UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama
Sidang Akademik 2004/2005

Oktober 2004

HSM 313 – Dokumen-Dokumen dalam Sejarah Malaysia I

Masa : 3 jam

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

Jawab EMPAT soalan.

...2/-

1. "Dokumen-dokumen peribadi seperti diari, surat-menyurat persendirian dan memoir yang dihasilkan oleh individu kurang berwibawa sebagai sumber bahan bagi kegunaan oleh ahli sejarah." Bincangkan pendapat ini dengan merujuk kepada dokumen-dokumen tertentu.

2. Berdasarkan pandangan yang terkandung dalam "Life in the Malay Peninsula: As It Was and Is" (LAMPIRAN A) oleh Hugh Clifford, nilaikan sumbangan hasil penulisan pegawai pentadbir kolonial British kepada kefahaman mengenai masyarakat Melayu di Negeri-Negeri Melayu pada hujung abad ke-19.

3. Sejauh manakah "Order No. XXV, 1910: Sale of Rubber Tree Plantations" (LAMPIRAN B) dan "Rajah Charles Brooke to Harry Brooke. Chesterton, 5 March 1910" (LAMPIRAN C) mencerminkan dasar ekonomi Brooke yang bertujuan memelihara lalu meningkatkan taraf kehidupan dan kebajikan rakyat pribumi Sarawak?

4. Perjanjian bertajuk "Engagement entered into by the chiefs of Perak at Pulo Pangkor', 20 January 1874" (LAMPIRAN D) atau "Pangkor Engagement" mempunyai implikasi dan pengaruh jangka panjang bagi Tanah Melayu. Bincangkan.

5. Huraikan tujuan tersirat yang dapat dikesan dalam dokumen "Memorandum on Sly Prostitution in Kuala Lumpur and other large Towns in the Federated Malay States" (LAMPIRAN E) oleh W. T. Chapman, Setiausaha Hal-Ehwal Orang Cina pada tahun 1919.

6. "Regulation V. of 1891: A Regulation to Provide for the Compulsory Attendance of Malay Children at Government Schools. [13 June 1891]" (LAMPIRAN F) merupakan langkah untuk mengatasi keciciran pelajar Melayu di Negeri-Negeri Melayu. Setakat manakah dokumen ini dapat mencapai matlamatnya?

7. Gambarkan suasana kehidupan seharian di khemah tahanan Batu Lintang, Kuching pada zaman pendudukan Jepun (1941-1945) seperti yang terkandung dalam diari Cik H. E. Bates (LAMPIRAN G).

...Lampiran A/-
...3/-

LAMPIRAN A

7

Life in the Malay Peninsula: As it was and is

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

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

†Ibid., vol. xxvii, p. 273.

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

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 Cistersian 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 Pêrak and Sĕlângor 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 Bĕsar, 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 *kris*, or dagger, through the hollow in the left shoulder above the collar-bone, and thence through the heart. The Orang Kâya Pahlâwan 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 Tĕmĕrloh lashed his criminals to a ducking stool, and drowned them slowly, but with elaborate care. The Maharâja Pĕrba 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 "Maäf!"—"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 coveted 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 "squeezes"; 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 *raäyat* 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.

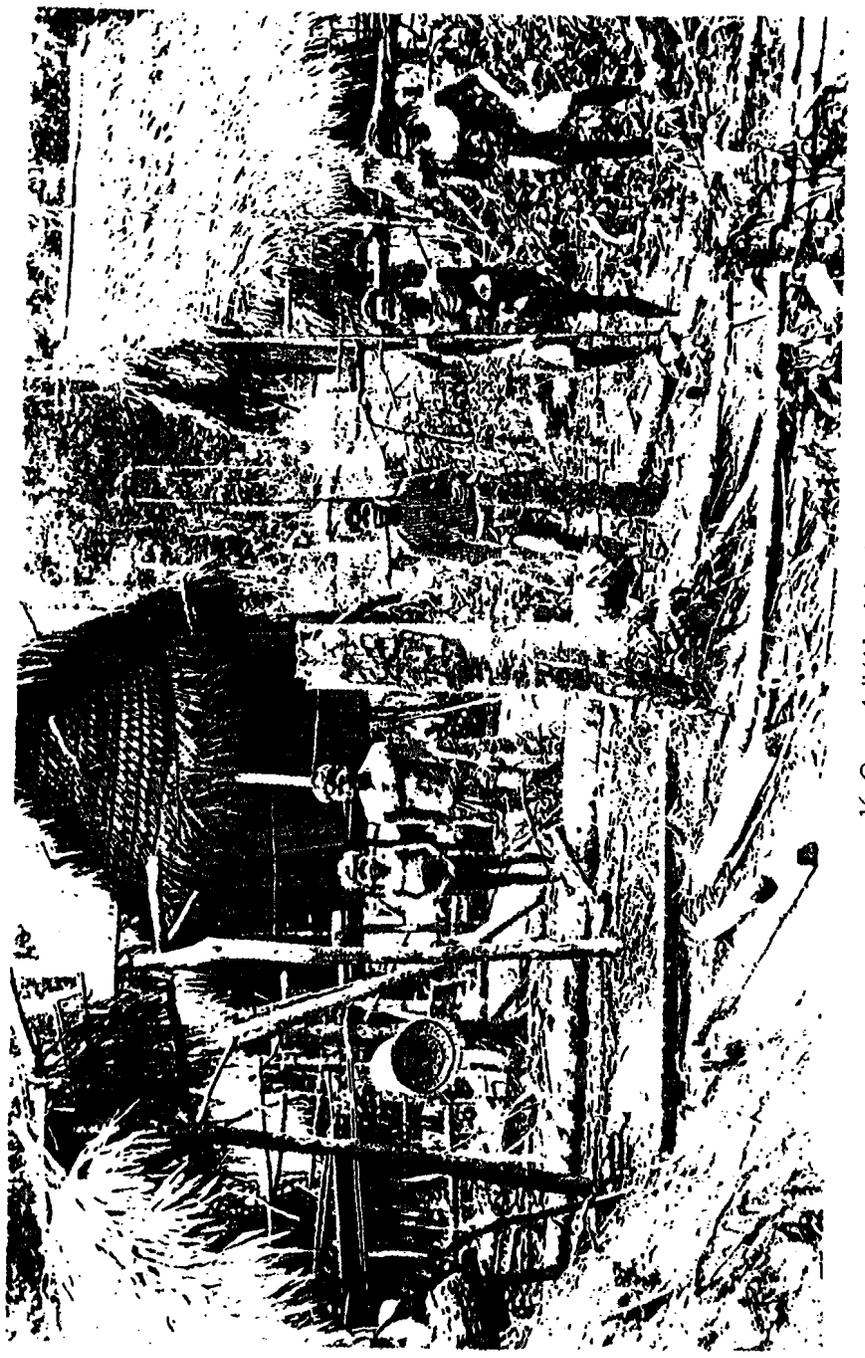
In the first place, it must be fully realised that the Sultan was the main pivot upon which all things in his country turned. He was the source from which all blessing flowed; he was the person who held in his hand rewards and punishments; it was his whims—things often strange and unaccountable—which 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 *râja* 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

(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 refection. 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 *râja* 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 *râja* 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

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 *bálai*, 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 handsome 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 lustily, 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 Carrol 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 *lèse 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 Bûdak Râja, 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 Raja. 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 Kĕlantan 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 unholy 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.[1] 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 *âmas*, 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 *sĕrah*, 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 *sĕrah* 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 irked 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, marking 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 demesne. 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 Sâkai, or the Sĕmang, 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-Muhammadan 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.

Pĕrak 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 Pêrak, Sĕlangor, Pahang, and the Nĕgri Sămbîlan.

These States are not, and have never been, an integral portion of the British Empire. They are in no sense 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 Pĕng-hûlus, 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 *tôman* 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 Pêrak and Sĕlângor 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 Nĕgri Sămbîlan, 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 fitfully. 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 assistant 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 toiled 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 Pêrak and Selângor, 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 built 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 Selângor, 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 administrator 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 Trĕnggânu 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

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

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 Malayan States, the name of Sir Hugh Low. Anybody who knows anything of the State of Pêrak, 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 Pêrak 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 kindness, 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

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.

