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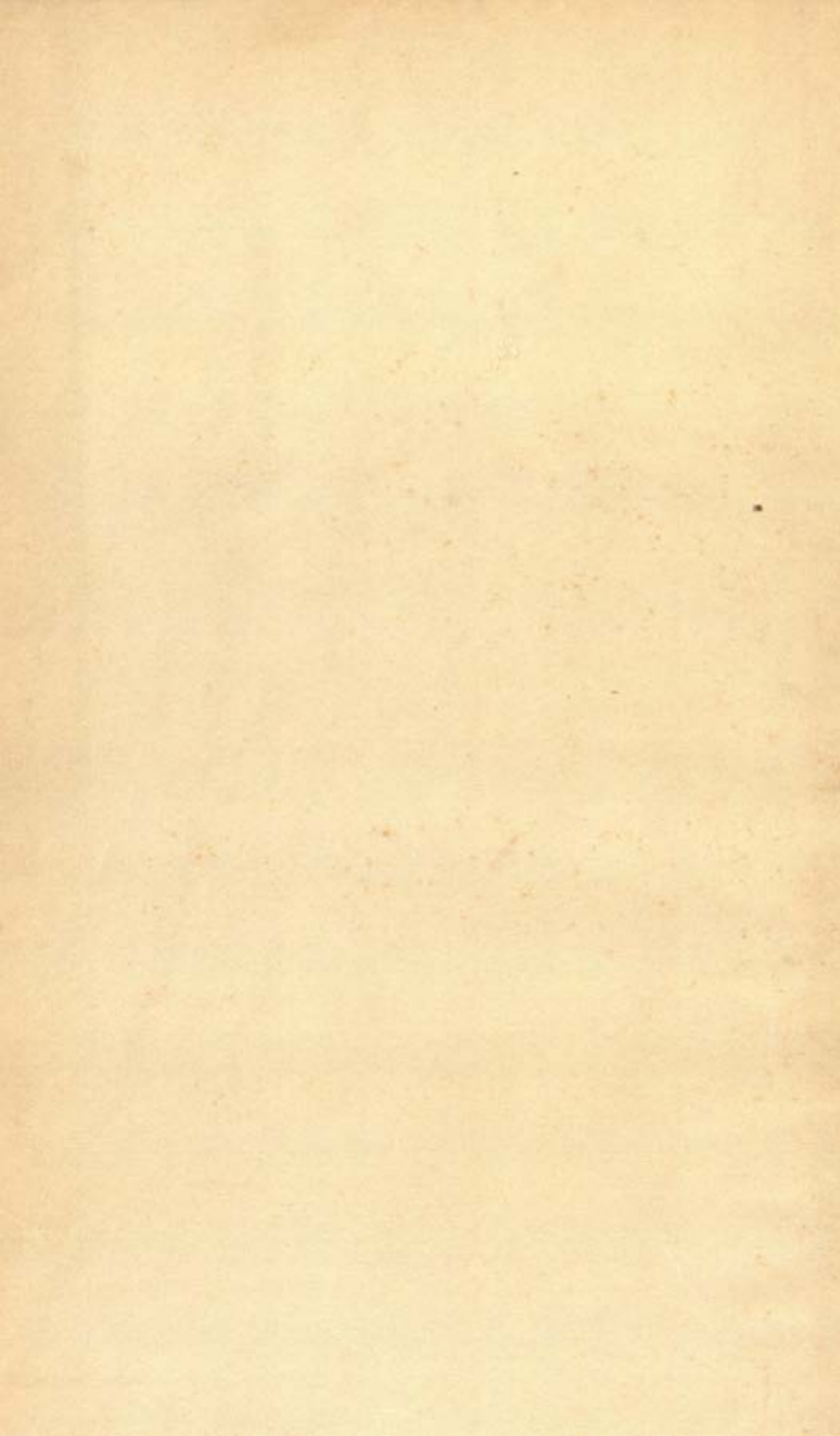
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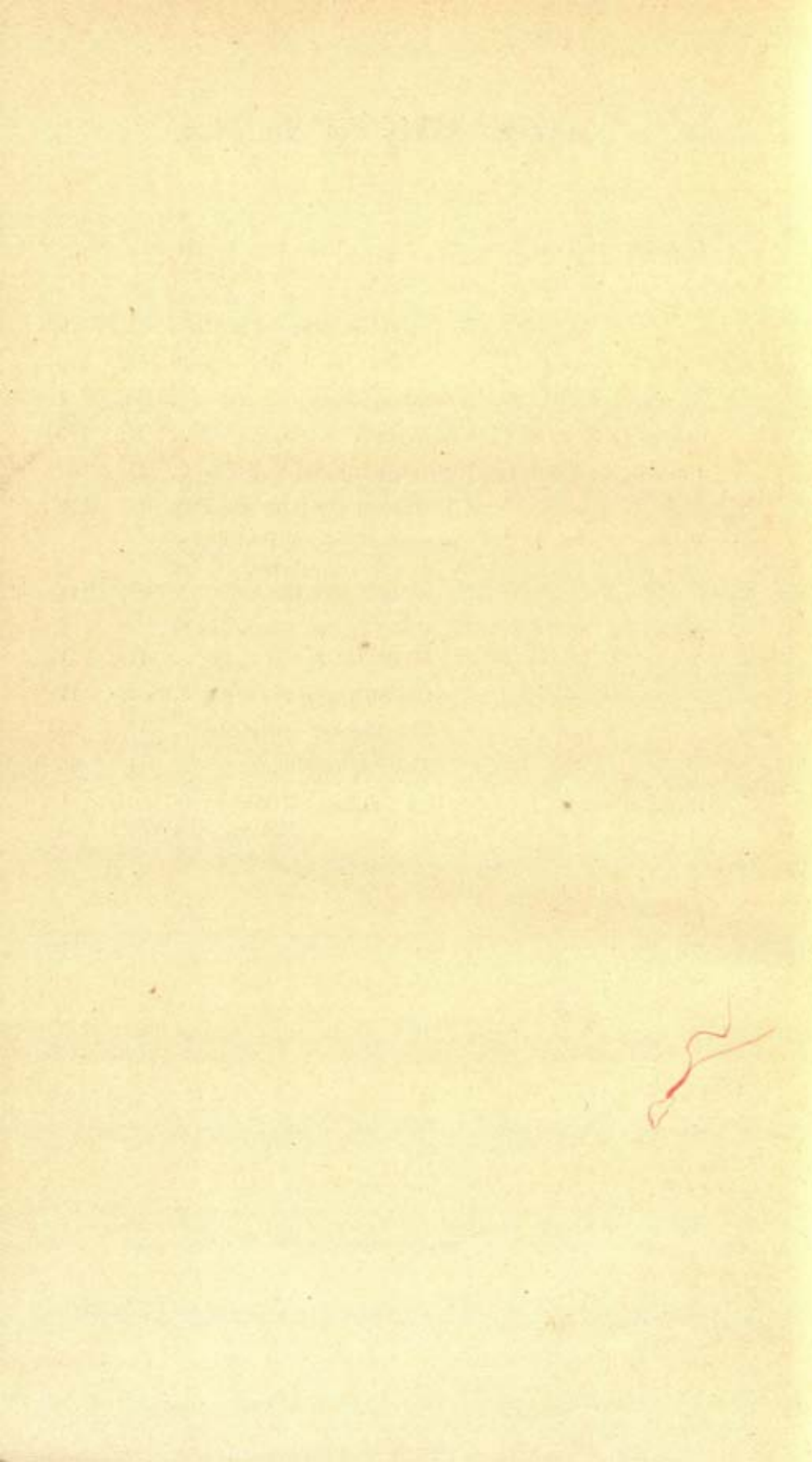
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Part I

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A Senoi Raftman.

A HISTORY OF MALAYA

BY

R. O. WINSTEDT,
C.M.G., M.A., D.LITT. (Oxon.)

Honorary Member of the Royal Batavian Society.

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FROM the absence of stone buildings, people are apt to call Malaya a land without a history. This sketch should refute such a baseless inference, while the specialist will know that on every chapter of the book a volume might be written.

No one can engage in first-hand research in all the fields of Hindu, Malay, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch and English history, so that like every modern historian I am indebted for the material of some of my chapters to the labours of others. But for the researches of Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, M. Mansuy, Mdle. Colani and Mr. I. Evans my first chapter would be worthless; so too my chapter on the Hindu period, if Dr. Coedès and Dr. Krom had not worked in this inexhaustible field; and my chapter on the English Pioneers is based almost entirely on the life-long studies of Sir William Foster. For books on Malaya, I owe most to Mr. L. L. Mills' *British Malaya (1824-1867)* and to the many papers of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., whose encouragement and example first turned me to Malay studies nearly thirty years ago.

I am indebted to Mr. Roland Braddell for calling my attention to a recent text of Marco Polo, which revives a geographical problem about old Singapore, and also for suggesting a plausible explanation of the folk-tale that sword-fish once attacked that port. Mr. W. E. Dyer, Professor of History at Raffles College, has read most of my book in manuscript and freely given me the benefit of his expert knowledge. Above all I have to thank Dr. Callenfels for implementing his published articles by verbal information on prehistory which he has generously permitted me to use.

I am indebted to His Highness Colonel Ibrahim, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., D.K., S.P.M.S. Sultan of Johore for Plates XVII and XX and to His Highness Iskandar Shah, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Sultan of Perak, for Plates XIV, XV, XVI and XX.

Mr. G. B. Gardner has kindly drawn some of the line illustrations and allowed me to reproduce Plate VI and Illustrations 19 and 23 from articles in his collection. The Society and the Museums Departments have provided me with plates I to V and VII to XII. Mr. T. D. Hughes, a Portuguese scholar in the Civil Service, has been good enough to read my chapters on the Portuguese period and to supply the photos of an old Portuguese casque. In 1933, Mr. F. N. Chasen, Director of Raffles Museum, Singapore, showed Mr. Hughes this casque which had been in the Museum for many years, its origin and history unknown. Mr. Hughes recognised it as resembling the type worn by the conquistadores of the sixteenth century and sent photos to Professor Edgar Prestage, who holds the Camoens Chair of Portuguese at London University. Professor Prestage agreed with Mr. Hughes' view and got it confirmed at Lisbon by C. R. Boscos, an expert on Portuguese military matters. It must be a relic of Portuguese Malacca.

R.O.W.

May—October, 1934.
JOHOR BAHRU.

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I

PRIMITIVE TRIBES AND PREHISTORIC REMAINS.

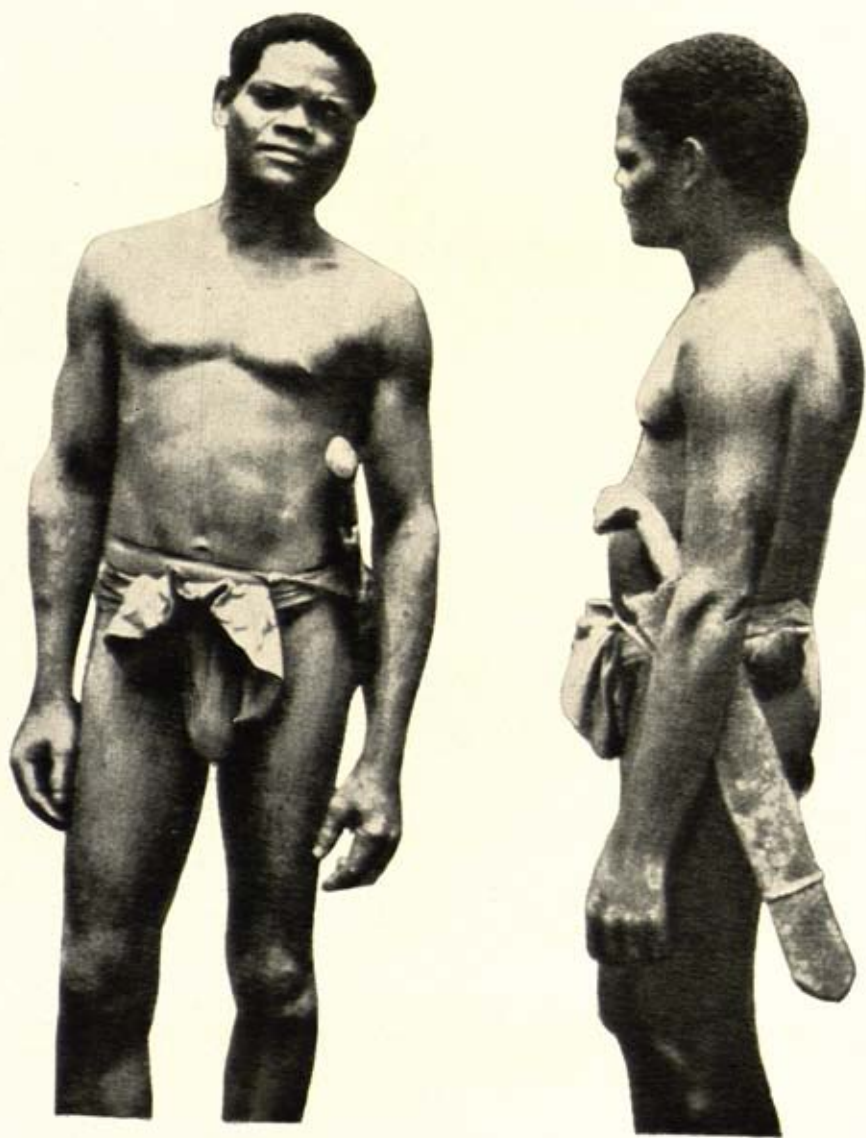
i.

Omitting Hindus, Chinese and other immigrants of historical times, the inhabitants of Malaya are of four races: the Negrito, the Sakai, the Jakun (or Proto-Malay) and the civilized Malay, though anthropology has not left the Sakai pure and finds even the Negrito composite.

The term Negrito was coined by Spanish writers to describe the dark woolly-haired pigmy Aetas of the Philippines, whose racial strain some anthropologists have claimed to detect in peoples throughout the Malay Archipelago and others see as an element in tribes of India and Indo-China. Such theories at present are guess-work but there must be relationship between the Aetas of Luzon Mindanao and Palawan, the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands and the Negritos of Malaya. In Perak these pigmies are called Semang, on the east coast Pangan. They occur along the west of the Peninsula from Trang down to the Dindings and they occur inland in Upper Perak and Kelantan. Some 2,000 in number, they are nomads, sleeping on a floor of sticks under a wall-less leaf-shelter which is propped on a stick and is hardly bigger than a large chicken hutch. They build neither houses, rafts nor boats. Their food consists of jungle fruits and roots and wild game. In Malaya as in the Philippines they used the bow and arrow but in Malaya they have borrowed now the Sakai blow-pipe. "Take from the Negrito his bow and arrow, which presumably he borrowed from another people, and nothing is left but a society that only differs from that of the apes in enjoying a greater skill in capturing game, in being able to communicate information to one another, and in utilizing that information." They have no food stores and no thought of providing for the morrow. They have no ruling class and no tribal organisation but live in independent family groups whose members are free and equal. Greed and cruelty, lying and quarreling, theft, murder and adultery are foreign to their simple nature, while the women are patterns of modesty though the scented herbs that form their only garment are worn above the waist! For religion they have fear of thunder and lightning and a hope that

for the dead is an island with fruit-laden trees. Have they brachycephalic bullet-heads or mesocephalic heads midway between bullet-head and long-head? Both types occur, just as individual Negritos are found with the wavy hair of the Sakai instead of their own woolly mops. When did they reach Malaya? We do not know. Did they arrive after the Sakai? Neither in Indo-China nor in Malaya do their skeletal remains appear before the late neolithic period. It is remarkable that in Malaya many of them have inhabited the coastal swamps and that they have hardly invaded the mountain range which is the Sakai habitat. Nor have they found their way to the southern half of British Malaya. This very ancient race seems to have descended from the continent of Asia in comparatively recent times and is the biggest anthropological puzzle of the area.

Taller and fairer than Negritos, Senoi (or Sakai) have wavy hair and longer skulls. Their faces are adorned with painted lines and patterns. Their weapon is the blow-pipe, a long hollow tube from which is blown a tiny dart tinged with vegetable poison. Their houses, sometimes communal, are well built and stand, like Malay houses, on piles. Some 20,000 in number, they consist of tribes or families under patriarchal chiefs. They plant hill-rice, sugar, millet, plantains, tobacco and, like old-time Malays (other than the owners of orchards and irrigated rice-fields), they move to fresh clearings as soon as the hill soil is exhausted. Like the civilised Malay they fear innumerable spirits of sickness and instead of interring a magician give him tree-burial so that his tiger familiar may rend his body and release his spirit, a custom of which there are traces among the Malays. On the graves of their dead they place food and personal belongings. Their language appears to be Malayo-Polynesian with an admixture of Mon-Khmer words. In the remoter mountains they are a typical Indonesian, alias Nesian, hill breed (on a substratum of Australo-Melanesoids), akin to many hill tribes in Yunnan, South China, Indochina, the Philippines, Formosa, Borneo, Celebes and Sumatra. Tribes inhabiting the foot-hills are less pure, showing not merely a very early Australo-Melanesoid strain but an admixture of Negrito blood in the north of the Peninsula and of Jakun blood in the south. The hybrid



A Negrito from Perak.

word Australo-Melanesoid is coined in order not to confuse the modern Australian aborigine and the modern Papuan with their very remote ancestors: in the present stage of anthropological research it is the closest attempt at definition possible.

An Australo-Melanesoid strain appears also as an element in the Jakun or Proto-Malay tribes of south Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Johor, the Riau Archipelago and the east coast of Sumatra. Skeat rightly derides the attempts of early writers to explain the Negrito by the assumption of a "wrecked dhow," but, as the excavation of caves and shell-heaps has shown, he is on very doubtful ground when he laughs at an explorer who sixty years ago guessed that Johor aborigines were "probably related to Papuans." So strong are the Papuan characteristics in some of the Johor Jakun that the first thought of the unscientific tourist is that some Negro stoker has been their father. However the Australo-Melanesoid strain is merely an element in their physical synthesis, as also is the Indonesian strain; for all Jakun tribes, both of land and sea, are Mongoloid like the civilised Malays, most of them having bullet heads and lank hair. The term Mongoloid has been invented for modern races, which show some or all of the typical racial features of the pure Mongols and Chinese. The home of the Malay race was traced on linguistic grounds to Champa, Cochin-China and Cambodia and now on cultural evidence is placed north west of Yunnan. And just as Proto-Malay has been invented for the Indonesian *cum* Mongoloid synthesis, so deutero-Malay or Malay proper is a term sometimes used to describe the present day Malays of the Peninsula and the coasts of the Archipelago, namely the descendants of the Proto-Malay, mixed with modern Indian, Chinese and Arab blood.

Few Jakun practise agriculture. These Proto-Malays have Batin or tribal headmen and memorize tribal days. The jungle tribes live on fruits and wild game, while the sea-tribes (the "Orange Lords" of a well-known tale by Kipling) live by fishing. Some take contracts for felling coastal jungle or collect rattans and jungle produce for the ubiquitous Chinese middleman. Wherever Sakai influence has not imposed Mon-Khmer, they talk Malay, a purer language than that of the civilised Muslim Malay. In

Pahang and Johor the jungle Jakun employs a large tabu vocabulary during his quest for wild camphor. Like many civilised Malays they believe that mountains and rocks, trees, corpses and weapons have indwelling spirits mostly maleficent. It is possible that the Jakun reached the Malay Peninsula by sea. Sylvain Lévi has adduced evidence that some thousand years before Christ the seafaring Proto-Malay gave India a pre-Dravidian civilisation, still to be traced in place-names and outrigger boats. In historical times the Proto-Malay sea tribes have played a part in the making of the Malay empires of Malacca and Johor. Barros (1553) was the first Portuguese to call them Cellates, which is usually, though perhaps wrongly, interpreted people of the *Selat* or Straits. Writing about 1600 Godinho de Eredia says: "Before the founding of the town of Malacca, the place was inhabited by Saletes, a race of fishermen, who settled themselves under the Malacca trees there. They used pointed javelins called *saligi*" (a word that has given its name to a Singapore road) "and pursued fishes with such address that they could transfix them in the depths of the sea, and they used no other weapon." When Malacca passed into European hands, the Jakun still recognised the emperor of Johor as their overlord: when in 1717 the capital, Johor Lama, was captured by a Sumatran pretender, his victory was ascribed to the fact that the Johor admiral bribed Raja Negara, the Batin chief of the sea Jakun, not to announce the advent of the invader; and in 1738 the Batin of nine tribes presented themselves before Sulaiman Badr al-'Alam Shah, Sultan of Johor, and were given grandiloquent titles.

Will science ever be able to define in the civilised Malay the various primitive strains it has already guessed? In Indo-China have been found skulls Australoid, Melanesoid, Negrito and Indonesian, but human races do not migrate in test-tube isolation. Slavery has been a great mixer of blood. Even in modern Muslim times Negrito blood is patent in many Malays of Upper Perak, and Sakai blood in those of Perak and Pahang. The founder of the noble house of the Laksamanas or Admirals of old Malacca was Hang Tuah, a Jakun from the island of Bintan across Singapore harbour. Royalty has always been cosmopolitan in its mistresses. Sultan

Muhammad Shah of Malacca (1424-45) married a Tamil, who bore him Sultan Muzaffar Shah: his grandson, Mansur Shah, married a Javanese, a Chinese and a Siamese, the last the mother of two Sultans of Pahang. Everywhere Sayids from the Hadramaut have married with Malay nobility. For two thousand years there has been direct continual commerce between the Coromandel coast and Kedah, while old Malacca was full of Muslim Gujeratis and Tamils. In the north there has been intermarriage with Thai or modern Siamese. Achinese dominated Perak for a century. Bugis colonized Selangor and traded and fought throughout the Peninsula. In Patani and Kelantan there have survived traces of Javanese culture apparently dating back to the Majapahit of the fourteenth century, while since British protection the coasts of the Peninsula have been peopled by Javanese, Bugis and Banjarese. There is no one type of civilized Malay.

ii.

Anthropology today has got a powerful young auxiliary in prehistory, the science of the cave, the cromlech and the kitchen-midden. If in all the caves of a certain area excavation not with vandal spade but with toothpick care finds layers of stone implements or other relics of forgotten civilisations one above the other always in the same order, then it can be claimed that the relics represent the cultures of races coming one after the other in prehistoric time. If with any one of those layers is always found, for example, the Australo-Melanesoid skull, then it can be claimed that layer represents an Australo-Melanesoid civilisation. Furthermore, if besides these skeletal remains prehistoric sites show progress in culture as one advances from Mongolia to the Malay Archipelago then prehistory confirms what the habitats of modern descendants of primitive races suggest, namely that migration was from north to south.

Only at three places in the Far East has a pure palaeolithic culture been found, namely in Mongolia, along with the Pekin Man and on the terraces of the Solo river in Java. Exploration of Malaya's river terraces might reveal further sites.

Later comes in south east Asia a mesolithic culture when man still used palaeoliths. Of this civilisation there are abundant traces.

In 1924 the French in Northern Tonkin and Dr. Callenfels on the east coast of Sumatra discovered bouchers, scrapers and other implements of a type belonging in Europe to the palaeolithic period though in the Far East ascribed roughly to 5000 B.C. Prehistorians

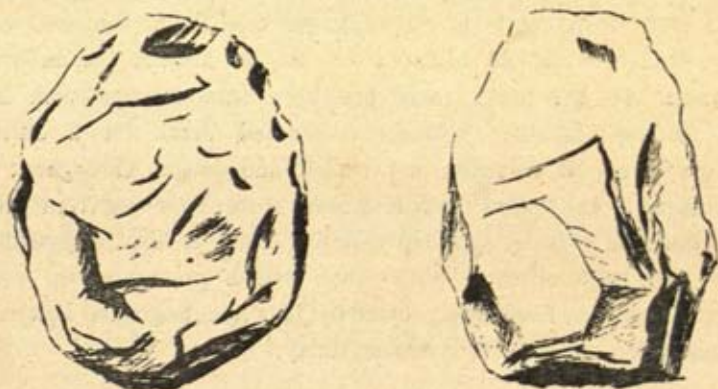


Fig. 1. *Hoabinhian palaeoliths from Perak.*

have agreed to call the artefacts of this type Hoabinhian* after the scene of their greatest incidence in Tonkin, and have distinguished three sub-types:—(a) large rough tools roughly chipped, (b) smaller tools more neatly chipped and found mixed with protoneoliths (or artefacts of rough chipped stone with only edges polished), and (c) still smaller tools or retouched fragments, rarely occurring with protoneoliths. Everywhere there is abundance of Hoabinhian tools chipped on one face only, the water-worn skin or surface of the other face being left as nature made it (Pl. III) but in Sumatra with two exceptions no other type occurs. In Siam and on the east coast of Sumatra (with one exception) only the Hoabinhian palaeolith has been found. In Malaya, on the other hand, excavations at Gua Kerbau, a rock-shelter near Padang Rengas, as well as at other sites in Perak have revealed two periods of Hoabinhian culture: an earlier, as on the east coast of Sumatra, with no protoneoliths and no pottery, and a later with both. Gua Kerbau also showed that grinding and pounding stones and grinding slabs were used throughout both periods, and that on their descent from

* *Note.*—Though Bac-Son was cited by Callenfels and Evans in their Report on Cave Exploration in Perak, the term Bacsonian has now been dropped and Hoabinhian substituted.



*Sumatra-type Hoabinhian Palaeolith from Perak
(upper figure, front; middle figure, back view).*

the north the Perak cave-dwellers had learnt the use of ruddle to give magical strength to their bodies and to the skulls of their dead.

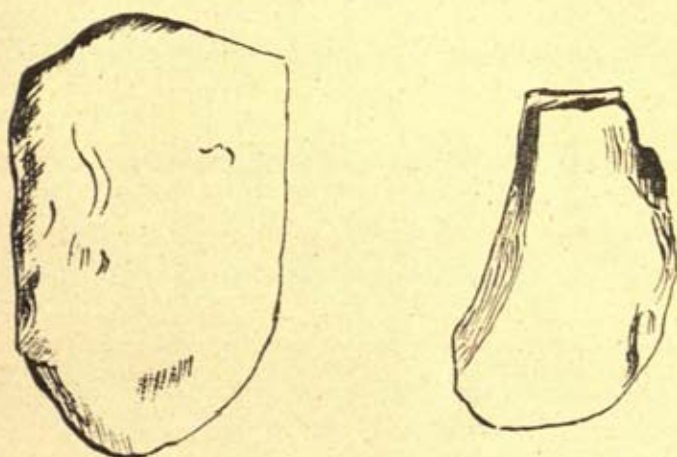


Fig. 2. Protoneoliths.

So about 5000 B.C. a mesolithic civilisation using palaeoliths spread on the east to Northern Tonkin and on the west to Sumatra. In Tonkin this civilisation developed a still rather rough series of protoneoliths with ground edges, that can be traced in Japan, the Liu-Kiu Islands and Formosa, through Luzon to Sarawak, Dutch Borneo and Celebes, through Siam down to Malaya, in Sumatra and in east Java. Whence did this polishing come? In Java's Sampoeng Cave above the lowest or arrowhead layer Dr. Callenfels found no stone implements but hundreds of bone and horn adzes, spatulae, fish-hooks and spear-heads. In the caves of Northern Tonkin among thousands of palaeoliths and protoneoliths were found a few horn and bone implements of the Sampoeng type, while in the south of Tonkin and the north of Annam excavations have yielded fewer stone and more bone and horn implements. Did a race emigrate from Asia to Java, abandoning as it went its stone implements for bone and horn? And is there any evidence what this race was? In the caves of Northern Tonkin, which produced both palaeoliths and protoneoliths the French got both Australo-Melanesoid and Indonesian skulls but alas! did not discriminate the strata in which they occurred. However in caves

having no protoneoliths were found no Indonesian skulls. The horn and bone layer of the Sampoeng cave revealed several skeletons all Australo-Melanesoid. And in 1860, in a Province Wellesley shell-heap, like those of Sumatra in which Hoabinhian palaeoliths occur, was found the same mesolithic culture with remains which Professor Huxley in 1863 identified as related to the modern Australian aborigines and Papuans. Dr. Callenfels has now excavated shell-heaps at Guak Kepah (*Shell-fish Heaps*) on the south bank of the Muda River for further evidence and has discovered not only Australo-Melanesoid skeletal remains and Hoabinhian palaeoliths but also probably another race and many ground neolithic axes of a type, of which hitherto only a few isolated specimens had been found, one in Selangor, one in Bangka, one in Java and one in one of the Selayar Islands near Celebes. So far this axe with its groove for a rattan handle finds its nearest parallel in a



Fig. 3. Neolithic axe from Guak Kepah.

Mongolian type. Its neolithic form suggests that it was brought south by a later wave of immigrants of a race other than the Australo-Melanesoid. The confused heaping of skulls and bones at Guak Kepah prove that all the inhabitants of these shell-heaps practised secondary burial, exposing their dead until decay enabled them to bury skull and bones in one small pile:—other and earlier Hoabinhian sites have revealed only skeletons lying on their sides

with up-drawn knees. Whereas everywhere else the whole corpse is ruddled, here the red shale powder was strewn only on the skulls. All the evidence points to the ancestors of the Papuans and Australian aborigines having passed down the Malay Peninsula, leaving remains in these shell-heaps and in Perak caves and physical characteristics in Malaya's aborigines.

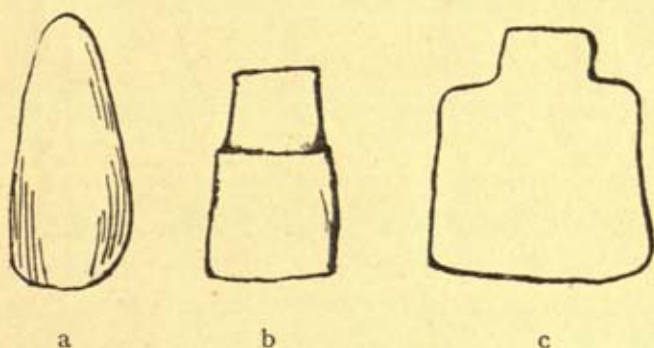


Fig. 4. *Malaysian neoliths not found in Malaya.*

Next we come to later pure neolithic civilisations when polished tools entirely took the place of chipped. The earliest neolithic culture of the Far East is marked by stone arrowheads and spread from Japan to Java without reaching the continent of Asia. So Malaya has not produced these neolithic arrow-heads of the lowest layer in Java's Sampoeng cave (arrowheads found also in the Philippines and Celebes); nor has it produced the sharp-necked Dravidian axe of India, Japan, Celebes and Guam, which has in cross-section the shape of an ellipse or lens and from its present-day use in New Guinea is sometimes called the Papuan axe (Fig. 4a); nor the "Philippine" adze with back cut away for the insertion of the shaft, a type found in Hongkong, Celebes and Polynesia (Fig. 4b). Perhaps the users of these types entered the archipelago only from the east. But the neolithic types that occur in the west, in Sumatra, Java and Bali, these are abundant in Malaya's rice-fields and near her river-banks. A particularly fine deposit was revealed on the Tembeling in Pahang by the flood of 1926. This deposit contained neoliths of slate with a cutting edge (Fig. 5)

hitherto found only here and (Dr. Callenfels tells me) in Celebes and therefore at present a puzzle.



Fig. 5. Cutting tools from Nyong, Pahang.

In the later of the neolithic cultures the axe is unknown through almost the whole of south-east Asia and only the adze is used. The axe has a knife, the adze a chisel edge; the axe is set longitudinally, the adze latitudinally to the handle. Malaya knows only two specimens of the dented high-shouldered neolithic adze (Fig. 4c) found in the Philippines, in Indo-China, in Burma, in Assam Orissa and Chota-Nagpore in northern India and in the Munda district of south India. Formerly the type was held to be coincident with the area of an Austroasiatic language family but the finding in Indo-China of skulls Australoid, Melanesoid, Indonesian and Negrito has led Dr. G. de Hevesy (identifier of the Easter Island script with the script of Mohenjo-Daro) to question the existence of such a family and to anticipate the ultimate discovery of several language families. There must have been wave after wave of races and languages and it looks as if the high-shouldered adze marks a wave of Indonesian culture that swept through India from the Further East later than the Indonesian wave which about 2000 B.C. carried the pointed neolithic but not the high-shouldered adze throughout Malaya down to Sumatra, Java and Bali.

How the megalithic culture of primitive and backward tribes like the Mundas of Chota Nagpore* and the Nagas of Assam ever

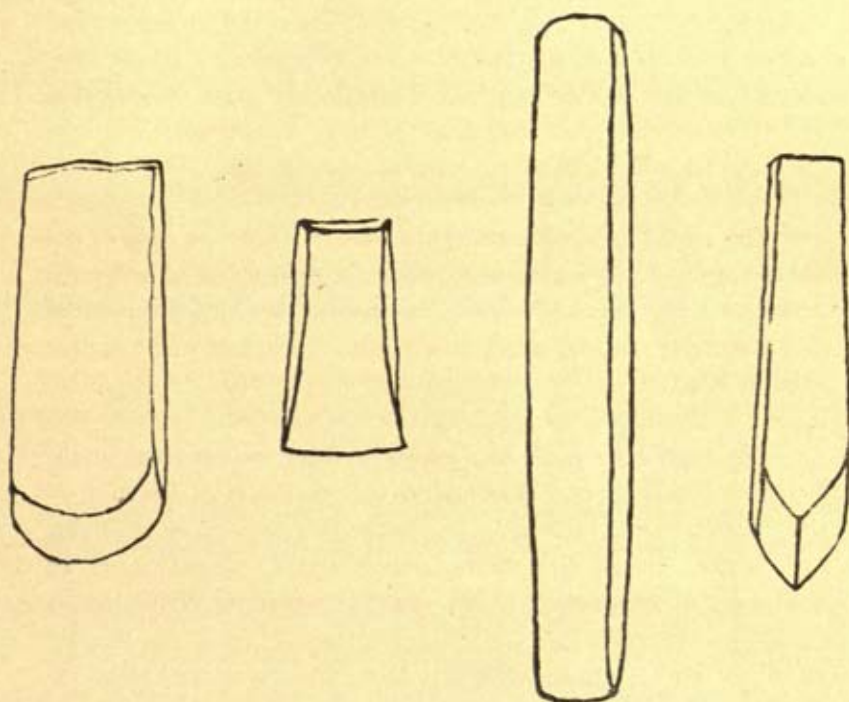


Fig. 6. Neolithic types common in Malaya.

reached Malaysia is a puzzle. But the event took place and the closest relation is with the megaliths of the Nagas. Three types of megalithic civilisation exist in south east Asia.

The first type uses a dolmen as a grave. Till now this prehistoric type has been found only in east Java, where the dolmen partly develops into a stone sarcophagus. As dolmen it spread to the Lesser Sunda Islands, where the dolmen is still used as a grave for heads of tribes. The stone sarcophagus of the bronze stage also occurs in Bali. Although so far not a single dolmen has

* *Note.*—Attempts to build any theory of earlier migration from India only on the kinship between the script of Easter Island and that of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are premature in the absence of further corroborative evidence from Malaysia. Dr. Paul Rivet, of course, claims to have found a Sumerian element in Oceanian languages and Sir Elliot Smith Egyptian influence in the banners of Alur Islands. But at present these are isolated phenomena that await scientific explanation.

been methodically excavated, the contents of several have been sent to the Batavian Museum by Dutch officials who had encountered them when new roads were being cut or canals dug, and the contents have always been implements of stone and bronze. Until now no iron has been got from the dolmen used as a grave. The absence of iron and the existence of the dolmen grave in east Java and its survival further east point to it as a relic of the first of the megalithic civilisations to enter the Archipelago.

The second type of megalithic civilisation uses the dolmen not for burial but for monuments in honour of dead chiefs or venerated ancestors. How the builders of these monuments buried their dead is unknown. The dolmen is still erected as a monument to the dead in Nias.

The third type built slab graves such as are common in the Pasemah highlands of Palembang in the south-east of Sumatra, in the Philippines and in Perak. In central Java they occur at Djokja and Tjepu. In all slab-graves iron is found, suggesting as we shall see that they belong to the youngest megalithic civilisation.

The three types are clear but there are several archaeological puzzles. Through Malaya, Sumatra, Java and the Lesser Sunda Islands down to Flores upright stones or menhirs and rows of such, called alignments, are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors. It is not yet possible to decide to which of the three types of megalithic civilisations these menhirs and alignments belong. In the Pasemah highlands they are associated with slab-graves but probably the men who built dolmens for burials and those who erected them as monuments knew menhirs and alignments too. Of these menhirs there is an example in Malaya at Tebong estate near Batang Malaka and there are many at Alur Gajah, also in the settlement of Malacca, where they are said by the modern Malays to grow and are called the "live stones," while it is quite possible that study of the many sacred places in Negri Sembilan may reveal more. Probably the Pangkalan Kempas stones (Plate XVIII) were originally menhirs. But the most important megalithic remains yet known from Malaya are at Berhala Lima, near Kota Baharu in Kelantan. The monument, which clearing may show to

be a dolmen grave, appears to consist of two large upright stones surrounded by a few others. To the north and south of the central group are rows of huge boulders forming alignments. To the north of the central group is a "seat of honour" for the ancestral spirit, in whose honour the whole group was raised. Such seats never occur in Europe but have been found among the Nagas and on the island of Nias off Sumatra. A dolmen memorial stone and menhirs in alignment would indicate that Berhala Lima was erected by the second wave of megalith-builders who, as we shall see, entered Malaya and the Archipelago about 300 B.C. Or the clearing of the central group may reveal a burial site, relic of the last of the three waves, which wave interred its dead in underground slab-graves and stone sarcophagi, that from the presence of iron implements can hardly antedate the Christian era, seeing how late bronze was in common use.

Slab-graves have been found in Perak at Slim, at Sungkai and at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam river—one has been rebuilt in the garden of Taiping Museum. With them have been found not



Fig. 7. Slab grave from Sungkai, Perak.

only cornelian beads, cross-hatched stone pounders, rough pottery, bronze utensils but iron socketted tools. These iron tools have been

unearthed also at Klang (along with a bronze bell-like object), at Tanjong Rambutan and Sengat in Kinta, and at Bengkong in

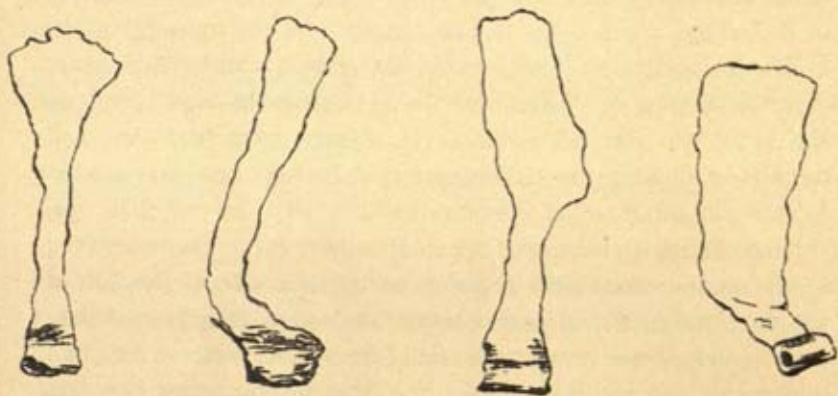


Fig. 8. Malayan types of prehistoric iron tools.

Batang Padang. At Bukit Jong on the Tembeling river (Pahang) close to a stone quoit-disc, a cross-hatched stone poulder, cord-marked pottery and fragments of bronze, were discovered thirteen

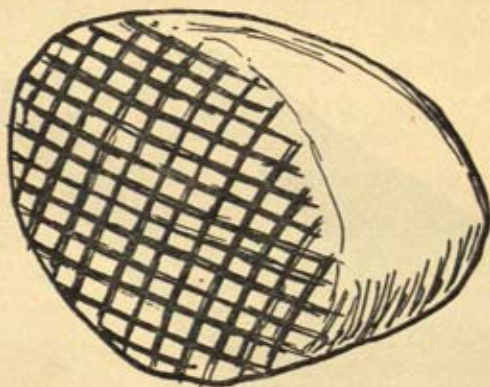


Fig. 9. Cross-hatched stone poulder.

iron tools including a spear-head and several of these socketted implements. From the wash-boxes of Kenaboi mine at Jelebu have come two similar quoit-discs, a long neolith and two bronze axes resembling specimens from Rasa and Tanjong Malim and Indo-China. Two points must be noted. Firstly though iron was known, yet as late as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.) bronze was still used in China for weapons, so that Malaya's iron tools may

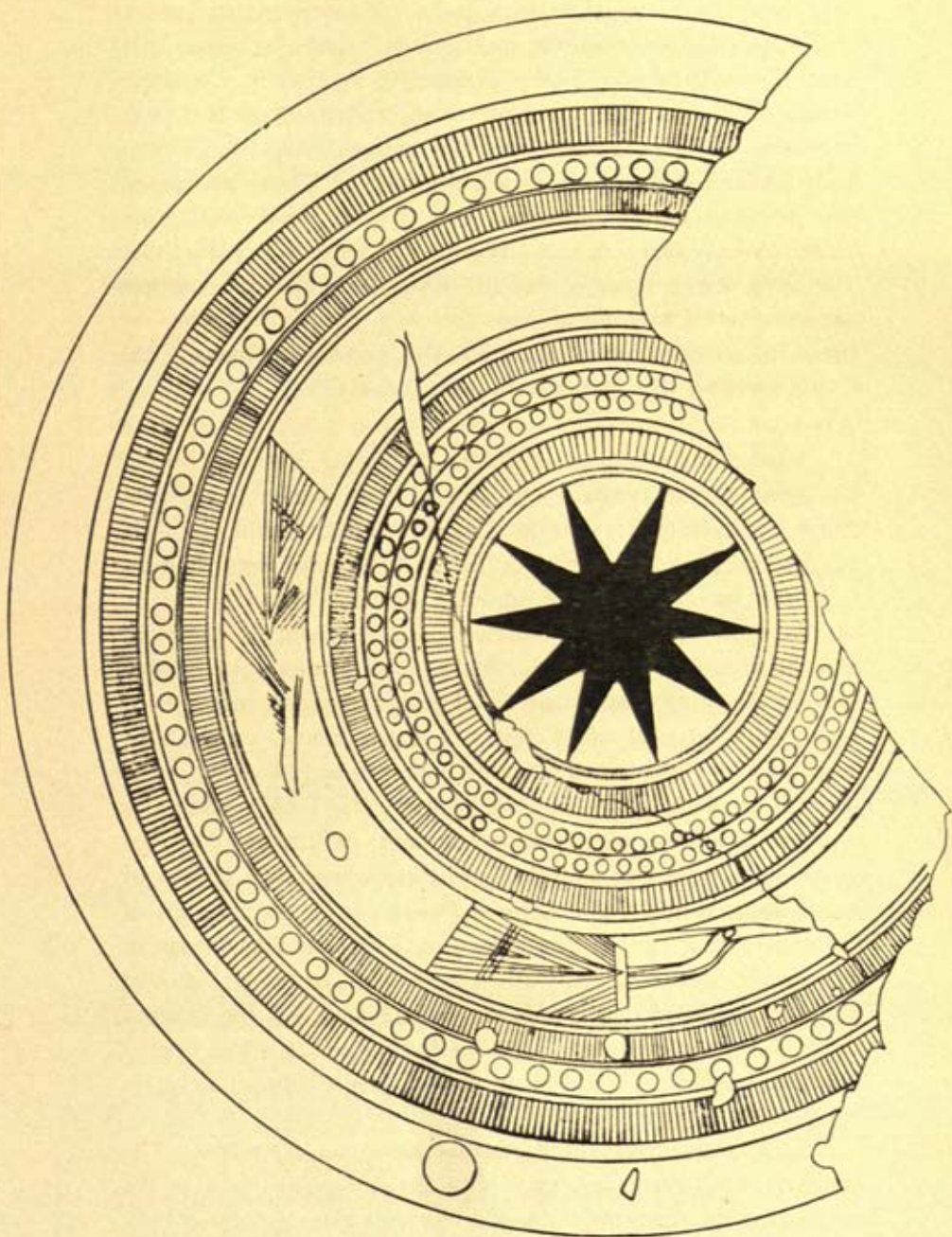


Fig 10. Tympanum of Indonesian drum from Pahang.

have come like its megaliths from India. Secondly the association of Malaya's Indian megaliths with purely Indonesian bronze is a lucky chronological coincidence, enabling us to date the megaliths. Various Indonesian bronze objects and carvings of drums from Pasemah in south Sumatra resemble ancient types from Indo-China, where at Dong-son in the province of Thanh-hoa graves gave up some twenty ceremonial bronze drums along with other bronze objects belonging to the Han period, a sword and coins that date the graves not earlier than 50 A.D. Dr. Callenfels considers the Dong-son drums already decadent and puts the beginning of Indo-China's bronze period about 500 B.C. and the beginning of the bronze period of the Archipelago about 300 B.C.

Besides Indonesian neoliths the Tembeling river in Pahang has given up the tympanum of one of these ancient ceremonial drums common in Java as in Tonkin, while a mould for their manufacture has been found in Bali. At Pasemah two different megaliths have carved representations of these bronze drums: in one the drum is carried by warriors on an elephant, in the other it is between two men on a buffalo. The figures have "round eyes, flattened nose-base, short broad nose, prognathic jaws, a large mouth with extremely thick lips and a pronounced angle to the lower jaws." These carved megaliths appear to be Indonesian and to show no Hindu influence direct or indirect. In Tonkin where also they are associated with socketted bronzes, neoliths, cord-marked pottery and shanks of wrought iron, these drums bear designs of magic boats identical with those still used for Dayak funerals, of figures pounding rice, of figures blowing a peculiar Dayak musical pipe and of birds identical with those on the Tembeling and Java gongs. The Dayaks, of course, are Indonesians. All the evidence so far points to a prehistoric period of Indonesian art, whose destiny it was to produce its consummate flower under Hindu influence.

So, on their arrival the Hindus found no race of savages. The study of beads has traced trade with the Archipelago back to the overland route across Asia followed centuries later by Marco Polo. In a dolmen in east Java of the third century B.C. have been unearthed blue Greek beads with white eyes that belong to the sixth century before Christ. With them were found no beads of semi-

precious stones, such as later came in abundance and always from India; while imitations of these Greek beads were made in ancient China. These two facts go to show that Greek beads, like the Malay, reached the Archipelago from Yunnan. Some late neolithic chisels must have been designed for wood-carving, and already the Indonesians of the Celebes had developed that liking for carving seen today in the typical Indonesian homes of the Dayak and the Batak. The Indonesian was already a carver in stone and a worker in bronze; he worshipped bulls and so knew enough of agriculture to keep domestic cattle and irrigate rice-fields, while, as we have said, perhaps some thousand years B.C. the Proto-Malay knew enough of seamanship and stars to find his way to India in outrigger boats*. Such pursuits and such traffic postulate an organized society.

* *Note.*—The linguistic evidence suggests that it was not till the Hindu period the Malay reached Madagascar but there may have been earlier waves.

II

THE HINDU PERIOD.

i.

PALLAVA INFLUENCE.

✓ Further study of beads found at Kuala Selinsing in Perak, in Java, Borneo, Celebes and the Philippines may corroborate Chinese accounts of Indian voyagers carrying their wares to China as far back as the 7th century B.C. and prove that the old Indian trade with the Malay archipelago in beads of cornelian and other semi-precious stones (stopped only by the Portuguese capture of Malacca) antedated by centuries the coming of Hindus at the beginning of the Christian era. ✓ Not only have ancient Greek beads been discovered in a dolmen in Java but Roman trade beads are common in the Celebes.

✓ There is no evidence that the arrival of Hindus in the Malay world was sudden or violent or overwhelming. A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and those rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars, the latter stone-like agglomerates of salts found in coconut, jack-fruit and bamboo, snake, pig, monkey and dragon, and universally esteemed as antidotes against plague and poison. Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring, as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude. For daily speech the newcomers, evidently because they were sparse, adopted the languages of Malaysia and introduced very few words of their own colloquial Prakrit. In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kingship, just as more than a thousand years later Muslim Tamils married into the families of the Sultans and Bendaharas of Malacca. ✓ The coming of the Hindu appears to have been very similar to the later arrival of the Muslim from India and the Hadramaut, the Brahmin and Kshatriya taking the place to be usurped by the Sayid. Buddhist priests also came, among them



A Pallava inscription-from Cherok Tokun, Province Wellesley; a Pallava seal from Kuala Selinsing, Perak and a ring from Kuala Selinsing.

Gunavarman, a Kashmiri prince who in the fifth century A.D. visited Java and made many converts to Hinayana Buddhism before in 431 he died at Nankin.

Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula both furnished ports of nearest call on the way to the Further East and perhaps the isthmus of Kra provided the first route to Champa (in Annam) where the earliest Indian inscriptions, relics of the third century A.D., have been found. The first traders of historical time came from the country of the Pallavas, that Coromandel coast whose ships have continued to visit Kedah and Penang until today. These southern Indians brought their own Pallava alphabet, used Sanskrit for their inscriptions and were followers of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. In the fourth century A.D. this Pallava civilisation left Brahmin sacrificial posts at Kutai in east Borneo, Saiva inscriptions in Champa and Cambodia, and Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah and in Province Wellesley which before 1800 was a part of Kedah. Under the floor of a ruined brick building ten to twelve feet square near Bukit Meriam was unearthed a slate slab with a Buddhist inscription in Sanskrit and the oldest Pallava alphabet:—

“The Laws which arise from a cause, Tathagata told about that, and what is their suppression has thus been told by the great Sramana.

“Action (*karma*) accumulates through lack of knowledge. Action is the cause of re-birth. Through knowledge (of the nature of things) it comes about that no action is effected, and through absence of action (one) is not born (again).”

The Buddhist verse and the smallness of the floor space suggest the ancient building was the cell of a monk. Another Pallava inscription of the same date or older occurs on a stone dug up in the north of Province Wellesley. This stone seemed to have been part of a column. On it was represented a *stupa*, the under-part formed by a sphere instead of the usual hemisphere, while above the sphere rose a row of so-called umbrellas. The inscription is identical with the second verse of the Bukit Meriam slab but along the edge is added “(the gift) of Buddhagupta, the great

sailor, whose abode was at Raktamrttika " or Red Earth. Probably the stone was the gift of a pious sailor to a temple. This may have been " the Buddhist temple in Province Wellesley," where Colonel James Low found a small coffee-pot carefully built up with bricks four or five feet below the surface—" the lid was firmly baked, but on being handled, the vessel crumbled slowly to pieces—within it was found the figure of a fowl constructed of thin silver wire, which also fell to pieces on being handled. But the bill and feet were perfect, being made of an alloyed metal, chiefly gold." And " amid some ruins of ancient temples in Province Wellesley," Low also found a bronze dish ornamented in alto-relievo with a Buddhist inscription in Sanskrit.

On the Tarum, principal river of west Java, Pallava immigrants left four rock-inscriptions of the middle of the fifth century, one of them commemorating the carved footprints of a royal elephant, three of them dedicated to Purnavarman, Brahmin king of Taruma, wearer of impenetrable armour, destroyer of cities and builder of a canal. Taruma, named perhaps after Tarumapura ten miles north of Cape Comorin, was like Selinsing on the Perak coast a centre for the Indian bead trade. Along the beach near Kuala Selinsing have been picked up hundreds of cornelian, glass (or paste) and shell beads, portions of bracelets in stone and in blue green glass, some pottery and cross-hatched pottery stamps. The commonest types of glass-beads are opaque yellow, opaque blue, opaque green, clear blue, clear yellow, dark red, and orange paste with dark-red striations. One type has " a core of non-translucent yellowish paste, plated with gold-leaf which is covered with clear yellow glass." Selinsing and Taruma date back to times before history and probably existed for centuries. In a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree was found at Selinsing a cornelian seal engraved with the words Sri Vishnuvarmmasya in Pallava characters of the seventh century A.D. or later. ✓ The seventh and the eighth centuries saw the Pallavas at the height of their power. Perhaps it was the Ganga-Pallavas who gave the name of Ganga-Nagara to a settlement near the Dindings a little above the Perak river, destined according to Malay tradition to be destroyed by the Chola raids of the eleventh century.

At Cherok Tokun in Province Wellesley Colonel Low discovered rock inscriptions, still extant, one nearly in the same type of Pallava characters as the Buddhagupta inscription, another reminiscent of sixth century script in inscriptions of the Deccan and Cambodia. ✓ As a seventh century halting place on the way to Tamralipti in India the Chinese traveller I-tsing mentions Kichthcha which may be Kedah.

✓ For the most famous kingdom in Malaya lay probably where Kedah and Ligor lie today. The word Langkasuka now survives only as the name of a tributary to an upper reach of the Perak river, but at Sungai Batu, not far from Kuala Merbok and at the foot of Kedah Peak, there have been found a statue of Durga triumphing over Mahishahura in the form of a bull, the head of Nandi Shiva's bull and a *yonī*, while on the peak itself is an unidentified structure of cut granite and bricks that have been carried 4,000 feet up a mountain that has abundance of sand-stone. The "Kedah Annals" relate that Sri Mahawangsa, a ruler of Kedah, removed to Serokam from Langkasuka, because the latter was too far from the sea. ✓ According to Chinese chronicles Buddhist Lang-ya-sieu was founded about 100 A.D., boasted of walled towns and produced much aloë-wood and camphor oil. Its people had long hair and went bare to the waist but wore a cotton skirt, while the king and nobles affected thin flowered shawls, gold girdles and gold earrings. The king went abroad on an elephant, seated under a white howdah and escorted by soldiers, drummers and followers carrying fans and banners. One of the princes had lived in India as an exile and had married the daughter of an Indian king. His son Po'-ch'o-to (or Bagadatta according to Dr. Krom) sent an envoy A'-ch'o-to to China in 515 with a letter extolling Buddhism. Other missions to China are recorded in 523, 531 and 568. ✓ About 692 A.D. I-tsing writes of Lang-ka-su; a Negapatam inscription of 1005 A.D. speaks of Langasogam and a Tanjore inscription of 1030 mentions Ilanggasogam "tameless in terrible battles." The Buddhist Chau-Ju-Kua mentions a Lang-ya-si in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Modern scholars accept all these place-names as variants of Langkasuka and (rejecting an identification with Johor) place this state in northern Malaya. It outlived

the period of southern Indian influence, which by the eighth century was passing. A Sanskrit inscription dated 760 A.D. and found at Dinaya to the east of central Java is already in Kawi script, a Javanese development of the Pallava alphabet. But in the seventh century, just before Pallava influence waned, India had sent a strong wave of Hindu immigrants, fleeing perhaps from war and disturbance, who for the first time substituted for thatch and wood the stone temples that on the Dieng plateau in Java have survived to this day.

ii.

THE EMPIRE OF SRI VIJAYA—INCLUDING THE MALAY PENINSULA.

The next wave of Indian influence was from the north and brought the Nagari script, a revival of Sanskrit and Mahayana to replace Hinayana Buddhism. It was from Bengal and Magadha that Sumatra, Java and Cambodia eventually got that blend of Mahayana Buddhism with Saiva rites and Tantric orgies, which at once shocked men's minds and inclined them to mysticism, making ready the path for Islam. Was there any one Malayan centre of its distribution?

From the fifth century A.D. the Chinese annals mention a place Kan-da-li or Kan-t'o-li, which even the most recent criticism places in Sumatra. Kan-t'o-li was situated in the southern sea; its customs and manners were about the same as those of Cambodia and Siam. It produced excellent areca-nuts. One of its kings, Iswaranarendra sent an Indian envoy, Rudra, with valuable presents of gold and silver to Hia-wu, an emperor who ruled China from 454 to 464 A.D. In 502 Kan-t'o-li's ruler was a Buddhist, Gautama Subhadra, who was succeeded by his son Priyavarman or Vijayavarman. Both these "barbarians" sent "tribute" not from any sense of duty, but, as a Chinese chronicler remarked 800 years later, "because they sought the advantages of trade and the imperial presents." "Tribute" was also sent by Kan-t'o-li in 519, 520 and 563. In Sanskrit Kandali means "banana."

Early in the Christian era Hinduised Sumatrans colonized Madagascar and introduced their own language, so that modern



Buddha from Pangkalan, Ipoh, Perak.

Malagasy has helped in the interpretation of a seventh century Bangka inscription of Sri Vijaya and just before 1154 (when the Arab Idrisi published his famous *Book of Roger*) sailors from Zabug, which may be identical with Sri Vijaya, could still understand Malagasy when they traded with the distant island.

For in 644 Chinese records (the *Ts'o fou yuan kouei*) refer to Mo-ho-sin (still unidentified), and to Mo-lo-che or Malayu which may be old Jambi, and a few years later they speak of Che-li Fo-che alias Sen Fo-ts'i alias San-bo-tsai which Ming chronicles (1368-1643) aver was "formerly called Kan-t'o-li." Che-li Fo-che has been identified by a distinguished French scholar, Dr. G. Coedès, with an ancient empire, (whose capital in 683 A.D. was Palembang) namely Sri Vijaya, which empire is generally accepted as the Sribuza or Zabug of Arab geographers. From 670 until 741 Che-li Fo-che was sending envoys to China,—once in 724 its crown prince, Kumara, with a present of negro or negrito girls. Quitting Canton in 671, the Chinese Buddhist, I'tsing, spent six months at its capital studying Sanskrit and two months at Malayu "that now is a country of Che-li Fo-che." After studying for a decade at Bengal's Buddhist university, Nalanda, I'tsing twice again visited that capital, bringing the second time in 691 four assistants to help copy sacred books. The place had more than a thousand monks, while Chinese studied there a year or so before going on to India in local ships that carried among other produce camphor and gold. This empire of Che-li Fo-che alias San-fo-ts'i, if it is Sri Vijaya, has left memorials in three important Malay inscriptions of the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. One discovered on the Tatang river at the foot of a Mount Seguntang in Palembang bears witness to the founding of a capital of Sri Vijaya there in 683 A.D. with magic rites. Another on the Jambi river bears witness that Sri Vijaya ruled that province of Sumatra. A third, still in Pallava characters, from Kota Kapur on the island of Bangka, records a visit there in 686 of the forces of Sri Vijaya on their way to attack "Java." To the Chinese Che-li Fo-che ranked at this time with India, Persia, Arabia, Cambodia and Java. And an eighth century bronze Buddha of Sri Vijaya type, that is, similar to Buddhas found in the Palembang

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river, has been dredged up at Pangkalan in Kinta, Perak, along with a bronze throne for a seated figure, while a Sanskrit inscription on the Bay of Bandon at Vat Sema Muang in Ligor records the erection in 775 A.D. of Buddhist buildings by order of a king of Sri Vijaya.

✓ Another face of the same Ligor stele, entirely independent of that containing the reference to a king of Sri Vijaya, mentions a king called Sri Maharaja to signify his descent from the Sailendras, namely the "kings of the mountain." What was the history of this dynasty? An Indian scholar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, connects its origin with the Saila and Sailodbhava dynasties of Kalinga in Orissa. And Coedès notes how for the first six centuries A.D. the emperors of Fu-nan in Indo-China bore the title of Kings of the Mountain or Salaraja. Then in the eighth century Sailendra kings appear as rulers of Middle Java in inscriptions at Kalasan (778 A.D.), and Kelurak (782 A.D.). In 764 men from the Malay archipelago raided Tonkin, in 774 a Cham temple was burnt by "foreigners, sea-farers, eaters of inferior food, of frightful appearance, extraordinarily black and thin"; in 787 another Cham temple was burnt by men from "Java," and in 775, as we have seen, there was a Sailendra in Ligor. Were these wars conducted by Javanese Sailendras trying to regain their ancestors' empire of Funan? ✓ The Arab, Ibn Khordadbeh (844-8) speaks of Zabug the kingdom of the "Maharaja" as including Kilah, perhaps Kedah perhaps Kra, on the west coast of Malaya, a port famous for tin and bamboo, whose people were Buddhists. But even this and the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. do not directly connect the Sailendras with the kingdom of Sri Vijaya. Zabug may stand for Sumatra or possibly for Java or for a kingdom in north Malaya.

By 863 the Sailendra dynasty, patrons of music and builders of Kalasan, Mendut and Borobudur, had lost the kingdom of middle Java. But the beginning of the next century again saw envoys sent by San-fo-ts'i to China, while Arab chronicles reiterate what the trader Sulaiman (851) recorded, that Kalah (identified with Kedah) was subject to Zabug, the kingdom of the Maharaja, whose trade in cloves, sandal-wood and nutmegs, in ivory, ebony

and gold, in camphor from Barus and tin from Malaya attracted ships from Siraj and Oman and made its Maharaja as rich and mighty as any king in the Indies: in two years the swiftest ship could not visit all the islands of his dominion. Before the end of the tenth century stores were opened at Canton, Hang-chou and Ming-chou for traders who came from Arabia, Kedah, San-fo-ts'i and various places in the Archipelago to exchange perfumes and drugs, ivory, coral, amber, pearls, tortoise-shell, rock-crystal, ebony and woven cloths for gold, silver, lead, porcelain and other wares of China. In 963 a Chinese pilgrim Fah-yu, returning from India, was seeking sacred books at the capital of San-fo-ts'i and at Ko-kulo, a place on the west of the Malay Peninsula, perhaps north of Kedah, while in Trang, Jaya and Badalung and nine feet below the surface of a Kedah cave have been found Buddhist tablets in the Sanskrit language and Nagari script of the tenth century, perhaps the local work of Mahayana hermits. In 992 an expedition against San-bo-tsai from East Java, then the site of supreme power in that island, failed to interrupt its China trade, and in 1007 apparently Sri Vijaya burnt its Javanese enemy's capital and slew its king and many of his chiefs.

Were the "Maharajas" of Zabag or Zabug really identical with the rulers of Sri Vijaya? Was Sri Vijaya Palembang and were the rulers of Palembang Sailendras? The Sailendras or "kings of the mountain" called themselves Sri Maharaja, a title ascribed to Hindu rulers of Singapore and Malacca. Those rulers of Malacca and their descendants have always claimed to be descendants of a dynasty foreign to Sumatra but connected with the sacred Mahameru of the *Malay Annals*, the mountain Seguntang in Palembang, near which the Pallava inscription of 683 A.D. records the founding of a capital of Sri Vijaya. As late as 1405 Parameswara, the founder of Malacca, sent envoys to the Emperor of China requesting that "his mountains might be made guardians of the country. The emperor gave his assent: he prepared an inscription with a piece of verse at the end, and ordered a tablet to be erected on those mountains." But the *Malay Annals* have adapted Sumatran folklore to Javanese rulers, who on the historical evidence came from Majapahit (p. 39 *infra*). And the only

royalties in Malaya probably sprung by male descent from the ancient dynasty of Sri Vijaya are not the rulers of old Malacca (and their descendants the Sultans of Perak) but the Yam-tuans of Negri Sembilan, scions of the great house of Minangkabau. Anyhow Sumatran folklore connects Palembang with a mountain dynasty.

iii.

THE DECAY OF SRI VIJAYA BEFORE CHOLA RAIDS, THE REVOLT OF MALAYU (JAMBI) AND ATTACKS FROM SUKHODAYA AND MAJAPAHIT.

There is clear evidence that before its decay Sri Vijaya was ruled by a prince of the "dynasty of the mountains." A copper-plate partly in Sanskrit (1044) and partly in Tamil (1046) records how in 1005 A.D. a Sailendra king gave a village to a Buddhist shrine built at Negapatam by his father, Culamanivarman: in the Sanskrit inscription, as also in the Sung annals, their names are given, and the son Sri Maravijayottunggavarman "a ray-garlanded sun in the lotus groves of the wise" is styled "king of Kataha and Srivishaya"; in the Tamil text Kataha is called Kadara or Kidara and there is little doubt that Kataha and Kadara stand for Kedah. For six hundred years or more Kedah had been a port of call for ships from Chola-mandala or, as it is corrupted, Coromandel. But now as early as 1017 A.D. Coromandel's famous ruler, Rajendracola I, was to make war on Sri Vijaya and her colonies in Malaya: perhaps the raids were prompted by trade rivalry, perhaps by the ambition of a dynasty that had eclipsed the Pallavas and conquered Orissa. In 1025 A.D. this Chola king overwhelmed many of the states included in the Sailendra empire of San-fo-ts'i by Chinese authorities like Chau-Ju-Kua. A Tanjore inscription of 1030 commemorates this victory over Kadaram (or Kedah), Sri Vijaya, Malayur with a fort on a hill, Lamuri in Acheh, the Nicobars; over Langkasuka, Talaithakolam (Ptolemy's Takola) and Great Tamralingga, all three in the north of the Malay Peninsula; over Mayirudinggam or Ji-lo-t'ing, also probably in that same region, and finally over Mappappalam "defended by deep waters" and Mewilimbanggam "defended by fair walls," the two

last places identified with no certainty as Pahang and a province on the isthmus of Kra. According to the *Malay Annals* a Tamil king, Raja "Cholan" or "Suran" destroyed Gangga-nagara at the Dindings and a black fort on the Lenggü, a tributary of the Johor river, and occupied Tumasik or old Singapore. Is the Malay folk-tale of an attack on Singapore by sword-fish reminiscent of this Chola raid? The shark was the Tamil god of coastal waters and his snout symbolized that terrible deity in the ritual of fishermen-worshippers.

✓ If Sri Vijaya is identical with San-fo-ts'i, a few years later she was again sending envoys to China, while Arabs still described Zabug, empire of the Maharaja, as the greatest in the Malayan region. Then in 1068 another Chola king Wira Rajendra conquered Sri Vijaya and "Kadaram" again, but had to restore Kedah to its ruler who "worshipped his conqueror's ankletted feet," "as it was too far beyond the sounding seas" to hold. ✓ Still San-fo-ts'i sent envoys to China, taking camphor, silver and pearls, receiving presents and titles and buying golden girdles and purple robes for Buddhist monks. Chola envoys also went there, but in 1106, according to Ma-tuan-lin, the Chola king was a vassal of San-fo-ts'i and it was remembered how between 1068 and 1077, it was thought enough on that account to write to their king on a strong paper with envelope of plain silk because his country had been conquered by San-fo-ts'i. In 1178 the Chinese emperor ordered that in future the envoys from San-fo-ts'i should not come to court but make an establishment at Ch'uan-chou in the province of Fukien. The embassies had always been commercial and in search of trade concessions, and now apparently San-fo-ts'i was almost insignificant.

✓ For, so far as can be gathered from scattered inscriptions, the glory of Sri Vijaya, a Venice of the East, had passed. San-fo-ts'i had started as a port of call for junks from China and ships from India, "an important thoroughfare on the sea-routes of the foreigners on their way to and from China," where the goods of the Far East were bartered for the goods of India and of her own hinterland. Rich on international commerce, she attracted traders, scholars, adventurers and the sharks that always infest

great ports. Her people were tax-free. But with success came greed and dynastic ambitions and weakling kings and wars of trade and religion. As early as the tenth century, the Sung chronicles explain that "when they have a war, they at once select a chief to lead them, and everybody provides his own arms and provisions." Wars became frequent. Monopoly had to be maintained and trade rivalry to be fought. As in Malacca afterwards, the character of the people changed. Quoting an authority fifty years old Chao Ju-Kua records in 1225:—"if a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack, and all are ready to die (in the attempt). This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre." Wars kill off the men of greatest enterprise. Monopoly is more exciting than fair trade and utterly demoralizing. It passes easily into piracy. In time the people of San-fo-ts'i left agriculture and honest work to the Chinese, until the Chinese themselves became demoralized and the capital of the great empire sank to be a den of pirates.

In 1178 Chou Ku-fei put Java before San-fo-ts'i. As Coedès has pointed out, the description of San-fo-ts'i by Chau Ju-Kua in 1225 was copied from this older author Chou Ku-fei and antedates her last (1178) embassy to China; and though Chau Ju-Kua's list of her dependencies does not occur in the list given by Chou Ku-fei, yet it includes Palembang but makes no mention of Malayu, an omission suggesting that not Palembang but Malayu or Jambi was now head of the empire. Besides Palembang that list gives as dependencies Kelantan, Pahang, Trengganu, Langkasuka, Ligor, Jelutong, Foloan (the islands of an unidentified delta) Grahi, Lamuri in Acheh, Kampe on the bay of Aru and Ceylon. Already by 1183 according to an inscription on a Buddha at Grahi, Jaiya (now in Siamese Malayu) had a ruler bearing the hereditary title not of the kings of Sri Vijaya but of her successor Malayu or Jambi. It was the destiny of Jambi not to have an empire overseas but to turn to Sumatra's highlands and found the kingdom of Minangkabau. And a Jaiya inscription of 1230 suggests that by then Ligor was ruled not by any overlord from Sri Vijaya or from Jambi, but by a king of its own, Candrabhanu, who lived at Nagara Sridharmaraja, capital of Tembralinga; and it was this

Candrabhanu who attacked Ceylon first in 1236 and, friendly with the king of Hinayana Sukhodaya, probably threw off the yoke of Mahayana Jambi and then, allied with the kings of Pandya, certainly failed in an attack on Ceylon in 1256. Pandya inscriptions indicate that Candrabhanu ruled Kadaram, that is Kedah, without which he would have lacked a port on the Bay of Bengal for his attempt to wrest Buddha's tooth from Ceylon.

Not only did Jambi or the Malayu country lose Ligor. In 1275 the famous Krtanagara, ruler of east Java from Singhasari, sent from Tuban his Javanese forces against Pamalayu, namely Sumatra, and according to an inscription in Jambi of 1286 this descendant of a peasant conquered Pamalayu and its king Srimat Tribhuwanaraja Mauliwarmadewa, while the *Nagarakrtagama* makes Pahang also subject to him.

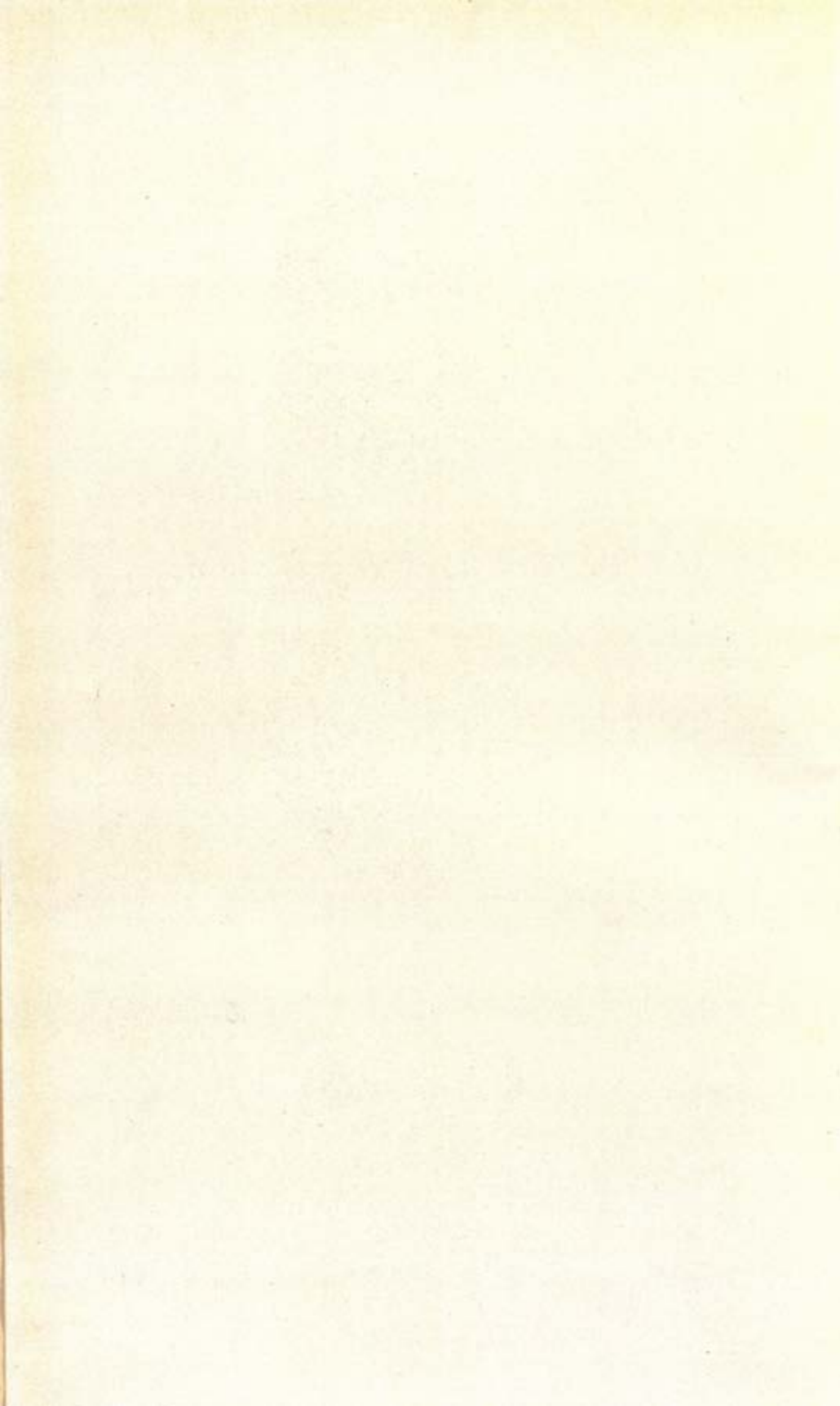
Trouble came upon Sumatra from a new quarter, Gujerat. As early as 1281 Malayu was using as envoys to China traders with Muslim names, Sulaiman and Shamsu'd-din; in 1292 Marco Polo found Perlak in north Sumatra Muslim and before the death of its founder, Malik al-Saleh, in 1297, Samudra also had broken away as a Muhammadan state.

However the final blow to Jambi, the inheritor of Sri Vijaya, was to be dealt not by proselytizers of the new religion but by her old enemy Java. Some time between 1338 and 1365 Majapahit conquered Jambi, Palembang, Minangkabau, in fact all Sumatra. After 1377 San-fo-ts'i became gradually poorer and sent no tribute to China any more. By 1397 its name was changed to Ku-kang "Old River." "When San-fo-ts'i went down, the whole country was disturbed, and the Javanese could not keep all the land; for this reason the Chinese, who were established there, stood up for themselves, and a man from Namhoi in Canton, called Liang Tan-ming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, followed by several thousand men from Fukien and Canton, was taken by them as their chief." For nearly two hundred years Palembang remained in the hands of Chinese, who were many of them pirates. Such were the last days of the capital of a great empire.

Sumatra was not Majapahit's only conquest. It sacked many ports in Borneo, in Sumbawa, Ceram and Lombok. It claimed suzerainty over the Riau Archipelago, the Anambas and the Natuna Islands. Finally Majapahit subjected Sri Vijaya's colonies in the Malay Peninsula. Composed in 1365 the *Nagarakrtagama* mentions among her dependencies Pahang, Ujong Medini (Johor), Langkasuka, Kelantan, Trengganu, Muar, Paka and Dungun (in Trengganu), Tumasik (or Singapore), Sang Yang Ujong (Sungai Ujong), Klang, Kedah and Jerai (near Kedah Peak). The "Chronicles of Pasai" add various islands off the east coast of the Peninsula, Pulau Laut, Tiunan, Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Pemanggil. Ayam Wuruk, ruler of Majapahit, was a conqueror and not a statesman. Content to sack, he made no attempt to colonize. But it is significant that Majapahit used the name Pahang for the whole of the Malay Peninsula and that the East Coast, especially Kelantan, is still the home of the Javanese shadow-play where the old Hindu gods (demigods and devils of the Muslim Malays), Brahma, Shiva, Arjuna, Sri Rama and the Bhutas come down and are present in their puppet portraits, until, the play ended, the gods fly up to Suralaya their heaven and Shiva descends to drive his army of evil spirits out of the great door of the palm-leaf theatre. Javanese too are the ritual of cleansing Kelantan and the homage paid to Hanuman when boys about to be circumcised are carried in procession in a huge Geroda. Among treasured heirlooms in Kelantan are still coin-like amulets with a hole in the centre, of Majapahit design. In Patani a Javanese pattern of creese has survived (Fig. 11). Two Buddhist seals from Goa Gambar in Pahang remind one of Javanese types, and as late as 1436 the Chinese found the people of Pahang offering human sacrifices to images of fragrant wood, apparently a form of Tantric worship of Kali the Hindu goddess of death, recorded also from Trengganu by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349. But even here there was the little leaven of Islam. Twenty miles up the Trengganu river was discovered a stone fragment, the earliest contemporary record of Islamic influence in the Peninsula, with an inscription having the oldest Malay text in the Arabic script yet known. It records Muslim laws promulgated for the state by its ruler, who is styled Raja



Majapahit Amulets from Johor River.



Mandulika and Sri Paduka Tuhan:—its date, with which a Cancer year of the zodiac is involved, may be 1326 or 1386.

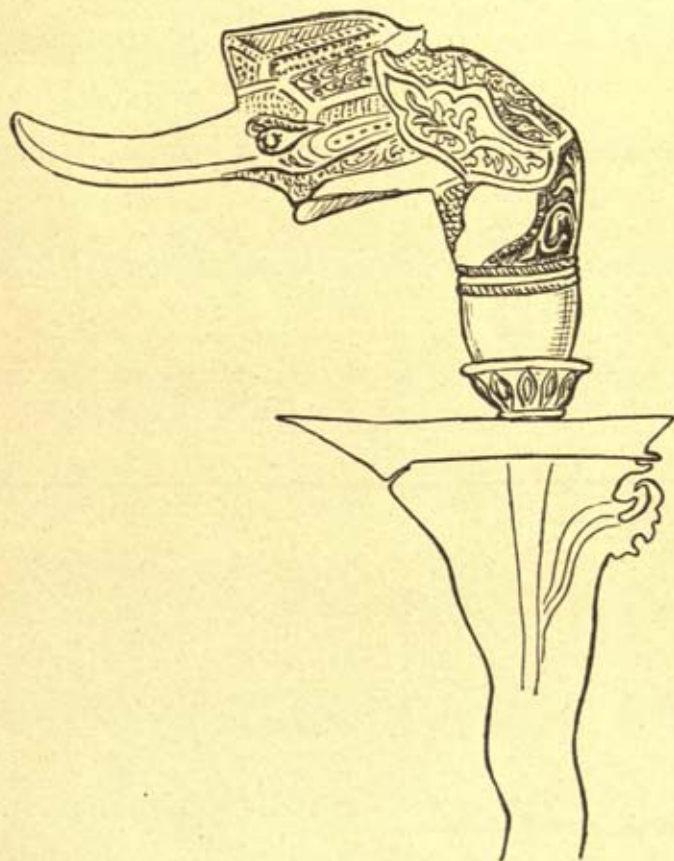


Fig. 11. *Pekaka* (? = Javanese puppet, *Chikakak*) hilt of Patani creese.

iv.

