

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama
Sidang Akademik 2005/2006

November 2005

HSM 313 – Dokumen-Dokumen Dalam Sejarah Malaysia I

Masa : 3 jam

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

Jawab EMPAT soalan sahaja.

1. "Ahli sejarah mementingkan dan lebih menggunakan dokumen-dokumen rasmi seperti surat, laporan, memoranda yang dikeluarkan oleh pihak kerajaan sebagai sumber bahan daripada lain jenis bahan sumber." Bincangkan.
2. Sejauh manakah "Life in the Malay Peninsula: As It Was and Is" (LAMPIRAN A) hasil ucapan Hugh Clifford menambahkan pengetahuan tentang masyarakat Melayu pada penghujung abad ke-19?
3. Perjanjian bertajuk "Engagement entered into by the chiefs of Perak at Pulo Pangkor", 20 January 1874" (LAMPIRAN B) atau "Pangkor Engagement" hanya mempunyai implikasi buruk bagi Tanah Melayu. Sejauh manakah anda bersetuju dengan pandangan ini?
4. Undang-undang "Order No. XXV, 1910: Sale of Rubber Tree Plantations" (LAMPIRAN C) dan surat peribadi "Rajah Charles Brooke to Harry Brooke. Chesterton, 5 March 1910" (LAMPIRAN D) mempamerkan dasar anti-getah kerajaan Brooke di Sarawak. Hubungkan dokumen-dokumen tersebut dengan pelaksanaan dasar ini.
5. Berdasarkan kepada "Peta: Perkembangan Sistem Keretapi Tanah Melayu, 1885-1935" (DOKUMEN E) kenalpasti penentu utama yang mempengaruhi corak dan pola sistem keretapi di Tanah Melayu. Nilai sumbangan sistem keretapi kepada kemajuan ekonomi Tanah Melayu pada zaman penjajahan British.
6. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj mengisahkan pengalamannya semasa zaman perang dan pendudukan Jepun dalam karya tulisan "The War Years" (LAMPIRAN F). Nilai sumbangan karya tersebut kepada sejarah Malaysia.
7. Tidak dinafikan bahawa dokumen bercorak surat-menyurat peribadi mempunyai kelemahan-kelemahan tertentu sebagai bahan sumber untuk penulisan sejarah. Namun demikian, surat-menyurat peribadi masih digunakan oleh ahli sejarah. Bahaskan.

...Lampiran A/-
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Life in the Malay Peninsula: As it was and is

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Hugh Clifford

20 June 1899

Chairman: Sir Cecil Clementi Smith

EIGHT years ago the late Sir William Maxwell read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute a paper on "The Malay Peninsula: its Resources and Prospects."* Five years later another paper dealing with the same part of the world was read in this place by Sir Frank Swettenham, its subject being "British Rule in Malaya."† These two lectures cover together a great deal of ground, Sir William Maxwell having begun by tracing the history of British connection with the Malays from the days of the East India Company, and Sir Frank Swettenham having carried on the record up to the time of the Federation of the Protected States of the Peninsula which was successfully effected, mainly by his influence, three years ago. The Council of the Institute has now done me the honour to ask me to read a paper to you to-night, the theme of which is once again the Peninsula and its peoples and the record of the work which Great Britain has performed in that remote country since first interference with the old native régime was thrust upon us. In complying with the request of the Council I have found myself in the position of the feeble gleaner, who, following in the footsteps of the more sturdy reapers, gathers up such ears of grain as they have missed, or have passed over as of little worth. None the less, since it has been my lot during the past sixteen years to be brought into intimate contact with a Malayan State in all the stages of its evolution, from independence and misrule to protection, prosperity, and good government, and as, moreover, this is an experience which few have shared with me to quite the same extent, it has occurred to me that much of which I

have to tell may prove to be new to my hearers, and, further, may aid some to realise more fully the exact nature of the work which Great Britain is to-day carrying out in half-a-hundred obscure localities, with the aid of those who

Wait in heavy harness

On fluttered folk and wild,

Our new-caught, sullen peoples,

Half devil and half child.

In January 1887 I was sent by Sir Frederick Weld on a special mission to the Court of the Sultan of Pahang, who at that time was a native ruler absolutely independent of both Great Britain and of Siam. For some months I remained in Pahang carrying on the protracted negotiations which preceded the signing of the first treaty whereby the British Government was empowered to appoint a political agent to the Sultan's Court. After the treaty had been concluded my kind friend Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who has done me the honour to take the chair to-night, retained me as his agent in Pahang until a Resident was appointed to aid the Sultan in the administration of his country during the last months of 1888. It was, therefore, my lot to live in a Malayan State under native rule for a period of nearly two years.

It will perhaps be conceded that this was an experience which is somewhat unusual, and that the opportunities which were thus given to me to study and observe native life and society in its natural conditions were such as very few other white men have had presented to them. But the peculiarity of my position was even greater than a narration of the above circumstances would lead you to suppose, for I was, for a variety of reasons, permitted to see native life as it exists when no white men are at hand to watch and take note of its peculiarities—native life naked and unashamed.

In all that follows I am speaking of things observed at first hand; of a native system of administration—if anything so fortuitous may be termed a "system"—into the every-day working of which I have been permitted to pry; of native institutions which I have seen in actual operation for extended periods of time; and of some phases of Oriental life which went on undisturbed around me, while I myself played among them an insignificant and unconsidered part.

The States, which I have known most intimately during the time of their independence are Pahang, which is now a portion of the

**Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. xxiii, p. 3.

†*Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, p. 273.

Federated Malay States, and Trengganu, and Kelantan, which are still independent. All these States are situated on the east coast of the Peninsula, and thus occupy one of the most sheltered and rarely-visited nooks still remaining in this age of restless exploration. Their geographical position accounts for their isolation, for not only do they lie in a locality far removed from any recognised trade route, but the north-east monsoon, which whips down the China Sea for four months in every year, is hedged in and straitened by the Philippines and Borneo on the one hand, and by the mainland of French Indo-China and Siam on the other, in such fashion that it breaks with all its fury upon the shores of the Malay Peninsula. When I first went to reside in Pahang twelve years ago all communication with the outside world ceased abruptly in October and was not resumed until March had come again. During those months no fishing-boats put out to sea; no junks came in from Singapore, China, or Siam; to me, living alone among the people of an alien race, the world seemed of a sudden to have become narrowed down to some 15,000 square miles of forest country, through which certain mighty rivers—our only highways—ran ceaselessly, monotonously past the scattered villages in which dwelt the sparse population of the land. The only events which occupied our thoughts were the trivial, yet to us vastly important, happenings which made up the politics of the remote and isolated kingdom in which we lived. The great world beyond our borders might in truth have been a portion of some other planet or a mere figment of my own imagination, as I was sometimes tempted to believe. An occasional whisper of unreliable news was borne to us, having been brought across the mountains of the main range of the Peninsula by the sweating villagers, who trudged on foot up the difficult ascents which were at that time the only means by which the hills could be crossed. But even such rumours as these, scraps of imperfectly-understood gossip heard in the bazaars by folk whose ignorance of all things was phenomenal, had to filter down stream to us at the Sultan's Court, a distance of more than 200 miles, being passed from man to man by word of mouth, and, as was natural, becoming so much altered in the process that by the time they reached us they retained as little of their original aspect as does the habit of a Cistercian monk after it has undergone the patching of more than half a century. All this isolation, this almost complete severance from the world without, had had its inevitable effects upon the rulers and the peoples of the Malayan States on the eastern seaboard of the Peninsula. The native

kingdoms situated upon the Straits of Malacca had all been more or less subjected to foreign influences from very early times, and in spite of the robust conservatism of the people some changes have been affected thereby in their natural condition. But the Malays as a race detest change. "Let our children die rather than our customs" is a familiar proverbial saying, and it expresses the popular sentiment in regard to innovation in a form which has in it but little of exaggeration. Thus the natives of the more remote States of the Peninsula adhered faithfully to their old manner of life with an extraordinary tenacity, and escaped even such measure of influence from without as had had its share in the forming of the peoples of the western seaboard. This is why a study of the organisation of a State on the east coast of the Peninsula reveals to us more completely the whole theory of Malayan government than any examination of the history of the States of Pénak and Selangor can be supposed to do.

Students of European history may note with interest the slow evolution of existing systems of government in our various countries from beginnings which, speaking broadly, are singularly alike. Throughout the Europe of the Middle Ages the feudal system embodied the principal theory upon which all governments were based, and the history of the white nations is merely the record of the changes and developments effected in this system which, after many centuries, have resulted in the various methods of government which we find extant in the European countries of to-day. The feudal system, in some form or another, would appear to be one of the inevitable phases through which the government of every civilised country must pass in the process of its evolution from more primitive beginnings to methods of administration based upon wider, nobler conceptions of the duty of the State to those whom it rules yet serves; and an examination of the modern history of the Malayan States of which I am speaking, shows us with great distinctness that the Malays, in common with other more civilised folk, had worked out for themselves unaided a theory of government on feudal lines which bears a startling resemblance to the European models of a long-passed epoch. But here they had halted. To live in independent Malaya is to live in the Europe of the thirteenth century.

Thus in the Malayan States, as we found them when first we began to set about the task of moulding their history for ourselves, the Sultan was theoretically the owner of the whole country and everything that it contained, all others holding their possessions in

fief from him, or from his vassals on his behalf. The country was divided up into a number of districts, each of which was held in fief from the Sultan by an Orang Besar, or great Baron. The power which each of these men held in his own district was practically unlimited. Thus in Pahang a dozen years ago each of the great chiefs, of whom there were four, had the power of life and death over all the people residing in his territories. But the unwritten law or custom went further than this, for it defined the exact manner in which each of these chiefs must carry out the executions which he might order. Thus the Dato' Bandar, who owned the coast district, was empowered to inflict death by causing his victim to be stabbed with a *kolris*, or dagger, through the hollow in the left shoulder above the collar-bone, and thence through the heart. The Orang Kâya Pah-lâwan of Chenor fastened his offenders to a tree, and caused spears to be thrown at them at short range until such time as death saw fit to end their sufferings. The Orang Kâya of Temerloh lashed his criminals to a ducking stool, and drowned them slowly, but with elaborate care. The Maharâja Pêba of Jelai, the great chieftain who ruled over the interior of Pahang, executed his victims by cutting their heads from their shoulders with a sharp sword. The formalities which preceded this latter method of execution are of so curious a nature, and are withal so characteristic of the Malays, that I cannot refrain from sparing them a few words of description. The criminal was first approached by the executioner, who, taking his victim's hands between both of his and looking into his eyes, said simply "Maâfi!"—"Pardon!"—an expression equivalent to our phrase "Excuse me." To this the man about to die replied invariably "Ta' âpa!" which means "It does not signify!" He was then ordered to seat himself, and in some instances a bandage was bound over his eyes. The executioner then passed behind him and, after making obeisance to the presiding chief, began an elaborate sword-dance, every evolution in which was watched with the most critical interest by all the spectators. To and fro he danced, posturing, turning and wheeling, now skipping lightly to within a few feet of his victim, his sword poised above his head performing passes innumerable, now leaping back again to the other end of the open space allotted to him, to dance up once more to the miserable creature who sat so patiently awaiting the death which still held its hand so cruelly. If only one man was to be executed, the grisly dance would last for perhaps a quarter of an hour before the sword fell in one flashing swoop and sheared the head from the trunk. If there were many victims, more than an hour

might elapse between the time when the first and the last of the poor wretches yielded up the life that was in him, and in such cases the torture of uncertainty was horribly increased, for the executioner followed no order in the selection of his victims save that which his caprice dictated, and no man knew when his own turn would come, while his nerves were strained to a higher pitch of intense anguish by the sight and the sound of the still writhing bodies which floundered so aimlessly around him.

But to return to my subject, from which I have been led into a digression because this account of a Malay execution presented me with an opportunity of showing to those of my hearers who are unacquainted with the people something of the callousness to human suffering, and the inability to place oneself in others' shoes, which mark the methods of native administration, even when its officers are engaged in carrying out what they regard as an act of justice.

Under the four great chiefs, or barons, there were the chiefs of the Council of Eight. These men were related to the greater barons in precisely the same manner as the latter were related to their Sultan—that is to say, that they owed them fealty, and were bound to follow them in time of war.