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.

LAMPIRAN B

APPENDIX 10

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 C

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

LAMPIRAN D

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:—

1. 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 Mantri 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 misunderstood 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 Katta on the West, and from Pulo Katta 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

...24/-

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

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 tranquility 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.

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.
" Shahbander of Perak.
" Rajah Mahkota of Perak.
" Laxamana of Perak.
" Datoh Sa'gor.

...LampiranE/1-
...25/-

Memorandum on Sly Prostitution in Kuala Lumpur and other large Towns in the Federated Malay States

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Speaking generally I do not think that the amount of prostitution which goes on in the bigger towns in the Federated Malay States is more than one would expect from similar towns elsewhere, certainly not when one comes to consider the condition, character and habits of the inhabitants, and the great disparity in numbers of the sexes in all the immigrant races one finds here.

2. During the last twenty years, however, a change has come over the character of the prostitution. Formerly men kept women or patronised the regular brothels. Now, however, the "sly prostitute" is the vogue.

3. The patrons of the "sly" prostitute in town are Europeans, Eurasians, Bengalis, Malays (especially unmarried foreign ones) and some Chinese of middle class who have families here and would rather not be seen going to a regular brothel. In China, a Chinese incurs no disgrace by going to a high class brothel or a restaurant at which prostitutes attend the guests to see his friends, but here there is a certain stigma attaching even to a Chinese who frequents brothels.

4. The sly prostitutes were principally Malays or Siamese in the first place, but of recent years, many Chinese have followed their example as also have some Japanese and Eurasians. The latter two classes to some extent keep themselves for the Europeans and better class patronage.

5. I do not think it is correct to say that prostitution goes on in coffee-shops and eating houses, but these places are resorts of sly prostitutes, where a man in search of a woman can go, give her the "glad eye" and either arrange with her there where to meet, or she will follow him outside.

6. In a few cases where, there are coffee shops and eating houses downstairs and lodging houses upstairs, actual prostitution may go on the premises.

7. Many factors have participated to bring about this vogue of the sly prostitute:

(a) The Confidential Circular letter from the Secretary of State dated January, 1909. This not only had a deterrent effect on actual concubinage, but led many people to think that occasional lapses from virtue would be considered equally reprehensible and so led to attempts at concealment and the patronage of sly prostitutes.

(b) The increase in the number of Cinemas. These provide a place where the sly prostitute can regularly display herself and where men in search of a prostitute can easily find one without courting the publicity of the regular brothels.

(c) The inmates of regular brothels found their better class customers falling off and they began to receive engagements from customers of a lower class with the result that eventually these brothels became haunts of Malays and Southern Indians. These affected the Japanese brothels mostly and caused the local Japanese not directly connected with brothels to start an agitation to get these brothels closed, whether their inmates continued prostitution or not, with the result that -

(d) A considerable number of Japanese brothels shut down. This decreased the number of the brothels, but the inmates were not all repatriated. Many became nominally servants in coffee-shops, etc., but clandestinely carry on their old occupation.

(e) The slump has affected the prosperity of many regular brothels and the keepers being unable to

...26/-

wishes from the Secreatry of State.

10. The question of dealing with sly prostitution is a most difficult one as there is a great danger that in order to combat this evil one must introduce rules which infringe on the liberty of the subject. Further it is necessary to avoid anything which will render respectable people open to balckmail for the delinquencies of their lodgers or dependents.

11. As the law stands at present, the prostitute herself cannot be punished. Punishment can only be inflicted on brothel keepers, pimps and bawds. In order to constitute it a "brothel" a place must be used by two or more persons for the purposes of prostitution. If this has been established, an order may be made by the Protector or a Magistrate on the keeper of the brothel, or its tenant to close the brothel. If the brothel continues to open the brothel keeper may be prosecuted in Court and fined for disobedience of the order. If this step has been successfully taken, an order may be issued to the owner of the house and if the house still continues to be used as a brothel the owner also is liable. This procedure on the face of it would appear to be simple, but in practice there are innumerable difficulties in the way of getting convictions.

(a) The order can only be issued against a certain person in respect of certain premises. In order to defeat subsequent proceedings all that is necessary is for the person who pays the rent to be changed. In the last resort the brothel can always be removed next door. In either case there is a return to the "status quo".

(b) The difficulty of obtaining evidence which will satisfy the Court.

In order to obtain a conviction in Court evidence must be obtained that two or more girls are using the place for the purpose of prostitution. To establish the fact of their prostitution, it is necessary to get two men, give them marked money, tell them to go to the brothel and engage prostitutes and then raid the house when the men are there. With reference to this procedure quite apart from the odium attaching to any officer who goes into Court and admits he has adopted this procedure there is the danger of infection to the agent provacateur for which I presume, Government should be responsible. Further it is extremely difficult to get any one but the very dregs of society to be willing to undertake such a task, and give evidence of it in Court, and it is just such people who, if one used successfully, would have no scruples in going around and blackmailing all sly prostitutes in the town whether living in brothels or not.

(c) The present state of the social conscience of the community, which on the whole is satisfied with the state of affairs as it is and therefore its members do not come forward to give evidence of what they know as apart from heresay. Apart from the medical aspect of venereal disease, complaints mainly come directly or indirectly from a very limited number of sources, principally from missionaries, who, I believe, speak from heresay. It has become a platitude that it is impossible to make people moral by legislation or in advance of the social conscience. It would appear that the remedy should be with missionaries who should so work upon ther flocks that their minds may be raised above possible contamination by the social evil, which is certainly condoned by the bulk of the community.

12. In spite of my general opinion that prostitution is no worse here than might be expected, there are certain points in respect of which improvement might be made, in order to make indulgence rather more difficult:

(a) Section 16(1)(b) of the Women and Girls Protection Ordinance should be amended by the ommission of the word "persistently".

This as should be the case would make even a single act of solicitation by a male person punishable.

Sd. W. T. Chapman [dated 1919?]
Secretary for Chinese Affairs
F.M.S.

Source: Selangor Secretariat File 4974/1919, Arkib Negara, Kuala Lumpur.

...Lampiran F

...28/-

LAMPIRAN F

REGULATION V. OF 1891.

A REGULATION TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE OF MALAY CHILDREN AT GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

[13th June, 1891.]

J. P. RODGER,
Acting British Resident.

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the compulsory attendance of Malay Children at Government Vernacular Schools in the State: It is hereby enacted by His Highness the Sultan in Council, with the advice of the British Resident, as follows:— Preamble.

1. This Regulation may be cited as the "School Attendance Regulation, 1891." Short title.

2. From and after the date of the passing of this Regulation it shall be lawful for any District Officer to cause a written or printed notice to be served on the parent or guardian of any male Malay child living within his district, and being between the ages of seven and fourteen years, requiring such child to attend such Government vernacular school as may be in such notice specified, and on receipt of such notice the parent or guardian of any child so required to attend school shall be deemed to be lawfully responsible for the regular attendance of such child at the school so specified, for the hours during which such school may be open for the attendance of pupils. Attendance notice to be served on parent or guardian.

3. Any person so lawfully responsible for the attendance at school of any child shall, on proof before a Magistrate of such child's non-attendance as aforesaid, and in the absence of any reasonable excuse for such non-attendance, be liable to be convicted of an offence under this Regulation. Parents or guardians liable to conviction for child's non-attendance.

4. Any person so convicted shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding five dollars for each offence, and to simple imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days in default of payment thereof. Penalty.

Provided always, that no person shall be liable to any penalty under this Regulation in respect of any child whose ordinary place of abode is situated at a greater distance than two miles from the school specified in the notice as aforesaid. Proviso.

...Lampiran G/-
...29/-

LAMPIRAN G

Nurse Bates's Version of Life in the Women's Compound at Batu Lintang, Kuching

Papers of Miss H. E. Bates. MSS 91/35/1. IWM.

