. – (1) in the event of any dispute arising between a mui tsai and her employer concerning the payment of wages the Protector may inquire into and decide such dispute and make such order as he may deem just.

(2) Any order made by the Protector under sub-section (1) may be enforced by a District Court in the same manner as a judgment of such Court, and all necessary processes may be served by such Court on behalf of the Protector.

Transfer of mui tsai prohibited except on death of former employer.

9. - (1) No mui tsai shall, after the first day of January, 1933, be transferred from one employer to another without the previous sanction of the Protector:

Provided that upon the death of the employer of any mui tsai the Protector may, subject to the provisions of section 10, make any order which he may think fit regarding the transfer of such mui tsai to a new employer.

(2) Every person who, after the first day of January, 1933, shall become the employer of mui tsai by reason of the death of the former employer of such mui tsai, or for any other reason, shall report such fact in prescribed manner within one week after he shall have become the employer of such mui tsai.

Restoration to parent or guardian.

10. - (1) Any mui tsai who wishes to be restored to the custody of her parent or natural guardian, and any mui tsai whose parent or natural guardian wishes such mui tsai to be restored to his custody, shall, without any payment whatsoever, be restored to such custody unless the Protector shall see some grave objection in the interest of such mui tsai to such restoration.

(2) Any such mui tsai may, by order of the Protector, be detained in a place of safety until arrangements have been made for her restoration to her parent or natural guardian.

Right of mui tsai and employer to apply to the Protector.

11. Every mui tsai and every employer shall have the right to apply to the Protector, and upon any such application the Protector may, subject to the provisions of section 10, make any order which he may think fit regarding the custody, possession, control or guardianship of the mui tsai.

Harbouring.

Power to

12. Any person who harbours any girl knowing or having reason to believe that such girl is a mui tsai shall report the fact to the Protector or at a Police Station within a period of 48 hours.

13. - (I) The Governor in Council may make rules for and in respect of all or any of the following purpose or matters; -

(a) the registration of mui tsai, the taking of photographs and finger prints of mui tsai upon registration, the particulars to be entered in the registers, and the keeping of such registers up to date;

(b) the inspection and control of mui tsai;

(c) any matter which under this Ordinance is required or permitted to be prescribed;

(d) generally, in relation to any matters, whether similar or not to those above-mentioned, as to which it is expedient to make rules for carrying into effect the objects of this Ordinance.

(2) All such rules shall be published in the *Gazette* and shall be laid before the Legislative Council at the first meeting after publication and shall not come into force until approved by resolution of the said Council.

(3) In approving any such rules the Legislative Council may make such alterations therein as it may think fit.

Penalties.

14. - (I) Every person who contravenes or fails to comply with any of the provisions of section 7 shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or to imprisonment of either description for any term not exceeding two years, or to both.

(2) Every person who is guilty of an offence against this Ordinance or contravenes or fails to comply with any of the provisions of this Ordinance or of any rule made thereunder shall, if no penalty has otherwise been specially provide, be liable to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars or to imprisonment of either description for any term not exceeding six months.

Trial of offences.

15. - (I) All offences against this Ordinance or any rule made thereunder shall be cognizable by a District Court or a Police Court:

Provided that no prosecution shall be instituted in respect of any such offence without the previous sanction of the Protector.

(2) A Police Court may, notwithstanding anything in the Criminal Procedure Code, impose the full punishment prescribed by this Ordinance in respect of any offence.

Power to
convict of
voluntarily
causing hurt
in a prosecution
under section 7.

16. In any prosecution under section 7 it shall be lawful for the Court to convict of voluntarily causing hurt if it finds that the offence of voluntarily causing hurt was committed but does not find that the girl in question was a mui tsai.

Presumption
that girl is a
mui tsai.

17. In every prosecution under this Ordinance or any rule made thereunder it shall be presumed until the contrary is proved that the girl in question was a mui tsai in the custody, procession, control or guardianship of the accused at the time of the alleged offence, and this onus shall not be deemed to be discharged by mere proof that the girl was described in any transaction by some term other than mui tsai.

Presumption
as to age.

18. In every prosecution under this Ordinance or any rule made thereunder, whether or not evidence be called on the question of age, any girl who appears to the Court to be of or under or over any particular age shall, until the contrary is proved, be presumed for the purposes of such prosecution to be of or under or over such age as the case may be.

Admissibility
in evidence of
register, etc..

19.-(I) In any proceedings whatsoever, whether under this Ordinance or otherwise, the following shall be admissible in evidence on production: -

- (a) any register or any part of any register which purports to have been kept under this Ordinance or any rule made thereunder;
- (b) any extract from any such register which purports to have been certified as correct by the Protector;
- (c) any photograph or finger prints which purport to have been taken for the purpose of any such register or under any provision-of this Ordinance.

(2) If any such photograph appears to have a serial number, and if the said serial number appears in some part of any such register as apparently assigned to some particular mui tsai it shall be presumed until the contrary is proved that the photograph in question is the photograph of the mui tsai indicated by the serial number.

(3) If any such finger prints appear to have a serial number, and if the said serial number appears in some part of any such register as apparently assigned to some particular mui tsai, it shall be presumed until the contrary is proved that the finger prints in question are the finger prints of the mui tsai indicated by the said serial number.

Power of
Protector.

20.-(I) The Protector or any officer generally or specially authorised in that behalf in writing by the Protector may visit any place in which any mui tsai resides or is believed to reside, and may inspect any such place, and may inquire into the condition of any such mui tsai and her wages, food and living conditions generally. For the purpose of such inquiry the Protector or such officer as aforesaid may require the employer or any adult member of his household to answer any such questions as he may think proper to ask.

(2) The Protector or any officer generally or specially authorised in that behalf in writing by the Protector may enter, and for that purpose may use force if necessary, and search any vessel, house, building or other place where he has reasonable cause to suspect that an offence against this Ordinance or any rule made thereunder has been or is being committed, and may remove to a place of safety any girl in respect of whom he has reasonable cause to believe that any such offence has been or is being committed, to be there detained until her case is inquired into.

(3) Any person who obstructs or hinders, or attempts to obstruct or hinder, the Protector or any such officer as aforesaid in the exercise of the powers conferred by this section, or who refuses to answer any question put to him by the Protector or such officer, shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

Power of
Protector to
require security
in certain cases.

21. -(1) If the Protector has reasonable cause to suspect that any girl has after the first day of January, 1993, been purchased or otherwise acquired in or out of the Colony with a view to being placed in the custody, possession, control or guardianship of any person as a mui tsai, he may require any person in whose custody, possession, control or guardianship she appears to be to produce such girl and to furnish copies of her and such person's own photographs and to give security to the satisfaction of the Protector that such girl will not leave the Settlement in which she then is without the previous consent in writing of the Protector, and will not be employed as a mui tsai, will not be trained or disposed of as a prostitute or for immoral purpose, and will not, whether by way of adoption or otherwise, be transferred to the care or custody of any other person without the previous consent in writing of the Protector, and that she will be produced before the Protector whenever he requires it.

(2) Any person who fails to produce such girl when so required under subsection (1) shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

(3) In default of such photographs being furnished or such security being given the Protector may, by warrant under his hand, order such girl to be removed to a place of safety and there detained until she can be returned to the place from whence she was brought or until other proper provision can be made for her protection.

Security on
department of
girl from a
Settlement.

22. -(1) Whenever the Protector is of opinion that it is the interests of any such girl as is referred to in section 21 that such girl should be permitted to leave the Settlement in which she then is the Protector may grant such permission upon being supplied with such photographs as he may require and upon security being given to his satisfaction that the person in whose custody or control such girl appears to be will bring such girl before such officer Government within such period and at such destination as may be specified in the bond.

(2) The giving of such further security shall not relieve any person who gave the security required by section 21 from any obligation under the condition relating to departure from the Settlement, unless the Protector in

the Settlement where such girl then resides obtains fresh security in the manner specified in section 21.

(3) a certificate under the hand of the officer of Government referred to in sub-section (1) that such girl has not been brought before him shall in any legal proceedings be conclusive evidence to that effect, unless the Court requires such officer to be called as a witness.

Officers to be
public servants.

23. The Protector and every officer generally or specially authorized in writing under section 20 shall be deemed to be public servants within the meaning of the Penal code.

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester 1

Sidang Akademik 2006/07

HSM 313 DOKUMEN-DOKUMEN DALAM SEJARAH MALAYSIA 1

DOKUMEN 4TEXT OF LETTER FROM SULTAN AHMAD TAJU'D-DIN HALIM SHAH
TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA24th DECEMBER, 1810¹

'In the year 1199, in the time of my late Father, Mr. Light bearing on the head of submission the commands of the King of England, and the orders of the Governor General, with various splendid presents appeared in the presence of my late Father, the Rajah, and requested in the name of the King of England, and of the Governor General, the Island of Pinang, for the purpose of repairing their Ships of War, highly extolling the greatness, splendour, power, wisdom, and beneficence of His Majesty, the prosperity of the Honorable Company, and all those connected in the ties of friendship with them; promising, that the King and the Governor General would assist my Father in whatever might be required, and would prevent the Enemies of Quedah engaging in proceedings detrimental to the Country. Moreover, that they should pay rent for the Island 30,000 Dollars per Annum, and entered into sundry other engagements. My Father consulting with the Ministers, considering that the neighbouring Burmah and Siamese Nations were more powerful than Quedah, and having reflected that the King of Europe (i.e. England) was greater and more powerful than either of those nations, and that by means of the friendship of the English Company, these powers would be prevented from violence or molestation, perceived, that it would be very desirable to enter into Alliance with the Company, because the Europeans were just and regular in conducting all their affairs, and should the Burmah or Siamese Powers unjustly attempt violence, the powerful aid and protection of the Company, would enable my Father to repel the aggression. My Father was therefore

¹ From J. Anderson, *Political and Commercial Considerations Relative to the Malayan Peninsula, and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Prince of Wales Island, 1824*, pp. 75-81.

extremely desirous of obtaining the friendship of the Company, under whose powerful shelter and protection, the Country might be transmitted to his descendants increased in strength. For this Country being small, and deficient in strength, would depend on the power of the Company to repel the attacks of the Siamese and Burmahs. My Father accordingly impressed with a sincere desire to obtain the friendship of the Company, granted the Island of Pinang according to the request of Mr. Light, the Agent for the Governor General, and a written engagement, containing my Father's demands from the Company, was given to Mr. Light, for the purpose of being forwarded to the Governor General. After some time, Mr. Light returned to settle on the Island, bringing some Sepoys, and informed my Father, that the Governor General consented to his requests, and had sent people to settle on the Island; that the Writing from my Father had been transmitted by the Governor General to Europe, for the purpose of receiving the Royal Seal and Sanction, and that it would be returned in six Months. My Father accordingly granted permission to proceed to settle on the Island of Pinang, and sent his people to assist in the work, and his Officers to protect them from the Pirates in the commencement. My Father having waited some time, at the expiration of one year, requested the Writing from Mr. Light, who desired him to wait a little; at the end of six years no authentic writing could be obtained; he received 10,000 Dollars per Annum, but Mr. Light refused to fulfil the remainder of his engagements, and in consequence of my Father insisting upon having a writing, agreeably to his former stipulation, a misunderstanding arose between Quedah and Pinang, after which a **new Treaty of Alliance** was concluded.

Since that time, many Governors have been place over Pinang, but my Father was unable to obtain a writing either from Europe, or from the Governor General. In the year 1215, my Father left the Government to my Uncle, at which time, the then Lieutenant Governor of Pinang, Sir George Leith, requested the cession of a tract of land on the opposite Shore, alledging that the Island being small, the Company's people were distressed for procuring Timber, and the raising of Cattle. My Uncle being desirous to remove the uneasiness, granted a tract (of which the boundaries were defined) accordingly, placing entire dependence on the power of the Company to protect and defend him against his Enemies, and Sir George Leith made a new Treaty, consisting of fourteen articles, and **constituting the two as one Country**. This, and the former Treaty, are inscribed on the Company's Records. During the whole Government of my Father and Uncle, no injury or molestation of any

consequence had been sustained, nor has any one ever offered to send my letter of supplication to the King or to the Governor General. I consequently desisted, and only communicated with the several Governors of the Island in matters relating to the two Countries, but no certain arrangement from Europe could be heard of, nor could I obtain any assurance on which I could depend.

Moreover so long as I have administered the Government of Quedah, during the time of the late King of Siam, his proceedings were just and consistent with former established custom and usage. Since the decease of the old King, and the accession of his Son to the Throne, in the year 1215, violence and severity have been exercised by the Siamese against Quedah, in demands and requisitions exceeding all former custom and usage, and which I cannot support for a length of time, the Rajahs of Quedah have been accustomed to submit to the authority in matters clearly proper and consistent with the established customs of the Government, for the sake of the preservation of the Country, being unable to contend with Siam, from the superior number of their people. During my Administration, their demands have been beyond measure increased, and heavy services have been required of me, inconsistent with the custom of the Country; these however I submitted to, as far as I have been able, for the sake of the people, and to prevent the danger of a rupture with them; how many services, unprecedented in former years, have I not performed, and what expenses have I not incurred in carrying into effect their requisitions; nevertheless, I cannot obtain any good understanding with them, nor any peace, nor any termination to their injuries and oppressions; they no longer confide in me, and seek to attach blame, alledging, that I have joined with the Burmahs, with whom this year, they have made war, and their intention is to attack Quedah for the purposes of reducing the Country under their Government. I have in vain endeavoured to avert the enmity of Siam, but without any appearance of success. I have made known to the Governor of Pinang, every circumstance with relation to this Country and Siam, and have requested their advice and the assistance of the Company, on which my Father relied, because the Countries of Quedah and Pinang are as one Country, and as one Interest; when therefore Quedah is distressed, it cannot be otherwise with Pinang. The Governor advised me by all means to avoid coming to a rupture with Siam, alledging, that it was not in his power to afford me assistance, for that the Supreme Government in Europe had forbidden all interference in the wars of the neighbouring powers. Perhaps this would be improper with respect to other Countries, but Quedah and Pinang are as one

Country; all the Ryots and People are much distressed by the labours necessarily imposed to avert the resentment of Siam, and every exertion on my part has been made to prevent coming to a rupture with that power, but I was unable to submit to demands exceeding all former precedent, which induced me to apply to the Governor of Pinang for the Company's aid, to enable me to repel their demand, for my Father having transmitted to me his friendship and Alliance with the Company, it would be otherwise a reflection upon the power of the King of England, who is accounted a Prince greater and more powerful than any other. I conceive, that the Countries of Quedah and Pinang have but one interest, and perhaps the King and my friend may not have been well informed, and in consequence, the Governor of Pinang has not been authorized to afford assistance, and that should they be acquainted therewith, they would consider it impossible to separate the two countries. In consequence, I request my friend to issue directions, and to forward a representation to the King, and to the Honorable Company, of the matters contained in this Letter. I request that the engagements contracted for by Mr. Light with my late Father, may be ratified, as my Country and I are deficient in strength; the favor of his Majesty the King of England extended to me, will render his name illustrious for justice and beneficence, and the grace of His Majesty the King of England extended to me, will render his name illustrious for justice and beneficence, and the grace of His Majesty will fill me with gratitude; under the power and Majesty of the King, I desire to repose in safety from the attempts of all my Enemies, and that the King may be disposed to Kindness and favor towards me, as if I were his own subject, that he will be pleased to issue his Commands to the Governor of Pinang to afford me aid and assistance in my distress and dangers, and cause a regulation to be made by which the two countries may have but one interest; in like manner I shall not refuse any aid to Pinang, consistent with my ability. I further request a writing from the King, and from my friend, that it may remain as an assurance of the protection of the King, and descend to my successors in the Government. I place a perfect reliance in the favor and aid of my friend in all these matters.'

