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UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama  
Sidang Akademik 2006/2007

Oktober/November 2006

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

Masa : 3 jam

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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),<sup>2</sup> dengan perkataan (yang manis serta)<sup>2</sup> 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 dipersalin<sup>3</sup> 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 itu<sup>4</sup> memberi tahu ke dalam negeri lagi //kepada baginda//. Maka masuk(lah) segala kelengkapan itu ke dalam Johor dengan terserkap<sup>5</sup> /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 lagi<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> (Maka) makin<sup>3</sup> 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// dipermaklumkan<sup>2</sup> /segala/ hal-ehwal maksudnya itu. Maka dikabulkan<sup>3</sup> 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 rajas to reason, or to enforce any orders or advice which the Governor might think it necessary or expedient to offer. So much was this the case that British subjects in the Straits were warned that, if they chose to seek adventure or profit in the Malay States, they would do it at their own risk, and it was concluded that if they got into trouble they could get themselves out of it without any hope of assistance from the British Government. In the face of modern views of British expansion all this sounds very long ago and far away, but it was as I have stated until Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Clarke became governor of the Straits in 1873. With his coming, there was a change of policy, and as, at that moment, the state of the Peninsula was at its very worst, Sir Andrew Clarke took advantage of the position and of his instructions to put an end to a condition of affairs that had become well nigh intolerable. I will not pretend to describe the circumstances; I have partially done so in another paper; but the most violent struggles were going on in Pèrak and Selangor, both Malays and Chinese being equally concerned, and both States were being rapidly depopulated. The small States round Malacca (now happily united into one) were each and all in a state of ferment if not of open fighting, and, worse than all, these quarrels on our borders were spreading to the Colony, our police stations were attacked, the Penang house of a rich Pèrak chief was actually blown up, in the hope of destroying its owner, and every day peaceful British subjects sailing through the Straits of Malacca were murdered and their vessels looted and burned. It is necessary to add that these proceedings continued for months, in spite of the fact that British war vessels were doing all in their power to protect the shipping and secure the pirates. Owing to the nature of the coast, a complete network of creeks, known only to the pirates and guarded by an immense mud bank, the efforts of our navy were without result, and matters culminated in an attack by the pirates on boats manned by British crews, when two naval officers were seriously wounded.

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

done—what that something should be, Sir Andrew Clarke, with characteristic promptitude, very soon decided. A Pèrak raja had written to the Governor, explaining that he, the rightful heir to the position of Sultan, had been supplanted. The raja asked for the Governor's assistance to secure his birthright, and also requested that a British officer might be sent to him to teach the art of administration, offering, at the same time, to provide him with a suitable residence and to defray the cost of his salary and all other expenses out of the revenues of the country. I believe that this was the first suggestion of the residential idea, and if I am right, it is both curious and interesting that it should have originated, even in its crudest form, in the Malay States. An experienced officer was sent to Pèrak to make inquiries, and his report was to the effect that this raja's claims were good, but that, for various reasons, mainly traceable to his own neglect of established customs, he had been passed over in favour of a man who did not, on his father's side, belong to the ruling family of Pèrak. That was for the Malay question interesting enough in its way, but it was like others that had preceded it in other States without leading to any interference on our part. At this time there were many thousands of Chinese mining in Pèrak, and the war of Chinese factions, already answerable for such incidents as the slaughter of 3,000 people in one day, a naval engagement which would make a story of its own, the violent antagonism of Chinese secret societies in the neighbouring Colony, and the daily acts of piracy in the Straits of Malacca, were, however, new factors in Malay politics, and they seriously threatened, if they had not already disturbed, the peace of the British Settlements. Governor Sir Andrew Clarke's instructions were to inquire into and report upon Malay affairs, specially the advisability of appointing a British officer to reside in Malāya, 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. 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.

#### 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