Five dreary days passed before we turned into the Kuching river, and docked at Sarawak, where we were told to disembark. We were a motley crowd when we stepped onto the quay; [o]ur clothing was very grubby and untidy, and the poor Nuns looked not only very tired, but pathetic, with their white habits besmirched with a mixture of dirt and oil, and their coifs and veils limp and bedraggled. As always, [h]owever they were persistently cheerful, making light of our troubles, and never failing to give help whenever possible.

Though probably the most exhausted among us, were the mothers of young children, who were burdened with infants and baggage, the former having become intractable after long confinement, and who continually whimpered. Even the parrot screamed, which added to the general turmoil.

After being counted several times, and having our baggage examined, we were crowded into open lorries and rushed at breakneck speed to an internment camp three miles from the town, and on reaching a barbed-wire enclosure containing some long huts, were told to dismount. We stood rubbing our bruises caused by the rough journey, and as we did so, a weird collection of men emerged from the huts, and stared at us. We stared back as they talked in an unknown language, and were certainly the queerest people we had

ever seen—even in Borneo! These men wore pyjama trousers, but no tops, and their heads were shaven except for a tonsure, and they wore beards down to their waists. Later we learned that they were Dutch monks or priests from Dutch Borneo.

After being marshalled and counted again, we were lectured by the Japanese Camp Commandant, and hustled into another enclosure across the road, near another prison camp which held the male internees from Jesselton. They waved to us, but the guards soon put a stop to that. Hardly had we talked through the gate of the camp, than a group of sturdy grey-clad Dutch nuns ran to us, picked up our bundles,—and the children—, and with cheerful smiles escorted us to our quarters, giving every possible help.

We were quartered in barrack buildings; the rooms were small, and each one contained six or eight of us. There were no beds, tables or chairs, or any other amenities. The nuns cooked us a sketchy meal of rice and vegetables, which was all they had to offer, and it seemed that conditions here were much worse than in Jesselton.

We only stayed in this camp for a few weeks however, and then were told to pack what we could carry, after which we were marched to another camp. There we learned that we were to be treated, not as prisoners but as internees, so were isolated from the former. Nevertheless, with their usual inconsistency, the Nips soon sent us back to our original camp, and there we were joined by female internees from Sandakan,—on the East Coast of N.B., who until then had been treated rather better. Their husbands had been allowed to stay with them and help with the children, and so naturally the women were most distressed when they were parted from the men, and found they had to help with work in the camp.

Singapore had fallen some weeks before, and British prisoners of war began to arrive, and were billeted in adjacent camps. At first they appeared reasonably well and cheerful, but before long the sound of the 'Last Post' [a tune played on a bugle at military funerals] could be heard daily, and we realised that they were dying in large numbers.

A party of Australians came through on their way to Sandakan,

to be used as labour in building aerodromes. Just before the war ended, such of these poor men who had not died in the meantime, were force-marched into the interior of North Borneo, and suffered such frightful atrocities and hardships, that out of several thousand, only *six* survived. Apart from the perversity of the Japanese there could have been no reason for this death march, as within a few days[,] the Emperor of Japan ordered his troops to lay down their arms.

Some British and American soldiers escaped from camp, thus risking their lives, in order to talk to us, and some of the women foolishly broke many of the Japanese rules about fraternising, and this resulted in our being moved to yet another camp, where conditions were worse than ever. There we lived in long huts, each holding one hundred people, each person being allotted a space of four feet by six feet in which to sleep and store our belongings. The huts were made of bamboo and palm leaves, and so reasonably cool, but draughty, and not entirely rainproof. In the frequent wet weather the ground surrounding us was a sea of mud, and through this we had to carry food containers from the cooking hut some distance away.

The latrines consisted of a deep pit covered with planks, and with holes at intervals. To begin with, there were rough wooden partitions between the holes, but gradually some of these disappeared, as they were taken to make tables, stools, etc:. The latrine pit was cleared each month by British soldiers. It was deep and therefore a great danger to children, and they were ordered not to play within the vicinity. One day however, a Nun happened to pass by when a three year old boy called "Frankie Sykes" called out,—'Sister, Matie's down the laths'

Very shocked, Sister exclaimed,—"Are you *sure* you are telling the truth?" "Yeah," lisped Frankie, pointing to the pit; "Matie's down there!" Still half doubtful, Sister opened a trap door in the planking, pushed her arm through, and hearing a faint whimper, she probed around in the filth, and grasped the child's head by the hair. Fortunately she was able to pull the little girl clear, and filthy

and odorous though she was, after having a pail of water thrown over her, became recognisable as Matie!

Thanks to this prompt and courageous action on the part of Sister, Matie was saved from a dreadful end, and rather surprisingly, was none the worse for her awful experience.

It was doubtful whether anyone not closely connected with small Frankie, would have taken much notice of his lisping talk, and certainly few would have had the pluck to probe the noisome pit. For some time after this episode, the other children would not play with poor Matie; "She *smells*" they said! In a tropical climate bad smells are apt to linger on indefinitely.

During the early weeks of our internment, we were left pretty much to ourselves, and our work simply consisted of chores about the camp; cooking, cleaning etc:. As I was at that time suffering from a groggy [weak] heart, and looked on as a semi-invalid, I was given the job of looking after the children when their mothers were otherwise engaged. Most of the children were very young, and took to internment much more easily than the rest of us. In fact, it was an adventurous change from everyday life at home, because firm discipline could not be applied. They had few clothes to soil, no shoes, and could not be expected to clean their teeth!

Surprisingly, the Nip soldiers were tolerant to the children, who did not seem to be afraid of them, and quite often one would see an infant unbuckling an N.C.O.'s belt and sword, without any protest being made! Needless to say, the youngsters quarrelled amongst themselves, and this created rows between the mothers now and again.

My favourite was Ronald; a tough three year old, and quite the naughtiest child in the camp! He possessed an angelic face, wavy golden hair, large blue eyes with long lashes, and an attractive Scottish accent. This little wretch often escaped punishment for his crimes, simply because of his appearance, and the artless gaze of his big blue eyes when being pulled up!

When his mother was ill, Ronald was left in my care, and whenever he became too naughty, I would say 'Now, bend over, Ronald!" As I then produced a small cane, prepared to whack him, he would turn his head and give me such an appealing look, saying: "Oh Batesie, you *would'nt*, would you?" And I would end by giving him just a tiny smack!

Ronald bore no ill will however, and we gained a certain respect for one another. His bete noire was another boy older and larger than himself who had a doting mother. Always turned out beautifully in clean shorts, he looked very smart.

One day while outside the hut, I heard a terrific commotion, and on rushing back found Ronald kicking and punching his enemy while his mother tried to stop the fracas, at the same time calling to me: "Oh, Batesie, this horrid child will kill my boy; *please* take him away!" This took a little while, as Ronald was what would now be described as a 'Tough Guy', but when I managed to part him from his victim, I asked him very sternly:—"Ronald, *why* did you go for that boy?" His reply was; "Because he *needed* it," and I'm afraid I quietly agreed!

As might be expected, there was some friction between the women with children and those who hadn't any, especially when the time came for roll-call, and certain infants were missing which meant that their mothers turned up late, and this incensed the Japanese, who made us all stand strictly to attention until all were present. In the early days all children had to be counted, but as the number seemed to vary from about six to forty, when on parade, the Japs grew weary of trying to agree as to the exact number, so finally gave up counting!

Later on, the nuns organised a school each morning for an hour or two, and this kept the children out of mischief as well as filling up their time. Not unnaturally, a good deal of religious instruction was pumped into them, and Ronald informed me that "God sent Adam to sleep, and then pinched his rib, and made him into a mother!" (Which only goes to show how easy it is to confuse a small child).

As a great concession the married women were allowed to meet their husbands once a month in a pig compound between the camps, and despite the locality, this was a great morale booster, and

the wives would put on any make-up they might still possess, and don any garment which had been preserved for these occasions. Some in fact, managed to make them selves quite presentable, and a pleasure to see, for the rest of us who were so used to their customary grubby appearance. The Nips kept careful account of the number of married couples, and those of us without husbands were not allowed to meet the men from the camp.