TUMASIK OR OLD SINGAPORE.

Just as Indian trade led to the rise of Kedah and other Malay States of the north, so China trade brought into being ancient Singapore. de Barros writing in 1553 relates that it was the resort not only of Indian shipping but of traders from China, Siam, Champa, Cambodia and the Malay Archipelago. Its modern importance, its claim to have been the first kingdom of the founder

of Malacca and the folk-tales associated with it in the *Malay Annals* have given the port kingdom a particular glamour and prominence, although the older and more important kingdoms lay in the north of the Peninsula. It was important enough in the fourteenth century to provide territorial titles for two non-resident Majapahit "princesses of Singapore," one unnamed, one named Sri Wardhanadewi. Writing in 1557 from his father's notes the bastard son of the great d'Albuquerque records "it was a large and populous town, as is attested by the great ruins visible still today." Crawford, Resident of Singapore from 1823 to 1826, traced the remains of its ancient boundaries: in front, the sea, at the back the Hill Tabu, now Fort Canning; on the west the Singapore river; on the east an earth wall sixteen feet broad at the base and eight or nine feet high running along the Bras Basah river. Roughly the walled port ran a mile inland and was just over half a mile broad.

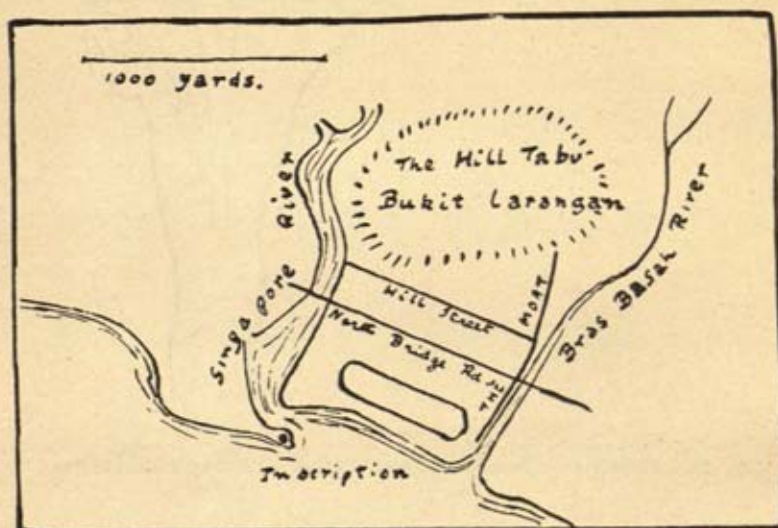


Fig. 12. Plan of Ancient Singapore.

It has been sought to identify ancient Singapore with I-tsing's (690 A.D.) "Mo-ho-sin," the "Hasin" or "Salt-Sea State" of an eleventh-century Javanese inscription, though it is almost certain that "Hasin" was in Java. Ibn Khordadbeh (844-8) after mentioning Kilah or Kedah refers to Salahit or *Sēlat*, the Malay

word for Straits, which vague description has been taken to denote the south of the Peninsula: certainly to this day it is a name for Singapore. Attempts to connect Marco Polo's Malayur with Singapore have hitherto not been accepted, though the latest translation from a revised text has already started a fresh effort and the problem must again receive the attention of geographers. "Not far from Pentan," that is Bintan or Bintang, south of Singapore, "there are two other islands. . . . Proceed between these two islands for 60 miles. The water is only about four paces deep, and big ships, when they pass through, must haul up their rudders, because they draw nearly four paces of water. After those sixty miles, one sails *to the south-east* for some 30 miles; then one reaches an island that forms a kingdom; both it and its capital are called Malaiur. They have a king and a language of their own. The city is very large and noble. There is a great deal of trade in spices and other wares. For there is great abundance in that island of such products"—the last sentence perhaps confusing the wares of an *entrepôt* with the produce of the land. Older versions read *again* instead of *to the south-east*. It is impossible for the new direction, if accurate, to point to Jambi, known though Jambi was as Malayu from the time of I-tsing (671) down to its conquest by Kertanagara (1286), but the new direction does fit well with the sheltered passage northwards from Bintan between the islands Batam and Bulang and with a tack back from the Carimons to Singapore in the north-east monsoon. Jambi, also, is called Malayur in the Tanjore inscription of 1030. Jambi's ruler lived on a hill much like Fort Canning (156 feet), where the Malay rulers of Singapore lived: the Jambi hill is about thirty feet high and lies on a cape between the Batang Hari river and a tributary of that river. Malay-ur is said to be a combination of two Tamil words meaning "hill-town." There is nothing puzzling about two or three similar hill-towns having the same name. To this day there is a Malayu River with a hill sixty-five feet high at its estuary on the south coast of Johor. There is also a Kampong Malayu on the Pahang river. There are innumerable places called Bandar meaning "port-town"; there is a Sri Menanti in Johor and another in Negri Sembilan and there are many places called Kota Baharu, the New Fort, while in Portuguese times there was

a hybrid Sanskrit-Portuguese place-name, Kota Kara (meaning Outer Fort), both in Riau and up the Johor river. Meaning perhaps "hill-town" at first, the term *Malayu* came to be descriptive of any spot where the Malays settled as newcomers, just as *Kampung Acheh* is a name for many an Achinese settlement. So Malayur could be applied to Jambi and Singapore and a Johor river. Better than Jambi, Singapore and Johor would fit the Ma-li-yu-eul of the annals of the Yuan dynasty, where under 1295 it is related how there had long been strife between the Siamese and the Ma-li-yu-eul, and an Imperial order had adjured the Siamese to keep their promise not to harm the Ma-li-yu-eul. No records associate Kertanagara, king of Tumapel, with Singapore in spite of the long campaign, which by 1286 made him victorious over the Malayu country, namely the Jambi that had usurped the empire of Sri Vijaya. Was his suzerainty over the island port implied in his recorded suzerainty over Pahang, which sometimes signified for Majapahit the Malay Peninsula? For in 1292 having intrigued with the invading forces of Kublai Khan, Majapahit triumphed over Tumapel and in less than a century took Tumasik, that is, Singapore.

The historian makes a sure land-fall at last when he comes to this fourteenth century Tumasik, so-called by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349 and in the *Malay Annals*—probably anachronistically as having been "visited" by a Chola king after his conquest of Lenggiu on a tributary of the Johor river in the eleventh century! The history of ancient Singapore in those same annals is unfortunately only a hotch-potch of myths and tradition. The annalist gives a dynasty of five kings. The progenitor of the line bears the name of Sang Sapurba after a nymph of Indra's heaven, perhaps a corruption of Prabhu, a fourteenth century title of Majapahit princes; but criticism is hardly concerned with a male nymph who was credited with being the founder of the royal house of old Palembang and at the same time the son of Raja Suran, the Chola invader of the XIth century! As ruler of Palembang he styled himself Trimurti Tribuana! A son of his with the name of another nymph, Nila Utama, married the daughter of a Permaisuri queen of Bentan, and descrying Tumasik from a tall

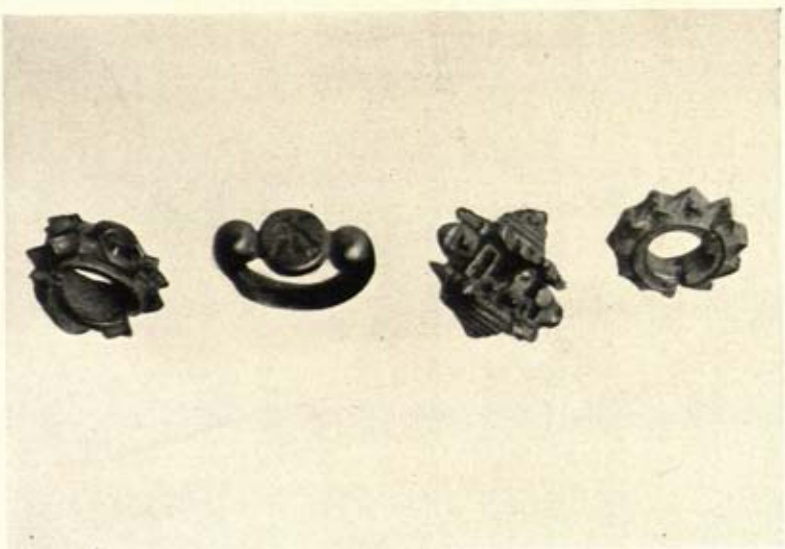
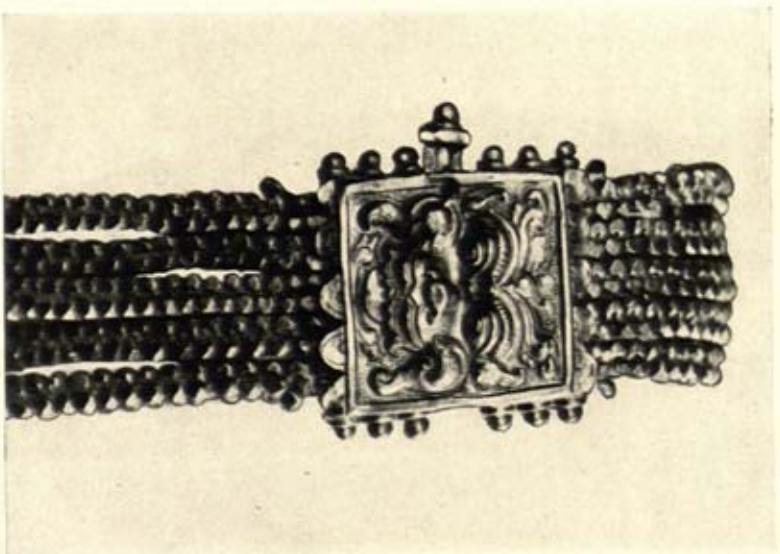
cliff, while hunting deer, crossed over, became its first king and changed its name to Singapura, styling himself Batara Sri Tribuana. The style Tribuana was best known as that of a queen of Majapahit (1329-50) but may refer to the three kings of Sri Vijaya to whom the Ming chronicles allude. The last king but one of Singapore is given the old Sri Vijaya title of Sri Maharaja, while the last of all is credited with the Muslim title of Iskandar (or Alexander), because Sumatran folklore connected Alexander with Mahameru, the mountain of the Sailendra dynasty, and as the Malay rulers of Malacca claimed descent from those Sailendras, they also must have been connected with an Alexander who must have been the Macedonian conqueror! The end of the thirteenth century saw the coming of Islam; and according to Malay historians Alexander brought it; so tradition slipped an Iskandar into the Malacca genealogy at the most plausible place, the only possible place between the Hindu period and the historical rulers of Malacca. So much for the olla-podrida of the *Malay Annals*.

Wang Ta-Yuan, the Chinese trader writing in 1349 gives us a graphic picture. He tells of what reads like Keppel harbour, "a strait bordered by two hills of the Tan-ma-hsi barbarians that looked like dragon's teeth," of a hot rainy climate, a land of poor soil and few rice-fields, whose only products were loot from the Chu'an-Chou traders. "When the Chinese junks go to the Western sea, these people let them pass unmolested, but when on the way back they have reached Carimon island, then the junk people get out their armour and padded screens to protect themselves against arrow fire, for of a certainty two or three hundred pirate junk will come out to attack." The people lived mixed up among the Chinese. "In ancient times the chief in digging the ground found a bejewelled cap." On "the first day of the first moon, the chief wearing this cap and putting on his best clothes used to receive the congratulations of the people. At the present time, however, they exchange presents among themselves (like the Chinese)." Most of the inhabitants did up their hair in a chignon and wore "a short cotton skirt with a blue sarong tied round them." Just before 1349, the same authority tells us, the town closed its gates and successfully resisted the attack of seventy

Siamese junks for a month, until the appearance of a Chinese fleet caused the Siamese to withdraw. d'Albuquerque declares it was a vassal of the king of Siam.

Two decades or less after its repulse of the Siamese junks the island port was sacked by Majapahit. A Javanese history, the *Pararaton*, tells how in 1338 Gajah Mada, a famous minister of Majapahit, swore not to taste his favorite dish until he had subdued ten countries, including Palembang, Pahang and Tumasik. As we have seen, in 1365 the *Nagarakrtagama* mentions among other places Tumasik as subject to Majapahit. Ming history seems to put Majapahit's conquest of Sri Vijaya before 1377. It relates how by 1373 there were three kings of Sri Vijaya, the Maharaja of Palembang, a king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho, and a third whose name defies interpretation. In 1376 the king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho died and was succeeded by his son Maharaja Wuli, who dared not ascend the throne without the authority of the Chinese emperor. In 1377 the emperor gave a seal but the Javanese who had *already* conquered Sri Vijaya waylaid and killed the imperial envoys. Can Tan-ma-sa-na-ho be construed king of Tumasik?

An inscription in Majapahit script of the fourteenth century, that once stood at the mouth of the Singapore river and might have thrown some light on the island's history, was blown to fragments by the Public Works Department a hundred years ago. One undecipherable fragment preserved in Raffles' Museum is all that is left of old Singapore except a pair of handsome Majapahit gold bracelets and other gold ornaments of the same century found at the root of a tree on Fort Canning, the Hill Tabu, where the Malay kings are reputed to have lived. The *Malay Annals* ascribe the fall of the town to the treachery of a chief aggrieved at the cruelty of a sensual tyrant. When the granaries of a port dependent on imports were empty, he invited the enemy to come and one dawn opened a gate for their onset. The red barren laterite soil of the Hill Tabu has given rise to the story that it ran with blood before its Javanese invaders. But if the defenders were indeed massacred, the carnage must have been due to desperate courage; for behind them lay a sea of foliage into which they could have filtered like minnows and escaped. The king did escape to Seletar on the east of the island and thence to Muar.



Mayapahit Bracelet & Rings dug up on Fort Canning, Singapore.

III

THE MALAY EMPIRE OF MALACCA.

I.

THE QUEST FOR A SETTLEMENT.

One writer has postulated an earlier Malayu near Malacca, because the *Yuan-che* chronicle in 1295 records that the Siamese had long fought with the Malays and because d'Albuquerque remarks that the Siamese no longer sent merchant ships to Malacca by reason of their constant wars with the "Malayos." The new version of Marco Polo seems to put Malayu in 1292 at Singapore, if it were anywhere by the Malay Peninsula. And as for wars with the Siamese, in 1292 a king of Sukhodaya had turned on his allies in Tambralinga and wrested their country from the Malays for ever. The second ruler of Malacca, Muhammad Iskandar Shah, who possibly married a Patani princess, daughter of Raja Sulaiman of Kota Mahaligai, sent an embassy to China to complain of Siamese aggression in 1419 and Muzaffar Shah, one of the most famous of Malacca's Sultans (ca. 1445—ca. 1458), beat the Siamese in Pahang and at sea off Batu Pahat. There was enough Siamese aggression in places known to history to account for their avoidance of Malacca without postulating a Malayu settlement near its borders, although there is no reason, as we have seen, why there should not have been a forgotten hill-town called Malayu at Muar or at Pagoh, site of a royal Malacca grave-yard on a tributary of the Muar. There is no reason why several settlements near Malacca should not have been called Malayu after the name of the original home of the Malays, the country round Jambi.

A Javanese history, the *Pararaton*, written in 1328, mentions one Tuhan Wuruju (or Tuan Bongsu), youngest son of a Khsatriya of Pamelakahan, taken prisoner at Jambi in 1293 and carried to Majapahit, and some have seen here a reference to "Malacca land." Again, in 1360, if by chance it is not an addition inserted later, a Siamese code, the *Kot Monthieraban*, cites as tributary to Siam: Ujong Tanah ("Land's End," afterwards Johor), Malacca, Malayu and an unidentified Wurawari. But evidently still a small fishing-village Malacca is not noticed by Marco Polo in 1292, or Fra Odorico of Pordenone in 1323 or Ibn Batuta in 1345 or in

that Javanese work, the *Nagarakrtagama* in 1365. Some time after 1360, however, when Majapahit had destroyed Singapore, Malacca must have grown populous with the advent of its refugees under Parameswara their chief: Godinho de Eredia gives 1398 as the date of its foundation. The *Malay Annals* say that Parameswara went from Saletar to the Muar river, stayed at a spot called Rotten Monitor-Lizards, because many of those reptiles were killed round his camp, moved to another river-side camp where his temporary fort started a place-name the Ruined Fort, thence to Sungai Ujong where he appointed a Mantri (whose title survived till Bugis times) and so to Sungai Bertam where he founded Malacca, naming it after a Myrobalan tree, against which His Highness was leaning when he saw a white mouse-deer kick one of his hunting-dogs into the river! A similar incident led to the founding of Pasai. It is a South Indian legend. Candy was founded at a spot where a fleeing hare recoiled from a rock and so turned on the jackal pursuing her!

ii.

PARAMESWARA, FOUNDER OF MALACCA, AND THE HINDU PERIOD.

Who was Parameswara? Perhaps the earliest account is that published in 1557 by the bastard son of the great d'Albuquerque, who had access to his father's papers. He tells how after much fighting "Paramicura," a pagan king of Palembang, married a daughter of a Bataratamurel (? Batara of Tumapel) and agreed to pay his father-in-law tribute and be his vassal. Faithless to his promise he was attacked and conquered by the Batara and lost his kingdom, whereupon he fled in a junk to Singapore along with his wife and children. The local chief Tamagi received him hospitably but after eight days was creessed by his guest, covetous of the country's riches. Joined by three thousand followers from Palembang, Parameswara reigned for five years at Singapore, pillaging all the passing shipping with his fleet of *lancharas*. Then aided by Singapore subjects who disliked their ruler's exactions, the king of Patani drove out the murderer of his brother Tamagi.

de Barros, writing in 1553, relates that after the death of a Javanese ruler, Pararisa (? Bhra Hyang Wicesa, king of Tumapel

1389-1428, one of the two kingdoms into which Majapahit split on his accession), a dynastic war started and many nobles fled from the country, among them a Parameswara, who accepted the hospitality of Sangesinga (? Sanghang Singha) king of Singapore. After a short time Parameswara murdered his host and with the aid of his Javanese followers and the "Cellates" made himself master of the town. He was driven out by the king of Siam, father-in-law and suzerain of Sangesinga, fled to the Muar river and built a wooden fort at Pagoh for dread of Siamese attack. The "Cellates" or Proto-Malay sea-folk followed him but fearful of their numbers the exile bade them go elsewhere to make a settlement; they then founded Malacca.

Diogo de Couto corroborates that the penultimate king of Singapore was of Palembang descent and adds that the last king of Singapore and first of Malacca was called Raja Sabu (alias Sambu!) as well as Iskandar Shah. Raja Sabu fell victim to the treachery of his treasurer, whose daughter had been his mistress and was humiliated by him. He fled from Javanese invaders "to the coast of Malacca, to a place called Sencuder, close to Ujantana" (= Johor), where before founding Malacca he remained some time, making himself agreeable to the local people and taking command of their fleets with which he scoured the straits. Can "Sencuder" stand for Skudai, largest river of the Johor delta of which the River Malayu forms part?

Godinho de Eredia (1613) makes a mistake in the title, giving it the feminine ending. "Permicuri selected Malacca in the interests of his own safety, for he stood in fear of the ruler of Pam" (that is, Pahang) "overlord of the countries of Ujontana, who was making warlike preparations to capture him, in consequence of the treachery which Permicuri had perpetrated in Sincapura, when he assassinated the *Xabandar*, who was related to the lord of Pam, despite the kindness which the *Xabandar* had shown at his house in Sincapura, when Permicuri took refuge there in his flight from his father-in-law, the Emperor of Java."

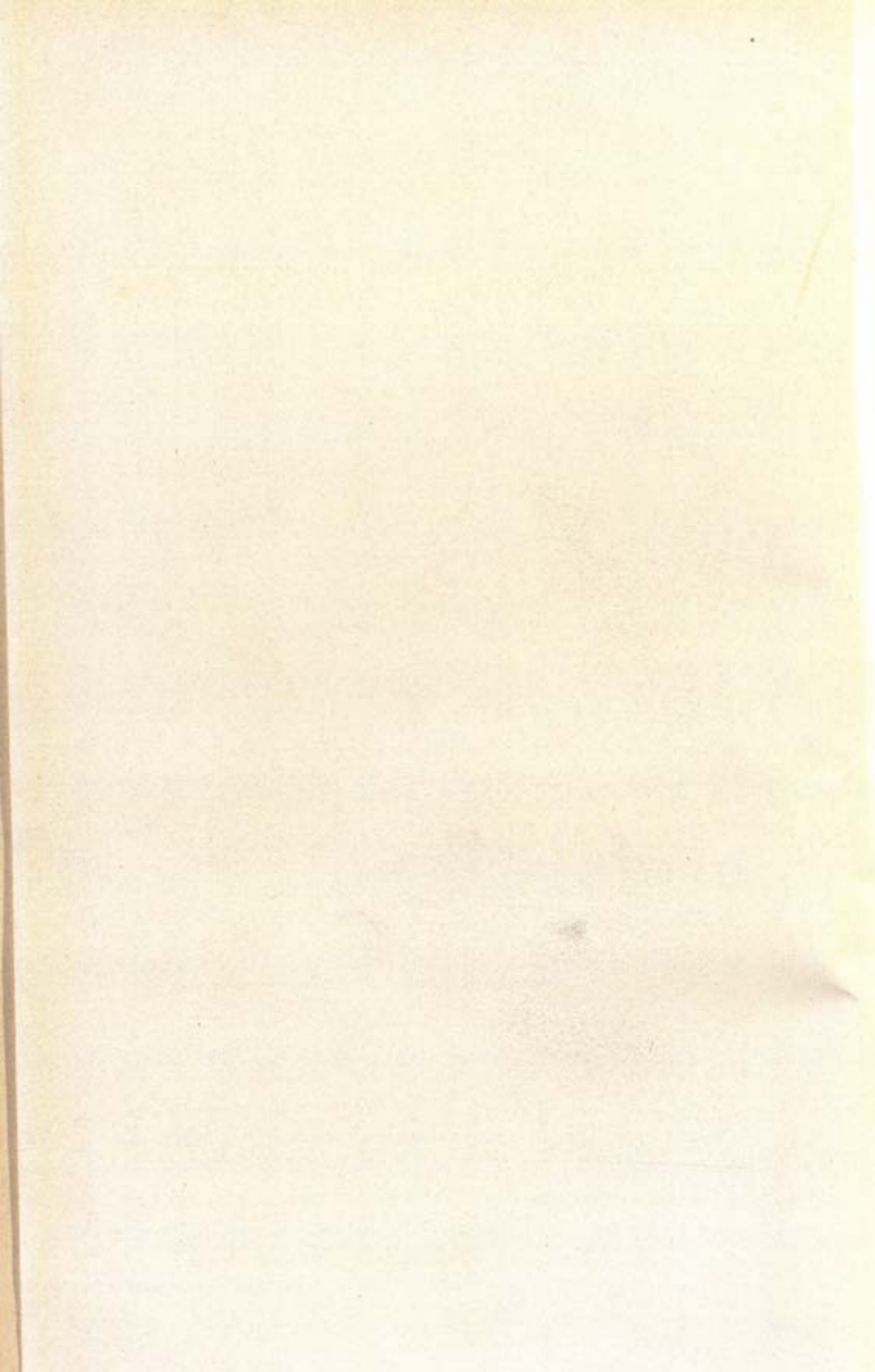
One point is important. Alike in Majapahit and Bali the title Parameswara meant Prince Consort and was the style of one

married to a princess of higher rank than himself. Apparently it was not customary for Majapahit princesses to marry foreigners, so that it looks as if the Parameswara was some lesser Javanese nobleman and the story of his Sailendra descent a fiction of Sumatran folklore imported perhaps in the reign of the third ruler of Malacca. It looks, too, as if he found in possession of Singapore a vassal of Siam and proceeded to get rid of him. Ming records tell us that in 1378 a Maharaja Tajau was king of Pahang and sent the Emperor a letter on gold leaf with six foreign slaves, but it is not known of what race he was, nor is anything known of Parameswara "Ta-lo-si-ni" ruler of Pahang in 1411, whom the Chinese Admiral Cheng-Ho visited. Later in the fifteenth century Pahang was certainly in the Siamese sphere of influence.

A Ming (1368-1643) chronicle relates that in 1403 the Emperor of China sent the eunuch Yin Ch'ing as envoy to Malacca with presents of silk brocade. "There was no king in the country and it was not called a kingdom but it belonged to Siam, to which it paid an annual tribute of forty taels of gold.... The chief Pai-li-su-ra was very glad" and in 1405 sent a return mission to China. "The emperor spoke in laudatory terms of their master, appointed him king of the country of Malacca and gave him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella." As we have seen, the envoys told the emperor that their king "requested that his mountains might be made guardians of the country. The emperor gave his assent; he prepared an inscription with a piece of verse at the end, and ordered a tablet to be erected on those mountains." Again Yin Ch'ing arrived to carry out the emperor's orders. Again in 1407 Parameswara sent envoys to China, and when in 1408 the famous Cheng-Ho or Ong Sam Po visited Malacca, Malay envoys accompanied him home. About this time, according to the Ming Annals, the king of Malacca falsely claimed possession of Palembang which then was under Java. In 1411 Parameswara went to China "with his wife, his son and his ministers, altogether 450 persons.... He was lodged in the building of the Board of Rites and received in audience by the emperor, who entertained him in person." On departure "he was entertained by the emperor and got again a



Proto-Malays from Johor.



girdle of precious stones, horses with saddles, a hundred ounces of gold, five hundred ounces of silver, four hundred thousand *kwan* of paper money, and 2,600 strings of copper cash; further 300 pieces of gauze silk, a thousand pieces of plain silk and two pieces of silk with golden flowers. His wife, his son, his nephew and his suite were entertained separately and got presents according to their rank. Afterwards the officers of the Board of Rites entertained them twice at two different post-stations on their road. In 1412 his nephew came to present thanks. . . . In 1414 the king's son, Mu-kan-sa-u-ti-r-sha," that is perhaps Muhammad Iskandar Shah, "came to court and said that his father had died; he was appointed to succeed him and presented with gold and silks." The Parameswara, whom all chronicles Malay and Portuguese paint as a murderous tyrant in Singapore, had proved a most competent and just ruler of his new settlement.

An account written (1425-32 ?) by Ma-Huan, a Chinese Muslim interpreter to Admiral Cheng-Ho on his mission to the Archipelago in 1413, is less circumstantial but adds to our knowledge. Malacca's "old name was *Wu-hsu*, Five Islets, on account of there being that number of islands in the sea thereabout. . . . The soil is barren and saline; the crops are poor, so that agriculture is not in favour. The country was under the rule of Hsien-lo (Siam): yearly it paid five thousand (? fifty) ounces of gold; should it have failed to do so, it would have suffered an attack." A later Chinese work, perhaps quoting from Fei-Sin, another secretary of Cheng-Ho, declares that on one of the Five Islets was a large trading place before ever Malacca was founded. Ma-Huan continues that it was Cheng-Ho in 1409 who gave Parameswara "a silver seal, a cap, and official robes and declared him king," on which Malacca "ceased to be a dependency of Siam. The king, taking with him his wife and son, proceeded to the capital of China to express his thanks for being allowed to offer tribute. The emperor granted him a ship to return to his country. There is a large stream which passes by the king's palace and enters the sea. On the bridge which spans it is a row of sheds with over twenty columns supporting them; here come those who have trading to do. Among the people the men have a kerchief

about their heads, the women do their hair in a knot behind: Their bodies are rather dark, they wear a short skirt and wrap around the loins a piece of stuff. The cottages are like those of Siam; the people live all huddled together. They make a living by fishing. The boats in which they go to sea and fish are dug out of logs of wood. In their marriage and funerals they do as in Java." Ma-Huan notes as products of the country ebony, resin and tin; he remarks on the palms from which mats were woven and an intoxicating spirit made, and he observes that there were no donkeys and no horses. An edition of Ma-Huan enlarged by Chang Cheng in 1436 or 1437 adds that Cheng-Ho "erected a stone and raised the place to a city after which the land was called the kingdom of Malacca." In 1436 Fei-Sin tells us that the tin was melted into blocks, each block weighing one catty four ounces, and that it was Malacca's only product for export. The goods imported were blue and white porcelain, coloured beads, coloured taffetas, gold and silver. The skin of the people, evidently of the fisher-folk, was "like black lacquer" but there were fair ones of Chinese descent. They lived in houses on piles, though Chinese annals dated 1537 record that the king "lives in a house of which the fore-part is covered with tiles left there by Cheng-Ho: the other buildings all arrogate the form of imperial halls and are adorned with tin-foil."

d'Albuquerque relates that before the coming of the Malays, the site of Malacca was occupied by twenty or thirty persons who lived partly by fishing and partly by piracy. These people attracted Parameswara to the spot by their accounts of its good water and its potential rice-fields and were rewarded later by being made Mantris and gentlemen at the palace. Four months after his arrival there were a hundred people on the site of the future city: ten years later the population was 2,000 and engaged in trade with Pasai and Bengal. Parameswara was a just king and his success reconciled him even to his father-in-law "Batara-tamurel."

This then was the Malacca of Parameswara: a small village on piles accommodating Proto-Malays so primitive that they still killed fish with wooden spears, a small population of immigrant

Malays who for want of old orchards and rice-fields planted (according to the Chinese) quick-growing crops like sugar-cane, bananas, jack-fruit, vegetables and spices and busied themselves in the export of their only article of commerce, tin from Klang and Sungai Ujong. At first the settlement paid tribute to Siam to escape destruction. For trade it depended on passing Chinese junks until Indians got to know of that row of godowns on the bridge. For rice its growing population turned to Sumatra, and with that rice from Pedir and Pasai imported Islam and attracted so many "Moors," that, to use d'Albuquerque's phrase, in time Malacca was no longer a Pasai village but Pasai became a village of Malacca. Before the end of its founder's reign, Malacca trade was large enough to attract vessels from Java and Bengal.

Raja Besar Muda, son and successor of the Parameswara, was Muhammad Iskandar Shah, the Mu-Xaquendarsa of the Portuguese. Not only did he go to China in 1414 to announce his father's death but he sailed there again in 1419 with his wife, his son and his ministers, to report that Siam seemed inclined to attack his country, whereupon the emperor "sent an order to Siam, which it obeyed." d'Albuquerque, who gives the fullest account of his reign, states that he married a daughter of the king of Pasai, who had recently become a Muslim, and that after a little while, in response to the entreaty of his wife or the urging of his father-in-law, the Malacca ruler also accepted Islam. As Ma-Huan visited Malacca in 1413, it is probably not the Parameswara but his son whom he describes as wearing "a white turban," a fine green flowered robe and leather shoes and riding in a sedan chair, while his people "revered the doctrines of the Muslims, observing its fasts and penances." "After begetting many sons," d'Albuquerque continues, "Xaquendarsa went to China for three years." On his return he "minted tin coinage, called cash," gold and silver not being used for currency but only for barter. He died in 1424 after a reign of ten years.

The third ruler of Malacca is called by the Chinese Si-la Ma-ha-la, the old Palembang title Sri Maharaja. Perhaps the growing wealth of his port stirred him to emulate the state of ancient Sri Vijaya. Some recensions of the *Malay Annals* insert,

while others omit a long account of his organisation of that elaborate palace etiquette which still obtains in Perak. Court ceremonies are the legacy of centuries not the invention of a day, though the Sri Maharaja may have been particularly interested in their observance. But the pomp of power did not distract him from politics and commerce. He sailed to China in 1424 with a wife and son, and he sent three envoys there in 1431 in a Sumatran vessel to report that fear of a Siamese attack kept him from paying his respects in person. The three envoys returned with Cheng-Ho, who was instructed to deliver the usual pious injunction to Siam. In 1433 the Sri Maharaja himself visited the emperor and in 1435 despatched his brother with tribute. According to the *Malay Annals* his title before kingship was Raja Kechil Besar and having learnt to recite the Muslim profession of faith in a dream he fell a ready convert to a Sayid 'Abdu'l-Aziz, taking the style of Muhammad Shah and claiming descent from Alexander the Great. Admittedly so far every ruler of Malacca had required to be converted to Islam and though on the two great Muslim festivals he is said to have shown himself to his people, as his ancestors of Singapore displayed themselves at the new year (p. 35), the conversion of the Sri Maharaja might be suspected, if we did not know that he had a half-caste Muslim wife.

In 1445 Malacca sent envoys to China, asking for recognition, a snake-embroidered dress and an umbrella for the son and successor of the Sri Maharaja. Though his birth name is said to have been Raja Ibrahim, this son assumed the hybrid Hindu title of Si-la Pa-mi-si-wa-r-tiu-pa-sha or Sri Parameswara Dewa *Shah*! It looks as if after the second ruler of Malacca had embraced Islam, there was a reaction against the new religion. But now a *coup d'état* by Muslim Tamils was to crush Hinduism for ever and create the Malacca Sultanate.

iii.

THE MUSLIM SULTANATE.

The Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah was not the elder son of the Sri Maharaja but was elevated to the throne on account of having royal blood on both sides, his mother being a princess, cousin of the ruler of Rokan, a Malay state on the east coast

of Sumatra. His elder brother, Raja Kasim, was the son of a Tamil or half Tamil mother, daughter of a trader from Pasai. When years ago this Tamil trader had settled in Malacca, he boasted of royal descent and of a marriage into the Pasai royal family and his wealth got him the rank of a Mantri, while he begat a son, Tun 'Ali, a future Sri Nara 'diraja, and a daughter, destined to be mother of Raja Kasim. Now on the death of his father, the young boy Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah was under the guardianship of the Raja of Rokan who not only despised Raja Kasim for his commoner Tamil blood and turned him out to fish in the harbour but also very probably proceeded to increase taxes and tolls on Coromandel shipping. Anyhow after Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah had reigned for seventeen months, the south-west monsoon brought a Moor, Jalalu'd-din, who agreed to assist Tun 'Ali, the Tamil (or half-caste) Sri Nara 'diraja, uncle of Raja Kasim, to rid Malacca of the Raja of Rokan and place Tun 'Ali's own nephew on the throne. One dark night they attacked the palace and stabbed the Raja of Rokan. That is all court annals will admit. It was not the plotters who killed the Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah but the Raja of Rokan in his death agony. It was not of free-will that a Bendahara joined the plot: he was tricked into it. Anyhow the plot succeeded and the murdered boy, who in his lifetime was never styled Sultan, was given the posthumous title of Sultan Abu Shahid, "The Martyred King." Soon afterwards the chief conspirator Tun 'Ali, Sri Nara 'diraja, was promoted Bendahara, wherefor the Moors invented for his Tamil father the title of Mani Purindan, being the Tamil equivalent for Bendahara, and as the old trader was father of a king-maker and ancestor of a branch of the great Bendahara family, Malay sycophants termed him Baginda, "The Conqueror," a style that would have better suited his son, the successful conspirator. The chronicler seems to have mixed up the famous son with a shadowy trader father and to have made him a half-caste instead of a full-blooded Tamil.

Raja Kasim now took the style of Muzaffar Shah, the Wu-ta-fu-na-sha of the Chinese and Modafaixa and Malafar Sha of the Portuguese. So great was the power of this king's uncle

the Sri Nara 'diraja, that the Malay prime minister, the Bendahara Sriwa Raja, poisoned himself from chagrin, whereupon the king-maker stepped into his office. Diplomacy made Muzaffar Shah marry Tun Kudu, a daughter of the dead Sriwa Raja, a Malay lady destined to play a great part in politics. Perhaps it was her influence that brought to court her brother, Tun Perak; as Penghulu of Klang a hero of Proto-Malay tradition, winner of campaigns against Siam, Pahang and Pasai, the brain of Malacca's imperialist policy in Malaya and Sumatra for more than three reigns, famous as the patron of the great warrior Hang Tuah. Promoted from Klang to be Court Chamberlain and then Dato' Paduka Raja, this Malay chief won the battle his father had lost against the king's uncle, though by the sacrifice of his own sister Tun Kudu. Muzaffar Shah seeing that peace was only to be got by his uncle's resignation offered him any bride he might choose if he would relinquish his office of Bendahara. In dudgeon Tun Ali, the Sri Nara 'diraja, agreed, if he might marry Tun Kudu, the sister of his Malay rival and the wife of his nephew the ruler! That must have seemed a safe offer, but Muzaffar Shah and Tun Perak took it, while the lady, so far from objecting, accepted divorce and bore her elderly Tamil second husband two famous children, Tun Senaja, afterwards wife of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, and Tun Mutahir, a Bendahara slain in 1510. As Bendahara, Tun Perak was now free to frame Malacca's policy. He defeated a Siamese fleet off Batu Pahat. He also restored relations with China, which under the Tamil regime had ceased. The Ming Chronicles record how it was not till 1456 that Muzaffar Shah "sent as tribute horses and products of his country and asked to be invested as king." Perhaps it was then that he first assumed the title of Sultan, ascribed to him in the same chronicles, by the Portuguese, and in the inscription on his grandson's grave-stone at Ulu Pagoh. "Some time afterwards the same king sent tribute again and reported that the cap and girdle, which had been bestowed upon him, were burned; the Emperor then ordered that a cap of leather, a dress, a daily dress of red silk gauze, a girdle adorned with rhinoceros horn and a cap of gauze should be given to him." d'Albuquerque relates that he assumed the title of Sultan shortly before his death.



*Tomb of 'Ala'u'd-din Shah, Sultan (1477-88 A.D.) of Malacca, at
Ulu Pagoh, Muar.*

By a lady of the Malay Bendahara family, a second cousin of Bendahara Tun Perak, Muzaffar Shah left a son Raja 'Abdu'llah, who succeeded his father, taking the title of Sultan Mansur Shah. "In the year 1459, Su-tan Wang-su-sha, sent envoys to bring tribute, on which the Emperor ordered some officers to go and invest him as king": these officers were shipwrecked and two years later others were sent with fresh presents to Malacca. Determined apparently to avenge Siam's abortive attack on Malacca during the last reign, Tun Perak persuaded his young cousin and master to sanction an expedition of 200 ships against Siam's vassal, Pahang. The heathen governor of Pahang, a Maharaja Dewa Sura, was captured along with his daughter and his elephant and carried captive to Malacca, where Mansur Shah took the girl into his harem and made her father, an expert on elephants, head of the royal mahouts. The Bendahara's chief assistant in the campaign was given two tasselled umbrellas and a royal band (minus the kettledrum and forbidden to play within Malacca's borders) and was created viceroy of Pahang, a state important for its gold. After this a mission was sent to Siam and peace patched up.

But while his chiefs were extending the frontiers of his kingdom, the young Sultan was occupied with domestic matters. He married a Javanese and a Chinese, both of whom court romance has turned into royal princesses. His harem was so well stocked that the palace became a scene of scandals. Even that paladin, Hang Tuah, was suspected of an intrigue and was saved from execution only by his friends, living to rid the Sultan of another swashbuckler, Hang Kasturi, who caught with one of his master's concubines drew his creese and defied capture. Hang Tuah, the proto-Malay from Bentan, was created Laksamana or Admiral, with Sungai Raya, that is, Batu Pahat for his appanage. But a palace polluted by *lese-majesté* had to be vacated and a new one built. "This ruler," writes d'Albuquerque, "constructed large buildings on Malacca hill," and, according to the *Malay Annals*, the roofs were many-tiered, the pinnacles of coloured glass, the walls painted and gilded. A fire broke out and the buildings were destroyed. Yet another palace was built and the places from

which the builders came are evidence of the extent of Malacca's dominion: Johor, Jambi, Kampar, Bengkalis, Carimon (= Kerimun) Islands, Bintan, Muar and other spots of less certain identity.

d'Albuquerque records how hearing that his uncle Raja Puteh who lived at Bintao was fomenting rebellion, Mansur Shah went there and creesed him, though he was an old man. But direct personal action was not a characteristic of this ruler. Kampar, a state whose river was an outlet for the gold and pepper of the great kingdom of Minangkabau, was conquered by Tun Tahir, son of the Tamil or half-caste Tun 'Ali, Sri Nara 'diraja, who had resigned the office of Bendahara: this Sumatran river state was bestowed by Mansur Shah upon the victor for a fief but it was ruled from Malacca. Next Siak, another state important for Sumatran commerce, was conquered: the king was slain and his son was given a daughter of Mansur Shah in marriage and reigned in his father's stead. And the Bendahara Tun Perak and the Laksamana led a large force against Pasai, still a formidable State, to try to quell a rebellion and restore its Sultan who promised to become Malacca's vassal in return for help to regain his throne. The Pasai ruler was restored but broke his promise and Malacca never got a footing in what was destined to become a province of Acheh.

In spite of a reign of great public achievements, due to the genius of Tun Perak, his Malay Bendahara, Sultan Mansur Shah was dogged by those domestic troubles that pursue the weak polygamist. His spoilt eldest son and heir, angry because his headkerchief was accidentally knocked off by a Malay football, creesed the unlucky player, who happened to be a son of the Bendahara. The boy's relatives meditated retaliation in kind but Tun Perak was content to inform his royal cousin that now his eldest son could never be accepted as his successor. Mansur Shah, always subservient to the advice of Tun Perak, recalled Sri Bija 'diraja, viceroy of Pahang, and sent his offending eldest heir to become first Sultan of that country. A son by Mansur's Javanese consort was now heir to the Malacca throne but the boy was creesed in Kampong Kling by a man running amuck and, as Tun Perak must have reflected with satisfaction, not even the execution

of all his cowardly guards could bring him to life. Fate was clearing a way for Tun Perak's nephew to ascend the Malacca throne.

War and women filled the gay and ambitious hours of the Malacca court. But from Hindu times theology and scholarship, coming always from India, had adorned lives, otherwise filled with the lusts of the eye and the lusts of the flesh. Does any part of that sacred and profane literature, which must have come from Malacca, date back as far as Mansur Shah? Most of Malay literature is translation. When in 1511 d'Albuquerque was besieging Malacca, the names of those heroes of Muslim romance, Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiah, were already household words. Even earlier probably was the Malay translation of a Tamil recension of the Ramayana, of which the Bodleian library possesses a manuscript copy dated 1600 A.D. The *Malay Annals* confound the Javanese wife of Mansur Shah with princess Chandra Kirana, the heroine of a twelfth century cycle of Javanese tales named after prince Panji, who tiring of court life served as a simple soldier, undergoing many transformations and marrying many brides before he was joined on the battle-field to the heroine princess, who had followed him in disguise. Some of the Malay versions of Javanese tales, like the story of Maharaja Boma, elaborated from a Kawi poem, are founded on old Javanese models and antedate the modern Javanese texts. Islam quickly brought a change of taste and introduced the romances of the Deccan. Some of these romances make Brahma the Supreme God; most contain allusions to Allah; all are of the same type and parallels may be traced in Sinhalese, Kashmirian and Punjabi folk literature. The Tamil strain in the royal family and in one branch of the Bendaharas, and the royal harem filled with brides of many races, these made for the growth of a cosmopolitan literature. Islam bringing a supply of fresh work must have stimulated creative effort. Already Malacca was interested in works like the "Perfect Man" of 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jili who died about 1417 leaving mystical doctrines that spread eastwards from Baghdad. Mansur Shah sent to the Pasai court a present of yellow and purple brocades, a red lory and a brown cockatoo with a letter offering seven *tahil* of gold-dust and two slave-girls, one Bugis, one from Muar, to any

theologian who could say if those in heaven and those in hell remain in their respective places for ever. Openly a Pasai pundit replied that they did, quoting the Quran. But the Sultan sent for him, suggested that the embassy could not have come for such an obvious answer and said there was another solution. "Correct, O king!" replied the crestfallen theologian, "but your slave is ashamed to retract his words." "Send for the envoy" the Sultan retorted "and explain that you could not give the esoteric answer in public but in private you can." The theologian did so and won the gold and the girls. The envoy from Malacca took the solution back to his ship in the middle of the night with drums beating all the way. The answer must have been on lines suggested by al-Jili's *Insan-al Kamil*—"You may say, if you like that the hell-fire remains as it was, but that the torment of the damned is changed to pleasure" or, again "The power of endurance of the sufferers in hell continues to grow—God never takes back his gifts and these powers come from God—until there appears in them a Divine power which extinguishes the fire, because no one is doomed to misery after the Divine attributes become manifest in him."

At the end of 1477 on a Wednesday Mansur Shah died, leaving this mortal abode which, as his tomb-stone reminds us, "is impermanent as the house made by a spider." The Bendahara, Tun Perak, got his own nephew, a younger son of Mansur Shah, elected to succeed his father with the title 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah:—already as Raja Husain, the boy had been married to Tun Senaja, a niece of the Bendahara and sister of Sri Maharaja Tun Mutahir. The elder half-brother of the new ruler, retired in dudgeon to Pahang. Conveniently, in 1475 death had overtaken his eldest brother, the slayer of the hapless football player, who had been banished to the throne of that remote east coast state. So now the disgruntled prince proclaimed himself Sultan Mahmud Shah and inaugurated his reign over Pahang by having Talani, governor of Trengganu, murdered for paying homage to his hated younger brother 'Ala'u'd-din Shah of Malacca. Only on the advice of Tun Perak did 'Ala'u'd-din refrain from war and content himself by having a relative of Talani's murderer stabbed by Hang Tuah



*Tomb of Sulaiman Shah, son of Sultan Mansur Shah, at Sayong Pinang
on the Johor River.*



before the eyes of the Pahang king. Besides Sultan Mahmud of Pahang, Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din had yet another brother, Sulaiman, described by d'Albuquerque as his son,—wrongly as is proved by his grave recently found at Sayong Pinang on a remote tributary of the Johor river, where he may have been the first of the Malacca family to settle. 'Ala'u'd-din is not recorded to have reported his succession to China, though in 1481 he sent envoys to announce that having occupied Champa the Annamites threatened to conquer Malacca too, but that, as all the countries involved were the Emperor's tributaries, Malacca had abstained from hostilities: the Emperor reproved Annam but told Malacca to raise soldiers and resist any Annamite attack. 'Ala'u'd-din was involved in a war between Pasai and Aru (which the Chinese tell us had a Muslim Sultan in 1411), the Malacca fleet scattering the Aru armada to its own coast. He sent Hang Tuah, the Laksamana, to reprove the vassal Sultan of Siak for not getting Malacca's sanction for death sentences. In time some one persuaded him to send his eldest and fully royal son to Sumatra to rule Kampar as Sultan Munawar Shah. It was good training for a future ruler of Malacca. Moreover, who could tell? If Munawar were away across the water, the Malacca chiefs might choose for the Malacca throne Mahmud, the young son of 'Ala'u'd-din by Tun Perak's niece. Was it Tun Perak who persuaded the Sultan to remove Munawar from Malacca? Or was the intriguer the clever half-Tamil Temenggong, Sri Maharaja Tun Mutahir, brother of the Sultan's consort Tun Senaja? The death of 'Ala'u'd-din Shah in 1488 in the prime of life is also mysterious. Did he die at Kampong Raja, Ulu Pagoh, on the Muar river, where his grave still stands? Was he too honest and direct for his scheming Temenggong? This energetic forceful ruler who at night, like Harun a'r-Rashid, would patrol the streets of his capital in disguise, himself cut down robbers, and next morning humiliate his clever brother-in-law, Temenggong Mutahir, head of the police, by showing up the inefficiency of his department? d'Albuquerque gives an epitome of his reign. He was so wealthy that his fortune was estimated at 140 quintals of gold. Seeing that he was so rich, he decided to go to Mecca and prepared numerous junks for the voyage. He had determined that the kings of those pepper states, Kampar

and Indragiri, should accompany him. For as they were disposed to rebel, he kept them at his court and would not let them go home. About to leave for Mecca, he died of poison supposed to have been administered at the instigation of the kings of Pahang and Indragiri. In his reign Malacca became so famous that it had 40,000 inhabitants, including all the races in the world.

On the death of 'Ala'u'd-din, d'Albuquerque tells us, there were great dissensions in the kingdom. His mother and the rulers of Pahang and Kampar favoured the rightful heir, Munawar Shah, for the throne. But rich and powerful his "uncle the Bendahara" (as d'Albuquerque prematurely describes the still Temenggong Tun Mutahir) secured the election of a far younger brother, Mahmud, child of Tun Senaja his sister and arranged for envoys from China to "invest" him. Of this partly Tamil ruler, most tragic of Malacca's Sultans, time has left no adequate portrait. The Portuguese had no liking for one who imprisoned Ruy d'Araujo and his men. d'Albuquerque declares Mahmud was vain and proud and mocked at his father's intended pilgrimage, saying that Malacca was the real Mecca, an innocent remark out of keeping with his later theological studies. The author of the *Malay Annals* has even revised (p. 73 *infra*) his chronicles to concoct further details to the discredit of the ingrate who had his own maternal uncle, that author's ancestor, Tun Mutahir, executed—for treason.

According to the *Malay Annals* his grandmother would have smothered the little wretch when he was ill, had not his granduncle Tun Perak and the Admiral Hang Tuah guarded him day and night. Soon, faithless to his royal consort and cousin, a daughter of Sultan Mahmud of Pahang, the young spark began to run loose among the wives of his chiefs, and he surrounded himself with favorites, who failed to respect his dignity. Tun Perak, the grand old man of Malacca, now (ca. 1498) died, to be succeeded as Bendahara by his brother Tun Puteh, an old fellow who organised successful campaigns against Manjong on behalf of its neighbour Bruas and against Kelantan, the latter campaign providing Sultan Mahmud with a captive princess for wife. Tun Puteh died. The Malays would have chosen as Bendahara the Paduka Tuan, son of the famous Tun Perak, but the boy king obeyed his mother

and promoted her own half-Tamil brother, Temenggong Tun Mutahir. From now till 1510 when he rid himself of Bendahara Tun Mutahir, the Sultan was a mere figure-head. According to the Portuguese he took to opium. He was a student of such literature as the romances of Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiah. He studied religion and mysticism. Malacca trade had already carried Islam as far as Banda and the Moluccas. Mahmud's court was thronged with adventurers, bibulous mahouts with Hindu names, Afghan bravoos, Tamil merchants ready to buy their way to royal favour. Though the influence of the many Muslim missionaries was great, yet spiritual pride, ignorance of the Malay language and physical cowardice made them unpopular. There was one so proud he would not open his door to the Sultan till he came on foot and unaccompanied. There was another so craven that when in 1511 he was taken into battle against the Portuguese, he clung to the howdah and cried, "This is no place to ponder the Unity of God. Let us go back."

Meanwhile the fame of Malacca grew. It beat off Siamese attacks by land and sea and helped Pahang to resist an attack by Siam's vassal Ligor. Patani and Kedah (Muslim since 1474) acknowledged themselves vassals. In 1508 following its traditional policy, Malacca sent an envoy, a "Tuan Haji" to China to cultivate trade relations. d'Albuquerque credits Sultan Mahmud with having repudiated Malacca's vassalage to Siam and Java and declared himself vassal of the Emperor of China, this policy leading to the wars with Siam.

Then on 1 August 1509 into Malacca harbour sailed the first European fleet whose keels had ever cleaved Malayan waters. The admiral was a Portuguese, Diogo Lopez de Sequeira. He asked leave to send one of his officers, Teixeira, ashore to deliver presents and a letter from King Emanuel. "All the Malays crowded round in wonder, asking, 'Are these white Bengalis?'" There were dozens of Malacca people round every Portuguese; some pulled their beards and patted their heads, others seized their hats or clasped their hands. The Portuguese captain went to interview Bendahara Tun Mutahir, who gave the captain's little son a Malay costume. The captain presented the Bendahara with

a gold chain and flung it over his sacred head. The chief's followers were angry but their master stayed them, remarking, 'Take no notice! For he is a person of no manners.' " The author of the *Malay Annals*, for whom members of the Bendahara family could do no wrong, blames only the Sultan for what followed. Probably the Portuguese would have seized Malacca in any event but it is clear to unbiassed minds that Bendahara Tun Mutahir with his greed, his arrogance and his regard for traders of his father's race listened to the Moors who dreaded trespassers on their monopoly, and listening he decided not to welcome competition but to play a waiting game. The local Gujeratis preached a holy war against the Infidel, who came to contest their trade. Finally the Sultan or more probably Tun Mutahir is said to have plotted to capture the Portuguese fleet, while de Sequeira and his companions were being entertained at a banquet on shore. A Javanese woman, who had a lover among the Portuguese sailors, swam off by night and told of the plot. Thereupon the Bendahara seized Ruy de Araujo and some twenty Portuguese who were unarmed collecting cargo. Unable to achieve their release, de Sequeira burnt two of his ships for want of crews and sailed back to Portugal.

According to the *Commentaries* of d'Albuquerque, hearing of the capture of Goa on 25 November 1510, the Bendahara "with his accustomed dissimulation and subtlety" provisioned Malacca and telling Ruy de Araujo and the other eighteen Portuguese captives, who were still alive, nothing of the news from Goa, he informed them that he desired to be on friendly terms with Portugal and would severely punish the Gujeratis and Javanese who had been responsible for the uprising against de Sequeira. On the advice of Ninachatu, a Hindu resident in Malacca, he even released the Portuguese and furnished them with a house and Cambayan stuffs, loot from de Sequeira's merchandise, to sell for their support. In other ways he was less tactful and more arrogant than ever. Though the Sultan had lost his Pahang wife and though it had been the custom for generations for Malacca's prime ministers to give their daughters in marriage to their masters, the Bendahara married a comely daughter, Tun Fatimah, to a cousin Tun 'Ali

and invited the Sultan to the wedding. This, according to the author of the *Malay Annals*, was the straw that made the Sultan turn on his prime minister. We are asked to believe that Mahmud Shah, the *roi faineant*, had always been a cruel tyrant. Had he not slain Sri Bija 'diraja, hero of his father's Aru war, because the old warrior was suspected of disapproving of his succession to the throne? Had he not instigated the murder of Raja Zainal-'Abidin, his own half brother, of blood royal on both sides, because Zainal-'Abidin enfeoffed himself to popularity? Yet for both these executions the Sultan must have had full approval of the Bendahara, anxious as himself to have no rival house near the throne. But daily the bearing of the Bendahara, Uncle Mutahir, became more exasperating. A handsome and conceited fop, he would go downstairs only to greet the Sultan or his heir, would rise from his seat only to greet the Sultan of Pahang, and made petty rulers like the then Sultan of Kedah truckle to him and dine on his leavings. To local traders he was overbearing; to foreign merchants all the more ingratiating because he was open to illegal gratifications. One day "Raja Mudeliar" the richest Tamil trader in Malacca presumed to accost the Bendahara in the Sultan's presence and was rudely snubbed. Sued by another trader Naina Sura Dewana, he learnt that the Bendahara had received a large bribe from the plaintiff and was going to compass his death. Terrified "Raja Mudeliar" bribed the Laksamana, Khoja Hasan, an enemy of Tun Mutahir, to tell the Sultan that the Bendahara, son of a traitor, was plotting to seize the throne. Was not the Bendahara's comely daughter, Tun Fatimah, flaunting royal yellow in the arms of a commoner husband? The story came, as the *Malay Annals* say in an inept figure of speech, "like the offer of a pillow to a sleepy man": rather it came like a red rag to a harassed bull. The Sultan had on his side not only the whole of the Malay branch of the Bendahara family, the descendants of Tun Perak: he had also the Malacca Moors who had been victims of the greed and corruption of one who like them was the descendant of Indian tradesmen. The whole of the Tamil branch of the Bendahara family was exterminated except one boy Tun Hamza. The tale of an attempt by the Bendahara to seize the throne is corroborated by the Portuguese. At Pedir d'Albuquerque met eight of de

Sequeira's companions who had escaped from Malacca. They told him how the prime mover against de Sequeira had been a Moor Noadabegea (? Naina Mudeliar) who, having connived with the Bendahara to seize the kingdom, had fled to Pasai, when the plot was discovered and the Bendahara slain. The decision to execute the Bendahara and his family must have come less from a Sultan who, in d'Albuquerque's words, lived the retired life of a monk than from the Malay chiefs who could no longer endure the arrogant *Jawi pekan*. Mahmud married Tun Fatimah, whose husband was among the slain, and he appointed Tun Perak's son, the old Paduka Tuan, to be Bendahara in place of Uncle Mutahir whom "God had invited to His Presence." He, also, confiscated his uncle's fortune. For a short while Mahmud Shah stood on the pinnacle of his fortune and Malacca at the zenith of her magnificence. Majapahit had declined and was fated (some time between 1513 and 1522) to fall before the attacks of the Muslim princes on the coasts of Java;—Majapahit which had destroyed Sri Vijaya the greatest centre of trade in the archipelago. The place of Sri Vijaya had been taken by Malayu or Jambi, but the destiny of Jambi lay not on the sea but inland over the Minangkabau kingdom. So the international trade of Sri Vijaya had passed to Malacca, which with the growth of Islam seemed fated now to be a leader among the Muslim powers of the Far East. Duarte Barbosa, brother-in-law and perhaps cousin of Magellan, who served the Portuguese government in the east from 1500 to 1517, thus describes the trade of a city that lay on waters so smooth its white invaders were to term them the Ladies' Sea:—

"Here dwell up to now great wholesale merchants of every kind, both Moors and Heathen, many of them from Charamandel, men of great estates and owning many great ships which they call *juncos*. They trade everywhere in goods of all kinds. Numbers of ships also come hither to take cargoes of sugar, very fine four-masted ships; they bring great store of silk, very fine raw silk, porcelain in abundance, damasks, brocades, coloured satins, musk, rhubarb, sewing silk in various colours, (much iron), saltpetre, great store of fine silver, pearls in abundance, sorted seed-pearls, gilded coffers, fans, and many other baubles; and all this they

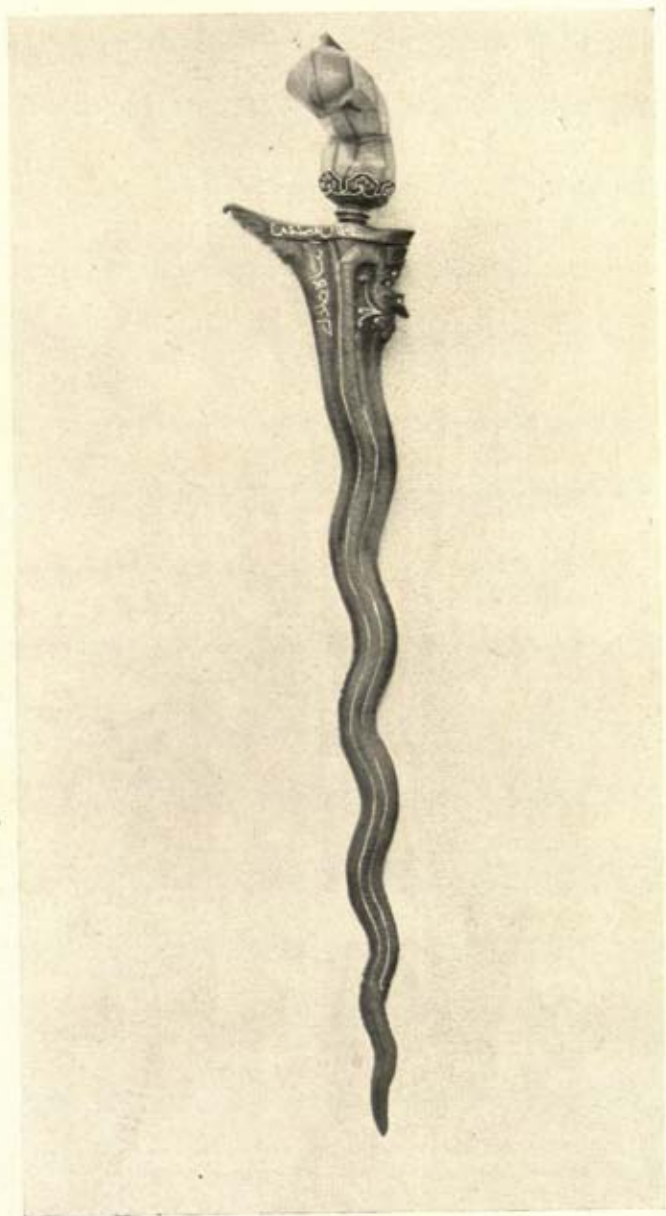
sell at good prices to the dealers of the country, and in exchange therefor they take away pepper, incense, Cambay cloths dyed in grain, saffron, coral shaped and strung, and ready for shaping, printed and white cotton cloths which come from Bengala, vermilion, quicksilver, opium, and other goods and drugs of Cambaya and one unknown to us which they call *cacho* and another which they call *pucho mangicam*, that is gall-nuts brought inland from the Levante to Cambaya by way of Meca, which are much prized in China and Jaoa. From the Kingdom of Jaoa also come the great *junco* ships (with four masts) to the city of Malacca, which differ much from the fashion of ours, being built of very thick timber, so that when they are old a new planking can be laid over the former (so that there are three or four layers of planks one over the other), and so they remain very strong. The cables and all the shrouds of these ships are made of canes (rattans) which grow in the country. In these ships the Jaos bring hither great store of rice, beef, sheep, swine, deer, salt meat, fowls, garlic and onions, and also bring for sale many weapons, spears, daggers, short swords all finely worked and damascened on fine steel (also cubebs and a yellow dye called *cazuba* (Spanish, *cazunba*), and many other small articles and gold which is found in the said Kingdom of Jaoa.

“ These Jaos who live by sailing the seas take with them their wives and children and homes and families; they have no other houses of their own nor do they ever go ashore save for their traffic, and there in those ships they are born and there they die.

“ These folk, then, selling their goods, as I have already said, in Malacca at good prices take away in return cloths of Paleacate and Mailapur and others which come from Cambaya, opium, rose-water, vermilion, great store of grains for dyeing, raw silk, saltpetre, iron, *cacho* and *pucho* (which are Cambaya drugs) all of which is much valued in Jaoa. From this city of Malacca ships sail also to the Isles of Maluco there to take in cargoes of cloves, taking thither for sale much Cambaya cloth, cotton and silk of all kinds, other cloths from Paleacate and Bengala, quicksilver, wrought copper, bells and basins, and a Chinese coin (like a *bagattino* with a hole in the middle), pepper, porcelain, garlic, onions, and other

Cambaya goods of divers kinds. Thus they sail from this city of Malacca to all the islands in the whole of this sea, and to Timor whence they bring the whole of the white sanders-wood, which is greatly esteemed among the Moors and is worth much; and thither they take iron, axes, knives, cutlasses, swords, cloths from Paleacate (and Cambaya), copper, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, lead, great store of Cambaya beads in exchange wherefor they take away, as well as the sanders-wood, honey, wax and slaves. These ships also sail from Malacca to the islands which they call Bandan to get cargoes of nutmegs and mace, taking thither for sale Cambaya goods. They also go to the Island of Camatra, whence they bring pepper, silk, raw silk, benzoin (great store) and gold, and to other islands bringing thence camphor and aloes-wood; they go to Tanacary, Peeguu, Bengala, Paleacate, Charamandel, Malabar and Cambaya, so much so that this city of Malacca is the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade that can be found in the whole world. Gold comes thither in such abundance that the leading merchants dealing in it do not value their estates nor keep their accounts except in *bahares* of gold, which *bahares* are four *quintals* each. There is a certain merchant there who alone will discharge three or four ships laden with every kind of valuable goods and re-lade them alone from his own stock. They deal also in victuals of various kinds, and all is well paid for and packed. In this city are many foreigners of various lands, who live there and are born in the country; these as I say are Moors with their own distinct language and are called *Malaios*. They are well set-up men and go bare from the waist up but are clad in cotton garments below. They, the most distinguished among them, wear short coats which come half way down their thighs, of silk, cloth—in grain or brocade—and over this they wear girdles; at their waists they carry daggers in damascene-work which they call *crus*. Their women are tawny coloured, clad in very fine silk garments and short shirts (decorated with gold and jewels). They are very comely, always well-attired, and have very fine hair.

“These Malaios hold the *Alcoram* of Mafamede in great veneration, they have their mosques; they bury their dead; their



*Creese of Muzaffar Shah, Sultan of Malacca
(died 1458 A. D.).*

sons are their heirs; they live in large houses outside the city with many orchards, gardens and tanks, where they lead a pleasant life. They have separate houses for their trade within the city; they possess many slaves with wives and children who live apart and obey all their orders. They are polished and wellbred, fond of music, and given to love. There are here also merchants (*Chetijs*) of Charamandel who are very corpulent with big bellies, they go bare above the waist, and wear cotton clothes below."

It was reserved for d'Albuquerque to carry laudation even to higher flights:—"I verily believe, if there were another world and a navigable route other than that we know, yet would all resort to Malacca for in her they would find every different sort of drugs and spices which can be mentioned in the world." But soon the Sultan and his chiefs were to look upon their harbour and its ships and its merchandise no more. For their port and their possessions the great d'Albuquerque was to take from them for ever, so that today of all their glory nothing survives except a few grave-stones and a gold-inlaid dragon creese of Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

IV THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

i.

D'ALBUQUERQUE AT MALACCA.

Portugal's expansion overseas was a natural development and extension of the long struggle that had freed her from Moorish domination. From liberation to expansion, from Iberia to Africa, was a short step, which Castile too was to take in similar circumstances after the fall of Granada. On a wider view the Portuguese (and later Spanish) effort was the last of the Crusades, a further effort to attack Islam in flank and rear and so carry out the notion that had haunted European statesmen since the failure of the frontal attack in Syria. Her armadas were not designed to attack the great galleys of Genoa and Venice or to challenge Christian trade in the Mediterranean. As it developed, the Portuguese fleet was a sailing Atlantic fleet. As early as 1341 Portugal had sent an expedition to the Canaries and the beginning of the next century saw her sailors voyaging down the African coast. In 1488 Bartolomeu Dias doubled the Cape, in 1498 Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, pioneer of the sea route to India. By the capture of Goa on 25 November, 1510, the great Affonso d'Albuquerque secured a fortified base enabling Portugal to venture further east to wrest from Muslim powers the trade of the Spice Islands and the trade with China. For this trade Diogo de Sequeira had visited Malacca in 1509.

Early in 1510 Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos was sent from Portugal, instructed to avenge Malacca's treatment of de Sequeira, but his fleet was diverted to Goa. After the capture of Goa, he asked leave of d'Albuquerque to sail east on his mission, saying that his officers would murder him if he did not go. But by the hands of a friendly Moor 'Abdu'llah, d'Albuquerque had received a letter from the captive Ruy d'Araujo at Malacca, begging to be rescued from a cruel captivity and adding that d'Albuquerque should bring the largest fleet possible and inform the Malay Bendahara that he was not minded for war if the Sultan would surrender his Portuguese prisoners and put himself under the orders

of the King of Portugal. d'Albuquerque, therefore, quoted this letter and told Diogo Mendez that commerce with Malacca could not be effected by "four rotten ships and two rusty swords." With that spirit of insubordination that characterized the Portuguese and sapped their strength, Diogo Mendez persisted in hoisting sail, whereupon d'Albuquerque sent two galleys after him that fired and disabled his ship's mainsail and took him prisoner to be sent home to Portugal in disgrace.

As soon as he dared leave Goa, on 2 May, 1511 d'Albuquerque sailed from Cochin for Malacca with 19 ships, 800 Portuguese and 600 Indian troops. On the way he captured a Gujerati vessel and forced her pilot to guide his fleet to Pedir on the Sumatran coast, where he found eight Portuguese, who had escaped from durance at Malacca and told him how the chief enemy of de Sequeira, a Moor Noadabegea, had fled from Malacca and was now with the king of the neighbouring Sumatran State, Pasai. d'Albuquerque sailed to Pasai and demanded the surrender of Naodabegea, but the king, who had suggested to the Indian to make his peace with Malacca by reporting the coming of d'Albuquerque, declared that he had no news of him. Sailing on, the Portuguese caught sight of a swift Malay vessel, which they engaged, Aires Pereira dispatching the captain who though half-dead from sword-cuts did not bleed until an amulet of bone, set in gold, was removed from his arm: the Moors said he was Naodabegea. Then two large junks were sighted and chased: one from Coromandel struck at once, but the other, from Java, only after a desperate encounter, as it proved to be carrying the king of Pasai, who was going to beg his relative the king of Java help him quell a rebellion. As Pasai was a celebrated pepper market, d'Albuquerque begged the king's pardon very earnestly and promised to reinstate him on his return voyage. The king in gratitude remained with the Portuguese fleet. Close to Malacca another very rich junk, bound for Siam, was taken, and the Moors aboard her told d'Albuquerque that Ruy d'Araujo was alive and that Sultan Mahmud knew of his approach. Many other prizes would have fallen to the Portuguese but d'Albuquerque, anxious not to destroy the commerce of Malacca, gave them *safe-conducts*!

It was evening when the Portuguese fleet decked with flags reached the harbour of Malacca and to the sound of trumpets and all their artillery cast anchor. Sultan Mahmud sent a Moor to enquire whether it was to be peace or war, and to carry the tidings that he had executed the Bendahara for complicity in the rising against de Sequeira. d'Albuquerque, dissembling, asked for the surrender of the captive Portuguese and for indemnity for de Sequeira's losses, to be paid out of the Bendahara's estate. The Sultan demanded that they should first make peace. d'Albuquerque reiterated his terms and threatened war. The Sultan erected stockades and made a show of his fleet of river-boats, while in the city the Moors, "Turks, Guzerates, Rumes and Coracones" bribed the Malay chiefs and told the king that d'Albuquerque would never dare to attack and must depart with the monsoon. Ruy de Araujo sent word that the Shahbandar of the Gujeratis had begged the Sultan not to conclude peace, as trade meant keen competition even when all engaged were of one nation, and trade was clearly impossible, when the competitors were Moors and Portuguese Christians. Moreover d'Albuquerque heard that it was not the attack on de Sequeira's men unarmed and under safe-guard in the city that had led to the execution of the Bendahara but that chief's attempt to stir up a revolution. He heard further that the Sultan himself had ordered the Portuguese to be put to the torture to compel them to accept Islam. Of these two pieces of news d'Albuquerque informed Mahmud, privily sending a message to Ruy de Araujo that, whatever the consequences to the prisoners, he could not further delay the attack. Ruy de Araujo replied that he was ready to die for God and his king; the Gujeratis were working day and night at the fortifications and the attack should be swift. d'Albuquerque sent an ultimatum, saying it was of no consequence if his ships waited one year or ten in that harbour, but that unless the Portuguese prisoners were delivered and compensation paid, the Sultan would soon lose his estate. Mahmud replied that he had not delivered the prisoners because he was having clothes made for them, and he asked d'Albuquerque to withdraw his ships from the front of the fort. d'Albuquerque withdrew his small vessels only and waited six days. After that he burnt some houses on the shore and all the ships in the port

except only five Chinese junks "and those which came from ports to the east of the Cape of Comorin, if they belonged to *Hindus*." At last the Sultan returned the prisoners and agreed to grant a site for a fortress and to pay for everything that had been taken from de Sequeira. d'Albuquerque waived other conditions but now communications from the shore ceased. Some days later d'Albuquerque saw the Malay stockades bedecked with flags and gave orders for an attack with armed boats and two barges with heavy bombards, in order to discover how many of the enemy rallied at the alarm, where their artillery was stationed and how they planned their defence. The Chinese offered the services of their crews and their five junks, declaring that beside the Malays the city contained more than 20,000 fighting men, Javanese, Persians and Saracens, 20 war-elephants and plenty of artillery and arms: moreover it was stocked with food supplies from Java. The Chinese doubted if it could be taken except by starvation. d'Albuquerque borrowed the barques of their junks for disembarking his men and sent a galley from which the Chinese could see how Portuguese fought.

Devoted to the Apostle James, d'Albuquerque delayed still further in order to start the attack on that Saint's day. Ruy de Araujo advised that they must first take the bridge over the river and so split the enemy's forces. d'Albuquerque agreed and ordered half his forces to disembark south on the side of the mosque, while he led the other half ashore on the north or city side. Two hours before dawn a trumpet sounded and captains and men-at-arms assembled on d'Albuquerque's ship for confession. As morning broke, the attack on the bridge began. As soon as the first fury of the Malay artillery was spent, the trumpets blew and with the war-cry "St. James" the Portuguese fell upon the stockades of the bridge, while an "infinite number of Moors" rushed up with bows and arrows, blow-pipes and lances and shields, and for a good space of time fought very bravely but were forced back, until the Sultan and his son mounted on war-elephants drove them once more to the stockades they had deserted. The mosque was captured and the bridge-head. Many Portuguese were wounded and some died of poisoned arrows. 700 Javanese coming under the Tuan

Bandar to fall on the Portuguese rear were put to flight before they could reach the stockades. Some were killed, while others jumped into the sea only to be slaughtered by Portuguese in boats. Established in the stockades, D. João de Lima and his company pursued the Sultan's son, Ahmad, as he was retiring up the hill, and when Ahmad faced them, pricked the war elephants with their lances so that they turned tail and charged through the Malay ranks. Mortally wounded, Ahmad's elephant killed his mahout, while Ahmad wounded in the hand leapt down and escaped in the press. d'Albuquerque now erected palisades to protect the forces attacking the bridge and ordered that, as soon as a breeze blew from the sea, the city and the king's houses near the mosque should be fired. A great part of the city, a large store of merchandise and other things of price were burnt. It was now 2 p.m. and the Portuguese had not eaten anything and were suffering from the great heat. In vain d'Albuquerque hoped to get the palisades finished. When the sun had gone down, he drew off his men in boats under the fire of large match-locks, arrows and blow-pipes but carrying fifty large bombards (captured from the bridge stockades) and their wounded, about seventy in number. Of those struck by poisoned arrows, only one, Fernão Gomez de Lemos, lived, and he was burnt with a red-hot iron directly he was struck. The *Malay Annals* say that, as the Portuguese retired, the Sultan's son Ahmad on his elephant remained on the bridge, indifferent to the fire of the Portuguese, while an Arab, his religious teacher, clung to the howdah and begged him to go back, crying that it was no place to think of the Unity of God.

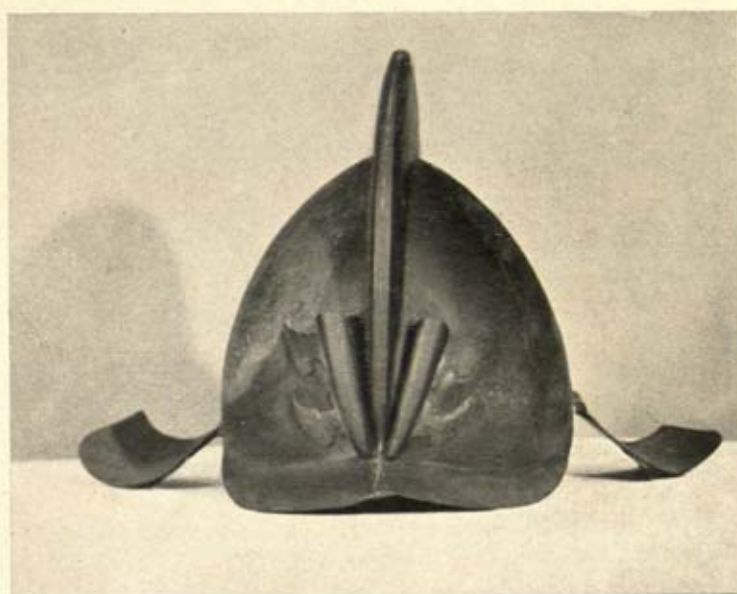
The Malays now repaired the stockades on the bridge and mounted double the quantity of artillery which however had not the range of Portuguese cannon. The bridge was divided into sections with stout palisades and two more palisades were mounted with guns to command the approaches to the bridge from city and mosque. The principal mercenaries, the Javanese, received arrears of pay and three months' pay in advance as well, in spite of which their headman Utimutiraja, a very rich trader with five or six thousand slaves, sent a present of sandalwood to d'Albuquerque and promised him secret support. Scared of the sack of the city,

the foreign merchants now urged the Sultan to make peace but were chidden for their pains. Meanwhile d'Albuquerque armed a very tall junk that would overtower the bridge, and roofed it against rain-storms. For nine days the junk stuck on a sand-bank and though the Malays sent down barges of firewood, pitch and oil on the falling tide to set the junk on fire, the Portuguese protected it with bowsprits and harpoons hung with iron chains. Many of the captains held that the city had been punished enough and were doubtful if it could be captured; but convinced that if the Malacca trade were taken from the hands of the Moors "Cairo and Meca are entirely ruined and to Venice will no spiceries be conveyed except that which her merchants go and buy in Portugal," Affonso d'Albuquerque determined in his invincible mind to take the city and build a fortress therein. Unlike his rival Francisco d'Almeida and some of his captains, he was no believer in sea power, unsupported by fortified stations.

Two hours before dawn on Friday 10 August, the day of the blessed martyr St. Lawrence, the captains and their men, having received absolution, set out for the city on the high spring tide. The junk looked like a tower, with its loop-holed bulwarks and artillery, while on the main-mast was a round-top stored with darts, fireballs and stones. A cross-bow shot from the bridge, Antonio d'Abreu captain of the junk had some teeth and a bit of his tongue carried away by a bullet from a large matchlock and had to be relieved "more by force than by his own wish." While the junk was being grappled to the bridge, two boats with heavy guns (whose range was too short for effective fire from the roads) took up positions on both sides of the bay, to protect with their fire the flanks of the Portuguese. d'Albuquerque with all his remaining force landed on the north or city side of the river. Carrying the palisade that protected the landing-place he had two or three men killed while some eighty were hard hit. Next he ordered one company to seize the mosque and another the barricade that blocked the main street. Already Antonio d'Abreu in the junk had cleared the bridge of the enemy, who retreated to palisades between it and the mosque. These palisades, enfiladed by guns from the boats, were soon captured, their defenders fleeing to the mosque,

where was the Sultan, or (as Malay chronicles say, with more probability) the Sultan's son Ahmad with war elephants and 3,000 men mostly shieldsmen. Before the Portuguese arrived, the mosque was evacuated. With forces too few to divide and pursue the Sultan, d'Albuquerque was content to hold the bridge, the mosque and the palisades he had carried, until the bridge had been fortified with barrels of sand dug by his men under protection of the guns of boats that passed under the bridge and were posted at either bridgehead. Barrels, mattocks, shovels and ropes had been brought in the junk, and in a short while two very strong barricades were built and mounted with guns. Also, as the sun was very strong, the bridge and the junk were covered with palm-leaf awnings. Meanwhile as the Portuguese guarding the palisades on the city side were annoyed by the fire of bombards from the house-tops, Gaspar de Paiva, Antonio d'Abreu and other captains started to clear the streets with orders not to give quarter to any one, man, woman or child. An inconceivable number were butchered, and the barricades were completed without further inconvenience. That night d'Albuquerque spent on the bridge, having first visited the Portuguese wounded in the junk, none of whom died. The only deaths were due to poisoned arrows. All through the night the gun-boats bombarded the city but it was needless. The great port was conquered.