Under the eight chiefs, each of whom had his sub-district, the boundaries of which were clearly defined by his letter of authority, were the chiefs of the Council of Sixteen—squires who owned a few clusters of villages, holding them in fief from one or another of the Council of Eight. Under them again were the Thirty-Two and the Sixty-Four, who existed more in theory than in reality, for no man in all the country knew its internal economy with sufficient intimacy to be able to name more than a few of them, and the little village headmen who claimed to belong to one Council or another were probably not sufficiently numerous to make up the required total of Ninety-Six.

Under the village headmen, the Ka-tûa-an, or elders, as they were usually termed, were the free Raayat, or villagers. These men held land of their own, upon which their houses stood. They also had a traditional right to select such forest land from time to time as they might require for the planting of temporary crops, and most of them cherished some legendary claims to certain plots of uncultivated land which were supposed to have once been occupied by some of their ancestors, and were perennial sources of dispute and contention. All this land, however, was only in a sense the property of its owner. No man disputed the right of a villager to take up jungle and transform it

into arable ground; no man denied his right to sell it; no one questioned the right of his children to inherit it when his day was done; but the owner held no title for it, and if a stronger than he covered it and elected to dispossess him he had no redress. He paid no rent for his land; he was under no obligations as to its cultivation; but, by an unwritten law, he was bound to follow his headman or his chief to the seat of war in the event of his presence being required; he was forced to pay a number of taxes, regular and irregular, such as we Europeans are wont to term "squeezees"; and he was further bound to give his labour to any of his superiors who might need it free of charge, and to follow his chief when he went to Court in order to swell the number of the mob of adherents which the noble's dignity found necessary for its support.

Beneath the free *raiyat* were the slave-debtors, concerning whom I shall have more to say hereafter, and below them again were the bought slaves and their descendants, who formed the lowest class of Malayan society.

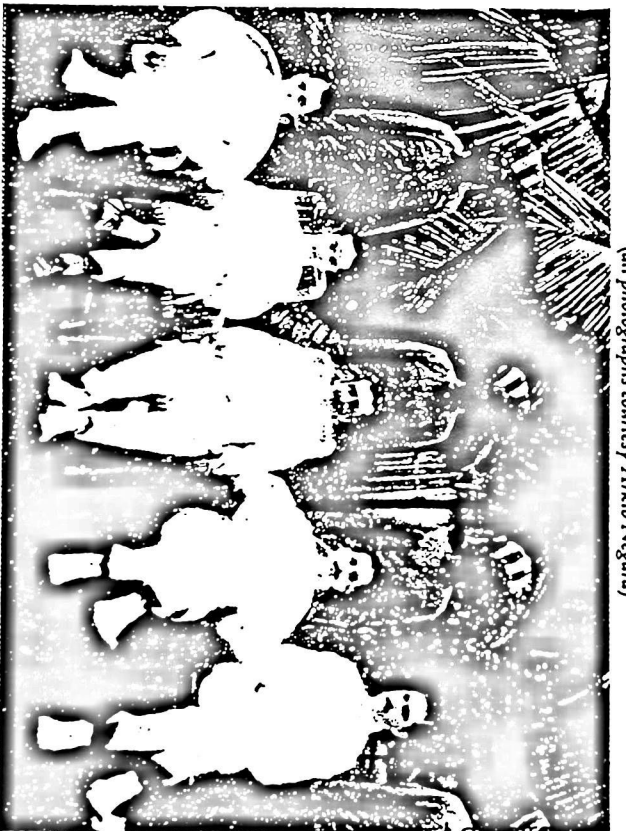
Having now given you a broad idea of the theory of the organisation of a Malay State, I think that it may be both instructive and interesting to you to look behind the scenes and watch how matters worked out in actual practice.

In the first place, it must be fully realised that the Sultan was the main pivot upon which all things in his country turned. He was the source from which all blessing flowed; he was the person who held in his hand rewards and punishments; it was his whims—things often strange and unaccountable—which could make or mar a man. His lightest word brought death, swift and inevitable, which most often was not preceded by any such tedious formalities as a trial or examination of the accused. He was the principal trader, the richest man, the banker and advancer of capital to his people. He was also a law to himself, and whatsoever he might elect to do, those about him would be certain to approve with loud-mouthed cordiality such as princes love.

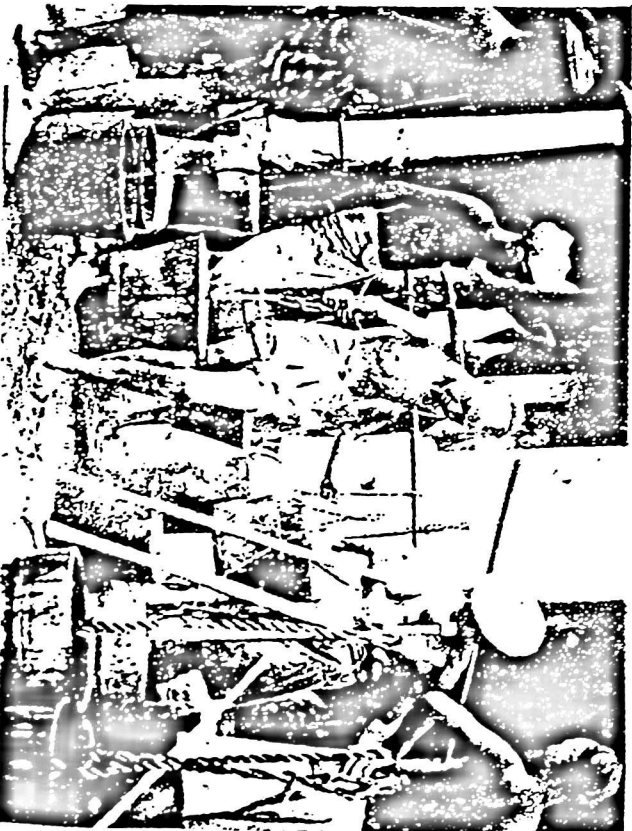
The training through which he had passed before he attained to the throne was of a kind which would most certainly ruin the strongest European character of which I have any experience. From the time that he was first suffered to set foot upon Mother Earth with little shoes of beaten gold upon his tiny brown feet—the which event was marked by feastings and public rejoicings—the young *rāja* found himself hedged about by sycophants and courtiers whose sole desire was to please him and to win his favour. Even in their daily speech

THE RULERS AND THE RULED

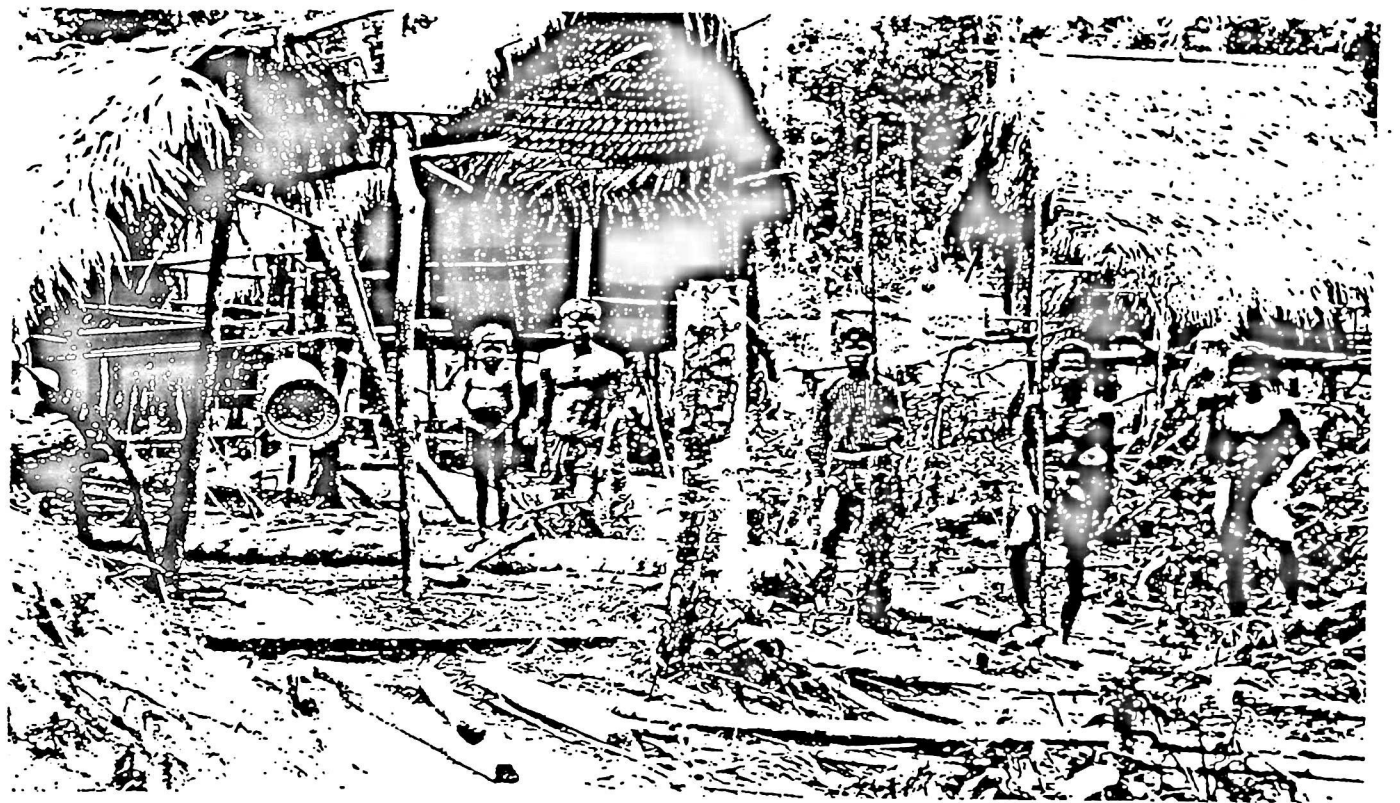
(all photographs courtesy Arkib Negara)



1a European planters



1b Tamil water-carriers



16 Orang Asli (Aborigines)

they did him homage. All who addressed him spoke of themselves humbly as his slaves; they termed him "Beneath the sandal's sole," to signify that that was the position which they and all the world occupied in relation to his tiny omnipotence; when they spoke of his sleep they used a special word, not to be applied to ordinary mortals, to denote the sublime nature of his baby slumbers; when they ate they told him that they "guzzled"; when he took his meals they spoke of them with reverence, saying that he made a refecton. As he grew older the women who crammed the dirty little native Court vied with one another to lead the child astray: the youths flattered him, praising his poor skill in field sports, encouraging him in every act of brutality which he might be tempted to commit, and lauding him to the skies for his cruelty and injustice. Never in all his life did he see aught in the possession of another, were it inanimate object, beast of burden, or comely wife or daughter, but his followers urged him to seize it for his own. He was taught from his cradle that his whim, his lightest fancy, was more important than the whole life-happiness of any meaner soul; that his passions were one and all given to him to satisfy to the full, not to curb or restrain; that throughout he and no other person on all God's earth was worthy of consideration. Can there be room for wonder that with such an up-bringing the young *raja* developed into something not unlike a Nero?—a Nero whose capacity for harm was fortunately much straitened and limited, but none the less a pitiful Nero, squalid and insignificant, lacking even importance in the world's history to save him from oblivion, wanting even a love of art to weave a certain halo of romance about his vices and his cruelty.

The only check which was ever exercised upon a young *raja* during his early years was that applied by his father; but so long as the child did not come into direct opposition to his sire upon some matter connected with the latter's intimate pleasures, the royal parent was usually content to let the boy go his own way, and even smiled with indulgent pride at his precocious villainies. Also a *raja* of the old school knew so thoroughly how much his son's life and happiness might rest upon the fact that he was feared before he was loved, that in several instances which I might cite the youths of the royal stock were encouraged by their parents to take a life or two with their own hands, so that all men might go abroad in fear of them.

When a man, such as the system of education which I have described could not fail to produce, held the fate of a kingdom and of

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a people in the hollow of his hand, it may readily be imagined that life assumed aspects more unlovely than is common even under the most oppressive governments. The Sultan's jealousy of the power of his great barons, who alone could attempt to offer him defiance, led him to constantly intrigue against them, to set one or another of them fighting against his fellows until such time as, all being weakened by the conflict, the Sultan might step in and make his own terms with them. Thus a number of little civil wars were constantly raging, and the unfortunate peasants bore the brunt of them as of all the other heavy burdens of the distracted land.