Sometimes these wives would return with little gifts, such as a tiny piece of real soap, or a pencil,—such items being real treasures to us at that time. One kind soul always passed her handkerchief on to me when she returned from such a meeting, and as she had very cleverly managed to keep some Chanel No.5, with which she scented said hanky, I took it to bed with me, and luxuriated in dreams of glamour!

Local labour became short after a time, and so did the male prisoners of war, and this resulted in the women folk being put to work on the land, growing vegetables and so on. Being unfit to dig, I was placed in the sewing-room, where I worked with six nuns. We were marched each day to a building outside the camp, which was equipped with sewing machines, and there we worked from nine till six, mending and patching Japanese uniforms, with a break for a mid-day meal.

The six sisters and myself were the sewing party, and as we marched each day past several camps and guard-rooms, we were expected to bow to the sentries. Sometimes we could get away with just a nod, but if the Nips were in a perverse mood, we had to remove hats and glasses, and bow almost to the ground. After that, we were searched, even though we had nothing of importance to hide. While in the sewing-room we were closely guarded, but we did manage to steal thread and occasionally needles, which were as scarce as diamonds in the prison camps.

The Japanese guards did not bother us much, but the officers did their best to annoy and embarrass us. They would come into the sewing-room, pull buttons off their clothes, then remove the garments for us to repair. During this time they pounded up and down the room, sometimes minus even a loin-cloth. They usually fixed on me as being the only 'non-nun', and came close to my sewing machine, hoping to annoy me into protesting, but as a nurse I had seen far too many naked bodies to be worried or upset, and would calmly look the offender up and down with contempt, until finally *he* blushed, whereupon he hastily covered himself, grabbed his clothes, and departed. At times like this, the nuns kept their heads well down, hiding under their coifs.

One day when we had been working late, we were passing near the British P.O.W. camp, when their 6 p.m. feeding gong sounded, and thinking we had already returned to camp, the men rushed out naked, and one boy who happened to see us, fished out a frying-pan from the hut, and held this in front of him! (These soldiers were reduced to wearing little except loin cloths, which had to be washed each evening, and meant that they remained naked until the following morning).

I could not resist a giggle at the sight of the boy with the frying pan, and thoughtlessly said "Oh Sister, do look!" Mother Superior's eyes twinkled, but quietly she said; "Sisters! eyes down please."

I was trying to mend one of my tattered shoes one day, while standing by a rubber tree near the fence of the British soldier's barracks, when a working party passed, and suddenly a packet of cigarettes flew over my head, landing at the feet of the first soldier and the guard, who immediately leaped over the fence and grabbed me, then marched me up to the Nippon Camp Commander who ordered me to go to the Guard Room together with the British soldier who had picked up the cigarettes. There I was made to kneel before the senior guard. It was useless for me to explain that I had not thrown the cigarettes, and that in any case I would have preferred to smoke them myself!

I was kneeling on sharp stones, with my arms above my head,—an altogether uncomfortable position,—when the Jap sergeant proceeded to auction me by barter as it were,—to the sentries. However, fortunately for me, it seemed that my value was not

sufficiently high, and two hours later I was released, to my great relief. It appeared that the American woman who had been responsible for having thrown the cigarettes, had finally been induced to own up. She was taken to the Jap Commander, who returned her cigarettes, and promised to let me go.

One of the most irritating factors during our internment was the unfathomable thought process of our captors. Though very cruel at times, on other occasions they would actually laugh at one's misdemeanours. We seldom knew which misdeed we had committed, and their attitude seemed to indicate that so long as *some-one* was punished, it mattered not *who* was the culprit!

I managed to keep a rough diary during most of the three and a half years of our internment, and the Japanese fortunately never found it, though periodic searches were made to discover any writing by the prisoners. I scribbled on any odd scrap of paper I could find, and concealed them between two thicknesses of hessian, which covered a rough wooden chair which had been made for me by a male prisoner at Christmas time one year. Unaccustomed to squatting like Orientals, we Europeans felt the lack of chairs keenly, and eventually all of us manufactured something suitable to sit on.

Accounts of internment by the Japanese are abundant, [?] do not intend to write more on the subject, but in the [?] chapter there will be certain entries from my diary [?] prove of interest.

Notes from my diary during Internment in Kuching

DECEMBER 1943

The second Christmas came and went much as the first one had done. We were allowed to attend a concert given by the British Tommies, and were seated in a roped-off enclosure away from the men, but near the Dutch Fathers. The show was excellent and we thoroughly enjoyed it. One of the boys had composed some very catchy songs, and there was a good female impersonator and several comedians. In addition, the Australian Officers had a first-rate choir.

21ST. SEPTEMBER 1944

Having had dysentery, I am enjoying two weeks rest in a tiny cubicle off the chapel, which had been constructed at the end of one of the huts. It is lovely to be alone for the first time in two years, and to have no other people sleeping within reach.

Before being taken ill, I had been acting as foster mother to two children whose mother was lying very ill in what was known as the Clinic. This may sound easy, especially for a nurse like myself, but truth to tell, the circumstances were far from being so. The amount of space allotted to the three of us was 12' x 7', and this included sleeping accommodation.

A shortage of soap, bedding and clothes, did not help matters, and the children had no toys, or even enough food for healthy young appetites. Cuts and sores were also a great worry, especially as such things easily turn septic in the tropi[cs] and we had almost no medical supplies of any sort.

There was one hurricane lamp to light a barracks of eighty feet in length, and when darkness fell, we could only retire to our sleeping places and try to entertain the children with stories. Toddlers had to be 'potted,' and when Ronald,—one of my charges,—Had to be lifted to do what he called 'Wee-wees', having recently watched the goat being milked, he once remarked,—'*No.* I'd rather do *milk*!'

Things generally are much the same here, very dull and dreary. The months are marked only by the new moon as it appears, and to which we solemnly bow, turning any money or silver we may possess [an attempt to stretch meagre funds to the maximum].

Rations remain the same, sometimes less,—and never too much; a very dull diet of rice and native vegetables. Once in ten days a small amount of pork is sent in, chiefly 'innards' and offal,—as the Nips get the meat. However, it does provide a little fat and flavouring for our stews, though a couple of pounds does not go far among 271 hungry people.

After 'Lights Out!' we discuss what we should like to eat and

wear, for we are always hungry, and our clothes are now threadbare. I have managed to make a sort of day shirt out of an old breakfast cloth, but sewing cotton costs the equivalent of one penny a yard, and a needle, (when obtainable), two and sixpence. Sometimes I manage to steal these from the sewing room!

Feeding utensils too, are a problem. Enamel mugs which we salvaged in the beginning, are now chipped, and [horrible] to use, and one dreads losing the only spoon, or having it stole[n]. Coconut shells now take the place of plates and bowls.

Another real problem is how to keep one's hair brushed, but I finally managed to exchange something in return for a large dog-brush.

We are also plagued by rats and mice which run about at night, and run off with our soap, or anything else that they fancy. One poor soul even lost her false teeth!

My two sleeping companions are Barbara, and on the other side,—Minnie Carlton, known as 'Carlie.' The latter was formerly the Head of the Primary C[hurch] of E[ngland] School in Jesselton, and while in camp, has been made Rations Officer,—no easy job. Carlie, with the R.C. Nuns, are responsible for collecting and weighing the daily rations, and staggers back pulling a bullock cart, after which she measures out the childrens' milk. Each child is allowed 1½ ozs a day, and mothers watch with eagle eye, to make sure that their child receives it's fair share!

Lately there has been a very serious outbreak of dysentery throughout all the camps. Our camp had very few really serious cases, though almost all were afflicted. There have been no deaths among the women, but the Tommies have had a grim time and have died by the dozen. All day we keep hearing the 'Last Post,' and a burial ground has been made in their compound, to avoid outside contact. On my daily walk to the sewing room, I now miss faces each day, and many poor boys are altered beyond recognition.