For ten days the Moors hid themselves, a few losing their lives as they crept out to look for food in the city. The first to come and ask for mercy were the Peguans (or Burmese), who were kindly received and allowed to depart with all their property. So, too, Hindu merchants, who came from Cape Comorin to the eastwards and had no ships, were given free exportation for their wares, wherefore they soon restarted their trade from India to Malacca. When all danger was past, d'Albuquerque gave leave to sack the city, warning his men not to touch the houses of Ninachatu, the Hindu who had befriended Ruy de Araujo. 3,000 pieces of artillery, 2,000 of them bronze, were taken; for "the gun founders in Malacca were as good as those in Germany." The spoil was divided among captains and men, d'Albuquerque keeping for himself only the bracelet of Noadabegea and for his own tomb six large



Sixteenth century Portuguese Casque from Malacca.

bronze lions from the sepulchres of Malacca's kings, while for King Manuel and Queen Maria he reserved jewellery and the brocaded howdahs and gold-plated palanquins of Sultan Mahmud, some women skilled in embroidery and many young girls and youths of noble family—all destined to be lost in the wreck of the *Flor de la Mar* off Aru on the Sumatran coast. Meanwhile Sultan Mahmud stayed a day's journey from Malacca, hoping for reinforcements from Lingga and expecting d'Albuquerque to loot the city and depart. But after ten days, hearing of the building of a wooden fort, he retreated further away, while his son at Pagoh built a stockade at Bentayan on the Muar estuary and barred the river. To deal with this menace, d'Albuquerque sent 400 Portuguese, 600 Javanese and 300 Peguans. The prince could make no resistance and fled, leaving behind him gilt and painted palanquins, and seven elephants with their howdahs.

The Sultan and his son having crossed overland to Pahang, d'Albuquerque ordered the Javanese to scour the country-side for fugitive Malays who might be set in chains to build the fortress. 1,500 slaves he treated as the chattels of King Manuel, just as they had been of the Sultan, ordering that when working at the fortress they should be given wages and provisions but at other times should labour for their own living.

Although Ruy de Araujo never expected to find enough stone for the fortress, yet so great a quantity of stone and masonry was discovered "in some ancient sepulchres of by-gone kings, which were situated on the land beneath the surface of the ground, and in the mosques that were thrown down, that two fortresses might well have been constructed." The foundations were dug as deep as a war lance. Inside there were already two wells of drinking water. There was a tall keep as a defence against the hill which commanded the fort, the site being chosen because ships could come alongside with reinforcements. The fort stood on the sea-shore to the south-east of the river where Sultan Mahmud had built his palace. "After the fortress was finished" d'Eredia remarks, "and stood complete with its artillery and garrison of soldiers, it created among the Malayos a feeling of intense dread and astonishment which lasted permanently to the great credit and

honour of the Crown of Portugal." d'Albuquerque prepared a slab inscribed with the names of his principal officers but as they fell out over the order of graven precedence, he turned its face inwards over a gateway and on the reverse cut the text *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt edificantes*, "The stone which the builders rejected." Being very much devoted to Our Lady he built on the hill a church, still standing though known today as St. Paul's but then called Our Lady of the Annunciation.

Advised by Ninachatu that the want of a currency caused great inconvenience and anxious to withdraw the Malay coinage, which was mainly of tin, d'Albuquerque after consulting the principal men and merchants decided to mint three values of tin money, one of silver (from Siam), one of gold (from Pahang and Minangkabau). To notify the change of currency there was a procession of elephants, one carrying the flag of the King of Portugal, one a Moor who cried the proclamation, and one a Portuguese and Ninachatu's son who both scattered the new coins among the people. The Peguans now reminded d'Albuquerque of his promise to let them sail home and were allowed to go, but one of the sons of the pilot was so interested in the erection of the fortress that he stayed behind with 100 Peguans to work at it.

When the fort was of such a height that it could be defended, news reached d'Albuquerque that Utimutiraja (or Timuta Raja), headman of the Javanese and a self-made man about 80 or 90 years of age, had written to the ex-Sultan telling him of the smallness of the Portuguese garrison and offering to help in any Malay attack for the recovery of Malacca. He obstructed the circulation of the new Portuguese currency in the Javanese quarter, Upéh. His followers were robbing Moors who had returned to the town under Portuguese safeguards, and he himself was seizing for his own use slaves and properties of the Sultan and the Malay chiefs. Finally he bought up all the imported rice and tried to secure a monopoly. These misdemeanours were due to the favour d'Albuquerque showed to Hindus as compared with Muslims. d'Albuquerque arranged for a meeting of the principal inhabitants at the fortress, among them Utimutiraja, who was then and there arrested and along with his son, son-in-law and grandson sentenced

to be beheaded on a lofty scaffold in the midst of the square, where the bodies were left from morning until evening. The widow having in vain tried to bribe d'Albuquerque to spare her husband now induced one Patih Kadir to take revenge on the Hindus who had denounced him, but d'Albuquerque put the Javanese forces to the sword in the public streets. Taking the widow of Utimutiraja and all the property he could remove, Patih Kadir escaped inland, burning all the country houses of Hindus and maintaining a rebellion for ten or twelve days, after which he asked for and got pardon and was given the post of headman which Utimutiraja had enjoyed, though he soon lost it by his treachery.

During the attack on Malacca, d'Albuquerque had sent an envoy to Siam by the departing Chinese junks. This envoy now returned with protestations of friendship for the Portuguese, and d'Albuquerque sent back a Siamese ambassador, who had accompanied the envoy, with rich presents for the Lord of the White Elephant and an expression of hope that Siam would trade with Malacca. The Sultan of Kampar, son-in-law of Mahmud of Malacca, came with ten vessels to Muar and sent presents to d'Albuquerque with a request to become a vassal of the King of Portugal. The king of Java, who had hated the king of Malacca for his tyranny towards Javanese traders, sent a dozen long lances, a picture of himself going to battle with his war elephants, a *gamelan* set with live players, two very large bells and an offer of men and supplies: in return d'Albuquerque sent him one of the elephants he had captured. At the same time some Minangkabaus, who were then Hindus, came to exchange gold for Indian cloths. In November d'Albuquerque sent three ships under Antonio d'Abreu to explore the Spice Islands, with instructions to molest no ships of Moors or Hindus on the voyage but to give presents to the kings and chiefs of all the countries they visited. The loot taken from ships on his voyage to Malacca d'Albuquerque sent to Pasai to exchange for pepper for the Chinese market. In a very short time there was a brisk trade at Malacca.

The fort completed, d'Albuquerque assembled all the officers of his fleet and telling them he must depart for Goa with the monsoon debated the form of government advisable for Malacca, and the size of the garrison, and what ammunition and ships should

be left there. It was decided to have a Captain of the Fort with a Captain of the Fleet as his second in command. For his great services Ruy de Araujo was made Factor and overseer of the fortress and decider of disputes between native headmen. Ninachatu was appointed headman of the Hindus, a Kathi of the Moors, Regunecerage head of the Javanese at Upeh, and Tuan Calascar head of those elsewhere. The native merchants could not understand how d'Albuquerque could leave a place so rich and important and begged him to stay but he replied he must attend to matters at Goa. At the last moment he was detained a day by the secret disappearance of the Sultan of Pasai, whom he kept in his house treating him with all courtesy. The Sultan could not be found and at the end of 1511 d'Albuquerque sailed away. At the time of his shipwreck off Aru (the modern Deli in Sumatra), 60 Javanese carpenters whom he was taking with their wives and children to the dockyards at Cochin, rose in rebellion, captured the junk on which they were passengers and escaped to Pasai.

ii.

PORTUGAL'S STRUGGLE WITH JAVA, JOHOR AND ACHEH.

d'Albuquerque had scotched but not killed rebellion and war. Patih Kadir now fortified the Javanese quarter and headed a revolt, being aided by a fleet brought to the Muar river by Malacca's former Admiral, the Laksamana Hang Nadim, a hero who was to boast of four and thirty wounds got in battle against the Infidel. This attempt to capture Malacca was crushed for the moment by admiral Perez d'Andrade. But there were too many Javanese in Malacca lightly to submit to Portuguese domination. Upeh, their suburb, was full of traders from Majapahit's port Tuban, from Malacca's rice market Japara and from Sunda, while at Bandar Hilir lived the settlers from Grisek, which had eclipsed Tuban as a mart for the spices of the Moluccas. In 1509 the rivalry between Sultan Mahmud and Utimutiraja had been so great that the Malays feared to be subjected to Java. Then came the execution of Utimutiraja by d'Albuquerque and the defeat of Patih Kadir by d'Andrade. Ignorant of this defeat, in 1513 one Patih Unus tried to surprise the city, bringing a hundred ships with some 10,000 men, Javanese from Japara and from Palembang: defeated,

Patih Unus sailed home and beached his war-ship as a monument of a fight against men he called the bravest in the world, his exploit winning him a few years later the throne of Demak.

In July 1514 Jorge d'Albuquerque took over the Captaincy of the Malacca fortress from Ruy de Brito, to find that 'Abdu'llah, Sultan of Kampar in Sumatra and son-in-law of Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca, having paid his respects to Affonso d'Albuquerque in 1511, now tendered his services, whereupon a captain was sent to Kampar to offer him the post of Bendahara or chief of the "Moors"—in place, perhaps, of Ninachatu, who deposed for misconduct is said to have immolated himself on a pyre in the public square. The Portuguese captain discovered, that, furious over 'Abdu'llah's relations with his enemies or suspicious lest 'Abdu'llah aimed at gaining the Malacca throne for himself, Sultan Mahmud had summoned another son-in-law the ruler of Lingga to his aid and had despatched forces from his new capital at Bintan (Riau) with orders to attack Kampar. Kampar was saved by a fleet under Jorge Botelho, who carried 'Abdu'llah back to Malacca where he filled his mayoral office with propriety until traduced covertly by the spiteful Mahmud for intended treachery to the Portuguese he lost his head on the public scaffold. Many Malays now followed the Javanese in leaving a city dangerous for Muslims to inhabit, so that deprived of agriculturists and rice-dealers and threatened always by Mahmud's war-boats the port found itself short of provisions and Jorge Botelho, who spoke Malay, was sent to Siak to try to get food-supplies from Minangkabau. Reinforcements arrived from Malacca at the Siak estuary just in time to save Botelho from an attack by the Malay Laksamana from Riau, but his emissaries upcountry were well received and returned accompanied by Minangkabau traders bringing provisions, gold and aloe-wood. As Botelho had not brought any equivalent to exchange for the gold, he took the Minangkabaus to Malacca promising them safe-conduct for their return.

In 1516 Jorge d'Albuquerque was relieved by Jorge de Brito with instructions from Lisbon which in spite of his predecessor's warnings he proceeded to fulfil. All slaves and lands were to be divided up among Portuguese and no vessel was to trade in the

archipelago without a Portuguese commander. Under Malay rule slaves had had liberty to earn their own living provided they rendered forced service in case of need. The lands belonged to Malays. And it was now useless for any Asiatic trader to live at Malacca. The new regulations threatened to depopulate the place and had to be cancelled. de Brito died and while his officers disputed who should act in his place, the war-boats of Sultan Mahmud came to Muar and cut off Malacca's food supplies. Though reinforcements arrived from Goa and China, the want of food-stuffs afflicted the Portuguese with sickness, and having quietened their suspicions by an offer of peace, the Malays attacked Malacca by land and sea and were with difficulty repulsed. Soon afterwards, the owner of a Javanese junk captured by the Laksamana escaped to Malacca and declared that the Malay fort at the Muar estuary could be taken from the land-side, offering himself to provide a native force. Suspicious at first that it was a ruse the Portuguese accepted the offer, and though the land-track was swampy, the Portuguese troops and fleet arrived together, set the fort on fire and won a fight that cost the Malays three hundred lives. An attempt by the commander, Duarte de Mello, to go upriver to Pagoh was foiled by the Malay defences and the Portuguese retired with many of the enemy's guns. Correa relates that in this fight the Portuguese captured a Siamese prince, who was in league with Mahmud, and that in gratitude for his release the king of Siam sent Malacca a cargo of foodstuffs. In 1519 hearing of a meagre garrison Sultan Mahmud again attacked Malacca by land and sea and, though he failed, reduced the city to want until in May a small fleet under Antonio Correa brought supplies from Pegu. In June 1520 Correa fetched provisions from the same source. And now Garcia de Sá, Captain of the Fortress, determined, if possible, to destroy Pagoh the stronghold on the Muar from which Sultan Mahmud's chiefs launched their attacks on Malacca. With a force of 500 men, of whom 150 were Portuguese, he made a spirited assault and burnt both the Malay fleet and the fort, a success that kept Mahmud quiet for a long while.

In October 1521 having succeeded Garcia de Sá at Malacca, Jorge d'Albuquerque and Jorge de Brito with a force of 600 men

failed in an attempt to take Mahmud's stronghold at Bintang and lost a brigantine in the attempt. This stimulated the Malays to further aggression. The Laksamana Hang Nadim and the Bendahara Paduka Raja molested shipping, a task easier because recently the Portuguese had often committed piracy and had incurred the hate of the whole archipelago. At Pahang and off Java Portugal's ships were captured. Portuguese landed in Pahang unaware of the ties between it and Johor: several were killed at once and others who refused to accept Islam were blown from guns.

1523 and 1524 saw two Portuguese fleets attack Bintang to retire with heavy losses. Dissensions among the Malays sometimes served their enemy's cause, as when Mahmud ordered Narasinga, Raja of Indragiri, to ravage Lingga for being in league with Portugal, while his own forces again attacked Malacca: the attack on Malacca failed and Maharaja Isup of Lingga with Portuguese aid saved his country. Again with the help of a renegade Portuguese the Laksamana beset Malacca and cut off its food supplies (till a fowl cost 50 ducats), only retiring in May 1525 at the approach of a fleet that brought Pedro Mascarenhas to relieve Jorge d'Albuquerque. After a first unsuccessful attempt to deal with Bintang, Mascarenhas set out on 23 October 1526 with 20 ships, 550 Portuguese and 600 Malays and sacked Bengkalis, a vassal port of Johor on the Sumatran coast, thereafter heading for Mahmud's own stronghold. The near island of Bulang went up in smoke and flame, and scouts reported the white sails of the Portuguese fleet heading for Riau. Of an incident in the defence there are two versions in the *Malay Annals*, one written near the event, the other revised by a scribe determined to exalt his ancestors the Bendaharas. According to the earlier version, a member of that house, the Temenggong, Sri Awadana, summoned to carry out his proper duty of strengthening the Malay forts, tried to compile a roster of the workmen in his own hand but was so slow and made such a stupid mess of it that the Sultan angrily exclaimed "If ever Sri Awadana becomes prime minister, we shall be undone." The latter version skilfully twists the roster into a list of all the gifts the Temenggong had ever received from the master for whom he was about to die, and makes the Sultan hang his head with shame over an inventory that comprised only a rimless tray with

a hole in it, a notched water-vessel in a broken stand, a cracked Chinese dish, a cracked cup, a saucer, two old cooking-pots and three slaves! It took fourteen days before the Kota Kara or outer fort fell and then a direct assault on the strongly fortified bridge joining as in Malacca the two banks led to such heavy losses that Mascarenhas making a feint of a frontal attack sent forces overland through mangrove swamps and surprised the enemy. At last, Kopak, the Bintang capital, was captured and burnt. A fleet from Pahang arrived too late and was beaten off. Riau was given by the Portuguese to their ally and helper, the Raja of Lingga. Sultan Mahmud fled to Kampar where in 1528 he died. His loss of Malacca and the destruction of his palm-thatched Bintang capital easily give a false view of the extent of damage done to the Portuguese by Mahmud's interminable hostility. Continually he damaged the trade of Malacca not only by fighting but by the influence he had upon the rulers of the east coast of Sumatra, whose rivers were highways for supplying Malacca with gold, pepper and that staple of the port's life, rice. His endless attacks must have helped, too, to break down Portuguese morale, inducing that recklessness and that proneness to corruption which danger produced in so many early seamen adventurers but which increased beyond measure in the minds of traders working in fear in the steaming heat of offices in company with the motley unscrupulous crowd that thronged Malacca. Sultan Mahmud left two sons, a younger 'Ala'u'd-din, whose mother was of the Bendahara family, and an elder, Muzaffar, whose mother was a Siamese princess. 'Ala'u'd-din was chosen by his mother's relations to succeed the throne and founded a new capital up the Johor river, while his elder brother went to Perak and started its present dynasty.

A few years later, when Garcia de Sá was Captain of the Fortress of Malacca, the Achinese in concert with a wealthy Malay of Malacca, called "Sinaya Raja" by the Portuguese and Sang Naya in the *Malay Annals*, plotted to surprise the city, while the Christians sat unarmed in church, but bragging at one of those carousals for which Acheh was famous they let the cat out of the bag, whereupon Garcia de Sá arrested Sang Naya and cast

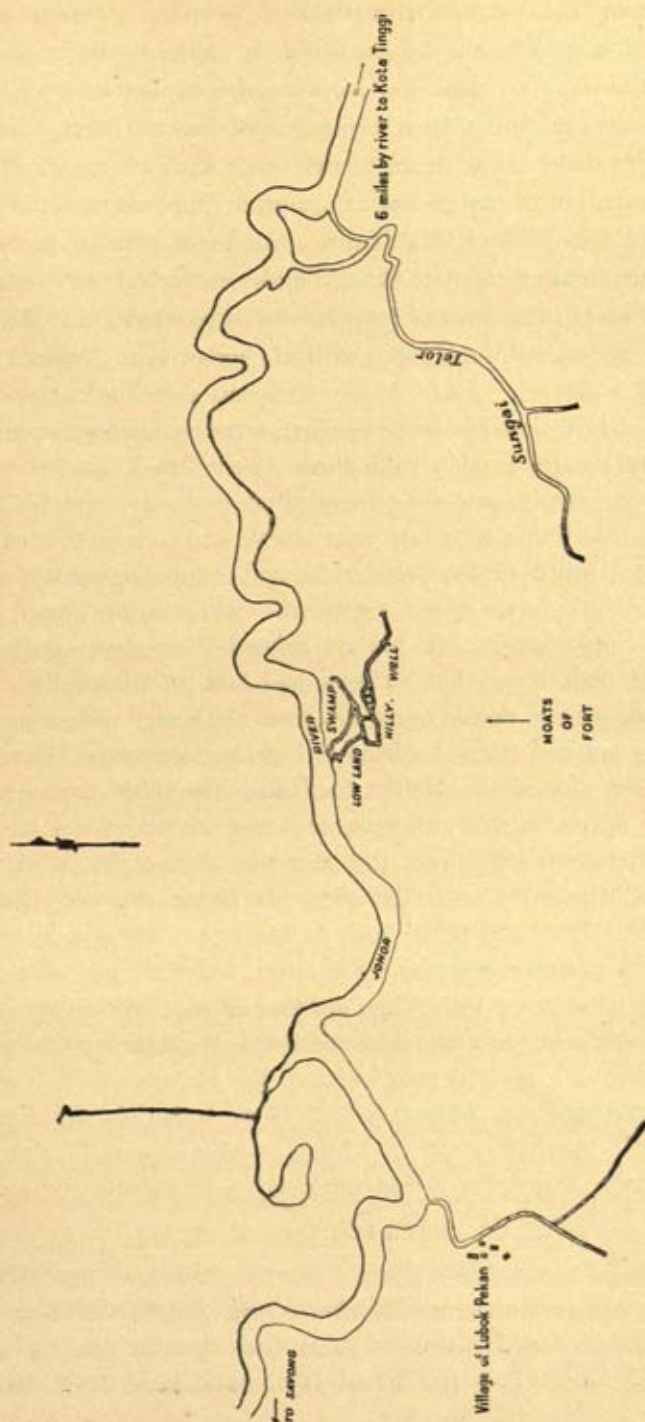


Fig. 13. Remains of a fort, Sungai Telor.

him from the top of the castle keep, a mode of execution that created a precedent. It happened as follows. In 1533 Tuan Barcalar (? = Laksamana), commander of a Johor fleet of 27 war-boats, returning from helping Muzaffar of Perak, called at Malacca under the pretence of welcoming its new Captain, Estevão da Gama, son of the famous navigator, and offering him the friendship of the youthful 'Ala'u'd-din. Not to be outdone in courtesy da Gama sent an envoy to 'Ala'u'd-din's new capital but the Malays, aware now of the affair of Sang Naya and convinced that the envoy had come only to spy out the land, hurled him down from the top of a tall tree. Again, Malay war-boats assembled on the Muar in order to molest Malacca's commerce and attacking a small force that rashly tried odds with them killed Paulo, brother of the Malacca Captain, and some thirty of his men. In June 1535 Dom Estavão da Gama with two large vessels and a score of small and 400 men sailed to the Johor river and vainly bombarded Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din's fort,—whose moats still exist on the Sungai Telor above Kota Tinggi. The Malays refused to be drawn. da Gama then landed troops, but sickness and lack of ammunition made their commander decide to retreat, when the enemy was rash enough to sally out and attempt a hand to hand engagement. Their heavy losses now forced the Malays to flee up the Johor river past the mouth of its tributary the Sayong, just above which, to block pursuit, they felled a large tree at a spot ditch-wide, called Rebat (The Obstruction) unto this day. da Gama destroyed the fort at Sungai Telor and sailed back to Malacca. Still the Johor fleet molested Malacca shipping. So, again, in 1536 da Gama sailed to the Johor river with 400 Portuguese troops and many Malay mercenaries: in spite of a brave defence, Portuguese artillery won the battle and inflicted such losses on the Malays that 'Ala'u'd-din sued for peace and came to live at Muar, ostensibly the friend of Portugal. Anyhow attacks on Malacca shipping ceased and trade flourished. There was a Portuguese factor in Pahang and we hear of 300 Portuguese trading in Patani.

It was fear of a new Muslim power, Acheh, that now made Pahang and Perak as well as Johor friendly with the Portuguese. In 1292 Marco Polo had found Islam established in Perlak and

Pasai, provinces of the later kingdom of Aceh; and in 1345 Ibn Batutah found yet another province, Samudra, walled and using a tin coinage and bar gold from China. In the middle of the fourteenth century the region was conquered, like the Malay Peninsula, by the great Javanese empire of Majapahit. But in 1416 the Chinese reported it a country of Muslim agriculturists, planters of hill rice and pepper, breeders of cattle and goats and poultry. And a century later, the fall of Malacca and the Portuguese hatred of Muslims and their arrogation of that trade monopoly which formerly the Gujeratis had there enjoyed, attracted to Aceh merchants from Calicut, Bengal, Ceylon, Pegu and even Turkey and made it wealthy and ambitious to confound the Portuguese and all their allies. Tolls wrung from foreign shipping and restrictions on the trade of her own allies were to lose Portugal much of the Sumatran trade and lead to the rise of her new rival. In 1519 Aceh, still insignificant, had pirated a Portuguese vessel in distress off its coasts, killed some of its crew and captured others, whose release was eventually effected by the Shahbandar of Pasai. Then Jorge de Brito visited Aceh and in spite of a friendly welcome was tempted by talk of a mosque full of gold to attack the port, only to be beaten off and driven to his boats. The conquest of the pepper ports, Pedir and Pasai, made Aceh rich from the trade in that commodity with Gujerat and from the still greater trade with China. And in September 1537 some three thousand Achinese forces attempted to surprise her rival, Malacca: the first night they landed but were driven back to their ships; the following two nights, with torches fixed high above the ramparts to reveal the enemy, the Portuguese inflicted such losses on him that it was some years before he repeated the attempt.

In 1539, however, 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah, Sultan of Aceh, raided and took Deli (Aru), hitherto a fief of the Malacca house. The Achinese had a fleet of 160 keels, mostly swift rowing-boats, manned partly by mercenaries from Malabar and Gujerat and even from Turkey and Abyssinia. But calling upon his relatives at Siak and Perak for aid, the young king of Johor mustered a fleet that helped by its enemy's ignorance of local tides beat his Achinese trade rivals in a great sea-fight which cost them 13,500

men and all but fourteen ships. So Pinto, recording Homeric numbers. It was a bitter defeat whose rankling led almost to the extinction of the Malacca dynasty. It was also a glorious victory, the first Malay success since the fall of Malacca, heartening the victors to their old-time pursuit of dynastic quarrels and trade monopoly. For the Portuguese it must have been sheer delight to see their rivals flying at one another's throats.

Rich from an Indian trade that Malacca was unable to prevent, by 1547 the king of Acheh again had "the force of a Prince to play the part of a Pirate; he took some Junks of Provisions, and at sea behaved himself insolently to some ships of his Friends, his success heightened his confidence. Landing by Night in the Port of Malacca, only to say he had set footing on ground that Liv'd under Portuguese obedience and with this glory won solely by stealth, he immediately returned on Board"—with some geese, whose cackling had roused the garrison! The Achinese burnt two Portuguese vessels in the harbour, and capturing seven fishermen cut off their noses, ears and feet and sent the Portuguese commander a challenge written in their blood. "The City was in an Up-roar.... Simao de Mello was as sensible of the King of Acheh's Cowardice, as if it had been an outrage; so sacred were the walls of that Fortress, as if to march towards them had been an insolence, to look on them a Crime." But having insufficient forces Simao de Mello refused to accept the challenge, whereupon St. Francis Xavier prophesying the timely arrival of two galliots persuaded some merchants to fit out a fleet of two great carvels, two galleys and six fly-boats. The galliots duly arrived from Patani and the little fleet set out under Francisco Deca to follow the Achinese, whom they found lying off the coast of Kedah, busy erecting a fort some miles up the Perlis river as a base for attacks on Portuguese ships faring between Malacca and Bengal and Pegu (Burma). The king of Kedah had fled overland to Patani. Just then the royal cousins of Johor, Perak and Pahang, fresh from intimidating the ruler of Patani into a settlement of old grievances, sailed their fleet of 300 boats and 8,000 men into the Muar estuary, where they lay for several days that seemed to the Portuguese years. Had they come, as the Sultan pretended, to

assist Catholic Portugal against their Muslim foe, Acheh? Or, if that sea-fight went against the white man, would they contrary to all precedent assist Acheh, making their peace with her in order to recover their ancient home? In the midst of his Sunday preaching St. Francis Xavier fell into an ecstasy and saw in his trance the Portuguese fleet drubbing the twenty great vessels of the Achinese away on the Perlis river. The Malay flotilla departed. But in June 1551, against his old admiral's advice and bitter distrust, Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Johore, leagued with his cousins of Perak and Pahang, with the king of "Marruaz" (? = Bruas) and the Queen of Japara in Java, collected a fleet of 200 sail and some 5,000 men to attack Malacca. The old Laksamana had refused the errand, and his son was sent to invite the Portuguese to send two ships to join in a pretended campaign against Acheh but he carried secretly a letter from his father warning Pedro da Silva da Gama, Captain of the Fortress, that Malacca was the real objective. On 11 June 1551 the Malays burnt the ships in the harbour, then captured the suburbs with their supplies and finally endeavoured to carry *A Famosa*, the famous fortress, by assault; but having lost 800 men under a shower of timber, stones and grenades, they sat down to starve the defenders, until a rumour that a Portuguese fleet had left to harry the harbours of Johor, Perak and Pahang caused all but the Javanese to raise the siege. After a while these were driven off with heavy losses and the three months' siege ended.

When Antão de Noronha came to Goa in 1564, he heard that the Sultan of Acheh had formed a league of princes against the Infidel and that the Sultan of Turkey had sent 500 gunners and a large supply of guns and ammunition. It was not religion however that prompted Acheh to fight but Portugal's insistence on monopolies and her sinking of Achinese vessels on their voyages to India and the Red Sea. That trade and dynastic ambitions actuated Achinese politics is shown by her attitude to the Muslim empire of Johor. In 1540 Johor had overwhelmed Acheh's fleet before Aru. Now in 1564 Acheh not only recovered Aru but sacked the fortified town of Johor Lama, removing 'Ala'u'd-din, Johor's first Sultan, to Acheh where he died or was murdered.

In 1568 Aceh attacked Malacca with a fleet of three great galliots manned by Malabarese, four galleys, sixty fustas and galliots and more than 300 smaller craft. This armada carried 15,000 soldiers besides 400 Turks, a number of slaves and 200 bronze cannon. The Sultan was in command and pretending that his expedition was against Demak (the great Javanese kingdom which more fearful of Aceh than of Portugal had refused to join the Muslim league) he sent an envoy who under torture confessed that he had come to kill the Captain of the fortress and fire the granaries. Decapitated and with hands and feet lopped off, his corpse was put in a boat to drift back to the Achinese fleet. The Sultan pretending ignorance of this incident said that he wanted to buy rice which was given him. Finally he unshipped his guns and surrounded the city. Dom Leonis Pereira had only 200 of his countrymen in his force of 1,500 men and sent messengers to Johor and Kedah inviting their aid. Priests undertook to defend one position but took refuge in a church when fighting began. In vain the Sultan tried to win the Tamil and Javanese settlers to his side. On 16 February he led a general assault, in which he lost his eldest son, the ruler of Aru, and 4,000 men. The king of Johor arrived in time for the jubilations, with a fleet of sixty vessels. In revenge Aceh burnt the villages on the Johor river and joined a league of Indian princes against the Portuguese, but twice her fleets were defeated by Luiz de Mello. In October 1573 an Achinese fleet of ninety sail, carrying 7,000 men, appeared in the Malacca roads and sent men ashore to burn the southern suburbs but a fierce storm drove them home.

At the end of 1574 angered at the harm done to her commerce in the Archipelago by the Portuguese, the queen of Japara sent a force to invest Malacca, but the failure of Aceh and Johor to support her allowed the Portuguese, in spite of the smallness of their garrison and their fleet, to repel the Javanese invader. On 1 February 1575 an Achinese fleet arrived and beleaguered the city but for some inexplicable reason retired. Then, notwithstanding a Portuguese fort at Perak's estuary, Aceh conquered that State and carried off the eldest son of the Sultan (kinsman and ally of Johor) to become, prince of the Malacca house though he was,

the next ruler of Aceh. This Malay king of Aceh, 'Ala'u'd-din or Mansur Shah, married his daughter to her kinsman the Johor Sultan, Ali Jalla 'Abdu'l-Jalil Riayat Shah, but so far was this alliance from staying the attacks of the Achinese captains on Johor, that the murder of Raja Ashem, its issue, by a usurper of the Achinese throne was destined to add fuel to the fire of an ancient hate. One Achinese attack in 1582, just after the marriage, the Portuguese helped to repel, whereupon Ali Jalla 'Abdu'l-Jalil Riayat Shah, went to Malacca to tender his thanks and according to d'Eredia "a trade in spices and metals, including a large quantity of tin" grew up between Johor and Malacca. But in 1584 the Portuguese removed their merchant from Johor, as junks from Java were paying dues to the Sultan instead of to Malacca, and insistent on their monopoly the Portuguese pirated Johor craft. In dudgeon the Sultan sank old junks to block the Singapore straits to carracks voyaging from China to the Moluccas, whereupon the Portuguese found a new passage for their ships south of Singapore which they named after Santa Barbara. Trade rivalry came to such a pass, that in 1586 Johor invested Malacca by land and sea, calling to her aid the Minangkabau betel-dealers of Naning and Rembau, fiefs of the Bendahara from Malay days, whom it took 100 Portuguese and 600 native troops to defeat. Early in 1587, having failed to negotiate terms through the Catholic Bishop of Malacca, "Rajale of Jor," as the English called him, again blockaded the port by land and sea, stopping supplies and preventing Portuguese ships from passing between India and China. The Viceroy raised loans from the cities of Goa, Bassein and Chaul and on 28 April sent 3 galleons, 2 galleys, 4 galliots and 7 fustas with 500 men under Paola de Lima to relieve the beleaguered city. Temporarily Aceh had made friends with Johor. The Portuguese therefore decided that Johor must be destroyed. In July 1587 Antonio de Noronha was watching the Johor river with galleons that were helpless against fast Malay row-boats, until Simao d'Abreu arrived with galleys and fustas and took the galleons in tow. The Portuguese bombarded the town of Johor Lama (which they called the Stone Fort) for two days (20-21 July), doing damage estimated at 200,000 ducats! In spite of d'Abreu's advice, de Noronha then chanced his arm with three hundred soldiers

against the great palisade-topped earthworks that bristled with cannon and were defended by 10,000 men, warriors from Java and Minangkabaus, forces from Trengganu, Indragiri and Kampar. de Noronha failed and had to be rescued by the other captains. On 6 August Dom Paolo de Lima arrived and nine days later forced his way through the defences. After strenuous resistance, the Malays scattered into the surrounding forest. de Lima set fire to the town, recovering great booty of precious metals and costly wares that were buried in the ground:—to this day are dug up broken bronze vessels, prehistoric beads, coins, Majapahit amulets, innumerable shards of Chinese porcelain, relics of the greatest port on a river navigated for at least two thousand years. 2,000 large and small vessels, 1,000 guns mostly small, and 1,500 muskets are said to have been taken. The Portuguese lost only 80 men, while the Malays lost thousands! Aceh sent envoys to congratulate Malacca and ceased to hinder Portuguese trade. But fearful lest Johor might retaliate on Portuguese shipping, in October de Lima was sacking and burning the villages of Bintang (Riau).

Inside a decade, Johor had recovered enough to renew the war with Aceh over the murdered prince, Raja Ashem. It made Aru (Deli) throw off allegiance to its foe and become a vassal of Johor. It pressed Aceh so hard that in 1599 her usurper king, 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah, promised John Davis cargos of pepper in return for help against his namesake Johor's new Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, the drunkard of the Dutch records. In 1599 too, Aceh even despatched an embassy to Goa, which after a ceremonial reception and lavish entertainment was sent home in a Portuguese ship with a monk as interpreter to suggest to the Sultan to murder and seize the ships of "Dutch pirates and traitors who had risen against their rightful king." In 1600 the Portuguese, afraid of Dutch competition, proffered the usurper aid if they might have the strongest fort in Aceh. In 1601 a Johor fleet of 60 war-boats lay before Pasai, and Aceh feared an alliance between Johor and Portugal. Yet, his harbour full of trading vessels from Gujerat, Malabar, Bengal and Pegu, that "great Bacchus" the lusty old usurper who ate off gold plate and swilled toddy in the court of Aceh was soon strong enough to sally up the Johor river and

beset Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din at Batu Sawar, now in d'Eredia's phrase "the Metropolitan Court of the Malaio"; only raising the siege from lack of supplies. So ineffective were the marauding tactics of the day against capitals of palm-thatched huts and dug-outs, that it appeared as if there could be no end to a fight where combatants changed sides as it suited them, that long-drawn triangular fight between Portugal, Johor and Acheh. Then to Acheh famous for her international trade came the early English and Dutch voyagers, tolerant of Islam, and bringing letters from their sovereigns to ask for commercial privileges.

iii.

THE DEATH-BLOW FROM HOLLAND.

England's desire to find new markets for her cloth brought Portugal one rival in her Eastern trade. As early as 5 January 1586, hearing of Cavendish's voyage, the Portuguese had sent a galleon *Reys Magos* to warn Malacca and Goa, a galleon whose captain, João Gago, old and gouty, had on the voyage to direct a fight with an English ship from his chair on the poop. In 1588 when Ralph Fitch spent seven weeks in Malacca, the King of Spain had ordered that no Englishman was to be allowed there. In 1596 the Viceroy at Goa was so troubled at hearing of the voyage of Benjamin Wood that on 24 September 1597 he sent a fleet in pursuit of him.

But more formidable was the rivalry of the Netherlands. Europe's distributors of East Indian produce were the Dutch, and now irked by their partial and intermittent exclusion from Portuguese ports, they determined no longer to act as middlemen in Europe but to sail East and tap the source of the spice trade. In 1594 Philip closed even Lisbon to them. In 1598 the King was writing from Lisbon of "Hollander corsairs" and warned the Viceroy "to have in the sea of Malacca a fleet such as there used to be, reinforcing it according to the present greater need, in order to prevent the Hollanders from going to those parts and to give them the chastisement they deserve, whereby they will not be so imprudent as to return." On 17 March 1598 His Majesty instructed the Viceroy "to extinguish and destroy the novelty of this navigation so prejudicial to our service." For in the seven years following

1595 no less than 65 Dutch ships had visited the Eastern seas. In 1603 the Chamber at Goa in its annual letter to the king reported that the Dutch had not only captured a ship voyaging from Santomé to Malacca with a cargo worth 300,000 cruzados but three or four more taking money to Bengal, and off Johor the richest carrack that had ever left China. "The fortress of Malacca," it continued, is without provisions nor can it obtain any, because the Hollanders stopped those that the Javanese were bringing." The people were perishing of famine and the King was asked to send a fleet, which should not visit India for fear lest India's great needs diverted it, but sail direct to Malacca, seeing that "without the South there is no India." As early as 1606 the Dutch made a treaty with Johor for the capture of Malacca from their common enemy, the Portuguese, and thereafter except for temporary lapses, when the Dutch failed to protect her, Johor was on the side of Portugal's enemies.

Acheh also continued hostile. In April 1615 Arthur Spaight wrote from the *Hector* in Acheh roads that "iron is much inquired after, for that the king is building of galleys and preparing to go to Malacca." A few months later Richard Rowe reported that the king "has of his fleet three hundred and odd sails of junks, galleys, frigates and prows, pretending to carry over the straits near a hundred thousand men." In the autumn of 1615 the Portuguese fought the Achinese for three days and three nights off Muar, and passing vessels "saw great fires." In June 1616 the kings of Acheh and "Jor" tried to take Malacca with "an infinite number of people and galleys." Of an armada of four galleons coming from Goa to destroy the Dutch and English at Bantam and the Moluccas one was sunk by the Achinese and three were burnt by the Dutch off Malacca before Joao de Silva could join them. "The Portingalls because they would still be accounted valiant go about by fabulous reports to maintain their declining reputation," declaring, for example, that one of their ships sank twelve out of an English fleet of sixteen sail. But doomed though they were, the Portuguese were gallant fighters. On 6 December 1630 President William Hoare wrote to the East India Company from Bantam. "The King of Achin, having two years since besieged Malacca both by sea and land, received a greate overthrowe

from the Portingalls sent thither to ytts reliefe; wherat impatient, he vowed revenge, and collecting this last yeare his whole power of vessels, ordinance and more than 20,000 men, imbarqued them to ruein of Malacca aforesaid; where allso arriveing hee attempted, but fayling begirt yt agayne with a strong power and for some moneths attended, eyther by force or famine to subvert yt. But the Vice-King of Goa, not ydle in itt succour, ymployed Don Alvera de Botelio with 80 sayle gallyes and frigotts of warr, with a competent number of soldiers, to that designe," who overthrew the Achinese fleet, took all its vessels and ordnance and all its men but sixteen who returning to Acheh were at once slain for being messengers of such ill tidings. In the same year the English were Portugal's allies against Dutch shipping:—it was now that the Dutch told the Sultan of Jambi that the English "were a rude and ungoverned nation, given to drunkenness and abusing of women, quarrelling, fighting and such like."

This naval and diplomatic success barely gave Portugal a respite. Years ago Francisco d'Almeida had written to King Manoel, "Let it be known to your Majesty that if you are not strong in ships, little will avail you any fortress on land." Time was confirming the truth of this judgment. Naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean had passed now to the Dutch and the English, and the days of Portuguese empire were numbered. By 1635 the Dutch were intercepting all Portugal's trade in the straits of Malacca, even searching British ships for Portuguese goods, and by 1636 Malacca, the former magazine for the archipelago, was ruined, the Indian and spice trade being diverted to the free ports of Bantam, Jambi, Acheh and Macassar, and the China trade to Japan and Manila. In 1638 the Kandy chiefs defeated the Portuguese and in two years Trincomalee and Galle fell to the Dutch. In 1639 the Dutch and Acheh had besieged Malacca by land and sea "so that there cannot a boate escape them," and British bottoms were afraid to carry rice for the port's relief. At the end of 1640, just when Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke, Goa for the fifth year in succession was blockaded by a Dutch fleet, while Madrid and Lisbon were pre-occupied and the military and financial resources of the Portuguese were at too low an ebb to succour Malacca. Goa talked

of an offer of the Portuguese settlements of Asia to the king of England "provided hee bee pleased to protect them against the Dutch and graunt them liberty of conscience and freedome in matters of religion." In 1641 Malacca fell. In 1656 the Portuguese were driven from Ceylon and their chief fortresses in Coromandel and Malabar, while at the peace of 1663 out of Portugal's Malayan possessions only Timor-Dilly was left.

iv.

PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION AND TRADE.

The Captain of the Fortress of Malacca, or Governor as at times he was styled, was ordinarily a nobleman. For civil affairs he enjoyed the advice of a Council, composed of the Ouvidor or Chief Justice, a Viador or mayor, the Bishop or his deputy, and a Secretary of State. He was appointed by the King as a reward for services rendered. The appointment was generally for three years and carried an annual allowance of 600,000 reals or 2,500 cruzados, besides which, as we shall see, its holders made enormous profits. The Captain's suite comprised 40 Portuguese soldiers and pages, 24 black halberdiers with a drummer, a piper and an umbrella-carrier, under a Captain of the Guard appointed like the soldiers of the garrison by the King.

The Captain-General or commander-in-chief was generally a nobleman, appointed for three years by the Vice-Roy of India. In war he had supreme command by land and sea. Without Council or advice he administered criminal and civil justice over all the military at Malacca. He had in his service 40 soldiers and pages and received annual emoluments of 4,000 cruzados, which however did not represent his total income.

The Ouvidor or Chief Justice, holding his commission from the Vice-Roy of India, had civil jurisdiction in Malacca only, could pronounce judgment through his Secretary and issue to his Merinho or sheriff warrants of execution up to 200 crusados. In suits involving more than that sum appeals lay to the High College of Justice at Goa. In criminal cases the advice and confirmation of the Captain were necessary. The Ouvidor drew yearly 200,000 reals

or 833½ cruzados but his takings from fines and for summonses were so great that the profits of his term of office amounted to more than 20,000 or 25,000 cruzados.

Equally high were the profits of the Feitor or officer who had charge of ammunition, victuals and ships of war.

Below these high officers were the lesser fry with their smaller perquisites.

At the end of his term of office, a Captain or Captain-General could be indicted at Goa for misconduct, but friends at the Viceroy's palace and bribery secured acquittal. Neither Captain nor Captain-General, neither Ouvidor or Feitor, were subject to any jurisdiction except that of the Vice-Roy, but the Feitor had to submit his accounts to the College of Accounts on penalty of lifelong imprisonment and confiscation of property.

Yearly on saints days there were elected out of the leading citizens seven Magistrates, who managed the affairs of the city after the Portuguese custom, allotting its income from the excise-duty on toddy and from one-third of the toll-duties for the maintenance of the fortifications and other public works. They had civil and criminal jurisdiction over citizens, who however could appeal to the Ouvidor. The Magistrates had two unpaid Almatacies or officers who were chosen monthly to control the sale of foodstuffs and the cleansing of the city.

There were three offices copied from the Malay administration.

A citizen was appointed Temenggong or bailiff for life, to control the Minangkabau and Malay vassals of Naning and Ringy. In 1634 Barretto de Resende wrote "Inland the land" (that is, Malacca) "borders on that of the Manamcabos, Moors of a land called Rindo" (? Lindu or Rembau), "vassals of the King of Pam" (namely Pahang), "and close by live five or six thousands of the same Manamcabo Moors, vassals of His Majesty" the King of Portugal, "under the government of a Portuguese married man of Malacca called Tamungam," or Temenggong, "an office conferred by the Viceroy. To him they owe obedience and should one of these Moors die without heirs, the said Tamungam inherits his property, and if there are heirs he makes an agreement with them

and receives ten per cent. upon such goods as he thinks fit. At the present day a Portuguese holds the office for life. These Moors cultivate extensive land by which they maintain themselves. They especially cultivate the betre. They purchase tin from the inhabitants of the interior and bring it to Malacca." In his report, dated 7 September 1641, to the Council of India on the past and present condition of Malacca Schouten tells us more: "For the control of the Minangkabau and Malay vassals of the villages Naning and Ringy, a burgher was appointed Tommagon or bailiff for life. He adjudicated in all their disputes, punished their misdeeds and reported murders to the Governor of the Castle. His pay was a percentage of the betel or *sireh* sent from Naning to the Malacca market, which amounted yearly to quite 1,000 cruzados. He had an agent at Naning who informed him of what was happening there. A Minangkabau boat coming down-river had to pay 1 cruzado and to give certain presents on its cargo of fruit, chicken and cattle.... Under him were one or two Orang Kaya."

All foreign Asiatics at Malacca were under the Bendahara, an official appointed by the King for life. Over them he had civil and criminal jurisdiction. His income was derived from a royal orchard near St. Thomas' Church, from presents given him by all boats bringing provisions and from fines.

To supervise foreign crafts, to receive envoys and take them to the Governor, and to assist the Bendahara there was a Shahbandar, whose emoluments were derived from a fixed percentage of provisions imported, that was given him as a legal due.

Malaccans and other dark inhabitants were under a Captain-Mor and several captains of their own race, who had duties only in time of war.

When d'Eredia wrote a century after its conquest, Malacca town had a Christian population of 7,400 not counting "infidel native vassals." There was the Fortress with its garrison and its 300 married Portuguese men, without which fortress not even the gallantry of the Portuguese could have saved the port from capture time after time. Within the circle of its walls were the Castle, the Palaces of the Governor, the Palace of the Bishop, the Council

Hall, five Churches and two Hospitals. Outside lay three Suburbs. In the north there was Upeh, also called Tranqueira after the palisade that protected its country-houses and groves from the attacks of the Saletes though not from more formidable invasion: its wooden-tiled roofed houses contained two parishes, one peopled by Chulias from Coromandel, the other by Chinese. South of the river lay the palm-thatched suburb of Bandar Hilir, while along its banks ran Sabak, a suburb consisting of huts built over the river, the homes of fishermen and dealers in timber and charcoal. At the mouth of the river was the Bazaar of the Javanese, who in spite of periodic wars with Malacca could not boycott so good a market for their rice and grain. Every year, says d'Eredia, there arrived at Malacca more than 200 boats from Java "loaded with common rice, *pulut* rice, every kind of grain, garlic, onions, butter, oils, honey, wax, Cassia fistula, a little cinnamon, tamarinds, coconuts, fowls, birds, saffron, *cacumbas*, every kind of medicinal herb, large quantities of meat, and pickled and dried fish"—besides earthenware, mats, baskets and weapons.

For the local land policy was bad. Large tracts of land were given out to Portuguese without any stipulation to ensure cultivation. "The married men of Malacca" wrote Barretto de Resende, "possess many leagues of land, extending on one side to Cape Rachado and on the other to the River Fermoza (Batu Pahat) and also many leagues in the interior, but all uninhabited with none to cultivate the land, though it is fertile and would yield much rice." Constant attacks from Johor made it unsafe for Catholics to have country estates but what land belonged to Moors was well cultivated and it would have saved the port from famine during its many sieges, had its administrators encouraged Malays to cultivate the hinterland, ensuring their neutrality or friendship in war by generous treatment in time of peace.

If bad land policy affected Malacca's welfare in time of war, a bad customs policy brought it ruin financial and political. Between 1555 and 1563 Malacca was free from attacks by Acheh and Johor but the corrupt practices of the port ruined its trade. When the Portuguese captured Malacca, their command of the sea enabled them to follow the old policy of Sri Vijaya and Malay

Malacca and require all passing ships to call there. But the tyrannical exactions of some Captains drove ships to desert Malacca for the ports of Johor, Deli, Perak, Aceh and Banten and diverted the China trade to Patani. Pinto tells how estranged by the swindling of Portuguese officials Malay traders took their goods to Johor and her allies and tried to recover their losses at Malacca by pirating Portuguese vessels. The Portuguese then patrolled the straits and compelled all "Indian" ships to call at Malacca and pay toll, burning the ships and enslaving the crews of all who refused and resisted. As this drastic procedure drove more people than ever away from Malacca, it was dropped except apparently for local craft:—writing about 1638 Barretto de Resende records—"it is a law of Malacca that no boat coming from the region of the straits shall pass without putting in at Malacca and paying duties on all the cargo, the rate being ten per cent. and a further two per cent. to the town for the fortification and artillery."

In 1544 Goa resolved to reform a system that enriched officials and damaged the King of Portugal. On all wares from India a 6 per cent. toll had been levied but of wares borne to China a quarter had had to be delivered to the factory at 20 per cent. discount. Traders, therefore, had delivered unsalable goods and assessed them at a sixth above their value, while sometimes officials had forced traders to sell their wares at less than their value. Accordingly Goa sent a superintendent, Simao Botelho, to Malacca to cancel these regulations and to arrange that henceforth all imports, no matter what their country of origin, should be taxed 6 per cent. except foodstuffs which in view of Malacca's eternal want of supplies were to be admitted gratis:—two years later the import duty was raised to 8 per cent. on goods from Bengal and 10 per cent. on goods from China, so as to prevent Portuguese from leaving the King's service to trade in those parts. This reform the then Captain of the Fortress, Ruy Vaz Pereira, refused to sanction during his term of office, contending that the King had appointed him unconditionally for four years! However he died and the reform was introduced, whereupon in one year the revenue rose from 12 to 15,000 ducats to 27,500 ducats and at the end of the sixteenth century was 80,000 ducats.

Schouten gives the following summary of Portuguese customs duties and taxes in his report on Malacca in 1641. At the Alfendega or customs-house all imports other than food-stuffs were subject to a nine per cent. duty, six for the King and three for the city. On a bar of gold worth about 230 cruzados the duty was 4 cruzados. On exports $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty was payable (3 for the King and $1\frac{1}{2}$ for the city) but goods exported to Goa and Cochin, which had royal customs-houses, were free of duty. A tenth of all the fruits of the land were paid to the King, who leased out their collection for a sum varying from 1,000 to 1,200 cruzados a year, which sum was devoted to religious and charitable purposes. All holdings, urban and rural, except those that belonged to religious bodies, paid a cruzado or less a year. Orchards large and small paid three cruzados. Uncultivated lands and lands which formerly belonged to the Malay Sultans were sold or leased. All toddy-sellers paid a cruzado a month, which brought in 600 cruzados a year. There was a poll-tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ a real a head for vessels with crews of not less than five Malays and of 3 cruzados for vessels carrying more. Javanese and other foreigners and Malaccans were exempt. The poll-tax brought in at least 2,000 cruzados a year. All vessels were subject to an anchorage-fee, which was paid by the King to the descendants of Vasco de Gama. All outgoing vessels had to pay for a permit. From their enemies, like the English, the Portuguese made more exorbitant demands. In 1636 they were demanding tolls on the English Company's own goods at Macao, Malacca, and Goa even though none of them were landed, and the tolls charged were sometimes 9, sometimes 20 per cent. of the value of the goods; at Goa they were 20 per cent.

But from every one the Portuguese Captains at Malacca wanted more than tolls and duties. Every ship had to give a huge present before it could get a pass, a custom honoured by observance, though so far from having the King's sanction it was forbidden on pain of excommunication. Well enough St. Francis Xavier wrote in 1549—"When you confess Captains, Factors, or any other officials of the King....take the greatest care to get complete information of the way in which they gain their living. You will ask them if they pay *partes* (? taxes), if they make monopolies, if they help

themselves with the King's money for their own business and the like details. Do not be satisfied with asking them in general if they are holding what is of others. They will answer you that they owe nothing to anybody, for they easily take no notice of such things, as they are now well established, and they are so little affected by the injustices involved. Really they are under obligation to restore much to many." One can understand why on the Saint's arrival at Malacca, the people went down on their knees and cried, "The holy father is here" !

The Portuguese government started to trade and tried to establish a monopoly of spices and pepper, in order to augment its inadequate revenue from taxation. But the spice monopoly was abandoned in 1565 owing to Javanese and Malay competition, while even before the arrival of the Dutch the pepper monopoly was contested by Aceh and ruined by private Portuguese traders who, as Antonio van Diemen wrote in 1612, "think no more of Portugal but sustain and enrich themselves with the advantages of India as if they were natives and had no other fatherland." Among these private traders there were many officials, competitors with their own government. Barretto de Resende refers to the "great abuses committed by the Captains of the Fortress who buy merchandise at a price much lower than the current price of the country and also compel traders to accept their money: a thing which is very usual in all the towns and fortresses of the Portuguese State; and which causes as much misery as the Dutch themselves. To such an extent is the abuse carried that even when Christians come to these ports of Malacca to trade in certain kinds of merchandise the captain seizes their wares, assessing them at a price below their real value and using much abuse: and for this reason some merchants bring their wares to the customs house at night time in order to pay duty to the customs official in secret. All this is the cause of great losses to Malacca." Free on King's ships that carried envoys everywhere or on other ships without paying freight, these Captains sent their own goods to Macao, Goa, Bengal, Negapatam and Manila. And though it was forbidden by the King's regulations, all cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandal-wood, pepper, tin and other profitable wares imported by Malays Bugis and

Javanese could be sold only to the Captain's merchants, who advanced 20 or 30 per cent. on them without risk. For six months in the year Perak tin went to the government and for six months to the Captain, but in practice the Captains gave a far smaller proportion of the tin to the state, this transaction, until the Dutch got most of the trade, yielding about 10,000 cruzados in a Captain's term of office. During that term a Captain would make from 50 to 80,000 cruzados until Dutch competition reduced it to 10,000 cruzados or less. It was Malayan tin that attracted Indian vessels to Malacca and led to the decay of Acheh both in Portuguese and Dutch times. To guard a source of revenue so important, the Portuguese built a fort on the Perak river.

Portuguese trade was borne on royal ships leased for a term of years and left to the lessee to repair! No wonder that Jan Huygen van Linschoten, when visiting Goa (1583-1589) thought it a miracle that Portuguese ships did not all perish through want of care in stowage and navigation.

Not only was there inefficiency but there was that spirit of insubordination which dared to show itself even under the strong rule of d'Albuquerque. In 1596, for example, the Vice-Roy sent a fleet to Sunda and Java to persuade the natives not to receive Benjamin Wood. In spite of instructions to conciliate Asiatics, the captain-major Lourenco de Brito robbed native craft of provisions without paying for them and let his captains capture two Chinese junks! Before the end there was disloyalty as well as insubordination. In 1595 Cornelis de Houtman found in Java many Portuguese (one of them Pedro d'Attaide from Malacca) who welcomed and banqueted the Dutch, giving information as to the pepper trade "and of the novelty that was hoped for in the loading of their ships!"

Corruption and decadence aside, Portugal from the first suffered two disadvantages that were inevitable. The first disadvantage was the smallness of her own population, which at the zenith of her power in the sixteenth century did not exceed a million and a half; that smallness had made the Vice-Roy d'Almeida content to aspire to no more than naval supremacy and d'Albuquerque content with a chain of small fortified trading stations supported

by fleets. The other disadvantage was Portugal's legacy of hatred against Islam, inherited from the crusades and the struggle for the Iberian peninsula, a hatred which prompted Couto's fierce vulgarism—"the Moors whose snouts we smashed every time they deserved it." Turned back from Europe, Islam flourished in the East and its rising power in the Malay archipelago disturbed Malacca's peace and marred her trade.

* * * *

As the headquarters of Portugal's power in the Malayan region Malacca boasted of a remarkable commerce until in the end it was destroyed temporarily by the Dutch blockade. About 1530 Urdaneta found Malacca with her 500 Portuguese trading in cotton stuffs from Pulicat and Bengal; in foodstuffs, precious stones and musk from Pegu; in tin from Perak and other parts of the Peninsula, and in sandal-wood from Timor. There were days, he says, when not less than seven quintals of gold were imported from Minangkabau, mostly for the Tamil market:—a quintal was $1\frac{1}{2}$ Dutch lbs. Gold came also from Siam and Patani. From Borneo was sent camphor and from China porcelain, though Portuguese methods had diminished the China trade at Malacca.

In 1641 Schouten gives a long list of imports and exports in Portuguese times. From the Malay Peninsula and the east coast ports of Sumatra came pepper, tin, gold, aguala-wood, bezoar stones, resin, ivory, rhinoceros horns, birds' nests, rice and rattans, the importers carrying home cloths from Coromandel, Bengal and Surat, Chinese wares, and Spanish reals. From Borneo, Java, Bima, Macassar and other islands to the east were brought camphor, bezoars, Javanese cloths, slaves from Borneo and Macassar, wax, oil, sandal-wood, tortoise-shell and rice. From Siam and Cambodia the Portuguese fetched benzoin, gum-lac, gold and rice, selling cloth in exchange. From Manila they brought white and brown sugar, tortoiseshell and gold, obtained in return for cloths and slaves. Macao imported gold, silk stuffs, white and brown sugar, iron-ware, gold-thread, quicksilver, Chinese tin, pearls and porcelain, all these in exchange for pepper, ivory, rhinoceros horns, sandal-wood, incense, red coral, amber, slaves, camphor, birds' nests and other miscellanies. From Goa and Cochin the Portuguese brought

Indian cloths, Arabian incense, amber, red coral, ivory, rhinoceros horns, white cummin, Portuguese wine, slaves (for Manila), wheat, rice and Spanish reals, exporting to those two places in return Chinese wares, gold, tortoiseshell, sandal and sappan woods, copper, tin, benzoin, gum-lac, resin, rattans, sugar, diamonds, bezoars, quick-silver, etc. To Negapatam and St. Thomé were sent gold, sandalwood, pepper, horns, tin and Chinese wares, in return for cloth, leather, rice and other foodstuffs. Bengal took tin, pepper, cloves, sandal and sappan wood, pearls, silks and porcelain, in exchange for cloths, fishnets, resin, wheat, rice, butter, sugar, oil and slaves. Trade with Pegu had been stopped by its civil wars for some years.

Writing just before 1638 Barretto de Resende gives a similar recital, adverting to the abuses of the Portuguese Captains and the flourishing Dutch trade at Jambi and Indragiri and Perak. "All the southern tribes were wont to come to Malacca to buy in exchange for other merchandise so that the commerce was very extensive and the profits no less; but now it is almost entirely extinct, for never or rarely do any natives come to Malacca to seek anything: having all they require from the Dutch. Nevertheless voyages are still undertaken from Malacca to many parts, China, Manila and Cochin-China being the principal points of destination and the less important voyages being to Patane.... The Straits of Singapore is the place where the Dutch lie in wait for the Portuguese ships coming from China, Manila, Macassar and all the Malucco Archipelago. It has many channels so narrow that in places the branches of the trees on shore touch the ships, and the currents are very strong.... Fish is bought by the merchants of the ships from the Saletes or inhabitants of the Straits who live in *baloons* (boats) with their families. They catch fish by spearing them in the water and then sell them. These Saletes are a very wicked people, and especially so to the Portuguese. They are evil-hearted and treacherous, and the best spies the Dutch possess. Wherever of the many places in this neighbourhood our ships may be, they immediately inform the Dutch and lead them there; so that most of our losses are due to them. This is because the Dutch give a great share of all thus seized," and because these Proto-Malays were subjects of Portugal's enemy, Johor.

V

ENGLISH PIONEERS.

At the edge of European civilisation England was late to develop commercial enterprise nor did her government subsidize exploration, and in spite of a curiosity fired by the New Learning and a gust of patriotism fanned by the breach with Rome, the English were averse before the war with Spain, to trespassing on routes and territories claimed by the Iberian kingdoms. However the population of England was increasing and poor and wanted a market for its woollen stuffs. As early as 1511 (the year d'Albuquerque took Malacca) her vessels voyaged to the fair havens of Sicily, Crete and Scio, taking kerseys and fetching cargoes of silk, wines, oils, raw cotton and spices. But the discovery of the Cape route lessened this trade that hitherto had come from the Persian gulf by caravan to Aleppo and from the Red Sea by desert ways to Cairo and Alexandria: acts of God at sea took less toll of human profits than Bedouin robbers and extortionate Turkish pashas. Was there not some shorter way to the markets of Cathay, some route other than round the Cape that English discovery might make England's own? It was to be more than three hundred years before the North-East passage to Asia was accomplished, and neither it nor the North-West passage were to serve the commerce of the world.

But European politics and English trade development soon overcame scrupulous avoidance of Spanish seas. Already the hero of raids on the Spanish West Indies, in 1577 Francis Drake set forth in quest of booty, the North-West passage, the Moluccas and a supposed adjacent southern continent; in 1580 he reached the Moluccas from the Pacific and returned to England round the Cape, this circumnavigation of the globe being due immediately to fear lest the galleons of Spain might be awaiting in Magellan's Strait the raider of the coasts of Chile and Peru. Aleppo, Baghdad, Basrah, Hormuz, Goa, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, Bengal, Pegu, Chiang-Mai, the itinerary of Ralph Fitch in the eight years after 1583 would leave even a modern tourist breathless! And in January 1588 from Pegu Fitch arrived at Malacca, there to remain seven weeks, its first English visitor, studying local commerce. In the

same year Thomas Cavendish reached the Philippines and threaded the Macassar Straits and so home past Java and the Cape, arriving at Plymouth a few days after the defeat of the Armada had extinguished fear of Spain. In 1589 London merchants craved encouragement for trade with the East by way of the Cape "as well for the anoyinge of the Spainards and Portingalls (nowe our enemyes) as also for the ventinge of oure comodities (which, since the beginning of thes late troubles, ys much decayed), but especially our trade of clotheinge." On 10 April 1591 from Plymouth departed three tall ships, of which none but the *Royal Merchant* ever returned, and she sent back from the Cape with 50 men sick of "the skurvie." A few days after doubling the Cape, the admiral's ship, the *Penelope*, foundered in a storm. Only the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Edward Lancaster, reached in June 1592 the island of Pinang (then part of Kedah), where he "came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three islands; at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen.... Here we continued untill the end of August. Our refreshing in the place was very smal, onely of oysters growing on rocks, great wilks and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men.... The winter passed and hauing watered our ship and fitted her to goe to sea, wee had left us but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were found for laboure and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seek some place of refreshing and went over to the mains of Malacca," namely Kedah.... "About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we espied a canoa which came neere unto vs, but would not come aboard us, hauing in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles, going afterward on land, we had friendly conference, and promise of victuals. The next day, in the morning, we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which we made to strike with our very boate; and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites, and a biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship and did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The

night following all of the men, except twelue, which we tooke in our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ship and goods with us. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the leeward of an iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden, at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the south. Beside the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to be laden with marchants' goods of Pegu onely, we dismissed her without touching any thing.

“ Thus hauing staid here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the *Edward*, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such relief as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca, to the ilands called Pulo Sambilan, which are some fiue and fortie leagues northward of the citie of Malacca, to which ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus hauing spent some fiue dayes, upon Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan, a towne on the maine of India, ouer-against the north-east part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her, being of 250 tunnes; she was laden with rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboard our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker, his lieutenant, and seuen more to keep this prize, who, being aboard the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water; for in the chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good anchorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the *Edward*, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by us. The *Edward* being put to seaward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, until we, which were in the prize, with our boate went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboard we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our shippe was so foule that shee escaped us. After we had taken out of our

Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntil the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca, of seuen hundred tunnes, which came from Goa; we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yielded. We commanded her captain, master, pilot, and purser, to come on boord vs. But the captain accompanied with one soldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the master and purser, which he sayd would not come vnless he went for them; but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening, he with all the people, which were to the number of about three hundred men, women, and children, gote ashore with two great boates, and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboard we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred butts of Canarie wine and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and rasin wine, which is also very strong; as also all kind of haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlers, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones, which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians with all, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilld this rich shippe, the captaine, because they would not follow his commandment to vnlade those excellent wines into the *Edward*, abandoned her and let her driue at sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a baie, in the kingdome of Junsalaom, which is between Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship." So the narrative of Edmund Barker, Lieutenant. Henry May's account is terse and interested mainly in the captures: "We took a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourscore tunnes, with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we

might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu, laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this, we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce."

The *Edward Bonaventure* was wrecked on the way home and for all the tigerish courage of her crew the end was only loss of life and loss of capital.

In 1596 Sir Robert Dudley, son of the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, promoted a voyage to China by way of Magellan's Strait and the Philippines. Three vessels the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp* and the *Benjamin* were employed under the command of Benjamin Wood. The largest was of 200 or 300 tons, while the other two were much smaller. One of the smaller, probably the *Benjamin*, was lost off the Cape. The remaining two reached first India and then Ceylon, where they captured and plundered two Portuguese merchantmen from Goa. Then in search of further booty they reached the Malacca Straits in January 1598 and after an indecisive skirmish with a Portuguese fleet that lasted eight days retired to "Old Kedah" to refit. One of his two ships Wood now burnt as he had only enough men left to work one vessel. The *Bear* resumed her course to be lost off Martaban or, according to another account, to be wrecked on the island of Buting (? Bunting) near Kedah. Of the "miserable disastrous success" of the expedition only one member, a Frenchman, reached Europe to tell the tale.

On 31 December 1600 the East India Company got a charter from Queen Elizabeth. In the next year the first of its expeditions sailed under Sir James Lancaster with letters and presents from the Virgin Queen unto her loving brothers, lords of the pepper trade, the kings of Aceh and Bantam, whose names were left blank to be filled in locally: it brought home cargoes of pepper and established a factory at Bantam in Java. A second expedition

in 1605 under Henry Middleton brought back spices from the Moluccas and news that the Dutch were ousting the Portuguese and trying for a monopoly of the spice trade, based upon treaties with the native chiefs. In what was later to be British India, source of those cottons so much more valuable for Eastern barter than woollen kerseys or European coin, there also the Dutch forestalled their rivals so that the English could get no footing at Pulicat, the Coromandel port that gives its name to a cotton *sarong* favoured in Malaya to this day, while at Masulipatam (as at far Patani and Ayuthia in Siam) they had to establish offices alongside factories already opened by their competitors. Accordingly in 1611 the London merchants sought to be admitted to freedom of trade in lands that flowed with spices worth 7s. a pound, but for that admission Holland required them to share the cost of 22 forts, 4,000 troops and 30 great ships which her United East India Company had provided against Spaniards and Portuguese. The English had profited by this Dutch armament without paying a stiver; and though in 1615 two of the Company's ships alone paid £14,000 into England's customs revenue (which Elizabeth had farmed for £12,000 a year), negotiations failed and with them English aims in the Malayan Archipelago. The Great Mogul was strong enough to refuse monopolies; the insignificant chiefs in the Moluccas would grant them, ignorant of the consequences and eager to do anything to keep out the Portuguese. It was mere prevarication for the English to invoke equity and the law of nations in support of the freedom of the seas; Iberian galleons had long since extinguished that freedom, and why should not Hollanders get some return on their great outlay to protect trade and the poor Moluccan? But London merchants were cautious and King James would not break with Spain. A treaty contracted in 1619 did at last give the English the sanctuary of Dutch forts and a share of the Eastern trade, provided the English Company maintained ten ships to fight the Don and paid part of the upkeep of forts, but the English complained that the cost of that upkeep was deliberately inflated and that their trade was still thwarted. English factories were opened for a few struggling years in Borneo at Sukadana (1611-23), Sambas (1611-4) at Banjarmasin (1614-8), in Sumatra at Indragiri. At Acheh, at Bantam, at Batavia the

Dutch were alongside them and in the Bandas there was open war with the great Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the man who, King James declared in 1622, well deserved to be hanged:—"your people over there represent everywhere your Prince of Orange as a great King and Lord, and hold me up as a little kinglet, as if I stood under him, thus misleading the barbarian kings." In January 1623 unable to provide the ten ships or pay the heavy fort charges, the English Company decided to cut its losses and withdraw its factories from all Dutch settlements: it would abandon Malayan spices for the calicoes of India, a trade less prized and less resented by the Hollanders. Before this withdrawal had been effected, there was the Amboyna "massacre" of English traders accused of intriguing to capture the Dutch fort there. Patani in Siamese Malaya (1612-23), Jambi (1615-81) in Sumatra, Japara (1618-48) the port of Java's empire of Mataram, Macassar (1613-67) in the Celebes, all England's scattered factories in the Malay Archipelago were gradually abandoned.

The history of the Patani factory, to take one example, is a story of disappointment and failure. The Company's seventh voyage had been that of the *Globe*, which left Gravesend in 1611 (New Style) carrying as her commander Captain Hippon and as merchants two Dutchmen Lucas Janssen alias Antheunis and Pieter Willemsz van Ebling alias Floris, owner of three early Malay MSS. now at Cambridge and author of a history of the *Globe's* voyage. After picking up a cargo of cloth at Masulipatam thanks to the experience of the two Dutchmen in their former Dutch employ, the *Globe* called at Bantam to find Dutch competition obstructive and then made the first English voyage down the Straits of Malacca past Singapore and so to Patani, where it was hoped to found a flourishing entrepôt for the silk trade with China and Japan. The reasons for this hope are clearly set forth by Mr. W. H. Moreland, editor of the most recent edition of Peter Floris. "No Japanese vessels could enter Chinese ports; a single Portuguese ship came annually to Japan from Macao carrying Canton silk, and a limited number of junks brought the product of Nanking to Nagasaki; the rest of the trade was conducted on neutral territory, Formosa, the Philippines and elsewhere. Both Dutch and English hoped to

obtain a share of this lucrative trade in the Gulf of Siam; and the early letters from the English factory at Hirado insisted on the need for bringing silk thence." But not only did Siam send silk to Japan; the Dutch decoyed traders to their factory at Singgora and contrived to buy most of the Nanking silk. The Queen of Patani wanted high customs dues and her chiefs exorbitant presents and the Queen preferred to lend money to Dutch and English at interest rather than to buy cloth. Trading ran many risks. Floris saw Patani burnt down by the chiefs' Javanese slaves, and he himself suffered "the strangest robberye" in his hired house of reeds, "being all of us in the house above 15 persons sleeping, Mr. Lucas and I in a bedde aparte lyinge close together, having a great black dogge lying under my cabine, my truncke standing at my feete, close to the boording, being no greater space between the bedde and coffer butt that onely the lidde might shut and open," yet notwithstanding all this and a lamp burning thieves forced the padlock of the chest and stole "283 R8 and dyvers other prety things as also apparell linen and my rapier, which had att leaste 25 R8 in silver uppon it." Floris soon lost hope of the silk trade and looked to skins as the main export to the Far East. The Patani pepper was fair to the eye but mostly husks. Imports were often unsatisfactory, the salampouries second-hand and spoilt by the washermen, the beathillies short in length, the yarn coloured with a cheap red dye that turned black on the voyage; and it was useless to import cloths that had not novel patterns. Support from home was intermittent. One factor entreated Their Worships to remember him with books, paper, and ink: for want of supplies his books were kept on China paper, which the cockroaches ate! In 1616 only gum benjamin could be bought as there was too little cash in the factory for the purchase of silks. In the following year there was neither money nor goods, not so much as would buy victuals; yet not even death saved one young factor, Mr. Chancery, from posthumous blame for his odious presumption in planning to quit his post without authority. At times the poor merchants had to endure the turbulence, private trading and drunkenness of visitors like Captain Edmund Marlowe, who scorned and hectorred them and let his men assault them with sword and pike "in the middle of Their Worships' yard."

After Cromwell's victory over the Netherlands in 1654 there was a renewed attempt at English trade with the Peninsula, partly private and in partnership with Moors from India. Under the date 31 January 1660 the records of the Dutch Company contain a letter to Batavia from Matthew Andrews, President of Surat, England's chief factory on the west coast of India. "Four years ago in the time of free trade I despatched my ship the *Nugdy* from Surat to Kedah laden with various articles of local manufacture. For lack of English (agents) I instructed that the cargo should be disposed of to two of my Moor servants at Kedah, Hans Mea and Mahomet Sayet. My goods were sold in Kedah, and the proceeds in tin, pepper and aguila-wood were shipped on the *Nugdy*. On the Kedah bar the *Nugdy* encountered the yacht *Batavia*, whose captain Jacob Pits forced the crew to go on board his yacht, declared the cargo belonged to a Moor, seized 450 reals in cash and took $24\frac{1}{2}$ *bahar* of tin, paying for it only $857\frac{1}{2}$ reals, though in Surat it would have fetched 100 reals a *bahar*. My loss, therefore, was $1,593\frac{1}{2}$ reals on the tin and 450 in cash or a total of $2,043\frac{1}{2}$ reals of eight. For two years I have written to Heer Ryklof van Goens for satisfaction but have got no reply."

Under 22 January 1661 the same records note how on the departure of the Dutch patrol yacht, the *Cabo Jasques*, there dropped down the Kedah River with 400 *bahar* of tin and other cargo the *St. George* a famous ship owned by (Sir) Edward Winter of Masulipatam. She had been seized from Mir Jumlah, Nawab of Golconda and conqueror of the Carnatic. This chief not only possessed 4,000 houses, 300 elephants, 4 or 500 camels and 10,000 oxen for the transport of his merchandise in Golconda, Bizapur and the territory of the Great Mogul: he also owned ten vessels which traded to Pegu, Tenasserim, Acheh, Arakan, Persia, Bengal, Moka, Perak, the Maldives and Macassar. In the Dutch he "well perceived abundance of pride and infidelitie," because the Governor-General at Batavia omitted to reply to a letter from him, and because they interfered with his trade to Acheh and Kedah and Macassar. He vowed to disappoint them of their "aime to get the whole trade of India into their hands only." With the English, Mir Jumlah, was on good terms, giving the Company "a circuite

belonging to the toun of Madraspatam," that is Madras. The unauthorized seizure of his ship by one of the Company's servants was therefore a political blunder and the Surat President was credited with a design to send to Kedah to capture the *St. George* and restore her to the Nawab. The ship, however, was destined never to return to Indian waters. On leaving Kedah she "met with a firc storme about the Andaman Islands or Niccaber (wee know not well whether) wherewith shee was prest soe much that she spent all her standing masts, but made a shift with some jury ones to get into Malacca; where wee hear by Mr. Cooper, her pilott, she is now laid up and utterly unfitt to proceede further, unless there bee more bestowed on her, in fitting her out then her value." After the *St. George* had made the Dindings, her captain sailed in the *Kleen Amsterdam* to Malacca, where on the stipulation that neither he nor the Moors would hinder the Dutch trade at Coromandel and that he would sell half his cargo of tin to the Dutch at their usual low price, he was given old sails, a Dutch helmsman, a barrel of meat and a barrel of bacon to enable him to get his ship down to Malacca. Arrived there, Winter would not sell his tin even at \$48 a *bahar* and left the port, complaining that the Dutch blockade of Acheh had prevented him from selling his cloth there at a great profit and had forced him to sail to Kedah where he long lay to the great loss of his owners. The *St. George* was very leaky and lay beached on the mud of Red Island with her crew paid off. Her cargo of tin and some pepper mostly belonged to Edward Winter who was "believed to avoid bringing any part of his estate from Kedah or Pegu lest the Company should seize it for his debt to it." His brother Francis was said to be owed 1,500 *bahar* of tin by the Sultan of Kedah, who had seized certain ships, when on their way from India to Malacca they had visited Kedah for repairs.

In October 1661 Batavia instructed that English visits to Kedah were not to be hindered but the Dutch must trade with them warily: they were importing cloth, iron and steel. In 1662 we first hear of Mr. Lock, an English private trader, who trafficked in cloth, tin, Patani gold and elephants between Kedah and Coromandel. Some of his ships he built in Kedah; he had a Tamil

attorney and he had transactions with the Sultan who was an unsatisfactory client. Once the English at Acheh asked the Queen of that Sumatran state for a mandate to the Perak chiefs to deliver to Mr. Lock tin due to him; and the Queen, though refusing at first owing to her treaty with the Dutch and the representations of their Resident at her capital, was later moved to consent. Once Lock claimed compensation for tin taken by the crew of the Dutch patrol the *Exter* when they atrociously murdered the whole crew of a Moorish ship and for that crime were sentenced by the Dutch Governor to torture and death. Once Oxenden, President at Surat, curtly declined to accede to a Dutch request to send a sharp letter to Lock, explaining that Lock was not a servant of the Company but a free trader with whose business he could not interfere. In February 1665 Lock was sailing for Coromandel in two yachts, one on his own account and one on the Sultan's, taking 20 elephants, a trade the Dutch had stopped for two years: he had to call at Acheh for provender and four of his elephants died on the voyage. From this voyage Lock returned just in time to avoid capture when in November war between Holland and England broke out again. In 1671 George Foxcroft, Governor of Madras, complained to Batavia that after peace between England and Holland had been declared, the commanders of the yacht *Gorcum* and the galoot *Hammenhiel* had seized outside the Kedah bar a small English ship from Coromandel with a cargo of gold, tin and elephants; and as this constituted an act of war, the Dutch agreed to pay compensation for ship and cargo, which were worth 11,314 $\frac{3}{4}$ *pagodas*. In 1670 instructions to the commanders of ships employed in the Kedah blockade had warned them not to keep out the English but bearing themselves with all discretion to endeavour to discover and note if they carried any Moorish goods. According to the Dutch, in 1676 Moors, Portuguese and some English were trading vigorously from Porto Novo and Cunelar to Malacca, Kedah, Siam and Johor.

For even Holland's old ally, Johor, was from time to time visited by English ships. Having failed to get Acheh's licence to trade in Perak and having slipped away from Malacca (in spite of its Governor's courtesy) for fear of a demand for customs

duty on his cargo, on 27 July 1647 Wylde arrived at Johor in the *Supply* with a request from the Company "to have free trade in all the king's parts and dominions, not paying customes; which he and his orankayes at first seemed to admire my demands were so large on so small acquaintance. His answer was for this year our ship off goods was custom free, but in the future not to be expected." At first the king offered to let Wylde build warehouses but changed his mind, ostensibly from fear of friction with the Dutch who had been refused that privilege, but actually in Wylde's opinion owing to the wiles of Gujarati skippers then enjoying free trade in Johor. The Sultan would allow the English Company to trade if it paid 5 per cent. duty on all goods brought there for sale, export duty on tin and pepper and "lungargow or anchoridge" on every ship. On 2 July 1661 an English merchant from Surat passed Malacca on his way to Johor, whereupon the Dutch Governor sent a letter to the Sultan, asking him to refuse to trade with her, and despatched a sergeant Hendrik Jansz and a Portuguese Manuel Damotta on the pretext of looking for runaway slaves at Johor but really to spy and report. The merchant was Joseph Heynsmers, who had lived in Holland and spoke Dutch, a choleric overbearing man, gruff and stern, with whom Malays were afraid to trade. He and the captain of his ship, the *Vine*, fed at different tables. He had paid 600 rix-dollars for toll or port dues, given a present of 300 and rented a house for six months, but the king had refused him permission to build a large lodge. About this time the English at Acheh also asked leave to build a house and to trade at Johor or its fief Bengkalis the Sumatran port. And there was a Mr. Lock captured at Johor with his ship in 1673, when Jambi sacked Johor's capital, Batu Sawar, who when he wished to complain to the Sultan of Jambi was strangled by the Malay commander and reported to have hanged himself. Was it poor Mr. Lock, the free trader of Kedah?