CERITA TEKUKUR

Pada suatu hari datang kepada sebuah negeri Tekukur di mana rajanya berada di dalam sangkar emas untuk dipelihara atas angin untuk memerintah negeri Tekukur itu. Seorang raja daripada atas angin untuk memerintah negeri Tekukur itu. Sedang ia melihat-lihat akan keadaan istana dan negerinya tertembung ia pada sebuah sangkar yang dititipi oleh seekor Tekukur. Ketika itu Tekukur telah melafazkan permohonannyanya supaya ia diberi kemerdekaan seperti dulunya. Bakal Raja yang mendengarnya tidak faham akan maksud kemerdekaan yang dikatakannya oleh Tekukur itu, lalu ia meminta nasihat daripada Kuda Putih yang ia tunggangi itu. Kuda Putih yang amat taat itu segera memberi jawapan katanya, "Adalah yang dimaknakan dengan kemerdekaan itu bermaharajalela, melakukan sekehendak hati menurut hawa nafsus."*

+ + + +

Apabila telah selesai Kuda Putih itu melafazkan ucapannya tiba-tiba hinggap seekor Pipit di hadapan Bakal Raja itu dengan tersenyum simpul seolah-olah geli hatinya mendengarkan nasihat yang dihuraikan oleh Kuda Putih itu lalu ia berdatang sembah demikian bunyinya:

"Ampun TuanKu beribu-ribu ampun dibunuh patik mati diendam patik basah, digantung patik tinggi, barang diampuni patik kiranya TuanKu, Nampaknya Sang Kuda Putih itu tersalah faham tentang perkataan "kemerdekaan" yang dituntur dalam perbhasan ini supaya jangan terkeliru TuanKu."

"Adapun kalmah kemerdekaan di sini tidaklah boleh dimaknakan kepada maharajalela yakni berbuat dengan sekehendak hati mengikut hawa nafsus sendiri," dan bukan pula dengan makna "ketuana" seperti sangka-sangka Sang Kuda Putih itu. Akan tetapi adalah makna "kemerdekaan" yang dimurad di sini jika kita bawa pada bahasa Inggeris ialah "independence" yakni tiada sangkut-paut atau tiada berkehendak kepada sebuah negeri yang merdeka atau yang kemerdekaan (independent state) maka dengan ayat itu mengetahui kita bahwa negeri itu ialah sebuah negeri yang dimiliki dan diperintah oleh orang-orang Tempua yang tidak berkehendak mereka itu kepada takang Burung Undan apabila ia hendak membuat sesuatu perkasas yang terwajib diadakan dalam negerinya ia hendak membuat sesuatu perkasas yang terwajib diadakan dalam negerinya dan tidak pula mereka itu berkehendak kepada pertolongan Burung Gagak pada menjalankan pemerintahan tanahairnya. Demikian juga tiada ingin mereka itu meminum sayap kepada Burung Hantu-apabila ia hendak bertembang, jauh sekali daripada mengharapakan pertolongan Sang Ketam apabila belayar dalam lautan. Pendeknya TuanKu, dalam tiap-tiap pekerjaan yang diperbuat oleh mereka itu tidaklah ia tergendala kerana berkehendak kepada pertolongan daripada makhluk yang lain daripada negeri yang dimaknakan dengan mereka itu atau milk mereka itu. Sanya inilah negeri yang dimaknakan negeri yang merdeka atau yang mempunyai kemerdekaan."

"Akan tetapi TuanKu," kata Burung Pipit itu dengan puus-puus suara serta beramburan air matanya oleh mengenangkan hal yang berlaku di dalam negeri pemerintahan Bakal Raja itu. "Adakah boleh kita merdeka apabila kita tiada mempunyai ilmu kemerdekaan? Yakni adakah boleh kita mengadakan segala perkasas yang ter-

wajib akan menjadi syarat pada mengadakannya? Atau tidaklah santiasa kita berkehendakkan fikiran atau pertolongan daripada Burung Bangu apabila kita hendak memperbuat suatu perkara manakala tiada kita mempunyai ilmunya? Adakah boleh kita menjalankan pemerintahan tanahair kita dengan sempurnanya apabila hampa keadaan kita daripada pengetahuan atau pelajaran pemerintah? Demikianlah TuanKu tiap-tiap pekerjaan, perubahan dan sebagainya berkehendak ia kepada ilmunya dan tidak sempurna sesuatu pekerjaan, perubahan dan sebagainya itu melainkan dengan ilmunya yang terwajib. Di atas diri tuanku pada mengisikannya ke dalam dada anak cucu dan hamba rakyat TuanKu sekiranya ada pada TuanKu daripada raja-raja yang berkehendakkan negerinya mempunyai kemerdekaan."

"Dan lagi TuanKu, tentang hal kak Sang Tekukur itu sangat benarnya janggallah tuanku lepaskan ia pada masa ini kerana dia masih lagi dalam kelemahan sehingga tiada upaya baginya hendak mengembangkan sayapnya lagi yang telah disebabkan oleh kezaliman TuanKu dengan jalan dipenjarakan ia dalam sangkar emas sedemikian lamanya dengan tiada teringat oleh TuanKu sedikit jua pun hendak memberi latihan-latihan dan ilmu-ilmu seperti patik syarahkan itu supaya dapat mencapai kemerdekaan yang sebenar-benarnya akan pembalasan budi kebaktian yang selama ini bernang di bawah perintah TuanKu dengan sabar dan taatnya. Akan tetapi sekiranya adalah TuanKu darpada raja-raja yang adil insaf, pemurah lagi penyayang, sanya terwajib di atas diri TuanKu mengembalikan kemerdekaan supaya boleh dengan senangnya ia memeluk atau membuatkan kedua-dua mata pemburu-pemburu dan musuh-musuh terlebih dulu daripada dapat mereka itu mendatangkan membahaya di atas dirinya."

"Syahdan lagi pula, ampun TuanKu sembah patik sayangnya janggallah TuanKu dengar kan sangat perkataan Sang Kuda Putih itu kerana maklumlah TuanKu yang ia itu suatu . . . yang terjuntah kepada . . . yang lazim baginya kelkar tercucuk pada hidung-nya dan sentiasa memperhatikan rumput kering itu terlebih mahal daripada mutiara. Maka Pipit itu pun menundukkan kepalanya di hadapan Bakal Raja itu lalu terbang ghaib ke udara dengan meninggalkan bakal Raja itu termunung-munung memikirkan ucapan Burung Pipit itu sembil berjalan dengan berdukacita ke balai penghadapan di mana segala ahli al-Mesyuarah wazir menteri pengasuhnya supaya ditambahkan perkataan kedua-dua binatang itu manakah yang benar? Demikianlah seterusnya."

* * *

Syahdan apabila sampailah Bakal Raja itu di balai penghadapan dihadapi oleh segala wazir menteri hulubalang sida-sida bentara sekalian maka baginda pun beritih:

"Hal segala wazir menteri dan lain-lainmyal Adakah kamu sekalian ingat akan perkataan Burung Tekukur dulu merayu-rayukan kehilangan kemerdekaan?"

Sembah Perdana Menteri "Ampun tuankul Adal"

Tiah baginda, "Bagaimanakah kamu sekalian muradkan makna kemerdekaan yang dirmaksudkannya di dalam segala perkataannya di situ?"

Sembah Perdana Menteri, "Ampun tuanku beribu-ribu ampun! Burung Tekukur hendak dipengsanlah tuanku daripada sangkaranya kerana dia hendak tinggali balik di tempatnya yang lama laitu di dalam segala pokok-pokok kayu di hutan rimba itu."

Tiah Baginda "Pada hari ini datang seekor Pipit kepada beta mengatakannya adapun maksud kemerdekaannya itu konon hendaklah dimuradkan kepada perbhasan Inggeris "Independent State"

Sembah Perdana Menteri "Ampun tuanku adapun makna state itu dua yang pertama maknanya *condition* yang kedua maknanya negeri."

Tiah tuanku, "Nampaknya daripada perkataan Burung Pipit dia memaknakan negeri itulah kerana diceritakannya dengan panjang darhal negeri Tempua. Katanya jika negeri Tempua itu merdeka yakni *independent* tidaklah ia bersangkut-paut dengan binatang-binatang yang lain dan tidak ia berkehendakkan pertolongan mereka itu umpamanya tidak ia meminta tolong kepada tukang Undan atau pemerintahan Gagak atau pelayaran Ketam dan sebagainya."

Sembah Perdana Menteri, "Ampun tuanku beribu ampun! Sesungguhnya Tempua itu tidak berkehendakkan pertolongan daripada Undan atau Gagak atau Ketam

akan tetapi jika ia berkehendakkan "terang" tuanku pada malam yang gelap tak dapat tiada terpaka juga Si Tempua itu minta pertolongan daripada "cahaya" kelip-kelip. Itu pun entahlah tuanku masa dunia akhir al-zaman ini barangkali Si Tempua sudah pandai membuat lampu mendapat "terang" dengan sendirinya.

Sembah Bentara "Ampun tuanku beribu-ribu ampun, Nampaknya yang belum ada ini belumlah lagi Si Tempua pandai membuat lampu mendapat "terang" dengan sendirinya itu melainkan masih berkehendakkan lagi kepada kelip-kelip karena mene rangkan gelapnya. Ampun tuanku sekiranya telah pandai sekalipun Si Tempua bantakan kelip-kelip di dalam sarangnya karena kedatangan kelip-kelip itu semat-mata ialah dengan panggilan Si Tempua."

Titah Baginda, "Sebenarnya titah Datuk Bentara itu Nampaknya zaman ini zaman ketidadaan kenangan Budi karena beta sendiri tadi telah dituduh oleh Si Burung Pipit merampas kemerdekaan Burung Tekukur itu akan halnya kamu sekalian bagaimanapun mana jatuh ke tangan beta?"

Sembah Bentara, "Tekukur yang mana itu tuanku karena tekukur tuanku ter-sangat banyak?"

Syhadan pada masa itu Bakal Raja itu pun berangkatlah ke meja tulisan lalu dikeluarkan oleh baginda suatu buku kecil di dalamnya ada tertulis sekalian cerita-cerita menunjukkan bagaimana baginda mendapat satu persatu daripada segala tekukurnya yang ada itu. Setelah itu ditunjukkan oleh baginda buku itu kepada Perdana Menteri seraya bertitah, "Cuba mak Menteri cari jika ada mana-mana tekukur yang kita rampas kemerdekaanannya di dalam buku ini."

Sembah Perdana Menteri "Tekukur Tuanku yang meminta kemerdekaan itu nombor berapa?"

Titah Baginda, "Nombor 1909".

Setelah dibuka oleh Perdana Menteri pada nombor yang tersebut itu lalu dia daripada demikian bunyinya "Adapun tekukur nombor 1909 ini didapat kerana bertukar dengan "Miss". Keadaannya memang sudah biasa duduk di tangan "Miss" yang mengambil faedah daripadanya dengan mengambil bulunya akan menjadi perhiasan bagi "Miss" yang tersebut itu."

Titah baginda, "Cuba Mamak Menteri baca pula kisah tekukur 1874."

Setelah dibuka oleh Perdana Menteri pada nombor yang tersebut itu lalu dia bacanya demikian bunyinya "Adapun tekukur nombor 1874 ini oleh kerana leleh dan penatnya melawan musuhinya Burung Hantu telah terjelapak di tepi jalan dan keadaannya tolak diambli oleh Baginda sudah setengah mati. Itu pun sebab ia merang-ruang minta dia ke dalam sangkar serta diberi makan minum dengan secukupnya dan telah berwujudlah Tekukur ini tiada mau keluar daripada sangkar itu selagi ada peredaran matahari dan bulan."

Titah baginda, "Aheni Begitulah mulanya? Amboi Si Pipit bertitah Sampaiya hatinya mengatakan beta merampas!"

Sembah Panglima Perang, "Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun di manakah Si Pipit itu ada sekarang?"

Titah Tuanku, "Sudah hilang ghaib terbang ke udara."

Sembah Panglima Perang, "Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun. Jika dia balik mengadap tuanku patik akan diperjimpakan dengannya."

Titah Tuanku "Apa Datuk Panglima perbuat kepadanya?"

Sembah Panglima Perang "Bukan patik hendak pengapakan kepadanya hanya, patik radang pertama-tama diuduhnya Tuanku merampas. Yang kedua dituduhnya Tuanku menzimi. Dari sebab itu patik hendak berpesan kepadanya jika dia hendak makan padi itu sendirinya jangan mencuri-curi segala benda orang-orang negeri Tuanku ini."

Titah Tuanku, "Akan tetapi Pipit itu bukannya sebarang-sebarang pipit kerana dia tahuken harga mutiara sehingga ada pada suatu masa jagung pun disangkanya mutiara. Juga hendak ditelannya tersangkut di kerongkongnya lalu ia terbang lari."

Sembah Perdana Menteri "Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun sesungguhnya Pipit

itu bukan sebarang-sebarang pipit kerana ia memohonkan ilmu supaya boleh ia mematak atau membuatkan kedua-dua mata pemburu-pemburu dan musuh-musuhnya dan itulah sehabis-habis tinggi ilmu kemerdekaan pada fahamnya."

Sembah Datuk Bentara "Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun nampaknya musuh besar pada Si Pipit itu ialah Si Kuda Putih sehingga disangkanya pula kuda itu bercucuk hidang."

Sembah Abu Nawas, "Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun pada faham patik semuanya ini ialah alamat bagi pershabatan segala orang-orang dan magastua kerana Si Pipit telah reda menjadi layar kepada Si Tekukur."

Titah Tuanku, "Benar!"

Terlahit dulu daripada Bakal Raja itu menimbangkan segala perkataan ahli al-musyawarah wazir menternya itu tiba-tiba menyahut pula Tekukur itu dari dalam sangkarnya dengan merayu-rayu seraya berbunyi.

"Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun, adalah yang menyebabkan patik berkokok dengan ratap tangis patik pada masa suatu dihari dulu ialah oleh menganganakan kehilangan kemerdekaan patik yang telah patik perdatap dengan ilmu yang sedikit pada zaman purbakala yang sungguhpun ada juga diperolehi oleh merbahaya daripada musuh-musuh akan tetapi jika disiasat dengan halusnya tidaklah syak lagi bahwa merbahaya itu tidak berapa lebih kurangnya dengan yang ada pada zaman ini seperti yang telah diceterakan oleh Layang-Layang yang telah terdulu syarahannya."

"Sungguhpun patik telah merayu-rayu berkokok menganganakan kemerdekaan patik pada zaman purbakala itu tetapi janganih Tuanku sangkakan pula patik meminta dihapuskan pada masa ini kerana patik sedia mengetahui hal keadaan patik sunyi daripada ilmu-ilmu yang terwajib akan jadi syarat kemerdekaan seperti permohonan jua kepada benarnya adalah kokok patik itu ialah dimuradkan seperti permohonan jua kepada Tuanku meminta supaya diberi patik ilmu-ilmu kemerdekaan yang patik syarahkan dulu boleh jua kita klasikan kepada burung yakni apabila seorang berkata "Burung Undan itu ialah seekor unggas yang merdaha atau yang mempunyai kemerdekaan" maka dengan ayat itu mengetahui kita yang Sang Undan itu tidak mengharapakan beras putih pemberian orang akan jadi makanannya. Jauh sekali daripada berkehendakan air jerih yang disediakan orang bagi minumannya. Pendeknya Tuanku Burung Undan itu pandai ia mencari sendiri yakni cukup ilmunya atau pengetahuannya!

Sekalipun "kelip-kelip" itu ada jua terkadang-kadang ia masuk ke dalam sarang tempu pada malam hari dengan memancar-mancar cahayaanya seolah-olah hendak membe i terang kepada Sang Tempua itu tetapi tidaklah ditiruukannya kerana sememang-memang dianya tidak berkehendakkan cahaya pada malam hari walaupun bagaimana gelapnya. Demikian jua sungguhpun cahayaanya kelip-kelip itu tidak dikehendaki Sang Tempua tetapi tidaklah pula kedatangan kelip-kelip itu menjadikan kebajikan kepadanya asalkan jangan kelip-kelip itu merosakkan faedahnya."

"Sebenarnya titah Tuanku itu nampaknya zaman ini zaman ketidadaan kenangan budi kerana patik telah merasa sumpah seranah berbagai nista "tekukur boodh, tekukur bingung, tekukur dungu", padahal Tuanku sendiri mengetahui akan ketepatan, kesabaran dan kabaktian patik selama ini bernang di bawah pentikan hujung jari Tuanku, yang telah menhabiskan masa setengah kurun lamanya dengan maksud supaya dilatih dan diberi ilmu kemerdekaan dan yang sempurnanya kepada anak cucu bumiputra patik. Tatkala demikian adanya siapakah agaknya yang tidak mengengah budi itu Tuanku? Patikkah atau siapa?"

"Dan lagi pula Tuanku, adalah bahaya yang tersangkut di kerongkong Pipit pada masa melandainya dulu itu bukannya jagung Tuanku, tetapi ialah mutiara sebenar-benarnya. Alhamdulillah telah terlepas ke dalam perutnya sehingga pada masa ini mutiara itu ada bertanan di dalam kalbunya. Maka dengan berkat mutiara yang tertanam dalam hatinya itu mudah-mudahan telah terlepas diannya daripada ikatan yang terikat pada kakinya pada masa dulu dan pada masa ini telah dapat pula ia menjadi layar kepada patik."

"Pada akhirnya ampun tuanku, perkataan Perdana Menteri yang lain itu tidaklah

patik jawab di sini kerana telah terdulu syrahannya oleh Sang Layang-Layang".
Maka Tekukur itu pun menyembah lalu berdiam diri adanya.

Kemudian daripada telah diceterakan oleh Bakal Raja itu kepada ahli al-musyawahaz wazir menteri pengasuhnya segala ehwal perbhasan yang berlaku di antara Burung Pipit dengan Kuda Putih itu sekonyong-konyong kedengaran suara yang dilafazkan oleh seekor Burung Layang-Layang daripada sarangnya yang di dalam balai penghadapan itu berdatang sembah dengan sayup-sayup bahasa seolah-olah dengan berpili hati oleh mengengankan nasib Burung Tekukur itu, demikian bunyinya:-

"Ampun TuanKu beribu-ribu ampun dibunuh patik mati digantung patik tinggi difendam patik basah dibakar patik hangus harap akan diampuni patik kiranya TuanKu. Terlebin dulu daripada wazir menteri 'pengasuh' TuanKu meminangkan perbhasan lagi perkataan kak Sang Pipit dengan Kuda Putih itu biarlah patik hubungi sedikit terhuai ini kelak akan menadi suluh pada menerangkan segala ehwal yang telah berlaku di atas diri kak Sang Tekukur itu.

"Adapun kak Sang Tekukur itu ialah seekor daripada sebangsa unggas yang mempunyai dan memerintahi sebuah negeri pada zaman purbakala dengan merdahakanya akan memelihara keselamatan kemerdahakannya pada masa yang akan datang terpaksa ia dengan muka yang jernih hati yang putih (bukan dengan pepenzalim) menyerahkan negerinya bernaung di bawah panji-panji kerajaan TuanKu yang telah didengarnya amat mesyhur pengasih lagi penyayang serta adil dengan insan konon, kepada bapa. Demikianlah dianya berharap kepada TuanKu supaya dilatih dan diberi pelajaran ilmu kemerdahakaan kepada anak cucu hamba rakyat bumiputraya yang diharapkan dengan wasiat ilmu yang akan TuanKu ajarkan itu kelak mencapailah mereka itu kepada kemerdahakannya, kemuliaan dan kekayaan seperti keadaan Burung Undan itu. Maka pada masa ini, ampun TuanKu, nampak-nampaknya perundangan atau sengkaja dipenjarakan di dalam sangkar emas sepuluh mutu yang tidak sekali-kali disangkanya akan jadi balasan ketataan dan kesabarannya dengan menanggung beberapa sengsara memakan hati berulam jantung di bawah kulit teluruk TuanKu selama ini atau kehendak TuanKu melainkan sentiasalah ia sedia menanti titah perintah TuanKu apabila TuanKu kehendaki dengan mengangguk mengeluarkan perkataan "tur, tur" (yakni benar, benar). Sesungguhnya apabila teringat olehnya akan nasib kemalangan dirinya pada masa ini dan terkenang pula olehnya akan kemerdahakannya yang dimiliki pada zaman purbakala sepatut-patutnya ialah ia menangi kerana telah dirasai dan diketahuinya bahwa adalah kemerdahakannya yang terdapat dengan ilmu yang sedikit pada zaman purbakala itu terlebih elok daripada bersangkut-paut dengan sahabat yang sunggulipun bijak tetapi zalim, yakni sarang yang diperbuatnya daripada ranting-ranting sangkar emas sepuluh mutu yang berlainan pada zaman purbakala itu terlebih baik daripada kak Sang Tekukur itu pada masa ini, atau maknanya daripada sayur keladi pada zaman purbakala terlebih lazat daripada *murton chop* yang berisi *acid* di dalamnya, ataupun diaman yang hapak pada zaman purbakala itu terlebih molek daripada *mattress* bertekadkan emas sepuluh mutu yang berisi kala jengking di dalamnya, demikian jua seperti yang semantasa mengigit dan mendatangkan pekung pada kaki, baju yang diperbuat daripada kulit terap terlebin cantik daripada batu tuid (*tweed*) yang diperbuat daripada daun jelapang, air minumannya daripada air tasik danau yang ada di cerung-cerung gunung yang tinggi pada zaman purbakala itu terlebih lazat daripada air tapisan yang jernih

seperti air embun yang bercampur dengan *poisonous lotion* demikianlah TuanKu ibaratnya.

"Dan lagi ampun TuanKu, adalah harap kak Sang Tekukur yang telah dikandungkannya di atas diri TuanKu pada masa menyerahkan negerinya dengan muka yang jernih hati yang suci ialah satu daripada perkara-perkara yang sepatutnya termesti sentiasa disimpan di dalam ingatan TuanKu. Demikian jua ketataan kesabarannya dan budi kebaktian selama ini bernaung di bawah perintah TuanKu lebih kurang setengah kurun lamanya itu pun patut benar dijadikan satu *credit* yang besar pada pihak kak Sang Tekukur itu yang patut sekali TuanKu timbang-timbangkan diharapkan diharap janganih TuanKu berbuat seperti yang telah sudah juga sehingga boleh dikatakan tiada sekali-kali TuanKu mengambil pandangan yang berat di atas kebaktian kak Sang Tekukur itu melainkan sentiasalah TuanKu mencari muslihat dan menjalankan perkara yang boleh menjadi kesenangan dan kemakmuran khas bagi TuanKu dan anak isteri sanak-saudara TuanKu saja seperti membuat tempat perangan dan taman bunga yang tentantulah faedahnya bagi pihak TuanKu saja, jadi seolah-olah telah lupa atau sengkaja TuanKu lupakan samasekali kak Sang Tekukur dan anak cucu bumiputraya. Maka kelalasan TuanKu itu telah menyebabkan mereka itu simpang-perhang, lintang-pukang, susup-sasap dengan buta kayunya melarikan dirinya masing-masing dari buruan Sang Gagak dan lainnya yang sememangnya memang musuh yang ditakuti oleh kak Sang Tekukur itu akan mencederakan keselamatan dan kemakmuran anak cucu hamba rakyat bumiputraya semanjak dari zaman purbakala. Maka dari sebab itulah kak Sang Tekukur itu telah menyerahkan diri serta hamba rakyat anak cucu bumiputra dan tanahahnya samasekali pada TuanKu dengan berharap supaya terpelihara dianya sekalian daripada cengkaman kuku-kuku Sang Helang, Rajawali dan sebagainya. Akan tetapi pada masa ini nampak-nampaknya keadaan mereka itu amat bezanya "terlepas di mulut harimau termasuk ke mulut buaya" atau "*Out of the frying pan into the fire*".

"Sebagai lagi ampun TuanKu beribu-ribu ampun, satu daripada perkara-perkara yang amat menyedihkan hati yang boleh membawa kak Sang Tekukur itu kepada menghidupkan penyakit berlebia hati ialah tentang permohonannya yang telah patik dengar beberapa kali dengan ratap tangisan meminta kepada TuanKu supaya diri anak cucu hamba rakyat bumiputraya akan ilmu kemerdahakaan dan maknaan serta paksaan yang cukup yang nampak-nampaknya tiada sekali-kali TuanKu indahkan melainkan sentiasalah TuanKu main angginkan saja dengan jawab "Kami pun ada kira-kira hendak menjalankan perkara itu", demikianlah jawab TuanKu Sultan daripada sehari ke sehari, daripada serahun ke serahun, daripada satu musim ke satu musim, dari satu mesyuarat ke satu mesyuarat hingga sampai kepada hari ini yang telah habis masa setengah kurun lamanya itu pun belum juga nampak dali atau tanda-tanda yang boleh dipergantunginya menyeksikan bahwa TuanKu ada berniat atau berkira-kira dengan sunggulnya akan membuat demikian itu. Sekalipun agaknya TuanKu ada berniat dengan sebenarnya akan berbuat demikian itu akan tetapi adalah boleh hasil segala niat atau kira-kira TuanKu itu dengan niat saja? Yakni misalnya, jika patik berniat hendak terbang membumbung ke langit hijau yang tinggi itu bolehkah jadi dengan niat atau dengan kira-kira saja, jika itu tidak wujud segala syarat-syarat yang akan melayangkan patik? Demikianlah TuanKu tiap-tiap niat yang dihendaki kehasinannya hendaklah dikerjakan atau dijalankan.

"Maka dari sebab itu sekiranya adalah TuanKu seorang daripada raja-raja yang sunggul hendak menyempurnakan niat TuanKu yang telah dijanjikan kepada kak Sang Tekukur itu sayogialah TuanKu mewujudkan segala syarat-syarat bagi menyempurnakan niat TuanKu itu yakni hendaklah diadakan maktab-maktab yang besar-besar di mana-mana juga adanya kampung anak cucu bumiputra Kak Sang Tekukur itu dengan diadakan pula guru-guru yang bijak (jangan guru yang sama jua dengan muridnya) yang boleh mengajarkan ilmu-ilmu seperti yang telah diarahkan oleh kak Sang Pipit dulu (ilmu yang dihendaki) Bukannya ilmu supaya pandai menyebur tur-tur seperti yang ada pada masa ini. Dan hendaklah pula TuanKu paksa anak cucu bumiputra kak Sang Tekukur

itu pergi belajar ilmu itu sebagaimana Tuanku memaksa mereka itu membayar cukai-cukai. Sesungguhnya alangkah eloknya sekiranya Tuanku perbuat seperti itu pada masa lima puluh tahun dulu dengan tiada beraka, "Kami berniat, kami beritaka-rika" maka tak dapat tiada pada masa ini bolehlah "Melayu Muda" mendengar riuh-rendah tempik sorak, tejuk tari, gong gendang segala anak cucu bumiputra Sang Tekukur itu yang dipenuhi oleh berbagai doa dan ucapan kepada jin bertuburan di atas bumi Tuanku alangkah Tuanku telah terjalang ke kemuncak setinggi-tinggi kemuliaan dunia dan akhirat dengan tiada payah menanti *seratus* tahun lagi itu pun walailah sklam.

"Fikrikanlah sedikit kiranya Tuanku, sanya tidak berguna cakap-cakap kosong saja hendaklah ditunjukkan syarat-syarat bagi mengadakan sesuatu perkara atau benda seperti yang patik syarahan itu, barulah maulud sifat perkara dan benda itu dan sampurnalah niat Tuanku itu.

Kemudian daripada itu Burung Layang-Layang itu menyembah serta bermohon lalu terbang ghaib ke awan biru, demikianlah ceteranya tamat.

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Kemudian daripada telah ghaib Burung Layang-Layang itu ada sekertika lamanya maka kembalilah pula ia ke hadapan Bakal Raja itu lalu menundukkan kepalanya seraya berdatang sembah sekali lagi demikian bunyinya:-

"Ampun Tuan ku beribu-ribu ampun, adalah yang sangat menyedihkan hati patik pada menganangkan anak cucu hamba rakyat bumiputra Sang Tekukur yang telah kelintang-pukangan nasib kak Sang Tekukur itu bukanlah tentang simpa-peringatan, sebabkan oleh dihimpit dan diburu oleh katum Gagak dan yang sempumannya itu saja tetapi lalah jua tentang tingkah-laku yang dilakukan anak cucu sanak-saudara Tuanku yang patik lihat tak usahkan mereka itu memberi pertolongan kepada kaum Tekukur kerana menganangkan kebaktiannya seperti yang telah dikatakan oleh kak Sang Pigit dulu tetapi bersama-sama dilanya menolong kaum Gagak yang sempumannya itu semata-manya serta mengeluarkan berbagai-bagai nista daripada perkataan cemar-cemar dan keji-keji yang telah menyebabkan segala kaum Tekukur itu terperisau ke dalam segala kebodohan dan tertumus ke dalam gua kegelapan sehingga tiada lagi yang ada pada mereka itu melainkan nyawa-nyawa bawang saja.