The soldiers are treated very badly by the Nips, and are underfed and overworked. Originally they had been sent to Malaya after only six months training in England, and many were far from

sturdy, or in the A1. [medical] category. Before becoming acclimatised to tropical conditions they were taken prisoner,—many without having fired a shot.

Soon many of these men exchanged their clothing and other items for food and tobacco, but many lost heart and just died. Those more able to battle with conditions managed to keep themselves reasonably fit and cheerful, but the majority are simply human skeletons with listless eyes, crawling feebly about their tasks. There are no medical dressings, and many have filthy ulcers, and large sores exposed on their hips.

The men are covered with mosquito bites which have turned septic, and also have scabies. The fatless diet is the main cause of many of their skin conditions.

We women draw the same rations as the soldiers, which though insufficient,—serves us better than the male prisoners, who do manual labour, and in any case, need more than the female sex.

Could [any] of us be transported to our homes right away, not only would our relatives be horrified at our appearance, but our language and manners would certainly shock them, especially that of the children, who so readily mimic their elder!

Among my companions in camp are some outstanding personalities and the following are a few of these.

Mrs. A. K.—a noted American novelist,[8] who proposes to [write] a book on our life here. She is much sought after by the Japanese Camp Commandant, as he has read one of her previous books about Borneo. He evidently holds the opinion that a cup of [coffee] given in his office, and a packet of biscuits as a gift for her small son, will ensure him appearing as a hero in said book!

Mrs. A. K. has an unusual appearance, being six feet in height, very thin, and with the stealthy lops of a Red Indian. She dresses in in a startling and very flamboyant fashion, in very bright colours, while her hair is worn in two plaits, one over each shoulder, thus adding to a slightly Indian aura!

M. W. was an opera singer, and still has a lovely voice with a Scottish accent. The Japs asked her to sing for them, but she pleaded

that her dental plate was short of a tooth. When they insisted, Mrs. B. produced an old denture, and the Nuns removed a tooth and stuck it into the place of the missing ivory, but *upside down.* So when M. W. stood up to sing before the Japs, and began 'One Fine Day' from Madame Butterfly, the first high note dislodged the tooth, which she removed in her handkerchief, continuing the aria. Only a few of us realised the worst, by her trembling hands.

Mrs. R. is a viola player of international fame, who travelled all over Europe before her marriage. She is tall and beautiful in a classical way, and though middle-aged, has a face as unlined as a baby. All her spare time is spent in sleeping, and she is a Christian Scientist who lives the most unruffled of lives. Her hands however, are ruined, I fear, through the manual work she has been doing here.

Mrs. C.—An American who was married only three weeks before the outbreak of war. She escaped from Manilla by junk, and was caught by the Japs here. Formerly a Crooner and Broadcaster she still gives performances in the food queues in [camp] to the irritation of other internees! She is attractive even when grubby and unwashed, which is most of the time, but a treat to behold when prepared to meet her husband on their once monthly meeting.

Mrs. B. formerly ran a dress shop in London, and is proud to state that she once worked for Molineux. He voice is fretful and her manner anxious, but she has a heart of gold. Much of her time is spent in making clothes for the children from odd pieces of material, and also in ensuring that she is always immaculately dressed herself.

With us are some animal internees, probably given to us in order that that they could be fattened up for eating. At Christmas time a small pig arrived, who was christened 'Selina,' but she became such a pet of the children, that we had not the heart to put her into the pot! Unfortunately, though, Selina was struck by lightning during a fearful storm, and died immediately, so finally provided us with a lovely meal! We were also presented with a few ducklings which were only 24 hours old. These thrived on what we could give them, and any scraps they were able to pick up, and when a few eggs were produced, these were allotted to groups of prisoners in turn. A turkey arrived on Christmas but did not last long, as he was put into the pot, and gave some flavour to the rice meted out 271 people just for one day.

5TH NOVEMBER 1944

The latest Japanese 'hate' is for the red[,] white and blue, and anyone wearing this combination of colours is either slapped, or marched off to the camp office for disciplinary treatment!

I find I am becoming an expert needlewoman, for in addition [to] patching clothes, I can now make mattresses, also mens' shorts, and mosquito nets. Each patch has to be perfectly round, and usually placed on dirty, smelly uniforms, so that this is a most hateful job.

Recently we had our first death in the womens' camp. This was a poor old lady who had been suffering from diabetes for years.

Two nights ago we were shown a 'propergation' film by our hosts. It consisted of Japanese military manoeuvres in Manchuria, followed by a love film which ended with the man in the case joining the army to everyones' satisfaction!

The performance was all rather dreary, but we all attended in order to get away from the camp for a short spell.

17TH. DECEMBER 1944

The Japs made an intensive search yesterday, turning us out of our barracks at 9 a.m., without any warning. All the doors were guarded, goodness knows why, for we have few possessions to hide! Fortunately, I was able to grab my chair which held this diary concealed in the seat,—and was permitted to sit on it,—being an invalid.

Later that day the Camp Paymaster announced that a Christmas canteen would be established, and that extra food would be available on payment. The charges were :—

Pork 18/6 a pound, chicken 25/-, and eggs 3/- each.

We managed to obtain some money by selling certain articles to the Japanese soldiers or natives, such as watches, gold, pencils, or bracelets etc: if we happened to be left with any of these things!

The prevailing feeling of homesickness is at present being increased by the sound of the Nuns' voices, as they practise the Christmas carols.

The English Catholic Sisters are quiet, and gentle, but the Dutch Sisters seem lusty and rather noisy, all talking at once, with no-one listening! However, they are all very efficient and cheerful. All of the Nuns pray a good deal privately,—as well as in Church, and sometimes I feel exasperated when one of them sits down near me in the compound, when I am myself seeking for a little peace and quiet, and am disturbed by a long period of murmured praying.

Life drifts on, and we are having a particularly hungry period, and can quite truthfully say that our mouths water, and that we 'slaver' as dogs do before meals. Some of us find it advisable to rise slowly after lying down, as due to malnutrition, any rapid movement is apt to cause dizziness or even a black-out. Our colour now is a greyish-yellow, due to the climate and lack of soap.

21ST. NOVEMBER 1944

Now I am in for a very dull fortnight, as one morning recently I awoke and discovered to my horror that my sight had become very dim. Later I realised that this was due to vitamin deficiency in our poor diet. Many prisoners of the Japanese suffered in this way, and became permanently blinded, when a few vitamin pills which were cheap and plentiful, could have saved their sight. (The Japs have plenty of these).

The female medical officer in our camp advised me to retire to bed blindfolded, and I was to lie there for about ten days. Meanwhile red palm oil was dropped into my eyes daily. This proved extremely painful, and the pain increased when ants crept under the bandage to consume the oil. As in the tropics, ants always attack the dead, I began to feel like a corpse myself! Thanks to my companions I have been able to preserve my sanity, as they did their best to keep me amused, largely by conversation or reading aloud.

At the end of ten days my sight seemed little better but it gradually improved when I was given oil by mouth, and a daily spoonful of powdered pig bones to provide calcium, which was made up in the camp.

11TH. DECEMBER 1944

Only two weeks to Christmas now, an awful thought. Little did I think we should spend a *third* Christmas here, though I am now resigned to a *fourth,* and also to spending another birthday in captivity.

27TH. DECEMBER 1944

Another Christmas over, which wasn't too bad at all. The Dutch Sisters gave each child some sort of toy,—perhaps a doll, exquisitely made from scraps of cloth and unravelled cotton. The British soldiers also made some carved wooden toys and a Christmas tree,—all of which were slipped over the fence after dark.

The tiny children,—who had been taught by the Nuns,—gave a little concert, followed by a sacred one by the Sisters. This was both picturesque and sentimental, as the Chapel was lit by only one small hurricane lamp. Our Christmas dinner consisted of rice and native vegetables.

On Boxing Day work was resumed, but at 7 p.m. we were regaled with a memorable dinner of chicken soup, rice, fried pumpkin and sweet potato. This we found very good, but too rich for the children whose stomachs revolted during the night, so that we had little sleep.