The Dutch records of 1681 note that to the damage of their own Company the English drove a large private trade, and perhaps this explains why the small factory opened at Kedah in 1669 was closed as a failure in 1675. The same records also complain

of the great loss this English private trade caused the Dutch Company "especially as the English are esteemed for their natural character and their large purchases."

In 1683 the Dutch induced the Sultan of Jakatra to expel the English even from Bantam and a connection with Java that had lasted eighty years came to an end. Thereafter the English Company chose for its headquarters in the Malayan region Bengkulen on the south-west coast of Sumatra, with too sanguine a faith in the climate, in the profits of pepper estates worked by Malay labour and in the energy and integrity of officials allowed private trade

When for the first time after closing its small Kedah agency in 1675 the English Company turned again to the Malay Peninsula, its object was as much the establishment of a naval base as renewal of Malayan trade.

VI DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

i.

1602—1641.

In 1602 the Netherlands, compelling the amalgamation of the several small companies that had started to trade in the Orient, gave a monopoly of Eastern trade to the famous joint-stock United East India Company, with authority to make settlements and conclude treaties in the name of the Dutch Government. At first it was under a Board of Directors, until in 1610 this Board was replaced by a Governor-General, assisted by a Council of India. The Governor-General lived mostly at the Moluccas until in 1619 the great Jan Pieterszoon Coen conquered Jakatra fixed Batavia as the seat of government, and by that act deprived Malacca of the chance of ever again becoming the centre of European commerce after its capture from the Portuguese.

Very different from the coming of the Portuguese was the advent of the Dutch; tolerant of Islam and indifferent to all but commerce, they were efficient and energetic and comparatively loyal to their salt.

In 1602, a servant of the Dutch Company, Jacob van Heemskerck, having visited Kedah anchored off Johor, was welcomed as an ally against the hated Portuguese and started the Dutch connection with the Malay Peninsula that was to last until 1824. As early as 1587 Drake's capture off the Azores of a homeward-bound Portuguese carrack with a cargo worth £108,000 had taught England the wealth of the East Indies and that carracks were "no such bugs but that they might be taken." And now on 25 February 1603 van Heemskerck in retaliation for the murder of seventeen Dutch sailors at Macao attacked one of these prizes, the *Santa Catharina*, lying at anchor in the Johor river, until her Captain Sebastiao Serrao had to fly the white flag: her cargo of curios, lacquer, silk and porcelain was sold at Amsterdam for more than 3½ million guilders, while even today the Dutch term the thinnest and finest China "carrack porcelain" after this vessel. The Dutch capture of this tall Portuguese ship made on Johor

a profound and lasting impression, and her capital, Batu Sawar, welcomed Jacob Buijsen, the first Dutch factor in the Malay Peninsula, while two Johor Malays were sent as envoys to Holland. Not that the presence of a lonely factor deterred Dom Andre Furtado de Mendoca, the Governor of Malacca, from besieging his ancient Malay ally and demanding that Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din should deliver up the Dutch "thieves" at Batu Sawar and confiscate their property. The Sultan by "the bad counsels of his younger brother Raja Benco" (inspirer and perhaps part author of the *Malay Annals*) replied that he would first lose his kingdom and appealed to the English who despatched two ships which raised the siege "and sent Furtado's armament to the devil, so that in all those parts they would, it is said, have given the English their property and their very souls if they could"; and yet until the founding of Penang in 1786 the English were never to have any factory in the Malay Peninsula except the small one in Kedah, and the one at Patani opened by Floris, a Dutch employee of the Company, in 1612 and closed in 1623. The Dutch, on the contrary, now in a few years ousted the Portuguese from Acheh, Johor, Patani, Bantam, Amboyna and the Moluccas and made treaties of trade and friendship with the native rulers.

Early in 1605 Admiral C. Sebastianse captured off Patani the carrack *St. Anthony*, while off Pedra Blanca the *Wissingen* captured another carrack bound from Cochin-China to Malacca. The cargo of the *St. Anthony* contained 2,000 pikuls of white sugar, 4,500 pikuls of tin, 223 fardels of Chinese camphor, 90 fardels of agila-wood, 18 leaden boxes of musk-balls, 11 boxes of vermilion, 22 boxes of Chinese fans, 209 fardels of raw silk and 75 of bad yellow silk, 6,000 pieces of variegated porcelain, 10 casks of coarse and fine porcelain, some gilt couches and knick-knacks, one lot radix China, one lot benzoin, 150 baskets with prepared silk, velvet, damask, taffeta and fine silk, and some boxes of gold-wire.

In 1606 Admiral Matelief made a treaty with Johor, promising to help the Sultan capture Malacca from their common enemy, the Portuguese, in return for the right to trade with Johor free of duty and to the exclusion of all other Europeans. The Dutch refused to admit Johor's claim to the town of Malacca which had

been built by the Portuguese or to engage to take the offensive against Johor's enemies other than Portuguese and Spaniards; but the Sultan might people Malacca's suburb Kampong Kling and was to have all the guns captured (as soon as the Dutch could replace them) and half the loot; moreover if Acheh attacked Johor, the Dutch would help or at any rate try to avert hostilities. Neither party might make peace with the King of Spain without the consent of both. The siege of Malacca began, but in August hearing of the approach of a strong Portuguese fleet from Goa Matelief resolved to abandon it. Valentijn records that the Bendahara Tun Sri Lanang (author or patron of the author of the *Malay Annals*) told Matelief plainly that the Malays intended to leave the siege to the Dutch, upon which "Matelief growled not a little at the Bendahara." But more far reaching than he knew were Matelief's victories that same year over Portuguese galleons, wresting for Holland that command of the sea so vital to any European power in the East:—though for Johor Portugal ceased to be a menace only when the Dutch took Malacca in 1641. Matelief sailed away to China and Pahang, having given Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din plans and suggestions for the strengthening of his palm-leaf and wooden capital at Batu Sawar, which was defended by inferior earthwork and palisades 40 feet high; but it was the Sultan's habit to sleep till noon, when he rose and ate and "drank drunk" till he cared nothing about forts and feared no foe in shining armour. The mail-clad Portuguese did attack and though they did not land the Malays burnt their own town and fled; the Sultan drank more than ever and was ready to make terms with the enemy at his gate. Meanwhile on 23 December 1607 a Dutch fleet of nine ships and four pinnaces had left the Texel under Admiral Verhoeff who on "the two and twentieth of November came before Malacca, where they tooke a Portugall ship, and fired it, the goods being by the Inhabitants before carryed away. On the foure and twentieth, they sent to the King of Jor to acquaint him with their purpose to besiege and take the Towne and Castle of Malacca. On the six and twentieth, they set men on shoare in the little Iland of Saint Peter, where the next day the Portugals set on them and lost their Admiral with three Capitaines and six prime Officers, besides many of the meaner. Of

the Hollanders seven were slaine and three taken. On the eight and twentieth, fifteene Frigats of Blackes Pirats adjoynd themselves to the Hollanders. But the King of Jor could afford no helpe, his Fleet being then abroad. Some Vessels being taken and their three men recovered by exchange of Prisoners, they departed on the nine and twentieth. The tenth of January they went to Jor, and the King with his Sonne and Brother with twelve Frigats came to the Fleet on the fourteenth. His name is Ratispont: he had on a white Cotton Wastcote to his knees with a fringe hanging to the feet, silken Sandals, a blacke Shash on his head, three Gold Chaines about his necke, with many Jewels annexed, two thicke gold Rings on his left arme and one on his right, sixe on his fingers, a Crisse very artificiall in sheath of solid Gold set with many Diamonds, Saphieres, Carbuncles (valued at fiftie thousand Florens) of meane stature, comely shape, moderate speech, whitish complexion, having with him thirtie Wives; his Frigat adorned gallantly with a Tent, borne up with foure golden Pillars. His seat is in New Jor."

Ratispont was not the king but Raja Bongsu, his younger brother and successor, described by Matelief as being in 1606 a man about thirty-five, almost white, discreet, forbearing, not cholerick, far-seeing, a foe to the Portuguese, industrious in affairs; in short a man worthy to be king of Malacca and Johor, who would recognize any help rendered to him and was a staunch friend of the Dutch. He was the only one of the royal brothers who did not drink.

Verhoeff was escorted on an elephant to the Batu Sawar palace and entertained with feasting and farcical dances but he failed to get leave to erect a fort there against the Portuguese, the Sultan pretending that the Dutch like the Portuguese might molest Malay women. With amazing inconsequence of policy 'Ala'u'd-din the drunkard was less concerned with the presence of the Portuguese at Malacca and their attacks on Johor than with an eight-year old private quarrel with Patani, and signing himself king of Johor and Malacca he gave the Admiral a letter to the States General offering permission to build the fort if they would destroy Patani! Verhoeff left behind a head-merchant, two under-merchants, a

factor, a diamond-expert and three assistants; a staff that corroborates the Dutch project of 1611 to remove the head office of



Fig. 15. A gold mas of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din.

their great Company to Johor, had the new office in Java proved a failure. For a while the *Red Lion* and the *Griffin* guarded Batu Sawar but on 15 February (1609) they had to leave Johor where the Dutch had invested 10,000 reals, for Patani where they had staked 63,000. Again the Sultan was swayed by palace politics. His eldest son had just married his cousin of Siak, a petty Sumatran state, and the Siak family favoured Portugal; so on 16 October 1610 Johor signed a treaty of peace with that country and relieved of the Portuguese menace went off on another domestic tangent, overrunning and burning the "Suburbes of Pahang" apparently over a broken marriage engagement! Johor's infirmity of purpose had left her capital unfortified, the Dutch disgusted and the Portuguese her weak and suspicious ally, while the treaty with Portugal had revived in Aceh, now rich from trade with Dutch and English, the memory of old sores and started her most famous warrior prince, Mahkota 'Alam, on his conquests for dynastic glory and the control of commerce in pepper and tin. In 1612 at the age of twenty-two tired of the fierce fights of cocks rams and elephants and the "stomackful" encounter of "Buffles," pastimes of his barbaric court, Mahkota 'Alam retook Aru which since the beginning of the century had been a fief of Johor. On 7 May 1613 his fleet surprised Batu Sawar so suddenly that the Dutch crew of the *Hope* had not time to go downstream and aboard their ship before the twenty-nine-day siege began. The victors carried back to Aceh the old Sultan and his family and over twenty Dutch prisoners. Floris records how on 8 November 1613 when his ship was passing the Johor estuary "divers Prawes

came aboard as hard by the straight, being of the Salettes under the King of Johor, which for the most part keep in their Prawes, with their Wives and Children and live on fishing. By these we understood that the king of Achem had sent Raja Bong Su, younger brother of the king of Johor, back again with great honour, attended with thirtie Prawes and two thousand Acheners to rebuild the Fort and Citie of Johor, having married him to his Sister, and that he should be set set up in the old King's place." The place and date of his death are unknown but certainly about this time 'Ala'u'd-din, the drunkard, drank of the cup which all men must drink. Johor must have promised to help Acheh in the war against the Portuguese, and Acheh restored and enlarged Batu Sawar and even helped Johor in her old feud with Pahang. Raja Bongsu, the new Sultan, who ruled Johor with the title of 'Abdu'llah Maayat Shah, had always been a friend of the Dutch and now secretly despatched an envoy to Bantam, whereupon on 25 August 1614 Adriaen van der Dussen came to Batu Sawar to reiterate Verhoeff's request for leave to build a fort for its protection. The Sultan refused and in August 1615 made peace with the Portuguese. Straightway Mahkota 'Alam sent a fleet to attack Batu Sawar with a force estimated by eye-witnesses Admiral Steven van der Haghen and John Millward at 300 sail and upwards of 30,000 men: John Millward describes twelve of the King's gallies as "very great, having twenty eight and thirtie oares of a side and all things fitted very orderly by a Portingall whom (when they were finished) he cast before an elephant and brake his bones. The Admiral galley had a Turret built in the stern, covered with plates of massive Gold, and curiously wrought." Batu Sawar was deserted and the Achinese razed it to the ground as in 1587 the Portuguese had razed Johor Lama. Sultan 'Abdu'llah fled to Bintan "and lived on the water like a fugitive." In July 1616 writing to King James of England Mahkota 'Alam described himself as king of Acheh and other parts of Sumatra with authority over Batu Sawar and all countries subject to Batu Sawar and in 1617 he added Pahang to his conquests. Because of the dread created by Achinese and Portuguese fleets in the Malacca straits, Johor junks now went as far afield as the Moluccas for spices, and Malays from Johor and Patani lived in thousands at Macassar (a port of call on the

way) as agents for the spice trade of Patani and Johor with the Chinese, who shunned Portuguese Malacca. In 1618 Sultan 'Abdu'llah removed to Lingga (an island destined eventually to be the last capital of the Johor empire); his income there was derived from trade with Malacca, the junks of Siam Patani Java and Macassar bringing rice and other cargoes, which were transhipped in small craft to Malacca; until in March 1623 the Achinese drove this attractive but tragic prince even from this retreat to die of a broken heart on Great Tambelan island.

The richest Malay State now was Jambi, whither Dutch, English, Portuguese, Malays and Siamese resorted for pepper. Jambi, Palembang, Indragiri, Kampar and Siak, old vassals as they were of Johor and allies against Aceh, were spared by Mahkota 'Alam only because he desired to avoid collision with the Hollanders. But in 1620, determined to get the trade of the Peninsula into his hands and eager to damage the Portuguese at Malacca, he conquered Perak, Pahang, Johor. The scions of the Malacca house were paying for the destruction of the Achinese fleet at Aru in 1591, for coquetting with the Portuguese and for damaging Achinese commerce. In 1620 Aceh also conquered Kedah, when Mahkota 'Alam wasted its pepper plantations so that he should have no rival to his own pepper trade. In 1629 he besieged Malacca but in vain. In 1632 the hated Portuguese found another enemy in the queen of Patani who proposed an alliance of Holland, Patani, Johor, Cambodia, Jambi and Indragiri against them; so rabid was this hate that it blinded Patani to more immediate causes for her decline, the exactions her chiefs made on the Chinese and the loss of her pepper trade brought about by Aceh. In 1635 Aceh took dire vengeance on Pahang for being friendly with the moribund Portuguese, with whom also the English mindful of the massacre of Amboyna in 1623 now contracted an alliance. The Dutch even grew afraid that Aceh would conquer Jambi, the market whose pepper after 1615 all went into their hands.

But the pride and covetousness of the Portuguese and of Aceh were soon to be extinguished. Whether it was due to an infection caught from the war-prisoners that starved in his streets or to

an orgy of toddy or to guzzling curry at one of those picnics where Aceh's kings and their guests sat for hours waist-deep in water and were served by swimming pages, or (as Antonio van Diemen believed) to poison administered at Portuguese instigation by Bugis women slaves, anyhow on 27 December 1636 "the Order came" to Mahkota 'Alam, Crown of the World, to leave behind him his Sombrieros of beaten Gold, his Tent of Silver, his harness and Armour of Gold, his Elephant with teeth of Gold, His Vessels for bathing of pure Gold. All these things became the portion of his successor, Iskandar Thani, a son of Sultan Ahmad of Pahang, who had been carried captive from that state in 1618 and whose line was never to recover the Pahang throne from their cousins, the Johor branch of the same Malacca royal house. The same year saw the appointment of a strong Dutch Governor-General, van Diemen. In 1637, from Pahang 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah of Johor, styling himself "king of Johor and Pahang" made a treaty with the Dutch against the Portuguese and promised to build a strong fort in Johor. From now onwards the Dutch controlled the shipping in the Straits of Malacca, not only capturing Portuguese vessels but even measuring the bulwarks of *A Famosa* by moonlight. In 1639 their captains were toasting the man who should become first Dutch Governor of Malacca within the year, and were confident that *A Famosa* would fall quickly before a resolute attack. But it was not until 1641 Malacca fell and then after a long siege.

The attack on the famous fort began in June 1640 by order of Antonio van Diemen, Governor-General at Batavia, and his Council, their Honours entrusting it to an old, experienced and bold soldier, Sergeant-Major Adriaen Antonissoon, who died during the siege. Twelve ships and six boats in half-moon formation blockaded the shore to cut off supplies, keeping up a cannonade to which Manuel de Souza Coutinho replied bravely and patiently with his heavy guns. At the end of July Johor sent a fleet of 40 sail carrying 1,400 or 1,500 men and on 2 August Antonissoon having as many men again, partly Dutch, partly German, landed his combined forces north of Tranquerah, expelled several hundred of the Portuguese troops from the first bastion, entered Tranquerah

and drove the defenders into the fortress. Within pistol shot of *A Famosa* the Dutch erected two batteries with sixteen 24-pounders, which made breaches in the strong bastions *Curassa* and *S. Domingos*, levelled the dome of the *Hospital dos Pobres* and damaged the great keep, St. Paul's Church and other large buildings beyond recognition: replying the heavy Portuguese guns on St. Paul's hill left not one house in the Dutch quarters at Tranquerah intact. By December plague had broken out among besiegers and besieged. Deserters from the Dutch encouraged the defence to persevere, while many of the besieged fleeing from the pangs of hunger reported that in the town were only 200 Europeans and 400 Eurasians and that a gallon of rice fetched 10 rix dollars and a pound of buffalo hide 5 or 6 cruzados; women and children had been expelled and a mother had exhumed the body of her child and devoured it. It is supposed that 7,000 persons died in the town and far more fled into the countryside so that of a population which the Dutch estimated at 20,000 souls only 3,000 were left. 1,500 Hollanders perished including three successive commanders who fell victims to disease; and, the whole of the secret council having died also, the Dutch officers appointed Captain Minne Willemssoon Kaartekoe to the command. On 14 January 1641, after a day of public prayer, 650 men who were still healthy, soldiers with muskets and sailors with ladders, advanced on the bastion *S. Domingos*, shouting their war-cry "Help us God." *S. Domingos* fell and then in succession *Madre de Deus*, *As Virgens*, *Santiago*, *Curassa* and the *Baluarte Hospital*. At the *Fortaleza Velha* the Dutch lost twenty men and had to retire to the *Baluarte Hospital* beyond the reach of the enemy's heavy guns. And now rising from a sick-bed Kaartekoe came on the ramparts and arranged with the Portuguese governor for all the besieged except the King's soldiers, to be allowed a safe retreat. Though some churches and brothels were plundered, there was no murder and no ravishing. Portuguese civilians were left in their houses but were ordered to carry all their gold, silver and money to the church of St. Paul. The Governor Manuel de Souza Coutinho dying two days after his surrender was buried with great pomp and a Dutch guard of honour in the church of St. Domingo; traduced by some for his surrender as Kaartekoe was blamed by others for his humanity.

The Ouvidor-General, the priests and Jesuits and the principal Portuguese sailed in a Dutch ship for Negapatam, while the Portuguese troops were sent to Batavia. The daily mass at the altar of the cathedral for a Most Catholic King was hushed for ever. Only a few Portuguese and Eurasians were left, nucleus of a population for the reopening of the port.

Because the Dutch were aided by the Sultan of Johor, usurper of the Pahang throne which Iskandar Thani claimed, Acheh took no hand in the death-blow to her mortal foe and even threatened to side with Portugal. But a month after the capitulation of Malacca, Iskandar Thani died suddenly before he had time to take delivery of an extravagant order for eight pieces of European jewellery worth 74,000 guilders, which were left on the hands of the Dutch; he was followed by a succession of queens whose reigns saw the rapid decline and fall of their kingdom of pepper and pirates before the enterprise of Holland. With Johor the Achinese made peace, and fearful of another royal alliance, even shunned all intercourse. Johor's ruler, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah, son of the drunken 'Ala'u'd-din, had been a wanderer since he succeeded his unfortunate uncle in 1623, but now at last, quit of Portugal and Acheh, he returned to Johor and founded a new capital, Makam Tauhid, just above Batu Sawar, a suburb of the modern Kota Tinggi. He was still overlord of Malaya outside Malacca and Naning, of the Riau Archipelago and in Sumatra of Bengkalis, Kampar and Siak; but the new Dutch *entrepôt* and the extinction of his own royal line of Parameswara, founder of the first Malacca, were soon to lead to the disruption and decay of the kingdom of Johor. The future belonged to the Dutch.

ii.

THE DUTCH AT MALACCA.

Having captured Malacca, the Dutch proceeded to repair and strengthen its defences, sending to Johor for ten boat-loads of timber and 200 Malay carpenters to rebuild the bridge. The bastions, points and angles of the famous fortress got new names; St. Domingo was called Victoria, the great round bastion of Madre

Deos Emilia, the Eleven Thousand Virgins Henriette Louise, St. Jago Wilhelmus, Courassa a spacious excellent bastion washed by the sea Fredrick Hendrick. The names were no longer to the glory of God but to the glory of the sponsors of a new commercial monopoly, and the walls of *A Famosa* instead of breathing the enchantment of Rome and the Middle Ages were now firmly established on a ledger-system. In 1673 and 1674, when France and England were at war with Holland, a moat was dug from the river to the sea-shore, that turned the fortress into an island:—"fresh and salt water fish come into and are preserved in it, yielding already some profit, although not much, from the annual farming, but it is evident that in time the profit will increase with the multiplication of the fish." Even at the yearly celebration of the anniversary of Malacca's capture, business went hand in hand with ceremony:—"In the morning at daybreak all the guns of the fort are fired and the soldiers standing on the walls discharge three volleys from their muskets. Then in the forenoon a sermon is preached in the church of St. Paul with special praise and thanks to God for the victory. When the sermon is over, the taxes imposed are publicly farmed out to the highest bidder *i.e.* by auction in the Governor's house in the presence of the Governor himself and of the Council." A Portuguese Viceroy could find pleasure in decorating his palace with imaginary portraits of all the hidalgos who had preceded him: Balthasar Bort like all men of his race was a realist and preferred to collect and put in his store against the dry season 8,000 glazed tiles ("costing 40 real a 1,000") in order to replace the common leaky tiles on his house. When on 31 August 1678 he retired from the governorship of Malacca, Bort left on its walls 49 brass and 33 iron cannon, on its outer defences 29 cannon and 8 pedreroes, and in its cellars 53,300 lbs. of gunpowder "mostly in glazed martaban jars," while "there was a powdermill turned by buffaloes and capable of producing 13,000 lbs. a year." To his successor he handed a list of all the stock in the arsenal, 66 firelocks, 20 carbines, 40 pistols (2 useless), 479 muskets (74 on loan), 153 broadswords, 236 daggers, 21 boarding axes, 20 halberds, 8 double bundles of drum cord. In the fort, as his books showed, there were 277 soldiers, "14 of them cavalry under Riding Master Jan Gordon," who

took them abroad daily, both morning and afternoon, from "their stables near the bastion Emilia" into field and forest in order to catch "Manicaber kidnappers"; in the suburbs of Malacca there were 61 soldiers, including 7 in hospital; on yachts engaged in the blockade of the Perak and Linggi rivers there were 32 men—in all a garrison of 370 men. In war this force could be augmented by the other 181 servants of the Company, 24 Dutch burghers, 250 black Roman Catholics, 40 Chinese, 30 Moors, 70 Malays besides 36 Bugis. On the parade-ground as in the counting-house the Company always knew its exact position.

In 1678 the Company had in the Slavenburgh or De Misericorde, namely "the strong old high stone castle erected by the Portuguese" on the site of the Malay Sultan's palace, 185 slaves, employed in its bakery, hospital, armoury, stable, garden, warehouses and cowshed and on public works. 39 slaves and 26 convicts were employed on public works, each drawing 40 lbs. of rice; the Company's slaves received men $\frac{1}{4}$ and women $\frac{1}{8}$ of a real monthly for salt, pepper and arrack, and once a year two pieces of negro cloth. Insolvent debtors were, on the creditors' demand, confined in the Slavenburgh and given an allowance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of rice a day, but only if they were employed by the Company on public works.

To the engagement of coolies or hirelings the Company had recourse only under urgent necessity, since the daily wage was as a rule high and no matter how careful the supervision, there always occurred much messing and botching. Every hired slave cost the Honourable Company 8 to 10 stivers (pennies) a day, as their owners would not be satisfied with less, particularly if they saw the labour was needed.

At the end of 1641 there were 1,603 Portuguese in Malacca, and in the next year there were appointed three Portuguese magistrates as against four Dutch. In 1641 the garrison consisted of 333 soldiers and 211 sailors; in 1649 of 477 Hollanders besides 380 seamen; by 1663 it had fallen to 286. But there were many others who lived on the Company besides the garrison. In Bort's time the fort, the town and the suburbs had a population of 4,884 persons living in 137 brick and 583 palm-leaf houses: of these 145

were Dutch burghers, 1,469 Portuguese half-castes and blacks, 426 Chinese, 547 Moors and Gentoos (or Hindus), 588 Malays, 102 Bugis and 1,607 slaves. Such a population a quarter of a century after the Dutch occupation of Malacca makes one rather doubt the estimate of 20,000 inhabitants at the time of its capture in 1641, though it has to be remembered that the Portuguese held Malacca for 130 years. The population in 1678 was, however, big enough to require the services of a town surveyor, who saw to the alignment and drainage of streets, encroachments on private property, the security of party walls and the allocation of special places for lime-kilns and the storage of bricks and timber. This surveyor was also gauger in charge of ell-wands, measures and weights.

The feeding of the population ashore and afloat was a constant care. So important was it to keep safe the provisions, especially rice, that for a new store the timber was ordered from Siam and carpenters and ashlar-stones were got from Coromandel. To every ship and sloop lying in the harbour were issued on Saturdays green vegetables and a pig of size proportionate to the crew; ships with sick on board and ships going on or returning from distant voyages might by special command get more liberal provision. In Bort's time the Naning war made not only pigs, fowls and ducks but all kinds of vegetables so scarce and dear that ships in the roads had to do without fresh provisions. And wars sometimes hindered the import of rice from Java, the main source of supply. The store-keeper might never issue victuals to persons or ships, the Company's hospital, or the Slavenburgh without express authority, except only to members of Council who might purchase at fixed prices for family use meat and bacon, butter, sugar, Spanish wine, brandy, olive oil, coconut oil and Dutch vinegar. Wine and rice were distributed monthly in prescribed quantities to the Company's servants. The Governor received 20 pots of wine, the Chief Merchant 17, two Reformed preachers Domine Hubertus Leijdecker of Zirickzee and Bernardus Coop a Groen of Amsterdam 7 pots each, first lieutenants, merchants and the head surgeon 6, junior merchants, lieutenants and a preacher's widow 4 pots each. The preacher's widow, the five junior merchants and the two preachers ("both excellent and learned men of good life and peaceful



Malacca in Valentijn's time.

conversation") each got 120 lbs. of rice a month, while 40 lbs. were allowed to book-binders, beadles, the Governor's life-guards, schoolmasters and the executioner; soldiers and sailors on shore also got 40 lbs. a month, "one measure of which must be taken from the least durable rice." In addition, as a good defender of the true Reformed religion and its servants, "the Company allowed each of its two learned preachers annually 50 pots of Spanish wine, 20 pots of Dutch vinegar, 50 lbs. of meat and bacon, 50 lbs. of Dutch butter and 10 pots of olive oil. And in case preaching did not touch carpenters and sailors, the P. W. D. overseer was instructed that all the master craftsmen with their journeymen and the boatswain with his sailors were morning and evening to attend prayers in the Slavenburgh and to go to Church on Sundays, and that any absentee would receive 50 strokes of the cat!

Moreover for the Company *laborare est orare* and the overseer has to "see to it that each master craftsman takes his men early in the morning, after prayers are over, to their appointed place and work, as also in the afternoon after dinner, and that he does not leave his place in the morning until 11 and in the afternoon till 5 o'clock when the signal for leaving off work is given by striking of the bell, meanwhile preventing any one from idling but seeing that all are kept steadily at work."

There was no nonsense about government for the sake of the governed: government was for the sake of the Company. But all men had natural rights (the observance of which was incidentally good for trade) and when the crew of the Dutch patrol ship *Exter* butchered the crew and passengers of a Moorish ship off Kedah in revolting circumstances, the Company decreed that the offenders should lose their right hands and be broken on the cross before final execution! Before "the treachery committed" by the Lusitanians in Brazil in 1645 even public celebration of the Mass was allowed. From that year in view of the political plottings of the priests, the Portuguese were "on land to have simply freedom of conscience in their private houses and, on their ships only, the free exercise of religion." Then in 1646 the order was given to clear Malacca of all half-breeds and other Portuguese "canaille," who refused to abandon the practice of the Romish faith "and

lived in idleness and usury on the sweat of the poor black inhabitants." "The plague," the Dutch decided, was "not so harmful as Jesuits," those "wolves in their sheep's clothing." There were even cases when priests used seditious language and dissuaded the community from its bounden duty towards its magistrates: they were therefore all ordered either to quit Malacca within one month or to lay aside their habit and clothe themselves like other citizens and no longer celebrate mass in public, and all Catholic chapels were to be pulled down or converted into dwelling houses. Later (1666) no Portuguese priests passing by from Goa, Macao or elsewhere were allowed even to come ashore on pain of a fine of 250 reals. Neither on shore nor on board might Catholics be baptized or married by their priests nor above all be re-baptized or remarried if they had been baptized or married by the Dutch Reformed ministers or marriage commissioners "on pain of unmerciful corporal punishment in addition to confiscation of all their goods." Moreover all marriages celebrated by "the popish priesthood" were deemed null and void. Still Malacca's Romish subjects contrived to maintain in secret priests to minister to them in sickness and give them the *Viaticum* at death. But persecution notably reduced the population, many Portuguese families and black fishermen removing to other places, and so few attending the Reformed service in Portuguese that sermons in that language were dropped. At the bottom of this mild persecution were the eighty years war and promotion of trade; for, unlike its predecessors, the Dutch Company cared only for its balance-sheet. But in 1712 there were still six times as many Catholics as Protestants in Malacca.

Neither proselytizers nor imperialists, Hollanders as a race had a profound respect for law and on acquiring Malacca decided to enforce "the tolls, licences and the cruising in the Straits, instituted by the Portuguese for the maintenance of the rights of Malacca and now devolved on us by right of conquest." This policy entailed

- (a) the exaction of certain duties in the port and straits of Malacca not only on imports and exports but on passing ships whether they broke cargo or not;

(b) the payment of certain tithes and taxes by the vassal State of Naning

and (c) the attempted enforcement of monopoly especially for the most important produce of Malaya, the tin of Perak, Kedah, Selangor and Linggi. However, little success was to attend the Company's effort to follow the Portuguese practice and retain for itself the purchase of all tin, spices, pepper and sandalwood and a monopoly of the cloth trade.

The Company recognised no obligation to let Portuguese, English, Danes or others trade in waters it had acquired by right of conquest and held by costly fleets and fortresses, though it exacted duties "with distinction of nations" and often "with moderation" except for the Portuguese who in their day had demanded toll from the Dutch. On payment of duty, foreign ships were granted passes, without which they were liable to confiscation. Generally British vessels were exempted as also (at one time) were all ships belonging to the king of Siam. And from courtesy and policy the Company excused the noblemen of its old ally, Johor, from export and import dues. But it was as ruthless as its interests allowed towards ships belonging to Malays, Chinese and Muslim Indians or "Moors." At times it refused all passes to Indian vessels bound for Aceh and Perak and refused to recognise passes given them by English and Danes. Countries like Aceh, Perak and Kedah, when blockaded by it into treaties, had to promise not to trade with Moors and Malays, Javanese and Chinese, unless these traffickers had first called at Malacca, paid dues and obtained passes "in accordance with the old Malacca right." In 1641 dues included anchorage fees, fees for port clearance and a poll-tax on crews.

The rate of taxation varied from time to time. Portuguese duties had run from 2 to 9 per cent. The Dutch at first imposed a duty of 5 per cent. on exports and 9 on imports. But three years later the Portuguese were paying "under protest" only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1664 the Governor of Malacca was instructed "to demand from every Portuguese vessel according to her size and without manipulating her cargo: of a small yacht 300 rix-dollars,

of a middle-sized ship 400 rix-dollars; and of a large ship 500 rix-dollars. And if any one shall undertake to break cargo at Malacca, he shall, the same as other traders, pay the Company the toll of 10 per cent. on his entire cargo." In 1678 pepper (from Johor), tin and resin, all of which had to be sold to the Company on pain of confiscation, were exempt from duty. So, too, rice, slaves and buffaloes, provided they were first offered to the Company, a concession due to its recurrent need for such commodities. There were duties on gold (which came from Kedah), on silver, jewels, bezoar stones, musk, civet, iron, lead and such small wares as fowls, eggs, fish, fruit, rattans, sandalwood and eaglewood: if offered to the Company, most of them were duty-free. A very important dutiable article was cloth. All cloths from Surat, Coromandel and Bengal, even if bought by the Company, were subject to an import tax of ten per cent. of their value and to an export tax of five per cent. However much the Company resented these Moorish and Portuguese imports, it was generally deemed more profitable to let their ships enter Dutch harbours and pay dues and attract local customers by their Indian wares rather than drive these interlopers to other ports. In lieu of cash payment, Moors and Portuguese from India had a tenth of their cargo unloaded and sold by public auction. For Company's cloth there was a preferential tariff. Pepper and cloves might be sold by private Malacca merchants but only at a rate prescribed and only for export to Macao, China and Manila, never to India or Europe. Their damage to the Company's trade led in 1698 to a resolution to raise the duty payable at Malacca by Moors and other private traders to 20 per cent., and all native traders without passes were to be "encumbered by arrest." Those showing certificates from English and Danish factories in India were to be charged 20 per cent. on their first visit but Portuguese certificates were not to be respected. In 1679 Batavia instructed the Governor to admit Portuguese, English and other Europeans on payment of 20 per cent. duty. But in 1688 this order was repealed and no packages or merchandise from foreign vessels were to be landed, which prohibition was reiterated in 1689, when landing of such goods was absolutely forbidden "even if they offered double duty and the remainder of their cargoes." In 1692 "the toll was

again fixed at 13 per cent. of imports and exports, there discharged or sold." In 1744 the toll was reduced to 6 per cent.

Acheh and Malacca were the centres of a tin-trade, that was carried on mostly by Moors from Bengal, Surat and Coromandel. To secure a monopoly, in 1647 Batavia prohibited the entry of Moors' ships to Acheh and to all Malay ports, a measure that caused the Great Mogul to loot the Dutch factory at Surat, whereupon the Dutch seized two of his ships from Mocha with cargoes worth one and a half million dollars. The seizure was effective. No vessels from Surat and Bengal came to Acheh. A Javanese, too, might traverse Perak with salt, sugar and other small wares "like a pedlar with his pack" and dispose of them for tin but he had at first to get a pass from Malacca, where 40 to 50 reals were taken from him to ensure that he would return and sell his cargo of tin to the Company at its own fixed price. No wonder that the "reckless and proud" Malays and Javanese often "murdered" their oppressors. Half the tin of Perak and Kedah and all the tin of Bangarij and all the pepper of Indragiri were required by treaties, concluded by the argument of blockade, to be sold to the Company at a low fixed rate,—which in practice made the treaties nugatory. At Malacca no tin might be sold to any purchaser but the Company which at the end of each year sent its accumulation in its own ships to India, Ceylon, Persia and Holland.

iii.

DUTCH DEPENDENCIES AND MONOPOLIES.

NANING.

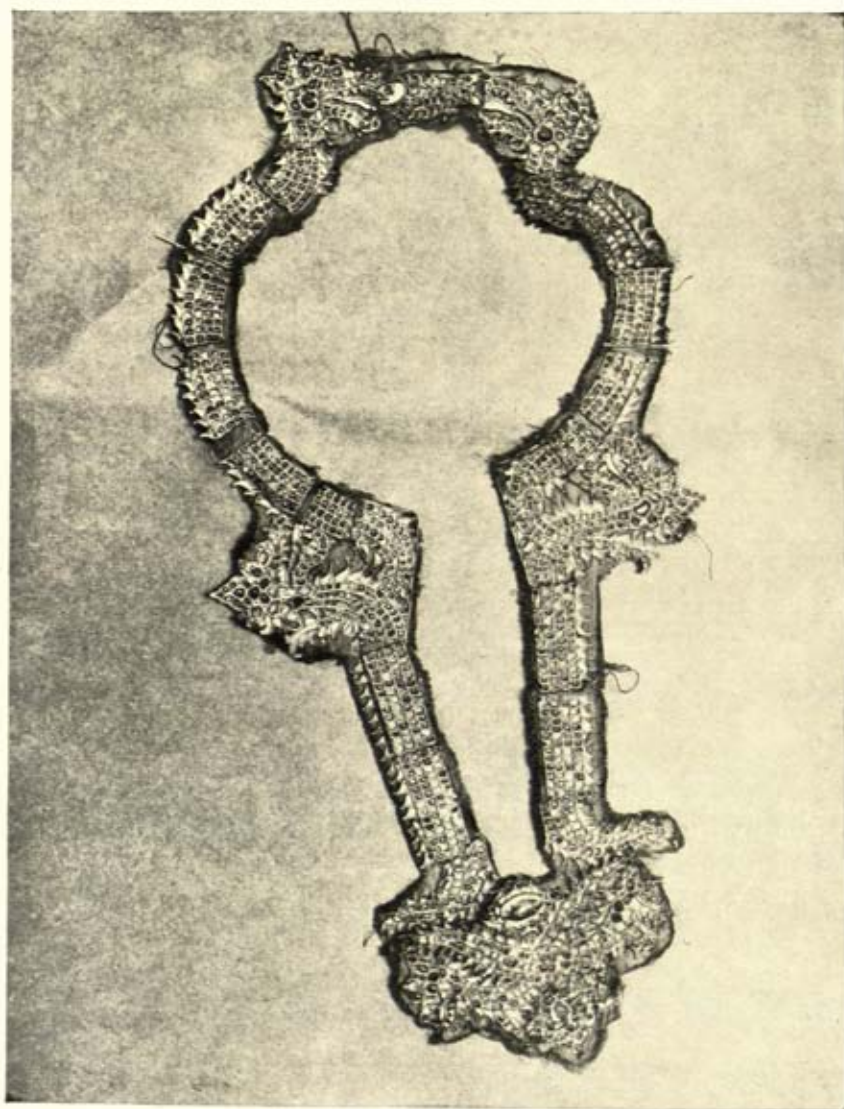
During the siege of 1641 not only the Malays of Johor but the Minangkabaus of Naning and Rembau had helped the Dutch "mainly for their own advantage, robbing and stealing especially from the slaves of the Portuguese but also from the native Christians who fled by reason of hunger and were ordered to leave the town." So as early as 15 August articles were concluded with the Naning chiefs who promised to be loyal vassals, pay a tithe of their crops and a tenth of the money passing at land transactions, on penalty of death not to circumcise Christians or

sell them to Moors or heathen and on pain of forfeiting not only life but goods also not to trade with any one but the Dutch at Malacca. But after the *amanhā* of the Portuguese, no Malay or Minangkabau could understand the strenuous earnestness of their supplanters. Naning was so slow to surrender arms and bring down rice and betel-nuts and so quick to sell to Bengkalis Christian slaves wanted at Malacca as bricklayers that by January 1642 the Dutch were blockading the Naning branch of the Linggi river and seizing Minangkabau boats. It was decided to defer in Naning any demand for a poll-tax and rent on lands and houses and to collect only the tithe—which it took 50 armed men to accomplish. In 1642 there was a shortage of rice at Malacca, so that grain had to be imported from Kedah and Trang. Accordingly in 1643 the Malacca Council decided to send a deputation “to persuade the Minangkabaus of Naning to adopt an agricultural and peaceful life.” But selected to raise the refractory villagers “from the state of barbarism under which they laboured” senior merchant Snoueq said he was unwell and not proficient in Malay and that the road was impassable. So on 3 February Malacca’s second Governor, van Vliet, himself set out with 60 Dutch and 100 Asiatic soldiers and exhorted the chiefs that the planting of more pepper and rice would “eradicate malignity.” The Minangkabaus cheered His Excellency but though it required the labour of only four men to clear the Naning river, jibbed at the work and declared that they never would be slaves. The deputation went on to Rembau, whose recalcitrants delayed the return of fugitive slaves and refused to pay compensation for stolen goods or give up Tampin, which had been presented to them by Johor. Marching from Naning to “eradicate this malignity,” Captain Forsenburgh and Shahbandar Menie with six Dutch soldiers were massacred, whereupon Governor van Vliet hastened to the spot with all his forces but was so hard pressed that he had to abandon a chest containing 13,000 reals and retire to Malacca. The Dutch were now at war with Rembau and Naning and as fearful of Johor as Johor of them: the trade of Malacca decreased and river plantations were abandoned. However the Sultan of Johor sent envoys to Malacca to express distress at the death of his good friend Menie and despatched envoys to Batavia to testify that the rebellious Minangkabaus so

far from being his subjects were tenants of his prime minister, the Bendahara; but Batavia was not impressed with this constitutional quibble and expected armed assistance. The Sultan now, in 1644, sent that prime minister, famous in Negri Sembilan folk-lore as Bendahara Sekudai, to deal with his troublesome tenants, a business he accomplished by appointing his own poor relations chiefs of Rembau and other smaller settlements, and then crossing over to Pahang whence the Minangkabaus being few and defenceless fled before him.

Early in 1645 the Dutch sent 350 men under Joan Truijtmán to "exterminate" the men of Naning and Rembau. They burnt a village, destroyed orchards and rice-fields and then by reason of lack of supplies, exhaustion and the mustering of 2,000 malignants retired. The enemy continued to plunder and enslave Malaccans by forest and shore. A year later Governor Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshorn despatched a punitive force of 570 men including 290 whites. After five days they reached Naning, felled 800 coconut and betel palms, exhausted their ammunition, built a stockade and encamped, to rest before retreating. But upset by the wanton destruction of their palms the Naning folk hoisted a flag of truce and asked for terms. The Dutch demanded that for the murder of Forsenburgh and Menie six chiefs should be executed, three from Naning and three from Rembau, and similarly common fellows for other victims of the 1643 massacre; all stolen persons and van Vliet's chest were to be restored and the Minangkabaus were to defray the cost of the punitive expeditions and publicly with bare heads to crave pardon. Batavia, having long recognised that van Vliet's haste had caused all the trouble, remitted the death penalties. The Minangkabaus did not mind baring their heads, to them a gesture of contempt. And as for defraying the cost of expeditions or paying damages for stolen slaves, they had no money but they restored what they could, *videlicet* six slaves, 1 silver candle-stick, 2 silver spoons, 8 silver dishes, 1 Spanish cassock, 1 undergarment, 1 red satin doublet. The Minangkabaus had their pride and Rembau, too, delivered 81 reals' weight of silver-plate, 117 gold buttons, 2 old blood-stained hats, 2 ragged pairs of breeches, 270 *gantang* of rice and 22½ reals in cash.

After the destruction of Johor by Jambi in 1673 and the flight of the Sultan to Pahang, the people of Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Klang having prospered and multiplied and waxed proud persuaded Naning to join them in making a Minangkabau king of their own. The prince of their choice, Raja Ibrahim, was denounced by the Dutch as a presumptuous impostor who professed to be able to poison the wind, bewitch firearms and render himself invisible; claims that terrified the black Roman Catholics and other silly credulous people. 3,700 Minangkabaus ravaged Malacca's countryside, and attacked her suburbs, but, though with 258 soldiers and 600 levies Governor Bort could not take the offensive, none of his men were killed and only three wounded, in particular Lieutenant Jan Rosdom who unhorsed by an enemy pikeman got him down, until help came and the malignant was killed in "all his fine habiliments" and had his head stuck on a post. In spite of Batavia being able to send only 150 troops, the little war cost fl. 7,814.15.10, which the Governor hoped to raise from public subscription! In 1679 the invulnerable impostor, Raja Ibrahim, was murdered by a Bugis slave, and Naning and Rembau begged forgiveness and concluded another treaty with the Dutch but successfully pleaded poverty as an excuse for not paying a fine of 60 slaves, 100 buffaloes and 25 cattle. Thereafter the Company had little trouble with its vassal. With their respect for law and concern for Malacca subjects, the Dutch tried, though with small success, to keep in their own hands the power of life and death. They appointed and installed Naning chiefs. If they never ceased to rail at their idle, sluggish, lazy and perfidious vassals, still they saw quite clearly it was impracticable to get the rascals to pay tithes to the Company as well as to their own chiefs, and accordingly in lean seasons waived a collection that did not cover its cost, after 1765 accepting the merely nominal tribute of 400 quart measures of rice a year. Finally the Company never claimed to own or alienate Naning lands. Perhaps the Naningites, lovers of their own matriarchal law, developed a respectful admiration for Dutch justice, harsh as it was; perhaps they preferred Dutch phlegm, however trying, to the restless energy of the Bugis who now come on the scene; anyhow, even when in 1773 the other Minangkabau



Royal Collar Ornament, Perak.

states found a king of their own and started the Negri Sembilan, Naning stuck to her European suzerain and took no part in this Sumatran nationalist movement.

THE TIN STATES.

The tin-fields of the modern Selangor and Negri Sembilan were part of the old Johor empire, and Dutch attempts to get a monopoly of their ore are part of the history of that empire: the tin-fields of Perak and Kedah have a history of their own.

Perak.

In 1639 the Dutch made a contract with Perak's suzerain Aceh allowing them to buy the Perak tin they needed for their trade with Surat and Persia. And by June 1641 head-merchant Jan Dircxen Puijt anchored off the Dindings with a cargo worth 17,810.18.5 florins for the Perak trade, a present from Johan van Twist, first Governor of Malacca, for the Sultan and a letter blandly proposing that His Highness should stop all dealings with others and sell the whole of his tin to the Company. The Sultan presented Puijt with a creese, a Malay title and a lodge and gladly accepted goods on credit but shunned all talk of monopoly; leaving Puijt to complain of the poorness of a trade shared by Achinese, Javanese, Moors and Bengalis. Thereupon the Governor-General at Batavia induced the Susunan of the Javanese empire of Mataram to ordain public floggings for any of his subjects who sailed to Perak; while, as in Portuguese days, cruisers were stationed to intercept all Moors' vessels bound for Perak, Kedah and Junk Ceylon and bring them to Malacca to pay toll and get permits, this measure being designed to increase not only the tin trade but business at Malacca. Taking advantage perhaps of the Naning rebellion, Perak's Sultan refused to co-operate in this policy and threatened to take back the lodge recently given to Puijt; at which the Dutch began their first blockade of the Perak estuary and reduced the Sultan to give them fair words and a friendly face but still no monopoly. Owing to the exclusion of Moor vessels from Aceh and all Malay ports, in 1649 Malacca got mostly from Perak 770,000 pounds of tin, an extraordinary quantity, and in December 1650 a commissioner from Batavia, Joan Truijman, managed to extort from Aceh a treaty allowing the Company to share with Aceh a monopoly

of the Perak tin trade to the exclusion of all other Europeans and Indians. The Perak lodge was immediately reopened but "the very foul and murderous" Malays made no scruple of killing all its inmates. In 1652 the Sultan of Kedah held Joan Truijtmán a prisoner but having been released, on 15 December 1653 he negotiated a fresh treaty with Sultan Muzaffar of Perak, which proved of so little effect that a third treaty was made two years later:—the Dutch were to share with Aceh a monopoly of Perak tin to the exclusion of all other Europeans and Indians, to be granted a site, the length of a cannon-shot, for a lodge, and to be paid 50,000 reals for the cutting off of their lodge in 1651, while the Malay chiefs accessory to that cutting off were to be executed and the Perak prime minister was to be dismissed from office. "Shortly after" Bort records, "by reason of Perak's failure to maintain our agents in their rights, the factory was again abandoned." Perak "rode the high horse," sent tin to Aceh and let foreigners intrude on the trade. Aceh, which before the Dutch capture of Malacca had been so useful for their trade with the Moors, was now Holland's rival for that same trade. The blockade both of Perak and Aceh was entrusted to Balthasar Bort, who eleven years later as retiring Governor of Malacca let the cat out of the bag: vengeance for the "foul massacre" in Perak veiled the real aim of the blockade which was to compel Aceh to buy Indian cloths from Malacca. In September 1659 Aceh signed a treaty with Governor-General Joan Maatsuijcker, again dividing the annual output of Perak tin equally between the Company and the Achinese and consenting to the gradual extinction of the Perak indemnity for the 1651 massacre by a reduction in the price paid by the Dutch for tin, which reduction was a strong inducement to the Perak Malays to sell their ore to Achinese, Moors and others. Affronted at this treaty made by Aceh for her own benefit and aware of the failing power of her suzerain, Perak threatened to transfer allegiance to Johor and might even have contracted a treaty with the Dutch, if Malacca could have guaranteed her long coast-line protection against the Achinese. Gradually the Dutch got better supplies of tin from Perak, so few Achinese vessels visiting the state, that Batavia, slow to realize Aceh's decay, warned Governor van Riebeck at Malacca to beware of her intentions.

Stem of a Royal Perak Tray.



In 1670, to save the island from English occupation the Dutch built a wooden fort at the Dindings for the 59 men engaged in the Perak blockade. The Governor of Malacca adjured the Sergeant never to let his men go abroad without a stout broadsword and a gun "of which the natives are very much afraid," to make them plant fruit and vegetables on week-days, to hold divine worship and have a sermon read on Sundays, to set his men a good example in sobriety and all the virtues, to fly the Dutch flag only on Sundays or when ships were sighted and to bring it in when it rained. The sailors were not to be allowed to drink up all their arrack as soon as it arrived, and while for civil offences the Sergeant could have them keel-hauled, criminals were to be sent for trial to Malacca. In 1689 Dampier visited the island and has described how a cry of "Malayans" made the captain leave his silver punch-bowl full of liquor and jump out of his window to rush to the defence of the fort. In 1690 it was "cut off" by the Malays under one, Panglima Kulup, and only reopened in 1745, to be abandoned three years later for a fort up-river at Tanjong Putus.

1785 saw the last treaty between the Dutch Company and Perak. The Sultan now promised to deliver *all* the tin his country produced to the Company, but a year later Francis Light founded the free port of Penang and the promise became a dead letter. In 1795, when Malacca was taken over by Great Britain, Lord Camelford then a Lieutenant in the Navy and Lieutenant Macalister proceeded up the Perak river with a small force and compelled Christoffel Walbeehm to surrender the Dutch fort at Tanjong Putus, which half a century ago was broken up by an English Superintendent of Lower Perak to metal the roads of Teluk Anson! In 1819 the Dutch tried to re-establish themselves at Pangkor but did not succeed.

Kedah.

On 6 July 1641 in response to a request from the Sultan for an organ, Sr. Hermansen arrived at Kedah with a letter and presents from the Governor-General at Batavia and got a promise from the "modest unpretentious" Sultan that he would refuse Moors entry to his state and order them to fetch passes from Malacca, would sell half of Kedah's annual output of tin to the Company and accept

a Dutch accountant to check that output. But this bright beginning was to be followed by annoyances and disappointment. The organist sent to the Kedah court "behaved like a beggar," an upper-merchant cheated the Company by private deals in porcelain, two elephants bought in Kedah cost $2\frac{3}{4}$ reals a week for their keep, and the "modest unpretentious" Sultan continued to despatch great quantities of tin to Coromandel, to trade in tin, elephants and calico with ships from Bengal, Coromandel and Java and to let Moorish cloth be sent overland to Patani, Ligor and Pahang. A blockade was started but the Moors crept past the Dutch cruisers. From 1654 until 1657 Malacca opened a factory for trade in tin, gold and elephants but in 1658 the Malays killed nine of the crew of the yacht *Hoorn*, and another blockade was started in the hope of depriving the Sultan of revenue got from Moorish and Portuguese ships, though the captains ran their vessels up creeks, from which the cargoes were transported overland on elephants and buffaloes. The export of elephants from Kedah to Indian ports was allowed on payment of duty, while on imports Moors had to pay a 5 *per cent.* duty unless they were sold to the Company: vessels leaving Kedah without Dutch passes had to deliver up all or half their tin at a price fixed by Batavia and vessels with passes a third of their tin. Later even Dutch passes from India and readiness to pay dues at Malacca rates could not get Portuguese and Moor ships entrance: they had to visit Malacca for permits and deliver for the fixed Dutch price part of any tin they wanted to export from Kedah. Malays, Javanese and Chinese were not allowed to take part in the tin trade and, unless they agreed to take to Malacca any tin found in their vessels, it was removed and a bill given to enable them to get payment for it at Malacca. The blockade was so resented that in 1661 Kedah sent two vessels down to Malacca to try to kidnap some of its Dutch inhabitants. Moors still evaded the patrol ships and put their cargoes on English ships or employed English sailors and flew the English flag, while Indian Nabobs threatened reprisals in Indian waters. The nerves even of the blockaders suffered. In 1663 the crew of the *Exter*, one of the Dutch patrols, massacred the entire crew of a Moor ship bound for Junk Ceylon, violating the women and then throwing them overboard with sacks of rice tied to their

necks: one child leapt into the water and swam aboard begging for her life but she was seized by the legs and had her head dashed against the ship's side. Hard bargainers, the Dutch were just. The four chief "monsters" were broken on a cross and finally beheaded, three of them having first had their right hands chopped off: five men were hanged. The blockade of Kedah was interminable, but the cheapness of the Moorish cloths there continued to attract a large Malay and Javanese traffic. The Dutch consoled themselves that even if they could prevent Moors from entering, "the Honourable Company would all the same not attain its object, since the English, Portuguese, French and Danes, principally the first named, would in time of peace frequent Kedah so much the more, whereas, since the Moors are there, they mostly stay away, knowing that, as regards the trade in cloth in competition with them, they, like ourselves, have no chance." The two trading treaties with Kedah had proved an illusion: a diplomatic gesture on the part of Malays soon to awaken to the vexation of Dutch doggedness, a serious but ineffectual effort for monopoly by the Company. Kedah was too far to the north for an effective blockade. She was too close to India and too favoured by the monsoons for the Dutch to prevent her flourishing trade in tin and elephants with the Muslim and European merchants of that country. Her suzerain was Siam but the hold of Siam over Kedah was too vague for the Dutch to benefit by any treaty with that suzerain. In the eighteenth century the Bugis conducted three Kedah wars under the noses of the Dutch and just before the founding of Penang it was the Bugis and not the Dutch or Siamese who played the chief part in Kedah politics.

iv.

THE DECAY OF THE COMPANY.

The decay of the Dutch Company began even before the close of the seventeenth century. Throughout the last half of that century Holland was constantly at war with England or France or both, a condition that drained her of men and money. In the East the insistence on one-sided treaties, the attempt to enforce monopolies by blockades and divert trade to Dutch ports by methods only technically different from piracy, such measures led to endless

wars, which cost the Company large sums. In the Malay Peninsula the Malays and the Minangkabaus defied Dutch monopoly and the Bugis conducted guerilla warfare up to the walls of Malacca. The policy that profits were to cover the cost of administration failed. The Company's system of book-keeping was complicated and poor. Accounts kept in Asia did not tally with accounts kept in Holland, so that while in the East the balance sheet would show great profits, a balance sheet struck in the Netherlands for the same period would show a loss. Holland and the East put different values on the same currency and even in the Dutch Indies there was no common monetary standard. In the middle of the XVIIIth century the Company employed besides 3,500 sailors, 18,000 slaves and others, including soldiers. In 1750 the army pay-roll amounted to 5½ million guilders to which had to be added the cost of forts and factories. Dues and monopolies did not cover even Malacca's expenditure, except rarely as in 1665 under the administration of Jan van Riebeck, the founder of Cape Colony; and no one had the courage to prune the garrison, as it might have been pruned after Portugal and England had retired from Malayan waters. Moreover among the Company's servants there were nepotism, corruption, dishonesty and private trading.* Some of the highest officials bought up rice and secured to themselves a monopoly of this indispensable food supply. Overweights and short payments compensated officials for small salaries. Some Hollanders broke their oath, left the Company and sold their experience for high wages under foreign competitors. In 1674 Bort had to issue a circular against the giving of advances by officials to Moors of Coromandel for the purpose of buying cloths and selling them at Malacca to the detriment of the Company's business. The staff in Perak was threatened with heavy penalties if any of them used fictitious names to cheat the Company for their own pecuniary benefit. In 1778 a young Dutchman wrote home from Batavia: "Let me enumerate

* *Note.*—The English in India were no better. "The Company's representatives organized three revolutions, each time making their nominee pay handsomely. A House of Commons Committee later learnt that between 1757 and 1766 the Company's servants in Bengal alone received over £2,500,000 as private presents, and another £3,770,833 as 'compensation' for losses incurred. Madras was equally dishonest." *A History of India*, by Edward Thompson, London, 1928.

the good situations in which one makes an immense fortune in a few years. The two berths of Administrator at Onrust, an island containing the richest ware-houses and where homeward vessels take in cargo, afford every opportunity for smuggling and trafficking. Not a year passes in which the occupants of these posts do not make 100 sacks, and every sack brings a profit of 100 *écus*. I am not in the least exaggerating. Just think that these gentlemen pay 10 sacks a year, the recognised bribe, to the water-fiscal.... Then there are governorships, directorates, etc. Such are the positions in which a fortune is to be made...." It was "almost degrading" to be an officer in the Company's military forces and "they are completely excluded from good society." In 1786 the young man, Reynier Bernardus Hoynck van Papendrecht was Shahbandar at Malacca and describes his life there "I lead the life of a prince. I live in the finest house of the town, which is also the best and most modernly furnished. I have a nice country-place which I occupy when shipping is slack. I further have a splendid property called Tanjong Kling, on which four villages are situated. I cannot tell you the exact number of my slaves but it is over sixty. I have my coach and gig, three sets of horses and two saddle-horses." As a Councillor of Police he could roll about in a gilt coach and wear a velvet coat. "I have a large office staff: the most arduous part of my task is to receive money and to sign my name. My employment is highly agreeable, profitable and independent, because my revenues are not made to the detriment of the Company. In the beginning of my stay here I gained much by trade and shipping, but on top of the war with the English came a war with the natives from which I had to suffer." No wonder that in 1795 a commission appointed by the States-General reported that the Company was bankrupt and its commerce almost ruined. In 1798 the newly established Batavian Republic annulled the charter of 1602 and took over the remaining possessions of a Company that had dominated Malaya for a century and a half. With all its faults that Company had created for Holland a colonial empire.

VII

THE JOHOR EMPIRE.

I.

THE BEGINNING.

Their battle for Malacca lost, the Malay chiefs fled, Sultan Mahmud to Batu Hampar up the Malacca river, his son Ahmad south to Pagoh on the Muar, where the grave of his grandfather (with its texts on the vanity of life) was then still white, hardly more than two decades old. But Ahmad's last stand for the ashes of his ancestors failed. As we have seen, the Portuguese forced the hot-head to join his father in flight across the Peninsula through forest depths no enemy dared to penetrate. It was a small party for the emperor of the Malacca kingdom, only the Sultan and his family and some fifty followers. And a sorry progress it must have been: women and children weak from hardships; sickened by the rolling gait of elephants as they were tilted up and down ravines; missing the sea-fish and luxuries of the cosmopolitan port they had left for ever; lamenting lost silks and trinkets, fugitive slaves and relatives killed in the fighting; afraid of the malignant spirits lurking in that great sea of forest. And their master, lord of the only Malay empire the Peninsula was ever destined to have, Sultan Mahmud with his moody temper and his clever caustic tongue? Was he still confident in the luck of that white blood which his divine ancestors had shared with Shiva and his own veins shared with Muslim saints? Was he still hot as he had been against Ahmad, the fire-eating son who had rattled the creese for that disastrous bout with those chain-clad "White Bengalis"? Or was he sulky and despondent, nauseated by jungle food and seeking consolation in the opium-pipe which the Portuguese say he loved? Daily mahouts and paddlers took him further into exile. The war elephants had to be abandoned. Crossing the Jempul watershed the royal fugitives followed the Seriting river into Pahang, a route first travelled by an Englishman in 1827 when the journey from Malacca took a strenuous fortnight and three weeks after his return the forest devils, called by white medicine-men malaria, visited the adventurer with death.

At last Sultan Mahmud reached the court of his cousin of Pahang. To add to the fugitives' depression, the north-east monsoon was soon upon them, those months of incessant rain that driving across the China sea frays men's nerves in spite of junketings and made the Pekan court for centuries a scene of dark intrigue and bestial tortures. There were long idle days when, if he had the heart, Sultan Mahmud could listen once more, as he had listened at Malacca, to Malay folk-tales and Muslim romances, to discussions on the doctrines of Ghazzali and to the theological conundrums that had interested him in happier times. He staged a wedding between his daughter Fatimah and his host's son, an alliance and an easy gesture of gratitude for hospitality that was to last a year. A wedding was always gay with feasting and dances and drums and cock-fighting and here certainly with the shadow-play which Majapahit conquerors had left on that coast a hundred and fifty years before; that shadow-play where, as we have seen, the old Hindu gods come down and are present in their puppet portraits, and, the play ended, Shiva descends to drive his army of evil spirits out of the great door of the palm-leaf theatre. But though Shiva as god of death was busy enough with the crews of carracks on their voyage round the Cape, yet he could not spirit the white djinns of Portugal away from the Malayan stage, and an exile's rice is bitter to the taste. With the change of the monsoon, Mahmud despatched "one of his uncles," d'Albuquerque tells us, an Indian trader, Nasim Mudeliar, to China to ask help from the Son of Heaven against Portugal but having heard of the prowess of the Portuguese and knowing that d'Albuquerque had kindly entreated the Chinese of the five junks while the Sultan had practised tyrannies upon foreign traders at Malacca, His Imperial Majesty made excuses, saying that he was at war with the Tartars.

It was time to found a new kingdom but at first the Malays were too cowed to venture another of those port capitals that alone brought revenue. Overlord though he was of the east coast of the Peninsula from Patani to the southernmost extremity of Asia, that remote monsoon-bound coast could provide Sultan Mahmud no effective base for guerilla warfare against the Portuguese

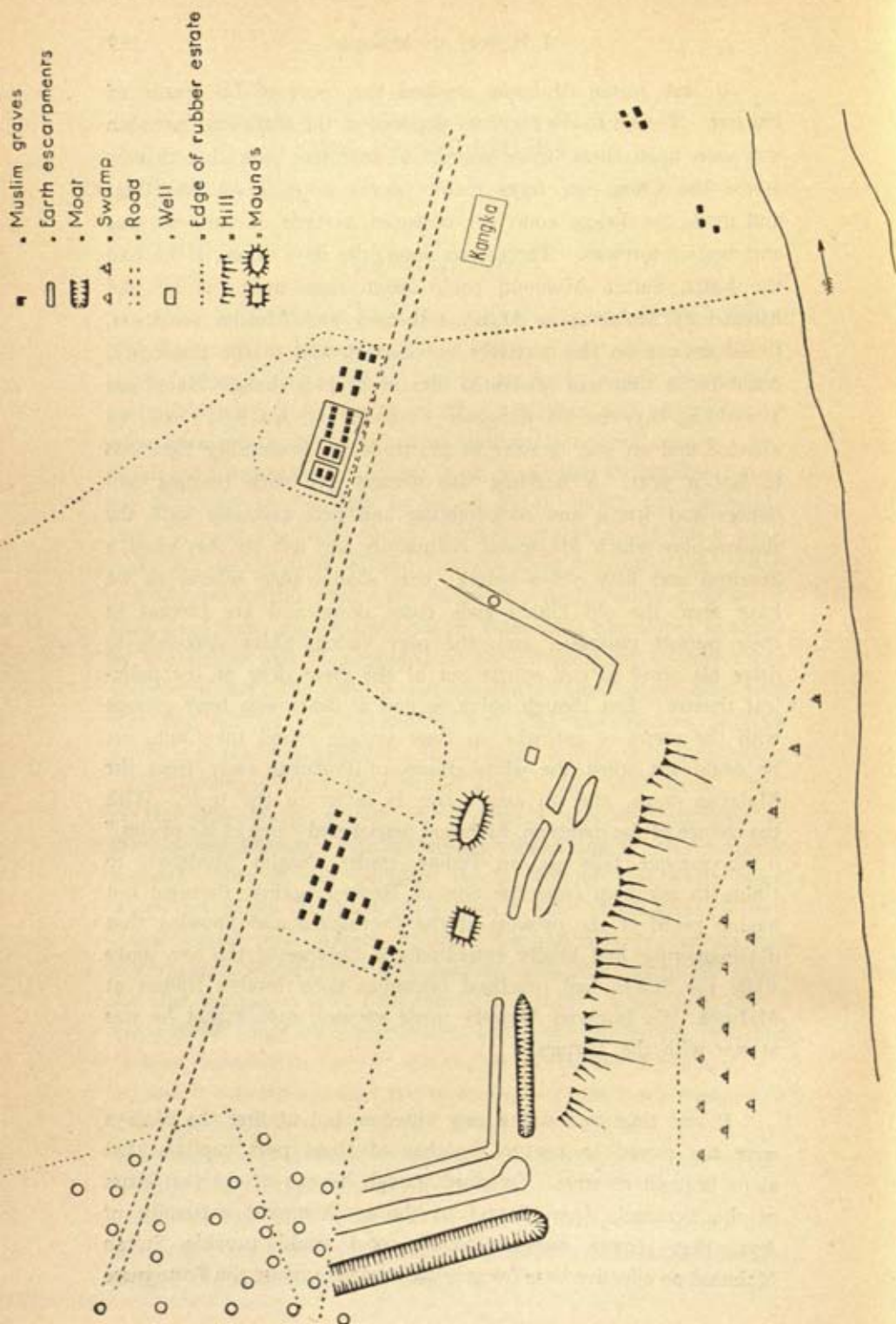


Fig. 16. Plan of the Fort at Sayong Pinang, Johor.

at Malacca. He was overlord of the west coast from Kedah downwards but here the estuaries were too close to Malacca for safety. Overlord of all Malaya except Malacca and Naning, he had yet to seek refuge in the narrow upper reaches of the Sayong, a tributary of the Johor river, where at Sayong Pinang, as graves attest, Malacca Malays had lived for more than half a century. Sultan Mahmud once remarked that a king's sword attracts gold, and to found a new settlement little else was required beyond palm-thatched houses built in a day or a week or a month according to size and stability, a patch of forest felled for dry rice, and a fleet of dug-outs for transport and trading. But the Sayong retreat was too far from the sea for the wanderer to collect revenue from toll on shipping; so gaining courage he removed to Bintan or Riau, the island Raffles tried three centuries later to secure for a British trading station until he found that the Dutch had forestalled him. There at Riau, Sultan Mahmud preserved the old-world pomp of the Malacca court; astonishing visitors by his gold and silver plate and the hushed dignity of the palace service; still exacting homage from fiefs like Bruas, when they proved careless of a king in exile; still conferring titles and giving his daughters to Sumatran princes, the rulers of Indragiri, Siak and Deli, who under the spell of the old Malacca dynasty were ready to assist its head to assert his divine right against the European intruder. Exile did not improve his temper. On the occasion of one of the many attacks on Malacca, when a storm spoilt the tactics and one of the royal elephants had its right tusk broken in a charge, the testy Sultan rated his commander as a prodigious liar for professing without reason to be braver than 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, and cleverer than the Imam Ghazzali. In some black fit after his arrival at Bintan he had his son Ahmad killed; according to Ruy de Brito because the young man did not share his opium-smoking father's desire for peace; according to the *Malay Annals* because he feasted wild young counsellors, neglecting the old, whereupon his father, shadow of Allah upon earth, saw to it the words of the Kuran were fulfilled that no man shall outlive his appointed time. After Mascarenhas destroyed Bintan in 1526, the overlord of so great a part of the Malay world was dragged off the bridge by his ministers and escorted, a fugitive, to wander

in the jungle, his aching feet bound with cloth; indebted for his life (according to the same scribe) only to members of that great house whose wages were cracked porcelain and death. "So long as Your Highness lives," one of them rightly consoled him, "ten kingdoms can be created." And not even then were the Portuguese such masters of the Straits as to prevent the Sultan's deputy in Selangor slinking past Malacca a fortnight later with twenty boats and removing his fugitive liegeland to rule over Kampar in Sumatra, where after two years he entered that strait gate of death, which, as the Kuran told him, is the goal of all wanderings.

As we have seen, Sultan Mahmud left two claimants for his throne, an elder son Muzaffar by a Kelantan princess, a younger 'Ala'u'd-din whose mother was daughter of Tun Mutahir, the Bendahara executed by Mahmud in Malacca for treason twenty years ago. When 'Ala'u'd-din was born, his hair was shaved with a golden knife, and baby clothes were brought him on an elephant, escorted by flags and banners and painted standards (which Islam has now banished from Malay ceremony); moreover from his elder brother were taken away his embroidered mat and his carpet, deprivation symbolic as the removal of a mandarin's peacock feather. It is not surprising that the Bendahara family drove away the elder prince (to become first Sultan of Perak) and chose as ruler of Johor the younger prince of their own blood and carried him off still in his 'teens to safety and marriage with a cousin in Pahang. After his wedding in Pahang, the boy Sultan, 'Ala'u'd-din, settled on the upper reaches of the Johor river, guarded by a downstream fort whose earthwork still exists at Sungai Telor a few miles from Kota Tinggi. A few years later he moved to Johor Lama, a capital sacked by Acheh in 1564, when 'Ala'u'd-din was removed a captive to Sumatra. Before the end of the Johor empire it was to have many other capitals on the Johor river, Seluyut, Batu Sawar, Makam Tauhid, Panchor, and two in the Riau archipelago; for it mattered little where was the palm-thatched court, so long as in it there was the sacred white-blooded person of an emperor.

The history of Johor for the next hundred years has been told as part of the history of the Portuguese and Dutch periods of Peninsular history.

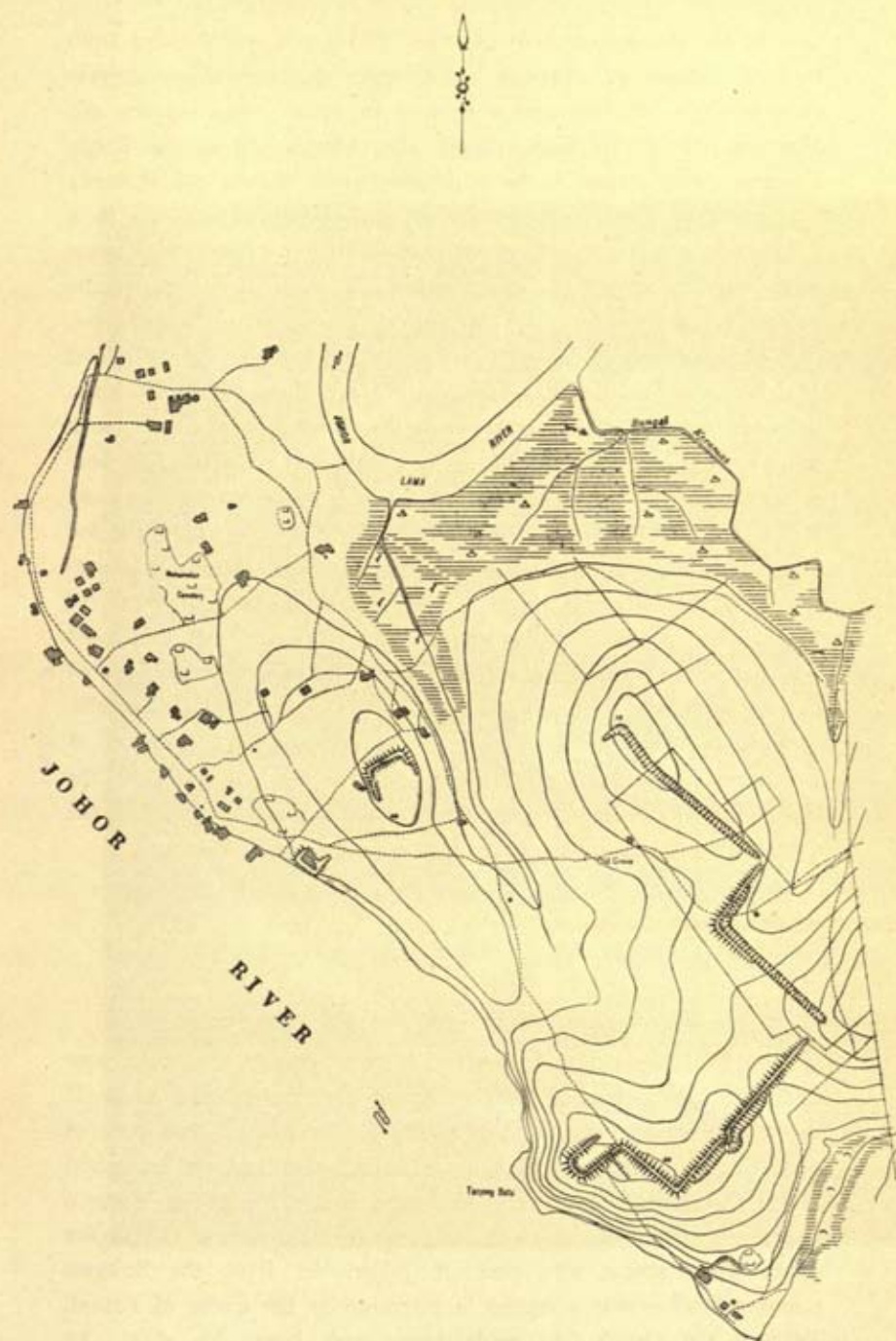


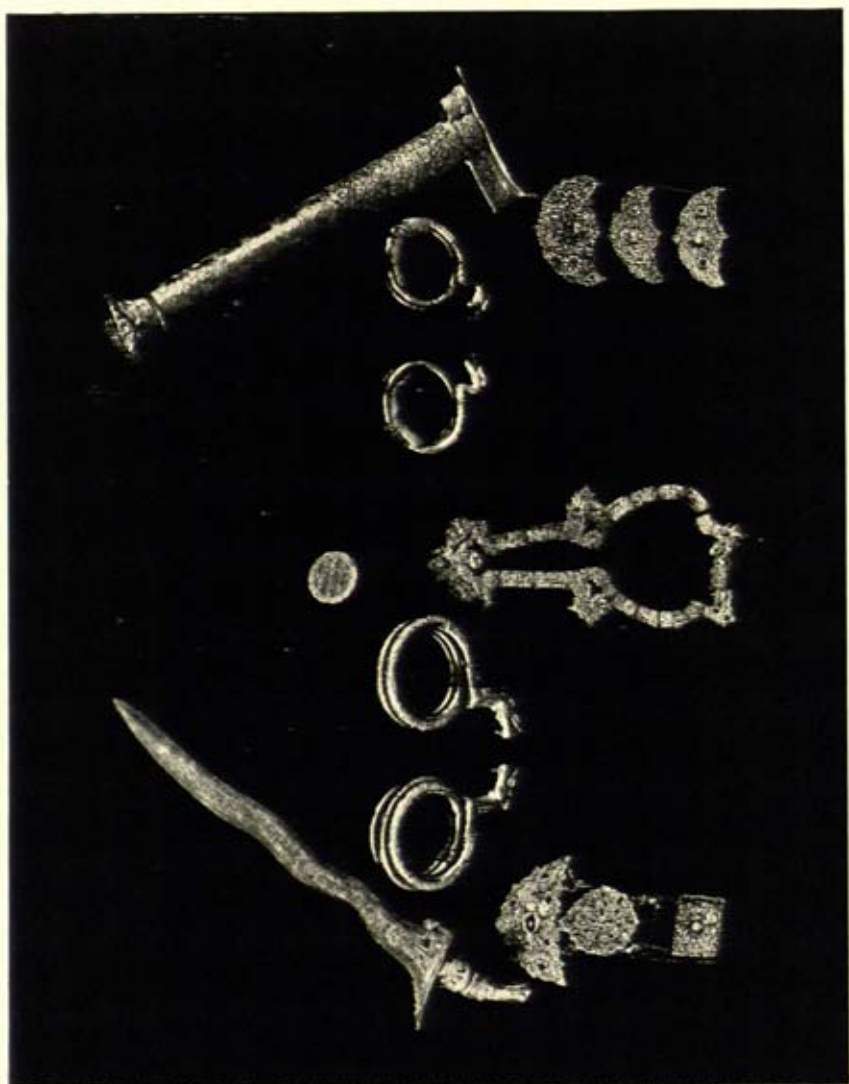
Fig. 17. Plan of the remains of the Fort at Johor Lama.

As for Perak, corroboration that its rulers are descended from the old Sultans of Malacca comes from the coronation address once used in Malacca and still used in Perak. Bearing the old Malacca title of Sri Nara 'diraja, the chief herald at the Kuala Kangsar court claims to be a descendant of Batala (or Basava) that mythical incarnation of Shiva's bull, Nandi, sent down to a Palembang rice-clearing to instal as ruler of Sri Vijaya an ancestor of the royal family of Malacca and Perak (*vide* p. 26). Still on the accession of a Perak ruler Sri Nara 'diraja reads a coronation address, like the address in Sanskrit with a Tamil tinge which in old Malacca ran as follows:—"fortunate great king, smiter of rivals, valorous, whose crown jewels ravish the three worlds, whose touch dispels suffering, protector, pilot over the ocean of battle, confuter of opponents, fortunate overlord of kings of righteousness, supreme lord of the kingdom—Raja Parameswara." And, as at the initiation of a child into one of the higher Hindu castes his teacher whispers the name of the god who is to be the child's special protector through life, so into the ear of each new ruler of Perak this court herald whispers the State secret, namely the real Hindu name of the demigod who (according to the myth) descended on that hill-clearing by Mahameru to become the ancestor and guardian of Perak royalty. Down all the centuries the tie has persisted: the descendant of the herald born from Nandi's vomit is herald to the descendant of the divine prince who rode on Nandi's back.

ii.

THE PASSING OF MALAY RULE.