"Maka terkadang-kadang ada pula dipatit satu-satu daripada kaum Tekukur itu menyebelahi pihak Tuanku dengan memberi beberapa pujian di atas diri Tuanku, tetapi sebagimana itu bolehlah dikatakan bukannya dan sebab adli insaf pengasih dan pe-terajunya di dalam tangan Tuanku. Maka dari sebab itu terpaksa ialah ia bermuka-muka kepada Tuanku serta mengeluarkan beberapa nista pula (kurang-kurang ditambah) dengan mengata tekukur bodoh, raja tekukur bingung, dungu lagi zalim melarikan isterinya sehingga tiada tersumbunyi lagi melarikan dua biji duk dengan sekeping apam dengan tidak sekali-kali dipulangkan fikriannya itu terlebih dulu daripada mengeluar-kan perkataan yang cemar-cemar itu seolah-olah tidak nampak peluang yang lain lagi yang boleh mengis temboloknya itu. Padahal bukankah telah nyata dan telah menguakau kaum Tekukur itu dengan sebaik-baik pengakuan yang dilanya sememang bodoh, cetek fikriannya, singkat fikriannya, sedikit ilmunya? Sanya dari seb. j itulah Raja Tekukur yang terpenjara di dalam sangkar emas itu terpaksa menyerahkan anak cucu bumiputra hamba rakyat tanahairnya hatta nyawanya sekalipun kepada Tuanku supaya dipelihara kan dilnya daripada kezaliman musuhnya. Sekiranya kaum Tekukur itu cerdik bijak dan banyak ilmunya adakah pada fikiran Tuanku yang dilnya akan menyuruh kan nyawanya pada Tuanku? Fikrikan kiranya Tuanku! Maka tiba-tiba pada masa ini apakah yang telah Tuanku beri kepada kaum Tekukur itu akan balasan budi ketataan dan kesabaran itu?

"Sesungguhnya apakala ditilik kepada tingkah-laku yang Tuanku jalinakan pada masa ini di atas negeri kaum Tekukur itu nyatalah bahwa keadaan pemerintahan Tuanku

itu tidak berapa lebih kurangnya dengan keadaan Richard III yang diperceyakan telah menyebabkan kematian anak raja dua bersaudara yang diperjarakan di dalam sebuah mahligai dengan tujuan supaya dapat ia memiliki mahkota anak raja itu. Tatkala niat Tuanku demikian itu tidaklah dapat patik mengagak lagi daripada menyokong kebenaran bidalan yang telah terdalu sebutan, lalu "terlepas di mulut harimau terdampung ke dalam mulut buaya." Demikian juga tentulah akan mengatalah patik bahwa pemerintahan Raja Tekukur yang sekahipun dikatakan zalim, pelesit, penanggal, polong, saka melarikan anak isteri orang pada zaman purbakala itu bahkan terlelah adil daripada pemerintahan Tuanku yang ada padé masa ini yang sunyi daripada lari melarikan anak isteri orang dengan kasarnya dan sunyi pula daripada polong pelesit yang menghisap darah manusia dengan terangnya akan tetapi jika ditilik dengan siasat yang halus tidaklah syak lagi bahwa anak cucu sanak-saudara Tuanku serta kaum-kaum Gagak, Undan yang sempumannya itu sedang mengambil giliran pada mendatangkan merbahaya dan bencana itu kepada kaum Tekukur itu sebagaimana yang boleh dilihat dengan mata kepala pada hari ini tentang hal perempuan-perempuan Tekukur yang biasanya dilarikan oleh raja-raja yang sebangsa dengan dilnya itu pada masa ini boleh didapati di jalan kongkongang Sang Gagak dan dalam pangkuan Sang Undan di dalam tintahan Sang Bangau merata-rata caruk banir dan ranting-ranting kayu, demikian juga tentang k-makmuran kaum Tekukur itu telah licin terkalis semacam terjalit cisp, dihisap oleh Sang Gagak, Bangau, Undar dan sebagainya yang terlebih kuat hisapnya daripada hisapan pelesit polong yang ada pada zaman purbakala.

"Tatkala demikian adanya pemerintahan Tuanku sanya tidaklah dapat patik berlepas diri daripada menyebelahi kebenaran perkataan kak Sang Tekukur yang mengata "Kenderahakkan pada zaman purbakala lebih elok daripada terpenjara di dalam sangkar emas" dan "Sayur keladi terlebih lazat daripada *chicken chop* yang diisi *acid* ataupun misalnya, berjalan di dalam hutan yang dinurangi oleh pohon-pohon kayu terlebih elok daripada berjalan di atas jalanraya yang feli-rileau bersapu dengan minyak tar (jangan kira panas matahari di atas, panas minyak tar di bawah) dan merbahaya daripada cangkaman taring harimau itu tidak ditakuti seperti tukulkan merbahaya langgaran kereta motor yang boleh dibaca kisahnya hampir-hampir tiap hari dalam akhbar ini.

"Pada akhirnya, harap diampuni patik kiranya Tuanku sungsungpun banyak agaknya perkataan patik terlanjur kepada Tuanku tetapi harap janganlah Tuanku murka kepada patik kerana tidak sekali-kali patik berniat hendak menderhaka kepada Tuanku melainkan ialah semata-mata mencari kebenaran dan keadilan adanya."

Maka Burung Layang-Layang itu pun menundukkan kepalanya serta bermohon lalu terbang semula ke dalam serangnya demikianlah ceteranya.

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Setelah selesai Kuda Putih itu berdatang sembah maka Burung Layang-Layang pun tampihlah mengedap Bakal Raja itu seraya berdatang sembah demikian bunyinya.

"Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun dijunubi patik mati, dibakar patik hangus, (na'uzubillah minzalik). Kiranya sembah patik ini gimrudakkan mengikut firman Allah subhanahu wata'ala "Oulja alhaqu wa zahaqu bahtil."

"Ampun Tuanku adapun perkataan Kuda Putih mengatakan Raja Tekukur itu berhati genter, muka yang puat pada masa menyerahkan negaranya itu semata-mata dusta kerana tidak diterima oleh akal yang sempurna masakan Raja Tekukur itu berhati genter juga lagi apabila Tuanku telah menguak terlelah dulu daripada ia menyerahkan negaranya itu akan menyelamatkan dilnya dan hamba rakyatnya daripada leburan tekukur-tekukur yang sedang berlega sama sendiri pada masa itu bukannya Burung Enggang Tuanku, tetapi terlelah dulu daripada diperdapatnya pengakuan Tuanku itu sebenarnya Raja Tekukur itu di dalam keseimbangan berhati genter oleh sebab ke-

1. "Katakanlah bagi yang sebenar dan menjauhkan yang bati."

kurang ilmu padanya sehingga tiada daya dan upaya baginya hendak mengamankan hamba rakyatnya lagi. Maka dari sebab itulah Raja Tekukur itu terpaksa ia menyerahkan negeri serta anak cucu hamba rakyatnya hatta nyawanya pun kepada Tuanku dengan muka yang jernih dan hati yang putih yakni Ikhlas. Sekiranya tidaklah karena itu jaulah panggang dari api akan boleh negeri Tekukur itu termasuk di dalam genggaman Tuanku.

"Ampun Tuanku tentang perkataan Kuda Putih "Semulurnyalah tekas Tuanku kurung akan dia, kalau tidak entahlah Tuanku harus (harus jahanam dan harus pula bertambah makmur) jahanam alamnya ataupun habis dimiliki oleh Enggang." Maka di sini sepaturnyalah bagimu hai Tekukur, mengambil ikhtibar dengan menilik bahwa sunggulupun sekalian kamu dan tanahairmu telah terselamat bahkan karakanlah daripada masa ini kamu sekalian dan jua tanahairmu telah terperusuk ke dalam cengkaman kuku-tidaklah dapat kami menolak kebenaran bidalan Si Pipit "Terlepas daripada mulut hartmu terdempung ke mulut buaya." Demikian juga hai kaum Tekukur yang amat dikasih, janganlah kamu sekalian lupa adalah telah "harus" itu membawa kepada dua kesudahan yakni "harus jahanam dan harus pula bertambah elok."

"Ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun, adapun ilmu "paksa" itu bukannya patik terdapat daripada Helang tetapi ialah mengambil tauladan daripada pemerintahan Tuanku juga seperti yang patik lihat tentang hasil-hasil cukai-cukai dan lain-lainnya, sentiasalah Tuanku paksa kaum Tekukur itu pada membayarnya. Maka dengan hasil dan cukai-cukai itu dapatalah Tuanku membesarkan negeri, membuat mahligai, taman bunga, tempat perangnya dan sebagainya yang boleh dikatakannya khas faedahnya bagi pihak Tuanku saja tetapi adalah yang sangat memberi haيران kepada patik ialah tentang hal dan muflihat yang akan memberi faedah kepada anak cucu bumiputra negeri Tekukur itu sentisalah Tuanku cuaikan saja yakni jika diadakan pun bolehlah dikatakan "ambli ada saja", yang sangat bersejua dengan perkataan Kuda Putih "jika ia hendak terbang tinggi pulang ikhtiar padanya sendiriilah." Begitulah bunyi perkataan Raja yang hendak menyempurnakan niatnya? Tatkala boleh Tuanku mengeluarkan perkataan yang demikian itu alangkah eloknya jika Tuanku keluaran pula perkataan, "jika ia tidak hendak membayar cukai ikut sukanyalah."

"Barang ketahu kiranya hai Kuda Putih! Adalah tiap-tiap paksa yang membawa kebaikannya itu bukannya dinamakan paksa pada hakikatnya tetapi ialah "pertolongan" sanya di sirilah kedatangan punda bidadan "sayangkan anak tangan-tangan."

"Dan lagi ampun Tuanku, kata Kuda Putih "Paksa di atas pelajaran itu ada hadnya, iaitu senggah "Elementary Education", tetapi adakah Kuda Putih itu agaknya mengetahui senggah mana hadnya "Elementary Education" itu? Adakah ia akan mengata bahwa pelajaran darjah yang ketujuh di dalam Maktab Bahasa tuanku itu, iaitu "Professional Education?" dan sudahkah Tuanku paksa anak-anak Tekukur itu pada pelajaran yang tersebut itu, iaitu suatu pelajaran yang wajib diberi kepada kaum Tekukur itu, yang telah dibebaskan (free) mengikut Undang-Undang Pelajaran tahun 1891 atau adakah pula pelajaran yang umpamanya seperti wau tegang wau kendur atau tur-tur itu agaknya had bagi pelajaran elementary itu? Jika itulah hadnya elementary education itu maka fikiran patik layak sangatlah diganti dengan kekhabsan. Sekalipun ilmu yang dimiliki oleh i.g. dan n.m.h. itu barangkali telah diperdapatnya dengan tiada dipaksa akan tetapi adalah boleh sekalian kaum Tekukur itu disamakan dengan kedua-dua tuan yang mempunyai sifat kebajikan? Yakin tuanku kedua yang tersebut itu mengetahui mereka itu akan faedahnya ilmu dan pelajaran padahal kaum Tekukur itu (kesualikan setengah daripada setengahnya) ialah mereka-mereka yang tidak mengetahui faedah pelajaran dan ilmu itu! Dan bolehkah disamakan mereka-mereka yang kaya dengan yang miskin? Atau adakah kaum Tekukur yang bodoh pelatit polong tidak mengetahui faedah pelajaran itu akan belajar dengan tekunnya jika tidak dengan paksa?

"Aklam kiranya hai Kuda Putih! Sekiranya kaum Tekukur itu mengetahui akan faedah pelajaran dan ilmu itu tentulah tidak kami sembahkan kepada Bakal Raja itu meminta dipaksa segala anak-anak Tekukur itu pada pelajarannya dan tentulah pula

akhtar ini tidak akan penuh sesak oleh kokok ratap tangis kaum Tekukur itu meminta pertolongan daripada Bakal Raja itu. Demikian juga tentulah segala kaum Tekukur itu tidak akan terperusuk ke dalam cengkaman kuku-kuku kaum Gagak dan lainnya."

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"Sepertaka lagi Tuanku, nampak-nampaknya Kuda Putih itu telah lupa ia akan budi kebaikannya dan pertolongan kaum Tekukur pada masa Tuanku di dalam kesustahan berperang dengan Raja Helang dulu padahal perbelanjaan membuat kapal perang... itu dari manakah datangnya? Dari negeri Gagaklah? Dan telah patik ketahu pula beberapa rumahsakit dan bantangnya telah diadakan dalam negeri Tuanku dengan perbelanjaan daripada negeri Tekukur itu dan telah disangap pula oleh negeri Tekukur itu akan membayai setengah daripada serengah hutang Tuanku dan beberapa pula banyak pemberian daripada kaum Tekukur itu yang diketahu oleh setiap pun yang ada di dalam negeri Tekukur itu. Demikian juga tentang kesabaran mereka itu sehingga belum pernah kedengaran kaum Tekukur itu menggelarkan perkataan yang kasar kepada Tuanku sebagaimana yang telah dilakukan oleh unggas peliharaan Tuanku yang lain seperti Gagak dan lainnya yang boleh didengar ceritanya pada hari ini Sekalannya itu disifatkan angin sajakah hai Kuda Putih?"

"Satu daripada keterangan-keterangan yang boleh menyaksikan perkataan patik tentang mengata bahwa sanak-saudara Tuanku bersama-sama pula menolok Gagak dan lainnya pada menghimpit kaum Tekukur itu silalah hai Kuda Putih merujah kepada surat pekelling bertarikh 29 April 1920, yang telah dikeluarkan oleh Wazir al-'azam yang menjaga negeri Tekukur itu."

"Sebagai lagi tentang perkataan Si Kuda Putih mengatakan anak cucu Tekukur itu tiada menyukakan berjinak-jinak dengan bahasa Tuanku itu tidaklah patik terima sekali-kali kerana patik ketahu dengan sempurna pengetahuan di dalam masa sajak enang tahun dulu ada beratus-ratus cucu tekukur itu sudah terkial-kial berkehendakkan pelajaran itu akan tetapi oleh sebab kemiskinan bubayanya dan ketiadaan maktab-maktab Bahasa Tuanku itu di dalam kampung-kampung tekukur itu jadi hampalah segala cita-cita anak-anak Tekukur itu. Itu pun belum sempurna terbuka-bertuj, maka perhati, kenlah oleh Tuanku bukannya menderu berduyun-duyun anak Tekukur itu meminta dimasukkannya dianya ke dalam Maktab Bahasa Tuanku itu sehingga tiada cukur tempat bagi mereka itu di dalam maktab-maktab itu. Begitulah rupanya anak-anak Tekukur yang tiada menyukakan kejinakan itu hai Kuda Putih?"