12TH FEBRUARY 1945

I have been in the sick bay again adjoining the chapel,—together with several Nuns, all of us suffering from the objectionable

complaint of dysentery. There are no medicines or special diets, so we just rested and hoped for the best. Happily my companions did their best for me by providing night attire and even sheets from their meagre possessions.

Lying in bed gave me time to think, and I began to worry a little. I shall be 44 next birthday, and hated the thought of these wasted years,—when I could have done so much—

Food is becoming worse, and so is Japanese aggression towards the male internees, and the Japs indulge in various for[ms] of torture,—for real or fancied offences.

14TH. FEBRUARY 1945

I am back in barracks once again feeling reasonably fit, though a whole stone lighter, which I can ill afford to be.

We are existing under a cloud of depression, due to absence of news, apart from grim rumours, and our hearts sank still further when we learned that one of the male internees has committed suicide following intensive interrogation by the Japanese. Although young, this man already had a brilliant record of service in the Government of Sarawak. Another worrying piece of news is that the Nips have decided that we women are not working sufficiently hard, so fifty are detailed each day to weed tapioca fields for six hours at a time. The ground is swampy, and under the glaring sun such work can prove very burdensome, especially for those who are unfit. There are only about fifty all told—who are in reasonable health, and active enough to do anything except camp duties.

My companions did their best to make my birthday a happy one, and I was the happy recipient of five eggs, one cup of *real* coffee, one tomato, and a sweet potato. These were the most welcome presents I have ever received in my life! Sometimes such little luxuries could be obtained by bargaining with the Jap soldiers, who were greedy for any little valuable or Borneo currency we might happen to possess.

The Nip soldiers received a minimum amount of pay, and had little clothing or any possession which could be used to barter with the natives in return for drink or tobacco etc:. In some ways, they were peculiarly honest in their transactions, and we were never robbed of our money or other treasures, except for papers and pencils, or any other thing which they thought might help us to make contact with the outside world.

The value of everything has risen sky-high. Salt is now £2.10 a pound, and sugar £5. Eggs are 4/6 each, and meat almost unobtainable.

One woman managed to bring in a quantity of soap with her baggage, and this she sells at £1. for a piece of about six inches long. My last towel has now disintegrated, so after washing I am obliged to shake myself like a dog until dry!

Another thing one longs for is real tooth-paste: Soot is not at all a pleasant substitute, though all we have for teeth-cleaning.

PALM SUNDAY

Excitement at last, and of the *right* kind! At 11 a.m. to-day American planes passed over and dropped pamphlets near the Airfield seven miles away, so we feel we are *not* forgotten. Since then there have been several raids and an oil dump was hit. The Japs claim that all the planes were brought down by their own heroic airmen, but this is an obvious lie, as the Nips here only have two small aeroplanes which rarely leave the ground,—and never during raids!

The only difference these happenings have made to our life here is that we have *less* food, and we have been forbidden to put our washing out to dry *except* when it rains, which makes for great discomfort in the huts.

Deaths in the soldiers camp are increasing, and all the inmates are emaciated and ill, but the Japs continue to work them until they drop. Owing to a chronic shortage of planking, the dead are no longer placed in coffins, but burned in shrouds made from rice sacks.

26TH APRIL 1945

Another air-raid. Ten double tailed planes flew over the camp, and it seemed that they were taking photographs. The roof of each hut now has the letters 'P.O.W.' on top.

During raids the Nip soldiers cover themselves with so many twigs and leaves,—as camouflage,—that they look like Burnham Woods! They then pop down into trenches in the ground.

Just recently someone lent me a copy of the 'London Perambulator,' and on reading this I became so homesick that I shed tears under my mosquito net, and thought how wonderful it would be to see the English countryside again, and smell the lovely flowers there.

If I am released, I wonder what I shall do? Just now I feel I cannot face hospital life again, or nursing.

It would be interesting to see oneself in a full sized mirror instead of the small portion visible in my present one, which is only six inches square, because I see changes in my companions, but cannot examine my own appearance properly. The others seem to have lost their female curves, and all of us go *in* where we should go *out*!

2ND. MAY 1945

The ideal religion to follow during internment would appear to be the Roman Catholic one. During raids two priests are permitted to come in and sit with the nuns, but the Nips have not suggested that we should have a parson with *us*! The Roman Catholic do appear to receive many favours, and perhaps the Pope has something to do with this?

10TH. MAY 1945

I have been allowed to attend the funeral of an old friend of mine,—a Mr. Byron,—who died partly as a result of starvation, and partly [due] to the amputation of a leg which was necessitated by severe jungle ulcers.

The grave was dug by friends of his from Jesselton, and I was horrified to see their condition. Some had formerly been strong men of twelve to fourteen stone in weight, but were now reduced to mere shadows of themselves, and weighed less than eight stone.

As we walked to the burial ground we passed the soldiers camp, and noticed that many of the men were just skeletons,—crawling about, as few were able to stand upright.

Even our toddlers received the same rations as these poor [souls], and the *children* are still hungry, so what must have been the suffering of those men, many of whom are hardly more than boys?

The Japanese guards are becoming more jittery every day, and treat their male prisoners even worse than before. Their favourite methods of punishment are either kicking below the waist with their heavy army boots, face slapping, or striking the head with a rifle butt, or alternatively a curious form of reprisal which consists of forcing two prisoners to strike one another until one falls to the ground almost insensible. This apparently amuses the Japanese very much.

There are however, one or two kinder guards, and the one in our sewing room is quite a pleasant little chap. He does not expect too much work from us, gives us occasional rests, and even sometimes slips us a potato, or a paper packet of sugar.

1ST. JUNE 1945

We are now undergoing a reign of terror due to an indiscretion on the part of one of the Dutch girls, and because of this the Tommies are being hounded and beaten up unmercifully. Yesterday a Punjabi soldier was hung from a tree by his arms—and beaten, and when a Dutch soldier tried to interfere, he was immediately knocked down and stamped on by the Guards.

This was witnessed by his son and daughter—aged 10 and 12.

When his wife made a protest to the Japanese Commandant, he,—as one would expect—, said he had no knowledge of the incidents.

Lately I have been acting foster mother again to two small boys, whose mother has lost control of her nerves and temper. They lived in a constant state of fear and apprehension, and it took a whole week before they could summon up enough courage to speak to me, or answer without flinching. Sometimes they would tell lies if they thought I would prefer to hear such,—rather than the truth. It really is pathetic how very little these children know of the outside world,—having been imprisoned for most of their short lives. On one occasion I remarked to one small boy, "Don't rush so; You are not catching a train," to which the child replied "How *do* you catch a train?!"

16TH. JUNE 1945

The reign of terror is abating, but has left many marks. One male internee was paralysed for a week following Japanese brutality, simply because he had not made his bow in what the Japs considered a proper manner. Also, the husband of one of our women in the camp,—is very ill, and we are all very distressed for this wife, who is a real Londoner, and has a heart of gold. Mr. & Mrs. Bidmead came to Borneo, together with their youngest son, as they had had such a bad time during the air raids, when they were in Epping, and Mr Bidmead thought that life for them would be safer and more restful if they joined him for his last tour. Now unfortunately, the boy too, has been admitted to the male camp hospital suffering with acute dysentery.

More excitement followed when a four-year old boy swallowed a piece of barbed wire. After much persuasion, the Japs allowed him to be taken to the civilian hospital in Kuching. There he was X-rayed, which showed the wire to be well down in the colon and he was then given large amounts of sweet potatoes in order to help things forward, and sure enough the next day, the offending wire made its appearance!

The child thoroughly enjoyed being able to eat so much more than he was usually allowed, and his young brother is now wondering what *he* can do to get so much extra food and attention!

25TH. JUNE 1945

Poor Mr Bidmead passed away, and I have just returned from his funeral. I am horrified at the increased number of graves in the burial ground. Deaths are now so frequent, that a party of grave diggers is now permanently employed, and given extra rations in order that they will have the strength to dig.

To-day we had a very long air raid, and there are rumours that Singapore has been retaken, though this was later denied, and also that Labuan was now in Allied hands, and Kuching is to be evacuated, and that we shall be marched twenty miles up country.