Theoretically the Sultan was the supreme judge, and it was to his *báiai*, or reception-hall, that all complaints were made, and there that all disputes were heard, and all judgments given. Some of the more vigorous of the old Sultans actually performed this duty; but for the most part the Malayan rulers were too supine and too callous to bother themselves about such affairs. Therefore the right to judge was generally deputed to more or less incompetent persons, most often selected from among the number of the royal favourites, the upstarts of no family, hated by the hereditary chiefs, by whom the Sultan was always surrounded. These posts, naturally, were much sought after, for in the hands of Asiatics the administration of justice, so called, is always made to be a fairly lucrative business. All who came to the judges brought gifts—which may be taken as being roughly equivalent to our fees of court—but here the resemblance to all our methods of administration ceased, for the bringer of a hand-some present could usually obtain any judgment which he required without further question, his *ex parte* statement being accepted as sufficient grounds for immediate action, and the judgment, no matter how unjust, being upheld to the last, unless the other party in the suit put in an appearance and made reconsideration worth the judges' while for the sake of their well-loved money-bags. It would be easy for me to compile a long list of strange judgments which I have known given by native courts of justice, but a recital of such things would probably weary you, and I propose, therefore, to narrate only a few, which I would ask you to believe are taken at haphazard from my notes or my memory, and are by no means as awful or as ridiculous as others which I might cite.

I remember one case in which two native children, little naked brown things, aged respectively six and seven years, had a squabble in the street of a native town within a couple of hundred yards of the Sultan's palace. The dispute, I believe, concerned the decision of a

complicated case which had arisen in a game of marbles. They used their little tongues justly, got hotter with their words, and at length came to blows. Neither of them was strong enough to inflict so much as a black eye upon the other, and some of their relatives, who chanced to be at hand, separated them, and thought no more about the matter. The incident, however, chanced to come to the ears of one of the local judges, and this worthy, without calling any of the people concerned before him, or making any inquiry, straightway sentenced a distant cousin of the younger boy to pay a fine of 250 dollars—a sum which at that time was equivalent to as many pounds, when the relative poverty of the natives was taken into consideration. I happened to be in the place at the time, though I was not officially connected with it, and I own that I was astonished at what seemed to me to be as charming a piece of perverse inconsequence as ever the fertile brain of a Gilbert or a Lewis Carroll could devise. Had the child no parents or nearer relations? I asked. Yes, I was informed, he had many nearer relatives. Then why had this distant cousin been selected for punishment? Well, he had recently made a considerable sum of money, it was reported, in a lucky trading speculation. But was that a crime? No, my informants replied, not really a crime, but it had marked him out as a person worth punishing. The child was declared to have been guilty of *l'été majesté* in that he had fought within a measurable distance of the royal precincts, and the opportunity for inflicting a fine upon his unfortunate cousin had been too good to be missed. The other child, having friends at Court, and no rich relative inviting profitable plundering, had been suffered to escape all penalty.

I remember another instance of a far more serious nature, in which the son of a chief having brutally murdered a peasant in cold blood, was allowed to come and go at Court after the deed as though nothing of any moment had happened, simply because the Sultan did not wish to irritate his father.

As late as last November, in an independent native State within twenty miles of our boundaries, a party of Borneo Dyaks brutally put a man to death in cold blood, after discussing his fate in their wretched victim's presence for more than an hour, because he had stolen some money from one of them, and though they took his head as a trophy, and bore it defiantly to the principal chief of the place, that worthy and excellent official did not consider the matter to be one of sufficient moment to warrant further inquiry.

As I have already said, I might multiply such instances of the

strange blindness of vision that habitually obstructs the sight of the Malay goddess of Justice, but sufficient has been said, I do not doubt, to show you that the misdeeds of the native magistrates are carried to lamentable lengths. In civil proceedings things are no better. One half of the debt sued for is claimed by most courts of requests, and that is the best that the suitor can hope for. If the man from whom he seeks to recover money be wealthy or powerful, far worse things than that are liable to befall the imprudent creditor, and cases are not few in which a man who was not content to submit to the loss of his property in peace and quietness has ended by being robbed of his life into the bargain.

The inefficiency and corruption which is noticeable among the magistrates of a Malayan State in those parts of the country which are not so remote as to be suffered by their rulers to jog on as best they may without even a semblance of administration, is found in every department of the Government, if anything so inchoate can be described as being divided into departments. The policing of the Sultan's capital and of the more populous portions of the country is conducted by means of a body of men who bear the generic name of the *Budak Rāja*, or "King's Youths." These men are in effect the Sultan's bodyguard. They are drawn from the noble and well-to-do-classes, are sent to live at the Court while they are still very young, and are thus taught to inhale the poisonous atmosphere of the palace at a most impressionable age. They receive no regular pay, though the Sultan usually gives them a few dollars now and again when his caprice moves him to do so. They dress magnificently in brilliant coloured silks, with the delightful blendings of bright hues which the Malays love by instinct; they are armed with dagger, and sword, and spear, all beautifully kept and very handsome in appearance; and they pass most of their time in making love and in playing games of chance. Their duties are numerous, but by no means heavy. They follow at the heels of the Sultan when he takes his walks abroad to guard him from harm, and to give a finishing touch to his magnificence; they row his boat, hunt game, and snare turtle-doves in his company; join with enthusiasm in any sport which for the time the Sultan is pleased to favour, such as kite-flying or peg-top; carry the Sultan's messages, levy fines, murder those who have offended their master, seize property which he covets, abduct women, spy upon the chiefs; bring word to the Sultan of all that it behoves him to know, and never miss an opportunity of winning his favour by satisfying his desires. Men such as these, who from their youth are

taught to be unscrupulous, and to live expensively upon no settled income, quickly discover means whereby money may be obtained. When duty sends them into the more remote portions of the country they plunder the unhappy villagers without mercy. When dealing with the more sophisticated folk of the capital greater caution is needed; but by threatening to inform against those who have committed some crime, by declaring their intention of accusing wholly innocent people, and by other similar methods the King's Youths manage to obtain enough money to enable them to live in the style which they consider necessary for their comfort. You must remember that this rabble is the only force by which the country is policed; that its members are the only executive officers which the native administrations boast; that no man in authority desires to check their excesses so long as they do not injure him or his relatives; and that there is accordingly no redress for those whom they oppress. When anyone has committed an act which has aroused the anger of the Sultan, the word is passed to the Chief of the *Budak Rāja*. The offender is sought out and stabbed to death, often in the public street, and no Malayan *raja* has to ask twice, "Will nobody rid me of this turbulent priest?" A few formal executions have been carried out within my experience in independent States, and have usually been accompanied by the most atrocious tortures; but far the greater number of lives are taken by the rulers of the land in the rough and ready manner which I have described above.

For the performance of executions and other acts of corporal punishment, one or more of the King's Youths are specially set apart. These men are called the *Per-tanda*, or executioners, and they are generally chosen for their great physical strength and for a callousness to human suffering which is unusual in so complete a degree even among the unimaginative Malays. The laws which are administered by the native courts, and are carried out by these men, are a strange medley of the legislation of Muhammad and of the Law of Custom, the traditional code of the Malays. By the Law of Muhammad many barbarities are permitted such as no European Government could countenance, but these are by no means repugnant to the Malays. Thus, for theft the prescribed punishment is the lopping off of a hand, and in Kelantan to-day the execution of this sentence is a very frequent occurrence. A tale is told, I know not with how much truth, of a man of this State who lost first his left and next his right hand on account of his thievish propensities, and who yet made shift to steal with his prehensile toes, after which it was decided to put an

abrupt, end to his career of crime by cutting off his head. In other parts of the Peninsula mutilation as a punishment for theft was less common, a fine being more often inflicted upon the relatives of the criminal, but in some instances the old customary penalty for theft was resorted to. The thief having been caught, and the stolen property having been recovered, the latter was bound about his neck. The criminal was next smeared with soot and turmeric, was placed astride upon a buffalo with his face to the beast's tail, and, with a dish-cover for a sun-shade, was paraded in derision through the streets of the native town by a crowd of the King's Youths, to the beating of gongs, his crime being publicly proclaimed at all the cross-roads. I have heard old men say that this punishment was far more dreaded by Malay thieves than fine or mutilation, and I can well believe that this was the case, for a fear of open shame and a fierce self-respect are two of the strongest feelings in the breast of the average Malay in his natural condition.

Murder was supposed to be punished either with death, or with the payment of *diat* or blood-money. But, as I have already said, circumstances altered everything, and in many cases murder might be done with complete impunity.

For the rest, the most usual crimes were those connected with women. The Sultan's palace held hundreds of girls, who were mostly mere menials, hewers of wood and drawers of water, but all of whom, as members of the Sultan's household, were not suffered to marry at will, and were jealously guarded. The Malay proverb says that "the cat and the roast, the tinder and the spark, and a man and a maid are ill to keep asunder," and since the King's Youths were mostly bachelors, and the young men of the whole State were drawn irresistibly to the capital, there was always trouble afoot by reason of the indiscretions of the palace women. Hundreds of lives must have been lost in the space of a few years on this account, and within my own knowledge the most blood-curdling and indescribable tortures have been meted out to those who sinned against the Sultan in this manner. The subject is not a savoury one, and I would wish to pass over it as lightly as possible; but no one can understand the atmosphere of a Malayan Court unless he realises the net-work of love intrigues in which great and small were eternally enmeshed. The wooing of the palace maidens was the most perilous of undertakings: a man who engaged in it carried his life in his hand; but this fact, strangely enough, far from deterring men and women from vice, appeared to give a double zest to their intrigues, and the more

punishment was inflicted, the more the evil seemed to flourish and increase.

Throughout the State in matters connected with betrothal, marriage, and divorce, the which touch all Muhammadans very closely, the Law of the Prophet was administered by the Kathis and priests; and on the whole these men did their work well, for many of them had the fear of God before their eyes, and they hesitated to tamper with His law even for the sake of worldly profit. They often meted out punishments with brutality; they often applied the law with a too narrow regard for its letter rather than for its spirit; but they acted for the most part, I am inclined to think, honestly, though they stood in far too great awe of the Sultan to dare to admonish him or even to preach against the most unholly of his practices.

I have referred on several occasions in this paper to the custom of fining people for offences real or imaginary, and I have also mentioned that the cross-eyed vision of Malayan justice sees nothing inconsequent in inflicting a money penalty upon wholly innocent persons for the crimes committed by their relations. In some cases, however, it occurred that a man was fined who had not the wherewithal to pay, and he then attempted to raise the required sum from some more wealthy person, selling himself into slavery in exchange for the ready money. Occasionally it occurred that no one was prepared to advance money upon such terms, and then the wretched man was usually condemned to confinement in the gaol-cages. Sometimes such condemnation was passed without the victim being given the option of a fine, and now and again a chief or noble would issue an order—a sort of *lettre de cachet*—for the incarceration of someone who had chanced to offend him.

In another place I have described with sufficient detail the horrors inseparable from these gaol-cages, and I will not enter into unnecessary particulars here. I must, however, enable you to realise what such imprisonment entails in misery and suffering upon those who endure it, by telling you that the prisoners are thrust into cages which are just large enough to hold them, but not high enough for them to stand erect, nor long enough for them to fully extend their limbs; that there are no sanitary appliances of any kind whatsoever; that no one ever cleans out the cages, and this in the fierce heat of the tropics; and that often sufficient food to sustain life is not provided. Also, the men and women who are thus imprisoned have not even the comfort of looking forward to some certain date of release. When they are imprisoned no period during which their sufferings

are to endure is stated by their judges. No record of the fact that they have been imprisoned is kept. It is only too likely and too frequent that their very existence is forgotten. Many have rotted in prison for years; many have died of actual starvation; many more have hopelessly lost their reason; others have passed into a condition of stolid, stupid indifference which reduces them to the level of brute beasts—a condition which, in these festering torture-chambers, passes among their fellows for happiness!