"Sekalipun anak Raja Singapura itu tiada menyukakan belajar ke Benggala itu tetapi segala kesalahan dan kebobolannya itu tidaklah patut ditanggungkan di atas tengkuk segala kaum Tekukur itu yakni janganlah ditunduh saja segala anak-anak Tekukur itu tiada menyukakan kejinakan itu apakala didapat anak Raja Singapura itu engkar padanya."

"Sesungguhnya tidak patik menidakkan bahwa ada juga satu-satu kaum Tekukur itu yang telah menggantikan sanak-saudara Tuanku akan tetapi adakah mereka itu menggantikan dengan ganti yang sejatinya yakni sama pendapatnya dan lainnyaz? Atau adakah ganti itu ganti pada pihak pekerjaan saja padahal tentang pendapatan tak sampai seperdua daripada pendapatan sanak-saudara Tuanku yang digantikannya itu? Sepertaka lagi ampun Tuanku akan pertanyaan Kuda Putih, "jika ia (Tekukur) berjumpa kala jengking di dalam tempat tidurnya Tuanku jugakah hendaknya memaksa dia membunuh kala jengking itu baru dia tahu?"

"Al-jawab, sanya sepaturnyalah bagi Tuanku memaksanya ataupun Tuanku sendiri membunuh kala itu kerana Tuanku ialah *protector* bagi Tekukur itu, istinewa pula alangan nyamuk-nyamuk yang begitu kecil pun nampak-nampaknya telah Tuanku keluaran undang-undang pada membinauskannya pada masa itu padahal kala jengking yang bertuburan di dalam kelambu Tekukur itu tiada Tuanku hiraukan. Apakah sebenarnya itu? Agaknya ialah sebab nyamuk-nyamuk itu ada membawa penyakit yang boleh menjangkitkan kepada Tuanku padahal kala jengking itu sunggulupun sepiitanya terlebih bisa dan dahsyat daripada ketipan nyamuk itu tetapi membahayanya khas bagi kaum

Tekukur saja. Bukanlah begitu hai Kuda Putih?

"Tatkala demikian rupanya pemerintahan yang dipuji oleh yang sewajibnya tidaklah dapat patik menolak kebenaran bahwa segala puji-pujian itu bukanlah dinamakan memuji yang patut dipuji tetapi yang sebenarnya ialah puji-pujian yang takutkan kebuluran. Demikian jua bukan begitu gayanya mendirikan yang benar tetapi yang sebetulnya ialah mengisi tembok ataupun mendirikan gah patahi!

"Hai Kuda Putih! Sampai-sampailah miha seokor binatang yang boleh dihara pada besar badan dan kencang lari miha saja padahal akal sedikit pun tak ada, sehingga memahamkan ayat "Jangan guru sama juga seperti murdinya" yang begitu pendek pun faham miha telah terpelanting beberapa jauhnya. Ketahu i kiranya hai Kuda Putih! Adakah makna yang dimaksud dengan ayat itu ialah "Jangan guru yang sama juga bodohnya seperti muridnya" Sudahkah miha faham?

"Akhir al-kalam ampun Tuanku beribu-ribu ampun harap akan diampuni sembah patik. Sungguhpun di dalam syarahan patik yang dulu tidak disebutkan yang Tuanku merampas akan tetapi jangalah Tuanku fikirkan bahwa patik akan bergerak daripada menyokong kebenaran perkataan kerana adalah kailmah "rampas" itu terbahagi di atas dua bagian iaitu yang pertama "rampas sejati" dan yang kedua "rampas ma'nawi" (indirect) yang tiada dapat diketahui melainkan dengan tilikan nazari. Maka dengan jalan "rampas ma'nawi" itulah Tuanku telah merampas kemerdekaan Tekukur itu iaitu seperti *example* di bawah ini.

"Misalnya, sebagaimana yang patik telah ketahu sedikit hari dulu ada seokor Tekukur mempunyai suatu tempat sarangnya, maka ranting itu sangatlah Tuanku kehendaki padahal Tekukur itu tiada suka hendak menjualnya. Akan tetapi Tuanku keras juga berkehendakkan ranting itu jadi Tuanku jadikan seorang tengah akan pen-taksir harga ranting itu. Maka harga yang ditetapkan oleh orang tengah itulah yang diberi kepada Tekukur itu akan penukar ranting yang dimilikinya itu, dengan hai musuhlah yang demikian terpaksa Tekukur itu menyerahkan ranting itu dengan tiada redanya. Apakah artinya itu?

"Astaham kiranya, hai Kuda Putih! Adakah kemerdekaan Tekukur itu bukan-nya telah dirampas pada masa menyerahkan negerinya dan bukan pula dengan sekali rentap yang kuat yang boleh menggerakkan otak Raja Tekukur itu tetapi ialah kemudian daripada telah diserahkan negerinya itu dan ditarik sedikit-sedikit dengan perahannya sekiranya terasa oleh Tekukur itu akan kesakitannya, dengan hai yang demikian ter-lucutlah segala kemerdekaan itu daripada miliknya dengan tiada diketahuinya dan terengaplah rantai yang belenggu di seluruh anggotanya dengan tiada diketahuinya juga.

"Demikian juga, hai Kuda Putih! Jangalah miha maknakan kalimah "kemerdehakaan" itu kepada "negeri", sebagaimana telah memaknakan miha kepadanya dalam bahas miha yang telah lalu kerana makna kemerdekaan yang dituntut di dalam perbahasan ini ialah "tiada bersangkut paut" atau "tiada berkehendak" seperti yang telah terdulu syarahannya oleh Si Pipit itu:

"Misalannya, apakata Si Pipit berkata "Bakal Raja itu telah merampaskan ke-merdehakaan Si Tekukur", maka dengan ayat ini mengatahuliah kita bahwa bakal Raja itu telah merampas dengan "rampas ma'nawi" akan segala jalan-jalan atau peluang-peluang dan musuhlah-musuhlah yang boleh membawa kaum Tekukur itu kepada "tiada bersangkut paut" dengan mereka-mereka yang lain atau kepada memiliki ilmu ke-merdehakaan sudahkah mereka erti hai Kuda Putih?"

Kemudian daripada itu Burung Layang-Layang itu pun menundukkan kepalanya di hadapan Bakal Raja itu lalu terbang demikian ceteranya.



"Sungguhnya tidak kami menidahkan bahwa belanja memperbuat bahtera pe-perangan itu ialah daripada wang cukai-cukai dan hasil-hasil yang telah dipungut daripada kaum Gagak, Undan, Enggang, Bangu dan lainnya. Akan tetapi jika miha selidik dengan halunya dan miha dalamkan pandangan miha tentulah didapati bahwa wang itu se-benar-benarnya hak kaum Tekukur itu. Betapa tidak? Adakah kaum Tekukur itu jika

dimisalkan ialah seorang yang mempunyai sekeping tanah yang disewakan kepada kaum-kaum Gagak, Undan, Enggang, Bangu dan lainnya yang sedang menghispak maknurnan tanahir Tekukur itu dengan dipungut cukai daripada mereka, itu mak-meriam yang dihimpunkan kepada Tekukur itu dipahali ia mengadakan sebuah *manager* itu pada masa itu dalam kesudahan berkelahi dengan musuhnya itu Tatkala demikian rupanya kedatangan wang yang diperbuat belajanya bagi mengadakan bahera yang telah diarahkan kepada Bakal Raja itu sanya tidaklah sesiepa yang akan bertegang marikh mengatakan wang itu bukananya wang Tekukur melainkan ialah Kuda Putih seorang yang sememang-memang pandangnya melayang di atas saja ataupun sengaha ia hendak melupakan budi kebaktian kaum Tekukur itu.

"Hai Kudal! Tidak kami ingkerkan bahwa pada masa sememang lima belas tahun dulu ada juga satu-satu anak-anak Tekukur itu (satu dalam seribu) yang telah diambil oleh Bakal Raja itu akan dihantar mengaji Bahasaanya itu, itu pun kemudian daripada bertegang marikh dan bersemburan air liur barulah dapat. Maka pada masa ini bolehlah dikatakan bahwa anak-anak Tekukur ini yang ada celik matanya sedikit-sedikit, akan tetapi ahmendulillah nampak-nampaknya di dalam sebutan ini Bakal Raja itu telah membuka peluang bagi anak-anak Tekukur itu tentang pelajaran Bahasaanya itu, itu pun agaknya ialah kerana telah didengarnya bahwa kaum Gagak itu sedang berkitra-kira anak-anak Tekukur itu mengganikan kaum Gagak yang sedang bermaharajalela itu dengan segeranya, kalau tidak kumpunlah kami, hai anak-anak Tekukur, akan mendapat peluang yang semakam itu."

"Hai Kudal! Tatkala kami berkata bahwa kaum Tekukur itu bersifat kehalwanan, yakni tidak mengetahui faedah pelajaran, bukankah telah kami keculikan setengah daripada setengahnya? Dan bukankah kemudian daripada itu telah kami sebutkan pula, hendaklah miha ketahu bahwa anak-anak Tekukur yang dikeculikan itulah yang ter-kial-kial berkehendakkan pelajaran bahasa Bakal Raja itu semanjak daripada lima belas tahun dulu, akan tetapi oleh sebab kemiskinan Ibupepanya dan keadaan maktab-maktab itu tenggelam di dalam lautan *ignorance* pada masa ini. Maka baru ini apabila mereka itu tenggelam di dalam lautan *ignorance* pada masa ini. Maka baru ini apabila Bakal Raja itu barulah dapat mereka itu menyempurnakan cita-citanya itu sehingga menderu pundun-dyun datang meminta dimasukkan diannya ke dalam maktab-maktab itu! itu pun jadi dalil "kejahlian" miha jugakah?"

"Hai Kudal! Kerana kami tidak melihat bagaimana rupanya kedatangan ... itu berhimpun di keliling "C" dan "T" itu, maka tidaklah dapat kami membandingkan-nya dengan kedatangan anak-anak Tekukur itu akan tetapi jika miha hendak mengetahui hal kedatangannya dibayar oleh kaum Gagak, Enggang, Undan dan sebagainya ialah akal jadi sewa kerana memumpang mencari kehidupan mengisi temboknya daripada kemakmuran negeri Tekukur itu, padahal cukai-cukai yang dibayar oleh kaum Tekukur itu semata-mata akan menolong Bakal Raja itu kerana kaum Tekukur itu ialah tuan punya bagi tanahair itu. Maka dari sebab itu patut sekali kaum Tekukur itu ikuam Tekukur saja! dipaksa dan diberi pertolongan kepadanya kerana menurut ilmu tamedun. Sudahkah nampak olehmu perbezaan di antara kaum Gagak dan sebagainya itu hai Kudal! Perhatikanlah olehmu ke manakah terpelantingnya ilmu falsafah lapukmu itu?"



Tentang perkataan Kuda Putih mengatakan "tidak sesiepa yang menonjol hidung Si Tekukur itu melainkan dirinya sendiri juga menyerahkan dirinya dengan tidak dipaksa." Sungguhnya tidak kami menidahkan bahwa Tekukur telah menyerahkan dirinya bernaung di bawah panji-panji Bakal Raja itu dengan maksud supaya dipelihara-kan dianya daripada cengkaman Kuku-ikuku musuhnya dan juga supaya diberi dianya ilmu-ilmu yang boleh membawa kaumnya kepada bertamedun. Maka oleh Bakal Raja itu

tak usahkan diberi dianya ilmu dan dipeliharakan dianya daripada cengkaman gagak dan sebagai-nya itu tetapi ditonjolnya pula hidung Tekukur itu. Asfaham kiranya hai kudal Adalah yang perkataan "menyerahkan diri" itu tidaklah boleh dimaknakan kepada "ditonjol hidung."

Akan perkataan Kuda Putih "Adalah ia (Tekukur) mencuba hendak memecah perlanjutan yang telah diwujudkan oleh kedua pihak", maka di sini hendaklah mika mendalamkan pandangan mika kerana adalah perlanjutan yang diwujudkan di antara kedua pihak itu ada mengandungi beberapa syarat. Satu daripada syarat-syarat itu ialah bahwa Bakal Raja itu telah mengaku akan memelihara kaum Tekukur itu dan juga tanahairnya daripada cengkaman kuku-kuku musuh-nya dan juga akan memberi kepercayaannya yang boleh membawa mereka itu kepada bertamadun. Maka pada masa ini nampaknya Bakal Raja itu telah memecah akan perlanjutan itu dengan jalan sengaja dibarkannya kaum Tekukur itu terpusuk ke dalam cengkaman kuku-kuku musuh-nya yang boleh janjian yang telah diwujudkan oleh dia sanya tentulah tidak pula akan tergendala kaum Tekukur itu daripada mencuba memecahkan perlanjutan yang diwujudkan oleh dia jika ia sukai (kaum Tekukur baru mencuba padahal Bakal Raja sudah memecah). Sudahkah mika faham hai Kudal Atau butakah mika? Maka berkenaan dengan hai ini inglinlah saya mengeluarkan dua rangkap pantun Melayu:

- Ayam putih terbang ke haji
- Penat telah makan kelubi
- Kuda Putih mungkir janji
- Dilaknat Allah menjadi babi
- Tanam selasih di dalam cepu
- Makanan raja dari haji
- Kuda Putih kalau menipu
- Tidak harus lawan berjanji.

Tentang perkataan Kuda Putih mengatakan perkataan kami berputar-putar itu ialah semata-mata oleh 'kejahilan' Si Kuda itu saja kerana agaknya tiada difahankannya segala perkataan kami yang dulu sehingga menyangka ia yang perkataan kami itu berputar-putar padahal bukannya perkataan itu yang berputar-putar tetapi ialah dianya sendiri yang telah berpusing-pusing berpusing-pusing dengan menegakkan telinganya mencuba hendak berlepas diri daripada kurungan musuh-nya tempat kami yang dulu sehingga mengata ia bahwa kalimah 'harus' itu tidak boleh ditarik kepada dua kesudahan kerana kalimah itu konon telah dikunci oleh kalimah 'semujurnyalah' padahal jika ditilik kepada keadaan kaum Tekukur yang "terlepas di mulut harimau terdampung ke mulut buaya" itu tidaklah syak lagi bahwa kalimah "semujurnyalah" itu layak sangat diganti dengan kalimah ".....". Jika demikian rupanya keadaan Tekukur yang dikatakan oleh Kuda Putih itu "mujur" nescaya mengatahal kami bahwa Kuda Putih itu ada mempunyai pelajaran keambahaan.

"Sesungguhnya Kuda Putih telah mengaku yang ia telah mengetahui adapun paksa yang membawa kebalikan itu bukannya paksa pada hakikatnya tetapi pengakuannya itu ialah: pengakuan pada mulutnya saja padahal nampak-nampaknya makna kalimah 'hakikat' pun belum ia mengetahui lagi.