14TH. JULY 1945

We grasp at any rumour which sounds favourable, even though each one seems more improbable than the last, but in reality we have had no definite news of the outside world for months. To begin with we had factual news from the British soldiers, who had managed to construct a radio receiving set of sorts, with the help of someone's hearing aid! Later, it was feared that some woman might chatter, and so lead to discovery of the set, and as a result, only occasional 'safe' items came across.

The price of gold is soaring, and we are so hungry that we are forced to part with anything we may have left that is of any value. One woman paid the equivalent of £9. for a chicken so that her children should have food, and I parted with my last piece of jewellery in return for something to eat.

The Japs have actually given us some soap, so there must be something in the wind—

While inspecting my very worn clothing, I wonder whether fashions have changed very much during the years we have been

here. I have the remains of a pair of pyjama trousers which I bought for use during air-raids in 1940, and now realise that they have been reseated six times,—with rags.

To-day the Japanese Commandant has told us that the war in Europe is over. He says that Britain has turned Communis[t] to please Russia, and is quarrelling with U.S.A. over Germany. He added that Hitler and Mussolini are dead. Also that there had been a general election in England, and that 80% of the British troops had refused to come to the Far East to continue the war. As an after thought he said that Labuan—, a nearby Island—, was now in American hands. What he forgot to mention was that Russia had declared war on Japan!

"Can it really be true . . . ?"

Papers of Miss H. E. Bates. 91/35/1. IWM.

17TH AUGUST 1945

Can it *really* be true that we have reached the end of our tribulations? When the women went to see their husband[s] at the usual meeting in the pigsty, they were told by the men that the war was over. We did not believe this until the next day, when stores of all kinds just poured into the camps. Rice, pork, fish, and other kinds of food became plentiful, which indicated that better rations could have been supplied over the years but had been deliberately withheld by our captors.

The Japanese Commandant actually held a tea-party for the Headmen and Women of each camp, during which he stated that he was thankful for their co-operation over three years, and that he wept at the thought of the deaths which had occurred, and the hunger experienced, telling us that this was due to the American bombing of Red Cross ships! (This of course was sheer nonsense as food and particularly medical supplies sent by the Red Cross, had reached most internment camps in the Far East, but [were] not issue[d] until the Japanese capitulated). He then added that he looked upon us with affection,—as his children!

I could not sleep that night: It all seemed so improbable and I actually felt almost frightened at the thought of going [out] into the world again. Looking back over the years, I realised how comparatively fortunate we women had been, compared with the soldiers, who had the best years of their young lives wasted.

19. AUGUST 1945

It's actually happened, and our dreams have come true! At 2.30 to-day planes flew over and dropped pamphlets right into our compound. The Nips soon ran in to collect them, but we managed to grab and hide some. We have not been officially informed that the war is over, and we are carrying on as usual, deferring to the Japanese, and bowing to them.

23RD. AUGUST 1945

Still in ignorance of what is going on in the outside world, the Japs persist in saying that the war is *not* over. Nevertheless, they are furnishing the soldiers sick bay with bed chairs, and mosquito nets, and substantial amounts of medicine are being issued. Significant in itself, is the fact that the soldiers death list has fallen from ten to fifteen daily, to three or four—.

26TH AUGUST 1945

The Japanese Commandant has stated his wish to speak to all the women in the chapel. We duly gathered there, whereupon he said he had good news for us, and solemnly read one of the pamphlets which we of course had seen long before! He then went on to say that owing to the wicked bombing by the Americans the Japanese had asked for peace, in order to save the lives of millions of Japanese women and children, but that the Jap army wished to fight on. He was cut off from Tokyo and had received no orders, and we were to carry on as usual. Any unattached women with a

friend in the men's camp, would now be allowed to visit him for half an hour.

27TH AUGUST 1945

To-day seven planes came over, just skimming the roofs of our huts, dropping more pamphlets, tooth brushes and powder, which were much appreciated after years of cleaning teeth with soot or twigs. The soldiers received shorts, shoes, and blankets with instructions not to appear naked in future!

30TH. AUGUST 1945

At 11.30 a.m. today [a] sea-plane dropped twenty parachutes with packages attached. One fell outside our hut and was labelled 'bread.' Others contained flour, tinned rabbit, and other meat.

The goods were collected by the Japs under the supervision of Australian Officers who distributed them to the groups of internees. All sorts of what we had thought of as luxuries arrived; such as sugar, sweets, milk, bundles of clothing, and even fashion books!

The Tommies already begin to look better, and we women are making pillows out of the parachutes, for the sick people. When I went over to deliver some of these, I was horrified to see the condition of some of the men. I was pretty well hardened to sickness, dirt, and disease, but never had I seen anything like this in all my years of nursing. Pictures of hospital wards during the Crimean War show terrible conditions, but even those could not compare with the dreadful sights I met on this visit.

Shells of men lay on the floor sunken-eyed and helpless; [s]ome were swollen with hunger[,] oedema and beri-beri, others in the last stages of dysentery, lay unconscious and dying. They had no pillows or clothes, few cups, fewer bowls, or even medical appliances.

The R.C. Sisters immediately started cleaning up, and gave all the attention they could. By the end of the day they had made some improvement, but their task was almost impossible, as there were three hundred desperately sick men, many unable to help themselves, or to carry food to their mouths. Throughout our internment, we women had begged to be allowed to nurse the soldiers, but the Japanese refused our offer, saying that this would be indecent—.

One desperately ill soldier called out to me, "Are you from London? Please come and talk to me!" All those who were conscious were anxious to talk, and I was very touched when they told me that the sight of the ladies had helped them to keep going,—when we passed down the road adjacent to the camp, —looking so 'clean and cheery.' This surprised me, for I had often thought that they must hate us for looking reasonably well and fairly well dressed.

8TH SEPTEMBER 1945

A dreadful thing happened yesterday: One of the parachute packages broke loose and fell, killing a male internee, who was quite young and reasonably fit after his years of imprisonment.

We have been visited by two enormous Australian colonels from the Red Cross in Labuan, who told us that we would soon be evacuated to the island, and put into hospitals.

9TH. SEPTEMBER 1945

Yesterday the Tommies gave a concert, which was most entertaining, but also very sad. The female impersonator should obviously have been in bed; the crooner was carried on stage on a stretcher; and the leading comedian,—a man of about twenty-five, had to be held up to do his turn, which he spoke in a broad Lancashire accent. Nothing daunted him. Though 6 feet 3 inches in

height, this man weighed only seven stone. However, he used his infirmities as a source of humour; scratching his scabies etc:, and grinning from ear to ear. He succeeded in being uproariously funny!

The dancer of the team had formerly acted as agent to Miss Cicely Courtneidge. He appeared in Barbara's bathing suit, with the addition of two half-coconut shells in the appropriate place. Though this poor fellow could hardly stand alone, he forced himself to dance. As for the Band Leader,—whose name was Levy,—many of the tunes were composed by him, and were very catchy. In my opinion he should go far in his profession. (At the moment he works as a camp grave digger).

10TH. SEPTEMBER 1945

After the concert last night I went over to the male internees compound, to nurse a desperately sick patient,—one of our Government Officers in North Borneo. Having for over three years associated only with women, I felt shy at meeting so many men, but they were all so kind and helpful,—working under my direction, as the patient needed intensive care.

The first night passed quickly, but by the morning, I felt extremely tired, and found myself unable to sleep the next day, owing to the noise of aeroplanes. However, I felt happy to be doing a job for which I was trained. Unhappily though the patient died two nights later, leaving a wife and three small children in Australia.

11TH. SEPTEMBER 1945

The Army of Occupation arrived to-day, by air and river. A fine and handsome body of Australian men with a few U.S.A. Naval personnel. At 5 p.m. they took over the camps officially.

The [Brigadier] General [Thomas C. Eastick], a large man, made a speech, which was followed by another one made by an American Naval Officer dressed like a fashion plate! Our cheers made the camp rock, and the ceremony was filmed. Then the Japanese [commander] gave up his sword, and the Union Jack was hoisted.