Passing from a short review of Malay methods of criminal administration, I now propose to show you roughly how the revenue of the State was raised by native rulers. The taxation to which the present population of the country was subjected was of two kinds: the dues which were collected on behalf of the Sultan, and the taxes levied by the chiefs for their own use. In the first place there was the *banchi*, or poll-tax, which every adult male in the land was required to pay for the swelling of the royal coffers when called upon to do so. The sum demanded on the East Coast was usually one *amas*, worth two Mexican dollars, but the executive Government was so slipshod, and in a land where the seasons melt into one another so imperceptibly the passage of time is so little marked, that often two years or more would elapse before the King's councillors bethought them that it was time to again inflict a tax which theoretically was supposed to be payable annually. The chiefs, who had more urgent need of ready money, since they had less direct means of obtaining a supply of it, were more careful to impose their own private poll-taxes with regularity upon their people, and they usually made every adult male in their district contribute one dollar each towards their support at least once in every period of twelve months.

The second well-recognised tax was the *s'rah*, which was a truly Oriental invention, for under the specious guise of a gift from a superior to an inferior it brought much money alike to the Sultan and to his nobles. Periodically the Sultan would send some of his youths up-river to one of the great districts with a gift of silk cloths and other articles of value to the baron who ruled there. The messengers bore word to the chief that the Sultan placed such and such a value upon the goods in question, naming a figure which was something more than double their proper price. The chief at once summoned the headmen of the villages of his district, divided the articles sent to him by the Sultan up among them, told each of them the amount of cash which his village was to supply, and sent them away to collect it. He was usually sufficiently wise in his own generation not only to

avoid contributing at all himself, but also to raise the price of the goods in such a manner as to leave a fair margin of profit for himself when the Sultan's demands had been complied with. The headmen generally followed an example so excellent; and in the end the whole burden of the imposition, as was the way in all things in a Malayan State, was borne by the bowed backs of the peasants and villagers. But the Sultan's *s'rah* was not the only tax of the kind which the peasants were called upon to pay. Each of the great barons, and every one of the minor chiefs, provided that his power was sufficient to ensure compliance with his demands, frequently sent some small gift, such as a handful of tobacco or a palm-leaf sack of salt, to some individual in his territory, and asked for ten, twenty, thirty, or forty dollars in exchange. The person to whom this expensive and embarrassing present was sent had no alternative but to accept it with effusion and alacrity lest some worse thing should befall him, and it is therefore easy to comprehend why, under native rule, a reputation for wealth was a thing which no man would willingly possess.

In addition to the taxes which I have named, there were the import and export duties. The Sultan levied a tax of 10 per cent., in money or in kind, upon all the things which entered his State. Even a packet of needles could not come into the country without one in every ten being abstracted in the Sultan's name. A similar tax was imposed upon all produce taken out of the country, and by this means the profits of the workers of rattans, thatch, and the like were whittled down to the slenderest point. Certain articles were royal monopolies. No gum, *agila* wood, incense, and the like might be exported except through the Sultan. All these, and many other of the more precious articles which the jungles of the Peninsula produce, had to be sold by the winner to the Sultan, who paid about 35 per cent. of the Singapore market price for them, and thereby entirely discouraged these forms of trade. Many articles necessary to the natives were royal monopolies, and were sold to the people at fancy prices. Of these, salt, tobacco, and kerosene oil were those which most irritated the Sultan's subjects. The whole question of taxation, indeed, was regarded in an Independent Malay State from the sole point of view of the convenience and the welfare of the Sultan and his chiefs, for each little chief sported his own wayside custom-house. Of the peasantry, upon whom the whole burden fell sooner or later, no one considered it necessary to think; and the moneys which were obtained, by fair means and by foul, by the ruling classes were used by them for their own ends, for the defrayal of their personal expenses

and extravagances, and not in any sense for the benefit of the taxed. Thus, just as some years ago certain worthy persons in this city of London were wont to strangle the casual passer-by in order to rob him of the cash of which he stood possessed—a practice which to us is familiar only through the lessons in manners and customs taught by John Leech's drawings in the pages of *Punch*—so did the rulers of Independent Malaya, during succeeding centuries, garrote the industry, the enterprise, and the trade of their people so that the dominant classes might go abroad dressed gaily in bright silks, might fare sumptuously, might have a constant supply of money to waste upon the gaming tables and upon their other pleasures, and might fool away their days in ease and luxury.

I have said enough, I think—sketchily and roughly, it is true, for the space at my disposal is limited—to show you what was the measure of misery and misrule under which the average Malayan State laboured before the cross of St. George was brought to this remote part of the world to be a sign of yet another battle with the great dragon—the four-headed dragon of Cruelty, Ignorance, Selfishness, and Stupidity. Before concluding this part of my picture, however, I must add a few words to help you to realise the condition of the lower classes of the population under the old régime, since it was upon them, as we have seen, that the heavy hand of misrule fell most crushingly.

The average peasant, going stolidly about his daily task unstimulated by any ambition save a desire to procure food and raiment for himself and his family, possessed no rights either of person or of property. He and his were always and completely at the mercy of those of their neighbours who were more powerful than themselves. A pretty wife, a comely daughter, a nugget won from the river bed among little dues of hard-earned gold-dust, a stroke of luck, such as a good harvest or a plentiful fruit season, might any one of them bring him into the notice of his superiors, and, making him out as a man upon whom prosperity had smiled, let loose upon him a flood of unmerited suffering, and even cause, if he proved obstinate, the loss of all that was dear to him. With such a prospect for ever before his eyes the Malay peasant had no inducement offered to him to struggle with the natural indolence of character which the soft, enervating, tropical land in which he lived could not fail to produce. His only desire grew to be peace and obscurity such as might enable him to escape remark, and since the machinery of misrule was exceedingly clumsy and inefficient, since the rulers of the land were

themselves too indolent to even oppress their subjects with system and thoroughness, it came to pass that, unlikely as it may appear, a very large proportion of the population managed to live their lives almost happily. Those who were unfortunate suffered many and heavy things, but the unfortunate could never be in the majority; and as native administrations with all their eccentricities were the only form of government of which the people as a whole had any personal knowledge, the natives did not even realise the gravity of the ills which they were called upon to suffer. If they were oppressed and ground down, their forebears had been in a like condition for countless generations, and unless a people is possessed of considerable intellectual energy, such as the Malays can lay no claim to, the conclusion that the existing state of things is impossible of longer endurance is not easily arrived at. Therefore, these poor folk bore their evil lot stolidly, patiently, almost uncomplainingly, and when something more than usually inhuman was done to them or to their fellows they said resignedly that it was Fate, and that Fate was ever a thing accursed. They had never made the acquaintance of real happiness, and not knowing her, they barely missed her from among them. It is necessary that you should realise this in order that you may understand how the Malays came to endure the misery of their lot with so faint-hearted a resignation.

And to one another the lower classes of the people showed a great and large-hearted kindness. No man ever went empty so long as his fellows had a handful of dry rice to share with him; real poverty and indigence, such as we see about us here in London, were things unknown; the villagers rallied round one another to sympathise and befriend on every occasion of sorrow or rejoicing; they lent each other their poor gold ornaments that every little maiden of the village might make a brave show upon her wedding-day; they stood by one another, according to the measures of their feeble ability, when trouble came, often braving the anger of their chiefs in such a cause; and, indeed, the people as a whole were so generous and so charitable to their neighbours that there seemed to be the makings of a very Garden of Eden in these Malayan lands, had only the serpent, in the form of the dominant classes, been excluded from the demeane. Moreover, these poor villagers, Muhammadans though they were, lived for the most part lives chaste and honourable. Their religion permitted them to possess four wives at one and the same time, but their poverty usually made monogamy a necessity; and though for them divorce was the simplest of arrangements, they rarely availed

themselves of the privilege, since it entailed a certain separation between them and their little ones, whom, to their credit be it said, they generally regarded with a tender love.

Below the free villagers were the slave-debtors, to whom reference has already been made. In this connection the term slave is unavoidably misleading. These people were free villagers, or the descendants of free villagers, who had borrowed a little ready money from some wealthier neighbour, and had pledged themselves, their children, and all who might come after them as security for the loan. They usually owned land and other property, and were treated by their fellows as though they were still free. But they were bound to render gratuitous service to their creditor whenever they were called upon to do so, and until the amount of the original debt was discharged in full they continued to incur this liability, years of patient labour having no power to reduce the sum of their indebtedness. If one creditor proved a too hard taskmaster, the slave-debtor was at liberty to persuade some other neighbour to repay the money due, and could thus obtain a change of ownership; but freedom he could never hope to win, for he could barely support himself and his family, far less find the wherewithal to purchase his liberty. Nor, be it said, had he any great wish to do so. The creditors were generally kind and considerate to their slave-debtors, and all the abominations of the slave-trade, as it is understood by Europeans, were absent from this Malayan form of servitude.

Real slavery, however, did exist in the Malay Peninsula, the practice of making slaves of foreigners who had been purchased, or captured in war, having been introduced by the Arabs. These unhappy people who usually occupied the position of slaves to the Malays were generally either negroes, who had been purchased in Arabia by those who had made the pilgrimage to the Holy City, or else were members of the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula, the Sakai, or the Semang, who had been captured in some raid. These wretched people, savages whose knowledge of arithmetic does not carry them beyond the numeral three, live in squalor and nakedness in the deepest recesses of the forests which were once, long ago, their undisputed possession; and from time immemorial they have been plundered, outraged, and oppressed to an inconceivable degree by the Malays, who are totally without sympathy for the sufferings of a non-Muhammadian people. In 1865, when Che' Wan Aman, a pretender to the throne of Pahang, was raising funds to make an attempt to wrest the country from the grip of its present ruler, his people

hunted the aboriginal tribes for many months, and obtained considerable sums of money for the captives whom they sold into servitude.

Slaves thus won by war or purchase were regarded by the Malays as the merest chattels. A man who slew one of them was only liable to pay the value of the murdered man to the aggrieved owner. A slave who was impertinent might have his tongue pulled out by the roots, and his owner was within his rights when he exacted this penalty. I myself remember a case, which occurred during my absence from a country which I knew intimately, in which a slave, who was accused of a theft that he had not, as it chanced, committed, was deliberately tortured to death by cruel floggings and repeated ducking in the river. Yet even when the mistake was discovered, no protest was raised by the authorities. In fact, these slaves were regarded as animals, and as animals they were treated, Muhammadan law and Malay custom both conspiring to deprive them of the meanest rights of a human being.

I have now concluded my account of life in a Malayan State as it was wont to be prior to the interference of the British Government in the affairs of the Peninsula—as it still is, I grieve to say, in some places which lie beyond the reach of our influence. It has been impossible for me in the time allowed me to attempt to do more than to merely sketch in the outlines of the picture. Those who know will note many omissions, much that I have had to slur over, much that might have been insisted upon with greater force; but I trust that I have said enough to enable even those who are blissfully ignorant of all that Malay misrule means to those who suffer under it, to appreciate the full measure of the evils against which the influence of British officers had to contend.

In the papers read before this Institute by Sir William Maxwell and Sir Frank Swettenham, the history of British interference in the internal affairs of the Malay States has been admirably described, and the system of administration has been thoroughly explained. I do not propose to traverse this same ground to-night, except in so far as it may be necessary to do so in order to enable you to understand what still remains to be said.

Péak came under our control to some extent in 1874. She is the oldest State of the present Federation. Pahang, the largest of all, but the latest comer, was administered with the assistance of European officers for the first time is not quite ten years ago. Johor, which is an independent State, owes to its proximity to Singapore and to its

enlightened rulers, the fact that the conspicuous abuses of which I have made mention do not, and have not for many years, disfigured its administration. In Johor this has been accomplished by intelligent following of good example, and not by any direct interference with the native government. With the remaining Malay States of the Peninsula we have at present no concern, and in my concluding remarks I refer only to the existing Federated Malay States of Pérak, Selangor, Pahang, and the Nēgri Sāmblian.