"Mehai kaum Tekukur yang dikasihili jika kamu sekalian hendak mengetahui apa yang dikatakan 'elementary education' atau "pohon pelajaran" (yang dikatakan) oleh Kuda Putih itu ialah ilmu yang boleh meruntuhkan kamu sekalian kepada tertonjol hidung, daripada tertonjol hidung kepada ditelan Singa. Maka pada masa itu barulah Kuda Putih itu bersuka ria mengucap "Galu ina lillah-hi wa'ina 'ilahirraju'". di atas kehilangan nama Tekukur. Dan lagi ketahu kiranya inilah yang dikatakan *philosophy* lapuk, iaitu ajaran daripada Kuda Putih. Akan tetapi apa pula yang dihairankan kerana telah putus makrifat Kuda Putih bahwa ilmu (*kejayaan yang*) setinggi-tinggi dan semolek-

² Terialu kelam untuk dibaca.

molek ilmu pada sisinya. Maka oleh kebangkitan ilmu kejayaan yang ada padanya itu sehingga menyangka ia bahwa sekalian kaum Tekukur itu boleh disamakan dengan [1] dan Kapten N.M.H. itu nisbah pengetahuannya, yakni agaknya pada fikrannya dunia ini "rata". Oleh pada sangkaan dunia ini rata saja maka terpaksalah ia mencuba mendatangkan bahas dengan mengata konon "Kaum Gagak, Enggang, Rajawali, Uندان dan sebagainya pun membayar cukai juga, wah mereka itu pun kena paksalah kelak."

"Mehai Kuda Putih ini hamari Berpadanan benarlah keadaan mika dengan nama mika kerana nampak-nampaknya pemandangan mika ialah selapis yang di atas saja padahal jika mika tilik dengan halusnya tak dapat tiada mengetahui mika bahwa cukai-cukai yang itu adalah seperti telah menderu berdyun-dyun kaum Tekukur itu melarikan dirinya daripada buruan kaum Gagak dan lainnya dengan ditolong oleh kaum Bakal Raja itu seperti yang telah daripada dulu disebarkan-nya.

"Hai Kudal Berpadan benarlah mika dengan keadaan mika yang sentiasa bercampur-gaul dengan "kotor" barang di mana tinggal di situ banyak kotor bertimbuntumbuni Kotor pada badan, kotor pada tempat makan, kotor pada tempat Kotor pada fikiran, kotor pada tujuan dan kotor pada serba-serbinya. Betapa tidak? jir. "re'sh fikiran mika tentulah mika mengetahui makna dan tujuan "peraturan" yang tersbut di dalam *grant* (?) itu yang sangat bertujuan dengan peraturan Bakal Raja itu ada ia. merampas wang ringgit sesilapa jupun apabila diketendaknya. Sudahkah nampaknya olehmu kudal

* * *

"Sebagai lagi jika mika hendak mengetahui adalah yang dikatakan kalikir yang terucuk pada hidung Tekukur dan sangkar emas yang jadi penjara bagi Raja Tekukur itu ialah "Peraturan" yang telah dikeluarkan atau dijilankan oleh Bakal Raja itu yang tidak syak lagi jika mika selidik dengan halusnya tentulah akan mika dapat ada beberapa peraturan yang membelunggu Raja dan kaum Tekukur itu yang boleh dikatakan sehingga hendak membuka mulut pun tak boleh walaupun jika ia hendak menggunakan hasil negerinya akan membuat sesuatu kebalikan yang akan memberi faedah samada pada dirinya sendiri atau kepada kaumnya. Akan tetapi apa pula dihairankan tentang "peraturan" itu kerana Kuda Putih ada mempunyai ilmu atau pelajaran keambahaan tambahan pula telah tetap pada pendapatnya bahwa peraturan "telunjuk hidung" itulah yang seadil-adil dan semolek-molek peraturan pada sangkanya, sehingga mengata ia yang saya meraba-raba konon, padahal dilupakannya keadaan seperti orang buta yang menyangkakan racun itu serbat sehingga terkadang-kadang rumput kering itu disangkanya Tuhan-ya.

"Hai Kuda sesungguhnya tidak kami memaksa mika, kami bertanya kepada kamu jika kami duduk dekat loceng atau tidaknya, kerana kedudukan yang berjauhan daripada loceng itu bukannya dali yang boleh menyaksikan seseorang tiada mengetahui hai pendapatn kaum Tekukur yang menggantikan kaum Bakal Raja itu. Tambahan pula yang biasanya adalah yang duduk dekat loceng itu ialah hamba *actor* dan lembu hingga terkadang-kadang didapati loceng itu bergantung pada lehernya siang dan malam dan lagi tentang mika memecahkan kalimah "ganti" itu kepada dua jalan. Tidaklah menjadi kebingangan kepada kami tetapi jangalah sampai mika tambah satu lagi huruf 'i' di akhir kalimah itu kerana perubahan yang demikian kelak akan menjukar bunyi kalimah itu kepada "gantil" ataupun "ganti sementara" yang sangat bersejuru dengan pandangan kami kerana sememang-memang telah kami ketahui bahwa kaum Tekukur itu hanyalah menggantikan kaum Bakal Raja itu dan kami ketahu pula yang kaum Tekukur itu tidak akan dapat mencium pangkat "ganti sejati" itu walaupun jika melangit nandanya namun begini jua kelakuan Bakal Raja itu!

"Hai Kudal Tatkala begitulah banyaknya dali yang menunjukkan kelakuan Bakal Raja itu cubalah mika tunjukkan apakah maksud mika bermuka-muka menyecusahi Baka' Raja itu lain daripada tujuan "Biafah kaum Tekukur itu jahanam asalkan rambohlik miv' seroang beris!"

"Jika mika hendak mengetahui adapun sebab kami kelur' berbasah ini ialah kerana kami ada menghidupkan penyakit *parrotism* yang tiada dapat disembuhkan hata

oleh tabib Lukman al-Hakim sekalipun istimewa pula jika setara Tabib tekak yang mika disebutkan namanya itu tentulah akan menambahi kejayaan penyakit saya itu kepada makam *(The ball is rolling, nothing can stop it)*."

"Dan jangan pula mika fikirkan yang maksud kami itu meminta ditambah mengisi tembolok kami kepada Bakal Raja itu kerana kami ini bukannya seekor unggas yang mengharapkan beras putih daripada Bakal Raja tu akan makanan kami, pendeknya kami ada mempunyai segala sifat yang dianugerahkan oleh Tuhan kami yang boleh dengannya kami mencari kehidupan kami dengan kemerdekaan kami. Tambahan pula jika sebanyak pendapatan kaum Tekukur yang mengantikan kaum Bakal Raja itu bolehlah kami perdatap di mana-mana juga dan bila-bila dikehendaki saja."

"Akhirulkalimah seruan kepada kaum Tekukur. Kerahul kiranya wahai sekalian saudaraku yang amat dikasihii Saya jika tuan-tuan merjalah kepada tiap-tiap kalimat yang telah saya hamburkan itu tak dapat tiada mengetahuiah tuan-tuan sekalian adapun dari sebab saya bercampur dari perbualan ini bukanlah kerana bermuka-muka dengan tujuan supaya ditambah pengisi tembolok saya dan bukan pula kerana kasihkan diri saya sendiri tetapi ialah kasihkan tuan-tuan sekalian yang tiada lepas daripada cita-cita hendak melihat tuan-tuan sekalian memeluk kemajuan. Maka oleh sebab tersangat inginya hati saya hendak melihat tuan-tuan mencapai maratabat berkemajuan itu hingga redha saya bukannya mengotbankan harta-benda saya yang sedikit ini saja bahkan redha juga saya hatta menjadi fakir meminta pertolongan daripada siapa juaupun asalkan boleh membawa kamu sekalian, hai anak-anak Tekukur, kepada terpeas daripada assalkan boleh membawa

"Adapun tentang "kemerdehakaan" bangsa itu telah terikat di dalam bedung pengasuh yang telah menghabiskan masa setengah kurun lamanya dan tidak diharap akan berdirinya melainkan kemundian daripada diuoka lilitan bedung itu! Di dalam pada itu resmi Layang-Layang hendak mendirikan, resmi Kuda hendak menumuskani Masalah."

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UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES.
THE TOTAL POPULATION BY OCCUPATION.

Order.	Sub-order.	Code Number.	Description.	Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan.		Trengganu.		Brunei.		
				Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.			
Fishermen. Agricultural Operations	1. Fishermen. Agricultural operations.	000.	Fishermen ...	3,303	243	2,569	161	494	15	7,197	1,009	8,962	388	910	79	
		010.	Estate Owners and Managers ...	10,570	1,575	1,865	469	48	1,191	638	8,962	662	311	805	1	
		011.	Planters (unspecified) ...	77	—	18	—	188	—	—	—	9	—	304	397	—
		039.	Estate Contractors ...	17,136	1,631	2,735	599	—	4	955	529	449	7	—	—	—
		015.	Estate Conductors ...	206	—	127	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—
		015.	Mandors ...	637	—	647	—	2	—	—	—	136	—	34	—	—
		024.	Estate Clerks ...	223	—	218	—	3	—	—	—	47	—	16	—	—
		011.	Agricultural Coolies ...	53,718	—	32,218	—	184	—	—	—	5,226	—	2,862	—	—
		013.	Rice Planters ...	7,827	3,497	62,578	44,757	11,887	51	10,635	66,363	1,002	2,862	139	927	103
		016.	Fruit and Vegetable Growers ...	2,208	807	1,510	220	10	4	—	—	489	634	167	16,991	1,737
		039.	Foresters and Woodcutters ...	1,923	97	1,475	21	58	—	—	—	510	35	359	233	5
		011.	Poultry Farmers ...	97	—	102	—	18	—	—	—	64	81	12	40	332
		011.	Cattle Rearing ...	43	—	476	151	39	—	—	—	510	35	359	233	5
		011.	Pig Rearing ...	10	—	476	151	39	—	—	—	64	81	12	40	332
		011.	Artsp Makers ...	107	—	221	85	9	—	—	—	2,864	92	295	62	1
011.	Workers in Rubber Factory ...	116	—	222	293	9	—	—	—	92	125	10	1	—		
011.	Workers in Copra and Gambier Factories ...	434	13	239	—	—	—	—	—	213	436	137	522	18		
040.	Managers ...	845	15	86	13	—	—	—	—	206	—	—	—	4		
049.	Coolies unspecified ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
050.	Owners, Agents and Managers ...	40	—	13	—	5	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	105		
051.	Subordinate Superintending Staff (Inspectors, Contractors, Foremen) ...	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
054 & 056.	Coolies unspecified ...	2,947	163	6	9	2	—	—	—	7	16	—	—	—		
071.	Subordinate Superintending Staff (Inspectors, Contractors, Foremen) ...	13	—	683	—	481	—	—	—	165	435	—	—	—		
072.	Stone Quarries ...	497	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
074.	Clay sand and Gravel workers ...	60	—	474	91	—	—	—	—	250	13	17	—	—		
092.	Kilnmen and Lime Burners ...	11	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	43	—	—	—	—		
099.	Other Workers ...	—	—	91	—	3	—	—	—	85	20	46	—	—		
100.	Employers and Managers ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
101.	Foremen and Overlookers ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
102.	Brick and Unglazed Tile makers, Moulders, Pressers and Cutters ...	82	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
105.	Potters ...	5	—	168	37	16	—	—	—	83	46	6	24	—		
				21	—	—	—	—	—	49	—	—	—	1		

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TABLE XXXII.—UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES—continued.

[HSM 313]

Order	Sub-order	Code Number	Description	Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan.		Tanggamu.		Brunei	
				Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		
Makers of Oils, Paints, etc.	2. Makers of oils, paints, etc.	158.	Makes of Vegetable Oil	10	13	34	5	—	—	4	80	32	56	—	3
		190.	Skilled Forge Workers	240	—	243	—	12	—	272	—	122	20	—	41
Workers in Metal (not precious).	6. Smiths and skilled forge workers. 7. Fitters and mill-wrights. 8. Other workers	210.	Fitters...	233	—	118	—	—	—	44	—	20	—	15	—
		243.	Locksmiths ...	4	—	9	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	—
		244.	Mechanical Engineers	37	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—
		245.	Mechanics (no returned)	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		248.	Motor Mechanics ...	32	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		279.	Other Workers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		229.	Cycle Repairs	26	—	18	—	—	—	14	—	12	—	—	—
		264.	Tinsmiths ...	34	—	42	—	2	—	22	—	1	—	—	—
		227.	Lamp Makers	19	—	75	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—
		284.	Brass and Copper Smiths	5	—	2	—	—	—	80	—	4	—	4	—
Workers in Precious Metals and Electroplate.	1. Workers in precious metals and electro-plate.	284.	Goldsmiths ...	446	8	699	8	64	—	704	21	149	1	56	6
		305.	Electrical Engineers...	1	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Electrical Fitters and Electricians.	1. Electrical fitters and Electricians.	306.	Electrical Fitters ...	4	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	—
		310.	Telegraph and Telephone Mechanics ...	15	—	8	—	1	—	9	—	—	—	—	—
Makers of Watches and Clocks.	1. Makers of watches and clocks.	323.	Watch, Clock and Chronometer Makers and Repairs	43	—	40	—	—	—	10	—	4	—	2	—
		370.	Sarong Weavers ...	10	97	9	76	1	—	104	2,749	168	7,173	2	42
Textile Workers.	1. Textile workers.	373.	Rope Makers ...	—	3	7	—	—	—	95	67	73	65	68	2
		377.	Lace Makers ...	—	17	—	22	—	—	10	—	14	12	—	2
		381.	Dyers ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	2	—	11	—	—
		404.	Tailors and Tailors' Mechanists	485	—	274	—	11	—	178	—	97	—	—	21
Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress.	1. Makers of textile goods and articles of dress.	413.	Boot and Shoemakers	67	7	65	27	—	—	68	1	10	—	—	—
		415.	Clog Makers ...	3	—	11	—	—	—	12	—	20	—	—	—
		417.	Makers of Bags and Gunny Bags	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		419.	Seamstresses ...	—	468	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
		410.	Cap Makers ...	8	17	11	8	—	—	57	318	—	—	—	—
		428.	Fishing Net Makers	4	7	6	14	—	—	31	122	11	11	—	—

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TOTAL POPULATION BY OCCUPATION

TABLE XXXIII.—UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES—continued.