12TH. SEPTEMBER 1945

We have had a Thanksgiving Service conducted by Australian Chaplains,[5] and when we heard that marvellous word 'Free', all of us developed large lumps in our throat, and found if difficult to speak—.

Afterwards our hut was invaded by American and Australian soldiers, also press photographers and reporters. They were all understanding and jolly, and nearly as excited as ourselves—not having seen European women for some time.

One of the men [who] had been responsible for dropping the bread etc[.] and the first pamphlets [was present], and I managed to get him to sign one of them, this paper now being one of my cherished possessions.

Later we were shown the secret radio made by the soldiers in their camp, and referred to by the code name of 'Mrs. Harris.' The set was made from scraps of corrugated iron and other oddments, and the stories of the brave men who operated it, would fill a book. It's construction alone, was amazing, and the number of narrow escapes when it was in use, and the continual risk of discovery must have been a nightmare!

Life has become hectic, and some of us now could almost wish for less excitement and more peace. Troops swarm into our billets and stay for hours talking endlessly. Never have I known such talkers! We have no privacy, even to change our clothes, and are continually being photographed from all angles. Evacuation is now in full force, and most of the sick who could be moved,—have already left.

15TH. SEPTEMBER 1945

Yesterday I went to a luncheon party given by Australian officers, together with other internees, and we were driven there in a truck thoughtfully provided with a long settee so that we could sit comfortably, instead of having to crouch on the floor, Nip fashion!

We visited the wharf, and it was so good to see shi[ps] flying British and American ensigns. The officers brought us back to the billets, and stayed with us until 6 p.m.

The Australians in charge of the evacuation take little rest; Nothing seems too good for us, or is too much trouble to carry out.

There are still many very sick soldiers now in Kuching Hospital,—which has been entirely re-equipped. It is grand to note their improvement in health,—many having put on a stone in weight within a few days.

Our late Japanese Commandant [Lieutenant Colonel Suga] yesterday committed hari-kiri, after being interrogated by the Australians. His method was to plunge a blunt dinner knife into his belly with the assistance of his batman. The second-in-command [Captain Nagata] also tried to do this, but without success. Then the Jap doctor [Lieutenant Yamamoto] attempted to cut his throat by rubbing it on barbed wire, but was told to desist by an Australian, who remarked "That's enough, my lad; You can have another shot to-morrow!"

Official orders to the Commandant from Japanese High Command have been found in his quarters to this effect:—

On August 17th

1. All prisoners of war and male internees to be marched to a camp at milestone 21,—and bayonetted there.
2. All sick unable to walk to be treated similarly in the Square at Kuching.
3. All women and children to be burnt in their barracks.

These orders did not endear the Japanese to the Australian and we were thankful that we had not known of them earlier. It seemed that we had only forty-eight hours to live,—before the actual capitulation.

We have been lucky compared with other camps. The official figures compiled later state the following:—

Prisoners & Internees in Borneo during the war	4,660
Known to have died	2,898
Missing and presumed dead	382
Alive in Kuching area	1,387

23RD. SEPTEMBER 1945

We have arrived in Labuan, carried by Douglas planes, which did the journey in two hours, travelling very smoothly. There we were met by Red Cross ambulances and driven 11 miles to a large tented hospital, which is fully equipped. Meals are served in a large canteen by Chinese girls, and we are strictly supervised by medical staff, who insist that we take their medicines. We are also given dental treatment.

A cinema is also provided showing films every night, and there is constant transport to the sea. I almost *live* in the [water?].

In addition to all this, we have been further helped by the Salvation Army, who came in with the Australians. The S.A. at once set to and made a rest-camp Cafe for the internees. They put tables on the beach with large umbrellas, supplied bathing costumes when needed, and handed out such luxuries as soap, toothpaste, and talcum powder.

It is curious how 'barbed wire friends' still tend to hang together, and so it turns out that I, and my particular cronies are all in one tent, and all enjoying ourselves! It is obvious however, that we are all growing nervous at the thought of reaching home and meeting other people.

Now that we are receiving letters containing news of home, it is only too obvious that for many of us the joy of our new-found free-

dom, will be tempered by sorrow at the loss of dear ones, either in the air-raids, or overseas. We realise too, that life in England may not be very easy now.

27TH. SEPTEMBER 1945

Yesterday we were suddenly told to prepare for a move, and are now aboard the troop ship Manunda, being treated as hospital cases. There is a certain amount of restlessness among us, but also a little pleasurable excitement, partly as romance is in the air, concerning a young girl from our camp, and a boy from the soldiers compound.

Frances, a pretty youngster with a charming disposition,—and Bill,—the young man, had exchanged smiles at a distance,—for over three and a half years, and recently during a water shortage, Frances, (like Rebecca!), had met Bill at the well, where he too, was drawing water, and from then on, they had an 'understanding.' The upshot was that they decided to marry one another while on board, so that on landing they would not be separated.

It was fortunate that Frances' parents were on board, and though taken by surprise, gave their consent, having taken to their future son-in[-]law on very short acquaintance!

We had a dental mechanic aboard, who cleverly made a wedding ring from an Australian shilling. Hospital sisters produced a wedding dress and a gauze veil, the officers dressed the bridegroom and his best man,—borrowed plumes,—and other oddments, such as shoes and a small trousseau, were provided by the rest of the women,—for the bride.

A simple but impressive service was conducted by the ship's chaplain, during which 'M. W.' sang "I'll Walk Beside You." This was followed by the cake and various toasts, after which the young couple departed to begin their honeymoon in the suite of the ship's doctor! I must also add that the nurses aboard provided the bridesmaids and a guard of honour.

2ND. OCTOBER 1945

We disembarked this afternoon at Singapore, and some of us were billeted at Raffles Hotel, which like the town,—is very dingy and needs painting. It is all so very different from when I was here before. The atmosphere had also changed since the earlier days of our release. I think our hosts have become rather bored with us, as they are now a little brisk in their manner. We miss our Australian friends, who were so good to us.

I was lucky in being able to get in touch with a doctor friend almost at once; [w]e were at University College Hospital together during the old days. He is an Indian, but very pro-British, so naturally had a very bad time during the Japanese occupation. He looks years older than he actually is, but was delighted to see me again.

4TH. OCTOBER 1945

I was so pleased to find that I could draw money from my savings account at a bank, as more shops are opening daily, though prices are fantastic; Ponds Cold Cream is 25/- for a small jar, and cotton voile 15/- a yard.

I am cheered at receiving three cables from home, and to learn that letters from me written after my release, have reached them.

23RD. OCTOBER 1945

We are now speeding towards England aboard the S.S. Ranchi, which is packed with troops and other ex P.O.W.s like ourselves. There is a good deal of sadness, as many have lost either husbands or wives, and there are even orphans travelling alone. In our cabin there are twelve women,—five of who[m] are returning home as widows.

Our journey home from Singapore was very like that of thousands of other troops and ex-prisoners. At Port Suez most of us were fitted out and given suit-cases etc., in order that we might look respectable on our arrival in England.

The last entries in my diary read as follows:—

24TH. NOVEMBER 1945

Last night we sighted the coast of England, and this morning docked at Southampton, where we were greeted by the Mayor, together with brass bands and cheering crowds, though most of us had to spend another night on board.

28TH. NOVEMBER 1945

Here I am, actually sitting in my sister Nora's flat,—by the fire, consuming chocolate which was given us on the train to London. Nora, Philippa, and the Coe family were all at the London terminus to meet me, and I was driven to the flat by the Red Cross. This flat is situated in the middle of Grays Inn, so peaceful, and overlooking lawns on both sides.

Poor old London! Such a different town from the one I used to know, and all the people look so tired and wan.

Sometimes I wake in the night, and wonder whether the three and a half year nightmare is *really* over. Then I think:—What of the future? It certainly does not look like a world of pea[ce] and plenty. I realise that at home they have had their own particular Hell. One can only hope that *whatever* happens, we shall have *PEACE.*