These States are not, and have never been, an integral portion of the British Empire. They are in no sēnse British possessions; but they are under British protection, and with the consent of their rulers they are administered by the help of British officers. To each State a Resident is appointed, whose duty it is to advise the Sultan and his chiefs in the government of the country. Over the four Residents is the Resident-General, who is responsible to the High Commissioner, who is also Governor of the Colony of the Straits Settlements. The only legislative body is the State council, which is composed of the Sultan and his chiefs, the Resident, and in some cases one other European officer, and one or more Chinese representatives appointed by the Sultan with the advice of the Resident. The executive duties are performed by the European heads of departments, the European district officers, and their subordinates. The country is policed by Sikhs, and Malay police, under European command. Each State is divided up into districts, and the European who is placed in charge of each of these divisions is himself a Resident in a smaller way, for the district chiefs and headmen take an active part in the administration, and look to him for aid, advice, and guidance. Each district again is subdivided into *mukims*, or parishes, over which the Pēng-hūlus, or village headmen, preside; and it is the duty of the district officer and his assistants to see that each of these little chieftains takes his share in the work of administration, and refrains from acting in the proverbial manner of the Malay headmen who, so the people say, is like the *lōman* fish which preys upon his own young. All this means an immense amount of dogged hard work—obscure, insignificant, unnoticed by the gentlemen of England who live at home in ease, but, like so much of the good which passes unrecorded in this work-a-day world, productive of the most excellent results. A good Resident must travel about his State, must keep himself thoroughly abreast of all that is going on in every department of his administration, must have his finger on the pulse of every section of the community, and must be thoroughly

acquainted with the strong and the weak points of the chiefs and the European officers by whose aid he carries on his work. The district officer must have similar relations with all the inhabitants of his district; but they must be of a more intimate nature than those of the Resident, so that he may be able to give an authoritative opinion upon any point upon which he may be asked to report. He should know almost every soul in his district personally; should be so patient that he can listen unmoved to an hour's unadulterated twaddle in order that he may not miss the facts which will be contained in the three minutes' conversation which will terminate the interview—for the speech of the Oriental, like the scorpion, carries its sting in its tail. It is commonly said that a district officer should have no office hours, by which it is meant that he should be accessible to every native who may wish to see him at any hour of the day or night. He must, above all, be so thoroughly in touch with his people and his chiefs that it is impossible for any act of oppression to be perpetrated, any grievance, real or fancied, to be cherished, or any trouble to be brewing without the facts coming speedily to his ears. To do this he must rival the restlessness of the Wandering Jew, and must thereby so impress his people with a sense of his ubiquity that all learn to turn to him instinctively for assistance, sympathy, or advice. And this, be it understood, is no fancy picture; for there are scores of officers in the Malay States to-day who run this ideal so close that any difference is imperceptible. But the most difficult task of all for the European administrator is that of inducing the native chiefs to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country. In the States of Pérak and Selangor this difficulty has been largely overcome. Five-and-twenty years have been long enough for a generation to grow up under British protection, subjected to constant British influence, and these younger men are learning to take hold of their lives in a manner to which their fathers were utter strangers. In Pahang and Nēgri Sāmblian, though to a less extent in the latter State, the difficulty is still great; and it is to be feared that those whose youth was passed under the full influence of the old *régime* will never learn to take that exalted view of their responsibilities which it is our endeavour to foster in the younger generation.

This, then, is the system which under British auspices has replaced the old happy-go-lucky Malay administration. The chiefs receive liberal allowances, and help their district officers faithfully. The minor headmen work for their pay, because they are obliged to do so. The younger chieftains perform the duties which fall to their lot, because

they have been brought up to them, and take an interest in their work, their people, and in the prosperity of the State.

The old oppressive judicial system has been replaced by one modelled on European lines. The district officers and their assistants perform heavy magisterial duties. Cases of a nature too serious for their final disposal are referred to the senior magistrate of the State. Capital crimes, and other matters involving very large issues, are tried by the Judicial Commissioner, who is appointed by the Colonial Office, and is the Chief Justice for the Federation. Substantial justice is done to great and small, and the Malays who, from its very novelty, find a bench which is absolutely incorruptible a most fascinating thing, appreciate this fact, and submit quite cheerfully to decisions based upon grounds which they often enough are entirely unable to understand.

Our police, I fear, are no more immaculate than other Asiatic constables, but they are very closely supervised, and the Malays of the States have so great a confidence in their European officers, that they have no hesitation in laying complaints against any member of the force who has chanced to do them wrong. A knowledge of this fact is, perhaps, our best security against the misdeeds which from time to time are done in our name.

The villainous cage-gaols have long ago been swept away, and have been replaced by model prisons, places of such comfort, as the natives understand comfort, I regret to say, that it is sometimes difficult to get the Malays to take them sufficiently seriously. From the point of view of the Malay a man "gets" gaol just as he catches fever, and no more discredit attaches to him for the one than for the other. But, taking it all together, very few Malays find their way to prison, far the larger number of our convicts being supplied by the Chinese portion of the population.

The old taxes and "squeezes" have followed other old abuses, and have disappeared for ever. In their place a sound system of taxation has been established which presses evenly on every man, according to the measure of his wealth and prosperity. The tax which chiefly affects the Malay portion of the population is the landtax, which averages about one shilling of our money per acre. The remainder of the revenue of the States is derived from export duties on tin and gold, on jungle produce, such as gum, rubber, and rattans, and import duties on opium and spirits.

The most important of our exports is tin, the Malay Peninsula having during the last decade produced about three-fourths of the

world's supply of that metal. The deposits which have at present been worked are almost entirely alluvial, but a few lode mines are now being exploited with success. The Malays do not like work of the kind required in a mine, and most of the labour employed is Chinese. The Chinese have rolled in the Peninsula for many centuries, but under Malay rule their number was never very great. These people, who surely are the most thrifty and industrious of mankind, love money for money's sake, love a gamble, such as mining affords, and, above all, love complete security for life and property, probably because the latter is a thing which they so rarely find in their own distracted country. Accordingly, since first the British Government interfered in Malaya, a constant stream of immigration has set towards these States from the over-crowded districts of Southern China, and the yellow portion of the inhabitants of Malaya threatens shortly to outnumber the brown.

As figures sometimes express ideas more clearly and forcibly than words, I may tell you that in 1875 the revenue of Perak was only \$226,233; that in 1889 it was \$2,776,582; that the revenue of all the Federated Malay States was only \$881,910 in 1880; while last year it was about \$7,000,000. Comment, I think, is unnecessary, in the face of such statistics; but the point to which I would call your attention is that all this revenue, raised in the Federated Malay States, is devoted solely to the development of Malaya. Not a cent of it finds its way into the Colonial or Imperial Treasury. It is paid in legitimate and light taxation by the inhabitants of the States, and for their benefit it is expended. Formerly the taxes imposed by prince and noble fell far more heavily than they do at present upon individuals, but they were used, as I have said, for the support of the dominant classes, and the taxpayers derived no benefit of any kind from the money which they were forced to surrender. Now hundreds of miles of road have been built, enabling the people to cheaply transport their produce to markets which, before we came to Malaya, were closed to them. Railways have been constructed in three out of the four States, and a trunk line from Province Wellesley to Malacca is now being rapidly built through the tireless efforts of Sir Frank Swettenham, the Resident-General, who never rested until this great scheme had been approved and undertaken. Life and property have been rendered secure; peace has replaced anarchy and rapine; wealth has become widely distributed; trade has been enormously stimulated.

And now, having broadly viewed the system upon which we work, let us take another glance at the people of Malaya and see in

what manner they have been affected. The peasants, who form the immense majority of the native population, live the placid lives of which I have already spoken, but with this difference: they have now something to live for. No longer is a comely wife or daughter a source of ceaseless gnawing anxiety, one whom a man fears to love in that he fears to lose; no longer do men grow rich in terror and trembling; no longer do men dread the gifts of happy chance because they must surely bring sorrow in their train; no longer do men fear oppression for which there is no redress; no longer does life hold no ambition, because a man has nothing to gain by winning the smiles of fortune. And while giving even the meanest peasant and the former slave freedom, a new life, and an object for living it, we have placed within his reach healthy ambitions which we have put him in the way to gratify. Property, owing to improved means of communication, to good markets for produce which we have opened at the people's very doors, and owing, above all, to the peace and security which we have brought into these once wild lands, has enormously increased in value, and the peasantry is quickly growing rich under our administration. Looking into the future I see many dangers threatening the Malays, and many others which menace our continued complete success in the administration of the Federated States, but I have no time to touch upon these matters now.

What I would ask you to recognise is that Great Britain, by means of her officers, of whom Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Frederick Weld, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, Sir Hugh Low and Sir Frank Swettenham have been the chief—the two last named, more than any other living men, having had the greatest share in the executive government of the Malayan States—has relieved from a crushing tyranny many thousands of human beings; has brought peace, happiness, and prosperity to those to whom these things were formerly strangers; and has given to the Malays a new life—a life which for the first time in their history is a thing worth the living. Then as Britons—for each one of us is in measure responsible for the deeds which are done in our country's name—are we not justified, in spite of the protests of the fast dwindling band of Little Englanders, in exclaiming with Voltaire:—

*Nous avons fait un peu de bien—
C'est notre meilleur ouvrage!*

(The Paper was illustrated by a number of lime-light views.)

DISCUSSION

Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G.: Mr. Clifford has, in a condensed form, given us such a variety of information concerning life in the Malay Peninsula, that I, who may be supposed to know something about that part of the world, have really very little to add. He has touched upon the success that has attended British administration in those countries, and, indeed, the fact is generally admitted that they have been governed in the most efficient manner of almost any of the Colonies under the British Crown. This result is due principally to the great liberty which Governors have been allowed by the Colonial Office, and to the discretion that has been left to its officers in these States. It is certainly very fortunate that these States have had such able officers. This was not the case in the beginning, but there has grown up in these federated Malay States a class of officers of whom Mr. Clifford is a bright example, and I do not think that any Colony could produce, in proportion to their extent, so many capable men as you find there. If it were necessary for us to take in hand any great undertaking of a similar character out in the East—as, for instance, in the Yangtse valley—those States would furnish you, not perhaps with all you require, but with men from whom the chiefs might with advantage be selected. The Malays themselves, notwithstanding the dreadful accounts we hear of them, confirmed to some extent by Mr. Clifford in his Paper, are not such an unamiable set of people as you might suppose. In the latter part of his Paper Mr. Clifford allows that I, who know them pretty intimately, consider them an amiable people, and I had many friends among them. They are exceedingly grateful for kindness and instruction, and the schools established under British advice are producing men of really serviceable character as officers of the Government. Some of the younger men, who have not the prejudices of their fathers, are becoming really good administrators, and two or three might be mentioned—as the Sultans of Pérak and Selangor, who are specially distinguished in their high positions. Then to the schools, established principally, I think, by Sir Frank Swettenham and Sir Cecil Clementi Smith. I am afraid I did not go in much for schools, because I did not think that at that time they would be much appreciated; but various Governors and Residents, one after the other, have been very anxious to promote education, with, I learn, very good results. The administration of justice, which has been so very greatly improved, was in the early days very much as described

by Mr. Clifford. I remember once sitting at a trial for murder with four native chiefs. The evidence was of the clearest character. I had to take the votes of the chiefs, but when I came to the last of them—the others had given their votes for the conviction of the prisoners—he said, "Not guilty." I said, "Have you not heard the evidence?" He replied, "What do I care for evidence? They are my people." It was of no consequence, for we had already four votes for the conviction. These are Mohammedan States, but happily their Mohammedanism is not of a very exclusive or intolerant character, as an illustration will show. On one occasion I was requested by a deputation to get authority to build two churches—a Roman Catholic and a Protestant church. My instructions, as I told the deputation, were to do nothing that would appear to interfere with the religion of the country; but I thought the matter over and took an opportunity of saying to the Sultan: "Your Highness knows you have many Europeans in your service, doing good work for the country, and they seek to build churches, one for each division of their religion, but they cannot raise enough money," because the Government unfortunately does not pay its servants at all well out there. I added: "Your Highness knows I am not at liberty to talk of matters that would appear to interfere with religion, but I must bring to your notice the case of these men, who wish to worship God in the way they have been accustomed, but who cannot get a proper building in which to do it." The Sultan looked at me quite with astonishment, and said, "Why should you be afraid to mention this? I know very well they are trying to build these churches, but I thought every care had been taken to help them. Your people are not like Chinese; you don't worship idols; you worship God. I think you ought to give them just whatever you like." The matter was taken to the council and a vote was made in favour of each of the churches. Another interesting incident was in connection with the inauguration of the present Sultan of Pêrak. He is the descendant of twenty-four or twenty-five kings and is very proud of his long descent. He showed me the regalia, and there was in particular an old sword, which he regarded very respectfully. The Sultan himself must put on the sword, no one else touching it. It was, he said, a thousand years old, and was worn by the prophet Japhet when he went into the ark. In conclusion, I will only add how much I esteem Mr. Clifford as an officer, a gentleman, and a friend.