In 1641 the Dutch had seized Malacca and in that same year Iskandar Thani, last of Aceh's imperialist pirates, had died. It must have seemed to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Johor that quit of peril from Portugal and Aceh and allied with Holland he might revive the dynastic glory and the prosperous trade of his Malacca ancestors. From now until the nineteenth century, when the empire broke up, Pahang was part of Johor. In 1644 the Sultan's younger brother was accepted in marriage by the queen of Patani. Fear of the Dutch had made Jambi and Aceh his allies. In Sumatra, two centres of the pepper trade, Bengkalis and Kampar,



Perak Regalia.

were his dependencies; the important rivers of Siak and Rakan were placed under his Shahbandars, and after 1669 he became ruler of Indragiri, another source whence pepper from Minangkabau was exported. From Pahang and these Sumatran fiefs as well as the islands of Riau archipelago and even Malacca's hinterland, Klang and Sungai Ujong, there came to his capital on the Johor river tin and pepper and less important commodities such as lignum-aloes, ivory, camphor, copra, pottery, resin, which were sold to the Dutch and, in defiance of Dutch injunctions, to Gujeratis, to Chinese, to Portuguese and even to stray Englishmen. At that same Johor capital the Chinese in want of tin and pepper bartered gold-thread, rough porcelain, iron pans, tea and tobacco, while not only the Dutch but Malacca Chinese, Indians, Portuguese and English imported cloth from Surat and Coromandel. On most of these imports and exports the Sultan enjoyed customs duties and port dues.

Then the first of those Johor Laksamanas, chosen by destiny to be the instruments of their country's ruin, caused war between Johor and her ally Jambi. The daughter of this feudal lord of Bentan married the Johor Sultan's heir, which marriage caused that heir's engagement to a daughter of the Pangeran of Jambi to be deferred until to-morrow and to-morrow and broken promises led to raids and sea-fights between the two countries that lasted thirteen years. In 1673 Jambi surprised Johor's fief, Bengkalis, and then sacked Johor's capital Batu Sawar, taking four tons of gold and 2,500 prisoners and driving Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah an exile to Pahang, where three years later he died at the age of ninety. This blow cost Johor far more than the loss of a capital, a loss she had often suffered without irreparable harm. This time, by the will of Allah, defeat was to bring her into relations with Minangkabaus and Bugis, vigorous interlopers fated between them to end the empire of Johor. Ibrahim, successor to the aged Sultan, in order to finish the Jambi war, called to his aid Daing Mangika, a Bugis mercenary. And the Minangkabau population of Siak, like their brothers of Klang and Sungai Ujong contemptuous of an overlord conquered by a Sumatran State as petty as their own, elected for ruler a prince of Minangkabau blood. When in 1685

Sultan Ibrahim died, poisoned according to rumour by three of his wives, he left the Johor stage to his heir a minor and a pervert, to that heir's father-in-law the powerful intriguing Laksamana and to Bugis and Minangkabaus quick as vultures to use for their own ends a quarrel beside the death-bed of an empire.

This old Laksamana, Paduka Raja, who had caused and after long years won the Jambi war, had even before Ibrahim's death drawn all authority into his hands and no longer paid respect to his royal master. Now at Riau, which under his influence Ibrahim had made Johor's capital, he became Regent and arrogated to himself such power, that in 1688 he had to flee from the wrath of his fellow-chiefs to Trengganu, where he died. Of this Regency with its ambitions and disturbances that hindered Johor from holding down the contumacious Minangkabaus of Siak, the Dutch Company was not slow to take advantage. In 1685 it contracted with the Regent one abortive treaty, designed to secure a monopoly of Siak's newly discovered tin, but the Regent a wily diplomat contrived to repudiate it. In 1688 it exacted another futile treaty from Johor's new Bendahara or prime minister, Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid, who had just brought his princely charge to Kota Tinggi away from the disturbed atmosphere of Riau. The Dutch were to enjoy a monopoly and toll-free trade in the kingdom of Johor. No Hindus or Moors were to be allowed to settle in Johor territory and their goods were to be heavily taxed. The Dutch were to have a monopoly of Siak tin, until Mahmud the young Sultan of Johor should come of age. Mahmud was indeed to come of age and then a few years later to expiate his sadism at the hands of a petty Malay chief, Megat Sri Rama, in revenge for the foul murder of that chief's wife. Never a day passed when this mad prince did not kill some wretch with his own hands. Once the English trader Captain Alexander Hamilton gave him a brace of screw-barrelled pistols, and the next time the madman went abroad "he tried, on a poor Fellow in the Street, how far they could carry a Ball into his Flesh, and shot him through the Shoulder." Malay chroniclers suppose that he had a fairy wife, a genie who made him averse from all mortal women. When his mother introduced a Delilah to his palace, he called the guard and made them break her arms

for venturing to touch his person. The chiefs decided to rid the country of the royal lunatic and, accordingly, one morning in August 1699, as Mahmud was being carried in the old style on a follower's shoulders over the muddy approach to the Kota Tinggi mosque, Megat Sri Rama smote "the Beast" with a lance, so that he died. So (except for its Perak branch) perished the last of the Malacca royal line. Dying, Mahmud hurled a creese at his assailant, wounding him, some say, to the death, while according to others he lived four years in agony, grass growing in the wound on his foot. Megat Sri Rama lies buried at Kota Tinggi in the burial-ground of the Laksamanas and even to this day no member of the Laksamana family dare visit Kota Tinggi for fear of the vengeful ghost of Sultan Mahmud. Were it not for the evidence of English travellers, one might wonder if Mahmud's infamy were not the invention of Malay chroniclers bent on excusing the murder of their ruler at the instigation of his own mother's kinsmen.



Fig. 18. Coin of a Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Johor.

Whether or not the Laksamana hoped to fill the vacant throne, choice fell on the prime minister, the Bendahara Sri Maharaja 'Abdu'l-Jalil, son of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid. Habib was a common Malay synonym for Sayid, and it seems likely that only on the distaff side was the new ruler descended from the great Bendaharas of old Malacca, and on the spear side from a Hashimite Sayid who married a daughter of the well-known Bendahara Sekudai. Captain Alexander Hamilton describes him as "a Prince of great Moderation and Justice, and governed well for the eight or nine years that he held the Reins of Government in his own Hands." In 1703 he made Hamilton "a Present of the Island of *Sincapure*, but I told him it could be of no use to a private Person, tho' a proper Place for a Company to settle a Colony on, lying in the Center of Trade." Just before

this visit by Hamilton, Mr. Vaughan and four other Englishmen had been brought to the Johor capital as shipwrecked castaways and were invited by the king to "slarn" that is to accept Islam, but "they all agreed rather to die." However as they pleased the Sultan and his court by singing English songs, dancing and tumbling and doing conjuring tricks, they were given a lodging, rice and gold coins to buy fish and they found it hard to get leave to pass on to Malacca. They saw the Bendahara King sit in state in his hall of audience, "the pillars of which were covered with cotton cloth of all colours and roof hung with as great variety of very rich silks. At the upper end of the hall the King was seated in a small raised square, hung round with very fine silk curtains decently furled, so as he might be seen. The House was round beset with a great number of wax-candles, and for a farther augmentation of the Solemnity, all his Musick was placed in another house not far distant where they continually play'd during the time the King was exposed to public view.... Having ended their devotions, Clergy and Laity made a solemn and regular procession with Musick before them to the Palace, where being arriv'd, all was ended with the noise of Musick and firing of guns, but all with so great a silence of the natives, as was admirable and quite contrary to the practice of Europeans on such occasions." About 600 Chinese armed with swords and targets "march'd with China plays" and then fenced. The old ceremony that had for centuries hedged Malay kingship, and still the old misrule! One

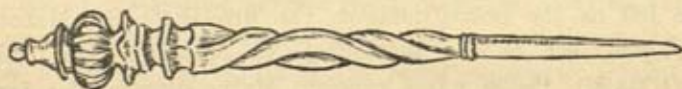


Fig. 19. *Bronze article from the Johor river.*

day the King's son wounded one of his creditors who "repaid the wound in the same Coin." Hundreds of men were under arms before they dared to spear the sacrilegious creditor. Another day a Malay and a Bugis "fell out in their play for a woman": the Bugis stabbed the Malay and then armed and with six or seven of his countrymen, with their long hair untied, went to the palace and were granted pardon. Vaughan saw a man creessed at 2 a.m., the hour of the full moon, and his wife thrown into the river with

a stone round her neck, because in a nightmare due to sickness the Bendahara had dreamt the unhappy couple were trying to strangle him!

Family feuds drove Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil to religion and he left politics to his younger brother the Raja Muda, whose tyranny and greed caused a revolution. Was the Laksamana, jealous of the new Bendahara royalty, again at the bottom of the rising? Was there a rising at all or was it merely the family quarrels of *parvenu* royalty that brought to Johor Lama the Minangkabau ruler of Siak, Raja Kechil, who was rumoured (against all evidence) to be the posthumous child of the lunatic Sultan Mahmud by a daughter of the Laksamana? The Cellates or sea-tribes, who were subject to the Laksamana, were bribed not to warn the Johor capital of the advent of the Siak fleet which actually surprised the Raja Muda at a game of chess. The guns of the fort were filled with water and would not go off. Seeing that all was lost, the Raja Muda ran amuck killing many of his children and concubines and a wife famous for her beauty and her golden loom. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil fled upriver to Kota Tinggi, tendered submission to the invader and was given his old office of Bendahara or prime minister. Raja Kechil then usurped the Johor throne, adopted the style of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Rahmat Shah and proceeded in the traditional Malay fashion to marry a daughter of the ruler he had deposed. Chroniclers aver that betrothed to an elder daughter, Tengku Tengah, he broke off the engagement to marry her younger sister, Tengku Kamariah, whom he had seen at a feast. Tengku Tengah was not the only person disappointed by the headlong warrior. In Sumatra he had promised a Bugis chief, Daing Parani, the office of Yam-tuan Muda of Johor if he would help him take that country, and then while the Bugis had gone to Selangor to collect forces, Raja Kechil had taken it alone. Daing Parani followed to Johor to press his claim, where Tengku Tengah flung an earring into his lap and offered her hand too if he would avenge her. So runs the Bugis romance and that it is no more than romance is attested by the many conflicting versions of this love story. What is certain is that the deposed Bendahara Sultan intrigued with the Bugis in the hope of ousting the Minangkabau

usurper: the attempt failed, so that he had to flee to Pahang, where at prayer in his ship at the estuary he was cut down by an emissary of Raja Kechil. That was in 1718.

For four years Raja Kechil ruled Johor from Riau, which henceforth was to be the centre of the old empire until its final disruption. Then in a two days' battle Daing Parani's chain-clad Bugis with muskets and blunderbusses defeated the swords and cannons of Raja Kechil and drove him to Lingga. Once he retook Riau but decoyed to help Linggi against a Bugis feint from Selangor he lost Riau again for ever in spite of the many raids he led for its recovery. In October 1722 the Bugis established as king of Johor and Pahang Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah son of Bendahara Sri Maharaja Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil who had been killed on his praying-mat at Kuala Pahang. The new Sultan made Daing Marewah (eldest brother of Parani) Yamtuan Muda or Underking of Riau and had to consent to a holocaust of his female relations in political marriage, not one of them being left unwedded by the Bugis for the advances of any other adventurers. From now onwards the Malay Sultan of the Johor empire was a sacred puppet or, as the Bugis frankly described it, in the position of a woman subject to the will of her husband, the Underking, and only getting such an allowance as that husband chose to give her.

iii.

BUGIS ASCENDANCY.

Macassar came into history in the first half of the sixteenth century as a port of call for Javanese and for Malays from Johor and Patani on their way to the Moluccas for spices; in the latter half of that century these sea-faring traders were joined at Macassar by the Portuguese and by the Chinese, resentful of Portuguese exactions at Malacca. As early as 1603 Moors from Malacca had converted Macassar to Islam. Not yet, however, had the Bugis ventured far afield, though the freedom of their port caused them to flourish, especially after the raids of the Achinese fleet and the policing of the Dutch fleet had made the straits of Malacca unsafe. To Macassar came ships from Borneo, Java, Bali, Solo, Timor, Amboyna and the Moluccas. There too Portuguese vessels



*Betel set of Tengku Kamariah binti Sri Maharaja Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil,
dated 25—31 August, 1717, Riau.*

wintered safely on their way from China. As Dutch attacks on Portuguese vessels became more frequent, the Portuguese sometimes hired Bugis ships and manned them with Portuguese steersmen. After 1625 English and Danes also frequented Macassar. Armed with weapons bought from the Portuguese, the Bugis now conquered Bima in order to command a rice supply for their foreign clients and before the end of the seventeenth century Bugis sea-rovers had begun to descend on the coasts of Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch *Dagh-Register* proves that by 1681 there were large Bugis settlements on the Klang and Selangor estuaries, and in 1700 the To' Engku Klang, relative of the

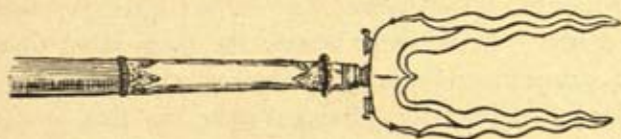


Fig. 20. *Spear of office of To' Engku Klang, given by an emperor of Johor.*

Bendahara-Sultan of Johor, gave a seal of authority to a Bugis Yamtuan on the Selangor river. (Pl. XVIII). The Bugis famous in Malaya's history for the first half of the eighteenth century were Daing Parani and his four brothers, sons of Upu Tenribong Daing Rilaka, descendant of a queen of Luwu in south Celebes: Daing Parani is said to have killed a Macassar prince for an intrigue with a concubine of the Raja of Boni, after which Daing Rilaka and his five sons left Celebes to win fame and fortune in Borneo, the Riau archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. When in 1722 the five brothers got one of themselves appointed Underking of the Johor empire at its capital Riau, they transferred the centre of Bugis influence away from Selangor to that island, though so important a Bugis settlement was Selangor that already it also had a Yamtuan or king, whose daughter married Daing Parani. From the vantage point of Riau the Bugis chiefs established their influence not only over the old kingdom of Johor but in the rich tin countries of Kedah and Perak, leaving to the Malays only the remote and less wealthy states of Pahang and Trengganu.

Moreover it was one of the five Bugis brothers who introduced the planting of gambir at Riau and so started a new form of commercial agriculture.

Soon after the Bugis were established at Riau, the eldest son of a deceased Sultan of Kedah invited the five brothers to assist him hold the throne against his younger brother, promising to pay 15 *bahara* of dollars for their help. The five brothers accepted the offer, made sure of the loyalty of Bugis then living in Kedah, installed their client as Sultan and received 3 *bahara* of dollars cash down: Daing Parani married a sister of the new Sultan. Then in 1724 the Minangkabau, Raja Kechil, was invited to Kedah to oust the nominee of his Bugis enemies and instal that nominee's younger brother on the throne: he, too, was given the hand of a Kedah princess. With drums beating the Bugis sailed from Riau in sixty war-boats and started a campaign that lasted two years and ruined Kedah's trade. Daing Parani was shot on the roof of his cabin but the Bugis won and drove Raja Kechil back to Siak.

The Kedah campaign had repercussions in Perak and Selangor. Minangkabau warriors and Kedah rajas usurped high Perak offices until they were driven out by a Bugis invasion across the Selangor frontier, led by Daing Merewah, the Underking from Riau. Selangor was then raided by Siak fleets under a son of Raja Kechil and under a renegade Bugis, Daing Matekko, relative but enemy of the five famous brothers. In 1740 one of the brothers, Daing Chelak, second Underking of the Johor empire, accompanied by Sultan Sulaiman whose fief Selangor was a part of that empire, led forces against these raiders and two years later headed a second invasion into Perak to combat Minangkabau interference from Kedah and the intrigues of Daing Matekko.

In 1745 Daing Chelak the Underking died, leaving two famous sons, Raja Haji who fell fighting the Dutch in Malacca and Raja Lumu who (probably about 1742) was created first Sultan of Selangor. It was the Selangor chiefs who elected as his successor Daing Kemboja, and for two years that nobleman did not condescend to go to Riau for formal installation by his Malay overlord, Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah. Bugis ascendancy now excited

not only Malay jealousy but the fears of the Dutch who saw their attempts at a monopoly of the tin of the Johor empire and the northern Malay States frustrated and their commerce with these states invaded by Bugis traders and upset by Bugis fighting. When in 1745 Governor-General Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff ordered the rebuilding of the Dutch fort at the Dindings, it was laid down that in the garrison there were to be no Bugis. And that same eventful year Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah made the gesture of ceding Siak to the Dutch in return for their help against his enemies, further undertaking that, when he could exercise "his former authority over Selangor, Klang and Linggi" he would observe all Johor's old treaties with the Dutch East India Company or, in other words, give them a monopoly of the tin trade.

This treaty of 1745 was a gesture made by the Malay Sultan of Johor in order to secure Dutch help not only against the Bugis but for Sulaiman's nephew Raja Muhammad, son of Tengku Kamariah, the wife Raja Kechil loved so well that years ago he broke troth with her elder sister and now slept a crazy dotard beside her grave. Raja Kechil wanted to leave his throne of Siak to Raja Muhammad but this was opposed by Raja 'Alam, his son by another wife. After helping Sultan Sulaiman to drive Raja 'Alam from Siantan to Borneo, Daing Kemboja gave the exile his own sister in marriage and alienated Raja Muhammad from his uncle Sultan Sulaiman by spreading the report that that wicked man only wanted to win Siak for the Dutch! After this manoeuvre Daing Kemboja, Underking though he was, found it impossible to endure the attitude of the Malay party at Riau, more especially of Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, cousin of Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah and tireless opponent of Bugis ambitions. He therefore removed with the leading Bugis and the biggest guns to Linggi. In 1753 Raja 'Alam ousted his brother, seized the throne of Siak and commenced commercial war on the Dutch. In 1755 the Dutch drove Raja 'Alam out of Siak and made a fresh treaty with Sultan Sulaiman. The Company agreed to take any opportunity of recovering for the Sultan of Johor the possessions he had lost to the Bugis. Siak was to be ruled by a Regent who should study the Company's interests. The Company and Sultan Sulaiman were

to have a monopoly for the sale of cloth in Siak. The Company was to have a monopoly of the purchase of tin in Selangor, Klang and Linggi, and its ships were to be free of toll everywhere in the kingdom of Johor, while into that kingdom no other Europeans were to be admitted without the Company's pass.

These Siak wars had turned the Bugis into open enemies of the Dutch Company, which had usurped the place of the Bugis "husband" and was promising the Malay "wife," Sultan Sulaiman, alimony to which the Underking took the strongest exception. Daing Kemboja helped Raja 'Alam to return to Sumatra and in April 1756 Bugis were burning houses in Malacca. Dutch and Trengganu fleets attacked Linggi and drove the Bugis to abandon their ships. But by October Malacca territory was being wasted by Daing Kemboja and his Selangor and Rembau allies, and before the end of the year, the Dutch were driven out of Klebang, a suburb of Malacca. It was months before the Bugis were worsted. Sultan Sulaiman paid his bill and at the same time tried to get the better of his insubordinate Bugis subjects by surrendering Rembau and Linggi to the Dutch. A fortnight later on 1 January 1758 at Fort Filipina, Linggi, (a fort named after the daughter of the contemporary Dutch Governor-General Jacob Mosel) the three Bugis leaders, Daing Kemboja of Linggi, Raja Tua of Klang and Raja 'Adil of Rembau, signed a treaty promising that the Company's friends, in particular the Sultan of Johor, should always be their friends and that they would sell their tin only to the Company. The Dutch had got signed agreements for a tin monopoly from both parties, but otherwise the victory was so hollow that Sultan Sulaiman asked for twenty-five Dutch soldiers to garrison Riau against the Bugis and pointed out that he had not yet regained the thrones of Siak and Selangor.

Sultan Sulaiman was getting now to be an old "wife" and timorous. Aware of this the Bugis "husband," Daing Kemboja, took a bold course to reassert himself in his house of Riau. He sent his vigorous nephew, the afterwards famous Raja Haji, who sailing past the muzzles of the Malay guns dropped anchor opposite the palace of Sultan Sulaiman and demanded that his uncle should be invited back to Riau as the duly elected rightful Underking of the empire of Johor. Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, leader of the Malay party, was away. Sultan Sulaiman yielded. That was in

1759. Next year he died, leaving the empire a thing of shreds and tatters. Selangor and Rembau were gone; the small inland states were held by Minangkabaus and dominated by Bugis; upriver Pahang was under Minangkabau chiefs; Johor was a no-man's land. Siak also was to be lost; for its ruler Sultan Muhammad having before his death in 1759 massacred the Dutch garrison, the Dutch now made friends with his whilom rival Raja 'Alam. Finally Riau itself, the capital of all that was left of the Johor empire, was to be the washpot of the Bugis, until Bugis pride forced the Dutch to capture it. Sultan Sulaiman's successor 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah died in Selangor, perhaps from poison, while engaged on the suicidal errand of carrying out his father's promise and inviting Daing Kemboja to return to Riau. Daing Kemboja did return to Riau with forty-five war-boats and the corpse of 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah and proclaimed himself guardian of Sultan Ahmad Riayat Shah, the young son of the deceased. This boy soon died, and though the Malays pressed now for an adult brother of Sultan Sulaiman for the throne, the Bugis overawed them and carried the election of Mahmud, Sulaiman's infant grandson, born in 1760. From now till his death in 1777 Daing Kemboja lived as Underking at Riau, *de facto* ruler of the Johor empire, on good terms with the Dutch but grumbling at restrictions on commerce, and trading with the English openly and to his great profit in tin, opium and cloth. The Dutch claim for the cost of the Linggi war of 1756 he is said to have defrayed out of opium. For his assistant he had the redoubtable Raja Haji with the title of To' Klana.

This Raja Haji was a renowned Bugis fighter whom every ruler wanted on his side. He fought for the rulers of Jambi and Indragiri and in the fashion of the time was given their daughters

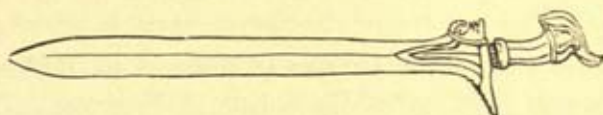


Fig. 21. Bugis sword.

in marriage. As Daing Kemboja was now on friendly terms with the Dutch, Raja Haji turned north of the Johor empire to extend the

influence of his sword, that short effective Bugis sword of Roman shape, the *sundang*. He took the Selangor Sultan, Salahu'd-din, his brother, up the Perak river, to the dismay of the Dutch anchoring a flotilla of twenty war-boats above their fort: according to local chronicles, the august presence of Sultan Mahmud of Perak drove evil thoughts out of the head of Raja Haji, but Raja Haji demanded the hand of the Perak ruler's niece for Salahu'd-din and proposed that the marriage should take place before his flotilla left the river! Then he sailed on to Kedah to demand the payment of the 12 *bahara* of silver still owing for Bugis help rendered by Daing Parani in 1724! The Kedah Sultan refused and was driven out of Alor Star. The Malays were poor fighters, compared even with the Bugis. In 1772, the Honourable Edward Monckton, envoy of the East India Company, wrote to India, that "the king of Quedah and all the Malay kings have got guns enough to drive all the Europeans out of India if they knew how to make use of them." To-day it has been forgotten how in the first negotiations between Kedah and the British for a settlement, it was not the Siamese but the Bugis from Selangor whom the Kedah ruler feared and hated. Writing from Kedah in 1771, Francis Light informed his Madras firm that "the King of Queda has granted to you the seaport of Queda with a fort lying near it to be kept by you, in consideration that you will promise to assist him against the people of Salengore." When the Sultan discovered that the Company's support did not include aid against Selangor, he dismissed Monckton as "a stuttering boy" and declared that "the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom." The decay of the Dutch Company's power enabled the Bugis to fight for a share of the revenue Kedah derived from duty on opium, goods from Bengal and Surat, pepper from Sumatra, and tin, wax, timber and rattans.

After his victorious campaign in Kedah, Raja Haji sailed off to Borneo to enlist under the Sultan of Pontianak. There he heard of the death of Daing Kemboja and immediately left for Pahang where he got the Malay Bendahara of the Johor empire to create him, in accordance with custom, its Underking. Then he passed on to Riau, the traditional seat of the Bugis Underking,

and forced the resignation of Raja 'Ali, son of Daing Kemboja, whom the Dutch had already recognised as his father's successor. However, with the Dutch Raja Haji lived on good terms until 1782, when they refused to give him any share in the money got from the capture at Riau of an East Indiaman carrying 1,154 chests of opium. Thereupon Raja Haji invoked the aid of Selangor and Rembau and started raids in the Malacca Straits. The Dutch sent thirteen ships and 1,504 men to capture Riau. Raja Haji took command of the defence and was paddled from vessel to vessel directing operations: if any of his crew ducked at passing shots, he hit him with a rattan. But the Dutch blockade was becoming effective when Batavia despatched a further force and gave supreme command to a Malacca civilian, Arnoldus Lemker. This commander's ship blew up and the siege was raised. Various excuses were made for the retirement: the civil command, the merchant fleet, bad shells and poor equipment, lack of fresh food and dysentery.

Raja Haji did not delay. Dropping his nominal overlord, Sultan Mahmud, at Muar, he landed at Teluk Ketapang five miles south of Malacca, where until the end he amused his thousand warriors and their three hundred women with feasts and plays and dancing. Already Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor had sailed up the Linggi river, captured some Malacca Tamils resident at Rembau, collected Minangkabau fighters from Rembau and Pedas, and sailed along the Malacca coast reducing the whole country down to Tanjong Kling, seven miles north of Malacca. Nightly the Bugis attacked the outer batteries of Bunga Raya, Bandar Hilir and Bukit China, so that every one in Malacca stood to arms. But on 4 March 1784 a fleet of 6 ships, 326 guns and 2,130 men reached Batavia from Holland under Jacob Pieter van Braam, and on June 1 this fleet dropped anchor at Teluk Ketapang. Secretly on the night of 18 June van Braam landed 734 bayonets. At daybreak he opened fire with his big guns on the Bugis fleet and batteries. "At about 8 o'clock," the contemporary Malacca journal tells us, "it was seen from St. Paul's Hill that the ships with the landing party moved into Teluk Ketapang bay, and soon afterwards the heavy firing from the ships ceased. Then for more than half

an hour were heard continual volleys of musketry, an unbroken running fire, and a little after 9 o'clock one could see a thick smoke rising which lasted off and on the whole day. About 10 a.m. the flag-ship signalled that the landing had been successful." A Malay historian records "two or three men carrying yokes could not have borne away the shoes and hats of the dead Dutch soldiers," but discipline won the day. Their stockade surrounded, the Bugis charged, one of their chiefs sick and mounted on a pony which like his master was shot down. Raja Haji stood, a dagger in one hand, and a Muslim treatise *The Guide to Grace* in the other, an unpainted Delacroix. He was hit by a musket-ball or round shot while his followers were embracing his knees. Followed by some women, his body was carried away in a mat slung from a pole and was hidden in a thicket until identified from its shaven head and short teeth: it was brought under Dutch escort to Malacca and buried at the foot of St. Paul's Hill.

On 2 August 1784 van Braam's fleet conquered Selangor and drove Sultan Ibrahim a fugitive to Bernam and thence to Pahang. On 10 October the Dutch fleet was before Riau. van Braam attempted to induce Sultan Mahmud and the Malays to break with the Bugis but the Sultan was under duress and unable. The Dutchman then issued an ultimatum that all the Bugis must leave Riau and that in future there must be no Bugis Underking of the Johor empire. On 29 October the Bugis started a naval engagement but by dawn on 31 October they had fled. Sultan Mahmud thanked the Dutch for having expelled them. The Sultan, the Bendahara and the Temenggong now signed a treaty, acknowledging that the kingdom and port had become by right of war the property of the Dutch, which the Malays would hold as a fief under conditions. Riau was to have a Dutch garrison. The Company was to enjoy free trade everywhere in the kingdom of Johor and no other Europeans were to be admitted. Vessels from Johor and Pahang that passed Malacca had to call there for Dutch permits. Chinese and native craft might trade at Riau, provided they did not come from Celebes or Borneo or carry cloves or mace and provided they did not carry tin from Palembang or Bangka. All tin was to be sold to the Company at a fixed price. On the death of the Sultan, his successor had to be one of the Johor royal

family approved by the Governor of Malacca. A garrison of 254 men, including 38 European officers and gunners, was left to protect Riau against the Bugis and the English. The booty taken was sold at Batavia for \$60,670 and distributed among the crews. On 19 June 1785 David Ruhdé took up his abode in a palm-mat house at Riau as its first Resident, but administration still remained in the incompetent hands of Sultan Mahmud and his Malay chiefs.

In that same year 1785 the Bugis Sultan Ibrahim, aided by the Malay Bendahara at Pahang, drove the Dutch out of Selangor and asked Captain Light, of Penang, for authority to hoist the British flag, even addressing a request to the Governor-General of Bengal to found a British settlement in his country. "In July last," Light wrote to the Governor-General, "the King of Salengore having collected about 2,000 Pahangs, crossed over to Salengore, and in the night sent a few desperadoes to massacre the Dutch. They got into the Fort, and wounded one of the Sentinels and the Chief, but the garrison taking alarm killed eight of the Buggese, dispersed the rest, and in the morning the Dutch, being afraid of another attack, embarked in their vessels and fled to Malacca, leaving all their Stores, Provisions and Ammunition undestroyed; the King took possession and still keeps it. The King of Salengore cannot remain in his present situation, his people are kept together by hopes of assistance from the English, which he expects from the preference our Merchants always received from him and his Father above any other nation. I had scarcely arrived when I received intelligence that the Dutch Fleet consisting of three large Ships and fourteen sail of Prows and Sloops, were before Salengore. The King, unable to procure provision or to support himself longer without assistance, entered into a Treaty with the Dutch. It is said, they obliged him to swear on the Koran he would send all the tin to Malacca and be a friend of the Dutch. They took away all the guns which they had lost there and have now sent for him to Malacca." The Dutch blockade of Selangor lasted over a year. Meanwhile unrecognized by Dutch and Malays, Daing Kemboja's successor, Raja 'Ali the Bugis-made Underking was seeking, though in vain, unmolested passage through Rembau in order to attack Malacca. Only in Riau were the Bugis and the Malays parted.

Summoned to Malacca, Sultan Mahmud had to look for help to the east and turned to Borneo, entreating the ruler of Tempasok to send Ilanuns to rid Riau of the Dutch. On 7 February 1797 he was browbeaten into signing a convention. He had to hand over the administration of Riau to the Dutch East India Company, receiving for the first three years and perhaps longer one-third of the revenue for himself and his chiefs. Except in case of great urgency or of his own household affairs, all was to be done in consultation with the Dutch Resident. Foreigners, convicted on a capital charge, were to be sent to Malacca; important Chinese cases and disputes between strangers and the inhabitants of Riau were reserved for the Resident; death sentences even on Malays and Bugis required his sanction. Pahang was to admit no Chinese or other junks to its ports but to direct them to the Dutch customs-station at Riau. The Sultan was allowed no private monopoly.

On 2 May 1787 a fleet was descried heading for Riau. Sultan Mahmud affecting surprise reported that it was a fleet under some Bornean prince, a Solok fleet blown off its course in a storm and in need of provisions. The Malays supplied it with water, rice and two pilots. On the night of the tenth the Riau garrison heard the noise of many voices on the water. On 13 May owing to the remissness of the Sultan's men the Ilanuns entered the inner bay and plundered and burnt houses outside the fort. The Chinese rallied to the Dutch but the garrison was small. A dark night and the Ilanuns' want of small vessels enabled the Resident, the Dutch officers and part of the garrison to escape to Malacca with nothing saved but the Company's cash. It was good fun to drive the Dutch from Riau, but after their prank the Malay chiefs had to skedaddle, Sultan Mahmud to Lingga, the Bendahara to Pahang, others to Bulang. The life of a hunted wanderer was neither pleasant nor profitable for Mahmud. What was the next move? Three courses were open to him and he tried them all. He got his grand-uncle, Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, and Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor to endeavour to make peace between him and the Dutch, who would not listen to them. He wrote to Captain Light at Penang, telling him of the Ilanun capture of Riau and inviting English help, which was not forthcoming. He formed a

coalition of Trengganu, Kedah, Rembau, Siak, Solok, Lingga, Johor, Indragiri and Siantan to drive both English and Dutch off Malayan seas, but the coalition effected nothing beyond a short and futile siege of the Dindings and an ineffectual landing on the coast of Penang.

Meanwhile the Dutch had soon re-established themselves at Riau: to have abandoned it would have meant the ruin of Malacca, more particularly after the opening of Penang as a free port by the British. But though the Dutch now declared Riau a free port, all the Malays had scattered, most of them becoming pirates; the Ilanuns had gone home and the Bugis had migrated to Selangor, Siantan and Borneo, so that Riau had become a village of Chinese gambir planters with an expensive Dutch garrison. Batavia accepted Malacca's view that that sacred lodestone of empire, Sultan Mahmud, must be brought back. The Underking, Raja 'Ali, had been suffered to live at Muar on condition that he supported the Dutch commercial treaty with his brother-in-law the Sultan of Selangor, and finally he was allowed to go to Riau on condition that he would effect the return of Sultan Mahmud. But the big Malay chiefs, resentful of past Bugis domination, made Sultan Mahmud offer the Company \$60,000 if it would put him in full possession of Riau. Pirates under Mahmud's protection infested the seas. It was of the utmost importance to Dutch commerce that the wanderer should settle down. In 1795 Batavia accepted the royal offer. As it happened, the English had now occupied Malacca and it was they who removed the Dutch Resident and garrison from Riau and handed the island back to Sultan Mahmud. Was it only the island? The question was hotly debated after Raffles had grabbed Singapore. Apparently the true version is that which was accepted by Governor Fullerton. When the Dutch handed Malacca to the English, they declared it was not only Riau but Johor and Pahang, that Batavia had restored to the Malays, but when in 1818 they reoccupied Malacca, they declared that only Riau had been restored and that Johor and Pahang had since 1784 remained dependencies of Malacca. On each occasion the Dutch were trying to keep as much of the Johor empire as they could out of English hands.

The coming of the English restored the Bugis to power in the doomed empire of Johor, the ban against their immigration being removed. Frequently Sultan Mahmud got guns and munitions from the Dutch under the pretext of combating Ilanun pirates but actually to resist the Bugis Underking and his followers. After the removal of the Bugis in 1784, Riau had been in the possession of the Malays under Engku Muda, grandson of a mad Temenggong 'Abbas (brother of Sultan Sulaiman) and only surviving son of the mad Temenggong Paduka Raja 'Abdu'l-Jamal who after spearing his nephew, the Bendahara's son, in Pahang had returned to Riau and blown up himself and his two older boys, Daing Kechil and Daing Chelak, by taking a light into the hold of a Chinese junk he had pirated on the voyage. 'Abdu'l-Jamal's youngest son, Engku Muda, never took the title of Temenggong because with the Dutch abolition of Bugis officers of State he arrogated to himself, though a Malay, the title of Underking, a title his timid relative the Sultan never dared to confer. On the coming of the English, the Bugis claimant Raja 'Ali drove his Malay rival to Bulang, whereupon in 1801 Engku Muda blockaded Riau with a fleet of eighty boats, half of them Ilanun. Neither the Bendahara nor Sultan Mahmud could settle the quarrel and Raja 'Ali invoked the aid of the English at Malacca. At last in 1803 the Sultan came from his retreat at Lingga, installed Raja 'Ali as Underking and gave him his own younger son Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman to bring up: as Engku Muda still refused the title of Temenggong, it was given in 1806 to his nephew Daing (or Engku) 'Abdu'r-Rahman, son of Daing Kechil who had been blown up, while the Sultan gave his own elder son Tengku Husain to Engku Muda to bring up and marry to his daughter Raja Bulang. It was Temenggong



Fig. 22. Seal of Temenggong Sri Maharaja 'Abdu'r-Rahman, 1806 A.D.

Sri Maharaja 'Abdu'r-Rahman and Tengku Husain, created by Raffles a Sultan, who were to sell Singapore to the English: Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman was to be created by the Dutch the Sultan of the Johor empire at Riau.

While the feud between Raja 'Ali and Engku Muda was in progress, Sultan Ibrahim had come from Selangor to throw his weight on the side of his Bugis relative. At this juncture, unfortunately for their country, the Perak chiefs, deeming that the Malays were still dominant at Riau, sent envoys to invite Sultan Mahmud to accept Perak's throne. In dudgeon Sultan Ibrahim led his Bugis forces to demand why Perak had broken the agreement which was like one coverlet for them both, that night in Perak should be night in Selangor, sickness in Perak be sickness in Selangor and the demise of a ruler of either State be announced to the other State. Perak was worsted and from 1804 to 1806 was subject to Sultan Ibrahim, who continued to fish in the troubled waters of the Perak river for the next two decades, assisting its rulers against Siamese aggression, demanding half the revenue from its tin and only kept south of the Bernam by the British acquisition of Penang.

The Bugis were good fighters and, as Penang's founder Francis Light wrote, "the best merchants among the eastern islands" but outside Selangor politically they were fated not to excel; in Riau the Dutch thwarted their ambitions, in Perak and Kedah the Siamese and the British (whose settlement at Penang in 1786 saw the beginning of British influence in Malaya), while in the country behind Malacca they failed to make headway against Minangkabau agriculturists who arriving there probably before themselves took advantage of Daing Kemboja's retirement to Riau in 1761 to elect a ruler of their own.

iv.

THE MINANGKABAU SECESSION.

As we have seen, there were Minangkabaus at the back of Malacca as early as the fifteenth century; in the Portuguese period (still Hindus, according to d'Albuquerque) they increased and in the Dutch period they waxed fat and kicked. Naning the Dutch

took over as a fief from the Portuguese. The rest of those early settlements, Rembau, Sungai Ujong, Klang, remained fiefs of the prime ministers of Johor, as they had been fiefs of those ministers' ancestors in the days of the Malacca Sultanate. In 1642 the Sultan of Johor was ordering Rembau and Klang to exchange Christian slaves for traders captured by the Dutch on the Penajis river. Next year His Highness was writing to his Shahbandar at Sungai Ujong, holder of an office that would hardly have been created in Portuguese times and must have dated back to that Malay rule in Malacca which Portugal ended in 1511. It was by the Sultan's command that in 1644 his Bendahara Sekudai went from Johor to Rembau to curb his vassals there after they had massacred Captain Forsenburgh and Menie and driven Governor van Vliet to abandon his money-box. The Bendahara passed on to Pahang, which then belonged to Johor, and there too he found Minangkabaus: according to Pahang chronicles, Jelai already had a chief, Maharaja Purba, the creation of a Pahang Sultan at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1673 Jambi sacked Johor Lama and drove its ruler to Pahang, whence he removed to Riau and spent years retaliating. Naning, Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Klang ceased temporarily to render obeisance to the Johor suzerain and chose the "impostor" Raja Ibrahim for their king; but war ensued with the Dutch and in 1679 the invulnerable saint, Raja Ibrahim, was murdered by a Bugis slave. A few years later, the Dutch were again requesting Johor to instruct his fiefs, Rembau, Tampin, Sungai Ujong, Klang and Selangor to observe their old friendship with Malacca. The Bugis were already winning power and in 1700 the To' Engku Klang, a relative, of the first Bendahara Sultan of Johor, gave a seal of authority to a Bugis Yamtuan of Selangor. In 1703 at the request of the same pious Sultan, 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah, the Dutch appointed Sri Maharaja Juara Megat Penghulu of Naning in place of the old and infirm Raja Merah. Juara Megat had tracked in the Muar jungle the abductor of one of the Sultan's concubines, killed him and taken the wretched woman to Malacca. Besides his testimonial the pious Sultan bestowed on Juara Megat twelve slaves, a sword called the Sated Serpent, a silk coat, a genealogical tree and a tract of Gemencheh territory: Juara Megat also received a seal from his Johor patron.



*Seal given by To' Engku of Klang to the first
Yamtuan of Selangor (1700 A.D.).*

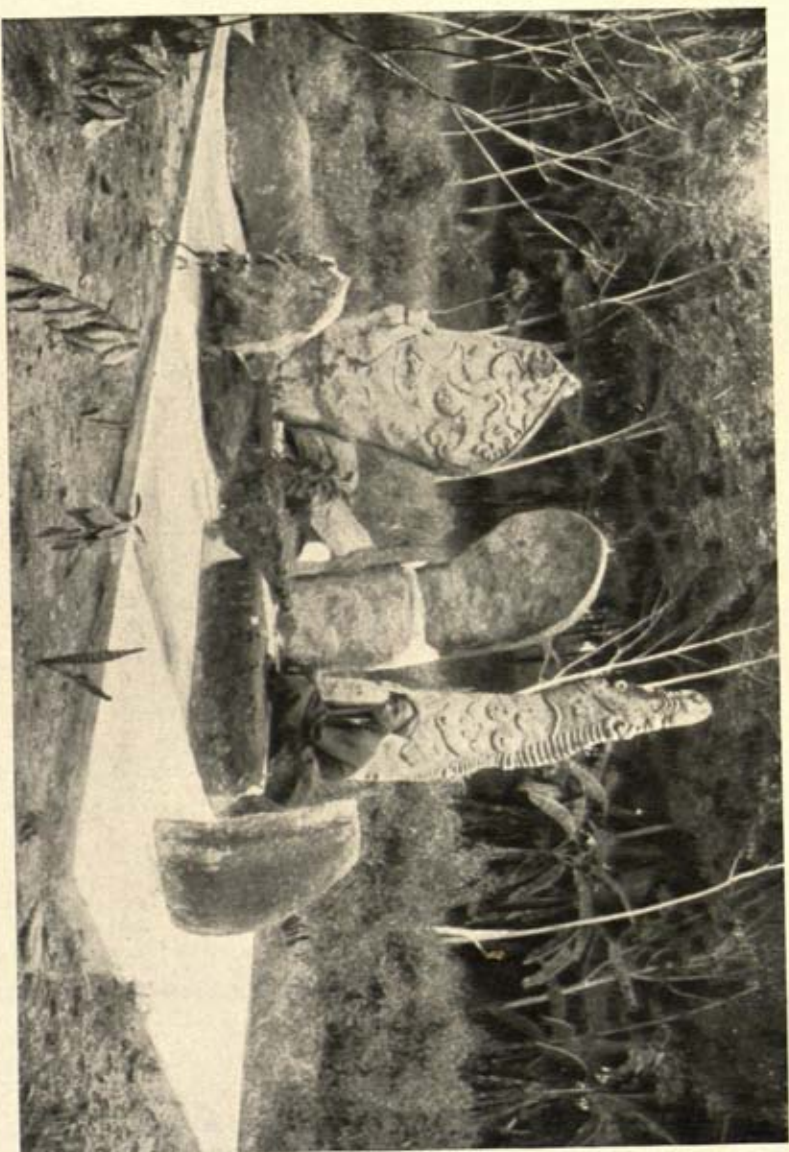
In 1707 the then ruler of Rembau got a title and seal "by the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja," a brother of the same pious Sultan. These seals did not create new offices. The Minangkabaus of Naning and Rembau had always been tenants of the Bendaharas and now a Bendahara had become Sultan and was prepared to give seals and even insignia for services rendered.

But the pious Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah was supplanted and killed by Raja Kechil, and his son and lawful successor, Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah, was a Bugis puppet. By 1722 there was "a son of the Sultan of Minangkabau" at Rembau, ready to lead the tribes against the Bugis, but it was a forlorn hope, seeing that for half a century these energetic mercenaries and traders from Macassar were to be a new and powerful factor in the politics of Malacca's hinterland. When in 1756 Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah granted the Dutch a monopoly of tin in Selangor, Klang and Linggi, those districts were already in the strong hands of his domestic foes the Bugis: Selangor under Raja Lumu (Sultan Salahu'd-din), Klang under a Bugis Raja Tua and Linggi under Daing Kemboja. Next year, when the Sultan offered Rembau and Linggi to the Dutch if they would oust the Bugis, the Bugis countered by granting the Company a tin monopoly in Klang, Linggi and the nine shires of Rembau. The founder of the houses of the Yam-tuan Muda or Underkings of Tampin and Jelebu was a Bugis, Raja 'Adil. The Bugis invaded Sungai Ujong and changed the title of its territorial chief from Penghulu Mantri to Klana Putra, perhaps marrying into the territorial family or usurping its office. Then in 1760 the able and vigorous Bugis leader, Daing Kemboja, removed finally from Linggi to Riau there to take up his office as Underking of the Johor empire. This gave the Minangkabaus ease. In 1784 Raja Haji's attack on Malacca forced the Dutch to conquer Selangor and expel the Bugis from Riau. This made way for a loose coalition of the little Minangkabau States and the rise of a Minangkabau dynasty for that coalition.

After Raja Ibrahim of 1677, there were two other Minangkabau candidates for a throne, Raja Kasah and Raja Khatib, both of them too inexperienced in matriarchal law to satisfy the exacting villagers! The last, Raja Khatib, got as far as marrying a daughter

of Naam, first Penghulu of Ulu Muar, but a Raja Melewar drove him out and executed Naam. After this victory over his rival, this Raja Melewar is said—probably by constitutional fiction—to have settled on the Penajis river until summoned to a throne by the four territorial chiefs in 1773. Who was Raja Melewar? and who were the four electors? Raja Melewar claimed, probably with reason, to be of the royal house of Minangkabau, reputed to have the bluest blood in the Malay world. This house, if any, can claim to be descended from the Sailendra rulers of Sri Vijaya and so to represent the world's oldest ruling family. It attained its zenith in the thirteenth century A.D. Its best known member, Aditiawarman (1340–75), once performed a fertility dance with his consort, as male and female manifestations of Shiva and Mahadewi, and he also belonged to a hideous demoniacal Tantric sect that professed to connect the worship of Shiva with the worship of Buddha. d'Albuquerque speaks of the Minangkabaus at Malacca as Hindu and the Sultans of Malacca termed the first immigrants Biduanda, a term they also applied to Chinese infidels and heathen aborigines. But Minangkabau became Muslim and in 1684 was ruled by a Sultan Ahmad Shah. Below him were three great chiefs, one of them the Makhdum (to whose house Penghulu Naam belonged) superintendent of the colonies behind Malacca and purveyor of their princes. Raja Melewar came by way of Siak, formerly the fief of Johor but now a Minangkabau colony soon to be ruled by Raja Kechil. He was offered or claimed the same terms as in the Sumatran home-land. For the royal house descent was to remain patrilineal while for all its subjects it was matrilineal. As at Pagar Ruyong (the Sumatran capital), the new prince was to own no land and levy no taxes but as a ruler he was to be given a palace, as master of magic to receive all perilous freaks (such as albinos) and as a hungry mortal to receive fixed tribute of rice and coconuts.

All tradition mentions the chiefs of Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Johol as three of Melewar's electors: about the fourth there is no unanimity. Probably there never were four electors at all. Possibly Raja Melewar got the blessing of a Dutch Governor at Malacca tired of Bugis fighting and the blessing of Naning which



Minangkabau megaliths, Pengkalau Kempas.

as Malacca's fief could give only its blessing. He had the sense to go inland beyond the reach of Dutch interference. He left the river states Klang and Selangor to the Bugis though he won his way as a champion against them, but that he had any serious conflict with them seems doubtful considering the retirement of Daing Kemboja to Riau. Though Rembau (half Bugis) helped Raja Haji in 1784 in his foiled attack on Malacca, Raja Melewar took no part. Never again were the Bugis tolerated by the Dutch, and the year 1795, when the British took over Malacca and admitted the Bugis once more to Johor's capital at Riau, was the year of Raja Melewar's death.

Not merely had Raja Melewar the sense to avoid Dutch Malacca and the northern Bugis estuaries. He avoided also those once perquisites of the Sultans of Malacca and Johor, the tin-fields of Sungai Ujong administered by a Penghulu Mantri and the tin-fields of Jelebu administered by a chief with the ancient title of Mandulika. He set himself in rivalry with no powerful chief but won his way as the maker of small and harmless chieftains who should become his supporters. Segamat under an Orang Kaya Muda appointed by the Sultan of Johor was too near Johor influence to be safe. Pasir Besar also was away down the Muar river and in Johor territory and apparently had already been superseded in importance by Johol. Jelai was far away in Pahang and ruled as it is today by a Maharaja Purba, the creation of a Pahang Sultan early in the XVIIth century. A Raja Indra Segara, nominee of the Sultans of Pahang or Johor, ruled the contiguous tracts of Ulu Pahang, Serting and Jempul. Raja Melewar went to Sri Menanti, where his presence brought Johol and the little adjacent settlements, Ulu Muar, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Jempul and Inas, to the forefront of local politics and attracted Minangkabaus back from Pahang over the pass Sultan Mahmud had crossed in his flight from the Portuguese in 1511. Beyond Johol and the five lesser adjacent States at the headwaters of the Muar Raja Melewar failed to consolidate his power, though Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Jelebu recognized him and never again turned to their old suzerain at Riau. What is now Negri Sembilan had seceded from the Johor empire for ever.

THE END OF THE JOHOR EMPIRE.

Here conveniently, if not chronologically, may be related how an empire, that had outlived Portuguese conquest, the Dutch East India Company and Bugis penetration, came in the end to die almost of an accident, without a blow. The next suzerain over the states of the Malay Peninsula was to be Queen Victoria and the next chapters will tell of the growth of British power and influence.

When in 1795 Sultan Mahmud was restored to the throne of his ancestors, fate destined him to be the last emperor of Johor, Pahang, the Riau archipelago, the Carimons and Singapore. Dying in 1812 on Lingga, the small island whither he had retreated from Bugis Riau, he left the succession to his throne unsettled, an omission that was to provide the shadow of a legal excuse for the partition of his empire. He had married four wives, one the Engku Puan his second cousin and childless, two women of no birth but lawfully wedded, the last a Bugis lady Tengku Hamidah, daughter of the famous Raja Haji and sister of Raja Ja'far the Underking, who bore him only a daughter that lived an hour. The two commoner wives each bore him a son, one of them Tengku Husain, the other Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman, both lawful. Which had Mahmud intended for his heir? Tengku Husain, the elder, claimed that he alone had been adopted both by the Engku Puan and by Tengku Hamidah, his two royal step-mothers. When his father had sailed to Riau to settle the quarrel with Engku Muda, he as elder son and heir had been given a royal flag to fly but his younger brother only a red flag, and his father had pointed out to the chiefs the significance of those symbols. He claimed that his father had destined him for emperor and his brother only for the petty throne of Lingga. Tengku Hamidah supported Husain and refused to deliver the regalia to his brother. Moreover Husain was married to a sister of the Temenggong and to a daughter of the Bendahara, so that clearly Mahmud had planned to enable him as emperor to maintain the balance of power against the Bugis, marrying him to relatives of the two greatest Malay chiefs in the kingdom. But while Husain was away in Pahang

marrying the Bendahara's daughter, Sultan Mahmud died suddenly not without a rumour of poison, and Raja Ja'far the Bugis Underking got the younger brother, Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman, his *protégé* and creature, elevated to the throne of the empire. The Bendahara came with a fleet to Bulang to support Husain but both Bendahara and Temenggong were young men and shunned war with the able and energetic Underking. 'Abdu'r-Rahman remained Sultan, while his brother lived in penury.

Then in 1818, the British having meanwhile lost not only Malacca but Java by the Convention of London, August 13, 1814, Thomas Stamford Raffles returned from his house and his manservants and his "splendid equipage" in Berners Street to administer dreary derelict Bencoolen." It was the only spot in the Malay Archipelago that was not now recognised as being within the Dutch sphere of influence, and it was useless and inconsiderate to try to persuade Malay rulers again within that sphere, to be faithful to engagements made with the English between 1795 and 1814. But Raffles tried and in the unscrupulous fashion of his time. On 5 July 1818 he wrote to Raja Ja'far the Underking at Riau saying how he had just returned from Europe and had got news that Batavia, contrary to treaty, was going to take Riau! His letter advised the Underking "not to receive any Dutch envoy, for as he was disposed to remain under the protection of the British flag, they could remain friends as before, rendering each other mutual help." On 19 August, a month before the retrocession of Malacca to the Dutch, Farquhar its English Resident visited Riau and adjured the Bugis Underking to resist any Dutch attack and send at once for English aid. The Underking must have recalled how it was the English who in 1795 had restored the Bugis to home and office at Riau; so gratefully accepting a rich present of guns and velvet, he consented to sign a treaty of commercial alliance, in virtue of powers granted him by Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman, the *roi faineant* of "Johor, Pahang and dependencies." British vessels and merchandise were to enjoy in the ports of Johor, Pahang, Lingga, Riau and elsewhere the privileges granted to the most favoured nations. The Sultan was not to grant a monopoly to any one or to renew any treaty obstructing British trade!

After that the Malays started to build forts in order to resist the threatened Dutch attack. The Dutch did not attack but in September Rear-Admiral J. C. Wolterbeek arrived from Malacca and got a treaty signed on behalf of the same *roi faineant* by the Underking and by the Temenggong of Johor. A Dutch Resident and a Dutch garrison were to be stationed at Riau—and in November arrived. Riau and Lingga were to be free ports but *all other harbours in the Sultan's kingdom were to be free only to Dutch and local vessels*. There was to be mutual rendition of runaway slaves. The Underking explained that he had been tricked into the English treaty with indecent haste, because the English had deceived him into thinking the Dutch would take his country; and though this had surprised him as being contrary to the treaty between England and Holland, he had assumed that, although Malacca was being restored to the Dutch, there might be some other clause prohibiting any engagement between Johor and Holland her ancient ally. To Farquhar the Underking explained that he had not applied for English aid, as the Dutch had used no force. Whatever the validity of the respective treaties, the Dutch were in possession of Riau. On October 15 Farquhar wrote to the Underking suggesting the Carimon Islands as a suitable place to give the British for a port.

Raffles now received instructions from Bengal that he might establish a British port at Riau if the Dutch had not forestalled him, or, if they had, he might negotiate for a port in Johor, after he had made enquiries with regard to "the actual political conditions and relations of the State, the degree of independent authority exercised by the chief, his power of maintaining any engagements he may contract, his relations with other States, especially the Dutch settlements at Malacca and the Government of Siam." "There is some reason to think," the Instructions continued, "that the Dutch will claim authority over the State of Johor by virtue of some old engagements, and though it is possible the pretension might be successfully combated, it will not be consistent with the policy or present views of the Governor-General in Council to raise a question of this sort with the Netherlandish authorities."

The Carimons rejected on the report of a marine surveyor, Raffles and Farquhar on 28 January 1819 anchored off St. John's Island in Singapore waters. The next morning, accompanied by a Sepoy with a musket, they landed at Singapore and went to the house of Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman, who entertained them with Malay fruit the more refreshing as he told them there were no Dutch on the island. Singapore was part of Johor. Did the visitors remember with satisfaction that when handing over Malacca in 1795, the Dutch had declared that Riau, Lingga, Johor and Pahang were not dependencies of that ancient settlement?

Though in August 1818 Farquhar had signed a treaty with the Underking of Riau by virtue of powers granted him by 'Abdu'r-Rahman Sultan of Johor, Pahang and dependencies, and though in his letter suggesting the Carimons for a port he had again referred to 'Abdu'r-Rahman as emperor, he now also conveniently remembered that that potentate had deprecated being called ruler of the Johor empire and had declared that he was only Sultan of Lingga. Aware that under Dutch surveillance neither Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Lingga nor the Underking at Riau would be able to convey any rights at Singapore to the British, Raffles determined to go back on the British recognition of the younger brother, Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Lingga, whom in 1813 he himself had addressed as "seated on the throne of Johor, Pahang and all their dependencies," and to instal Tengku Husain as the rightful Sultan of the old empire of Johor. Evidently the Temenggong abetted him and apparently the Bugis Underking at Riau gave his tacit consent, glad to satisfy so easily Husain and his friend the Temenggong and to trim so conveniently between the Scylla of Holland and the Charybdis of Great Britain. That Raffles had any shadow of right so to interfere in the domestic politics of a Malay empire bound for two centuries by intimate ties to the Dutch, no one can for a moment contend. However the Eastern seas had never been a school for fine sentiment and Raffles was not only sore at the loss of Java and Britain's place in the Malayan sun but felt honest indignation at the wretchedness Dutch tyranny and Dutch monopoly of trade had brought to the Malays.

On 30 January 1819 the Dato' Temenggong Sri Maharaja, who two months before had signed a treaty with the Dutch, now "in

his own name and in the name of Sri Sultan Husain Mu'azzam Shah, Raja of Johor" and in return for an annual grant of \$3,000 and for British protection, agreed to let the English Company land, hoist the Union Jack and select land "at Singapore or other place in the government of Singapore-Johor" for the establishment of a factory. Raffles paid two Malay gentlemen \$500 each to fetch the "rightful" heir from Riau. Tengku Husain pretended he was going fishing and sailed on to Singapore, where in the name of the Governor-General of Bengal he was installed in the open with the aid of a plumed and aiguilleted A.D.C. as Sultan of Johor. Raffles gave him a thousand dollars and rolls of black and yellow cloth and on the same day, being 6 February 1819, Their Highnesses the Sultan and Temenggong signed a treaty confirming the preliminary agreement of 30 January, in return for annual allowances of \$5,000 to the Sultan and \$3,000 to the Temenggong and substituting "factories" for "factory." So began the division of the historic Sultanate of Johor, Pahang and the Riau Archipelago. Husain reigned in Singapore, his brother at Lingga, the one in the English the other in the Dutch zone.

The Dutch indignation at Raffles' ruse and the final legal partition of the old empire belong to the history of the new British settlement.

VIII

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RELATIONS WITH SIAM AND THE NORTHERN MALAY STATES.

i.

THE ACQUISITION OF PINANG.

Singapore was not the first British settlement in Malaya. In 1771 Francis Light, a young Suffolk man now a trader but formerly a naval officer, wrote to his firm, Jourdain Sullivan and De Souza of Madras, that the Sultan of Kedah would give his sea-port and fort and even his whole coast up to Pinang in return for assistance against the Bugis of Selangor. The Sultan had a monopoly of all the Kedah trade and this monopoly he was prepared to share equally with the British, the cost of the factory and of the force required to deal with the Bugis being similarly divided. The Danes had already offered the Sultan 300 sepoy to assist in recovering the ships and guns carried off by the Bugis, if His Highness would allow them a factory, but the Sultan had answered that he had given port and coast to the English. Light stressed the value of a concession, which would exclude Dutch Danes French and Tamils and engaged that, if sepoy and a few Europeans were sent with leave to assist the king against Selangor, "not a slab of tin, a grain of pepper, betel-nut or *damar*" should be exported to any but the British. The information was sought for the East India Company which now sent from Madras the Honourable Edward Monckton to suggest to the Sultan that "in consideration of the support the Company proposed to give" him, he should grant it all the Kedah port dues for the payment of military expenses, grant ground for a fort and agency, and sign a contract to buy every year at fixed prices certain quantities of articles enumerated and supply in return tin, wax, pepper and elephants' teeth or other staple articles for the China market. But when the Sultan discovered that the Company's support did not include aid against Selangor, he dismissed Monckton as a "stuttering boy" and declared that "the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom":--as early as 1634 Siam had enough control over Kedah to press its Malays into forces which the Lord of the White Elephant was assembling to

attack Patani. Baulked of his hopes, Light now let his fancy turn to thoughts of love and in 1772 married not, as gossip said, a Kedah princess but a Portuguese Eurasian, Martina Rozells, who bore him five children, of whom one became Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington and afterwards founder of Adelaide.

Warren Hastings was preoccupied in India turning a trading company's possessions into an empire and had no time for the trade or politics of Malaya. It is true that in 1780 he listened with interest to the account Light gave him in Calcutta of Dutch designs to monopolize Malayan commerce and of the good harbour and tin trade of Junk Ceylon, a title to which the persuasive young merchant seaman was empowered to offer to the Company. But the project came to nothing. In 1782 war with France, Holland and Haider Ali rendered the Bay of Bengal unsafe for commercial ventures. The acquisition of a British settlement in Malaya had to slumber in the brain of the sailor trader but events were to aid the accomplishment of his dream. A harbour had to be found for victualling and refitting ships engaged in the China trade, a harbour, too, where a squadron might be stationed to guard Malayan waters and the Bay of Bengal. Should it be Aceh, Trincomalee, the Andamans, the Nicobars, on the Sunda Straits or on the Indian side of the Bay? The Dutch foiled missions sent by Warren Hastings to Aceh and to Riau. Bencoolen was too far off the trade routes ever to become a centre of commerce or to provide a convenient port of call for East Indiamen bound to and from Canton. Again Captain Light "Dewa Raja" opened negotiations with Kedah and persuaded its new ruler to give him on 27 August 1785 an oft quoted document, agreeing to let the Company make a settlement and a harbour of the Island of Pinang on certain conditions and in return for an annual payment of \$30,000 to compensate Kedah for the consequent loss of her monopoly of trade in tin, rattans and canes. Salient clauses were "whenever any hostile power comes from the eastern or western sea, it shall be considered by the Company to be its enemies and the expense of the war shall fall on the Company.... And whenever any enemy from the interior shall attack us, he shall be considered as an enemy to the Company and on such an

occasion we request assistance from the Company of men, powder and shot and arms large and small and also of money for the expense of such a war, and whenever it is finished we promise to repay what has been advanced." The Bengal authorities aware that trade must flow to the more convenient and civilised British settlement accepted a stipulation that ships, junks and prows be allowed to trade at Kedah or Pinang as they liked. They resolved to inform the Sultan by letter that the Company would "*always keep an armed vessel stationed to guard the Island of Pinang and the coast adjacent, belonging to the king of Quedah.*" Their reply to the clause dealing with an annual payment to cover the Sultan's loss of monopolies, clearly applied only to finance: "the Governor-General in Council, on behalf of the English East India Company, will take care that the King of Quedah shall not be a sufferer by an English settlement being formed on the Island of Pinang." The article referring to English assistance in the event of attacks from the interior would "*be referred for the orders of the East India Company, together with such parts of the King of Quedah's request as cannot be complied with previous to their consent being obtained.*" Light had pointed out that "the principal and almost only reason why the King wishes an alliance with the Honourable Company" was to get assistance against his enemies "and the treaty must be worded with caution, so as to distinguish between an enemy endeavouring or aiming at destruction of the kingdom, and one who may simply fall into displeasure with either the King or the Minister." The Supreme Government in India bestowed its blessing on the project and recommended Light to be Superintendent of Pinang. The Court of Directors in London at once gave sanction. The Dutch were not to be made jealous; commerce in the Archipelago was to be extended and Asiatics were to be taught to regard the English as their friends and protectors: "we would particularly point your attention to the most prudent and effectual means of giving support to the King of Salengore, as that would, from the friendly intercourse that has long subsisted between us, give credit to us in the eyes of the other Malay chiefs, and secure their confidence and esteem"—except perhaps that of Selangor's bitter enemies the kings of Perak and Kedah! It was not a tactful beginning.

In July 1786 Light reached Kedah to find that there were fears lest the State might be embroiled in the war then being waged between Siam and Burma, and that the English were expected to intervene. On 8 July he had an audience with the Sultan, which is described in his Journal:—

“Went up myself; arrived in the morning; found the Laksamana with the King. He appeared satisfied with the passage in the letter. He read the translation to me and obliged me to sign it. He then read the letter over again and remarked that the Governor-General had deferred entering into a treaty with him until an answer arrived from Europe. As that was the case, it was needless going to Pinang and incurring an expense which would perhaps prove useless. To which, I answered, the greater expense was already incurred by (my) coming there and it would make little difference whether I remained at Kedah or went to Pinang. The Laksamana then desired to know if the Honourable Company would pay the King 30,000 Spanish dollars a year for the trade, and if not how much they would pay. I told him I could not take it upon myself to declare what the Honourable Company would pay but this much I was certain of, that the Honourable Company would not allow the King to be a sufferer by their settling in this country without making him an adequate recompense; that at present and for some time to come the Honourable Company would receive no profit from the possession of the island: on the contrary it would be a heavy expense. He then desired to know if in case the Honourable Company's letter should not be agreeable to the king, whether I would return to Bengal quietly and without enmity. To this I made no answer. I was then desired to withdraw to my boat under pretence of receiving some refreshment. After waiting some time I returned and the conversation was renewed. The King said he did not mean that he would be satisfied with no less a sum than \$30,000. He might perhaps accept 20 or even 10,000 but that must be in his own option.”

On 17 July, 1786, Light landed on Pinang and on 11 August in the presence of officers from the *Vansittart* and *Valentine*, two of the Company's ships, which had brought letters from Madras,

he hoisted the British flag and formally took possession of the island in the name of His Britannic Majesty, christening it Prince of Wales Island. With the knowledge and connivance of the Company, the sailor empire-builder was sailing very near the wind. An indefinite letter instead of a treaty of final cession! A letter inconsistent and vague on defence, the only point that swayed the ruler of Kedah! The signature of a Sultan whose father had told Monckton in 1772 that he was tributary to the King of Siam, who "had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom." Not more than a month after Pinang was occupied, Light was writing, "The King of Kedah has reason to be afraid of such a Tyrant" (the king of Siam) "and hopes to secure himself by an Alliance with the Honourable Company." On 5 October 1786 Light informed the Governor-General that he had advised the Sultan to communicate as little as possible with Siamese and Burmese "but to put his Country in a state of defence, and *that while the English are here they will assist him.*" In a minute quoted by Anderson, the Governor-General in India wrote: "the Grant of Pinang seems, in fact, to have been procured by the influence of the principal officer of the King of Quedah, with a view to secure himself a place of retreat against his numerous enemies, and the ostensible object of the King himself, in making the Grant, originated in the idea of supporting his own independence by the protection of the English, and his attachment to us will either be strengthened or changed into animosity, as that protection is granted or withheld. This protection, however cannot be effectually given, without involving us in disputes with the Burmahs or Siamese, the latter of whom are the most powerful." On 17 May 1787 Light wrote to the Indian Government: "The Honourable Board were pleased to mention in their instructions, that they were willing to give a pecuniary consideration to the King of Quedah. Soon after the *Ravensworth* sailed, the King became very pressing and we found for a considerable time a difficulty in procuring provisions. I wrote to the King it was the intention of Government to make him a compensation for the Island and to keep him in good humour I trusted him with 20 Chests of Opium at \$250 *per* chest, since which we have been plentifully supplied with provisions. There is a necessity for coming to some

terms with the King of Quedah while the fears of the Siamese and Burmahs are upon him; and I have reason to believe that nothing will be acceptable without Government promising the King protection." Without an alliance, Light continued, the King might refuse provisions and let Danes, Dutch or French settle in some other part of Kedah. If the Siamese occupied Kedah, they would be "insolent and troublesome" neighbours. He "humbly conceived" that it would be easier and less expensive for the Company to declare Kedah under its protection. In January 1788 the sentiments of the Indian government were communicated to Light. "With respect to protecting the King of Quedah against the Siamese, the Governor-General in Council has already decided against any measures that may involve the Company in Military operations against any of the Eastern princes." Mr. Light might "employ the countenance or influence of the Company for the Security of the King of Quedah...strictly guarding against any Acts or Declaration, that may involve the honor, credit or troops of the Company." This declaration was an invitation to Kedah's enemies to work their will on her. Light, sanguine and eager, had staked his honour and lost: the honour of his indifferent employers stood now rooted in dishonour. If it had not quite broken its own word, the Company had stood by and let Light jump Pinang by an implied assurance. As Anderson has remarked, there is no doubt that Light had led Kedah to expect more than he could fulfil.

Rumour now whispered that the Sultan was trying to placate Siam by denouncing the English and had even invoked Siam's aid to expel them. His Highness approached the Dutch at Batavia and the French at Pondicherry for a defensive alliance. In vain Light expostulated that two companies of Sepoys with four 6 pounder field pieces could defend Kedah against Siam. In June 1788 he informed the Governor-General that the king had made no answer to his offer of \$10,000 a year for eight years or \$4,000 a year for so long as the Company occupied Pinang: Light had hinted "that although the Company did not wish to make Alliances that might occasion disputes with powers they were at peace with, they had not positively forbid my assisting him, if really distressed."

When the king did reply, he refused to part with Pinang unless the Company would promise him assistance against Siamese attacks and early in 1790 His Highness assembled forces at Prai to retake the island. Light collecting a body of 400 men took the offensive and defeated his quondam friend and on 20 April 1791 made a treaty with His Highness, promising him \$6,000 a year so long as the English occupied Pinang and stipulating for the mutual rendition of fugitive slaves, debtors, murderers and forgers, the exclusion of Europeans of any other nation from Kedah, free trade with Kedah in provisions, and that the English would not harbour traitors and rebels from Kedah or the Sultan supply provisions to enemies of the English. The Supreme Government confirmed this engagement, which at last gave legal sanction to the acquisition of Pinang. Force had succeeded where evasive diplomacy had failed and force had cost a mere trifle. Swettenham apparently ignorant of the battle of 1791 ascribes the conclusion of the 1791 treaty to the Sultan's reliance on Light's word, but after 1788 the Sultan had ceased to believe that an Englishman's word is his bond. One wonders what Light felt about it all before in 1794 he died!

Perhaps because he had had his gruel, perhaps because he welcomed a barrier that must have seemed even to him a bulwark against aggression, perhaps because he was in need of money, in 1800 the Sultan ceded to the English Company a tract on the Kedah mainland opposite Pinang. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Leith, has described how his agent Mr. Caunter crossed to Perlis and found the Raja well disposed to give the land (which had a population of two or three thousand), but there was opposition by the ministers. After some days "it was hinted that the ministers and women of the seraglio required some presents, and that if this was not complied with, there would be no hopes of obtaining the land." Mr. Caunter took on himself to promise the \$2,000 named and every obstacle was removed. The Company wanted complete control of both shores of a harbour still frequented by pirates, and it wanted a hinterland that would render Pinang independent of foreign supplies of food, especially cattle and rice. There was still no mention of a defensive alliance. But the tract

to be called Province Wellesley (in honour of the then Governor-General) was ceded to the British in perpetuity, and the Company was to pay the Sultan of Kedah \$10,000 a year so long as it should occupy Pinang and Province Wellesley. Leith was reminded that the treaty should have been concluded subject to the approval of the home authorities: the Governor-General had instructed him merely to report how far it might be expedient to obtain a tract "on the Kedah shore for the purpose of breeding cattle, and for securing the entire command of the port." The same instructions had laid down that "no time should be lost in liquidating the arrears of the sum which the Company are bound to pay to him annually" and had added with that sanctimoniousness characteristic of the period "the Rt. Honourable the Governor-General in Council trusts, that the liberal and upright conduct which that prince, as well as other native chiefs will experience in their transactions with you, will enable you to impress them with a due respect for the British government, and to inspire them with a full confidence in its justice." After his past experience the ruler of Kedah must have been far more impressed with the 5,000 British troops and 5,000 sepoys that bivouacked on Pinang in 1797 on their way to Manila,—when the reports of the future Duke of Wellington and other military authorities did away with any idea of abandoning Pinang as settlement. In 1804 Lieutenant-Governor Farquhar advised the Company that to make sure of supplies for Pinang it must either take part in Kedah politics and help its ruler to curb his "five or six brothers and an uncle, all equally oppressive and independent" or obtain 144 square leagues of Kedah territory and introduce a "modified Malay government," pursuing such measures as promised speedily to people and cultivate the territory.

In 1810 when Lord Minto called at Pinang on his way to conquer Java, the Sultan addressed to him a long letter setting forth his version of the conditions under which Pinang was given to the British. Anderson's commentary on this is that "it was quite inconsistent with reason to suppose, that Pinang was ceded without some very powerful inducements in the way of promises by Mr. Light, which no doubt, in his eagerness to obtain the grant,

were liberal and almost unlimited, and that his inability to perform them was the occasion of much mental suffering to him."

From 1786 onwards the complaints of the Sultan of Kedah about the oppressive demands of Siam were frequent. In 1810 he wrote to the Governor of Pinang that from time immemorial Kedah had sent the Golden Flowers to her powerful neighbour but that for two or three years past Siam had made other and unprecedented demands. Some months later he added the argument: "even should they not attack Pinang, yet, when Kedah shall be destroyed, my friend will be distressed in many ways." In 1810 too the Sultan wanted a loan from the Governor because Siam had ordered him to furnish armed boats to fight the Burmese, and shortly afterwards the king of Ava asked the English to assist his old dependency, Kedah, against Siam. The English ascribed this Burmese manoeuvre to the tactics of the Raja!

In 1813 the Sultan of Kedah announced that lately when the Bendahara had presented one of his sons at the court of Ayuthia, Siam had decided to attack and annex Perak. In November 1816 the Sultan was commanded to carry out this policy designed deliberately to weaken both Kedah and Perak. Greatly distressed Ahmad Tajud-din obeyed in order if possible to avert mischief from his own country. But true to tradition the East India Company did nothing except try (in June 1818) to induce Perak to submit the tribute of Gold and Silver Flowers to Ayuthia. It did, however, supply Kedah with muskets and gunpowder on credit and undertook to arrest deserters from the Kedah forces and to let her Sultan recruit Indian gunners in Pinang and enlist Kedah men living in Province Wellesley. On 12 September 1818 the ruler of Kedah was complaining to Pinang that the task of subduing Perak was hard enough and now on the top of that Siam had commanded him to despatch to Trang war-boats and rice for a force about to fight the Burmese, who had sacked Junk Ceylon; while in order to embroil him with England, Siam had forbidden him to export rice to Pinang. Siam had represented that Burma would invade "Cherai," namely Kedah, because Malays at Salang had attacked Chinese and Burmese prows engaged in collecting birds' nests; it had observed that, if Kedah were afraid of Burma,

the war in Perak should be expedited and all the Kedah forces employed against Ava. The Sultan vowed that he would still export rice to Pinang, and he added that he wanted to be entirely under the protection of the king of England.

Pinang chose this moment to press Kedah to sanction a revision of the inconvenient boundary of Province Wellesley and to lease plots of land south of the Muda river and in the interior of Prai for British factories, while in October 1818 the Governor started correspondence that lasted certainly till the end of 1819, demanding redress for a cargo seized by the Straits-born Chinese farmer at Kuala Muda in spite of the ship belonging to the Company and being guarded by its sepoy. The Governor further protested that the duties imposed by the farmer on these goods in transit to Kroh were too high: \$15 a *bahar* on tin worked out at more than 37%; the Company would assist the Sultan to buy back any rights given to the farmer but it refused to pay duty of more than 5% on tin. The Sultan retorted that he had leased the farm for five years and *was not accustomed to breaking his word*: he hoped that the Company would pay the duties prescribed, namely \$50 on a chest of opium, 2½% on cloth and \$15 a *bahar* for tin, and he would be obliged for a loan of \$30,000. Anderson considered that it was fear of Siam which kept the Sultan both from altering the boundary of Province Wellesley and from throwing open the navigation of the Muda and Merbok rivers. Even though Bannerman, then at death's door, held up payment of the Pinang annuity for a month, still the Sultan refused to alter the boundary: Governor Phillips paid the annuity, pretending that it had never been intended to withhold it. The Sultan also informed Bannerman, just before that Governor's death on 8 August 1819, that though as conqueror of Perak he would like to give the Company the Dindings in order to avoid further occupation by the Dutch, he feared Siam which was already angry over the cession of Province Wellesley.

There was much miscellaneous correspondence between Pinang and Kedah during these years. In 1819 the Governor requested the Sultan to help Malay Agents of the Ceylon Government to seek recruits in his state for a Malay regiment and the Sultan gave 40 convicts.

On 12 May 1819 there was a letter from one soon to be the bugbear of Kedah and Pinang. In return for sepoy's uniforms, muskets and glass presented to him by the Governor, the Raja of Ligor sent tin along with an enquiry as to goods salable in Siam; he solicited help for two ships which were taking elephants and tin to Coromandel and would afterwards bring Siamese and Kelantan goods for sale at Pinang; and he asked the Governor to send him a gun, two or three young caffre girls and a pair of handsome spectacles suitable for a man fifty or sixty years old!

ii.

THE KEDAH WARS AND AFTER.

As early as February 1821 the Governor of Pinang retailed to Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din Halimshah news from Bangkok that owing to his remissness in sending the tribute of the Golden Flowers Kedah would be attacked from Singgora. The Sultan ridiculed the pretext of the tribute but remarked that Siam had long been jealous of the British occupation of Pinang. Accused by his brother and other enemies of plotting with Burma, he refused to obey an order to go to Bangkok. Punishment came swiftly. At noon on Sunday 12 November 1821 the commander of the fort at Kuala Kedah saw a large Siamese fleet approaching, trained his guns to bear on these war-boats and sent word up river to the Bendahara, who decided to rely on a parley. The Bendahara and some other Malays went down to the covered wharf where the Siamese first demanded rice for a campaign against the Burmese and, on being promised this, threw off the mask and told the chiefs they had come to arrest them. Shouting that they were betrayed the chiefs drew their creeses and attacked their tormentors. The venerable Laksamana and the invulnerable Temenggong were slain; the Bendahara was taken prisoner and their Malay followers were butchered "by means the most cruel and revolting to human nature." The small brick fort which was principally defended by Bengali and Chulia sepoys was taken. Next day the Siamese attacked the small battery at Kuala Merbok driving the Sultan to desert his floating house a few miles up that river and flee on elephants with his family, and such of his belongings as he could collect. Many of his fugitive followers having no elephants perished

from hunger and fatigue, but, after five days of exposure and privation the Sultan scattering rupees from his elephant to delay his pursuers reached his brother on the Prai river, when embarking on four or five prows he sought British protection at Pinang. A few days later the Governor got a haughty demand for his surrender: "let my friend secure and deliver him" wrote the Chau Phya of Ligor; "should this be refused, I am at Kedah with a large force and near to Pinang, and friendly relations will be broken and commercial intercourse will cease." To this a dignified refusal was returned, and the Governor despatched sepoy to Province Wellesley to safeguard Malay fugitives and expel their Siamese pursuers. Thousands of fugitives crossed in canoes to Pinang. Some were capsized and drowned; some were caught by the Siamese, the women ravished and the men split asunder and thrown to the crocodiles. The second and favourite son of the Sultan was captured and sent to Siam. From Malacca the Dutch Governor, Timmerman Thyssen, now despatched a frigate to help in the defence of Pinang where the poorer part of the population was suffering for want of the usual supplies from Kedah and the richer was burying or removing its valuables. Neighbouring Malay rulers offered to help expel the Siamese from the state they had so scandalously subdued, and the Pinang government informed Bengal that unless it could be arranged for the Siamese to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Pinang, the forces of the Presidency would have to be augmented. The Governor wrote that "His Highness of Quedah has certainly much misgoverned his Kingdom, yet his long connection with the British Government has given us a far greater influence over his mind and character than what we can expect to acquire with regard to the chief who may be placed on the throne of Quedah by the Siamese. It appears to me, that the British Government should not hesitate to endeavour to obtain the restoration of our Ally to the Throne of his Ancestors, because it is undoubted policy to prevent the near approach of Siamese influence and power, and because his restoration, if effected by our means, would redound highly to the honour and reputation of the British Character among the surrounding Malay States." The Indian Government had accepted Kedah's vassalage to Siam and refused to resort to force. And when the ex-Sultan in despair

arranged with Burma and Selangor for a combined attack on Siam, the Pinang authorities reported this abuse of refuge to Ligor and destroyed all hope that Siam would forgive and restore the exile.