[HSM 313]

Order.	Sub-order.	Code Number.	Description.	Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan.		Trengganu.		Brunei.										
				Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.									
XIV. Makers of Food, Drink and Tobacco.	1. Makers of food.	432	Grain Millers	—	8	535	52	3	1	19	38	25	162	—	—									
		433.	Bakers and Pastrycooks	248	15	240	28	10	3	75	38	19	162	10	12									
		434.	Sugar Makers	180	21	18	12	2	—	38	38	19	33	4	—									
		437.	Fish Curers	—	—	11	—	—	—	55	55	674	36	—	—									
		449.	Sago and Vermicelli Makers	139	11	430	3	—	—	64	64	90	27	4	17									
		454.	Distillers	48	11	142	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	—									
		468.	Makers of Aerated Waters	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—									
		472.	Skilled Workers	25	—	116	32	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—									
		XV. Workers in Wood and Furniture.	1. Workers in wood	472.	Basket Makers	44	9	49	166	—	—	—	12	3	12	—	—							
				474.	Carpenters	237	—	1,123	—	—	—	23	63	78	95	—	—							
				475.	Sawyers	305	—	336	—	71	—	1,059	9	455	4	—	—							
				481.	Boat and Shipbuilders	36	—	34	—	13	—	164	—	27	—	—	—							
				482.	Wood Carvers	6	—	5	—	3	—	149	—	108	—	—	—							
XVI. Printers, Bookbinders and Photographers.	2. Printers, bookbinders and photographers.			522.	Compositors	14	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
				527.	Photographers	17	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
				531.	Printers	17	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
				532.	Bookbinders	13	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—							
				XVII. Builders, Brickworkers, Stone and Slateworkers; Contractors.	1. Builders, brickworkers, stone and slateworkers; contractors.	560.	Employers and Managers	12	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
						561.	Foremen	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
						563.	Builders (unspecified)	329	—	284	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	—	—					
						572.	Masons	342	—	217	—	12	—	—	—	184	—	—	—					
		XVIII. Painters and Decorators.	2. Painters and Decorators.			592.	House Painters	91	—	46	—	4	—	23	19	—	—	—	—					
						XIX. Workers in other material.	1. Workers in rubber.	603.	Vulcanisers	2	—	1	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—			
								2. Workers in other materials.	638.	Mut Makers	16	188	10	419	3	7	69	211	68	1,538	19	390		
									XXII. Persons employed in Transport and Communication.	1. Railway workers.	700.	Railway Officials, Station Masters, etc.	42	—	15	—	—	—	23	—	—	—	—	—
											701.	Locomotive Engine Drivers	146	—	22	—	—	—	66	—	—	—	—	—
702.	Firemen, Cleaners, Guards										6	—	4	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—		
703.	Signalmen										5	—	3	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—		
704.	Shunters, Pointmen and Level Crossing Men										30	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—		
705.	Ticket Collectors										3	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
706.	Porters and Lamp Men			35	—						4	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—				
700.	Other Railway Servants			469	43						215	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				

TABLE XXXIII.—UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES—continued.

[HSM 313]

Order.	Sub-order.	Code Number.	Description.	Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan.		Trengganu.		Brunei.			
				Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
XXII. Persons employed in Transport and Communication.—contd.	2. Road, transport workers.	712.	Motor Garage Proprietors and Managers ...	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		719.	Drivers of Horse Vehicles ...	169	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		720.	Drivers of Motor Vehicles ...	1,730	—	137	—	21	—	92	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	3. Water transport.	721.	Drivers of Traction Engines ...	13	—	668	—	13	—	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		726.	Elephant Drivers ...	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		731.	Bullock Cart Drivers ...	1,291	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	XXIII. Commerce, Finance and Insurance Operations (excluding Clerks).	4. Other workers in transport and communication.	734.	Rickshaws and Handcart pullers ...	844	—	595	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			735.	Harbour and Dock Officials ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			736.	Engineering Officers ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			737.	Petty Officers and Deck Hands ...	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		1. Commercial occupations.	738.	Purser, Stewards and Domestic Staff ...	135	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			742.	Boatmen ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
745.			Lighthouse Men ...	874	—	294	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
753.			Dock Labourers ...	5	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
XXIV. Public Administration and Defence.		2. Finance and insurance.	754.	Captains and Ships' Officers ...	28	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			755.	Postmen and Post Office Sorters ...	62	—	114	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			756.	Wireless Operators ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			758.	Telephone Operators ...	12	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	1. Public administration.	765.	Messengers and Peons ...	24	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		770.	Proprietors and Managers of Businesses ...	191	—	106	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		771.	Brokers and Agents ...	5,508	—	4,305	—	390	—	1,938	—	2,311	—	1,276	—		
		775.	Salesmen and Shop Assistants ...	33	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	2. Defence.	777.	Hawkers ...	3,912	—	1,755	—	38	—	329	—	442	—	261	—		
		791.	Bankers and Bank Officials ...	2,154	—	1,355	—	71	—	628	—	1,980	—	313	—		
		796.	Auctioneers, Appraisers and Valuers ...	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
		797.	Moneylenders and Pawn brokers ...	13	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
1. Public administration.	799.	Money Changers ...	164	—	125	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
	800.	Civil Service Officials and Clerks ...	25	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
	808.	Police Commissioners and Police Inspectors ...	429	—	747	—	41	—	294	—	4	—	253	—			
	809.	Police Other ...	26	—	19	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	13	—			
2. Defence.	812.	Government Labourers ...	962	—	630	—	59	—	285	—	—	—	175	—			
	813.	Army Commissioned Officers ...	2,098	—	1,648	—	128	—	461	—	—	—	82	—			
		Army, Other Ranks ...	38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
			887	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			

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TABLE XXXIII.—UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES—continued.

Order.	Sub-order.	Code Number.	Description.	Jobs.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan.		Tringganu.		Branai.			
				Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		
EY. Professional Occupations (excluding clerks).	1. Professional occupations (excluding clerks).	826.	Mahomedan, Hindu or Buddhist Priests	215	—	363	—	33	—	178	—	76	—	2	—		
		828.	Mosque and Temple Officials	44	—	201	—	10	—	44	—	54	—	12	—		
		830 & 831.	Barriers and Solicitors	4	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		840.	Physicians, Surgeons, Medical Practitioners	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		481.	Dentists	180	9	131	5	8	—	95	—	67	12	—	—		
		482.	Veterinary Surgeons	34	—	11	—	1	—	5	—	6	1	—	—		
		843.	Midwives	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		844.	Sick Nurses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		845 & 849	Subordinate Medical Service	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		860.	Teachers	158	—	108	10	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		863.	Civil Engineers and Surveyors	335	—	476	—	8	—	41	—	1	—	—	—		
		865.	Chartered and Incorporated Architects	216	—	167	—	4	—	29	—	11	—	—	—		
		866.	Accountants	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		871.	Chemists, Botanists, Mineralogists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		879.	Artists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			Other Professional Occupations	—	—	93	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		VI. Persons employed in entertainments and sports.	1. Persons employed in entertainments and sports.	880.	Lessee and Managers of Theatres, Cinemas and Concert Halls	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
				885.	Actors	45	—	236	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
				886.	Musicians	13	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
887.	Stage Hands and Cinematograph Operators			7	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
899.	Other Occupations			29	—	44	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—		
900.	Domestic Servants			2,584	797	1,870	761	44	25	645	810	363	283	—	—		
911.	Restaurant Keepers			1,132	105	685	128	100	5	189	140	110	34	—	—		
915 & 916.	Lodging-house Keepers			51	4	60	4	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—		
918.	Barman and Waiters			239	4	150	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
920.	Dhobies			177	4	139	34	11	—	11	4	2	5	—	—		
VII. Persons engaged in personal services (including clubs, hotels, etc.)	1. Persons engaged in personal service.	926.	Others in Personal Service	489	2	325	—	18	—	45	—	13	—	—	—		
			Optum Shopkeepers and Attendants	—	497	—	145	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			Undertakers	200	—	117	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
			Undertakers	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		

TABLE XXXIII.—UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES—continued.

[HSM 313]

Order.	Sub-order.	Code Number.	Description.	Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan.		Trengganu.		Brunei.	
				Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
I. Clerks and Draughtsmen (excluding Government and Municipal).	I. Clerks and Draughtsmen.	932, 939.	Draughtsmen Clerks (Commercial and Unspecified) ...	78	—	88	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—
Warehousemen, Storekeepers and Packers.	I. Warehousemen, Storekeepers and packers.	941.	Storekeepers ...	38	—	47	—	70	—	268	—	201	—	44	—
Stationary Engine Drivers.	I. Stationary engine drivers.	950.	Stationary Engine Drivers	152	—	48	—	—	—	10	—	12	—	—	—
Other and Undefined Workers.	I. Other and undefined workers.	962 & 963, 970.	Gatekeepers and Watchmen of General Labourers (not elsewhere enumerated) Foremen unspecified Contractors unspecified Pearl Divers ...	1,174	—	467	—	38	—	231	—	22	—	17	—
		961.	Foremen unspecified	5,931	293	4,974	337	284	17	1,463	116	917	211	199	10
		960.	Contractors unspecified	594	—	274	—	14	—	184	—	60	—	34	—
		989.	Pearl Divers ...	372	—	162	—	4	—	55	—	42	—	2	—
I. Other.	I. Other.	982.	Household Duties at Home... No Occupation Attending School Beggars ...	—	37,262	—	33,701	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			...	32,771	36,480	42,260	44,095	4,836	2,265	—	29,001	—	17,249	—	3,917
			...	6,737	1,881	12,412	5,644	1,336	4,964	41,072	40,338	23,951	25,963	4,710	4,554
			...	26	11	47	4	—	640	12,568	4,989	5,424	2,388	143	—
			Total ...	185,674	95,554	194,728	143,751	21,236	18,851	155,233	150,313	77,082	76,610	12,561	12,980

TOTAL POPULATION BY OCCUPATION.

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UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester 1

Sidang Akademik 2006/07

HSM 313 DOKUMEN-DOKUMEN DALAM SEJARAH MALAYSIA 1

DOKUMEN 7

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS AND COMMERCIAL REPORTS

**[Papers respecting the Operations against the Pirates on the
North-West Coast of Borneo]**

Papers respecting the Operations against the Pirates on
the North-West Coast of Borneo.

Inclosure in No. 2.

*Memorandum on the Suppression of Piracy and the Extension of Commerce
in the Eastern Archipelago.*

THE piracy of the Eastern Archipelago is entirely distinct from piracy in the western world, for from the condition of the various Governments, the facilities offered by natural situation, and the total absence of all restraint from European nations, the pirate communities have attained an importance on the coasts and islands most removed from foreign settlements. Thence they issue forth and commit depredations on the native trade, enslave the inhabitants at the entrance of rivers, and attack ill-armed or stranded European vessels, and roving from place to place they find markets for slaves and plunder.

The old established Malay Governments (such as Borneo and Suluk), weak and distracted, are probably without exception participators in or victims to piracy, and in many cases both—purchasing from one set of pirates, and enslaved and plundered by another: and whilst their dependencies are abandoned, the unprotected trade languishes from the natural dread of the better-disposed natives of undertaking a coasting voyage.

It is needless to dwell upon the evil effects of piracy, but before venturing an opinion on the most effectual means of suppression, I propose briefly to give an account of such pirate communities as I am acquainted with.

The pirates on the coast of Borneo may be classed into those who make long voyages in large heavy-armed prahus, such as the Illanuns, Balanigui, &c., and the lighter Dyak fleets which make short but destructive excursions in swift prahus, and seek to surprise rather than openly to attack their prey; a third, and probably the worst class, are usually half-bred Arab sheriffs, who, possessing themselves of the territory of some Malay State, form a nucleus for piracy—a rendezvous and market for all the roving fleets; and although occasionally sending out their own followers, they more frequently seek profit by making advances in food, arms, and gunpowder, to all who will agree at an exorbitant rate to repay them in slaves.

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[HSM 313]

The Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran were under the influence of two Arab sheriffs who employed them on piratical excursions, and shared in equal parts the plunder obtained; I had once the opportunity of counting ninety-eight boats about to start on a cruize, and reckoning the crew of each boat at the moderate average of twenty-five men, it gives a body of 2,450 men on a piratical excursion.

The piracies of these Arab sheriffs and their Dyaks were so notorious that it is needless to detail them here, but one curious feature which throws a light on the state of society, I cannot forbear mentioning. On all occasions of a Dyak fleet being about to make a piratical excursion, a gong was beat round the town ordering a particular number of Malays to embark, and in case any one failed to obey, he was fined the sum of 30 rupees by the sheriff of the place.

The blow struck by Captain Keppel, of Her Majesty's ship "Dido," on these communities was so decisive as to have put an entire end to their piracies. The leaders, Sheriff Satube and Sheriff Mulak, have fled, the Malay population has been dispersed, and the Dyaks so far humbled as to sue for protection; and in future, by substituting local Malay rulers of good character, in lieu of the piratical sheriffs, a check will be placed on the Dyaks, and they may be broken of their piratical habits, in as far as interferes with the trade of the coast.

The next pirate horde we meet with is a mixed community of *Illanuns* and *Bajows* (or sea gypsies), located at Tampasuk, a few miles up a small river. They are not formidable in number, and their depredations are chiefly committed on the Spanish territory, their market, and recently, being Bruné or Borneo Proper. They might readily be dispersed and driven back to their own country, and the Dusuns, or villagers (as the name signifies), might be protected and encouraged.

Sheriff Hausman, a half-bred Arab, is located in Malludu Bay, and has by account from 1500 to 2000 men with him. He is beyond doubt a pirate, direct and indirect; and occasionally commands excursions in person, or employs the Illanuns of Tampasuk and others to the eastward, who, for their own convenience, make common cause with him. He has no pretension to the territory he occupies, and the authority he exerts (by means of his piratical force) over the interior tribes in his vicinity and on the Island of Labuan, is of the worst and most oppressive description. This sheriff has probably never come in contact with any Europeans, and consequently openly professes to hold their power in scorn. To my own knowledge, Sheriff Hausman has seized and sold into slavery a boat's crew (about twenty men) of the "Sultana," a merchant-ship which was burned in the Palawan Passage. Within the last few months he has plundered and burned a European vessel stranded near the Mangsi Isles; and to show his entire independence of control, his contempt for European power, and his determination to continue in his present course, he has threatened to attack the city of Bruné, in consequence of the Bruné Government having entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government for the discouragement and suppression of piracy.

This fact speaks volumes. An old established and recognised Malay Government is to be attacked by a lawless adventurer, who has seized on a portion of its territory and lives by piracy, for venturing to treat with a foreign Power for the best purposes. If any further proof of piracy were requisite, it could readily be established by numerous witnesses (themselves the victims), and by the most solemn declarations of the Bruné authorities, that peaceful traders on the high seas have been stopped by the prahus of this sheriff and his allies, their vessels seized, their property plundered, and their persons enslaved; numerous witnesses could attest their having been reduced to slavery, and detained in the very household of Sheriff Hausman. When, however, the fact of his having sold into slavery the crew of a British vessel (which has been established before the Singapore authorities) comes to be known, I conceive every other proof of the character of this person as completely superfluous.