Mr. W. H. TREACHER, C.M.G. (British Resident, Pêrak): On hearing the preface with which the Chairman introduced the lecturer, I reflected that it would be impertinent for me or any one to

venture to comment on what we have heard; and after the remarks of Sir Hugh Low, following upon Mr. Clifford's exhaustive Paper, I feel there is little left for me to say, and will detain you for a very brief time. I would just ask you to be careful how you digest the exciting fare that has been presented to you. I do not want you to go away with the idea that life in the unprotected Malay States is entirely unendurable, and indeed Mr. Clifford has briefly alluded to the lighter and less gloomy aspects of the case. Remember that long before British protection extended to the Malay Peninsula or to Borneo, British Colonies (the Straits Settlements and Labuan) lay alongside, but these harbours of refuge were not availed of by the oppressed to any considerable extent. Even now, in the civilised Protected States of Pêrak and Selangor, we have held out inducements to the natives of the Unprotected States in the shape of free grants of land or land at very low rates, but they don't come in any numbers to speak of. Some of them, indeed, have come and settled in the country for three or four years and enjoyed the advantages of British administration, but have returned to their own country to be oppressed and downtrodden. This, at least, is worthy of note. I do not at all wish to traverse any of the statements made by Mr. Clifford, but he has, unavoidably of course, had to focus before you some of the worst points in Malay life, and I am trying to relieve somewhat the tension under which you must be suffering. Recollect that, not very long ago in the history of our own civilised and Christian country, women were burned for witchcraft, people were hanged for stealing sheep, Catholics burned Protestants and Protestants burned Catholics, and slavery existed under our flag, with all its horrors, to an extent unknown to the Malays. I should like to allude to the "adaptability" of the Malays. My own Sultan is one of the most courteous men I have ever met. He understands both sides of a question more rapidly than many Englishmen, and he can give you a clear opinion and express his views forcibly on such vexed questions as gambling, opium-smoking, and the registration of women. The lecturer has referred to four men, including our Chairman, who will be remembered for their admirable work in building up the Federated Malay States, but he has omitted to mention the services of Sir Hugh Low,² who, coming from Borneo with a great reputation, took up the work in Pêrak soon after the assassination of the first Resident, Mr. Birch, and has been described by the late Sir Frederick Weld in an official despatch as not only an able adminis-

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trator but a statesman.

Mr. T. SHELFORD, C.M.G.: The Malayan native States are so intimately related to the Straits Settlements that any information respecting them is of great interest to us. Mr. Clifford has traversed every available part of Pahang; he has lived amongst and freely mingled with all classes of its inhabitants, and we may accept his account of that country as thoroughly trustworthy. It is, however, rather to the latter part of the Paper I wish to address myself. To those of us whose term of residence in that distant quarter of the world began under the old order of things, his Paper is of special interest. In the years of which I am speaking, the Straits Settlements themselves were but little known in this country. They were but an offshoot of the Indian Empire, and the policy of the Indian Government at that time was to leave the Malay States severely alone. So also in the first days of the transfer of the Settlements to the direct rule of the Crown, and as an illustration of the attitude and temper of the Government, the announcement was publicly made that any one who entered the native States for the purpose of trade did so on his own responsibility, at his own risk, and must not look for any assistance or support from the Government. The story of the marvellous change that has been successfully carried out under the direction of the distinguished men whose names are placed on record for all time has been told to this Institute. The figures given in the latter part of the Paper speak volumes. I know no instance of a native country, still in large measure undeveloped and thinly populated, making such rapid progress not only in material wealth, but as is so fully set forth in the Paper, in the amelioration of the condition of the people. Of course there have been enormous difficulties to encounter, more especially in connection with Pahang. The native chiefs, naturally, were opposed to our interference; they resented the deprivation of their rights and position. These difficulties, however, have been gradually overcome, and, as Mr. Clifford points out, we may hope that, as in the Western States, so also in Pahang itself, the chiefs and their successors will gradually rise to take an active and intelligent part in the administration of the country. The State of Pahang is now a flourishing State. When first the Residential system was introduced, there was no revenue at all. The expenditure necessarily incurred had to be met entirely by the borrowing of money. The Chinese had practically left the country. Now the revenue is about 800,000 dollars, and in the course of a year or two the State will doubtless be able to pay its way. Gold and tin in the lode are being largely raised. I have not seen the latest report, but the Chinese are

returning to the country, communication is being opened up, and there is no reason to apprehend that the State has not entered on the path of progress. All this is the record of ten years—but an item in the lifetime of any country. It has been done under the able management and supervision of Mr. Clifford. It must be gratifying to you, sir, to find that the policy pursued with regard to Pahang, and which formerly caused you so much anxiety, is being crowned with success, and I would congratulate Mr. Clifford on the good work he has accomplished, the promise of the good work to follow.

Mr. W. R. D. BECKETT: I have very little claim to speak about the Malay Peninsula, the greater part of my time abroad having been spent in the Siamese-speaking portion of the adjoining kingdom of Siam; but the lecture has been very interesting to me as affording matter for comparison of the two peoples. I met Mr. Clifford at Trénggānu in April 1895—the very interesting place you saw depicted on the screen. He himself looked very picturesque in the costume he then wore. I am glad to say he appears to be in much better health now than he was then, for he had just come down to the coast after a long journey through the jungles, and for weeks had been living mostly on rice. The Malays who come and settle at Bangkok are really not the best class of Malays, so that I can add nothing as to Malay character and characteristics. It may, however, be a question with some whether the introduction of civilisation into such places as the Malay Federated States and Siam is a blessing or otherwise. It is, of course, in many ways, a necessity that civilisation should be introduced; at the same time we see disappearing many interesting customs and institutions connected with those interesting peoples.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G.): It is now my gratifying duty to convey the thanks of this assembly to the reader of the Paper. Every one will agree that Mr. Clifford has told his story in a very attractive manner, in spite of the fact that he had to give us some rather gruesome details. He has the pen of a ready writer. He has already given us one of the best books in our language on Malay life. Young as he happily is, we shall expect more from his pen, and if it is of the character and style of his Paper we shall receive it with great pleasure. I cannot help thinking a paper of this kind has a very special value, not perhaps to-day or to-morrow, for many of us are familiar with what he has told us; but the time will come—we hope not many years hence—when such an account of a Malay State will be quite impossible, and when civilisation will have so extended itself that these will be matters of chiefly historic interest. Such a

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paper as this is of extreme value to the young officer going out to the Malay States. It will give him the means of learning the history and the manners and customs of the people among whom he is going, without which knowledge he cannot become a really successful administrator. It is a special gratification to me to preside to-night, because Mr. Clifford began his official career in the Malay Peninsula at the time I was on duty in the Straits Settlements, and I have had a close—I might almost say a complete—knowledge of the character of his work, and know full well how much he deserves the praise that has been passed upon him. The success of the work which Great Britain has taken in hand in such places as the Malay Peninsula depends on the services of young men like Mr. Clifford, who go out with the desire to do all they can to maintain the character of their country. It is that character which impresses itself on the native races, with the ultimate result that the country we administer becomes a success in itself and a credit to the Mother Country. I feel quite certain that the operations of British officials in the Malay States is at this time an object-lesson to our cousins across the Atlantic, who have themselves embarked on colonial expansion and who in the Philippines have before them much the same class of work we took in hand in the Peninsula. If they will only follow on the broad lines that have been followed by the able British officials in the Malay States, I feel sure the great task they have undertaken will be rendered the easier. I will now ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Clifford for his Paper, and I am sure I may add that if, after he has had further experience, he will again favour us in like manner, we shall warmly welcome him.

Mr. HUGH CLIFFORD: I have to thank you all very warmly for the reception you have given me to-night, and for the kind things several of the speakers have found to say about me and about my work. There is only one point in the discussion which I would like to touch, and that is Mr. Treacher's remark that it was funny or curious—I am not certain of the exact expression—that when there were native States lying, so to speak, cheek by jowl with British possessions, the Malays did not pack their children and baggage on their back and trek, after the manner of the Boers, into the British Colonies. There is an explanation of that circumstance which to me seems reasonable and probable. The Malays, to begin with, are extraordinarily conservative. They detest change. Living in their own country, they have never had any experience of administrations under British control; and though they may see others living under

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that control only a short distance from their own homes, they have not sufficient intellectual energy to compare the dangers and miseries to which they are subjected with the conditions which prevail among their fellows in their near neighbourhood. They do not realise their own misery; far less do they realise the happiness of other people living under different conditions; their fear of the unknown conquers their desire to escape from the obviously unbearable; and when to that ignorance is added an extreme attachment to their own old folk, to their wives, to their male children, to their homes and their property, one can hardly wonder, I think, that for the make of advantages which in their primitive condition they do not readily appreciate at their full value, they should refuse to turn their backs upon these old folk, these wives, these little ones, these homes, this property, exchanging them all for an administration which they do not understand, and for certain plots of virgin forest out of which, we tell them, they can make what they are able. There is one oversight in my Paper—one of much gravity, and which I regard with profound regret. I have most inadvertently and carelessly and—for one who knows the history of Malaya—most stupidly omitted to mention, among the chief officers of this country in the Malay States, the name of Sir Hugh Low. Anybody who knows anything of the State of Perak, and of the Federated Malayan States which have sprung out of our protection of that the first of those States, knows the record of Sir Hugh Low's services as one of great self-sacrifice and of marvellous tact and ability in dealing, under very difficult circumstances, with people who did not understand anything at all about what British administration meant. He went among these people fearlessly, almost alone, and simply through his own force of character so impressed them with his own strength of mind, firmness of will, and great goodness and kindness of heart, that in a short time he could do with the natives of Perak what he wished. It is almost incredible that I should have been guilty of the absurd inadvertence of omitting Sir Hugh Low's name; but happily I shall have an opportunity of making good the omission. I will now ask you to join me in a vote of thanks to Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who has done me this last of many kindnesses, too numerous to record, in consenting to take the chair this evening. As he has told you, he was occupying a post at Singapore at the time I first went there. Of course I remember him very well, because he was at the top while I was at the very bottom of the Service. The first time I made his acquaintance was when I was told off to interpret for him two or

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three years after. I have interpreted for many people, and I can assure you that there is a great difference in the way in which various people treat their mouth-piece. Some show great consideration; some show no consideration at all. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith belonged to the former class. He was all kindness to me, boy as I was, and was prepared to overlook the numerous mistakes of which I no doubt was guilty. That was in 1885. Since then I have been in constant communication with Sir Cecil, either personally or by letter, and I can only tell you that he has always shown me a kindness which I find myself quite unable to describe. Now, for myself, and for all those present, I beg to tender to him our thanks for doing us the honour of presiding at our meeting this evening.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the vote, and the proceedings then terminated.

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1. An account of 'gaol cages' appears in the story 'A Tale of Theft', published in Clifford's book *In Court and Kampong*, London, Grant Richards, 1897, pp. 167-70.

2. Cf. p. 248 *supra* and p. 256 *infra*. Apparently the reference to Sir Hugh Low in the main body of the text was added after the talk was delivered.

LAMPPIRAN B

[HSM 313]

PERAK, 1874

ENGAGEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE CHIEFS OF PERAK AT PULO PANGKOR.

Dated 20th January, 1874.

Whereas, a state of anarchy exists in the Kingdom of Perak owing to the want of settled government in the Country, and no efficient power exists for the protection of the people and for securing to them the fruits of their industry, and,

Whereas, large numbers of Chinese are employed and large sums of money invested in Tin mining in Perak by British subjects and others residing in Her Majesty's Possessions, and the said mines and property are not adequately protected, and piracy, murder and arson are rife in the said country, whereby British trade and interests greatly suffer, and the peace and good order of the neighbouring British Settlements are sometimes menaced, and,

Whereas, certain Chiefs for the time being of the said Kingdom of Perak have stated their inability to cope with the present difficulties, and together with those interested in the industry of the country have requested assistance, and,

Whereas, Her Majesty's Government is bound by Treaty Stipulations to protect the said Kingdom and to assist its rulers, now,

His Excellency SIR ANDREW CLARKE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, in compliance with the said request, and with a view of assisting the said rulers and of affecting a permanent settlement of affairs in Perak, has proposed the following Articles of arrangements as mutually beneficial to the Independent Rulers of Perak, their subjects, the subjects of Her Majesty, and others residing in or trading with Perak, that is to say:—

I. First.—That the Raja Muda Abdullah be recognised as the Sultan of Perak.

II. Second.—That the Rajah Bandahara Ismail, now Acting Sultan, be allowed to retain the title of Sultan Muda with a pension and a certain small Territory assigned to him.