In 1822 the Indian Government sent John Crawfurd on a mission to Siam. His instructions were not to ask for settlements or monopolies but to allay distrust of the British and press for a fixed scale of customs duties instead of the variable and exorbitant fees which hampered expanding commerce: if the topic did not prove distasteful to Siam, he might suggest the restoration of the Company's exiled ally. More important in the eyes of the Pinang government were recognition by Siam of the Company's right to Pinang which Siam's vassal had granted it without Siam's authority, and the continued free importation of supplies from Kedah into a settlement that was not self-supporting. The Siamese did allude to Pinang as a British possession but so far from forgiving the ex-Sultan they demanded his surrender and the payment of the Pinang annuity of \$10,000 to their nominee. These demands Crawfurd refused and he left Bangkok, his mission almost a failure.

In the spring of 1823 Governor Phillips warned the ex-Sultan that he had not the means to fight Ligor or Siam: he was free to leave Pinang but must not take followers or arms, and, if defeated, he would be viewed as a private individual and not be sheltered as an allied king or paid the annuity. On 28 April 3,000 Malays under Tengku 'Abdu'llah, the ex-Sultan's son, attacked the Siamese in Kedah but were easily defeated. In answer to a complaint from the Chau Phya, Governor Phillips wrote that the British would not interfere with the exiled ruler so long as the exile himself did not violate the law of nations:—"if however the Raja of Ligor will reflect on what he has done to Kedah, that he has made its king an exile and has carried away many of its chiefs and almost all his nearest relations, and that by measures of extreme severity he has driven away half the population of that unfortunate country, he will not be surprised that this king's friends and subjects should do everything in their turn to injure and molest the Raja of Ligor, whilst it must be impossible for the British Government to put a stop to the proceedings of these people and particularly of those who are not residents of Pinang, unless it adopted similar

measures of severity as those executed by the Raja of Ligor, which of course it never can or will do." The Pinang government forwarded to Ligor a letter from the king of Burma acknowledging the present of a clock from the ex-Sultan, noting his desire to become tributary and promising to restore him: the hope that this news would frighten the Ligorian into recognizing the ex-Sultan failed; it only confirmed his suspicion that the English were abetting the exile.

On 3 April 1824 Ligor envoys informed the Governor that they had been authorized to assure the ex-Sultan that, if he would solicit the aid of the Chau Phya, abstain from predatory warfare on the northern ports of Kedah and not accept the aid of Burma and other Malay States, then he might return and be invested with his old authority. Deceived by these professions which seem to have been inspired by fear of a concerted attack on Kedah by Burma, Patani, Perak, Selangor and other Malay States, Governor Phillips wrote a letter to the Chau Phya, urging him that difference of religion, language and custom made futile Buddhist Siam's conquest of Malay and Muslim Kedah and that, as the British were about to attack Siam's enemy Burma, Siam might well reinstate the ex-Sultan. Siam was now convinced that the exile was abetted by the British. On 19 September the ex-Sultan asked that he might be paid \$10,000 a year as before, and not merely \$500 a month which he had drawn since he came to Pinang. Fullerton reported to the Siamese governor of Kedah the British occupation of Tavoy and Mergui and asked for free-trade with Kedah and Ligor and a fixed schedule of duties in place of trade fettered by need of a pass from the Chau Phya and ruined by the exaction of the governor's Chinese and Chulia agents.

In March 1825 the ex-Sultan complained that though he had got Fullerton's leave to visit a sick niece at Prai, the Jemadar and Havildar of his sepoy guard had threatened to stab or shoot him if he tried to cross:—"I came here as a free man and not as a prisoner and should not be exposed to shame and embarrassment: will the government instruct they must not do it again?" In May Fullerton prevented Ligor's attack on Perak. In September the ex-Sultan reported to Fullerton that he had informed the Chau Phya

that he was prepared to take over the government of Kedah provided his sister and son and their followers were restored; but he would like an advance and a British agent with four or five hundred sepoys. Fullerton replied that "the interests of himself and his family are not forgotten, and his restoration to his ancient dignity will always be considered a primary object of all negotiations with the Siamese government." With the Chau Phya diplomatic relations were maintained. He reported that he would escort Burney to Bangkok, and he wanted a big horse. Fullerton sent him a telescope, broadcloth, satin, muslin, 12 bottles of cherry brandy and 12 of lavender water. In December, at Burney's suggestion, the Chau Phya sent a wild goat for the Governor-General of Bengal.

1826 found the ex-Sultan restive. Could he have a sailing-boat out of the Company's godowns for his amusement? Hearing of the death of Raja Yakob at Ligor, he declared that his son had been poisoned, and he begged to return to Kedah even if it meant death. He wanted to move to Kuala Prai to plant rice and earn money. Meanwhile another envoy to Bangkok, Captain Burney (nephew of Madame d'Arblay) was fighting a losing battle for one whom the Siamese denounced as a conspirator with the Burmese. It was fear that had made the Sultan refuse to visit Bangkok. Not till his relatives had been captured and his country taken, had he plotted with Burma. Had he not helped Siam to recover Junk Ceylon from the Burmese? 20,000 Malays had fled from Kedah: unless they and their king were allowed to return, England and Siam could never be friends. Would Siam accept the following draft Article?

The King of Siam "as a proof of his high regard for the British Nation accepts its mediation in favour of the king of Kedah and engages to restore His Highness to his throne and kingdom, to release and remand the whole of his family and subjects that are in captivity and to withdraw the troops and subjects of Siam from Kedah, and further engages that the troops and subjects of Siam shall not again invade or occupy that territory or disturb its peace and tranquility."

Britain would engage not to take possession of Kedah and would agree that the Sultan should send Siam the Golden Flowers and \$4,000 a year. Pinang was instant that Burney should press for the Sultan's restoration, proposing that the annual tribute be raised by one or two thousand dollars to cover the \$4,000 and that the Sultan should sue for pardon. Burney assured Fullerton that "unequivocal proof only that perseverance on my part will defeat all the other objects of my mission shall induce me to cease from urging this Court to restore the Malayan Government of Kedah and remove the Siamese." But only intimidation could have swayed Siam and intimidation would have wrecked commercial relations. The Sultan heard of the treaty concluded on 20 June, with its famous Article XIII that aroused Fullerton and the Pinang press to frenzy:—

...."The Siamese shall remain in Queda....the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions....which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales' Islands or ships there may have occasion to purchase.... The Siamese shall levy fair and proper import and export duties.... Chau Phya of Ligor....shall release the slaves, personal servants, family and kindred belonging to the former *Governor* (! = Sultan) of Queda...."

Furthermore the ex-Sultan should not be allowed to live in Pinang, Province Wellesley, Perak, Selangor or Burma.

Burney had arranged the recovery of Burmese kidnapped by Siamese, had avoided admission of Siam's possession of Kelantan and Trengganu and had got Siam to promise to let the Sultan of Perak govern his country as he pleased, but for Kedah his efforts had failed. The ex-Sultan addressed a bitter letter to Fullerton:—"when the Siamese invasion occurred, I recollected the engagement of the English Company with my deceased father, which provided for assistance to my father in any difficulty; which promise induced him to grant this island of Pinang to the English Company, having placed entire reliance on the engagement and power of the Company to extend support and assistance to his son and grandson. It had never been heard that the Company broke any treaty and it was known that they ever extended their assistance to all

neighbouring countries with whom there existed no engagements and to all who placed reliance upon them and solicited their aid. For such was the name of the Company, celebrated in India, Java and other countries. Wherefore recollecting all this I voluntarily came to Pinang because I placed great reliance upon the engagement referred to.... Now Captain Burney has brought a Treaty to which I cannot reconcile my mind. No reliance can be placed in Siamese faith and promises. How many letters have they sent calling me back and promising to deliver Kedah to my charge again. It is my opinion, if the Governor-General were fully acquainted with the circumstances, he would have pity on me and adhere to the treaty, enabling me to return to Kedah. But if the English Company do not assist me, I shall follow my fate; I shall beg to remove from Pinang and try my luck as the Almighty may ordain. Were I to conform to the engagement of Captain Burney, I should suffer great disgrace: it were far preferable I should die than be exposed to such shame. I would rather even go by myself. For Kedah was not a gift from the Siamese nor was I installed by the Siamese. Kedah descended to me through a long line of ancestors. If Kedah had been a Siamese country, my father could not have given Pinang to the Company or at all events there would have been complaints and remonstrances."

The Pinang Board declared that while allowing all due credit to Burney for his patience in negotiating with a "vain arrogant, ignorant and conceited court" candour obliged it to confess that in all matters connected with the Malay Peninsula the mission had in some degree failed. For this the Board blamed Burney's reliance on the Chau Phya of Ligor. The Burmese war ended, Burney should have denounced the Chau Phya and insisted on the restoration of Kedah as necessary for the maintenance of peace between England and Siam. In reply Burney quoted a remark by the Governor-General that he could not see how Siam would surrender Kedah (reputed to bring in \$30,000 a year) unless Tavoy or Mergui were given in exchange. It was not the provincial Chau Phya who was the obstacle but the Wangna, viceroy of southern Siam and minister of war. The Wangna had proposed that Burney should be hanged for vexing Siam with representations about Kedah

which were not even mentioned in the letter of the Governor-General. Had Burney attacked the Chau Phya, that official would have risen in the estimation of Bangkok. Had he consulted his own wishes, Burney would have left Bangkok in a month:—"I could not wish my worst enemy a more difficult task than to negotiate in matters connected with the Malay Peninsula without authority or means for employing effectual intimidation." After all, had he succeeded, Great Britain must have kept an army in Kedah to support a bad ruler and defend his frontiers; and 10,000 Malays would have left Province Wellesley. Fullerton snorted. The Pinang Board had weighed these "imaginary fears": had Burney disagreed with it, he should not have undertaken the mission. Granted Burney had arrested further Siamese encroachments towards the south, "a negotiation entered into for the restoration of a kingdom to an ejected king living under our protection, terminating in an engagement on our own part to dismiss him from our territory can surely be designated by no other term than failure."

In March 1827 the ex-Sultan asked not to be opposed if he tried to recover Kedah. Though the Chau Phya released his relatives, still he would not budge from Pinang. His sister and her children had arrived only with the clothes they were wearing: he wanted his allowance raised to \$10,000 to meet this extra expense. Fullerton promised His Highness the addition if he would go to Malacca, assuring him that Bengal did not regard his removal as a renunciation of his claims. The exile replied. . . . "In former times the English Company never used compulsion in such cases. Captain Burney made an engagement with Siam without my knowledge. Why did Captain Burney comply with the wishes of the King of Siam in a manner very improper and tending to lower the opinion of the power of the English King? Is it usual for one merchant to sell another's goods without the consent of the owner?" To Malay notions it was a great disgrace that he had remained so long at Pinang: might he go where he liked? Fullerton consulted the Governor-General. The Sultan wanted to go to Deli or Siak where he would collect his adherents and eventually meet his fate in Kedah, but meanwhile there would be piracy and trouble round Pinang. Even if the Sultan quitted British territory to

attack Kedah, Siam might still blame us. The best course was to use the Sultan's honorary guard of sepoys to ensure that His Highness did not leave the island. No reply from Bengal. Fullerton could not imprison an old ally. So on 15 November the ex-Sultan was ordered to go to Malacca or quit British territory within fifteen days or alternatively he would forfeit British protection. The Pinang government agreed to pay \$4,500 for the Sultan's house there and an Indian vessel was chartered for his removal. On 23 November the ex-Sultan dictated his terms. He would go to Malacca, if his annuity were raised to \$20,000, if he might go elsewhere in case of not being soon restored to Kedah, and if the Company would restore his absconding slaves. Fullerton asked the Recorder, Sir John Claridge, if he would consent to give an opinion whether the peremptory order of the Governor-General was legal justification for the use of force to remove the ex-Sultan. The Recorder did not consent. The Sultan might claim the protection of the Court; force might lead to homicide; in either event, he would be the trial judge. Claridge gave his own view. "Whether you are warranted by any Statute or by the Law of England or Nations or not, I think from your own statement, such a proceeding will bring the character of this Government to a level with that of Ligor and disgrace the British name among all civilised nations and I cannot consent to have my name mixed up with such a transaction." A minute, as Fullerton declared, "altogether unprecedented and unbecoming." Captain Low and the Superintendent of Police are instructed to enquire if "any one connected with the Court" had visited the ex-Sultan. Only the Recorder! Low and Caunter ask for remuneration or at least out-of-pocket expenses for their many unpleasant visits to the exile, but "as the commission has neither succeeded in their object" (of inducing the Sultan to go) "nor sufficiently entered into the causes of failure which are sufficiently notorious, the Board does not consider them entitled to any remuneration." As for Sir John, "the supremacy of the Recorder," Fullerton considered himself warranted in minuting, "is too clearly the grand object in view throughout the whole course of his conduct since he came to this island." Fullerton reported the matter to Bengal, expressing the fear that though the allowance to the ex-Sultan was political, yet

if it were stopped a suit might be instituted in the Recorder's court. Fort William "perused with much pain the reply of the Recorder" but the ex-Sultan got his respite: the Governor-General considered it inadvisable to remove him. After the Recorder's "unprecedented" minute, Fullerton had adopted an attitude of dignified pain: he pointed out to His Highness that he had been given refuge, been paid an annuity, had his relatives restored and had received every assistance except military support and yet he dictated conditions! Therefore he forfeited annuity and protection and was no longer acknowledged as king of Kedah; no letter signed Sultan would be accepted from him and in future all his letters must be addressed to the Superintendent of Police. Pinang's nerves were frayed, but this was only the first round in that long bout with His Highness Ahmad Tajud-din Halimshah.

In 1828 a mild attack of small-pox kept the Sultan quiet but in February 1829 he was remonstrating with the Pinang police magistrates. He, who could not get the money due to him and could not buy supplies, how could he be privy to disturbances then being created in Kedah by his sons and adherents? Kedah's governor, the son of the Chau Phya, had a different tale. In November Resident Councillor Ibbetson informed the son of the Chau Phya that the ex-Sultan had escaped to the mainland but the British would apprehend him if he gave trouble. The ex-Sultan now wrote a letter intercepted by the Siamese:—"Know that I have arranged with the Governor of Pinang who has forbidden me to make war from there but has recommended me to move to Teluk Ayer Tawar and try to get all the Kedah people living at Prai, Penaga and Kuala Muda to join me. 5,000 will join me. The Governor wants it kept secret from the Siamese. The Company will assist me. I have received 100 muskets with powder and ball.... Do not let my people be suspicious. The Bengal Lord has ordered the Raja of Pinang to send 4 vessels and 1,000 sepoy to my aid."

The British Superintendent of Police arrested two sons of the ex-Sultan on their way to invade Kedah, also a nephew, also a Pinang merchant and Frederic Reiter, a German forger banished from Batavia, the two last wearing the uniforms of British officers.

"It was a crusade against the infidel in which the ex-Raja's claims were almost forgotten. Hajis preached it, the rich natives encouraged it, the mass of the people rung a peal (?) for excitement and plunder and Christians even forgot in the tumult the peaceful tenets of their faith to league with the Crescent in a cause with which they had no concern." On 25 August 1830 the Chau Phya was informed that, as the ex-Sultan had not removed to Malacca, Siam could impose the duties mentioned in the Burney treaty. In December Murchison addressed the ex-Sultan by his title once more and begged him to go to Malacca or at least return to Pinang when his annuity would be paid with arrears.

In January 1831 the ex-Sultan returned to Pinang and solemnly warned his son Din against piracy! Pinang thought the Kedah royal family were now becoming pirates from indigence. But it was soon disillusioned. In April a column of some 3,000 invaded Kedah overland from Province Wellesley. A large fleet attacked the fort at the mouth of the Kedah river. With scarcely 100 troops, the Siamese commandant fled. Many of his assailants wore red coats and were mistaken for British troops. Thirty Siamese were captured, imprisoned and finally tortured and murdered in cold blood, a precedent the Siamese "did not imitate to the degree that might have been expected." A Chinese was sewn up alive in the raw reeking hide of a buffalo: exposed to the sun the hide shrank and squeezed its victim to death. Mr. Ibbetson proclaimed the raid piratical and called on British subjects to return home in five days! In reply Tengku Kudin assumed the title of vicegerent. British ships came to the estuaries of the Kedah and Merbok rivers to prevent the entrance of other "piratical" fleets, in fact to blockade it. Kudin inveighed against the "treacherous" British blockade and declared that the Malays had left Province Wellesley on account of the oppressive land-tax; he threatened to descend on it to retaliate for the obstacles its Superintendent had thrown against Malays joining the standard of the Prophet's servants. To the Siamese he said that the British had abetted him. In June the Chau Phya advanced from Ligor with 7,500 men and 300 elephants and scattered the Malays, leaving only Kudin with a few hundred men to defend Kedah forts against

the Siamese whose cartridges were bamboo and bullets of tin. However, with even-handed justice Pinang supplied the Siamese as they had already supplied the Malays with ammunition. The Siamese, having no battering ram, built Trojan towers of wood overtopping the fort which they raked the fire. Malaria attacked the Siamese forces. Finally in October they stormed the fort. Most of the garrison fell. Kudin was killed and his head sent to Bangkok. During the five months of fighting, the Siamese lost 700 and the Malays 1,500 men. 16,000 Malays fled to Province Wellesley.

During this war the ex-Sultan behaved with astute decorum. He acknowledged a letter from the Resident, Mr. Ibbetson, informing him that sepoys would watch his house as if he were "a criminal." He would not "act like a cooly or run away"; he wanted to go to Bengal and meet the Governor-General. In June rather than risk removal by force he at last left Pinang for Malacca and was paid his annuity. In the same month his son, Zainal-Abidin, wrote to Murchison, the Deputy Resident at Pinang, that by his father's orders he had recovered Kedah, and now the British could set aside the Burney treaty as they had set aside former treaties!

In 1836 the exile having got leave to reside at Deli in Sumatra quitted Malacca but sailed instead to the Perak estuary and settled at Bruas, where the Raja Muda visited this prince who had conquered Perak at Siam's behest in 1818. Captain James Low was sent at once to point out to the Sultan of Perak that any co-operation with the ex-Sultan would give Siam an excuse for once more invading Perak. Ahmad Tajud-din adopted his old tactics of passive resistance: he refused to leave Bruas and collected there several hundreds of his old adherents for another descent on the Siamese in Kedah. "Surely the English will not be displeased if I can retake Kedah," he wrote to Salmond the Resident Councillor of Pinang. The Company was not going to let this breach of the Burney treaty bring Siam so far south: *H.M.S. Zebra* proceeded to Bruas and after an affray in which one seaman was killed and four wounded secured the ex-Raja, who was then sent to Malacca. But the preparations for a second Kedah war went

on and "the war-whoop at Pinang was still heard urging two exasperated half-civilised races to deeds of carnage."

In March 1838 the ex-Sultan discovered a paladin in his nephew, Tengku Muhammad Said, in the uncharitable language of the Company a man "of unsettled if not predatory habits":-- "at this time there is Tuanku Muhammad Said who has become enlightened by Allah's grace and has been directed by Allah to return to Kedah. Let all my chiefs and relatives who wish to partake of the mercy of Allah assemble at Merbok river." A Kedah fleet drove back a Siamese fleet at Kuala Merbok. Kedah fort fell and the Siamese defenders were massacred. The Malays took Perlis and Trang. Their force was estimated at 10,000. They marched north sacking villages and Buddhist temples. One column reached the Patani river, another invested Singgora for three months but was driven back to Kedah by 500 Chinese and 2,000 Siamese. Meanwhile the indomitable Chau Phya had crossed the Kedah frontier with 1,500 men. He came, he saw, he conquered. To Britain's shame, British gun-boats blockaded the Kedah coast.

The war of 1839 convinced Ahmad Taju'd-din Halimshah that he would never recover his throne by arms. Accordingly in 1841 he sent his eldest son, Tengku Daik, with a letter from Governor Bonham to sue for pardon from the king of Siam. The Bengal Government had authorised Bonham to declare that in the event of further Malay insurrection the Straits government would not assist to quash it. The Chau Phya was dead, and Bangkok was tired after twenty years of guerilla warfare that had ruined Kedah and not benefitted her suzerain. In 1842 the Siamese officials were recalled and the Sultan allowed to leave Malacca and return, though parts of his former kingdom, Setul, Perlis and Kubang Pasu were placed under independent rajas:—Kubang Pasu eventually became part of Kedah, Setul is since 1909 part of Siam, and Perlis has remained independent. The English Company still refused the Sultan's request for an alliance pledging it to maintain him on the throne.

Guerilla warfare had now become a Malay habit. In 1843 Ahmad Taju'd-din seized Krian claiming it to be a province of

his State. Perak invoked the British for the assistance Low's treaty had pledged in 1826, whereupon the Governor warned Sultan Shahabu'd-din not to use force against his aggressor, advised Ahmad Taju'd-din to relinquish an insupportable claim and asked the Chau Phya of Ligor to remonstrate! Ahmad Taju'd-din was informed that his Pinang annuity of \$10,000 would be withheld till he had kept the peace for a year. At last in 1848 he retired from Krian at the threat that the British would expel him by force. Soon afterwards he died: by July 1850 Colonel Blundell was addressing his successor, Sultan Zain-al-Rashid Shah.

The boundary of Province Wellesley; a letter introducing Logan and asking the Sultan to find that scholar a negrito; the recapture of eight Bengal convicts; the high price charged by Kedah Chinese for bamboos for rafts; pirates Chinese and Malay; the mutual rendition of fugitive criminals,—these were the topics of correspondence between the British and Sultan Zain-al-Rashid. Blundell procured His Highness a sword from Bengal; and in 1852 asked for a complete suit of Malay armour, chain-coat and weapons for Queen Victoria. On 10 May 1854 Ahmad Taju'd-din Mukarram Shah announced the death of his father at the age of fifty-one and his own accession to the Kedah throne. The new Sultan sent his young brothers to learn English in Singapore. Still there was correspondence about the passage of undesirable persons across the Kedah frontier, and the Governor threatened to deduct the cost of policing it from the Sultan's Pinang annuity. In 1867 there was a dispute over the boundary and the Pinang annuity had been stopped. In September 1867 there was drafted a treaty concluded in 1868 between Governor Ord and the Sultan, which defined the common boundary and fixed the scale of export duty on provisions wanted for Pinang, "in consideration of which agreement the Government engages to continue to the Raja of Kedah the payment of his annuity at present suspended and to pay such arrears as may have accumulated thereon." The home authorities found the treaty irregular in form and substituted for it the treaty of 6 May 1869 practically identical in content but contracted between Great Britain and Siam. In 1867 Tengku Ziau'd-din, brother of the Sultan, married the daughter of the

Sultan of Selangor and was created viceroy of that State. In 1871 we find the Sultan declaring that his meeting with Sultan 'Ali of Muar had been social only and there had been no talk of designs against Johore. In 1874 he is ready to meet the Governor to discuss a ferry service at Permatang Bendahari and a road from Province Wellesley to Selama. On 28 December 1875 Governor Jervois wrote to Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din about the escape of ex-Sultan Isma'il and his followers from Perak: the ruler of Kedah promised not to let them enter his State or if they did enter, to apprehend them and on 14 March 1876 at Kitare he met Isma'il with his 174 followers and 27 elephants and had them conveyed to Pinang.

With the advent of British protection for Perak and Selangor and the adoption of more modern methods of administration by Siam, Kedah now entered a period of peace and prosperity. Until the present century Siam interfered little in the government, only requiring the Sultan to refer matters of importance and applications for land from foreigners. In 1905, however, Malay administration compelling the Sultan to negotiate for a loan of \$2,600,000 to avoid bankruptcy, Siam appointed an Adviser to superintend financial and general administration. In the same year Sultan 'Abdu'l-Hamid Halimshah appointed a State Council.

iii.

PINANG'S RELATIONS WITH PERAK, KELANTAN AND TRENGGANU.

Not in Kedah only did Siam cause the Pinang government anxiety. In 1816 it ordered Kedah to conquer Perak. The Sultan of Perak asked the Governor of Pinang for two ships of war and 2,000 troops, half of them to be Europeans, but in spite of the damage to its tin trade the East India Company refused to intervene beyond trying to persuade His Highness to kiss the rod and despatch tribute to Siam, and seizing the occasion to get him to enter into an engagement never to grant monopolies to any one. By 1818 Kedah had conquered Perak, making her tributary to Siam until in 1822 in return for half the duty on her tin Selangor helped her to throw off the yoke. During the next three years, Perak played off Selangor against Siam and Siam against Selangor

and only when Governor Fullerton acting against orders from the Indian government threatened Siam with war, were the two Malay States saved from cruel invasion such as had overtaken Kedah. In 1825 a draft treaty signed by Burney and the Chau Phya of Ligor engaged firstly that the Siamese should neither attack nor colonize Perak and Selangor, secondly that the British should not occupy Perak but merely prevent Selangor from disturbing her peace and thirdly that whether or not Golden Flowers should be sent to Bangkok was a matter for the Sultan of Perak—who being “a very insignificant person and under great apprehension” left the decision to Fullerton. The Indian government approved of the draft treaty and sent Burney back to Bangkok on a “complimentary” mission with a commercial treaty and the safeguarding of the independence of the Malay States as secondary objects. Siam claimed no suzerainty over Selangor and inadvertently admitted that before the conquest of 1818 she had had no right over Perak. Burney pressed the claims of the British as inheritors of Dutch treaty rights, and his final treaty of 1826 stipulated “that the Raja of Perak shall govern his country according to its own will. Should he desire to send the gold and silver flowers to Siam, the English will not prevent his doing as he may desire. If Chau Phya of Ligor desires to send down to Perak, with friendly intentions, forty or fifty men, whether Siamese, Chinese or other Asiatic subjects of Siam, or if the Raja of Perak desires to send any of his ministers or officers to seek Chau Phya of Ligor, the English shall not forbid them. The Siamese or English shall not send any force to go and molest, attack or disturb Perak. The English will not allow the State of Selangor to attack or disturb Perak, and the Siamese shall not go and attack or disturb Selangor.” This seemed satisfactory but the Chau Phya continued to send “embassies” which treated the Sultan of Perak as a conquered vassal, so that Fullerton threatened the Chau Phya with war and despatched a British “embassy” consisting of Captain Low and forty sepoys in a cruiser to warn the Siamese to quit Perak, to advise the Sultan to write a letter disavowing any intention of sending Golden Flowers to Bangkok and to reiterate the usual vague promise of England’s help in case of Siamese aggression. On these instructions Low not only got the Sultan to

dismiss all the Malay chiefs with whom Ligor was tampering, but he signed a treaty that the British would assist the Sultan to expel any Siamese or Malays who might enter Perak with political views or for the purpose of interfering in any way with its government! "These measures" as Low complacently remarks, "secured the independence of Perak," and the Sultan highly delighted sent envoys to Pinang to borrow \$10,000 and get 400 muskets on credit. His Highness also offered to cede Pangkor to the British but the Honourable Company, aghast at Low's treaty, declined the offer. Still Ligor sent embassies and tried to make Perak pay tribute, but the Sultan heartened by Low's treaty thought it unnecessary for a poor man like himself to wait on the Chau Phya and regretted that an elephant the Chau Phya wanted had died in captivity. His Highness also co-operated whole-heartedly with Low in burning down Kurau where lived a Nakhoda Udin supported by the Chau Phya as headman of a village that belonged to Kedah but denounced by the Pinang authorities as a pirate intimidating a village that belonged to Perak. Nakhoda Udin was captured and a government too worried for the saving grace of humour sent him as a Siamese subject to the Chau Phya for trial! The indignant Chau Phya talked over his whilom antagonist Burney, who informed the Supreme Government that Kurau was Siamese and Udin no pirate and got Low suspended from political employment. However Fullerton proved that in 1815 Burney had put up a map showing Kurau to be in Perak and had also advocated for Perak the very policy Low was suspended for pursuing. The Supreme Government climbed down and reinstated Low. Though his very name has been forgotten at Kuala Kangsar, Captain James Low was the saviour of Perak, risking his own career to save her from Siamese frightfulness, while along with him Perak should remember Robert Fullerton, Governor (1824-1830) of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca, who inspired and defended the insubordination of Low.

Not only did the Burney treaty of 1826 attempt to define Siam's relations with Kedah, Perak and Selangor: it contained a

subtle clause on two East Coast States—"Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan. English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had, and the English shall not go and molest, attack or disturb those States upon any pretence whatever." What did this cautious phrasing mean? To the downright Fullerton it was anathema; to the Indian Government diplomatic and laudable: trade and politics go hand in hand, and trade, as India saw, might well provide in the future ample opportunities for making the two States British protectorates. Meanwhile it was better for Trengganu and Kelantan to continue to send the Golden Flowers to Bangkok than for Siam to take affront and invade them. After all, what did the Golden Flowers mean? Were they the tribute of vassal states or no more than the real flowers placed to-day by Asiatics at the foot of the statue to Sir Frank Swettenham in Kuala Lumpur, tokens of respect to a power remote but capable in certain contingencies of harm or help? It is only in certain contingencies that the language of diplomacy and the language of flowers get definitive interpretation. Not until 1862 was Burney's treaty tested and then it served. In that year Siam determined to remove Omar Sultan of Trengganu, who limited his recognition of Siam to the gift of the Golden Flowers, and to put on his throne the ex-Sultan of Lingga, Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, whom the Dutch had deposed. To the scandal of the Malay world the ex-Sultan sacrificed his Muslim sister in unlawful marriage to a Siamese Buddhist prince and would give more than Golden Flowers for a new throne; and so perhaps might Wan Ahmad, who was fighting his elder brother for the then independent throne of Pahang. Governor Cavanagh read in these happenings that interruption to British commerce for which Burney had provided: he demanded the removal of the ex-Sultan from Trengganu and not getting compliance bombarded the port. Siam protested against this attack on a tributary but removed the ex-Sultan to Bangkok, while Cavanagh continued to correspond direct with Trengganu and pooh-poohed Siam's claim to suzerainty.

iv.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PINANG.

In its dreary relations with Siam, in defence of British trade and the northern Malay States, is written the record of Pinang's foreign policy. That record hardly touches its internal affairs.

Its founder, Francis Light, loved British trade, liked the Malays and hated the Dutch. In all this he resembled Raffles, whose energy and enthusiasm he also shared, though not his breadth, vision or experience. Light's original idea was to follow the bad old method of securing a factory and monopolies from the Sultan of Kedah. In this he was overruled by the East India Company, not from altruism but for business reasons, because the Company feared difficulties with the Dutch, was not prepared to spend money on ships and a garrison and could not determine if the Island would make a good naval base. The visit in 1797 of the forces intended for the conquest of Manila finally proved Pinang's worth, both as a naval base and as commanding the Malacca Straits and, so, the trade-route to China. In consequence, 1800 saw the acquisition of Province Wellesley to give complete control of Pinang harbour and to make Pinang independent of foreign food supplies; and 1805 saw it elevated from a Residency subject to the Governor of Bengal, into a Residency, like Bengal, Madras and Bombay only subject to the general control of the Governor-General of India. Its free trade with absence of import duties, Light's policy of letting settlers occupy such land as they could clear under promise of future title, these factors brought to the almost uninhabited island a large and varied population: British, Eurasians, Armenians, Chinese, Arabs, Indians, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, Burmese and Siamese. Its spice plantations were in due course large and profitable. Within three years of its foundation the total value of imports and exports was \$853,592 and five years later this total had nearly doubled. Yet, with all this prosperity, the settlement was a dead loss to the Company, which by starving its child in infancy drove its nurse to perilous expedients. It would not provide an adequate staff nor would it follow Light's advice and pay its officials a living wage instead of letting them engage in trade. Light had no experience of administration. He alienated land

without any condition that lack of effective occupation would after a term of years involve resumption by the government. Large tracts were given to Europeans, including the servants of the Company; passing sea-captains and nomadic Malays were given concessions and Light himself appropriated large and valuable estates. Owing to the high death rate, many holdings came upon the market to be bought not by the government which had no funds but mostly by the firm of Light's friend, James Scott, which virtually had a monopoly of the import and export trade, kept the only bank and profited from money-lending to the entire community. No land was kept for public purposes. There was no land revenue. Until 1800 the revenue was derived from the farms of opium, arrack and gaming. In 1796 when the Government was casting about for fresh sources of revenue, the merchants opposed customs duties even on goods imported for Pinang consumption as likely to drive trade to the mainland opposite, a mere pirates' nest but a peg for their opposition; land on the mainland was acquired and a duty of 2% was imposed on imports of tin, pepper and betel-nuts but, as there were no customs officers, the collection of the duty was put up to auction and the highest bidder was Scott and Company, determined to obtain a dominant influence in the produce market. After one year, concerned for the interests of other merchants, government substituted an export duty on pepper and various local products.

Though within three years the population had risen to 10,000 Light had been left to preserve good order by imprisonment or other common punishments, but he was not allowed to deal with murder or offences by British subjects. Asiatic headmen tried cases for members of their own communities, and when instructions for the administration of justice arrived in 1800 along with a Lieutenant-Governor, they laid down that the law of Pinang was to be not British law modified to suit local conditions but "the laws of the different peoples and tribes of which the inhabitants consist, tempered by such parts of British law as are of universal application!" In 1801 the first professional judge, Mr. Dickens (uncle of the novelist), found the only law in force to be the law of nature and in two cases when he applied the English

Statute of Frauds he was overruled by the Lieutenant-Governor. There was no legislation covering wills, succession or inheritance. Not till 1807 did Pinang get a proper legal system. It had no public buildings except temporary structures for a customs house, a hospital and a gaol. There were no bridges outside Georgetown and its suburbs. There were no schools. The sick on the ships in the harbour had no nurses but convicts. On the top of this maladministration the Presidency of 1805 involved a Governor, three Resident Councillors, a Colonel, a Chaplain, with fifty or more other officials, of whom the Covenanted Civil Servants from India alone drew salaries amounting to £42,700 a year. Among the European officials was Thomas Stamford Raffles for whose receptive mind the free trade, the bad land system, the extravagant Presidency and the general inefficiency were unforgettable lessons drawn from his six years' sojourn at Pinang. The annual deficit now averaged £80,000 a year. Not however until 1826 when Singapore, Pinang and Malacca were combined to become a Presidency of India, were the heavy establishments pruned, Lord William Bentinck the Governor-General remarking that he could not see Pinang for the number of cocked hats. At the same time, 1829, Bentinck abolished the duties which handicapped the oldest of the Straits Settlements so heavily against young free-trade Singapore. In 1830 the Presidency was abolished and to their dismay the three Settlements became a Residency under the direction of the Governor and Council of Bengal, but not till 1832 was their capital transferred from Pinang to Singapore.

IX

MALACCA AND THE ADJOINING STATES.

In 1793 Revolutionary France declared war on England and attacked England's ally Holland. In January 1794 the French occupied Holland: the Stadtholder fled to England and the Batavian Republic was established. On 16 May 1795 by the Treaty of the Hague the Batavian and French Republics concluded an offensive and defensive alliance. Holland thus entered the war against England. Dutch colonies were now virtually French colonies: in the East Indies every Dutch port was now in effect a French port, a refuge for French warships or a base for French attacks on British trade and territory. It was therefore necessary for England to take possession of Dutch ports where possible, which action she could and did justify by the plea that thereby she was safeguarding the rights and possessions of her ally, the Stadtholder. Accordingly the Dutch made no resistance, although there were Dutch patriots who thought that instructions from home should have been disregarded. However at Malacca the reception of the British officers by Governor Abrahamus Couperus was gracious. The day after the occupation he entertained them at dinner. "Madam Couperus was dressed in a mixture between the Malay and the Portuguese.... She seemed very affable and well-bred. In the evening she played on the harp and was accompanied by some of her slaves on violins. She chewed betel incessantly as did the other ladies in the company and every chair was furnished with a cuspidor." The Dutch Governor and the troops left, but "the council which was for the time being deemed indispensable for legal administration, was retained against its will." While free trade had attracted to Pinang some 20,000 inhabitants, Malacca backward in agriculture owing to a bad land system and suffering in trade from competition with Pinang had a population of some 15,000 only.

In 1802 as a result of the Peace of Amiens, Malacca was to have been restored to Holland, but war broke out again in Europe and the English Company still kept this rival settlement to Pinang, likely sooner or later to be given back to the Dutch. The Governor of Pinang proposed to the Court of Directors that

the fortifications should be levelled, the industrial population persuaded to remove to Pinang and the settlement abandoned. It took two years and cost thousands of pounds to demolish the historic fort with its towers and bastions of dark stone, its draw-bridges, its moats, its earth ramparts and their iron caltrops. For three months, Munshi 'Abdu'llah tells us, the work of vandalism was carried out by coolies who fell sick for fear of the spirits haunting the ancient walls, so that wages rose to more than a rupee a day. Then for six days a gang of men excavated a hole on the sea-wall inserted gunpowder and laid a long wick, and one morning the Resident Councillor rode up on horseback torch in hand, and lit the wick and spurred his horse away. "And all those who had declared the fortifications could not be destroyed were silent and all the evil spirits generated only in their brains flew away, terrified of the smoke of the explosion. And the glory of Malacca had departed like the glory from the face of a woman whose husband has died." Even stores and ordnance were removed to Pinang. And then in 1808 a young Pinang official, Thomas Stamford Raffles, half scholar half merchant, came on a holiday to a place in which Malay research had interested him. Careless of rebuff and full of the restless energy that marked his career, the youngster of twenty-seven wrote an unsolicited report for his chiefs at Pinang. He could not peep into the future or realize that a silting harbour, steam and vastly increased tonnage would make Malacca a poor port, but he saw that in his day, if the British left, others would be quick to occupy it, to the detriment not only of Pinang but of the China trade. Moreover behind it were the blue hills of an unexplored Eldorado. And Malacca itself—"from the antiquity and former celebrity of the place it follows that the country is well cultivated and that valuable buildings, public and private, have been erected by the inhabitants." Those same inhabitants were cheerful tax-payers and the revenues were never in arrear. And then he struck that higher humanitarian note which has rightly made even the Dutch admire him in spite of tactics that in the fashion of his day he employed against their interests. "The natives," he pleaded, "consider the British faith as pledged for their protection. When the settlement fell into the hands of the English, they were invited to remain; protection and even

encouragement were offered them." India House entertained a favourable sense of the talents of the young official. Malacca was saved, to see Lord Minto lead the Java expedition from its shore, to see another Naning war as it had seen them in the days of Portuguese and Dutch, and after a century to have its shabby aristocratic gentility rehabilitated by the profits on para rubber. After Napoleon's downfall, the Convention of London, of 13 August 1814, stipulated for the retrocession of the settlement, but the Dutch, engaged with occupying Riau, did not take it back till 21 September 1818 and then in 1824 by the treaty of Holland "the Town and" non-existent "Fort of Malacca and its Dependencies" were ceded to His Britannic Majesty, and His Netherland Majesty engaged never to form any establishment on any part of the Peninsula or to conclude any treaty with any part of the Peninsula or to conclude any treaty with any native prince, chief or state therein. Alas! in the near future the cession of Malacca was to cost the Company nearly as much shame and more money than the cession of Pinang had cost.

As in Pinang there was a difficult land problem. Large tracts were in the hands of a few Dutch Proprietors, who held them under a form of tenure inherited from the Portuguese who in turn had inherited it from the Sultans of Malacca. Government had given them the old Malay royal privilege of allowing whom they liked to occupy their land on payment of a tenth of the produce to the Proprietor or his nominee, generally a Chinese farmer who had paid a lump sum for the right to collect the tithe. But Government and not the Proprietor was owner of the land nor could the Proprietor evict a tenant his assignee or mortgagee as long as he paid the tithe. Apparently the Dutch Company had hoped that the Proprietors would encourage the planting of foodstuffs and other produce whereas actually their extortionate Chinese collectors made the way of the agriculturist hard. Clearly as landlord the Government was justified in compensating the Proprietors for the loss of their titles and abolishing the middleman between itself and the cultivators. Agriculture would then flourish and take the place of a commerce that had passed to Pinang and Singapore. The Government redeemed the Proprietors' rights for

annual pensions that came to less than £2,000. Then the Government retaining the old system of tenure for cultivated lands decided that for lands alienated after 1830 grants and leases should be issued in accordance with English law. But there were no surveyors and in a few years no one knew what plots were held under the old and what under the new dispensation! The Recorder pronounced the new land rules illegal and discredited the leases issued. The Malays resisted an effort to make them pay in cash instead of produce. The Dutch Proprietors intrigued. Agriculture was at a standstill. The Land Revenue was less than the cost of the Land Department and the Proprietors' pensions. The Malacca land problem was not solved till the eighties when Sir Frederick Weld introduced the Torrens system which requires the registration in a government office of all instruments dealing with titles.

Then there was the Naning war. In 1801 as stewards of the Dutch, the English had followed the obsolescent tactics of making a treaty with 'du'l-Sayid, Captain Penghulu of Naning, for a monopoly of all tin coming there from Sri Menanti, Sungai Ujong, Rembau and other places, for a monopoly of pepper "whenever any great quantity" was to be had, and for the delivery of one-tenth of its rice and fruit crops, though in consideration of its indigence the Company agreed to be content with Naning's annual homage and 400 *gantang* of rice. It was a bad treaty, and, if the Dutch returned, voidable by the Malays who had signed an earlier treaty of similar import with the Hollanders, and it was to be a *damnosa hereditas*. "European governments do not make treaties with their own subjects" and the British had made the 1801 treaty to control the foreign relations and secure the domestic peace of a neighbouring *semi-independent* tribute state. Had Governor Fullerton, that vigorous stickler for legal principles, kept his eye open to this elementary principle of international law and had he waited to discover that the Dutch had never exercised any right of alienating land in Naning as they had in Malacca, the East India Company would have been saved the expenditure of £100,000 on a ludicrous and humiliating campaign against the ragged creeses and rusty muskets of a few hundred Minangkabaus. But Fullerton the able progressive rather

headstrong Governor was cursed with a headstrong Superintendent of Lands at Malacca, Mr. Lewis, a man as eager as himself to spread British influence. Lewis told Fullerton that Naning was part of the territory of Malacca, and as Garling Malacca's Resident Councillor protested at the time, Lewis told Fullerton wrong. For six months Fullerton hesitated. Then Lewis dilated on the loss of revenue due to the remission of the tithe on a rice-crop which he estimated at a million and a quarter *gantang* and he proposed to bribe the Penghulu and chiefs with allowances to become British tax-collectors. The chiefs refused. Lewis sent his own tax-collectors who were forced to ask for military protection. The Pinang Council sceptical of the Company's right to the tithe advised delay. Just then the Penghulu of Naning heard a murder case and fined the family of the *victim*! In spite of the advice of his most experienced officials Fullerton was persuaded that legally the Naning chiefs were no more than tax-collectors and village constables. He decided however to await the death of 'Abdu'l-Sayid (the friendly treaty-maker of 1801) before taking away the Penghulu's judicial powers and handing them over to Malacca's newly constituted court of judicature and he decided to refer the question of the tithe to the Directors. The Penghulu refused to meet the Governor and obstructed a census by the Malacca Land Department. In July 1829 Fullerton sent Church, Deputy-Resident of Malacca, with a guard of sepoys to allay fears instilled into 'Abdu'l-Sayid by designing Dutch merchants at Malacca who were anxious to reap the profits of a war. Church was to tell the Penghulu that the Company had no designs on his liberty and that the collection of the tithe was deferred, though not finally dropped, and he was to avoid reference to the chief's powers of jurisdiction. So successful was this mission that 'Abdu'l-Sayid recovered from what he himself described as his "state of terror" and allowed the census, but by the end of 1829 other and sinister counsellors prevailed with him; he refused to meet the Governor at Malacca, and Naning prepared for war. Fullerton collected a military force to invade Naning and then, as his Councillors disagreed with his policy, stayed action for the Supreme Government to decide. 'Abdu'l-Sayid, convinced that the Governor's vacillation was due to fear, seized the fruit of certain trees claimed by Surin, a

Malay Proprietor in Malacca territory. The new Governor, Ibbetson, referred this problem also to the Indian Government. In June 1830 the Directors instructed the Governor (wrongly) that the Company possessed sovereign rights over Naning and could legally collect tithes and exercise judicial powers within its borders but, to avoid war, the assertion of these rights was to be deferred. Misled by Lewis Ibbetson answered that things had gone too far for inaction and that unless 'Abdu'l-Sayid were now forced to pay the tithe, the Malays in Malacca territory would also refuse to pay the tithes on their produce, which took the place of a land-tax. The Supreme Government left the solution to the Governor. 'Abdu'l-Sayid now demanded absolute independence. So in July 1831 150 sepoys with two six-pounders dragged by bullocks were despatched to Naning but were bogged and had their retreat impeded by the felling of trees in their rear, so that with guns lost and heavy baggage destroyed the red-coats had to retire "expeditiously" to Malacca. Persuaded that the British would attack Rembau also and supplant him, its Underking Raja 'Ali had sent his son-in-law, Sayid Sha'ban (the only brain of this and the subsequent campaign) to help Naning, and, that object effected, Sayid Sha'ban had accepted \$500 to allow the British force to retreat! Victorious, 'Abdu'l-Sayid wrote to Malacca complaining that the Assistant Resident had come with sepoys and shot down a Captain (Panglima) who had been sent as an honorary escort to receive him! Actually clad in scarlet broad-cloth, brandishing a spear and whirling a sling, the Panglima had danced derisively before the British guns and having stood two rounds of grape was hit by a third in the midst of a demivolte. A "dignified reply" was sent to 'Abdu'l-Sayid inviting him to come to Malacca! In that town "fear whispered that every bush concealed a Malay and converted every stick into a musket barrel." On the grave of his Panglima, 'Abdu'l-Sayid sacrificed six out of seven convicts captured during the "war," keeping the seventh to read him the Kuran. He also proceeded to fine every Malacca village within his reach twenty reals. And on 24 October, he and his chiefs wrote to the King of England, complaining of the doings of the Malacca government.

Too late the Malacca officials at last discovered in the archives that since 1765 the Dutch had commuted the tithe into nominal tribute! Angry as Bengal was, it recognized that war was inevitable, and, to frustrate any Minangkabau coalition, it approved of a rapprochement with "ruffianly, half-clothed and poverty-stricken" chiefs of Rembau, as Captain Begbie, an eye-witness, described them. The Company wanted no more territory. So two treaties followed, one dated 30 November 1831 and the other 28 January 1832 and it was agreed that "the Rembau government will be at liberty to rule within its own territories according to the laws and usages of that country" and the British and Rembau were never to attack each other or take possession of the territory of each other. \$1,000 was offered for the apprehension of 'du'l-Sayid, dead or alive, and after the rains, in March 1832 a fresh force of over a thousand men set out from Malacca. That retreat this time might not be impeded by the felling of trees, the Commander, Colonel Herbert, had a road 600 feet wide cut at the rate of three or four miles a month over the twenty-two miles of country to Naning's capital, Taboh. Casualties on both sides were negligible but even a jinjal shot caused the troops to stand to arms till daybreak and the Colonel was very nervous and talked of "troops knocked up" and of acting on the defensive against any enemy who, had he known it, never numbered more than one hundred men. 'Abdu'l-Sayid threatened to hamstring all the buffaloes of any one supplying carriage to the British troops. However at the end of April, impressed by the inevitable if caterpillar advance of the British, Raja 'Ali sent from Rembau Sayid Sha'ban and a force of Malays. Sayid Sha'ban's spies had knowledge of the enemy's sporadic energy so that he could descend on deserted stockades and capture them. Thanks to this "petty chief," on June 15 Taboh the principal village was taken by surprise, 'Abdu'l-Sayid's dinner being left untouched on his mat. The Naning defence was broken.

Diffident about assuming the administration of the State, the Company first offered Naning to the Yam-tuan Muda of Rembau, Raja 'Ali who respectfully declined. So the Company included it in Malacca territory, abolished (temporarily) the posts of

Penghulu and tribal headmen and appointed a Dutch gentleman, Mr. Westerhout, as Superintendent to collect tithes and see that criminal cases were sent to the Recorder's court. In 1833 the revenue was \$762 and the expenditure \$463; in 1835 the figures were \$1,240 and \$490! Promised a pardon 'Abdu'l-Sayid surrendered in 1834 and was given a house and garden with a pension of \$100 a month on condition that he did not leave Malacca. He lived there until August 1849 when he died esteemed as a medicine-man. He took to shoes and a buggy and bought rice-fields and jewellery for his women-folk. It is not surprising that this generous treatment of a defeated foe impressed the Malays of the inland states more than the British conduct of the Naning wars.

The Naning war had repercussions in Negri Sembilan. Assured of British good-will and not impressed with British punitive measures, Raja 'Ali the Bugis Underking of Rembau promoted himself Yam-tuan Besar of Negri Sembilan and Sayid Sha'ban Underking of Rembau. But one Muhammad Katas, To' Muda of Linggi, the little fifty year old colony from Riau, was an enemy of Sayid Sha'ban and fighting began. The Penghulu or chief of the Rembau Minangkabau tribes stood aloof, whereupon Sayid Sha'ban sent a band to surprise and kill him. Rembau and Sungai Ujong declared war on Raja 'Ali and Sayid Sha'ban and drove them out. In spite of their aid during the Naning war, the British refused to help the refugees except by giving the Sayid a home in Malacca and a pension on condition that he stayed quiet. Had not the Naning war cost £100,000? Even when a quarrel between Muhammad Katas chief of Linggi and the Dato' Klana, chief of Sungai Ujong, led to the blockade of the Linggi river and the stoppage of their tin trade, the British took no action other than prohibiting Malacca merchants to sell arms to either side. In the fifties when "illegal" robbers, copying the Dutch methods of blockade, built forts and exacted tolls on the Linggi river, Governor Butterworth dared not put a few round shots into their flimsy block-houses, and Malacca trade suffered, until in 1855 the To' Klana surprised the worst offender, Lebai Kulop, at Simpang, by using the British flag, a ruse that evoked strong gubernatorial expostulation. The Governor now issued a

notice in the name of the Governor-General of Bengal prohibiting the erection of stockades on the Linggi and Ujong rivers and talked of sending a gun-boat to ensure that the notice was observed, but still the "illegal" collection of tax and toll continued. In 1865 the Penghulu of Johol offered Gemencheh to the British if they would oust the local headman, but the British wanted no extension of territory.

X

SINGAPORE AND JOHOR.

Peril stood beside the cradle of the new settlement (p. 172 *supra*), Raffles' "political child." There was the danger that the Dutch might resent the loss of a potential source of tradesman's profit and the danger that the English might abandon a potential source of tradesman's loss.

Hardly had the child been born when the Malay chiefs wrote clandestinely to Malacca and Riau explaining that Raffles and Farquhar had taken initiative out of their hands by landing soldiers and stores and that Tengku Husain, who had hurried to safeguard his son, then on the island, had been seized by Raffles and installed as Sultan of Singapore: "at the same time we in no way separate ourselves from the Dutch." The best letter was from the Bendahara, who expressed to Timmerman Thyssen, Governor of Malacca, amazement that the inscrutable Creator had parted brother from brother and friend from friend, declaring the cryptic intention of being a friend to the friends of the Raja of Johor and requesting that a large bottle of rose-water should be sent to him in Pahang! The Malays had heard of Raffles' justice and fairness in Java but the English seemed unable to hold their own and for centuries had abandoned one settlement after another in Malayan waters. And now had not Timmerman Thyssen declared that given 600 troops he would attack Singapore? and was not Batavia sending those troops? To the Malay mind it was obviously an occasion for finesse. But like all Europeans, the English just as they called maritime warfare piracy, called diplomacy intrigue, and Farquhar, left as Resident in charge of Singapore, made Sultan and Temenggong sign a declaration that their letters to Riau and Malacca had been prompted solely by fear of Dutch vengeance and that Raffles' political child was not the offspring of rape:—its scrupulous begetter had advised Farquhar to make friends with Pahang and Trengganu also by selling them arms, so as to keep out the Hollanders!

Timmerman Thyssen did not attack Singapore but he wrote to Colonel Bannerman, Governor of Pinang, calling attention to the treaty Riau had concluded with the Dutch on 26 November

1818 (p. 170 *supra*). Bannerman, as a gentleman with some local knowledge, had advised Bengal, before Raffles reached Singapore, that Dutch rights over Riau were indisputable. As an administrator he was proud of Pinang, resented the birth of a rival settlement and by temperament disliked Raffles the restless man of ideas, who ought to be at Bencoolen and not trespassing with an independent commission in the sphere of a brother officer. As a soldier he knew Holland's resources and he was of the type dear to Confucius, not ready to face a tiger with his bare hands but never likely to be caught by a tiger weaponless: his mind's eye saw "the ultimate and forced submission" of any force he could despatch to Singapore "tarnishing the national honour infinitely more seriously than the degradation which would ensue from the retreat of the small party" Farquhar had at the new settlement. The Colonel therefore begged Thyssen to join with him "in deprecating any such violent measure on the part of the Java government as would lead to a cruel effusion of blood and excite a collision between Great Britain and Holland." He, a Colonel, reminded Major Farquhar that the Singapore undertaking was in violation of the orders of the Supreme Government; in view of the Malay chiefs' "recantation" to Riau and Malacca, he refused to invite overwhelming Dutch aggression by sending to Singapore such small military forces as Pinang could spare, and though a soldier he unequivocally declared that Farquhar's personal honour was "in no way implicated in the present occasion to render the shedding of blood necessary." In the same strain Bannerman wrote to Lord Hastings the Governor-General, adding rabidly and unfairly that Raffles had scuttled off to Acheh "like a man who sets a house on fire and then runs away." Furthermore, knowing that the Company kept its moral sense in its pocket, he pointed out that as much as \$15,000 had been spent in Singapore in less than forty days. But in the first place Lord Hastings had been responsible for Raffles' quest of a settlement and was responsible for his hurried visit to Acheh and in the second Bannerman's obvious jealousy made his views untrustworthy. On 8 April 1819 the Supreme Government of Bengal informed the Colonel "we think your government entirely wrong in determining so broadly against the propriety of the step taken by Sir Thomas Raffles;

the opposition of the Dutch was not of the nature which we had directed to be shunned under the description of collision. The ground on which Sir Thomas Raffles stood was this, that Singapore was never mentioned in the Treaty between the Sultan of Johore and the Dutch. The supposition that it was included in the general term of dependencies is one of those gratuitous assumptions which merit no consideration. We fear you would have difficulty in excusing yourselves should the Dutch be tempted to violence against that Post. The jealousy of it, should misfortune occur and be traceable to neglect originating in such a feeling, will find no tolerance with Government, who must be satisfied (which is not now the case) that perseverance in maintaining the Post would be an infraction of equity, before they can consent to abandon it." In long and exuberant despatches Raffles had primed the noble lord about the advantages of his Malta of the East, and to the Dutch the noble diplomat adopted a conciliatory tone:—"Sir Thomas Raffles has not sufficiently explained to us why he proceeded to Singapore after learning the extent of the pretensions advanced by your agent at Malacca. A strict attention to our instructions would have induced him to avoid the possibility of collision with the Netherland authorities on any point, and so sincere is our desire to bar the way to any altercations with your government that the occupation of Singapore has been to us a matter of unfeigned regret. In fact after being acquainted with the extent of the pretensions advanced on the part of your nation, and before we knew of the existence of a factory at Singapore, we had issued instructions to Sir T. S. Raffles directing him, if our orders arrived in time, to desist from every attempt to form a British establishment in the Eastern Archipelago." But withdrawal would mean "subscribing to the rights which you claim, and of which we are not satisfied, thereby awkwardly forestalling the judgment which was to have taken place at home." In August 1819 the home Secret Committee gave its views. Raffles had contravened his instructions in letter and in spirit. If the Dutch expelled the Singapore garrison, England must submit in silence or hazard another European war. Raffles had failed to make out the title of the chief from whom he had acquired the island and should have referred the Dutch claim to Bengal instead of leaving it for His Majesty's ministers

to maintain him in possessions he had thought proper to occupy. Raffles was impenitent. "The more I am opposed, the more my views are thwarted, destroyed and counteracted, the firmer do I stand in my own opinion; for I am confident I am right.... It is not impossible the ministry may be weak enough to abandon Singapore, and to sacrifice me, *honour* and the Eastern Archipelago, to the outrageous pretensions of the Dutch." In actual fact, the English had two good grounds for holding Singapore, even though the installation of Sultan Husain was a ruse justifiable only in the eyes of Raffles to whom what was right in his own eyes was always absolutely right, whether it was the right of personal liberty or the right of primogeniture. When handing over Malacca in 1795, the Dutch seem undoubtedly and for good reason to have declared that Riau, Lingga, Johor and Pahang were not their dependencies. And on that ground, Farquhar on 19 August 1818 had contracted a treaty with Riau, which though it contained no clause excluding their trade the Dutch treated with contempt and flagrantly violated by their later treaty of 26 November 1818, a treaty enforced by the menace of a large naval force and stipulating for a Dutch monopoly. Admitted that the Farquhar treaty was due to an exaggerated representation of Dutch policy conveyed by Raffles and himself, yet everywhere Raffles had found among his trade rivals "a steady determination to lower the British character in the eyes of the natives," and was there any great difference between the taking of Riau prophesied by Raffles and Farquhar and the actual happenings of that 26 November? Controversy raged until the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824, but long before then the amazing growth of Raffles' political child had convinced India House not only of the commercial but even of the moral value of Singapore.

On 6 February 1819, Singapore's natal day, there were on the island a few Chinese gambir plantations, a few pagan Malays ancestors of those that now dive for coins in the docks, and some hundred and fifty Malay followers of the Temenggong. So humble a place that in March Raffles sent from Pinang building materials, tools and changkuls worth \$2,143 and provisions, ghee, biscuits and bullocks worth \$3,384. Every Monday at 10 a.m. the Sultan and Temenggong (or their deputies) met Farquhar the Resident at a

court in the Temenggong's yard in order to listen to petitions and grievances and decide on proclamations: the consent of all three was required for the imposition of customs and duties and the establishment of farms. With the examples of Pinang and Bencoolen before him Raffles kept the cost of administration low. By June 1819 the influx of Chinese, Bugis and Malacca Malays had raised the population to 5,000, and a year later it had doubled. On April 3, 1820 Raffles, who saw Singapore only at its founding and on his visit in 1822, wrote from Bencoolen that "Singapore continues to thrive beyond all calculation. The exports and imports even by native boats alone exceed four millions of dollars in the year." A few days earlier Farquhar had written to him, "To look at our harbour just now, where upwards of twenty junks, three of which are from China and two from Cochin China, the rest from Siam and other quarters, are at anchor, besides ships, brigs, prows, etc., etc., a person would naturally exclaim, surely this cannot be an establishment of only a twelve-month standing. One of the principal Chinese merchants here told me, that he would be very glad to give five hundred thousand dollars for the revenues of Singapore five years hence." Actually in 1825 while the trade of Malacca stood at just over three hundred thousand pounds and that of Pinang at just over a million pounds, the trade of Singapore was estimated at £2,610,440. So rich were the fruits of free trade at a port on the main route to China and convenient to the Malay Archipelago, a port destined to rank among the ten greatest in the world.

In October 1822 Raffles came on his last visit to Singapore. Lawlessness was still rife. On 11 March 1823 Farquhar was stabbed by an Arab who had run amuck but so suspicious were the times that the commander of the sepoy's trained his guns on the Temenggong's quarters and would have fired had not Raffles counselled enquiry. Farquhar had done good work but the rapid growth of the port had outgrown his town-planning and he had an old-fashioned predilection for permitting gaming and cockpits and he owned slaves. Actually, as Singapore records show, Raffles' own town-planning included alienating the valuable sea-front on the vaguest of titles and instructing Farquhar to reserve half the

lots for Raffles, and his friends and relations! Self-satisfied as usual, Raffles wrote describing how he spent his visit in "remodelling and laying out my new city and in establishing institutions and laws for its future constitution; a pleasant duty enough in England, where you have books, hard heads and lawyers to refer to, but here, by no means easy, where all must depend on my own judgment and foresight. Nevertheless I hope that, though Singapore may be the first capital established in the nineteenth century, it will not disgrace the highest period of it." He drafted regulations for a land registry, rules for the port "whose trade is open to ships and vessels of every nation free of duty, equally and alike to all," regulations for police and magistracy, for the suppression of gaming-houses and cockpits, for the prevention of slave trade and for the establishment of an Institution "having for its object the cultivation of the languages of China, Siam and the Malayan Archipelago and the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the inhabitants of those countries." To a friend Raffles wrote: "I have had everything to new-mould from first to last; to introduce a system of energy, purity and encouragement. . . . Singapore is now, perhaps, the only place in India where slavery cannot exist." To Fort William he reported that "we cannot do better than apply the general principles of British law to all, equally and alike, without distinction of tribe or nation, under such modifications only as local circumstances and peculiarities, and a due consideration for the weakness and prejudices of the native part of the population, may from time to time suggest. . . . Something like a code, which shall explain in a few words what is considered a crime and what is the punishment attached to it, seems indispensable." But until 1826 legal chaos prevailed, Mr. Crawford who became the second Resident in succession to Farquhar administering Chinese and Malay law but having no power over Europeans.

Before his departure for ever on 6 June 1823 Raffles arranged for the Sultan to receive in future \$1,500 a month and the Temenggong \$800, Their Highnesses to forego their monopolies of certain timbers and all claims to presents and customs from Chinese junks and Chinese generally and to put the whole of Singapore

outside their own demesnes at the disposal of the British. In the presence of Raffles and the Temenggong, Sultan Husain handed an English flag to the Penghulu of Johor Lama to fly in order to protect it from occupation by Holland's allies at Riau but after Raffles' departure Bengal instructed Crawford to strike the flag and later the flags of Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Lingga and of the Dutch were hoisted. Pahang, too, assured Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman, distant and unassertive, of its allegiance. All these difficulties between England and Holland were settled by the treaty of London on 17 March 1824. Holland ceded Malacca to Great Britain, agreeing never to establish a settlement in the Malay Peninsula or make treaties with its Malay chiefs; and while Great Britain agreed never to establish settlements on the Carimons, Batam, Riau, Lingga or other islands to the south of Singapore Straits, Holland gave up all claim to Raffles' "political child." Crawford reported that even Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman admitted the Temenggong's ownership of Bulang and the Carimons (Kerimun), but under Dutch influence 'Abdu'r-Rahman soon claimed them, and when there was fighting at the Carimons between the followers of the brother Sultans, the English disclaimed all responsibility for the movements of Sultan Husain outside Singapore and let Resident Elout hoist the Dutch flag. "Brother had been parted from brother" politically for ever.

On 2 August 1824 a final treaty was concluded by which Sultan Husain and Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman alienated Singapore for ever to the British and became private residents on the island. Munshi 'Abdu'llah declares that Crawford only got their signatures by delaying the payment of their monthly allowances! The Sultan was to receive \$33,200 and a stipend of \$1,300 for life and the Temenggong \$26,800 and a stipend of \$700 for life. The Malay chiefs were to enter into no alliance with any foreign power without the consent of the East India Company, to maintain a free and unshackled trade within their dominions and to admit the trade and traffic of the British nation into all the ports and harbours of the kingdom of Johor on the terms of the most favoured nation.

Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman died on 8 December 1825 and was succeeded by his able son Tun Ibrahim (or Daing Ronggek)

who still lived at Teluk Blanga but made a fortune by monopolizing the gutta percha forests of Johor. Sultan Husain did not die until 5 September 1835. Munshi 'Abdu'llah has left a picture of his small neckless head, his pot belly, his thin legs, his awful husky voice and his habit of falling asleep whenever he sat down. His indolence and extravagance forced his abler wife to get a Tamil friend, 'Abdu'l-Kadir, to manage the royal purse. Infuriated by the Tamil's economies, the Sultan's dependents started a scandal about the Tamil and his royal mistress, which drove Husain to remove to Malacca. There the Tamil was given a title and married to a daughter of the Sultan. When the Sultan died at Malacca, the burial service was read by a Muslim Tamil. In 1835 Husain's heir, Tengku 'Ali, was too young to clamour for recognition as Sultan. At that time Governor Murchison reported to Bengal that "the late Sultan was never recognized by the Malay States as Sultan of Johore and enjoyed neither revenue nor political sway in that country. He was pronounced Sultan by the British but it was for a particular object, and no reason now exists for the recognition of a mere titular prince." In 1840 a proclamation was issued that 'Ali "is looked upon by the British Government in every respect as the successor of his late father and entitled to all the property granted to the late Sultan by the East India Company" at Singapore. This was construed by the Supreme Court to recognize 'Ali's right to property and not to the Sultanate, though Bonham, Governor from 1837 till 1843, actually asked the Raja Bendahara of Pahang to instal 'Ali as Sultan in accordance with the custom of the old Johor empire. But in 1847 'Ali was still petitioning Bengal for recognition. Down to 1835 when the failure of Singapore spice plantations caused Chinese to open up gambir and pepper estates in Johor, the revenue from that State had been infinitesimal, but now about £800 a year was offered for its opium-farm, a sum Bonham's successor, Colonel Butterworth, thought should be divided equally between Sultan and Temenggong. Butterworth also thought he could induce the Bendahara of Pahang and the Temenggong to accede to the formal installation of 'Ali but he pointed out that in the cession of Singapore Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman had been "the chief, I may say, the only negotiator" and Sultan Husain

a mere figure-head and that not only had the Temenggong controlled Johor ever since 1819 but 'Ali was unfit to rule, while to create him Sultan would involve an increase to his pittance of \$115 a month or about £300 a year. The Directors decided: "unless compelled by positive engagement, we see no reason for your acknowledging a successor to this merely titular dignity." Then in 1852 Mr. E. A. Blundell officiated as Governor and though he admitted the superior capabilities of the Temenggong, he was "impressed with the injustice of disregarding the claims of the son of the prince from whom we obtained the island of Singapore, simply because it is less troublesome and perhaps more advantageous to us." The Indian Government retorted that neither the Treaty of 1819 nor that of 1824 bound the Company to interfere in the internal affairs of Johor, and it was not prepared to be involved in dissensions. In January 1853 Blundell wrote again, saying that he had arranged for the Temenggong to instal 'Ali as Sultan and pay him half the revenue of Johor, with the stipulation that 'Ali was never to interfere in the government. Half the revenue had been fixed at \$300 a month for three years, after which it was to be revised. The Indian Government disapproved of this "meddling in the face of its instructions not to interfere." If however the Temenggong "should be willing to purchase entire sovereignty by a sacrifice of revenue in favour of the Sultan, I conceive the measure would be a beneficial one to all parties."

In 1854 Butterworth returned and in 1855 'Ali accepted a settlement less favourable to himself than that arranged by Blundell two years before. Instead of a pension to be revised every three years, he agreed in return for \$5,000 Spanish dollars and an allowance of \$500 a month to himself, his heirs and successors to cede the full sovereignty of Johor to His Highness Dato' Temenggong Daing Ibrahim Sri Maharaja, his heirs and successors for ever, reserving for his own house only sovereignty over the territory between the Kesang and Muar rivers, which he prized because some of his ancestors were there buried. Two views were taken of this treaty at the time according as its critics were partisans of the indolent indigent Sultan or partisans of the able and energetic Temenggong. The former stated in the Legislative Council that the Sultan was the victim of cajolery and even of threats and that

the Governor had exercised his power in favour of a personal predilection. The latter pointed out that Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman had been in fact owner of Singapore and Johor, that the *de jure* suzerain (if legal rights were to be carefully observed) was not Raffles' puppet the Sultan of Singapore but his brother of Lingga, and Dutch and British spheres of influence had cut away Pahang and Johor from the old Lingga empire for ever and left them to the Bendahara and the Temenggong who were actually ruling on the spot. Moreover though Temenggong Ibrahim was a boy of fifteen at his father's death in 1825, never had Sultan Husain even then asserted any claim to Johor, while on this Sultan's death in 1835 the British refused for twenty years to recognise any successor to his throne. Only Governor Blundell, favouring the Kampong Glam family and looking for some way of supporting its members without cost to the Bengal Government, coerced Daing Ibrahim into recognising Tengku 'Ali as Sultan, paying His Highness a large sum in return for territory which the Temenggong already owned, and surrendering his possession of the Kesang territory to a Sultan who for some years at European instigation had encroached on the Temenggong's rights in Johor. Daing Ibrahim himself could not see why he should have to foot a bill which, if the claim were just, should be defrayed equally by Pahang as by Johor. On one occasion he abruptly left Blundell's* presence, requesting the Governor to

*Note.—Sultan 'Ali spent little time in his miniature kingdom. He organised no government and leased the collection of revenue to a Bugis whose agents were all shot or poisoned by the adherents of a local Temenggong Paduka Tuan whose ancestors since the beginning of the XVIIIth century had held undisputed possession under the Sultans and Temenggongs of Johor. Heavily indebted to a Tamil money-lender 'Ali gave him in 1862 the right to sell Muar to the British or any one else. In 1868 'Ali gave a power of attorney to an Indian schoolmaster, Babu Ramasamy, to collect the non-existent revenue. In 1875 he granted a concession over 45 square miles to an American. Nobody made any money or had an indefeasible title and on 20 June 1877 the irresponsible Sultan died at Umbai in Malacca heavily in debt. Even in his death Sultan 'Ali wrought confusion, displaying that weakness so common in Malay rulers, subservience to petticoat influence, and nominating as heir not his well-born eldest son, Tengku 'Alam, but the son of his third and commoner wife. The British government decided to let the Temenggong Paduka Tuan and headmen of Muar elect their own ruler, and the ballot (which some said was rigged) chose the Maharaja of Johor, who after some reluctance to feed a hand that might bite him agreed to allow the Sultan's family \$1,250 a month in all, terminable with the consent of the British government but in fact paid to this day.

convey his wishes through his eighteen-year-old son, Abu-Bakar, who showed his mettle by telling the Governor that if he insisted on the Temenggong acknowledging Tengku 'Ali as Sultan and giving him a share of Johor revenue, they could not help themselves but of their own free will they would not consent, and the youth added, pointing to the police sentry, "If Your Honour insisted on making that policeman Sultan, we should have to submit."

The East India Company stuck to the letter of the law, as it had done with the Sultan of Kedah, and sacrificed justice to the credit side of its ledgers. But the whirligig of time had brought about a curious revenge. The Bendaharas of Pahang and Temenggongs of Johor, forerunners of the present Sultans of these countries, were descended from a son of 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah, first Bendahara Emperor of Johor, who was older than the young son, Sulaiman he appointed his successor. Tun Abbas that older son was the child of a lady of birth but he was born before 1699 when his father became Sultan: Sulaiman, ancestor of Sultan Husain of Singapore, was the son of an Achinese slave-girl, reputed to have been purchased for a dish-cover, but he was born after 1699, and that fact was seized upon by his mother to induce her doting husband 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah to nominate him heir to the Johor empire. The last of the descendants of the Achinese slave-girl to be emperor of all that the partition between Dutch and English had left of the Johor empire south of Singapore was deposed from his throne of Lingga in 1911 and the Sultanate abolished, while the descendants of Tun 'Abbas sit on the thrones of Pahang and Johor and the descendants of a brother of the Bendahara-Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah sit on the throne of Trengganu.

The days of the East India Company were now numbered. In 1851 the Straits Settlements ceased to be a Residency under the Government of Bengal and came under the supervision of the Governor-General of India, a change that made little difference in practice. In 1858 old John Company was abolished and this also effected no change except that the Straits Settlements passed automatically under the control of the India Office. Then in 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office. To India the Malay Settlements had been a

third-rate Residency, for which distance and the use of the Malay and Chinese languages made it difficult to provide a civil service. They were a dumping-ground for convicts and troops for which the dependency had to pay. To defray the cost of administration India had wanted to interfere with the free trade of the Settlements, though it was free trade that had brought them prosperity as against the Dutch system of monopoly. And not to increase the cost of administration India had been reluctant to handle the problem of misrule in the Malay States, where peace and security were imperative for the development of British commerce. Unofficial representation there was none, and in 1855 India attempted to force Indian currency on a country whose trade was conducted in dollars and cents. In short, between India and Malaya there were no ties, geographical, political or commercial. Finally after years of local agitation, persuaded that the Straits Settlements could defray the cost of their own administration, the British Government approved of the transfer to the Colonial Office, and within a decade came a momentous change of policy.

XI THE MALAY STATES.

i. ANARCHY AND PIRACY.

Her troubles with Kedah and Selangor ended, Perak was torn by fratricidal quarrels between princes of her own royal house. In 1826 Selangor lost Sultan Ibrahim that strong old Anglophile who with Raja Haji had fought the Dutch at Malacca, been deposed and exiled by them and then regaining his throne had conquered Perak and died haggling with the niggardliness of age over a small bill owing him by that State. His successor lacked his strength and his energy: "the country" wrote Newbold, "has lapsed into comparative decay, and its population is daily decreasing from emigration, the result of the extortions of the Sultan's numerous offspring; who setting all law and justice at defiance, commit piracies, rob, plunder and levy contributions on the wretched inhabitants." More than one village fled wholesale by night into Malacca territory, while at Lukut the Chinese miners rose and murdered the heir to the throne, thrusting his wife and children back into their burning house. In Negri Sembilan, too, where the '30s had seen five claimants to the throne, the final election of Raja Radin put an end neither to robber tax-collectors nor to boundary disputes and petty raids. But things Malayan were to go from bad to worse. In 1857 war broke out between the Temenggong of Johor and the Temenggong of Muar. In the same year Muhammad Sultan of Selangor expired suddenly at Klang and Bendahara 'Ali ruler of Pahang also died and in 1861 the Yamtuan Besar Radin. The Selangor and Pahang rulers left the succession to their thrones undetermined; while in Negri Sembilan the Yamtuan Besar had to be elected unanimously by the four big territorial chiefs. With the partition of the Johor empire the Malay Sultan at Lingga could no longer exercise authority in Pahang or Negri Sembilan nor could the Bugis Underking at Riau interfere in Selangor. No longer were there Dutch blockades to excite Malay patriotism and it was the policy of England to leave the Malay States to stew in their own juice. For the next twenty years they lived in a hell-broth of civil wars, while the trade of every one of the three British settlements suffered.

Except for the sufferings of the peasant, there was a lot that was Gilbertian in the war of the Pahang succession. When in July 1857 Wan Ahmad fitted out ships in the present waters of Singapore's naval base in order to attack his brother Tahir, the new Bendahara, the British Government was quite unaware of a clause in his father's will giving him the districts of Endau and Kuantan and so furnishing a *casus belli* plausible though bad at Malay law against Tahir who claimed the whole of Pahang. Again. Friendly as the British Government was with Temenggong Ibrahim of Johor, it took no interest in the fact that two of his children had married children of the new Bendahara Tahir, and (though it had paid no attention to Wan Ahmad's warlike preparations) quite illogically it threatened the Temenggong with criminal proceedings if *he attacked a power at peace with England*, to wit, Wan Ahmad the pretender! Events, however, were soon to shake Singapore out of this intellectual lethargy. The Temenggong feed a Singapore lawyer to point out the *non sequitur* in the Governor's letter and to draft a treaty of alliance between Pahang and Johor and in 1862 that treaty was blessed at a Government House durbar! The sudden British *volte-face* had a reason. Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, deposed by the Dutch from the throne of Lingga, appeared in Pahang in 1858, claiming to be the lawful ruler of that State and of Johor, as his ancestors had been before the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824. Repudiated by the British, Mahmud Muzaffar Shah left Bendahara Tahir, went in 1861 with Wan Ahmad to Bangkok and intrigued for the thrones of Trengganu and Kelantan. In the attitude of the Siamese Governor Cavenagh detected a design to bring Pahang under Bangkok and to strengthen Siam's control over Trengganu and Kelantan. The Temenggong, now Abu-Bakar, was even more alarmed. He did not want the ex-Sultan of Lingga to assert any claim to Johor nor did he want Wan Ahmad to oust his brother the Bendahara and repudiate the treaty of 1862 which had ceded Tiuman and other islands to Johor. Abu-Bakar therefore threw himself whole-heartedly into the cause of his father-in-law, Bendahara Tahir and his worthless brother-in-law Wan Koris. He sent supplies of rice and salt and he bought guns and cartridges from John Little. He hired Perak mercenaries and a Eurasian tiger-shooter and he tried to recruit fighting-men from Negri

Sembilan. He collected Bugis mercenaries from Johor whose wild caperings and unbound hair made the foolish Bendahara Muda, Wan Koris, sure of victory. To make assurance doubly sure, Abubakar offered a reward of \$500 for the head of Wan Ahmad. It was all in vain. Not even the British stage bombardment of Trengganu, consequent on its Sultan's refusal to banish Mahmud of Lingga, could put heart into Bendahara Tahir and his opium-smoking son. Sitting in a coffee-shop at Kuala Trengganu, Wan Ahmad thought of a way to win the war and on 30 May 1863 conquered Pahang and became its ruler with a coffee-leaf for his crest. Not that his victory ended the fighting, though Bendahara Tahir and his son, Wan Koris, both died at sea fleeing to Johor. In 1866 Wan Aman (= 'Abdu'r-Rahman), now *de jure* Bendahara, attacked Pahang by way of the Jempul pass from Negri Sembilan, only to retreat after a month, defeated. In 1868 there was an attack on Raub, subsidized (report said) by Temenggong Abubakar. Finally in 1870 in return for his help at Klang, Raja Mahdi of Selangor fame helped Wan Aman to carry on nine months of futile guerilla warfare at Raub.

For this Raja Mahdi had fomented another Malay war that lasted eight years. By 1860 'Abdu'l-Samad, nephew of the deceased Sultan Muhammad, was seated on the throne of Selangor, where he maintained himself by a past reputation for frightfulness and a present policy of *laissez faire*. Nothing, however, but fear of the Dutch had ever kept united this region of river provinces. In Muhammad's reign Klang had been in charge of a Raja 'Abdu'llah who had introduced Chinese, founded Kuala Lumpur and derived a large revenue from tin mines, which large revenue produced a rival claimant to the Klang estuary in Raja Mahdi, son of the predecessor of Raja 'Abdu'llah. A quarrel at Kuala Lumpur between Bugis and Mandiling miners, which Raja 'Abdu'llah omitted or was unable to adjust, provided Raja Mahdi with a Mandiling fighting force, while a Straits-born Malacca Chinese, Baba Tek Cheng, supplied the sinews of war, requiring only interest on his outlay until victory should put his Raja in a position to grant limitless concessions of land. The Baba's activities gave Raja 'Abdu'llah an excuse to employ pirate cruisers to plunder all

craft entering or leaving Selangor, but by the end of 1866 Raja Mahdi had taken Klang and forced Raja 'Abdu'llah and his relatives to flee to Malacca, while Mr. W. H. Read and Towkay Kim Ching, both of Singapore, and other British subjects clamoured to be compensated for loss of capital invested in Klang.