The indirect piracy of Sheriff Hausman is even more mischievous than what is directly committed, for he supplies the Balanigui (a restless piratical tribe hereafter to be mentioned) with food, powder, arms, salt,





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... under an agreement that they pay ⁵² on their return from the
cruise, at the rate of five slaves for every 100 rupees' worth of goods.
The Balanigui are in consequence enabled through his assistance, to
operate effectively, which otherwise they would not be able to do, as from
their locality, they would find it difficult to obtain fire-arms and gun-
powder. The most detestable part of this traffic, however, is Sheriff Haus-
man selling in cold blood such of these slaves as are Borneons to Pangeran
Usop, of Bruné, for 100 rupees for each slave, and Pangeran Usop
re-selling each for 200 rupees to their relations in Bruné. Thus this vile
sheriff (not reckoning the enormous prices charged for his goods in the
first instance) gains 500 per cent. for every slave, and Pangeran Usop
clears 100 per cent. on the flesh of his own countrymen, thereby *de facto*
becoming a party to piracy, though doubtless veiled under the guise of
compassion.

More might be added on the subject of the piracies committed by this
sheriff, and it could easily be shown that the evils accruing from them
affect not only the peaceful trader, but extend to the peaceful agricul-
tunist; but for the sake of brevity I deem it sufficient to add that he
exercises the some malign influence on the north coast as Sheriff Satube
exercised on the north-west, and that having surrounded himself by a
body of pirates, he arrogates the rights of sovereignty, defies European
power, contemns every right principle, and threatens the recognised and
legitimate Governments of the Archipelago.

The *Balanigui* inhabit a cluster of small islands somewhere in the
vicinity of Suluk. They are of the Bajow or sea gypsy tribe, a wandering
race, whose original country has never been ascertained. At present, as
far as I can learn, they are not dependent on Suluk, though it is probable
they may be encouraged by some of the Rajahs of that place, and that
they find a slave-market there. The Balanigui cruise in large prahus,
and to each prahu a fleet sampan is attached, which on occasion can carry
from ten to fifteen men. They seldom carry large guns like the Illanuns;
but in addition to their other arms, viz., *lelas* (brass pieces carrying from
one to a three pound ball), spears, swords, &c., they use long poles with
barbed iron points, with which, during an engagement or flight, they hook
their prey.

By means of the fleet sampans already mentioned, they are able to
capture all small boats, and it is a favourite devise with them to disguise
one or two men, whilst the rest lie concealed in the bottom of the boat,
and thus to surprise prahus at sea, and fishermen or others at the mouths
of rivers. By being disguised as Chinese, they have carried off numbers
of that nation from the Sambas and Pontiana Rivers.

The cruising grounds of these pirates are very extensive; they fre-
quently make the circuit of Borneo, proceed as far as the south of Celebes,
and in the other direction have been met off Tringano, Calantan, and
Patani; Gillolo and the Moluccas lie within easy range, and it is probable
that Papua is occasionally visited by them. It will readily be conceived
how harassing to trade must be the continued depredations of the
Balanigui pirates, and more especially to the trade of Bruné, which seems,
from the unwarlike habits of the natives, the chosen field of their opera-
tions.

The number of Borneons yearly taken into slavery is very consider-
able, as a fleet of six or eight boats usually hang about the Island of
Palawan to cut off the trade and to catch the inhabitants of the city. The
Balanigui have a saying, that "it is difficult to catch fish, but easy to
catch Borneons;" and, on the other side, the Borneons, from being so
harassed by the pirates, call the easterly wind "the pirate wind." The
Balanigui commence cruising on the north-west coast about the middle of
March, and return or remove to the eastern side of the island about the
end of November.

Of Majindano or Mindano we are at the present time very ignorant,
but we know that the inhabitants are warlike and numerous, and that
that part of the island called Illanun Bay sends forth the most daring
pirates of the Archipelago

The first step requisite is to gain more information concerning them,

to form an acquaintance with some⁵³ of their better-disposed chiefs, and subsequently we might act against them with a suitable force; but it would be rash and premature in the present state of our knowledge, to come in contact with them in their own country. On one occasion I met eighteen Illanun boats on neutral ground, and learned from their two chiefs, that they had been two years absent from home; and from the Papuan negro slaves on board, it was evident that their cruize had extended from the most eastern islands of the Archipelago to the north-western coast of Borneo.

Having now enumerated the pirates I have become acquainted with since my residence in Sarawak, I shall proceed to offer an opinion of the best mode for the suppression of piracy in these seas.

In the first place, a blow should be struck at the piratical communities with which we are already acquainted, and struck with a force which should convince all other pirates of the hopelessness of resistance; subsequently, the recognized Malay Governments may be detached from all communication with pirates, and joining conciliation with punishment, laying down the broad distinction of piracy and no piracy, we may foster those who abandon their evil habits, and punish those who adhere to them.

A system of supervision will however be necessary to carry out these measures, our knowledge of the native States must be improved, and as we become able to discriminate between the good and the bad, our sphere of action may be enlarged, and we may act with decision against all descriptions of pirates—against the indirect as well as the direct pirate, against the receiver of stolen goods as well as the thief, and against the promoter as well as the actual perpetrator of piracy.

I would especially urge that, to eradicate the evil, the pirate haunts must be burned and destroyed, and the communities dispersed, for merely to cruize against pirate prahus, and to forbear attacking them until we see them commit a piracy, is a hopeless and an endless task, harassing to our men, and can be attended with but very partial and occasional success; whereas, on the contrary principle, what pirate would venture to pursue his vocation if his house be endangered, if he be made to feel in his own person the very ills he inflicts upon others?

A question may arise as to what constitutes piracy, and whether in our efforts to suppress it we may not be interfering with the rights of native States to war one upon another.

On the first point, it appears clear to me that the plunder or seizure of a peaceful or lawful trader on the high seas, constitutes an act of piracy, without any reference to the nation or colour of the injured party.

On the second point, we can only concede the right of war to recognized States. Chiefs who have seized on territory and arrogate independence (making their independence a plea for piracy), can never be allowed the right of declaring war or entering on hostilities with their neighbours, for all native trade must in that case be at an end, as the piratical chiefs, no longer in dread of punishment from European Powers, would doubtless declare war against every unwarlike native State which they did not need as a market for the sale of their slaves and plunder.

Practically acting, however, on the broad principle that the seizure of any lawful trader constitutes piracy, I consider no injustice would be done to the native States, and no interference occur with their acknowledged rights; for in practice it would be easy to discriminate a war between native nations, from the piracies of lawless hordes of men; and without some such general principle, no executive officer could act with the requisite decision and promptitude to ensure the eradication of this great evil.

With a post such as is proposed to be established, our measures for the suppression of piracy (after the punishment of Sheriff Hausman and the Balanigui) would advance step by step as our knowledge increased, and with alternate conciliation and severity, as the case might require, by detaching the recognized Governments from the practice, and gradually forming amongst the chief men a friendly and English party, opposed to piracy, we should, I doubt not, speedily obtain our principal object of





sity of the natives for piracy. = 54 -

In order to extend our commerce in these seas generally, and more particularly on the north-west coast of Borneo, it is requisite— [HSM 313]

1st. That piracy be suppressed;

2nd. That the native Governments be settled so as to afford protection to the poorer and producing classes; and

3rd. That our knowledge of the interior should be extended, and our intercourse with the various tribes more frequent.

That our commerce may be largely extended is so clear, that I shall not stop to detail the productions of the Island of Borneo, as it will suffice here to state generally, that all authorities agree in representing it as one of the richest portions of the globe; and in climate, soil, and mineral and vegetable productions, inferior to no portion of the same extent. If these opinions be true, and from my experience I believe them to be so, it follows that the materials for an extensive and extended trade exist, and only require development; whilst a numerous and industrious though wild population which inhabits the interior is debarred from all intercourse with Europeans, from the badness of Malay government.

On the first requisite for the development of commerce, I need add nothing further, as it is a duty incumbent on all Governments to eradicate piracy at any cost, and in the present case it would not be found a difficult or tedious task.

A post like Labuan or Balambangan would beyond doubt give an impetus to trade merely from the freedom from all restrictions and the absence of all exactions which the natives would enjoy; and piracy being checked, countries which now lie fallow would, from their proximity, be induced to bring their produce into market. This limited extension is, however, of little moment when compared with the results which must attend our exerting a beneficial influence over the native Governments for the purpose of affording protection to the poorer classes, ensuring safety to the trader, and (without any guarantee) opening a field for the planter or the miner.

The slightest acquaintance with the north-west coast of Borneo would convince any observer of the ease with which these objects might be effected, for the native Government, being in a state of decadence, requires protection, and would willingly act justly towards traders and capitalists, and encourage their enterprises, in order to continue on friendly terms with any European Power located in their vicinity.

The numerous rivers on the coast, with their local rulers, are harassed by the demands of every petty Pangeran; and whilst the Sovereign is defrauded of his revenue, which the people would cheerfully pay, and his territory ruined, this host of useless retainers (acting always in his name) gain but very slight personal profits to counterbalance all the mischief they do.

The principal feature is the weakness of the Government, both of the capital and its dependencies, and in consequence of this weakness there is a strong desire for European protection, for European enterprise, and for any change effected by European means.

Supposing Labuan to be taken as a naval post, I consider that European capital might with safety be employed in Bruné, whether for the procuring of coal or for any other speculation.

In the rivers contiguous to Sarawak the presence of Europeans would be hailed with joy, not only by the Dyaks, but by the Malays, and subsequently it would depend on their own conduct to what degree they retained the good-will of the natives; but with ordinary conciliation and a decent moral restraint on their actions, I feel assured that their persons and property would be safe, and no obstructions offered to fair trade or to mining operations.

Supposing, as I have before said, the occupation of Labuan by the English, our influence over the Government of Bruné would be complete; and one of our principal objects would be to maintain this ascendancy as a means of extending our trade. Our position at Labuan would, it must be borne in mind, differ from the position we occupied in relation to the

native Princes in Singapore. In the latter case the native Princes were without means, without followers, and with a paltry and useless territory, and became our pensioners. In the case of Labuan, we shall have an acknowledged independent State in our vicinity; and for the prosperity of our settlement we must retain our ascendancy by the support of the Government of the Sultan and Muda Hassim. Let our influence be of the mildest kind; let us, by supporting the legitimate Government, ameliorate the condition of the people by this influence; let us pay every honour to the native Princes; let us convince them of our entire freedom from all selfish views of territorial aggrandizement on the main land of Borneo, and we shall enjoy so entire a confidence that, virtually, the coast will become our own without the trouble or expense of possession.

I have impressed it on the Rajah Muda Hassim and Pangeran Bud-rudeen, that the readiest and most direct way of obtaining revenue from the various possessions will be by commuting all their demands for a stated yearly sum of money from each; and by this direct taxation (to which Muda Hassim and his brother seem ready to accede), the system of fraud and exaction would be abolished, the native mind tranquillized, and the legitimate Government would become the protector rather than the oppressor of its dependencies. By this measure, likewise, a tone might be imparted to the native chiefs and rulers of rivers, and the people at large taught to feel that after the payment of a specified sum, a right existed to resist all extra demands. Besides this, these Rajahs are convinced that a certain yearly revenue is what they require, and is the only means by which they can retain their independence; and I have impressed it on their minds, that to gain a revenue, they must foster trade and protect Europeans in their dealings.

If Labuan was English, and if the sea was clear of pirates, I see no obstacle in bringing these and other measures into immediate operation, and I am assured we should have the sincere and hearty co-operation of the Borneo Government.

Since the advent of Europeans in the Archipelago, the tendency of the Polynesian Governments generally has been to decay; here the experiment may be fairly tried, on the smallest scale of expense, whether a beneficial European influence may not reanimate a falling State, and at the same time extend our own commerce.

We are here devoid of the stimulus which has urged us to conquest in India. We incur no risk of the collision of the two races. We occupy a small station in the vicinity of a friendly and unwarlike people, and we aim at the development of native countries through native agency. If this tendency to decay and extinction be inevitable—if this approximation of European policy to a native State should be unable to arrest the fall of the Borneo Government—yet we shall retain a people already habituated to European manners, industrious interior races, and at a future period, if deemed necessary, settlements, gradually developed in a rich and fertile country. We shall have a post, in time of war, highly advantageous, as commanding a favourable position relative to China; we shall extend our commerce, suppress piracy, and prevent the present and prospective advantages falling into other hands; and we shall do this at a small expense.

I own the native development, through their own exertions, is but a favourite theory; but whatever may be the fate of the Government of Borneo, the people will still remain; and if they be protected, and enabled to live in quiet security, I cannot entertain a doubt of its becoming a highly productive country, eminently calculated as a field for British enterprise and capital.

If the development of the resources of the country can be effected by its native rulers, it will be a noble task performed; but if it fail, the people of the coast will still advance and form Governments for themselves under British influence.

In concluding this hasty and general view of the subject, I may remark that commerce might be extended and capital laid out on the north-west coast of Borneo to an amount to which it is difficult to fix

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limits, as the country is capable of producing most articles of commerce in demand from this quarter of the world; and the natives (who, as far as we know them, are an unwarlike, mild and industrious race) would receive our manufactures, from which they are now in a great measure debarred. [HSM 313]

I have not alluded to any other countries of the Archipelago, for we must first become acquainted with them: we must become intimate, cultivate an English party, and accustom them to our manners, and probably the same conciliatory policy, the same freedom from design, which has succeeded in Borneo, will succeed elsewhere, if pushed with temper and patience. The general principle ought to be, to encourage established Governments such as Borneo and Suluk, provided they will with all sincerity abandon piracy, and assist in its suppression; but at the same time, by supervision, to convince themselves of the fact, and keep them in the right path; for all treaties with their native States (and we have had several) are but so much waste paper, unless we see them carried into execution.

I have only now to mention the third means for the extension of commerce. Our intercourse with the natives of the interior should be frequent and intimate. These people (beyond where I am acquainted with them) are represented as very numerous, hospitable, and industrious; and a friendly intercourse would develop the resources of their country, draw its produce to our markets, and give the natives a taste for British manufactures. This intercourse must, however, be prudently introduced and carefully advanced, for to bring these wild people in contact with ignorant and arrogant Europeans would produce bloodshed and confusion in a month.

In Borneo it is an advantage that the two races cannot come in collision; for, from its climate, it precludes all idea of colonization, and, that which is next to impossibility, the maintaining a good understanding between ignorant civilized men and ignorant savages. It is a field for commerce and capital; but no violent change should be attempted of native customs; and in this way alone, by gradual means, can we really benefit the natives and ourselves.

When we consider the amount of produce obtained from the countries of the Archipelago, and their consumption of British manufactures, under the worst forms of Government, living in a state of distraction and insecurity, and exposed to the depredations of pirates at sea, we may form some idea how vast may be the increase, should peace and security be introduced amongst them; and judging of the future by the past—by the limited experiment made at Sarawak—we may hope that the task is neither so difficult or so uncertain as was probably supposed.

(Signed)

J. BROOKE.

Singapore, March 31, 1845.