III. Third.—That all the other nominations of great Officers made at the time the Rajah Bandahara Ismail received the regalia be confirmed.

IV. Fourth.—That the power given to the Orang Kayah Mauri over Larut by the late Sultan be confirmed.

V. Fifth.—That all Revenues be collected and all appointments made in the name of the Sultan.

IV. Sixth.—That the Sultan receive and provide a suitable residence for a British Officer to be called Resident, who shall be accredited to his Court, and whose advice must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom.

VII. Seventh.—That the Governor of Larut shall have attached to him as Assistant Resident, a British Officer acting under the Resident of Perak, with similar power and subordinate only to the said Resident.

VIII. Eighth.—That the cost of these Residents with their Establishments be determined by the Government of the Straits Settlements and be a first charge on the Revenues of Perak.

IX. Ninth.—That a Civil list regulating the income to be received by the Sultan, by the Bandahara, by the Mantri, and by the other Officers be the next charge on the said Revenue.

X. Tenth.—That the collection and control of all Revenues and the general administration of the country be regulated under the advice of these Residents.

XI. Eleventh.—That the Treaty under which the Pulo Dinding and the islands of Pangkor were ceded to Great Britain having been and the islands of Pangkor were ceded to Great Britain having been and it being desirable to re-adjust the same, so as to carry into effect the intention of the Framers thereof, it is hereby declared that the Boundaries of the said Territory so ceded shall be rectified as follows, that is to say:—

From Bukit Sigari, as laid down in the Chart Sheet No. 1 Straits of Malacca, a tracing of which is annexed, marked A, in a straight line to the sea, thence along the sea coast to the South, to Pulo Katra on the West, and from Pulo Katra a line running North East about five miles, and thence North to Bukit Sigari.

XII. Twelfth.—That the Southern watershed of the Krean River, that is to say, the portion of land draining into that River from the South be declared British Territory, as a rectification of the Southern Boundary of Province Wellesley, Such Boundary to be marked out

by Commissioners; one named by the Government of the Straits Settlements, and the other by the Sultan of Perak.

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XIII. Thirteenth.—That on the cessation of the present disturbances in Perak and the re-establishment of peace and amity among the contending factions in that Country, immediate measures under the control and supervision of one or more British Officers shall be taken for restoring as far as practicable the occupation of the Mines, and the possession of Machinery, &c., as held previous to the commencement of these disturbances, and for the payment of compensation for damages, the decision of such officer or officers shall be final in such case.

XIV. Fourteenth.—The Mantri of Larut engages to acknowledge as a debt due by him to the Government of the Straits Settlements, the charges and expenses incurred by this investigation, as well as the charges and expenses to which the Colony of the Straits Settlements and Great Britain have been put or may be put by their efforts to secure the tranquillity of Perak and the safety of trade.

The above Articles having been severally read and explained to the undersigned who having understood the same, have severally agreed to and accepted them as binding on them and their Heirs and Successors.

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This done and concluded at Pulo Pangkor in the British Possessions, this Twentieth day of January, in the year of the Christian Era, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

Executed before me,

ANDREW CLARKE,
Governor, Commander-in-Chief and Vice-Admiral
of the Straits Settlements.

- Chop of the Sultan of Perak.
- " Bandahara of Perak.
- " Tumongong of Perak.
- " Mantri of Perak.
- " Shabbander of Perak.
- " Rajah Mahkota of Perak.
- " Laxamana of Perak.
- " Datoh Sa'gor.

LAMPIRAN C**Order No. XXV, 1910: Sale of Rubber Tree Plantations**

GOVERNMENT Order prohibiting the sale or transfer of Para rubber tree plantations to Europeans issued in 1910 by Charles Brooke, Rajah.

Whereas I consider it is advisable to discourage the sale or transfer of plantations of rubber trees, I now notify the native inhabitants of Sarawak and settlers of Chinese, Indian, Eurasian, or any other Eastern nationality throughout the territory of Sarawak who are now or have been engaged in planting rubber trees that I do hereby prohibit the sale or transfer by them of any plantation of rubber trees unless permission for such sale and transfer has first been obtained from the Government, and anyone selling or transferring a plantation without such permission will be liable to a fine of Five hundred dollars or a penalty at the rate of Fifty dollars an acre for each acre thus sold or transferred as the Government may in each case decide, and the sale or transfer shall be null and void.

Further I direct that in the event of permission being granted by the Government for the sale or transfer of such a plantation a sum representing ten per cent of the purchase price shall be paid to the Government.

And I further direct that such permission will not in any case be granted to the native inhabitants and settlers to sell or transfer a plantation to any European or Europeans or any individual, firm, or Company of white nationality.

Given under my hand
and seal this 1st day of
November, 1910.

C. BROOKE,
Rajah.

Source: SGG, 1 November 1910, p. 168.

LAMPIRAN D

CHARLES BROOKE ON RUBBER PLANTING

In 1910 Charles Brooke's youngest son, Harry Brooke, had the temerity to suggest that his father might consider backing a new rubber planting enterprise in Sarawak. The Rajah's reaction, in the letter which follows, is a good sample of his attitude toward rubber planting and large-scale Western investment in general.

Chesterton.
March 5th 1910.

My dear Harry,

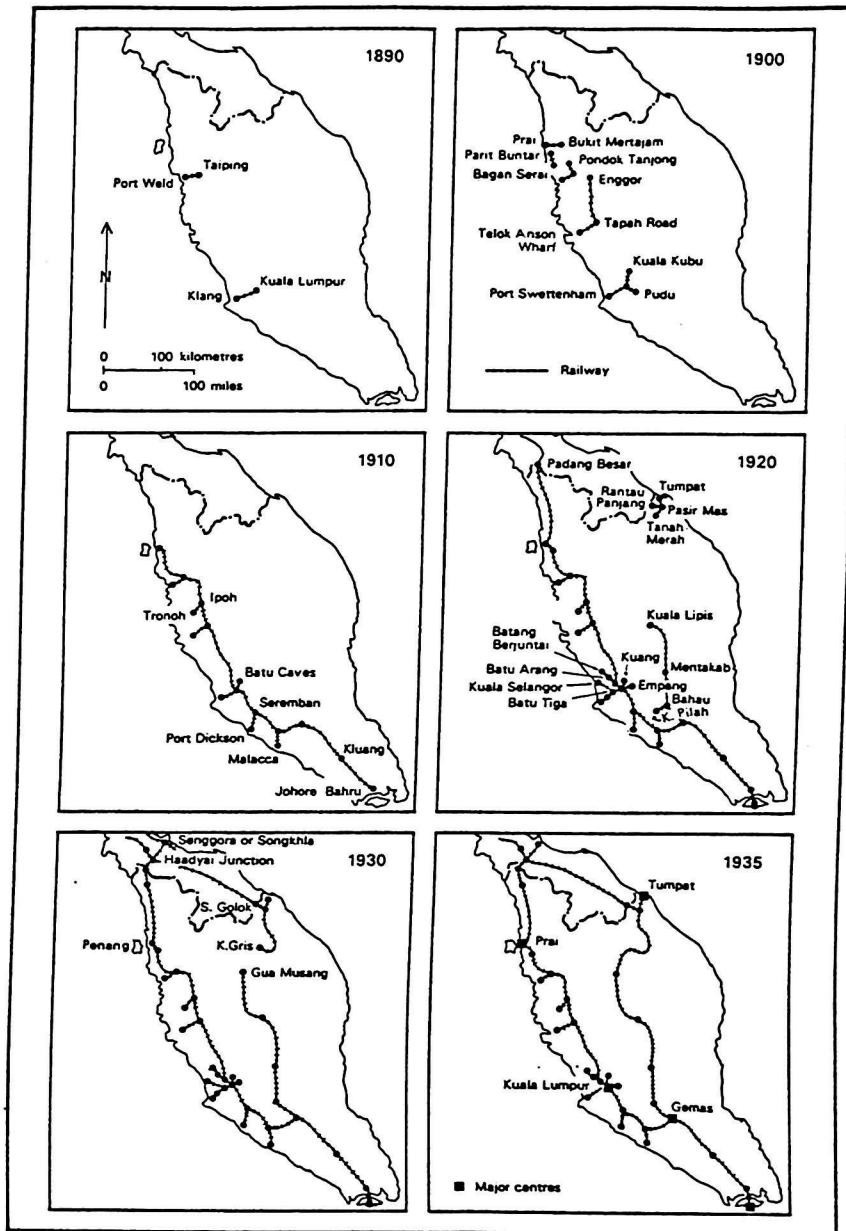
I have read your letter over as well as the one or two sent by [C. A.] Bampfylde, and I have had frequent applications of a similar kind from many others within the last month - but not believing in the permanence of the Rubber boom I don't wish Sarawak to be a great producer of this article - except it can be planted by natives who could afford to sell it a 20th part less than European Companies, and this is what it will come to another and not distant day. I can't look at this Matter in a private light and if I had listened to the luring proposals of rich merchants I should have been a millionaire 30 or 40 years ago - I feel sure the enterprise you propose would get a good hearing in British North Borneo, which is full of Mercantile Enterprises and achievements.

I hate the name of Rubber and look on it as a very gigantic gamble, as is now turned to account in making the fortunes of many and another day will be the means of depriving the poor and ignorant shareholders of their hard earned savings -

I don't wish to put my hand in the bag or be a party to what I don't approve -

Of course I know the tree & its growth perfectly well and am now spreading the cultivation among the inhabitants in a humble way hoping that they will make a genuine concern out of its small profits and small motor owners & [sic] purchase their tyres at fifty times less than the market price at the present day. I regret I can't assist you in your project.

Yrs affectionate
sd C. Brooke



. The development of the Malayan Railway system, 1885-1935

LAMPPIRAN F

Twenty-four

The War Years

13 August, 1979

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... 27/-

From December 1944 till September 1945 Kedah and the rest of Malaya lay under the heel of the Japanese. For the Tunku these were times of tribulation and challenge, but which he managed to survive and to help others to survive as well.

The dreadful war gave Hitler victory after victory. The Nazis marched across Europe as fast as their machines could take them. However much the British tried to dress up the stories of their successful defence, it soon became apparent that there was nothing to stop Hitler from taking over the continent. But for Britain itself, the sea and the British navy and air force kept the Nazis out.

Luckily for the world, instead of pursuing his victories in Europe, Hitler decided to attack Russia while fascist Mussolini decided to join in the war and share the spoils. This boosted Hitler's success.

Malaya was making plans for the defence of the country, and Singapore, according to the British, was an impregnable fortress.

In Malaya every state had to participate in the defence preparations which consisted of the construction of pill boxes, trenches, air raid shelters and the establishment of a civil defence organization consisting of the ambulance brigade, fire-fighters, wardens and emergency units, etc.

I was appointed the deputy head of the civil defence organization in South Kedah. My duty was to organise the A.R.P. and to coordinate the functions of all the other civil defence units.

We were given lessons in the fundamentals of civil defence such as exercises in fighting fires caused by incendiary bombs and dealing with bomb casualties and other war victims. It all appeared sound on paper but I doubted our effectiveness in time of actual bombing.

I made my men drill like soldiers and disciplined them, which of course was not quite in keeping with official instructions. I

built evacuation camps on the outskirts of Kulim and near the jungle fringes so that in the event of air raids women and children could be evacuated at once, and the A. R. P. were drilled to carry out an orderly evacuation.

On 8 December 1941, the Japanese made an attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbour. The war was brought nearer home when Singapore was bombed. People became jittery and the civil defence activities increased in momentum.

Funds were also collected to help in the prosecution of the war and in this, I must say, Kulim did extremely well. We held a fun-fair and collected many thousands of dollars. For the first time I put on a show which I called *Mahsuri*.*

It was a plot conceived and created by me based on the life of Mahsuri, although not factually accurate. It proved a great attraction and drew crowds nightly at the fair.