In 1867 a daughter of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad married Tengku Zia'u'd-din alias Kudin, a Europeanized brother of the Sultan of Kedah. 'Abdu'l-Samad gave his son-in-law the Langat estuary for his marriage portion and being himself a careless philosopher, who had abandoned warfare for gardening opium-smoking and the hoarding of tin, he made the Kedah Raja Viceroy of the whole country. In 1869 with Ilanun and Bugis mercenaries and some Kedah followers Kudin drove Raja Mahdi out of Klang and settled there himself, opening roads and fostering the mining industry and trade with the British Colony. In vain Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad begged the Governor to help prevent the import of rice and ammunition from Malacca for his enemies. In 1870 Raja Mahdi seized Kuala Selangor, and proceeded to collect the revenues of that river-basin. The Malay Viceroy reported to the British Government that Mr. Bacon a Penang Eurasian (who fished also in the troubled waters of Perak) had been paid \$30,000 to assist Raja Mahdi with rice, muskets and gun powder. Pirates, rife everywhere in Malayan seas, now swarmed in the Malacca straits. In 1871 Chinese, alleged to have issued from Kuala Selangor, plundered a junk and murdered 34 persons, including women and children. *H.M.S. Rinaldo* and the Colonial steamer *Pluto* proceeded to Kuala Selangor to demand the arrest of the pirates. But a naval lieutenant tried to drag a Malay into his boat, which caused the Malays to act with "their usual treachery," whereupon the *Rinaldo* shelled the fort and smashed its *sena* trees and drove the garrison into the jungle. A fortnight later the Colonial Secretary, James Wheeler Woodford Birch, interviewed the Sultan who agreed that all the Malays concerned were rogues and renewed the powers of the Viceroy, whom the British favoured. His Highness' quiet ineffectual son, Raja Musa, once more occupied Kuala Selangor and drew the revenue from river-tolls but refused to defray the cost of administration and was deposed by the Viceroy. Again

Mahdi took Kuala Selangor and again was expelled by Tengku Kudin. There were now 12,000 Chinese miners at Klang and the output of tin was 3,000 pikuls a month, so that the blockading of estuaries to cut off his enemies' supplies caused the Viceroy to become unpopular with Malacca and Singapore merchants who had made advances against the delivery of ore.

Other Malay States were soon to join in the Selangor disturbances. Mahdi enlisted the aid of the *de jure* Bendahara of Pahang, who since his eviction by Wan Ahmad in 1863 had lived at Klang. As we have seen, the *de jure* Bendahara was related by marriage to Abu-Bakar Maharaja (ex-Temenggong) of Johor, and though Abu-Bakar ostensibly supported the British favourite the Viceroy, he was suspected by Mr. Read and other critics of covertly helping Mahdi: certainly he suggested the supersession of the Viceroy and let Mahdi escape from Johor. One of the two territorial chiefs of Sungai Ujong, the Dato' Bandar, also helped Mahdi's adherents.

In the midst of these alarums, on 21 August 1872, the Colonial government informed the Singapore Chamber of Commerce that "it is the policy of Her Majesty's Government not to interfere in the affairs of the Malay States unless where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories; and that, if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is impossible for Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property." Clearly the Viceroy had to look elsewhere than to Singapore for effective aid and he turned with the full approval of Governor Ord to Wan Ahmad, who was now indignant that his enemy but relative the *de jure* Bendahara having changed sides was now a prisoner in the hands of Raja Mahdi, and who was not disposed to tolerate the domination of a state on his western border by his rival the Maharaja of Johor. The outlook for the Viceroy at this moment was black. An Arab mercenary, Sayid Mashhor had cut off his Kuala Lumpur garrison consisting of two European officers van Hagen and Cavalieri and eighty sepoy:

attempting to retire they were ambushed and killed. Sayid Mashhor also captured Kuala Selangor and killed its garrison of one European and fifty-two sepoys. The Viceroy held only Klang, when Wan Ahmad sent 500 men by sea to Kuala Selangor and 2,000 over the Bentong pass. Although Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad, desiring only to cultivate his garden, sided with both parties, by the end of 1874 the Pahang forces had turned the scale and made the Viceroy master of the whole state. Peace, however, could not have prevailed, if the murder of eight British subjects from Malacca and a change in the policy of the Colonial Office had not led about this time to Selangor being brought under British protection. But that is a story for the next chapter.

Meanwhile in Perak the fratricidal tendencies of the royal family had spread to the 40,000 Chinese miners in Larut. The Si-Kuans of the great Ghi Hin Triad Society started to fight the Go-Kuans, who belonged to the Hai San and Toa-Pek-Kong societies, the last society having on its roll of membership most of the Pinang dealers in arms. Larut since 1850 had been governed first by a minor chief Long Ja'far and then by his son, Ngah Brahim, who drew a large revenue (\$200,000 a year) which they were not prepared to waste on police. Whether various deeds of gift from Perak Sultans had made these petty chiefs independent lords of the district or whether in accordance with the usual Malay law of land tenure they merely enjoyed the usufruct so long as they could govern effectually, remains a moot point: what is certain is that their method of governing was to side with the strongest law-breaker. But as among the weaker faction, the Si-Kuans, there were many British subjects, the British government backed the Si-Kuans' claim for damages and sent cruisers to blockade the coast until \$17,447.04 was paid. In 1872 an illicit love affair started a fresh fight, which the Si-Kuans won thanks to the exertions of professional Chinese fighters whom Ngah Brahim (since 1863 Orang Kaya, Mantri of Perak) had admitted because he understood that they would only handle Chinese miners, whereas the blackguards also attacked his small Malay police force. The Mantri hired junks to transport the Go-Kuan refugees to Pinang and then transferred his patronage to the victors. To a request of the vanquished for redress, the

Governor, Sir Harry Ord, replied that Larut lay outside his jurisdiction and he could not interfere. The life of one of the leading Si-Kuan miners was attempted at his Pinang residence. A red-faced Go-Kuan brought a bogus action for debt against the Mantri and got a writ issued to detain his steamer, while the Go-Kuans surprised their enemies in Larut. Hundreds perished in the fighting: 2,000 refugees, many of them wounded, found their way to Penang and the women captured were distributed between the victorious Go-Kuans and the Mantri's followers. Once more the Mantri sided with the winning faction. The Governor issued a public proclamation calling attention to sections 125 and 126 of the Penal Code. The Si-Kuans bought up junks and blockaded the Perak coast. The senior naval officer had to intervene and seized two junks, which put up no resistance. But junks were abandoned for war-canoes that could escape up creeks and rivers. The Go-Kuans at the mines were starved and the Si-Kuans had enemies on shore and enemies on the high seas. Piracy became rife from Kedah to the Dindings and there were clan-fights in the streets of Penang. In vain Colonel Anson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Pinang, tried to mediate. Angry with the Mantri because there was a limit beyond which he would not be fleeced, Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah, who claimed to be rightful Sultan of Perak, took the side of the Mantri's enemies, the Si-Kuans. The Si-Kuans wounded two young officers of *H.M.S. Midge* at the Larut estuary and tried to blow up the Mantri's house in Penang, wounding five persons and killing a policeman. Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah said the Si-Kuans had wounded the two officers in an encounter with the Mantri's piratical war-boats, but the *Midge* and the *Thalia* shelled the Si-Kuan stockades and carried off 'Abdu'llah to Penang. A few days before this Governor Ord recognized the Mantri as the lawful ruler of Larut independent of the Sultan, let him employ Captain Speedy of the Pinang Police for service in Larut and helped him to recruit sepoy and purchase arms. But while the Mantri and Captain Speedy could now hold the mines, they were not strong enough to suppress the piratical war-boats.

If Larut was distracted by Chinese riots, the rest of Perak was disturbed by rival Malay claimants to the throne. By the

Perak constitution the three highest state officers are in descending scale the Sultan, the Raja Muda (or Heir Apparent) and the Bendahara (or Prime Minister). Seven days after a ruler's death the Bendahara should invite the Raja Muda to attend the obsequies and be installed as Sultan. But when in 1871 Sultan 'Ali died, no yellow umbrella and no horse-boat invited Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah. At first the Bendahara took no action, though 'Abdu'llah's brother-in-law, the deceased's son, did send a messenger wearing one of his father's kerchiefs, a more polite intimation than any missive but still not formal. 'Abdu'llah feared to go upriver lest he might be attacked by another claimant, Raja Yusuf; and disgusted at his cowardice, his consort eloped with a Selangor raja. His civilised acceptance of his wife's dishonour made it harder still for 'Abdu'llah to face the chiefs in durbar. After 'Ali's body had remained unburied for a month the Bendahara Isma'il was duly and properly installed as Sultan and at once took the official scales of the customs office at Kuala Perak (one of the most important tax-collecting stations in the country) away from a relation of Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah and gave them to his own nominee. 'Abdu'llah's relations raided the new customs office and seized the scales, a course that must have led to war in Lower Perak if Sultan Isma'il had not been fully occupied with the Larut disturbances. Next year people like the Eurasian Bacon to whom 'Abdu'llah had granted large concessions began for their own ends to throw doubt on the validity of Isma'il's election, and Governor Ord sent a high Straits official (with a son of Munshi 'Abdu'llah as interpreter) to investigate on the spot who was the rightful ruler. In spite of the Mantri's warning that the election of Isma'il was perfectly valid, this official jumped to the conclusion that the Mantri owed Larut to a corrupt bargain to support Isma'il and that he wanted to obtain a precedent to break the line of succession in order later to usurp the throne himself. Without meeting Isma'il he stigmatised him as an impracticable Malay of the old school and advised the installation of that lover of European ways, 'Abdu'llah, which he was optimist enough to say "might be done very unobtrusively." Unlike Isma'il, 'Abdu'llah would not assist Raja Mahdi and Sayid Mashhor against Zia'u'd-din, the Kedah viceroy of Selangor. In short 'Abdu'llah's election might secure peace from

Kedah to Johor. On this the Governor suggested summoning all the Perak chiefs finally to decide who should be their ruler but the chiefs rightly declared that the matter was settled and refused to come. Isma'il was still the rightful ruler and 'Abdu'llah only a pretender, when Sir Harry Ord left the Straits and was succeeded by Sir Andrew Clarke, a change of Governors that happened to coincide with a change of policy on the part of the Colonial Office.

ii.

BRITISH INTERVENTION.

At the end of 1872 Her Majesty's government still refused to intervene in the affairs of the Malay States, as Malacca traders were informed when they petitioned about their losses from Selangor anarchy (p. 229). In June 1873 a London Company wrote to Downing Street that Mr. J. G. Davidson had a large tin concession in Selangor and would like to float a Company: would the British protect that State or allow the Company to keep an armed force? Lord Kimberley would do neither. But at this very time Governor Ord reported to Kimberley how 248 Straits Chinese merchants were complaining of Malay anarchy; and His Excellency added that, outside Johor, it was only in the States dependent on Siam that peace was preserved. Local feeling, official and unofficial, was strongly in favour of intervention. And in a despatch dated 20 September 1873 the Secretary of State abandoned the policy of inaction inherited from the East India Company:—

“ Her Majesty's Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States; but, looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Government.... Her Majesty's Government find it incumbent to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked.

“ I have to request that you will carefully ascertain, as far as you are able, the actual condition of affairs in each State and that you will report to me whether there are in your opinion any steps which can properly be taken by the

Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories. I should wish you, especially, to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the States. Such an appointment could, of course, only be made with the full consent of the native Government, and the expenses connected with it would have to be defrayed by the Government of the Straits Settlements."

Instructed as to the new policy Sir Andrew Clarke arrived in Singapore as Governor in November and with amazing celerity proceeded to carry out his orders. Within a year he had placed British advisers in Perak, Selangor and Sungai Ujong.

First of all Sir Andrew Clarke tackled Perak, apparently an easy problem. After his capture by the *Midge* Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah had been allowed by Colonel Anson, Lieutenant-Governor of Pinang, to sail to Singapore a discredited man, ready to agree to the residential system or to any system that would restore his fortunes. Mr. W. H. Read, an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, took him to the Governor and induced him to write a letter asking for a Resident at his Court. This was the opening Sir Andrew required. On 20 January 1874 he managed to persuade the Bendahara, the Temenggong and the Mantri of Larut together with the Lower Perak chiefs whose kinsman 'Abdu'llah was, to sign a treaty known from the place where it was concluded as the Pangkor treaty. 'Abdu'llah became Sultan and agreed to accept a British Resident. He was the rightful heir and was intelligent and Europeanized and to disallow his claim because he had failed to attend a funeral seemed to Victorian rationalists frivolous. In spite of the formal legality of his election Sultan Isma'il was deposed in his absence but was to be given a title and a pension of \$1,000 a month. The Mantri, in disgrace for his vacillating ineffective control of the Larut miners, suffered the eclipse of all his hopes and was retained in his office only because Sir Andrew thought it would make for peace. Used to European ways, he wanted a chair at the conference on the Governor's yacht like the Rajas present but was pushed down on the deck by Major McNair, the Colonial Engineer, to squat among the commoner chiefs. Isma'il

his nominee and friend had lost the Perak throne to 'Abdu'llah, the supporter of his Chinese enemies in Larut. The Mantri was to foot the Colony's bill for Larut disturbances which 'Abdu'llah had fostered. And he who had been given as good as a throne by Colonel Anson and Governor Ord was made by a new Governor in a hurry and unaware of that gift the salaried chief of a province subject to 'Abdu'llah. All the Perak chiefs objected to ceding more than the island of Pangkor to Great Britain but to please a Chinese creditor, 'Abdu'llah consented to cede the Dindings, a strip of the mainland too. The treaty was not the success it has sometimes been painted. No sooner had the new Governor left and 'Abdu'llah gone upstream to enjoy his sovereignty than the chiefs held meetings of protest and opined that the cession of Pangkor and the Dindings spelt the cession of Perak. In their eyes the one redeeming feature of the treaty was that the Resident could not meddle with Malay custom and they could continue to capture and enslave aborigines. The Mantri paid a lawyer a retaining fee of \$12,000 to put his case before the British parliament, a procedure never adopted because 'Abdu'llah fearful for his throne vetoed it. Naturally Sultan Isma'il was furious. Captain Speedy, who had been in the Mantri's service was appointed Assistant Resident in Larut, where peace was soon restored. All appointments in the Malay States were then temporary so that selection of officers lay with the Governor, and in November 1874 James Wheeler Woodford Birch, Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, arrived in Perak, chosen by Sir Andrew Clarke to be its first Resident because of his untiring energy, his long Ceylon experience and "his tact and judgment in dealing with natives."

The new Resident was confronted not only with the fratricidal quarrels of the Rajas but also with political and social conditions difficult for the most understanding and patient of administrators. Perak had a constitution on the old Malacca model, which even in that small port settlement had failed under stress of palace intrigue. There were four great court ministers: the Bendahara or Prime Minister, the Penghulu Bendahara or Treasurer, the Temenggong or Minister of War and Police and the Mantri or Secretary. Below these were eight others, two of them the Admiral

and the Port officer and all of them chiefs of provinces. Below the eight were sixteen, most of them heirs and assistants of the eight. And below the sixteen were in theory thirty-two more, a miscellaneous collection of minor headmen. Time had played havoc with this constitution. Originally the four great court offices had been held by descendants of the Bendaharas of old Malacca, those energetic builders of empire, who out of successful trade had risen to successful administration. But wars had caused the office of Perak's prime minister to fall into the hands of Kedah and Minangkabau invaders and Arab adventurers until finally nepotism had bestowed it on one of the royal family. The Treasury had fallen to a family of Arab Sayids. The Ministry of War had passed through various hands until it had become the perquisite of Bugis invaders. The office of Mantri after being held by Hadramaut Sayids of the house of Ahmad bin Esa al-Mohajir had become in the end the territorial chieftaincy of Larut. The older aristocracy survived only in the Eight and the Sixteen and had become provincial and independent, a baronial class whose members backed one or other of the perpetual pretenders to the Perak throne as locality and self-interest dictated. To districts where there was no territorial baron, royal messengers would carry the Sultan's creese and carry off girls to become attendants in a palace whose Hindu tradition demanded that its master like a Hindu god should be surrounded by odalisques dedicated to the service of love. Class distinctions were rigid. To strike a royal slave involved the penalty of death. Any one who enticed away a royal slave had to make good the chattel's value fourteen-fold: if the slave belonged to a Raja, seven-fold; if to a Mantri, five-fold; if to a Sayid, three-fold; if to a common person, two-fold: too poor to pay, the enticer was killed. There were several kinds of slave, the captured aborigine or prisoner of war, the purchased Batak or Nias or kafir slave, the Malay debt-bondsman. And the end of many was torture, starvation and death. "The loan of a slave was like the borrowing of a stick." On the discovery of the pregnancy of a female slave, her purchaser could return her as damaged goods but her child remained his property. "The desire to possess some particular person sometimes led to the invention of fictitious debts and people were liable with little hope of redress to be dragged from their

homes." Every peasant was liable to be summoned by some raja or chief for forced labour, for which he got no payment. Taxation was exorbitant and arbitrary. For at the mouth of every river and every tributary the local chief had a customs-station where duties were demanded. None but a Muslim had legal rights or could own land. "When you enter a byre, low" runs a Malay proverb, but Mr. Birch dashed into Perak's Augean stable, like an angry Victorian schoolmaster, confident that decision and firmness would soon clean it up. A central government was to collect all taxes and there was to be one high court judge who would sentence "unlawful" Malay tax-gatherers or, as he termed them, "blackmailers." The chiefs listened aghast to proposals that might have come from a high-handed "Dutch sailor" and concluded that Mr. Birch "had nothing to fill his own belly and had come to Perak to collect the revenue of others." Complacently Mr. Birch, the earnest rationalist school-master wrote his report to the headmaster at Singapore: "it concerns us little what were the old customs of the country, nor do I think they are worthy of any consideration." Before the end of 1874, 'Abdu'llah sent a secret message to his rival Isma'il, "I am now ascending the river, not by my own desire but by that of Mr. Birch. If he asks for the regalia or desires to instal me, do not consent. Should you consent to my installation as Sultan, Perak will be given over to the English; for my words have caused me to be much indebted to them.... Should I myself ask for the regalia in the presence of Mr. Birch, do not consent to give them up." 'Abdu'llah appointed three chiefs as his delegates to discuss administration but Mr. Birch refused to recognize them. The Malays sent a deputation to Singapore to entreat the Governor's sympathetic aid to prevent the Resident from interfering with religion and custom, from acting without consulting Sultan and chiefs, and from depriving them of their property, namely fugitive slaves and feudal dues. On the verge of retirement Sir Andrew Clarke merely rated the delegates instead of satisfying them that they would draw adequate political allowances in compensation for abolished perquisites. On 20 July 1874 'Abdu'llah convened a meeting of chiefs, where after talk of poison the majority favoured acceptance of an offer by a down-river chief, the Maharaja Lela, to stab the Resident. 'Abdu'llah

next conducted a *séance* to discover if Perak's guardian genies would remove the white oppressor. Still Mr. Birch smuggled fugitive slaves out of the country and was importunate to control its taxation. At his instigation the new Governor, Sir William Jervois, offered 'Abdu'llah the choice of having the throne taken from him and given to his enemy and relative, Raja Yusuf, or of authorizing the Resident to administer Perak in his royal name in return for an allowance of \$2,000 a month. 'Abdu'llah yielded but friendly Rajas advised the Resident to fetch troops before he posted proclamations substituting British for Malay feudal taxation. 'Abdu'llah sent a creese to the Maharaja Lela, a symbolic order to execute his promise. Near midnight on 1 November 1874 Mr. Birch accompanied by a small Sepoy guard moored his boat close by the Maharaja Lela's house on the Perak river. It was now three days since his assassins had been appointed. Unsuspecting he allowed his companion Mr. Abbott, a naval lieutenant, to cross the river at dawn to shoot snipe. The sepoys and boatmen went ashore to cook their rice. Mr. Birch who was recovering from a sprained ankle sat in his boat smoking a cigar. The Maharaja Lela having refused to meet the Resident sat in his open hall of audience waiting to learn if the white man would post proclamations which boded the end of feudal rights and feudal rule; he had ordered his men to tear them down and, if they were posted again, to run amuck and kill. The Resident directed his clerk, Mat Arshad, to stick the notices on the wooden walls of the Chinese shop-house ten yards away, and himself entered the floating bath-house to which his boat was tied. A sepoy sentry armed with a revolver guarded the door. Mat Arshad shouted to his master that the Malays were tearing down the proclamations, at which Mr. Birch called back to him to post them again. Mat Arshad set about the job, pushing one of the crowd aside. The Malays stabbed the elderly whiskered clerk and leaping on to the bath-house speared the Resident through the flimsy palm-leaf walls: as he lay half in the stream, one man Seputum hacked him with a sword; the body fell into the river and disappeared. The sentry jumped into the water without having fired a shot: no one had given the order! The Dato' Sagor stood a silent accomplice.

As so often in tragedy, the end was squalid butchery.

Guerilla warfare followed. Oppressed by the Rajas, the bulk of the Malay peasants had neither desire nor means to fight the English. All the murderers were hunted down. The Maharaja Lela and his accomplice the Sri Agar 'diraja (or To' Sagor) were hanged. Sultan Isma'il, innocent of breaking a treaty he had never signed, was removed for the good of his country to Johor. Treachery having made it inexpedient for him to retain his throne, 'Abdu'llah was banished to the Seychelles along with the Mantri and his own maternal relatives the Laksamana and the Shahbandar. The finding of Singapore's Executive Council was fair: "it must be admitted that provocation was given to the Sultan and his chiefs. The late Mr. Birch was a most zealous and conscientious officer. He was, however, much thwarted from the outset, and there is reason to believe that his manner may at times have been overbearing. It must also be admitted, in some instances he showed a want of respect for Malay custom. It was also injudicious to interfere with local taxes before the general scale of allowances had been fixed in lieu of them." Sir Frank Swettenham has written the kindest epitaph: "By the action which his death made necessary, the State of Perak gained in twelve months what ten years of 'advice' could hardly have accomplished," debt-slavery was abolished and the poor and oppressed, of whom James Wheeler Woodford Birch was ever the friend and champion, came under a government before which all men are free and all men are under the law equal.

The Governor's new broom next swept the pirate haunts of the Selangor coast. On 7 November 1873 a vessel registered at Malacca was sailing home from Langat with three Chinese passengers, a crew of six Malays from the Colony and a sum of \$2,000 in cash. At 2 p.m. it anchored at the estuary to await the night breeze; at 5 p.m. it was boarded by pirates disguised as fishermen, who proceeded to shoot down and stab all its occupants except one, who swam off in the dark to a Bugis trading vessel. This piracy and murders were perpetrated within hail of a fort occupied by the Sultan's third son, Raja Ya'akob, and, as it appeared, were done by his followers, and for his benefit. The nine murderers

were so indiscreet as to visit Malacca where they were arrested—one securing his release by turning “King’s evidence.” This was the worst of many sea episodes encouraged by Selangor chiefs and even by the Sultan who gave “passes” indiscriminately to gun-runners, whom the Viceroy had to seize in self-defence, thus becoming technically a pirate! On Christmas Day, 1873, Malay pirates disguised as Chinese boarded a Malacca *sēkochi*, stealing coconuts, poultry and weapons, but the crew jumped overboard and swam to safety. In January 1874 a boat belonging to Raja Mahmud attacked the lighthouse which Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Samad had allowed to be built at Cape Rachado!

So, at the beginning of February 1874 the new Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, took advantage of the appearance in Malayan waters of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Shadwell, Commander-in-chief of the China Station, to request him to assist by the presence of his squadron in negotiations with the Sultan of Selangor for the trial in that State of eight of the murderers of the Malacca subjects on 7 November 1873. It was feared that uncertainty as to the place of the crime, whether on the high sea or in Selangor waters, might lead to acquittal in a British court, and that punishment in British territory would have little deterrent effect in Selangor. So far from being a feeble worn-out opium-smoker, Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Samad proved to be “an elderly gentleman of 55 or 60 years of age, having his sense perfectly about him and quite able to manage his affairs if he were not indolent. A rather careless philosopher, who showed his character by saying ‘Piracy is the affair of the boys, my sons. I have nothing to do with it.’” His hoard of tin was said to be worth \$100,000. His Highness readily agreed to the trial of the murdering pirates by a court composed of the Viceroy, Dato’ Aru, the Penghulu Dagang and See Ah Keng, the Chinese headman at Langat, with the Colonial Engineer Major McNair and the Viceroy’s legal friend, Mr. J. G. Davidson, as commissioners. On the 15th February 1874 this court sitting in the stockade at Kuala Jugra condemned seven of the prisoners to be speared and creessed, the eighth being reprieved on account of his youth. It found no evidence to connect Raja Ya’akob with

the crime! The next morning at 11 o'clock the sentence was carried out with a creese sent overnight by the Sultan.

Next "upon the requisition of the Sultan" the stockades on both sides of the river were burnt down and the guns destroyed. The commissioners fixed the damage for the outrage committed on British subjects at \$5,000, which the Sultan at once paid in tin. In their report they remarked that all the Selangor Rajas and chiefs expressed a strong desire to have a British officer resident among them to advise and assist in the government of the country, and that they had heard Tengku Zia'u'd-din had applied for one. Already in a despatch dated 20 September 1873 Lord Kimberley had desired Sir Andrew Clarke "especially to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the states": His Lordship enclosed correspondence with Mr. Seymour Clarke to show that Tengku Zia'u'd-din desired help from Great Britain, or failing her, from some other European power in order to end the troubles in Selangor. But pending decision by the new Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, on 27 June 1874 the Governor was still limiting "intervention, as far as Selangor is concerned, to the cultivation of personal friendly relations with the Sultan and his chiefs, so as to render easy and acceptable that more active supervision which, sooner or later, must be exercised over them, being not alone requisite to secure and consolidate what has been already accomplished, but also imperatively necessary to guard against a relapse into old customs and practices." Immediate interference was desirable but Sir Andrew Clarke hesitated to initiate on his own part, preferring rather to see it, as he anticipated "the result of the free and unanimous choice of all the chiefs themselves." At a meeting of the Legislative Council on 15 September Sir Andrew Clarke announced that he had left at Langat a young civilian, Mr. (now Sir) Frank Swettenham to give informal advice and that the Sultan had written: "We are very much obliged to our friend for the officer whom our friend has chosen. He is very clever; he is also very clever in the customs of Malay government and he is very clever at gaining the hearts of Rajas with soft words, delicate and sweet, so that all men rejoice in him as in the perfume of an opened flower." Nor did the royal gardener limit his satisfaction

to compliments: unsolicited, he proffered \$1,000 a month in payment of Mr. Swettenham's salary and expenses. On 30 December the Governor informed the Earl of Carnarvon, that though entirely satisfied with Mr. Swettenham, he had found the appointment of a Resident necessary, in order to restore confidence and attract capital. For this office he had chosen a Writer to the Signet, Mr. J. G. Davidson, who for three years had been the Viceroy's unofficial adviser, frequently accompanying him in the field and assisting him very freely with funds. Mr. Davidson had transferred his business interests in Selangor to a mercantile house and enjoyed the confidence of Europeans and Malays. Mr. Swettenham, a young and energetic officer of very high promise and great tact, was to remain at Langat as Assistant Resident.

Henceforth the *pax Britannica* brought contentment and prosperity to Selangor and gave its people footballs in place of creese and cannon.

1874 was an eventful year. Having negotiated the Pangkor Treaty on 20 January and dealt with the Langat outrage in February, Sir Andrew Clarke turned to Negri Sembilan and persuaded the Dato' Klana Putra of Sungai Ujong and the Dato' Muda of Linggi to sign on 21 April a document binding themselves (like the Chinese faction-leaders of Larut) in a penal sum of \$50,000 to be paid to Queen Victoria unless they kept the Linggi river free of illegal tax-gatherers, administered their territory on principles of justice and equity and placed Sempang, the storm-centre of the river pother, under the control of the British government. Four months later, the Dato' Klana Putra promised to build roads and a gaol and asked for a British Resident. On Sunday 10 October a flagstaff "as large as a schooner's main-mast" was erected beside the Klana's house at Ampangan and next day the British flag was hoisted to a salute of 21 guns: a pot of incense was burnt and an old Haji knelt and recited prayer. To the Klana's rival, an old fellow of eighty who hitherto had wrung taxes as he pleased out of the 10,000 Chinese miners of Sungai Ujong, this Union Jack and the British Superintendent were like a red rag to a bull. The old gentleman held the lucrative office of Shahbandar (or Bandar for short), in origin port officer to the Malay Sultans

of Malacca and Johor; and he now enlisted Raja Mahmud, a famous Selangor warrior and started fighting the Dato' Klana Putra. The Klana's Malays levanted as soon as Raja Mahmud took the field, and the rapid defeat of the Dato' Bandar was due to the Klana's Arab mercenaries, his two Somali negroes armed with spear and shield, and less than two hundred British soldiers and sailors. After this victory, the Klana was attacked by Tengku Antah, who had been recognised as Yam-tuan of Sri Menanti and the little states of Ulu Muar but for the office of Yam-tuan Besar of Negri Sembilan had a rival in Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, the Klana's nominee. The British supported their friend, the Dato' Klana. There was a little guerilla skirmishing. A British officer won the V.C. for leaping over a stockade on a Friday (one of the Malays' many days of rest) and driving a few Malays away from their rice-pots. The Governor informed Downing Street that the territorial chiefs of Rembau, Johol and Sungai Ujong wanted no more Yam-tuans of Negri Sembilan. He proposed that the Klana's man, Ahmad Tunggal, be given the old Portuguese and Dutch title of "Captain" of *his rival's stronghold*, Sri Menanti and Ulu Muar, with a British Agent as his adviser! Fortunately Lord Carnarvon disapproved: Her Majesty's government were "unwilling to allow any further extension of the system of Residents until they shall have had further experience of the working of those already established"—it was not yet a year since Mr. Birch had been killed. Before the end of 1876 Tengku Antah "proud and truculent-looking" but "dignified and courteous" surrendered to Maharaja (formerly Temenggong) Abu-Bakar of Johor and having brought his supporters to Government House was recognized as Yamtuan not of Negri Sembilan but of Sri Menanti and the adjacent tiny states, Johol, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Inas. As the British were averse to becoming further involved in the hinterland of Malacca, Maharaja Abu-Bakar now endeavoured to assert the ancient Johor lordship over Negri Sembilan, sent a Johor Malay as a sort of Resident to Sri Menanti and got the Undang of Rembau and the Yam-tuan Muda of Jelebu to sign treaties agreeing to refer any disputes for his arbitration. But just as he was to fail to get the thrones of Perak and Pahang, so too the Maharaja was to be disappointed here. The Undang

of Rembau and the Yam-tuan of Jelebu had omitted to obtain the assent of their tribal headmen, whose unanimity under the Minangkabau constitution must be like a single spout of water gushing out of a bamboo vessel. So in 1883 the Rembau tribes deposed their offending chief and chose the Governor of the Straits Settlements as their arbiter in place of the Maharaja of Johor. The Jelebu tribes tried to "uproot" 'Abdu'llah, their Yamtuan Muda, but he retaliated by depopulating miles of homesteads and rice-fields by perpetual fighting. However in 1884 he died and in June 1885 at the request of the Malays the first British Collector arrived in Jelebu and the Penghulu Mandulika, survivor of the ancient Malacca constitution, asked for the abolition of the office of Yamtuan Muda, which the Bugis had foisted on that constitution. The British unaware of these historical data, yet for practical reasons decided to elect none of the three rival claimants but to comply with the Penghulu's request. In September 1886 the Penghulu Mandulika, Sayid 'Ali bin Zin al-Jafri, together with his lesser chiefs signed a treaty surrendering the conduct of Jelebu's foreign affairs to the British and the collection of royalty on that

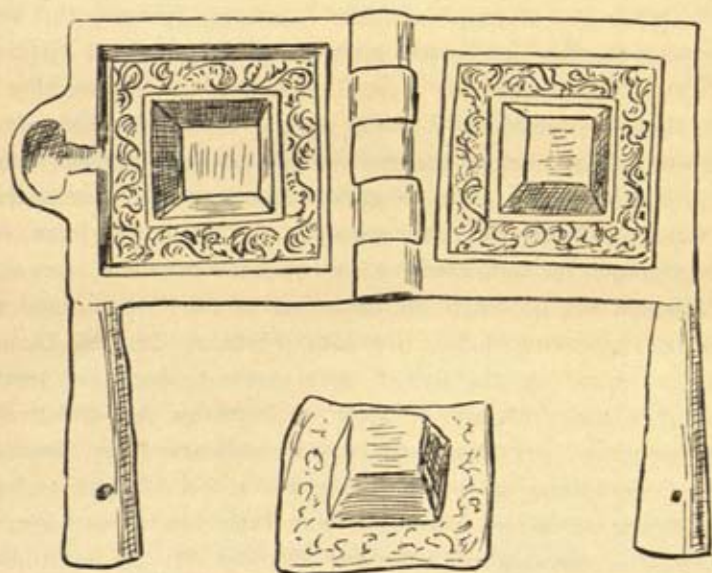


Fig. 20. *Pahang tin hat-money and mould, ca. 1850.*

tin which had attracted miners there from prehistoric times, as well as the collection of other revenue and the alienation of land and civil and criminal jurisdiction to the British Collector, of whose continued assistance they asked to be assured. In 1887 the Rembau chiefs signed another treaty, leaving all revenue matters and certain civil and criminal jurisdiction to an officer appointed by the Governor of the Straits Settlements: one-third of the revenue was to be paid to the Penghulu in Council for the benefit of himself and other chiefs entitled as descendants of the original Malacca settlers to participate.

Meanwhile Pahang had not only got mixed up in the Selangor disturbances but also in a Jelebu boundary dispute. After the Selangor wars Bendahara Ahmad had become reconciled with Abu-Bakar of Johor and at his suggestion (after the death of the last Lingga Sultan of direct male descent in 1883) assumed the title of Sultan of Pahang, seeing that the Dutch and English had split the old Johor empire so that allegiance to its Sultan at Lingga had long been impracticable and nebulous. In the same year Ahmad quarrelled with his brother Tun (or Engku) Mansur whom in a rash moment he had designated as his successor to the exclusion of his own son Mahmud. Engku Mansur tried to invade Pahang through Selangor but the Governor intervened. In 1885 Mr. Frank Swettenham crossed from Perak to Ulu Lipis to try to get the Sultan to make friends with his brother and a treaty with the British and to accept the proposed Jelebu boundary. On return Swettenham recommended the appointment of an Agent to the Straits Settlements at Pekan, capital of Pahang. Next year the Governor visited Pahang and tried in vain to effect a treaty. In 1887 Hugh Clifford went to Pekan *via* Slim in Perak. Ahmad had given out huge tracts in Lipis to Europeans, Arabs, Chinese and Malay miners without regard to the local territorial chiefs or the small Chinese who had spent \$30,000 on prospecting or the small Malays whose gold mines were taken without compensation and whose villages might follow. Temerloh had been without a chief for a decade, because no one could pay the Bendahara-Sultan \$1,000 for the title, and meanwhile the rapacity of lesser headmen had depopulated the district. Everywhere were oppression, heavy taxes,

monopolies and perquisites. Clifford pressed for a treaty on the ground of the disorders, the influx of Europeans and the difficulty of helping Pahang without a treaty in case of invasion. The Dato' Mantri or Prime Minister of Johor came and on 10 April 1887 the Sultan asked for a treaty, though secretly Abu-Bakar (now Sultan) of Johor seems to have sent Ahmad a copy of his own treaty and advised him to keep the alienation of land and the administration of justice to Pahang subjects in his own hands. On 8 October a treaty was signed between the Governor of the Straits Settlements and Raja Ahmad, Yang di-pertuan of Pahang. It stipulated for joint defence of their respective territories against external attack. It recognized Ahmad's adoption of the title of Sultan. And the new Sultan agreed never to make any engagement with any foreign state, but to provide a free site for the residence of a British Agent in Pahang. Hugh Clifford became Agent and his presence at Pekan stopped cruelty but, when he had to leave on a visit to Singapore, two women were tortured and two Sakai boys ducked and so severely beaten on suspicion of stealing the gold mounting of a creese that one of them died. Sultan Ahmad agreed that Clifford should draw up a code, based on English Muslim and Malay customary law, establish courts and give the Pahang chiefs legal powers according to their rank. Ahmad appeared anxious for reform, though he added a section for the punishment of harbourers of runaway slaves. In the end habit and surroundings were too strong for him. He granted a concession of 2,000 square miles of coastal territory. A Malay was fined \$32 because his wife broke some monopoly by making oil for her own use out of four coconuts! In the new courts the Malay judges dispensed with witnesses and fined without trial, while the chief justice confiscated the house land and goods of a Malay litigant for wounding and seducing a woman twenty years ago, a woman long since the litigant's wife. In February 1888 a Chinese British subject, Go Hin, was stabbed outside the palace and, as no one would dare such an act of *lese-majesté*, clearly the stabbing was by the Sultan's orders, but the Malay chief justice ascribed the deed to the devil and a reward of \$100 was offered for information as to the cause of the untoward occurrence, whether it was due to man, djin or Shaitan! The Governor demanded that Ahmad

should pay compensation or receive a British Resident. On 8 August 1888 Sultan Ahmad Mu'azzam Shah wrote to the Governor—"We have already acknowledged our responsibility for the murder of Go Hin, a British subject. We hope that no more will be said about this matter, and that Her Majesty the Queen will be satisfied with our expression of regret." And he asked for a British Resident.

The four Malay countries that from 1895 were to become the Federated Malay States, namely Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, were now under the shelter of the Union Jack. Only once has that protecting flag failed to keep the King's peace in those four States. In Pahang the first Resident was confronted with the same difficulties that had undone Mr. Birch in Perak. There were those "illegal" tax-gatherers the numerous local chiefs; there were debt-slavery, forced labour and that legacy of Hindu godhead, the *droit du seigneur*. As in Perak, so in Pahang, the substitution of political allowances for ancient rights caused great heart-burning, the chiefs grumbling both at the amounts allotted and at the accidental omission of certain of their number from the list of political allowances. The Sultan's ex-dogboy, Bahman, chief of Semantan and a hero of the former Pahang war and of the Selangor wars, flouted the government by continuing to collect taxes, had his title taken away by the Sultan, collected a few followers, butchered three Sikhs and captured a police-station. Rumour whispered that the Sultan, who had taken the field with 1,000 men, would follow his chiefs' entreaty to change sides and expel the British. Rebellion spread. There were only 300 police in the State but warships arrived from Singapore, while from there and Perak came more Sikh police. The cool courage of Hugh Clifford saved Kuala Lipis. The rebels scattered and, beside the task then before the 500 military police, looking for a needle in a bundle of hay would have been a pleasant recreation: for a whole month Bahman with his sixty shot-guns and his women and children lay encamped under their noses in the dense Pahang jungle. In this "war" the total casualties, excluding rebels dying from starvation in the forest, were 40 killed and 30 wounded. A general amnesty was proclaimed and even Bahman was promised his life. But Bahman had had experience of the word of Malay

rulers and put more trust in a Trengganu Sayid, who promised him success and invulnerability in a holy war. Accordingly in June 1894 he invaded Pahang and descending the Tembeling captured the stockade at its mouth, when bleeding from thirty wounds a Sikh, Ram Singh, escaped in a dug-out to warn the Malay chiefs downstream. The Malay chiefs were tired of fighting and prepared to resist their rebel brother. Again military police came from the Colony, Perak and Selangor. The political officer moving through dense undergrowth was shot fatally from behind, whereupon, according to the story, the Colonel of the Sikh Guides, excitable and frank as a hero from the Iliad, mopped his brow and cried, "Good heavens! Poor Wise shot! Open a bottle of beer." Forty rebels fell. In vain Hugh Clifford pursued the rest into Trengganu. Siamese Commissioners co-operated with Clifford in territory then under the Lord of the White Elephant, and at the end of 1895 Bahman and his few surviving followers were captured and removed to Bangkok. The last "war" in Malaya was over.

By the Bangkok treaty of 1909 Siam transferred to Great Britain all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration and control over Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis in return for a modification of British extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam. The four new States accepted British protection without demur in spite of the fact that over Trengganu Siamese suzerainty had been nebulous.

As early as 1885 a treaty had been made with Johor, recognising the Maharaja's change of style to Sultan and promising protection from external attack, while the Sultan agreed to provide a residence for a British Agent should the Governor desire to appoint one. In 1914 Abu-Bakar's son, Sultan Ibrahim, asked for a General Adviser and signed a treaty accepting such an officer "whose advice must be asked for and acted upon on all matters affecting the general administration of the country and on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom."

From the borders of Siam down to the southernmost point of Asia all the Malay States had accepted British protection and British advice in the conduct of their tangled affairs.



Sultan Abu-Bakar, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., of Johor.

iii.

ADMINISTRATION.

The early Residents were a motley crowd, one a naval Captain, one a Singapore lawyer, one a botanist by profession. The greatest of them all, (Sir) Hugh Low, the botanist, by happy coincidence had the same surname as Perak's first British saviour, and even though the King's representative in Singapore now had the bitter Perak lesson for his guidance, the wiser policy of Singapore cannot rob Low of the credit for bringing order out of Perak's chaos. The gist of the agreement with each of the Malay States was that the advice of a British Resident had to be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom. Yet left almost single-handed to introduce light to people who sat in feudal ignorance of modern government, the Residents were warned that they were advisers and not rulers and must not meddle in the minor details of administration. The position was delicate and impossible. But for Low it was natural to play the rôle not of Sultan's dictator but of Sultan's friend and his personality appealed to the Malay.

Low was confronted with all the revenue-difficulties of Birch, with a heavy war debt, with the need of replacing military forces by a costly constabulary and with a discontented population under many turbulent leaders. His position seemed almost hopeless. He recognized that any attempt to govern a people by overawing them was unsound on financial grounds if on no others. He reduced the cost of the police by giving police duties to native headmen and relieving many villages of their police-stations. He settled the question of the feudal revenues of the chiefs by making them local headmen and giving them a substantial percentage of all Government dues collected by them in their districts. He took the views of the people before appointing those headmen. He secured a very useful addition to the revenue by substituting a definite land-tax for the indefinite right possessed by the State to the forced labour of its people. He had the satisfaction of seeing the Perak debt paid off in a few years and the abolition of debt-slavery by the end of 1883. All revenue was collected, all appointments were made and all land was alienated in the Sultan's name. The Sultan

was President of a State Council, which joined the functions of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Colony. On it sat the Resident, the major Malay chiefs and those former victims of Malay oppression, representative Chinese. As State Judge the Resident sat generally with Malay assessors. Every European district officer had Malay headmen to help him in the administration of justice, in alienating land and in collecting revenue.

Most of these early British officers were recruited locally, several of them ex-planters, another a sailor, a few of them members of the Colony's civil service. "The Perak State Council" writes Swettenham, "proved such a success that similar Councils were instituted in each of the States, and the procedure in all is identical." Every Resident submitted an annual report, an annual budget and a monthly journal to Singapore. Yet want of roads and railways made supervision by the Governor ineffective to secure that uniformity of administration necessary especially for the financial development of the States. The Secretary of State, therefore, agreed to the federation of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang under a Resident-General, stipulating that while the Governor was henceforth to be styled High Commissioner for the Malay States, his powers and those of the four Residents should remain intact. The new federation was to have a common Civil Service and an advisory Durbar *with no legislative or financial powers*. But the treaty constituting it in 1895 engaged that the Rulers should follow the advice not of the High Commissioner or of the Residents but of a Resident-General who had no Executive Council to control or guide him! Further it contained a clause that the Rulers concerned would give those "States in the federation which require it such assistance in men, money or other respects as the British government may advise," from which clause there developed a provision in the Agreement for the Constitution of a Federal Council, concluded in 1909, that "The Draft Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure of each State shall be considered by the Federal Council, but shall immediately on publication be communicated to the State Councils." Federal became the Railways, and the Departments of Agriculture, Education, Forestry, Labour, Survey, Public Works and Medical

Service, all of which now have joint heads securing one system for Colony and Federation. Uniformity has been the order of the day.

Although the housing of four families under one roof is common in primitive Malaysian tribes, the new structure did not escape criticism. While accepting it, Sultan Idris of Perak remarked that he had never heard of a ship having two captains. By 1909 the then Governor, Sir John Anderson, found that "the Resident-General, instead of being the mouthpiece of the High Commissioner, and the mouthpiece of the Residents to the High Commissioner, more or less combined the duties of both, subject, of course, to the control of the High Commissioner, and at the same time he had to such a very large extent power to overrule the Residents that he became practically the final authority. . . ., except when an appeal was made to the High Commissioner." To mark the constitutional position of the office, its title was changed to Chief Secretary—a change which oddly enough every race in the States concerned disliked heartily as derogatory to the gilded juvenescence of the Federation and to the dignity of its component States and as marking the enchainment of the Federation in "the fetters of Singapore!" To take the place of the Colony's Executive Council Sir John Anderson arranged for regular meetings between the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary and the Residents, while to take the place of State Councils whose financial and legislative powers had been usurped by the Resident-General in the sacred name of uniformity, he instituted a Federal Council to meet once a year and have absolute control of finance and legislation. The President of this Council was (and is) the High Commissioner, or in his absence the Chief Secretary; its original members were the four Rulers, the Residents and four unofficial members. The transfer of financial and legislative powers to this body left on the agenda of the State Councils only matters of the Muslim religion, the consideration of death sentences and the banishment of alien criminals! A wise sense of statesmanship and of their own dignity kept the Rulers mute on the new Council. The Residents were mute in the presence of the Chief Secretary and the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner followed the

discreet practice of Colonial Governors in leaving debate to his second-in-command. The spokesmen were a Chief Secretary voicing the common interests of federal administration and the Unofficials voicing the common interests of tin and rubber. Sir Lawrence Guillemard, the next Governor after Anderson to come from the Home Civil Service, noted these points. He compared the trivial duties of the State Councils within the Federation with the power and dignity of the Councils of the Unfederated States. He remarked how in the new States "the British Advisers had to deal with a different type of Ruler from the type of fifty years ago, and they set about their task in a different way. They have never attempted to be anything except Advisers." They guided the new States "along lines in no wise bureaucratic and for the benefit primarily of the Malays." Between them and the High Commissioner was no senior officer with executive powers. Sir Lawrence removed the Rulers from the contentious atmosphere of the Federal Council and substituted in their place an unofficial Malay member from each State, who could speak freely and join in debate. He increased the number of unofficial members to cover the racial interests of the community. And so that the Chief Secretary should not have to make vague and bureaucratic pronouncements on all branches of public policy, he gave seats to the heads of big departments in whose work and expenditure the public were interested, officers who could be heckled in debate and would have to explain and defend their actions. On the financial side, he transferred from Federal to State control provision for Malay political allowances and pensions, for the maintenance of the State Secretariat, district offices and magistrates' courts. And he mooted the extension of the legislative powers of State Councils. Later developments in devolution are too recent and too inchoate for history to discuss or describe.

Compared with the Federation in its infancy the new States have enjoyed infinite advantages. To link them with the roads and railways of the rest of Malaya was the work of a few years. They had the laws of the Colony and Federation to copy. They had at their call trained officers with local experience, not only

civil servants proper but engineers, doctors, schoolmasters, surveyors, foresters and agriculturists. And Johor and Kedah swept into prosperity on the crest of a rubber boom that enabled them to pay for their rapid development.

XII

CONCLUSION.

A whole history might be written on the recent trade of the various political units of Malaya, the Straits Settlements, the Federated and Unfederated Malay States. In 1901 the revenue of the Straits Settlements was about £700,000; by 1911 it had grown to £1,331,075; in 1929, a peak year, it was £6,403,634, and even in 1933 it amounted to £3,684,933. Again. In 1897 the revenue of the Federated Malay States was £825,000 and in 1920 it was £8,432,333; or, whereas in 1897 it was 30 shillings a head of the population, in 1920 it was £6.10. In 1927, a peak year, the revenue of the federation was £12,297,187 and though in the slump of 1933 it fell to just over £5½ millions, even 1934 saw an appreciable rise. Of the Unfederated States, Johore the wealthiest, has no public debt and an estimated surplus at the end of 1934 of nearly five million pounds sterling. So much for tin and rubber. But what has been the effect of European influence on the races of the Peninsula?

Except for a century-old Catholic mission to the aborigines behind Malacca and more recent Methodist attentions to the Sakai, there has been no direct attempt to influence those *silvicolae et exsules vitae*, the aborigines of Malaya. His charms show that centuries ago the Proto-Malay borrowed Hindu demonology from the civilised Malay. In the less inaccessible spots many aborigines have more recently embraced Islam and send their children to Malay schools; a few years ago a tribe of Proto-Malays, summoned to exhibit their skill on the blow-pipe to an Undersecretary of State, arrived early from their Malay villages in Ford cars and left their European khaki and thermos flasks in charge of the drivers, as they vanished in pristine nudity into the forest depths! In his taste for European novelties, his abandonment of animism for Islam and his slow belief in European medicine the aborigine nearest to roads follows his closest affinity, the jungle Malay of the up-country hamlet, and following him he does not travel too fast.

A political system, art, science and literature may be taken to be the essential attributes of civilisation, and even in 1511



Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., of Perak.

when the Portuguese took Malacca the Malay had them all. A social sense, arising out of tribal solidarity, has always distinguished him from the Chinese, who giving up to the family what was meant for the state is a strong individualist. Accordingly, even before the Hindu period the Malay had a system of government by village gaffers and tribal chiefs, while during that period he learned to combine a respect for the divine right of kings with an ineradicable manly independence and to accept a compromise between absolute monarchy and rule by elders. Old Malacca had in theory a system of government by the divine king, advised by a cabinet of ministers, a prime minister and commander-in-chief, a minister for police and customs, a treasurer, a court chamberlain, an admiral and so on. As for art, the early Malay colonies on the Peninsula were too small and Malacca too late to develop the fine Buddhist and Hindu art of their kinsmen in Palembang and Java, and what art they may have had time Islam and the Portuguese destroyed, leaving only patterns of fabrics copied from Indian models and some metal-work more chaste in design than most Indian pieces. The Malay has clung tenaciously until lately to his science, the science of Europe in the Middle Ages: that science was magic, derived mostly from Hindu sources and transformed later by Islam and blessed as part of its theological system as formerly it had been part of Hinduism. For literature the Malay had as early as the sixteenth century translated not only old Javanese romances, and the Mahabharata and the Ramayana but also the Persian "Tales of a Parrot" and the Muslim romances of Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiah and the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Indifferent to the advent of white traders he went on to borrow from the Persian the tale of Alexander the Great, to collect from the Deccan scores of Indian romances and to import innumerable works of Islamic theology until today the catalogues of Malay manuscripts at Leiden and Batavia alone fill over 1,200 printed pages, not one in a thousand of the works showing European influence. Finally the Portuguese found the Malay with systems of law, the matriarchal law of tribal responsibility enshrined in the sayings of the Minangkabaus behind Malacca and the patriarchal law embodied in works like the Malacca

Code, while by 1650 Kedah had elaborated port laws resembling closely those of the Moguls recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*.

The Portuguese regarded all Muslims as enemies of Christ and themselves, and even a St. Xavier would not seek to influence other than his Catholic flock and possible converts to that flock, which no Muslim Malays ever were. About these bigoted and relentless "white Bengalis" the Malays can have admired nothing except their courage in war and their material civilisation; and Portuguese influence is in fact shown in the Portuguese loanwords in Malay, namely the words for *priest, torture, velvet, pump, fork, table, bench, pin, bullet, ribbon, lace, gold-leaf, shirt, gown, towel, auction*. Dutch influence depended entirely on a trading company's stock-in-trade, on Dutch orderliness and on the example of cleanliness of the traders' houses, while actually the monopoly system more effective than any Eastern system and its Portuguese predecessor, caused a decline in Malay wealth and therefore in Malay civilisation and promoted that anarchy which obtained in the Malay States before British intervention.

Not till the time of Stamford Raffles was European policy directed to any end but commerce. Slavery still existed. The world was divided into Christian and infidel. Individuals there must have been, Dutch and English, as there are today, who liked the Oriental and were liked in turn. As early as 1681 the Dutch complained of the great loss English private trade caused their Company "especially as the English are esteemed for their natural character and their large purchases." But the main secret of English popularity was that making a virtue of necessity the Englishman was a free-trader and breaker of the Dutch monopoly. As races, both the Dutch and the British lack the exceptionally fine courtesy of the Malay though the much criticized English reserve has its appeal for the Malay and the Chinese as a form of good manners. While the white man sometimes regards the Asiatic as tricky and evasive, the Asiatic sometimes finds in the white man the same trait. Witness the old Penang scandal! At times the European adherence to principles instead to persons was, as it still is, a cause of misunderstanding. Again, European liking for alcohol and unclean foods offends Muslim taste and to this

day is considered responsible for the strong odour of a European in the tropics (for every race has its own smell), though the British campaign against yaws and insect-infested hair and decayed teeth has now convinced the Malay of the superiority of British hygiene. Accustomed from immemorial time to trade with foreigners, he has not, however, been swept off his feet by contact with Europeans any more than he was by Hindus and Chinese at the beginning of the Christian era. Even today, when European science has upset his old belief that his is a very pure race related somehow to the Arab and tells him that his very mixed ancestors came from Yunnan, the Malay, largely owing to his religion, shows no tendency at all to lose his identity and become a parody of the European. Even the heroines of the cinema have seduced him to nothing worse than writing chaste love-letters to Malay school-girls; and he has discovered that the cinema world is no more a real world than the world of the Malay opera or Chinese play. A higher standard of education and living has postponed the age for marriage. Improved methods of agriculture have lightened the Malay's toil and bettered his food. The Malay population continues to increase, and better food and games have increased the percentage of youths suitable for the regiments and the police.

In 1931 there were 1,709,392 Chinese out of Malaya's total population of 4,385,346. For ages they have traded with the Peninsula, their only interest commerce. In times of anarchy, as when Sri Vijaya broke up, and centuries later when the Malay States were in the melting pot of civil war, the individual Chinese merchant has tried to make something out of the turmoil by financing some one of the chiefs stirring the cauldron in return for his promise of limitless concessions of land in the event of victory. But before the advent of the British, the Chinese unlike the Malay did nothing to colonize Malaya and had no political status, the only settlers being a few in Malacca, where in days before Islam was strong they took local women and started the Baba class, later looking to Babas, Javanese and Balinese to be the mothers of their children. British protection caused Chinese to pour into Malaya to become labourers on mines and rubber estates, fishermen and domestic servants, and in the second and

later generations merchants and professional men. The wealth of the community is great and without Chinese brains and energy Malaya could not have developed as it has. This has been recognized by giving the Chinese representation on Legislative and State Councils, while quite recently one Chinese has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Colony.

Indians have visited Malaya ever since the Hindu period. In the XVIIIth century we find a Sultan of Perak giving a title to a Tamil who had one wife in Perak and another in India and was engaged in the elephant trade. Down to 1873 Singapore, Malacca and Penang were "the Sydneys of India," being convict stations first under the East India Company and then under the Government of India. In 1857 there were 2,139 of these convicts in the Singapore gaol. Especially in Penang they merged in the local population. Later still Indian labour has been encouraged to immigrate for work on roads, railways and estates. Tamils are far more numerous than the rest of the natives of India taken together, and nowadays many settle in the Peninsula permanently as doctors, lawyers, merchants and clerks.

The population of Singapore has been said to consist of a greater number of races than any place except Cape Town. All live in a remarkable atmosphere of good-will, mixing socially as far as prejudices and community of interests encourage mixing; for it has to be remembered that even among men of the same race there are "imperfect sympathies" and a soldier tends to mix with soldiers, clergy with clergy, a merchant with other merchants and so on.

The British have not given Malaya a new religion. Nor have they given it a new art, which is no cause for wonder seeing that for a hundred years they have had none to give and that in place of temples they have built counting-houses. As I have written elsewhere "a counting-house is no more the Sanctuary of the Good than it is of the Beautiful. However a counting-house must be secure and that has given countries under our suzerainty the *pax Britannica*. Again the merchant, a conqueror and no linguist, has wanted clerks who knew English, and this has imported western

education. Other items to our credit are certain decent ideas which the merchant has held about all his customers being free and equal in the eyes of the law, for these ideas have led to practical altruism. Finally, it is idle to keep a ledger unless one can recover one's debts, and this has brought the greatest boon of all; tampering with scales is a fine art in an Eastern bazaar, but the scales of British justice, despite its *chinoiseries*, are held in hands incorruptible." British civilisation in Malaya has that best of all tributes, the keenly critical appreciation of races with ancient civilisations of their own.

A

SULTANS OF MALACCA, ANCIENT PAHANG, ANCIENT JOHOR AND MODERN PERAK.

PARAMESWARA founded Malacca; d. ca. 1414.

MUHAMMAD ISKANDAR SHAH, d. 1424.

SRI MAHARAJA, d. 1444.

m. (a) Princess of Rokan, (b) d. of a Tamil merchant from Pasai.

R. Kasim, S. MUZAFFAR SHAH*, d. ca. 1456.

SRI PARAMESWARA
DEWA SHAH;
killed ca. 1446.

R. 'Abdu'llah, S. MANSUR SHAH*

R. Ahmad, first
S. of Pahang
d. 1475.R. Muhammad,
second
S. of PahangRulers of
Pahang until
ca. 1635.

R. Husain

S. 'ALA'U'D-DIN RIAYAT SHAH* d. 1488.

S. MAHMUD* of Malacca,
Johor, Riau and Kampar d. 1530.S. Muzaffar Shah,
founder of the
Perak dynasty.

S. 'ALA'U'D-DIN SHAH* d. 1564 at Aceh.

Emperors of Johor
down to 1699.

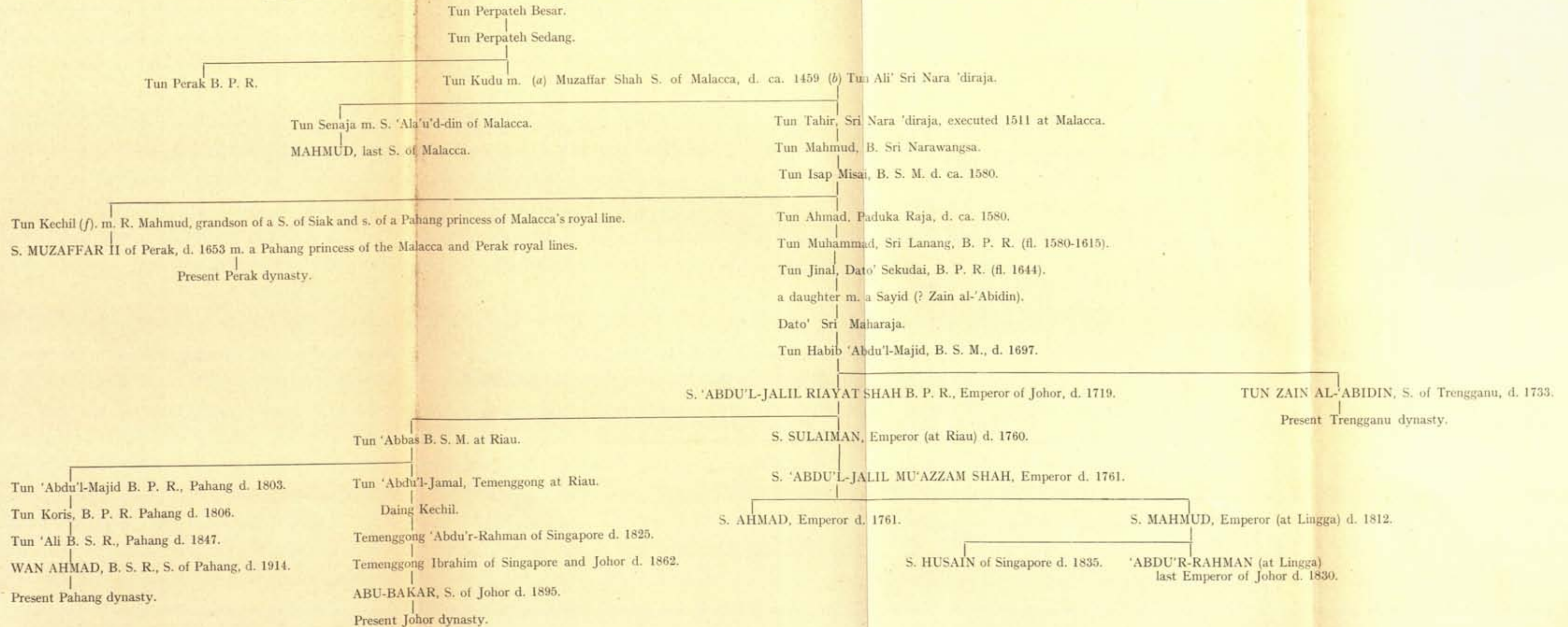
(1) The rulers of Malacca and its successor, the Johor empire, are denoted by capitals. S. = Sultan. R. = Raja.

(2) * = Sons of ladies of the Bendahara family.

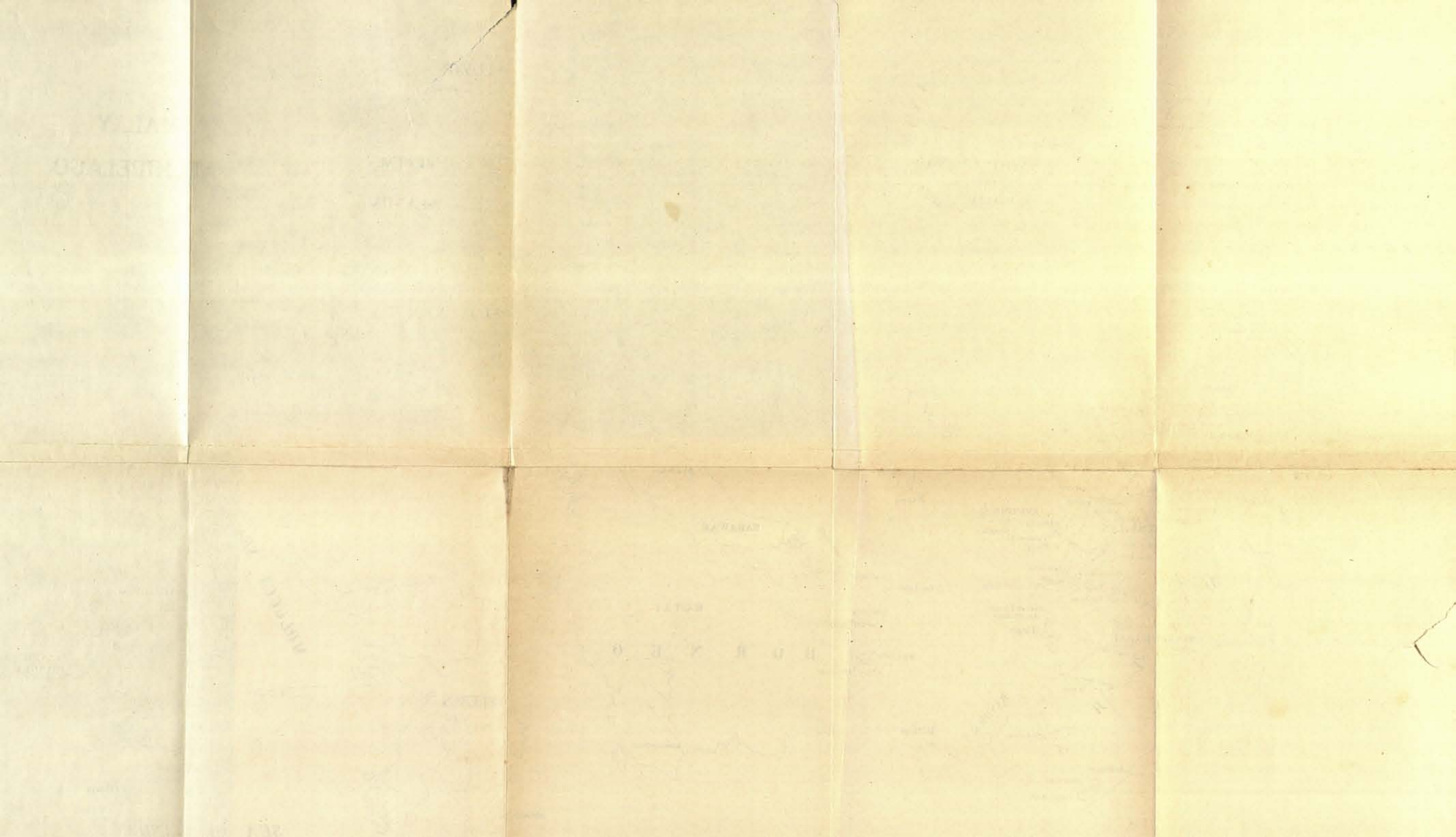
(3) For the genealogies of Johor and Perak see my histories of those States; for the Pahang tree see the forthcoming history of Pahang by Mr. Linehan. The great-grandfather of the present Sultan of Perak was a Lingga Raja (married to a lady of the Malacca line), so that on the male side the Perak Sultans must now be descended from the Bendahara-Sultans of Johor, who ruled from Lingga.

B

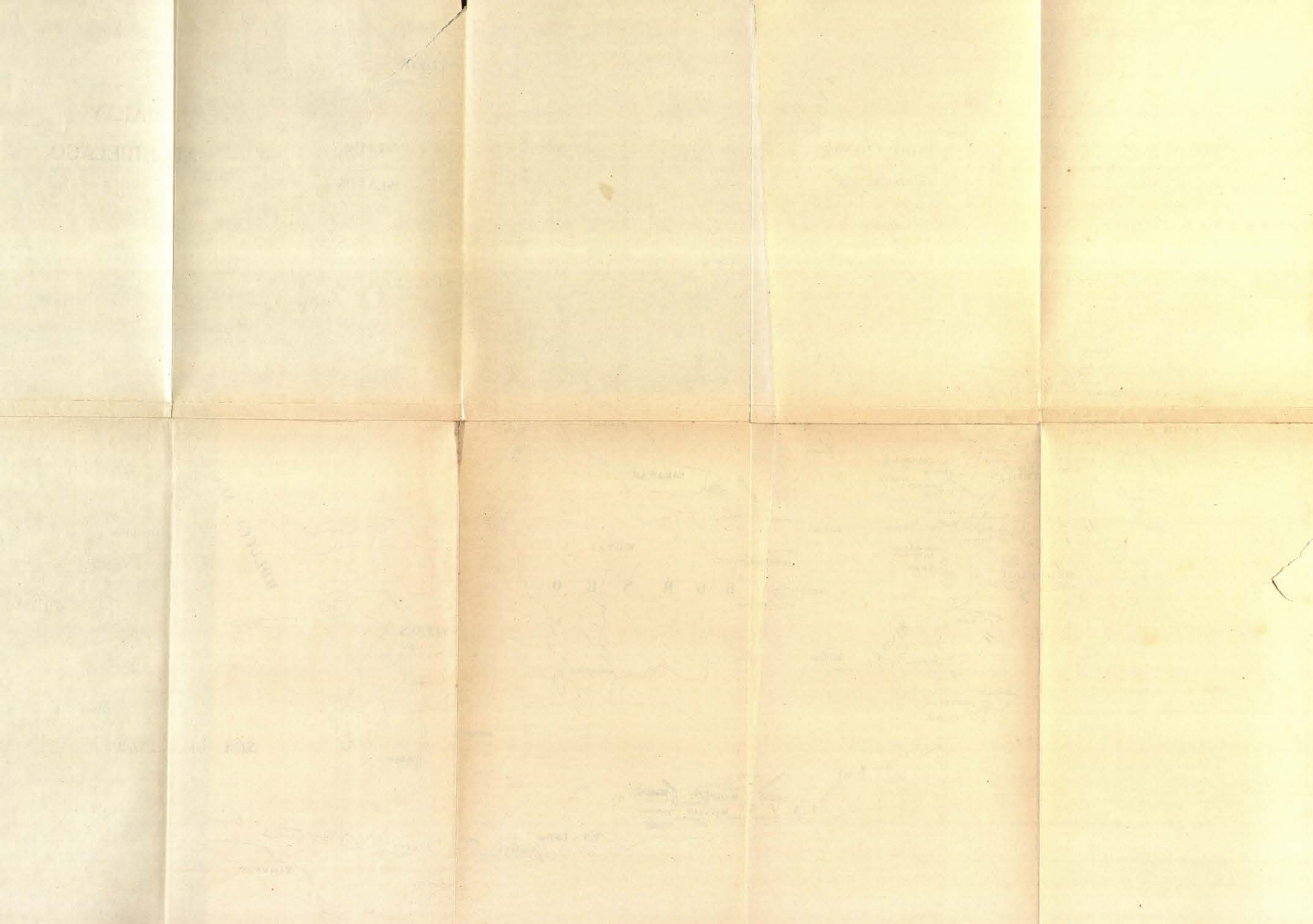
THE BENDAHARAS OF MALACCA AND JOHOR AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, THE EMPERORS OF JOHOR AND SULTANS OF TRENGGANU, JOHOR AND PAHANG.



S. = Sultan ; R. = Raja ; B. S. R. = Bendahara Sriwa Raja ; P. B. R. = Bendahara Paduka Raja ; B. S. M. = Bendahara Sri Maharaja. Rulers descended from the Bendaharas are denoted by capitals.







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V.

England's Quest of Eastern Trade, Sir W. Foster, C.I.E., London 1933; Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Hakluyt Society, London 1877; Purchas His Pilgrimes; The English Factories in India 1618-1664 with introductions by W. Foster 1906-16, Oxford; Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East 1602-1617, W. Foster, London 1896-1902; Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia, Royal Batavian Society; The Papers of Thomas Bowrey, Hakluyt Society, London 1925; L. A. Mills' British Malaya JRASMB. III, pt. II, 1925; JRASSB. XXI, 123-131, LIV 63-98; P. A. Tiele *op. cit.*; History of Exploration ✓ from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, Sir Percy Sykes, London; Peter Floris ed. W. H. Moreland, c.s.I., C.I.E., Hakluyt Society, 1934; History of Johore, R. O. Winstedt JRASMB. 1932, X, pt. III; History of Perak *ib.*, 1934, XII, pt. 1.

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1778-88 by P. C. Hoyneck van Papendrecht *ib.*, vol. II, 1924; Malay Peninsula and Europe in the Past H. P. N. Muller, JRASSB. LXVII 57-84; Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811, J. A. van der Chijs, Batavian Society 1885-90; Corpus Diplomaticum Nederlands-Indicum, J. E. Heeres, BTLVKNI, Deel LVII, 1907, LXXXVII 1931; *Misa Melayu* (XVIII century Perak history) ed. R. O. Winstedt, Singapore 1919.

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XI.

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Vol. XIII.

Part II

Journal
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

October, 1935.



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1935

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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society.

Patron.

H.E. Sir Thomas Shenton W. Thomas, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Governor of the Straits Settlements, High Commissioner for the
Malay States, British Agent for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Council for 1935.

Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT.	<i>President.</i>
Sir Andrew Caldecott, K.B.E., C.M.G., C.B.E.	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the S.S.</i>
Mr. C. E. Wurtzburg, M.C.	
Mr. O. T. Dussek	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the F.M.S.</i>
The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Brown, M.C.S.	
The Hon'ble Engku Abdul Asiz, D.K.	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the U.M.S.</i>
Mr. W. Linehan, M.C.S.	
Mr. E. J. H. Corner	} <i>Councillors.</i>
The Rev. Fr. R. Cardon	
Mr. R. E. Holttum	
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. V. Mills, M.C.S.	
The Hon'ble Mr. S. W. Jones, M.C.S.	
Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie	<i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
Mr. F. N. Chasen	<i>Hon. Secretary.</i>



PROCEEDINGS
of the
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum, Singapore, at 4.30 p.m. on 27th February, 1935.

The President, Sir Richard Winstedt, C.M.G., D.LITT., in the Chair.

1. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Annual Report and Accounts as submitted by the Council were adopted.
3. The Officers and Council for 1935 were elected.
4. The following Honorary Members were elected:—Prof. Dr. George Coedès; Prof. Dr. Sylvain Lévi; Dr. F. D. K. Bosch; Dr. N. J. Krom; Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, O.B.E.
5. Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT., was also elected an Honorary Member in recognition of his unique services to the Society and to the Science with which the Society is now mostly concerned.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

Annual Report

OF THE

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society for 1934.



Membership. The membership roll of the Society at the end of the year included 567 names compared with 597 at the end of 1933. The roll consisted of 16 Honorary Members, 3 Corresponding Members and 548 Ordinary Members. Twelve members were lost through death and six from resignation. Two members were re-instated and the following 37 new members elected during the year :—

Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Tuan Sheikh	Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku
Alexander, N. L.	Nightingale, H. W.
Archer, R. L.	Osman bin Ujang
Busfield, H. H.	Peel, J.
Cawood, G. C.	Pratt, D. H.
Devonshire, G. E.	Raffles College
Dyer, Prof. W. E.	Raja Hitam bin Raja Yunus
Edmonds, A.	Robinson, F. J.
Gates, R. C.	Sanders, Dr. Margaret M.
Hacobian, Mac.	Sassoon, J. M.
Haden, R. Allen	Sheehan, J. J.
Hamarudin bin Wan Abdul Jalil, Wan	Sivapragasam, T.
Idris bin Haji Muhammad Nor	Sta Maria, J. R.
Ismail bin Abdul Latif	Straits Settlements Police Officers' Mess, The Presi- dent
Jaal bin Jaman	Tan Yeok Seong
Lloyd, Capt. H. S. J.	Thorne, H. S.
Lloyd, W.	Williams, R. E. F.
Martin, J. M.	Wolfe, Dr. E. D. B.
Mc Neice, T. P. F.	

The Society's rules regarding the conditions of membership were rigidly enforced and no name was retained on the roll if at the close of the year the subscription for the previous two years remained unpaid. Fifty-one names were thus withdrawn.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on the 23rd February and the Council as elected at this Meeting remained in office for the whole year.

Journals. Three Journals formed the volume for the year, which consisted of 478 pages and 54 plates. The first part consisted of a History of Perak by the President (the Hon. Dr. R. O. Winstedt, C.M.G., D.Litt.) and the third part of histories of Selangor and Negri Sembilan by the same author. The second part contained eighteen articles by thirteen authors dealing with historical, ethnographical and archaeological subjects.

Finance. The Council is pleased to announce that the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States have resumed their financial support. In the case of the F.M.S. the grant is \$500 for three years (starting 1934) in the first place. The S.S. agreed to provide a similar sum, initially for two years.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1934.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Cash.		Printing.	
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 1st Jan. 1934	\$2,770.09	Journal Vol. 11. pt. 2	\$1,178.75
Petty cash in hand, 1st Jan. 1934.	17.65	" Vol. 12. pt. 1	1,058.00
		" Vol. 12. pt. 2	1,196.00
		" Vol. 12. pt. 3	655.50
		Blocks	848.86
		Separates	133.00
		Illustrations (photographs)	49.25
		Annual Reports, Index, Prospectus, etc.	104.00
			\$5,223.35
		Translation fee ("Verovering van Malakka")	400.00
		Miscellaneous.	
		Stationery	56.48
		Postages & other expenses	234.93
		Salaries	558.00
		Cheque commissions, stamps on cheques and purchase of cheque books	28.27
		Purchase of book case	75.00
		Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st Dec. 1934	4,510.71
		Petty cash in hand, 31st Dec. 1934	4.76
			\$11,091.51
Subscriptions.			
For the year 1931, 1932	\$ 41.00		
" " 1933	283.00		
" " 1934	1,480.00		
" " 1935	166.00		
" " 1936 to 1938	13.00		
For Life-membership	278.00		
			2,261.00
			390.00
			841.77
			\$250.00
			50.00
			500.00
			800.00
			3,495.62
			\$480.50
			34.88
			515.38
			\$11,091.51

M. R. HENDERSON,
Hon. Treasurer,
 Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1935.

*Life Members.

Patron.

1935. Thomas, H.E. Sir Thomas Shenton W., K.C.M.G., O.B.E.

Honorary Members.

Year of Election.

- 1903, 1923. Abbott, Dr. W. L., Northeast Maryland, U.S.A.
 1890, 1918. Blagden, Dr. C. O., School of Oriental Studies,
 Finsbury Circus, London.
 1935. Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Oudheidkundige Dienst,
 Batavia-Centrum, Java.
 1921. Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
 1935. Callenfels, Dr. P. V. van Stein, O.B.E., c/o Raffles
 Museum, Singapore.
 1930. Clifford, Sir Hugh, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn
 Gardens, London, S.W.7.
 1935. Coedes, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole
 Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.
 1930. Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., c/o H. B. M. Ministry,
 Bangkok, Siam.
 1903, 1917. Galloway, Sir D. J., Johore Bahru. (Vice-President,
 1906-7; President, 1908-13).
 1895, 1920. Hanitsch, Dr. R., M.A., 99, Woodstock Road, Oxford,
 England. (Council, 1897-1919; Hon. Tr., 1898-
 1906, 1910-11, 1914-19; Hon. Sec., 1912-13).
 1922. Johore, H.H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E.,
 Johore.
 1900, 1932. Kloss, C. Boden, c/o Royal Societies Club, St.
 James Street, London. (Council, 1904-8, 1923,
 1927-8; Vice-President, 1920-1, 1927; Hon. Sec.,
 1923-6; President, 1930).
 1935. Krom, Dr. N. J., 18, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.
 1935. Levi, Prof. Dr. Sylvain, 9, Rue Tuy de la Brosse,
 Paris V, France.
 1903, 1927. Maxwell, Sir W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Sunning Wood,
 Boars Hill, Oxford, England. (Council, 1905,
 1915; Vice-President, 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920;
 President, 1919, 1922-3, 1925-6).
 1921. Perak, H.H. The Sultan of, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Istana
 Negara, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.

- 1890, 1912. Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Council, 1890-4, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-3, 1896-1911).
1916. Sarawak, H.H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.
- 1894, 1921. Shellabear, Rev. Dr. W. G., 185, Girard Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Council, 1896-1901, 1904; Vice-President, 1913; President, 1914-18).
1921. Snouck-Hurgronje, Prof. Dr., Leiden, Holland.
1921. Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 44, Leiden, Holland.
- 1904, 1935. Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT., c/o Glyn, Mills & Co., Whitehall, S.W.1. (Vice-President, 1914-15, 1920-1, 1923-5, 1928; President, 1927, 1929, 1933-5).

Corresponding Members.

1920. Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon, England.
1920. Merrill, Dr. E. D., New York Botanical Garden, Bronx Park, New York City, U.S.A.

Ordinary Members.