On the same day that Pearl Harbour was bombed, the Japanese started to land in Malaya on the east coast and on the coast of Thailand further to the north. Then shocking news came over the radio one evening which stunned everybody.

The two British battleships, *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* had been sunk off the east coast of Malaya. All hopes of defending Malaya were gone.

People from the north started to flee their home towns and the government decided to leave Alor Star. Haji Shariff and other high government officials came to Kulim and the British government asked that my father, the Sultan, be evacuated with the Regent, Tunku Badlishah and his family, to Singapore.

This, I decided at once, could not be allowed to happen. The story of how I succeeded in "kidnapping" my father, the Sultan, at Kepala Batas in Province Wellesley, on his way to Penang, is told elsewhere**. Suffice it to say here that the Sultan was safely brought to Kulim, and then to the village of Kampung Sidim nearby.

*Mahsuri is the tale of the Langkawi maiden who was wrongly accused of having had an illicit love affair and was sentenced to death. In revenge for her wrongful execution, Mahsuri uttered a curse on the island which was to last for seven generations. When I was District Officer on Langkawi, I sought out Mahsuri's grave, found it, and before I left, built a tomb for her which has become a great attraction for tourists today.

** i.e., See the following chapter.

The following day my father was joined by my brother, the Regent, who decided to leave Penang where he had been taken by the British. I was very relieved to have them with me and to be able to find a safe place for them under the hill of Kampung Sidim.

I had already prepared an evacuation camp there and the *kampung* people would take turns to guard them. As soon as they arrived I took them there.

Syed Omar was the state treasurer of Kedah and he brought all the government money from Alor Star and deposited it in the vault of the Kulim treasury. My great worry was whether the safe was strong enough to withstand any serious robbery by a big and powerful gang of robbers.

We then heard stories of the Japanese taking over Alor Star from the people who came to Kulim after having been earlier evacuated with the British.

Things began to get really serious. Luckily for me, the Volunteer Force was demobilised, and I took them over and formed a riot squad with Ramdan Din as my lieutenant.

I ordered the civil defence personnel to hide their uniforms but to remain on duty and at their posts in their civilian clothes. So everybody was at his post and the whole of Kulim district was orderly and no violence of any kind or looting took place.

Any offender, even those who rode their bicycles without lamps were taken into custody. Those who disregarded or defied the law were arrested.

Before the British evacuation, they had destroyed the electric plant and left Kulim in utter darkness. I gave orders for the evacuation of all women and children to the respective camps.

Luckily we did that, for as the Japanese soldiers arrived a few days later, they started to break into shops and houses to loot or to look for women.

It was also lucky in a sense that I had billeted with me a Japanese lieutenant, Nakamia, an officer in *Fujitwara Kikan* or Intelligence Unit.

All night long, soldiers arrived and began to beat and pound at my door and had it not been for him, God knows what would have happened to us.

A few days later I received a messenger from Perak who came from Raja Shahar Shah with a letter telling me that my brother-in-law, Raja Aman Shah, had been held a prisoner of

war by the Japanese, and that perhaps I might be able to persuade the Japanese military authorities to release him.

He was a civilian and a volunteer and not a military officer. But we had to act quickly. So without wasting any time I set out for Singapore with Ramdan Din, armed with a letter from the Japanese Governor of Kedah and wearing an armband with the chop of *Fujizawa Kikan*, to look for him.

In Singapore we sought the help of many people who, however, failed to give us any information as to the whereabouts of Raja Aman Shah. All we found out was that Raja Lope who did not surrender with Raja Aman Shah had gone back to Perak.

Finally, I obtained permission to visit Changi prison and was shown a list of prisoners but there were no Malay officers on it, so I presumed that he must have been released and gone back while I was on the journey to Singapore. In the end, we found out that he had been killed along with the rest of the Malay Volunteer officers who had been held prisoners by the Japanese.

I came back, and on the way turned off to Jelebu where my sister and her children were staying with Dato Jelebu. On the journey, I picked up a person who asked for a lift, but when I dropped him at Jelebu town I took a look at him and found his eyes and fingers had all gone and part of his face had rotted.

I realised that I had picked up a leper in the worst stage of the disease. I have never forgotten this, for it shocked me to the core. We had to use petrol to clean the inside of the car for fear that the disease might infect others, as I was taking back the children and my sister.

I brought them back with Ramdan Din, driving the car most of the way and arrived in Kulim safely after a long and tedious journey. After a rest I was called to the Kulim hospital to take the statement of a dying patient who was a Muslim Punjabi.

The story he had to tell me related to one of the most cruel and brutal killings I have ever heard of.

It appeared that he and forty others, taken into police custody for small offences, had been called out at midnight by the Japanese soldiers who were members of the garrison stationed in Kulim.

They were taken to a rubber estate where a few big communal graves had been dug and all were bayoneted into the holes by the soldiers. As they fell inside, they were further bayoneted from the top.

This patient had several bayonet stabs which passed through his body without killing him. The victims, presumed dead, were then covered with earth, but he crept out under cover of darkness and miraculously escaped and was brought to the hospital by some kind people who found him on the roadside.

His presence had been kept a secret by the doctors and hospital staff. Having taken his statement, I told them that if this leaked out it would not only be this man who would be killed but all the hospital staff as well, so for their own good it would be better for them to keep their mouths shut.

I immediately went to the police station and ordered everybody found locked up to be released and gave orders to the police and members of the riot squad not to take in any people into custody, whatever might have been their offence. The Japanese garrison was already there and it was their duty now to keep law and order.

One piece of bad luck follows another, as the saying goes, and this was very true in Kulim at the time. For the next day my interpreter rushed to see me and told me he had received a report from the garrison that they were going to take in my two A.D.O.s, Haji Mohamed Isa Din and Abu Bakar Suleiman.

These two people, on hearing about it, came rushing to my house the same evening, white as paper, and told me that they were going to make a getaway that same night.

It appeared that they were accused of hiding a Bren gun and this was a capital offence. But I told them to keep calm and that I would take the blame because the Bren gun in question was with me. So I told them to trust in God and place themselves in my care.

Early next morning, I took the gun and with the two men, walked up to the garrison headquarters and asked to see the commander.

Abu Bakar, who is now a Datuk, can vouch for the truth of this story. To say that we were frightened was hardly the correct expression. Nevertheless there was no way of escaping and so the only thing to do was to face it.

When the commander heard my story, he smiled, and that was a real relief. He said "Now, all right," and offered us orange crush. He took the gun and told us to go back.

I never felt so happy in my life. That, I prayed and hoped, would be the end of all my worries and troubles, for I had had too

many of them these last few days, without proper food or proper sleep, having had to go to Singapore and back, then on my return to be confronted with these unhappy occurrences.

As a result of these incidents, there appeared to be a better understanding between the Japanese garrison commander and his officers on the one hand and we and our government officials on the other. By now the Japanese had taken us sufficiently into their confidence to discuss local affairs with us, as a result of which the atmosphere became more calm and the people less disturbed. We and the business people frequently threw parties for them.

I found out that this commander was a priest before he joined the army, and his name was Tomiaka, with the rank of captain. He made available the service of a soldier to teach Japanese to me and my brother-in-law, Syed Sheh.

This was a great help to me, but try as I would, I made no progress with the language except to know how to say "thank you", "please", "eat" and "drink" and to know that Kulim is pronounced in Japanese as "Kurimu". However, relations improved and it brought peace of mind to the people.

Hardly had we got to know one another when the garrison had to move on to the Philippines to defend that country. I was told the Americans were hitting back and had won a major naval victory near Guam.

The Japanese moved all their available troops to the Pacific area. Another garrison took over, whose numbers were fewer and less aggressive. But there were other parasites and camp followers, most of whom, I understood, came from the Japanese colony of Taiwan. They cashed in on the Chinese business community of Kulim.

On one occasion one of these men, who was a master villain, beat up one of my peace corps men who had apprehended some illicit samsu sellers — obviously his men. Having beaten up my official, he then tied him with a rope round his neck and dragged him towards the garrison.

Luckily for this victim, I was at the window at the time and I rushed down, to the road and asked, "What's happening?" I told the villain to release him and went up with this Taiwanese to the garrison commander and explained to him that the man they had taken was one of my peace corps men, who had arrested a person carrying illicit samsu.

But I could not speak Japanese and the Taiwanese made excuses and got away.

But at the end of the war, when the communists took over Kulim, he met his end and was put to death in a very cruel manner by them for his crimes. And so were others who collaborated with him. That was poetic justice.

Another nasty experience I had concerned the silver valuables taken from European homes. All this silverware I sent in six lorry-loads to the government in Alor Star, and I thought I was to be commended for my good work. Nobody else had sent them anything, as every district was looted when the British left, except Kulim.

When I arrived I was called before one of the Japanese officials — a terror of a man called Hanger. He glared at me and shouted that a few knives were missing. About that, I said, I did not know because I had packed them up and sent them to Alor Star.

"You must have stolen them," he shouted at me. I was taken aback, as this was the second time I had been called thief, first by a Nazi and now by this Japanese.

It took me some time before I replied, because if I had lost my temper and hit him, I would have had my head chopped off. "Mr. Hanger," I said, "it is I who prepared the inventory and if I had wanted to keep the knives I would not have entered them in the list."

"You don't talk!" he shouted, "You must replace the knives!"

"That I can do, but they will be my own and they would not be the same as the ones you had which were silver-handled," I replied. However, I had to send my knives to make up for the missing ones.

This silverware and other valuable objects were worth many thousands of dollars and I never received a word of thanks. When the British returned, some estate manager asked me about the silver. I could afford to be cheeky with the British, and I told them to go to the Japanese and get them. They couldn't expect me to have held on to those valuables in my safekeeping for them all those years!

The Japanese decided that rubber did not pay and ordered rubber trees to be cut down. So some very good estates, particularly Victoria Estate, were to be turned into cotton fields, and others into rice fields.

But I became rather unpopular with the Japanese when I could

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not supply the labourers they wanted. At the same time I disagreed with the project, as Kulim was a wet area and not suitable for growing cotton and was too hilly for rice cultivation.

I was given twelve hours' notice to get out.

I felt relieved because as D.O. (*kuncho*, they called it), the job was a thankless one. I had to be on duty twenty-four hours a day and be on hand all the time to entertain big and small men who passed through Kulim on their way to Taiping and the South. Sometimes we had to be on the roadside for hours waiting for a general with a yellow flag to come by.

The Japanese officer administering government in Kedah at the time was a kind-hearted man and used to make frequent visits to Kulim. I always had to be on hand to meet him.

One day I was late, without any good excuse, and his ADC told me off thoroughly. I was lucky to get away with just that, and not a slap on the face which was the fashion of the day.

Back in Alor Star I was made Superintendent of Education and Kedah was officially ceded to Thailand, but the Japanese were virtually in control. My house was taken over by the Japanese and I stayed in a small house next to a coffee-shop and a Chinese sauce factory.

I met with some good fortune. One day Che Din Hashim from Penang decided to dispose of his shares in the Alor Star amusement park, originally owned by Shaw brothers, and this I might say, after some months brought me an unexpected windfall.

I used to collect dividends, once in three months, then once a month, then once in two weeks and then once every week. With this money I was able to live comfortably.

Che Din never forgave himself for the mistake he made. It was about this time that stragglers from the Siamese Death Railway started to come into Alor Star and they were a sorry sight and in a sorry plight with sores all over their bodies and dressed in rags.

So Senu (now Datuk), Mohamed Jamil (Tan Sri) and Khir Johari, Aziz Zain (Tan Sri), Syed Agil (Datuk Sri), Wan Ahmad and a few others whose names escape my memory, volunteered to help me.

We got a house from *Zakat* and *Fitrah* funds (i.e., from the Religious Department) where we accommodated these people and collected money to maintain them.

The whole household was soon infected with sores. It was a distressing sight with everybody scratching at their sores but with

medical care and attention, we got the situation controlled and everyone recovered after some time.

We looked after these people until the British came when the War ended. The government of Kedah gave the credit to someone else who had never seen the place or knew anything about it, still less taken any interest in our work.

So this gentleman, (whose name I will not mention), came to see me to ask about the home and all the particulars about the people who had been living there. I took him round the place.

After that, he came along with some British officers and walked through the camp, telling these officers about the people and how much had been done for them. In this way he got all the credit.

But we got our real thanks from these wretched victims when they were taken back to their homes by B.M.A. officials.