- *1921. Abdul Aziz, Hon. Engku, D.K., Johore Bahru. (Vice-President, 1933-5).
1932. Abdul Hadi bin Haji Hassan, 572A, Tranquerah, Malacca.
1932. Abdul Hamid bin Engku Abdul Majid, Hon. Engku, c/o The State Secretariat, Johore Bahru.
1926. Abdul Hamid bin Dato Kaya, Dato, Klang, Selangor.
1926. Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, District Office, Krian, Parit Buntar.
1933. Abdul Rahman bin Mat, c/o Sanitary Board, Klang.
- *1926. Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, Dato, 3, Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru.
1923. Abdullah bin Yahya, Capt. Sheikh, Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
- *1907. Adams, Sir A., K.B.E., Rockleigh, Swanage, Dorset, England. (Vice-President, 1910, 1917-19).
- *1909. Adams, The Hon. Mr. T. S., The Residency, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1919. Adelborg, F., Sweden.
1934. Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Sheikh, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1926. Ahmad bin Osman, District Office, Temerloh, Pahang.
1934. Alexander, N. L., Town Board, Johore Bahru.
1927. Allen, B. W., Police Depot, Singapore.
1926. Anderson, Capt. H. A., Kota Baharu, Kelantan.
1933. Annamalai University Library, Annamalaiagar, Chidambaram, S. India.

1934. Archer, R. L., 5, Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
 1926. Ariff, Dr. K. M., 47, Leith Street, Penang.
 1908. Arthur, The Hon. Mr. J. S. W., The Residency, Penang.
 1926. Atkin-Berry, H. C., Swan & Maclaren, Singapore.
 *1908. Ayre, C. F. C., Ipoh, Perak.
 1933. Azman bin Abdul Hamid, Government English School, Muar, Johore.
 *1926. Bagnall, The Hon. Mr. J., The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
 *1919. Bailey, A. E., "Keecha," Park Road, Leamington Spa, England.
 *1926. Bailey, John, c/o British Legation, Bangkok, Siam.
 1915. Bain, Norman K.
 1926. Bain, V. L., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, F.M.S.
 *1912. Baker, The Hon. Mr. A. C., Kota Bahru, Kelantan. (Council, 1928; Vice-President, 1931).
 1932. Baker, James, Agricultural Office, Butterworth, Province Wellesley.
 *1899. Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
 1920. Barbour, Dr. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1932. Barrett, E. C. G., District Office, Jasin, Malacca.
 1914. Bazell, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. (Hon. Librarian, 1916-20; Hon. Treasurer, 1921-2).
 1925. Bee, R. J., Public Works Department, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
 1921. Belgrave, W. N. C., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1910. Berkeley, Capt. H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich, England.
 1927. Best, G. A., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
 *1912. Bicknell, J. W., U. S. Rubber Plantations, Medan, Sumatra.
 1884. Bicknell, W. A., 2, Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, England.
 1924. Bird, R., c/o Colonial Treasury, Singapore.
 1931. Birse, A. L., c/o Colonial Treasury, Singapore.
 1926. Birtwistle, W., c/o Department of Fisheries, Singapore.
 *1908. Bishop, Major C. F.
 *1923. Black, J. G., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
 1921. Black, Dr. K., c/o Sports Club, St. James Square, London.
 1933. Black, W. N., c/o The Mercantile Bank, Singapore.
 1884. Bland, R. N., c.m.g., 25, Earl's Court Square, London, S.W.5. (Council, 1898-1900; Vice-President, 1907-9).
 1921. Blasdell, Rev. R. A., Methodist Mission, Malacca.
 1925. Blythe, W. L., c/o The Chartered Bank, 33, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.3.
 1933. Booth, I. C., Topographical Survey Department, Jerantut, Pahang.
 *1926. Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Department, Taiping, Perak.
 *1919. Bourne, F. G., The Rosary, St. Michaels, Tenterden, Kent, England.
 1921. Boyd, R., Co-operative Societies Dept., Kuala Lumpur.

1928. Boyd, Mr. Justice T. Stirling, Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1919. Boyd, W. R., District Office, Telok Anson, Perak.
1913. Braddell, R. St. J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore.
1932. Brant, R. V., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1897. Brockman, Sir E. L., K.C.M.G., c/o F. M. S. Agency, Cockspur Street, London.
1915. Brown, The Hon. Mr. C. C., The Residency, Pahang. (Vice-President, 1925, 1932-5).
1910. Brown, D. A. M., "Glugor," Penang.
1933. Browne, F. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
- *1913. Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch Street, London.
1887. Bryant, A. T., 12, Ryder Street, London, S.W.7. (Council, 1907-10; Vice-President, 1912, 1914-16).
1932. Bryson, H. P., Segamat, Johore.
1926. Buckle, Miss D. M., Raffles Girls School, Singapore.
1932. Burnett, W. I. T., 8, Rycroft Road, Somerville, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.
- *1926. Burton, The Hon. Mr. Justice W., Supreme Court, Singapore.
1934. Busfield, H. H., 4, Laidlaw Building, Singapore.
- *1921. Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, England.
- *1913. Caldecott, Sir Andrew, C.M.G., C.B.E., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore. (Vice-President, 1931-2, 1934-5).
1932. Calder, J., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1926. Cardon, The Rev. Fr. R., Church of the Sacred Heart, Tank Road, Singapore. (Council, 1934-5).
1925. Carey, H. R., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1924. Carr, C. E., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
- *1921. Cavendish, A.
1934. Cawood, G. C., c/o British Borneo Timber Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1921. Chasen, F. N., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Council, 1925; Hon. Sec., 1927/35).
- *1924. Cheeseman, H. R., Education Office, Singapore.
- *1913. Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur.
1927. Clark, B. F., Adamson, Gilfillan & Co., Ltd., Pontianak, Borneo.
- *1926. Clarke, G. C., "Tilton," 14, Gallop Road, Singapore.
- *1911. Clayton, T. W.
1929. Cobden-Ramsay, A. B., Kemaman, Trengganu.
1922. Coe, Capt. T. P., c/o General Post Office, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1920. Collenette, C. L., Ashburton Hotel, The Terrace, Richmond, Surrey, England.
1926. Collins, G. E. P., c/o Vernon House, Park Place, St. James Street, London, S.W.1.
1928. Colomb, R. E., Forest Department, Telok Anson, Perak.
1926. Commandant, The, The Police Depot, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Coope, A. E., Johore Bahru.
1928. Cooper, B., Sungai Patani, Kedah.

1926. Cooper, R. H., The Eastern Smelting Co., Ltd., P. O. Box 280, Penang.
1929. Corner, E. J. H., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1934-5).
1925. Corry, W. C. S., District Office, Temerloh, Pahang.
1921. Coulson, N., c/o The Chartered Bank, Penang.
1921. Cowap, J. C.
- *1923. Cowgill, J. V., Chairman, Sanitary Board, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1921. Cullen, W. G., Bartolome Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.
1925. Cullin, E. G., 21, Barrack Road, Penang.
1927. Cumming, C. E., Floral Villa, Ipoh, Perak.
1923. Curtis, R. J. F., Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- *1910. Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
1933. Davey, W., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak.
- *1918. David, P. A. F., c/o Sports Club, London.
1928. Davidson, W. W., Public Works Department, Taiping, Perak.
1927. Davies, E. R., c/o The Inspector of Schools, Singapore.
- *1927. Dawson, C. W., Legal Adviser, Alor Star, Kedah.
1923. Day, E. V. G., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1930. De Vos, A. E. E., P. O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak.
1926. Del Tufo, M. V., Labour Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1922. Denny, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor.
1934. Devonshire, G. E., Office of Central Criminal Registry, S.S. & F.M.S., Kuala Lumpur.
1929. Dickinson, Mrs. W. J., Bandoeng, Java.
1897. Dickson, E. A., 118, Dunkeld Road, Bournemouth, England.
- *1921. Dickson, Rev. P. L., The Rectary, Mafeking, C. P., South Africa.
1926. Director of Forestry, The, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. Dohoo, K. G. A., District Office, Batu Pahat, Johore.
- *1926. Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1930. Donlevy, J., c/o S. Way Dredging, Sungai Way, Selangor.
- *1923. Doscas, A. E. Coleman, Department of Agriculture, Johore Bahru.
1921. Dryburgh, A. M., District Office, Ulu Selangor.
1926. Duff, Dr. W. R., Taiping, Perak.
- *1915. Dussek, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak. (Vice-President, 1935).
1934. Dyer, Prof. W. E., Raffles College, Singapore.
1931. Earl, L. R. F., Kluang, Johore.
- *1922. Ebdon, W. S., Land Office, Singapore.
1922. Eckhardt, H. C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1922. Edgar, A. T., Suffolk Estate, Sitiawan, Perak.
1934. Edmonds, A., J.P., C.H., Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1927. Education Department, The, Alor Star, Kedah.
1885. Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, England.
1921. Elder, Dr. E. A., The British Dispensary, Singapore.

1932. English School Union, The, Muar, Johore.
 1913. Ermen, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down, Bath, Somerset, England.
 *1923. Eu Tong Sen, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
 1924. Evans, I. H. N., Broadview Road, Oulton Broad, Suffolk, England. (Vice-President, 1926-7; 1928-30).
 1925. Fairburn, H., C.M.G., Police Headquarters, Singapore.
 1927. Farrelly, G. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
 1909. Farrer, R. J., C.M.G., Kota Baharu, Kelantan. (Council, 1925-7).
 *1911. Ferguson-Davie, Rt. Rev. C. J. (Council, 1912-13).
 1917. Finlayson, Dr. G. A., "Changi," West Moors, Dorset, England.
 *1919. Finnie, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
 1925. Fitzgerald, Dr. R. D., Director of Health and Medical Services, Singapore.
 *1897. Flower, Major S. S., Spencersgreen, Tring, Herts, England.
 1928. Foenander, E. C., Forest Office, Mentakab, Pahang.
 1923. Forest Botanist, The, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U. P. India.
 1921. Forrer, H. A., District Court, Singapore.
 *1918. Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 1947, Yosemite Road, Berkeley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923; 1926-7).
 *1921. Fraser, F. W., Thatched House Club, St. James Street, London, S.W.1.
 *1908. Freeman, D., 3, Cleve Road, West Hamstead, London, N.W.6.
 *1910. Frost, Meadows, Dernford Hall, Sweffling, nr. Saxmundham, Suffolk, England.
 *1912. Gallagher, W. J., 15, Collingham Road, London, S.W.5.
 1931. Gardiner, E. A., Public Works Department, Johore Bahru.
 1932. Gardner, G. B., Johore Bahru.
 *1917. Garnier, Rev. Keppel, Penang.
 1923. Gater, Prof. B. A. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.
 1934. Gates, R. C., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
 1928. Geake, F. H., c/o Government Analyst's Office, Singapore.
 1920. Geale, Dr. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
 *1926. George, J. R.
 1923. Gilmour, A., District Office, Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
 *1922. Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W.1.
 1918. Gloyne, G. B., c/o Burt Myrtle & Co., Batavia, Java.
 1922. Gordon, T. I. M., c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, 9, Gracechurch, London, E.C.
 1920. Gordon-Hall, Capt. W. A., Secretary to Resident, Selangor.
 1926. Goss, P. H., Kulim, Kedah.
 1929. Gracie, A. J., Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
 1927. Graham, H. Gordon, Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak.
 1929. Gray, G. L., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
 1926. Greene, R. T. B., Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur.

1929. Gregg, J. F. F., District Office, Dindings.
1931. Gregory, C. P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan.
1922. Gubbins, W. H. W., c/o Mansergh & Tayler, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1926. Gummer, W. A., Survey Department, Taiping, Perak.
1916. Gupta, Shri Shivaprasad, Seva Upavana, Kashi (Benares), India.
- *1923. Hacker, Dr. H. P., Zoological Department, University College, London, W.C.1.
1934. Haden, R. A., American Consulate, Singapore.
1923. Haines, Major O. B., S. O. S. Estate, Selama, Perak.
1934. Hamarudin bin Wan Abdul Jalil, Wan, District Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1915. Hamilton, A. W., c/o General Delivery, Main Post Office, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.
1924. Hamzah bin Abdullah, Kuala Kubu Bahru, F.M.S.
1933. Hannay, H. C., P. O. Box 64, Ipoh, Perak.
1922. Harrower, Prof. G., College of Medicine, Singapore.
1921. Hart, H. H., 328, Post Street, San Francisco, U.S.A.
1921. Hashim, Capt. N. M., 12, Tanglin Road, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1926. Hastings, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Hawkins, G., Stamp and Probate Office, Singapore.
1925. Hay, A. W., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
1919. Hay, M. C., Johore Bahru.
- *1904. Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Pebworth Manor, Stratford-on-Avon, England. (Council, 1920).
1932. Hayward, M. J., Asst. District Officer, Bukit Mertajam, Province Wellesley.
1930. Heath, R. G., Agricultural Office, Parit Buntar, Province Wellesley.
1922. Hellings, G. S., c/o The Crown Agents, 4, Millbank, London.
1926. Helps, A., c/o Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1928; Hon. Tr., 1928-35).
1917. Hereford, G. A., 20, Circular Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Heron, F. R., Singapore Cold Storage, Singapore.
1933. Hesketh, G. C., Public Works Department, F.M.S.
- *1923. Hicks, E. C., c/o Director of Education, Pahang.
1922. Hill, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock Road, Singapore.
1927. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Princes Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
- *1923. Hodgson, D. H., Forest Department, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Holgate, M. R., Education Office, Taiping, Perak.
1922. Holtum, R. E., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Hon. Tr., 1923-6, 1928; Vice-President, 1929; Council, 1933, 1935).
1933. Hoogkaas, Dr. C., Klitren Lor 48, Djokjakarta, Java.
- *1921. Hoops, Dr. A. L., C.B.E., Malacca. (Vice-President, 1930; Council, 1933-4).

1897. Hose, E. S., c.m.g., The Manor House, Normandy, Guildford, England. (Vice-President, 1923, 1925; President, 1924).
1931. Hough, C. C., Raffles College, Singapore.
1909. Hubback, T. R., Sunlaws, Bukit Betong, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1933. Huddie, R. J., King George V School, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1922. Huggins, Capt. J., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1932. Hughes, T. D.
1922. Hunt, Capt. H. North, Singapore.
1921. Hunter, Dr. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
1923. Idris bin Ibrahim, Wan, Muar, Johore.
1934. Idris bin Haji Muhammad Nor, District Office, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
- *1926. Ince, H. M., c/o The Secretariat, Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1930. Ince, R. E., King Edward VII School, Taiping, Perak.
1929. Ingle, D. K., Mempakul, via Jesselton, British North Borneo.
1922. Irvine, Capt. R., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1934. Ismail bin Abdul Latif, District Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- *1921. Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1934. Jaal bin Jaman, Lenggong, Upper Perak.
1932. Jackson, G. M. R., Survey Office, Muar, Johore.
- *1918. James, D., Goebilt, Sarawak.
1927. Jamieson, M., c/o Government Analyst, Singapore.
- *1921. Jermyn, L. A. S., c/o Education Office, Singapore.
1932. Joachim, E. J., Kapoewas Rubber Estate, Soengei Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1910. Johnson, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton, Sussex, England.
1933. Johnston, J.
1925. Jones, A. E. Thornley, Mansfield & Co., Singapore.
- *1918. Jones, E. P.
- *1913. Jones, The Hon. Mr. S. W., Alor Star (Council, 1935).
- *1919. Jordan, The Hon. Mr. A. B., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
1932. Joynt, H. R., Rubber Restriction Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Kassim bin Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, Tengku, Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1921. Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.
1926. Keith, H. G., Forest Department, Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- *1921. Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P. O., Chegar Perah, Pahang.
1913. Kempe, J. E.
- *1920. Ker, W. P. W., c/o Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd., London House, Crutched Friars, London, E.C.3.

- *1920. Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.
- 1926. Khoo Sian Ewe, 24, Light Street, Penang.
- 1921. Kidd, G. M.
- 1920. King, E. M., Kong Lee (Perak) Plants, Ltd., Bagan Serai, Perak.
- 1926. Kingsbury, Dr. A. N., Medical Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1931. Kirk, W. A., Ulu Langat, Selangor.
- 1931. Kirkwood, T. M., Public Works Department, Singapore.
- 1921. Kitching, T., c/o Surveyor-General, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1931. Knocker, Fl.-Lieut. S. M., Royal Air Force Base, Singapore.
- 1914. Lambourne, J., Central Experimental Station, Serdang, Sungei Besi P. O.
- 1929. Langlade, Baron F. de, Budu Estate, Raub, Pahang.
- 1927. Laycock, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Raffles Place, Singapore.
- *1923. Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.
- *1921. Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan.
- 1932. Lee Chim Tuan, Mandalay Villa, Tanjong Katong, Singapore.
- 1931. Leechman, G. F., The Local Lapidary, Marazion, Cornwall, England.
- *1922. Leggate, J., "Troggett's," Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, England.
- *1913. Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.
- 1920. Lendrick, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.
- 1926. Leonard, H. G. R.
- *1925. Leonard, R. W. F., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
- 1926. Leuthold, W. H., Hooglandt & Co., Singapore.
- 1890. Lewis, J. E. A., Harada 698, Kobe, Japan.
- 1927. Leyh, S. G. H., O.B.E., c/o Government Monopolies, Penang.
- 1922. Leyne, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Seminyih, Selangor.
- 1925. Linehan, W., (Vice-President, 1933-5). Muar, Johore.
- 1931. Little, W. W., Government English School, Alor Star, Kedah.
- 1934. Lloyd, Capt. H. S. J., Customs Department, Muar, Johore.
- 1934. Lloyd, W., Ulu Tiram Estate, Johore Bahru, Johore.
- 1928. Loch, C. W., Central European Mines, Ltd., Mezica, Dravska Banovina, Jugoslavia.
- 1918. Loh Kong Imm, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1930. London, G. E., Colonial Secretary, Sierra Leone.
- 1933. Lopez, A. G., "Casynest," 24, Gaol Road, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- 1930. Luckham, H. A. L., Kota Baharu, Kelantan.
- *1907. Lyons, Rev. E. S., c/o Methodist Publishing House, Manila, Philippine Islands.
- *1920. MacBryan, G. T. M., Kingsdown House, Box, Wilts, England.
- 1926. Macdonald, J., Chartered Bank, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1933. Macdonald, P. J. W., Potodjo Oedik 44, Batavia, Java.

1929. Mace, N., Survey Office, Kuching, Sarawak.
 1932. MacDonnell McMullin, C. A., c/o Martin's Bank, Victoria Road, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.
 *1910. MacFadyen, E., c/o Sports Club, St. James' Sq., S.W.1.
 1934. MacHacopian, 100, Tanglin Road, Singapore.
 1920. McCabe, Dr. J. B., 73, Gainsborough Road, Liverpool 15, England.
 1934. McNeice, T. P. F., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
 1930. Madden, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak.
 1929. Mahmud bin Jintan, Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
 1924. Mahmud bin Mat, District Office, Grik, Upper Perak.
 1903. Makepeace, W., 79, Henleaze Road, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol, England. (Council, 1914, 1916, 1920; Hon. Libr., 1909-12; Vice-President, 1917; Hon. Secretary, 1918-19).
 1932. Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca.
 1926. Malay College, The, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
 1927. Malleson, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak.
 1916. Mann, W. E., c/o Burt Myrtle & Co., Batavia, Java.
 1929. Marjoribanks, Dr. E. M., Kuching, Sarawak.
 *1907. Marriner, J. T., Pantiles, Frinton, Essex, England.
 1934. Martin, J. M., Department of Statistics, Singapore.
 *1925. Martin, W. M. E.
 1921. Mather, N. F. H., c/o Westminster Bank, Worthing, Sussex, England.
 1921. Maxwell, C. N., Lumut.
 1922. May, P. W.
 1928. Mee, B. S., Kuala Lumpur.
 1933. Megat Khas, Dr., District Hospital, Taiping, Perak.
 1927. Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, District Office, Kroh, Upper Perak.
 1928. Meyer, L. D., Survey Department, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
 *1926. Miles, C. V., Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
 1925. Miller, G. S., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
 *1921. Miller, J. I., Registrar-General of Statistics, Singapore. (Council, 1934).
 1932. Miller, N. C. E., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
 1926. Millington, W. M., c/o Malayan Establishment Office. (Vice-President, 1934).
 1925. Mills, G. R., Sempah Estate, Sungai Bakap, Province Wellesley.
 1926. Mills, The Hon. Mr. Justice J. V., c/o The Supreme Court, Johore. (Council, 1929-30, 1932-5).
 1933. Milne, Mrs. C. E. Lumsden, Government English School, Muar, Johore.
 1925. Milne, C., Alor Gajah.
 1931. Mohamed Ghazaly, Dato Bentara Luar, 103, Onan Road, Singapore.
 1922. Mohamed Idid bin Ali Idid, Sayid, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1922. Mohamed Ismail Merican, Assistant Legal Adviser, Alor Star, Kedah.

1927. Mohamed Noor bin Mohamed, Free School, Penang.
 1922. Mohamed Said, Major Dato' Haji, Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
 1935. Mohamed Said bin Mohamed, Dr., District Hospital, Pekan, Pahang.
 1921. Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, Hon. Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore.
 1921. Mohamed Sheriff bin Osman, Land Office, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1921. Morgan, S., 12, Market Street, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1926. Morice, J., c/o Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1920. Morkill, A. G., c/o Victoria League, Cromwell Road, London.
 1926. Mumford, E. W., Railway Police, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1915. Mundell, H. D., c/o Sisson & Delay, Singapore.
 1930. Murdoch, Dr. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan, Perak.
 1913. Murray, Rev. W., Gilstead Road, Singapore.
 1934. Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
 1926. Neil, W. H. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
 1932. Newbold, The Hon. Mr. E., c/o Chartered Bank Chambers, Penang.
 1934. Nightingale, H. W., Labour Office, Penang.
 1933. Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, Kota Baharu, Kelantan.
 1932. Nolli, Cav. R., 47, Scotts Road, Singapore.
 1916. Ong Boon Tat, 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
 1923. Opie, R. S., 12, Treacher Road, Kuala Lumpur.
 1921. Orchard, H. A. L., Chinese Free School, Cecil Street, Singapore.
 1931. Osman bin Taat, Court House, Klang, Selangor.
 1934. Osman bin Ujang, District Office, Pekan, Pahang.
 1920. O'Sullivan, T. A., Education Office, Penang.
 1913. Overbeck, H., Bintaran Kidoel, No. 2, Djokjakarta, Java.
 1925. Owen, A. I., Allagar Estate, Trong, Perak.
 1929. Pagden, H. T., c/o The Director of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
 1919. Park, Mungo, P. O. Delivery 19, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1908. Parr, C. W. C., c.m.g., o.b.e., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England. (Vice-President, 1919).
 1922. Pasqual, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
 *1921. Paterson, Major H. S., Alor Star, Kedah.
 1926. Peall, G. T., c/o R. Seddon, Esq., 52, Chatsworth Gardens, Aston Hill, London, W.
 1933. Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Pontian Kechil, Johore.
 1928. Pease, R. L., Tarsus Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
 1934. Peel, J., The Treasury, Taiping, Perak.
 1931. Peet, G. L., c/o The Straits Times, Singapore.
 1928. Penang Free School, Green Lane, Penang.
 1926. Penang Library, The, Penang.
 *1921. Pendlebury, H. M., Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1926. Pengilley, E. E., Land Office, Batu Gajah, Perak.
 1924. Pennefather-Evans, J. P., F. M. S. Police, Kuala Lumpur.

- *1925. Penrice, W., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- 1914. Pepys, Hon. Mr. W. E., Johore Bahru.
- *1920. Peskett, A. D., c/o Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
- 1932. Phillipps, A. E., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- 1925. Pijper, Dr. G. F., Batavia-Centrum, Java.
- *1921. Plummer, W. P.
- 1928. Powell, I. B., Llanfihangel, Talylyn, Breconshire, Wales.
- 1934. Pratt, D. F., Sedenak Estate, Sedenak, Johore.
- 1932. Pretty, E., Secretary to the High Commissioner, Singapore.
- 1926. Purdom, Miss N., Education Office, Malacca.
- 1926. Rae, Col. Cecil, Ipoh, Perak.
- 1934. Raffles College, Singapore.
- 1934. Raja Hitam bin Raja Yunus, District Office, Jelebu, Negri Sembilan.
- 1924. Raja Muda of Perak, Telok Anson, Perak.
- 1932. Raja Ratnam, A., Infant Welfare Centre, Ipoh, Perak.
- 1929. Raja Razman bin Raja Abdul Hamid, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
- 1924. Rambaut, A. E., Forest Department, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1932. Rawlings, G. S., c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
- 1916. Rayman, L., c/o Federal Treasury, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1926. Reay, J. McCabe, 29, Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, S.E.26, London.
- 1924. Reed, J. G., Sungkai, Perak.
- 1931. Rego, Rev. A. S., Portuguese Mission, Victoria Street, Singapore.
- *1910. Reid, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah, F.M.S.
- 1926. Rennie, A. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
- 1930. Rentse, A., Kota Baharu, Kelantan.
- *1921. Rex, Hon. Mr. Marcus, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1923. Ridout, F. G., c/o Harbour Board, Singapore.
- *1926. Rigby, W. E., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
- 1934. Robinson, F. J., c/o British Borneo Timber Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- 1926. Robinson, P. M., c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.3.
- 1931. Ruiters, L. Coomans de, Singkawang, Dutch West Borneo.
- 1931. Samuel, P., No. 1 Flat, Raffles Institution, Singapore.
- 1934. Sanders, Dr. Margaret M., c/o General Manager, Traffic Dept., F. M. S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1926. Sanger-Davies, A. E., Forest Office, Taiping, Perak.
- *1923. Sansom, Hon. Mr. C. H., Police Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1919. Santry, D., c/o Swan & Maclaren, Singapore.
- 1934. Sassoon, J. M., 8, De Souza Street, Singapore.
- *1896. Saunders, C. J., The Lawn, Barcombe Mills, nr. Lewes, Sussex, England. (Vice-President, 1910-11, 1914-15; President, 1916-18).
- *1920. Scott, Dr. W., Sungai Siput, Perak.
- *1915. See Tiong Wah, Balmoral Road, Singapore.

1922. Sehested, S., c/o Singapore Club, Singapore.
- *1927. Sells, H. C., Satuan, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, England.
1934. Sheehan, J. J., District Office, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.
1926. Sheffield, J. N., Taiping, Perak.
1925. Shelley, M. B., c.m.g., (Council, 1930-1; Vice-President, 1934).
1929. Sheppard, M. C. Ffranck, District Office, Alor Gajah, Malacca.
1934. Silverthorne, Henry, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, T.H.
1924. Sime, F. D., Bukit Lintang Estate, Malacca.
1921. Simpson, P., Presgrave & Matthews, Penang.
- *1927. Simpson-Gray, L. C., Deputy Public Prosecutor, Ipoh, Perak.
- *1909. Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, England.
1931. Singam, T. R., Government English School, Kuantan.
1934. Sivapragasam, T., Co-operative Societies Dept., Fullerton Building, Singapore.
1926. Skinner, C. F., Beaufort, Jesselton, British North Borneo.
- *1926. Sleep, A., c/o Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur.
1922. Small, Hon. Mr. A. S., Colonial Treasury, Singapore.
1922. Smart, Dr. A. G. H., State Medical and Health Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1912. Smith, Prof. Harrison W., Papeari, Tahiti, Society Islands.
1924. Smith, J. D. Maxwell, Kota Baharu, Kelantan.
1931. Smith, J. S., State Forest Office, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1930. Soang, A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Netherlands S. E. Borneo.
1928. Sollis, C. G., Inspector of Schools, Kuala Lumpur.
1910. Song Ong Siang, c.B.E., v.d., Aitken & Ong Siang, Singapore.
1921. South, F. W., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
1934. Sta Maria, J. R., The Secretariat, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1928. Stanton, W. A., Brooklands Estate, Banting, Selangor.
1925. Stark, W. J. K., Emigration Office, Negapatam, South India.
- *1917. Stirling, W. G., c/o Midland Bank, Melton Mowbray, England. (Council, 1923-5, 1927-9).
1930. Strahan, A. C., English School, Segamat, Johore.
1934. Straits Settlements Police Officers' Mess, The President, Thomson Road, Singapore.
1927. Strugnell, E. J., Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
1927. Sungai Patani Government English School, Sungai Patani, Kedah.
1923. Sworder, G. H., Survey Office, Telok Anson, Perak.
- *1918. Sykes, G. R., Chinese Protectorate, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. Symington, C. F., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
1908. Tan Cheng Lock, c.B.E., 59, Heeren Street, Malacca.
- *1926. Tan Soo Bin, 9, Boat Quay, Singapore.

1934. Tan Yeok Seong, Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
 1913. Tayler, C. J., Telok Manggis Estate, Sepang, Selangor.
 *1928. Taylor, E. N., Deputy Public Prosecutor, Penang.
 (Council, 1933).
 1933. Tempany, Dr. H. A., Agricultural Department, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1921. Thomas, L. A., Chief Police Officer, Ipoh, Perak.
 1926. Toyo Bunko, 26, Kami-Fujimayecho, Hongo, Tokyo, Japan.
 1932. Trumble, D. H., 2, Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
 1930. Turner, H. G., Secretary to Resident, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
 1932. Tweedie, M. W. F., Raffles Museum, Singapore.
 1923. Undang of Rembau, Dato Sedia Raja Abdullah, The, Rembau, Negri Sembilan.
 1930. University Library, The, Rangoon, Burma.
 1925. Venables, O. E., Kangar, Perlis, Kedah.
 *1926. Waddell, Miss M. C.
 1931. Walker, F. S., Forest Office, Bentong, Pahang.
 *1926. Wallace, W. A., Tewantin, via Cooroy, Queensland, Australia.
 1921. Walton, B. S., Chairman, Sanitary Board, Ipoh, Perak.
 1932. Watherston, D. C., Malayan Establishments Office, Singapore.
 1917. Watson, J., Sulaiman House, Kuala Lumpur.
 1916. Watson, J. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
 1927. White, The Ven. Graham, 1, Mt. Sophia Road, Singapore.
 1923. Whitfield, L. D., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak.
 1933. Whitton, C. H., Glenhogan, Government Hill, Singapore.
 *1926. Wilcoxson, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
 *1920. Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G., My. Helen May, Chios, Greece.
 *1926. Willan, T. L.
 *1921. Willbourn, E. S., Batu Gajah, Perak.
 *1922. Williams, F. L., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
 1933. Williams, The Rev. N., The Parsonage, Taiping, Perak.
 1934. Williams, R. E. F., Bentong, Pahang.
 *1910. Winkelmann, H.
 1934. Wolfe, Dr. E. D. B., 65, High Street, Harpenden, Herts, England.
 1932. Wong, The Hon. Mr. S. Q., 7, Cairnhill Circle, Singapore.
 1920. Woolley, G. C., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
 *1905. Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hants, England. (Vice President, 1924).
 1921. Wurtzburg, C. E., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
 (Council, 1924-6, 1930; Hon. Secretary, 1925; Vice-President, 1927, 1929, 1933-5).
 1914. Wyly, A. J., Lebong Donok, Moeara Aman, Sumatra.
 1923. Wynne, M. L., Police Department, Singapore.
 1926. Yahya bin Ahmad Afifi, 70, The Arcade, Singapore.
 *1923. Yates, H. S., Rt. 5 Box 114, Santa Rosa, California, U.S.A.
 *1917. Yates, Major W. G.
 1932. Yeh Hua Fen, 51, Siang Lim Park, Singapore.

- *1920. Yewdall, Capt. J. C., "Seatoller," Meadway, Berkhamsted,
Herts, England.
*1904. Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, England.
1920. Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad, Sultan Idris Training College,
Tanjong Malim, Perak.

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Early Indian Influence in Malaysia.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

A Greek book of the First Century A.D., "the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea," makes what is probably the earliest mention of the Malay world. After telling us of various ports in India it goes on to say that these ports did business with Chryse, "a golden land," beyond the Ganges. In the following century the great geographer Ptolemy named many more places in this land of Further India, but, for lack of adequate data, they are easier to discuss than to identify. He does, however, speak of an isle *labadiou* or Millet Island, said to be very fertile and rich in gold and to have its capital, the Silver City (*Argyre*), at its western end. The great Sanskrit epic of Rama, undated but written about the same time, refers also to "*Iva-dvipa*, a great island jewelled with seven kingdoms, a land of gold and silver near which is the mountain Cicera whose summit touches the clouds and is the home of gods and demons." Written in Sanskrit it gives only the older form of the colloquial Prakrit *Iava-diou*, "the land of millet," or, it may be, "the land of grain."

In a Sanskrit inscription carved some centuries later in the island of Java itself we read the same words: "*Java-dvipa*, Land of Millet, rich in millet and in gold." The name we cannot question, but how are we to explain it when Java produces little gold and none of the millet that the old Indians knew by the name *Yava*? The people of Northern India, whose epic was the Ramayana and whose staple grain was *yava* or *Sorghum vulgare*, must have heard vaguely from their sailors of great islands beyond the sea, rich, like Sumatra, in gold, and rich, like Java, in grain or rice. To them they gave the name *Yava-dvipa* or *Yavadiu*. But with more precise knowledge they came later to discriminate between Java where the rice grew and Sumatra or *Suvarna-dvipa*, the Ophir of the gold mines.

Dutch scholars believe that there was no great migration of Indians to Java. The Indian traders came and did business with a civilised native population; had they settled in any numbers in the country they would have flooded the local forms of speech with words from their own colloquial Prakrit. This they did not do. But they brought with them learned men, familiar with the classical Sanskrit, who converted the people by degrees to Hinduism or Buddhism and so brought Sanskrit words into their daily lives. In what did the merchants trade? Gold, certainly; but gold is great value in little bulk and would not suffice for loading ships. Ivory, rhinoceros-horns, lignum-aloes, camphor, benzoin, fragrant woods and bezoars? We hear of these. They are products of the jungle and are best gathered by forest-nomads such as the Proto-Malays. Probably they were brought by the jungle-folk to small settlements of civilised Indonesians at the mouths of the

great rivers, bartered for what they would fetch, and then stored by the buyers to sell to the next trading-ship. One of these settlements was certainly at Selensing in Perak; another at Palembang; another at Jambi. Of the last two, we are destined to hear more.

About the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth we get definite records and inscriptions, undated always but in the Wenggi or Pallava script used at that time in southern India. Oldest, among these inscriptions—so we are told by experts—are four on the Mahakam River in Borneo, glorifying a king named *Mulawarman*, son of *Aswawarman*, son of *Kundungga*. They are in Sanskrit in the Pallava script; and near them have been found stone images of Hindu Gods and a little gold figurine of Vishnu. Of slightly later date, perhaps,—but not much later,—is a rock-inscription near Buitenzorg picturing a pair of feet with the Sanskrit words, "These feet, comparable to those of Vishnu, represent the footsteps of the illustrious *Purnawarman*, king of the State of *Taruma*." In the same neighbourhood are found three more inscriptions of similar age. In Kedah and the north of Province Wellesley Col. Low discovered Buddhist inscriptions in a Pallava script of about 400 A.D.; and at Selensing Mr. Evans unearthed a seal cut with Pallava lettering of a later century. Most interesting and unequivocal of all these records—though not as detailed as we all could wish—is the story of the Buddhist priest *Fa-hien's* pilgrimage to India:—

"*Fa-hien* left Ceylon on board a large merchant-vessel which carried about two hundred men. Astern of the great ship a smaller one was fastened as a provision in case of the larger vessel being injured or wrecked during the voyage. Having got a fair wind they sailed Eastward for two days when they encountered a storm and the ship sprang a leak. The merchants then wanted to rush into the smaller vessel, but her crew, fearing that she might be overcrowded, cut the cable and sheered off. The merchants, very much alarmed, took their bulky goods and cast them overboard. *Fa-hien* also cast away his pitcher and his washbowl and other portions of his property and feared only that the merchants might treat his sacred books and images in the same way. So fixing his thoughts intently on Avalokiteshwara and invoking the Chinese Buddhist saints he said, 'I have wandered so far in search of the Law; may you by your spiritual power drive back the water and cause us to reach some resting-place.' The gale lasted thirteen days and nights, after which they reached the shores of an island; and on the tide receding they located the leak and, having stopped it, resumed their journey. In this sea are many pirates; any one who falls in with them is lost. The sea is boundless; it is impossible to know East from West; one can only advance by observing sun, moon and stars; in dark rainy weather one must run before the wind in ignorance of its direction. During the darkness of night one sees nothing but great waves striking one another and shining like fire and one sees sea-monsters of various descriptions. The

merchants were much perplexed, not knowing what course to steer; the sea was too deep for soundings; and there was no place for anchorage. At length the weather cleared up; they got their bearings; and proceeded on their course. But if during the bad weather they had struck a hidden rock not one among them could have escaped alive. So they travelled for some ninety days when they reached a country *Ya-va-di*."

In dealing with Chinese versions of foreign names we have to bear in mind that the characters represent things (not sounds) and are pronounced differently in different dialects. What we get from Beal and Groeneveldt as *Ya-va-di* we read in Krom's book as *Ye-pao-to* which may not have been *Iava-dvipa* at all. Still, geography makes it likely that it was. Anyhow it was a land where "heretics and Brahmins flourish but Buddhism hardly deserves mention"; had it been otherwise *Fa-hien* might have told us more, as he reached it in December, A.D. 414, and only left for Canton in the following May. Once more he was unlucky in his weather, taking nearly three months to reach his destination; this time he just escaped being marooned as a Jonah.

"When the day broke (after the storm) the Brahmins consulting together said, 'It is because we have got this Buddhist priest on board that we have no luck and have incurred this great mischief. We ought to land this monk on some island for it is not proper that we should all run into danger for the sake of one man.' But a man who had taken *Fa-hien* under his care then said, 'If you land this monk you shall also land me with him; and if not you had better kill me; for if you really put this priest on shore, then when we arrive in China I shall go straight to the King and tell him what you have done, for the King is a firm believer in the Law of Buddha and greatly honours the priests and monks.' The merchantmen on this hesitated and dared not land him."

A few years later another Buddhist priest visited a place called *Cho-po* in Chinese,—almost certainly Java but perhaps Sumatra. This second pilgrim was a Kashmir prince, *Gunawarman*, who set out to convert *Cho-po* to his own sect of (Hinayana) Buddhism. He is said to have made many converts, to have left *Cho-po* in 424 A.D. and to have died at Nanking five years later. According to our historical data he should have converted Sumatra and not Java; but he is written down positively as the apostle of *Cho-po* and must be given credit accordingly.

A generation later or about 460 A.D. the king of a country called *Kandali* or *Kantoli* (which seems to have been in Sumatra) sent gifts of gold and silver to the Chinese Emperor *Hsiao-wu* of the Sung dynasty. This king bore a name that has been transliterated from the Chinese as *Iswara-narendra*. Later still another king of *Kandali*—whose name may have been *Gautama Subadra*—is said to have had a dream on the night of the 8th day of the fourth month of the year 502 A.D. in which he thought that he

travelled to China and had an audience of the Emperor. So vivid was this dream that on awaking in the morning he was able to draw a coloured portrait of the Emperor just as he had seen him. Not being quite certain whether his portrait resembled the original or not he sent his court-painter with a mission of tribute to China and with instructions to paint a portrait of the Emperor. History does not add whether this artist had seen his king's own sketch, but he brought back a portrait exactly like it! *Gautama Subadra* now "mounted his picture on a precious frame and honoured it the more from day to day."

In 519 A.D. *Gautama's* son, *Priyawarman* or *Wijayawarman*—for the Chinese characters may mean either or, indeed, almost anything—sent a complimentary letter and mission to China presenting golden flowers of the mallow, perfumes, medicines and other things. His letter shows him a fervent Buddhist. But after 564 A.D. his country seems to disappear from history, reappearing (if we are to believe a Chinese statement) as *Sri Vijaya*. Was *Kandali* really *Sri Vijaya*? All that we are told of it does not go against that view: it was situated on an island in the Southern Sea; it was Buddhist; it produced flowered cloth, cotton and areca-nuts; its customs were those of Siam and Cambodia. Its areca-nuts were the best in the world. That *Jambi* means "areca-nut" may be only a coincidence.

But before we come to *Sri Vijaya*, the story of whose greatness is one of the rich finds of modern scholarship, we have to deal with *Langgasu* or *Langkasuka*, another ancient State mentioned like *Kandali* in the Chinese records of the Liang dynasty. From this Chinese source we learn that it was founded about 100 A.D.; its climate and products resembled those of Siam and Cambodia; it professed Buddhism; the dress of its poor was a cotton skirt or *sarong* worn below the waist, the breast being left bare; its nobles wore their hair long, had golden earrings and girdles and covered their breasts with shawls or plaids of flowered cloth; its ruler went about on an elephant under a white howdah and was followed by a train of fan-bearers, bannermen, drum-beaters and guards; and its towns were defended by stone walls with strong double gates and bastions. We hear, in short, that *Langkasuka* was a powerful and ancient State with a high civilisation.

The name of the king of *Langgasu* is given as *Po-ki-ta-to* or *Pa-ka-da-tu*, which Dr. Krom interprets as *Bhagadatta*. This king sent in 515 A.D. a mission to China, the first of several going on to 568 A.D. Then *Langgasu* ceased sending tribute, seemingly for ever. But the country does not disappear from history. It is probably the *Lang-ka-su* of the Chinese pilgrim *I-tsing* in 692 A.D.; the *Langasogam* of a Tamil inscription at Negapatam of 1005 A.D.; the *Ilanggasogam* of the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D.; the *Ling-ya-si* of the Chinese navigator *Chau-ju-kua* of 1225 A.D.; the *Langkasuka* of the Javanese poem *Nagara-krtagama* of

1365 A.D.; the *Langkasuka* mentioned in the *Pasai Annals* as having been destroyed about 1370 A.D.; the *Langkasuka* said in the *Kedah Annals* to have been the ancient capital of Kedah; and even the *nēgēri alang-kah suka*, "land of all one's wishes," which figures in North Malaya as a fairyland. There is still a River *Langkasuka*, a tributary of the Patani. But scholars have not agreed as to where *Langkasuka* was. Groeneveldt placed it in Java, Rouffaer in Johor. They have convinced no one. Most scholars think that it was in Northern Malaya, perhaps the modern Ligor.

After A.D. 564 when the Sumatran kingdom of Kandali sent its last mission to China there is a gap in our records lasting for eighty years, though we need not put down this want of data to war or turbulence. When the curtain rises again on Java in A.D. 627, we learn from the Chinese that Java (*Ka-ling*, *Ho-ling*) was "very rich," that her people "had letters and were versed in astronomy," that she sent repeatedly tribute-bearing missions to China between that date and A.D. 649. In 674 the same authority records that law and order were so well maintained in Java as to allow of a bag of gold being laid down for three years on the high road without being pilfered. Even if we do not believe all that these courtly records say, certainly the age was one of peace and prosperity. It was also an age of tolerance. There were Hindu ascetics and others building temples on the Dieng plateau, and there were Hindu rulers in the island, for the Changgal inscription of 735 A.D. (the oldest dated inscription in Java) records that a King Sanjaya was in authority and that he was a follower of Siva. At the same time Java was a centre of Buddhistic learning—so much so that Chinese students visited it to study. One of these was a monk Hwui-ning who went there in 664 or 665 A.D., stayed for three years, and (with the help of a native pundit named Jnana-bhadra) translated a Sanskrit treatise on Nirvana and an account of the cremation of Buddha's remains. The Javan inscriptions of this period are in Sanskrit and in the Pallava character.

In Sumatra there was the same devotion to Buddhist learning. In 671 A.D. the Buddhist monk I-tsing stayed there six months to study Sanskrit grammar on his way to the Nalanda University in India where he received ten years' further instruction. In A.D. 685 he came again to Sumatra, worked for four years more, and found that there was more material for study than he alone could handle, so he went on to China to recruit copyists and translators. Returning in 691 A.D. with four helpers he had many Buddhist records sent off to China, to which he finally returned in 695 A.D. Even then he kept on working. In A.D. 711, forty years after first setting foot in Sumatra the same indefatigable scholar translated the *Hastananda Shastra*, a work by Sakya-kirti, a Sumatran and one of the seven great Buddhist sages of his day. Writing as an expert on subjects to which he had devoted his life, I-tsing

gives us to understand that the Mulasarwastiwadanikaya school of Buddhism was then in the ascendant both in Java and Sumatra, though he adds that other schools were also found and that the rival Mahayana school had votaries, especially in *Mēlayu*. The Mahayana school must have been gaining ground even then. One of its earliest missionaries was a monk named Dharmapala, and in 717 A.D. a South Indian monk named Wajra-bodhi came from Ceylon in a Persian ship and began preaching a Tantric form of Mahayanist Buddhism, destined to become the predominant local sect and to colour all local inscriptions. Even the Kota Kapur inscription of 686 A.D. has a Mahayanist tone though written in the days of I-tsing and before the coming of Wajra-bodhi. I-tsing was a scholar, not a missionary; Wajra-bodhi who was a preacher with a reputation that had preceded him, was induced to stay in Sumatra for a short time but went on to China, returning in 741 A.D. in a Malay ship. His story—and those of I-tsing, Dharmapala and Hwui-ning—make it plain that between 660 and 731 A.D. Java and Sumatra were centres of learning and prosperity.

What of the political side? The last mention of Kandali was in 564 A.D.; from that date it disappears. In A.D. 644 we get three new names of places: *Tulang Bawang*, *Mahasin* and *Mēlayu*. The first seems to have been in the Lampong country, but as it is never again mentioned its identity is a matter of little importance. *Mahasin* comes up again; unfortunately it cannot be identified with certainty. *Mēlayu* has lived to this day; it seems probable that this first *Mēlayu* was the modern Jambi. Six years later we get Sri Vijaya, a name fated to endure for no less than seven hundred years, and to play an all-important part in Malay history.

Chinese references to Sri Vijaya (as *San-bo-tsai*) were translated and published first by Groeneveldt; its relation to Malay history (in the erroneous version *Sri-bhoja*) was brought out in the first edition of my *Malay History* as far back as 1908. So little was its importance suspected that even Dr. Kern in his account of the Kota Kapur inscription took Sri Vijaya to be the name of a king. Then in 1918 Dr. Coedès wrote a most brilliant monograph, piecing together the various references to this old State (many of them the result of his own original work) and showing Sri Vijaya for what it was: a maritime empire of the very first importance. He has since had his critics on points of detail, most of whom he has refuted; he has also found or been given supplementary facts. On his work and on that of Dr. Krom every account of Sri Vijaya must be built. All that this sketch can do is to give the data of these scholars and suggest certain inferences. For the work of Dr. Coedès is most remarkable and a romance of scholarship.

In A.D. 670 Sri Vijaya is mentioned for the first time as sending a mission to China to "present tribute." In 671 I-tsing visited it and stayed six months. In 684 an inscription close to Palembang (its reputed site) records the gift of a park by King

Sri Jayanasa to his people. In 686 the famous Kota Kapur inscription in the island of Banka tells us that a revolt had been put down in Java, "which had not been loyal to Sri Vijaya (*yang tiada bhakti ka-Sēri Wijaya*)"; imprecating curses on all traitors; and invoking the gods, major and minor, who had Sri Vijaya under their protection. A similar but undated inscription, apparently of the same period, has been found at *Karang Bērahi* on the upper *Mērangin*. Last of all, a fourth inscription (undated) records an expedition by King Sri Jayanasa to "*Minanghamwar* and *Mataya*"—possibly Minangkabau and *Mēlayu*. I-tsing, whose second visit to Sri Vijaya covered the years 685 to 689, records the absorption of *Mēlayu* into the Sri Vijaya kingdom. The King's title is given as *punta-hyang* or *da-punta-hyang*,—which suggest *pērtuan* and *di-pērtuan*. From these four inscriptions we may infer that the reign of Sri Jayanasa was a time of expansion and conquest; and we find that conclusion borne out by a Chinese edict of 695 A.D. mentioning Sri Vijaya along with Cambodia, India, Java and Arabia instead of including it under "and other States." Plainly it was, even then, a country of the first importance.

We may now give the rest of these very early data. From the Chinese we learn: that Sri Vijaya sent tribute-bearing missions to China between 670 and 741 A.D.; that the mission of A.D. 724 was headed by the Crown Prince himself who took among his gifts a negro or negrito slave-girl and received from the Emperor the title of Sri Indrawarman; and that later missions also took black slaves to China. With the year 741, when Wajra-bodhi returned in a Malay ship and the last mission left for China, the curtain falls on Sri Vijaya; and when it rises again, more than thirty years later, we find very great changes. The history of the interval can only be conjectured.

Before the curtain rises again on Sri Vijaya, let us look at it as we first know it. Its territories seem to have been Sumatran; for the reference to "Java" in the Kota Kapur inscription is believed to refer to Banka itself. Its kings bear no dynastic name; their title may have been *pērtuan* and *di-pērtuan* (the modern *yang-di-pērtuan*) but was not *Sēri Maharaja*. Its inscriptions are in the Pallava script and in a language which is a mixture of Sanskrit and Malay. And if we turn to Chinese accounts of the language of these parts, we get a notable statement: they tell us that the Kun-lun countries (Java, Sumatra, Champa and Cambodia) used a common language and script. By "script" they mean the Pallava, by language they may mean some *lingua franca* or some literary speech such as Kawi was at a later date: an Indonesian tongue with a strong Sanskrit admixture. That it was a literary tongue they show by recording that a Chinese general carried off from Champa in A.D. 605 no less than 1350 Buddhist MSS. in the Kun-lun script. It would seem, though it cannot be quite proved, that the curious mixed-Malay of the Sumatran inscriptions of this time may have been the language of Kun-lun."

The Shailendra Kings.

The middle years of the eighth century were marked by the coming of a new line of rulers, the "Shailendra" or "Mountain" princes of Sumatra, Malaya and Java. Can we use the word "famous" of kings whose dynastic name was unknown some twenty years ago? The name occurs in four places only: in two inscriptions in Central Java of 778 and 782 A.D.; on a sheet of bronze dug up in Bengal and dating from the latter half of the ninth century; and in a Negapatam inscription of A.D. 1008. It survived also—though no one guessed it—in the *gamēlan salendro* or "Shailendra *gamēlan*," the best-known orchestra in Java. Yet the name's wide distribution in time and space is a tribute to the renown of its bearers. Names pass or are changed; realities remain. Prince of Wales Island has become Penang; Tumasik, Singapore; and Bertam Malacca. Every Malay dynasty in southern Malaya claims descent from the "Mountain" Kings who ruled on the Si-guntang hill in Palembang,—and they were the Shailendra. Every tourist who admires the wonderful "stupa" of Borobodur pays his meed of honour to the Shailendra prince who built it. Every student who reads in various tongues of "Sarbaza," "San-bo-tsai," "Shi-li-fo-she," "Zabaj," "the Empire of the Maharaja," the Golden Island or Suwarna-dwipa, old Palembang or Ku-kang, and even of the later "*Mēlayu* country,"—is hearing of the greatness and decline of the old State of Sri Vijaya over which the Shailendra ruled. In such ways that dynasty is famous.

But while we know much about these princes we know nothing of the manner of their "coming." They may have been the older Sri Vijaya dynasts under new names and titles; and the changes they brought may have been due (as some think) to the influence of the Nalanda University in Bengal. But there is much to be said against such a view. Malay tradition insists that the Mahameru (Mountain) princes were newcomers and that they came from the sea. Their time also was one of turmoil in "Kun-lun"; for we read in Chinese books that in 776 a temple of Siva in Champa was plundered and burnt by "men born in other lands, living on other foods, frightful to look at, unnaturally dark and lean, cruel as death, passing over the sea in ships"; and again in 787 that these incendiaries came again, "warriors from Java borne over in ships." From the same source we hear that the rulers of Central Java, the successors of the Sivaite Sanjaya of A.D. 732, had been forced to move their capital to the Eastern parts of the island; and this is confirmed by two Sanskrit inscriptions in *nagari* script telling how the king of Central Java in 778 and 782 was a Buddhist Maharaja Panamkaranah, "an ornament of the Shailendra line." Here there can hardly be any question of peaceful penetration. From this time also we get other changes: in script, for instance, and in language. Instead of the Pallava script and "Kun-lun" type of speech (which now reappear in the form of Kawi among the enemies of the Shailendra)

we get *nagari* and Sanskrit in Sri Vijaya and Central Java. Surely there must have been more in these events than peaceful development under University influence.

All Southern Malaya has the tale that the founder of the local dynasties was a royalty who "revealed himself" or "came into being" upon one of the foothills of the Palembang Mahameru, after which he went down to the Palembang plain and was accepted by the local headman as their *raja*. We read this account in the Malay Annals; in the Hang Tuah romance and in the Chronicles of the Perak Sultanate. In Perak it is part of the coronation ceremony that the Dato' Sri Nara Diraja, hereditary custodian of the State Secret, should whisper into the new Sultan's ear the real name of the prince who so appeared. We do not find this tale in North Malaya, or in Pasai; we meet it only in States whose rulers claim descent from the old Palembang kings. And we find the rest of the tradition to be strangely true though mistier as it goes farther into the past. "My father has let me read this account of our princes: how they appeared first on Mount Si-guntang, then came down to Palembang, then passed from Palembang to Bentan and from Bentan to Singapore; then when Singapore was captured by the Javanese of Majapahit they betook themselves to Malacca; then when Malacca was taken by the Portuguese they moved back to Bentan and from Bentan to Johor." This summary of Malay History makes up the closing passage of Shellabear's version of the Malay Annals, and gives a bird's eye view of the story of Southern Malaya. It is borne out in the same work by an account of the "Chula War" (1024 A.D.) between the Shailendra Maharaja of Sri Vijaya and a King of the Coromandel Coast. The coming of the dynasts was the one great event before that war. What of still earlier history? The Annals say that there were no "royalties" (*raja*) before the Shailendra, and that the local non-royal Chief—a saga-figure called *Dēmang Lebar Daun*—was the first to use the term *yang-di-pĕrtuan*. These things too are borne out by the Palembang inscriptions.

Plainly at some date between 741 and 775 A.D. princes styled Maharajas of the Shailendra Line (or Maharajas from the Mountain) made themselves masters of Sri Vijaya, Central Java and (then or shortly after) of all Sumatra and Malaya. They created two kingdoms, one in Sumatra and one in Java; tradition speaks of three princes. They brought a new script, the *nagari*; and a new official diction, Sanskrit. They were fervent Buddhists and great artists in stone: architecturally there is a world of difference between the monuments of the Shailendra and the rock-inscriptions of the earlier Sri Vijaya kings. That there were two branches of the dynasty has been proved by an inscription on copper dug up in Bengal to record an endowment given by Balaputra, a Sumatran Maharaja, grandson (through his mother) of a Javan Shailendra Maharaja. But in Sumatra and Java the destinies of the two kingdoms were to be very different.

The Shailendra came to Central Java between 732 (when Sanjaya the Sivaite was ruling the country) and 778 (when they built the Buddhist temple of Kalasan). By 863 they had been driven from their capital, as is shown by a Kawi inscription at Brambanan where their palace was. They may have lingered on in Western Java till after 932; but their "Age" lasted about a Century. It was a "Golden Age," to judge by monuments. Within that short century they built all the grandest temples in the island: Kalasan, Chandi Mendut, Chandi Sewu, Chandi Sari, some of the Prambanan shrines, and—most wonderful of all—the incomparable Borobudur. They were newcomers, conquerors, (perhaps) Malays, Buddhists in a country long Sivaite; as aliens they cannot have been loved by subjects whose wealth and labour they exploited. They built monuments that are world-famous, and yet (apart from their loveliness) represent a monstrous waste of human effort. The Java Shailendra were overthrown; their very name survived only as a descriptive adjective in the *gamēlan salendro*. Of two of this old line we have the names: Punamkaranah who built Kalasan; Jitendra, some fifty years later. That they may have been Malays is suggested by the occurrence of Malay words in an inscription of their period; the language of their pundits was Old-Javanese.

Very different was the history of the Shailendra princes in Sumatra. They too were Buddhists: Mahayana Buddhists with a strong Tantric tinge. They too were builders: witness the *stupa* at Muara Takus and the ruins at Tanjong Medan in the Padang highlands. But they were conquerors and administrators more than religious artists. In A.D. 775 they had spread their influence as far as Lower Siam, as we learn from a Pallava inscription (at Vienza on Bandon Bay) in which the words Sri Vijaya occur three times. By 850 they were masters of the Malay World. "The Maharaja"—so we are told by Ibn Hordazbeh (844-848) and Sulaiman (851)—controlled the camphor-trade at Barus in Sumatra, ruled "Kalahbar" (Kedah or Kra) in North Malaya, and was extremely wealthy. By these and other Arab writers he is said to have been in the habit of throwing nuggets of gold into a lagoon near his palace with the words, "Behold this my Treasury." He did this as a symbol of his debt to the Ocean, much as the Doge of Venice used to wed the Sea. Even more than Venice was Sri Vijaya a thalassocracy since it stood astride the three routes to the Far East: the Malacca Straits, the Straits of Sunda and the land-route over the Isthmus of Kra. On all merchants its ruler could levy toll without fear of reprisal so long as Java remained friendly and Champa and Cambodia unmaritime. To China—in the Ninth Century—he seems to have sent no "tribute-bearing" missions.

The second half of the Ninth Century must have seen the reign of Maharaja Balaputra whose mother was the Javanese princess Tara and who gave (in or before 891 A.D.) an endowment

to the Buddhist Nalanda University in Bengal. The first years of the Tenth Century witnessed the sending of tribute again from Sri Vijaya to China and give us more Arab witnesses of the Maharaja's power and wealth. Ibn al-Fakih (A.D. 902) tells us that "Zabaj" and "Kalah-bar" were one kingdom; and in it was also included Barus, the centre of the trade in camphor, cloves, sandalwood and nutmegs. The same writer speaks of Sumatran parrots that could talk Arabic, Persian, Hindu and Greek—from which statement Ferrand deduces that Greek was known in Sri Vijaya; but who else will believe in the existence of such parrots? Ibn Rosteh (A.D. 903) records that "of all the rulers of the Indies there is none richer, mightier or with greater revenues than the Maharaja of Zabaj." Abu Zaid (about A.D. 916) repeats the tale about the throwing of gold into the palace lagoon and tells us that the Maharaja ruled a large number of islands and trading ports such as Sri Vijaya, Rami (near Acheen) and Kalah, this last being the great centre of Arab trade in aloes-wood, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, sappan-wood and spices.

Of tribute-bearing missions sent by Sri Vijaya to China between 905 and 985 A.D. the Sung dynasty records give us a number of details.

"Towards the end of the Tang dynasty in the year 905 they sent tribute: and the envoy, who was Chief of their Capital, got from the Emperor the title of the General who pacifies distant countries.

"In the ninth month of the year 960 *Si-ri-hu-ta-hia-li-t'an* sent an envoy to bring tribute, which he repeated in the summer of the next year. In the winter of the same year tribute was offered by a king of the name *Si-ri-wu-ya*.

"In the spring of the year 962 the king *Si-ri-wu-ya* sent an embassy of three envoys to bring tribute. They brought back tails of the yak, white porcelain, silver utensils, silk thread and two sets of saddle and bridle.

"In the year 971 one of the former envoys was sent present crystals and lamp-oil; in the next year he came again and in 974 they brought as tribute ivory, olibanum, rosewater, dates, flat peaches, white sugar, crystal finger-rings, glass bottles and coral trees. The next year new envoys came who were presented with caps and girdles.

✓ "In the year 980 their king *Ha-chi* (Aji = king) sent an envoy; and in the same year it was reported from Ch'au-chou that a foreign merchant from San-bo-tsai (Sri Vijaya) had arrived in that port with a cargo of perfumes, medicines, drugs, rhinoceros horns and ivory; as the wind had been adverse he had been sixty days coming to Ch'au-chou. His perfumes and drugs were all carried to Canton.

"In the year 983 their king *Ha-chi* (Aji) sent an envoy who brought a tribute of crystal, cotton-cloth, rhinoceros-horns, perfumes and drugs.

"In the year 985 the master of a ship came and presented products of his country."

✓ The Kings of Sri Vijaya are said by the Sung Annals to have used Sanskrit in their writings and to have confirmed documents with seals instead of signatures. One king (A.D. 1017) sent among his gifts to China "Sanskrit books folded between boards." Although we hear less than before of students coming to Sumatra from China and India we do hear of one Chinese monk, Fah Yu, working at religious texts in Sri Vijaya (in 963) under an Indian pundit, Wimala-Sri. We learn also that the capital was a fortified city with a wall of piled bricks several miles in circumference; round it were many scattered villages. The large population were exempt from direct taxation though liable to conscription in time of war, "each man providing his own arms and provisions." They made intoxicating drinks from coconut-palms, areca-nut palms and honey; owned foreign slaves; and used as musical instruments a small guitar and small drums. They traded in lignum aloes, areca-nuts, rice, coconuts, poultry, ivory, rhinoceros-horns, camphor and cotton cloth. They seem to have been a prosperous community.

So far as we can judge the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya did really promote its people's happiness. It did not build huge monuments by using forced labour as was done in Java, Champa, and Cambodia. It taxed lightly. It did not punish criminals with such severity as to call for Chinese comments, as did the *krissing* of offenders in Java. Though simple its amenities represent an advance on those of primitive savages. It must have encouraged agriculture since it exported rice, coconuts and areca-nuts. ✓ Its kings drew their wealth from passing ships or from the taxation of gaming and cockfighting; they did not prey on their subjects' meagre earnings. What then did they do to bring about the decline of Sri Vijaya?

The tendency in all States—even enlightened modern States—is to increase taxation as time goes on; nor is that tendency likely to be less when taxation falls upon the foreigner. Something of the kind must have happened in Sri Vijaya. The "Maharaja's Empire" was a sort of confederation of trading ports on the fringe of a large area of forest; it was not a continuous populated tract. It was open to easy attack, since each port could be assailed separately and in succession. For this reason it should have avoided giving offence to the peoples whose ships visited its shores. In those days when vessels sailed by one monsoon and returned with the next, a trading port was sure of a rich harvest of indirect profit from every ship it attracted. We do not know what tolls were levied in Sri Vijaya but we know that after two hundred

years it began to be embroiled with other maritime powers. The first of these hostile powers was a kingdom in Java. In the Tenth Century a line of kings was building up a powerful State in the Eastern parts of the great island. The first of these rulers was King Sindok who reigned from about 930 to 950 A.D. and is commemorated on the Minto Stone. After him came his daughter and her consort Lokapala; after them came their son, Makuta-wangsa-wardana, Maternal grandfather of the famous Airlangga. All lived at peace with Sri Vijaya. But their successor, King Dharmawangsa, seems to have tried direct trade with China and so harmed the interests of the Sumatran Sea-State. At first he must have met with success, for the Chinese tell us that in 992 a Sumatran envoy "had heard in the South that his country was invaded by Java"; that he had returned to Champa and "got no good news." The war dragged on. But Sri Vijaya was stronger when its fleets united and took the offensive; in 1007 they surprised and burnt Dharmawangsa's capital, slew the king with most of his Chiefs, but allowed the sixteen-year-old boy Airlangga to escape from the burning town to rebuild the fortunes of his family.

In spite of this success the great days of Sri Vijaya were numbered. The State continued to send missions with tribute to China, receiving in return "very liberal gifts" from the Emperor, the last envoy indeed (A.D. 1028) bringing back a girdle of gold for the Maharaja instead of the usual girdle of silver and gold. Then the missions ceased for thirty years. The cause must have been the invasion of Malaya by a "King of the Kings," Raja Suran or Raja Chulan, of which we have a vague account in the Malay Annals and occasional mention in local traditions and popular chronicles such as those of Perak. It is to Dr. Coedès again that we owe the little we know about a war the memory of which has outlasted nine centuries of tumultuous history.

"Chula" (or rather Chula-mandala) is our "Coromandel," a king named Rajendra-cola was king of the Coromandel Coast from 1012 to 1042 A.D. He and his father before him had kept up a friendly trade with the opposite coast, of which the principal port was Kataha or Kedah, a dependency of Sri Vijaya. So close were these relations that in the year 1005 or 1006 a *wihara* or Buddhist shrine had been put up or endowed at Negapatam by a certain "Sri-Mara-wijayothungga-warman, son of Cuda-mani-warman, of the Shailendra dynasty, King of Kataha and Sri-wijaya." But some twenty years later the friends fell out, and Rajendra-cola led an armada across the Bay of Bengal to raid the scattered Sri Vijaya ports. He began by capturing the King of Kedah; then he made himself master of Sri Vijaya, Paneh, *Melayu*, a "Sea-City" (possibly Tumasik or Singapore), a place with high walls (possibly the Dindings), a "Water-City" (possibly Bruas or Gangga-negara), and a number of others. In the Malay story he captured and destroyed Bruas (Gangga-negara) and Lenggiu; he occupied also Tumasik and the Dindings which did not resist.

This Chula War is on record in a vainglorious inscription put up by Rajendra-cola at Tanjore in 1030 A.D. as well as in Malay tradition. It was not a war of conquest or annihilation; it led to no annexations and did not even end friendly relations between the two coasts. Still it destroyed Gangga-negara and Lenggiu for good and all; and so weakened Sri Vijaya that for thirty years the State sent no missions to China. The war may have led to the abandonment of the old capital-city on the Palembang River in favour of *Melayu* (Jambi) which was on another river and further inland,—a transfer which took place either at this time or at some rather later date.

With curious inconsistency the Malay Annals have brought this Rajendra-cola into the pedigree of their own line of kings; "Chulan" also is a name often given to princes of the Malay royal house in Perak. Strangely again the name Chulan is linked by tradition with a cockfight rather than a war. On Bukit Penyabong, in the valley where the Annals tell us Raja Chulan and Raja Suran fought for the fortress of Lenggiu, there is or was a white stone suggesting a fighting-cock which tradition says was pitted against that of another prince. Who was that prince, asks Rouffaer. The story may be read in the Hikayat Hang Tuah; it may be read also in the Bugis Annals where Raja Chulan's adversary is given as Daeng Rilaka, the scene of the fight as Cambodia, and the Bugis victor as naming his newborn son Daeng Kemboja in honour of the event. It is a far cry from eleventh century war to Daeng Kemboja who was Yamtuan Muda of Riau from 1745 to 1777; but Malay tradition is full of anachronisms.

✓ Although the Chula War must have crippled Sri Vijaya for a generation, the rivals of the Malay State made no use of their chances. In 1067 the missions to China were resumed; in 1084 a Chula record speaks of friendly relations with Malaya. Arab traders continue to speak of Sumatra: Haraki (1132), Idrisi (1154), Yakut (1224). In 1225 the Chinese Chao Ju Kua numbers among the places subject to the Maharaja: Pahang, Langkasuka, Trengganu, Kelantan, Grabi (in Siam) Lamuri (in Acheen), Palembang and Ceylon; he does not mention either Kedah or Jambi (Melayu). He refers to Palembang and omits *Melayu*, in all probability because of the transfer of the capital to the latter place,—a thing that may explain also the distinction drawn by the Arab Haraki between Zabaj (the State) and Sarbaza (the town of Sri Vijaya). So while Chinese and Arabs continued to use the old terms (San-bo-tsai and Zabaj) Marco Polo, who visited Bentan in 1292, heard only of the "*Melayu* country" and makes no mention of Palembang or Sri Vijaya. By the transfer of the capital to Jambi at a time when the Maharaja's country included all the Malay world, the term *Melayu* became the national name that it now is.

✓ In 1275 the great Javan ruler Kartanegara attacked *Melayu* and conquered a large part of Sumatra, in spite of Malay traditions

to the contrary effect. An inscription (dated 1286) at Padang Rocho in the hinterland of the Batang Hari River gives the Javan ruler as Maharaja-diraja or suzerain and the local king as Maharaja Tribhuwana-raja, his vassal. Sri Vijaya is not mentioned; the old empire is now *Pamalayu*. But Kartanegara's conquests fell far short of the whole of the Maharaja's dominions; nor did they endure. Internal troubles in Java put an end to Javanese suzerainty and allowed Marco Polo in 1292 to speak of Sumatra as a Malay island, and the fourteenth century Siamese to claim dominion over "*Malayu*."

Although Kartanegara's success was transient in its benefits to Java it was lasting enough in its evil results to Malaya. The old thalassocracy broke up into disconnected little States. At the very heart of the empire we learn of three petty kingdoms: Palembang, Jambi and Tumasik or Singapore. In Northern Malaya the Siamese were beginning to encroach on what had been the Malay world; in Northern Sumatra Islam had gained a hold and had alienated Moslem Samudra, Pasai and Lamuri from the Buddhist lands in the South. Divided and individually weak the Malay Settlements could not resist the forces that were growing up around them. According to Marco Polo "the city (of Malayu)", i.e. Jambi, "is a fine and noble one and there is great trade carried on there"; but the Chinese traveller Wang Ta-yuan, half a century later, speaks of Palembang as Ku-kang, "the older river-port," i.e. the abandoned Sri Vijaya, and he tells us that Siamese pirates had laid siege to Tumasik (Singapore) for a month and had only been frightened away by the passing of an Imperial envoy. The end came not long after.

Hayam Wuruk, Ruler of Majapahit—then the mightiest monarchy in Java—sent out a succession of armadas to attack the Malay States and destroy them piecemeal. His court poet enumerates among other conquests in Sumatra: Jambi, Palembang, Karitang (Lower Indragiri), Teba (Jambi hinterland), Minangkabau, Siak, Rekan, Kampar, Paneh, Haru, Mandailing, Temiang, Perlak, Samudra, Lamuri, Lampong and Barus; and in the Peninsula: Langkasuka, Trengganu, Kelantan, Muar, Dungun, Tumasik (Singapore), Sangyang Hujung, Klang, Kedah and Jerai. Hayam Wuruk sought plunder rather than suzerainty; he slew and enslaved, leaving townships so weakened that Palembang—all that was left of the old capital of the Shailendra kings—became a few years later merely the lair of a Chinese pirate. The other States fared little better. Kedah and Langkasuka became the victims of Siam so that the very name Langkasuka passed into legend; and for 450 years Singapore was no better than a nest of Proto-Malayan pirates. So it came about that the names of Sri Vijaya and Shailendra were forgotten, that the records of the Peninsular Sultanates go back no further than this war, and that they are concerned with new States such as Malacca, Perak, Selangor and Johor.

About the exact date of this war there is a conflict of evidence. Chinese chronology puts it down at 1376 or 1377 A.D., while the Majapahit Court Poet, Prapancha, is said to have written his epic in 1361 if the Saka date is to be trusted. Be it noted also that the Chula War is believed on local evidence to have occurred in 1024, whereas by Chinese chronology we should put it not earlier than 1028 when Sri Vijaya was still sending her tribute and receiving gifts in return.

Old Singapore.

By

R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

Romance in Malaya is breathed only in Malacca, all other townships are garish in their newness. Yet even in such a centre of modernity as Singapore there are relics of the old. There is the record of a sea-gypsy who from his boat in the Singapore River watched Raffles arrive and was still there sixty years later, still a fisherman, still with no home but his canoe. In the happenings that had turned his solitude into a busy port he had taken no part whatever. "Junks may arrive by the dozen," says a Malay proverb, "but dogs won't wear more than their tails." Most Singapore men know vaguely that the place owes its name to a medieval settlement built between Fort Canning and the sea. Fewer know that the heads of a Proto-Malayan family have been hereditary *batin* or lords of Singapore for four or five centuries or more, under the Malay title of Dato' Raja Negara. They fought Mascarenhas in A.D. 1526; piloted Admiral Matelief in 1606; sided with Raja Kechil in 1717; were honoured guests at the weddings of the Bugis princes in 1722.

Tradition goes back further still. Early in the eleventh century after the capture of Lenggiu the Chula king Rajendra-cola I ("Raja Suran") came to Tumasik, as Singapore was then called, with the idea of making it the base of an expedition to conquer China. "How are we to deal with this danger," said the Chinese Emperor, "for if once that King of the Kings gets here it is all up with us." His Prime Minister was equal to the crisis. He fitted out a ship manned by dotards and laden with rusty needles and sent it to present its cargo to the King with the apology that when the ship sailed the crew had been young and the needles iron bars but that the journey to China took the best years out of human life! The Chula King gave up his scheme of conquest. This old myth—like others about Raja Suran—is borrowed from the Alexander legend and is a satire on human ambition; Alexander fitted out an expedition to conquer new worlds only to meet, after years on the ocean, a ship sent out years before from another world by another all-conquering Alexander.

Two or three generations later, says the legend, a descendant of Raja Suran glimpsed the long white sands of Tumasik from some view-point on the hills of Bentan. "Where are those beaches," he asked. He was told that they were on the isle of Tumasik at the extreme end of the great continent of Asia. "Let us visit them," said he. "As Your Majesty pleases," said the courtiers.

There was a storm; the ship leaked; the cargo had to be thrown into the sea. Off Telok Blanga things got worse. The only heavy cargo left was the King's crown; and the crew jettisoned

that. Instantly the storm abated, allowing the king to land and disport himself near the mouth of the Singapore river. There he saw "an animal, very graceful in its movements, with a black head, white neck and tawny body, swift and bold and the size of an old he-goat." "What sort of beast is that," said the King. No one knew; but an aged counsellor said that in his youth he had heard that a lion was a beast of that description. "This must be a fine place if it breeds such animals," said the King, so he decided to settle there and named his new colony the City of the Lion. He proclaimed himself King of Singapore under the title of Sri Tribuana and sent for his wife and household to join him. Bentan he left in charge of the Talani family, an ancient line of nobles who own the only surname in old Malaya.

The story of this old colony (as given in the Malay Annals) is a series of myths of which the best-known is the tale of the garfish. Every Singaporean must know the curious fish—the "long Tom" or *Tylosurus*—that runs along the watersurface as though it is standing on its tail. The legend is that these "long Toms" became aggressive and began to attack walkers on the beach. The King mounted his elephant and drew up his army on the shore, only to suffer many casualties and to get his coat torn by a long Tom bolder than the others. "Why let the fish pierce your legs when you can use banana-trunks instead," asked an urchin who was looking on. The King made a stockade of banana-trunks in which the snouts of the dashing long Toms got stuck; and the fish were caught and slain by the thousand. The victory was complete, but the older men shook their heads. "If that boy is so wise when he is young, what will he be like when he is old? It were well to slay him lest he become a peril to his betters." So they slew him, and "left the city to answer to God for the sin that they committed.

So too there came to this old Singapore a humble follower of God, Tun Jana Khatib. This man was looking at a palm-tree near the palace when the tree split and fell. The King was greatly angered: "Is a man like this to come showing off his magic because he knows that my wife is looking through her casement?" So they took Tun Jana Khatib, "to the place of execution which was near a cake-shop, and there they shed his blood with a stabbing blow, but his body vanished leaving only the blood upon the ground." All this was recorded in an ancient verse:

A rolling stone afar he wandered,
Was slain for the offence he gave,
In Singapore his blood was squandered,
Remote Langkawi holds his grave.

Last of all there was war with the great Javanese State of Majapahit. At that time there was at Singapore a Treasury store-keeper named Sang Ranjuna Tapa with a comely daughter whose charms had won the king's favour. Her jealous rivals said

she was unfaithful; upon which her lover had her impaled alive. Sang Ranjuna Tapa was embittered: "if she had been guilty, well and good; but why shame us all on mere suspicion?" So when the Javanese laid siege to the town he reported that the public granaries were empty and opened the city gates to the enemy." There was fierce fighting; the fortress was flooded with blood; and the soil of Singapore is blood-red even now." The city fell; the King escaped by way of Seletar; "then by God's Providence, the house of Sang Ranjuna Tapa was turned bottom upwards, his rice-store crashed; the rice in it was turned to dust. As for him and his wife they were changed into rocks; and those rocks stand at the mouth of the Singapore River even to this day."

Chinese records refer to this war. They tell us that in 1375 there were three kings of "Sri Vijaya." One presumably was the king of Tumasik (*Tan-ma-sa-na-ho*); another the king of Palembang (*Ma-na-ha-pau-lin-pang*); the other (*Sang-ka-liet-yu-lan*) cannot be identified but may have been the King of Jambi. The three all sent tribute to China between 1373 and 1375. In 1376 the King of Tumasik died; and in 1377 his son (Maharaja "Wuli") sent tribute to China and asked for recognition. In reply he was sent a seal and commission but never received them as the Chinese envoys were waylaid and killed by the Javanese. After this event all the old "Sri Vijaya" area became poorer and poorer and ceased to send tribute to China.

There is some discrepancy in dates. The Majapahit poem gives 1361 A.D. as the date of the fall of Singapore; the Chinese say 1377. Malay tradition recalls the fate of the city as one of appalling horror. It points to the blood-red soil; it tells us that there is a curse on the island and that it can never grow rice, the staple food of the country. Abdullah says,

"One day Col. Farquhar wanted to climb Fort Canning Hill which the Temenggong had declared a hill under taboo. And the Temenggong's men said to him, 'We dare not go with you, it is full of ghosts; you can hear them daily making noises by the hundred; sometimes you can even hear gongs and drums and warcries.' Col. Farquhar laughed and said, 'I would rather like to meet these ghosts.' But only Malacca men would follow him, no Singapore man would go near the place."

On the point to the South of the Singapore river some of the Master Attendant's men found a rock covered with old writing. They stopped work in terror at this further relic of the ghosts of the past. They had found an inscription put up probably by the Majapahit conquerors who wasted Singapore in 1361 or 1377 A.D. Of this rock-inscription Raffles and others did their best to take tracings; and had it been kept, it might have thrown a flood of light on the fate of the old Malay settlement. But let Munshi Abdullah tell us what happened.

"Not a soul in Singapore could explain what was carved on that stone; God alone knoweth what it was.

So it went on till the days when Mr. Bonham was Governor of the Straits and Mr. Coleman his Chief Engineer. The latter broke it to pieces,—oh the pity of it!—for in my judgment he did what was utterly wrong. He may have done it out of pig-headed ignorance, or he may have done it because he could not read it himself and did not grasp the fact that there might come others who could,.... anyway, we Malays have a proverb, 'What you cannot replace you should never destroy.'

It is to the honour of Col. Low that he objected to this act of vandalism and saved what he could of the pieces; one fragment of the rock—so preserved—is now in Raffles Museum. A copy was taken by Laidlay while the inscription was still unbroken, but without the expert knowledge needed for its correct transcription. Krom concludes that it was in Majapahit Kawi rather older than 1361 A.D. It was a long text, running to some fifty lines, and is illustrated roughly in Trubner's *Essays relating to Indo-China*, vol. i.

From the reports of Raffles and Crawford we learn that the fortified lines of the old Malay settlement could be traced clearly enough in their day. Its defences were: the Singapore river; the sea as far as the present mouth of the Stamford canal; then a broad parapet and trench running from the mouth of that canal to Fort Canning Hill and along the nearer base of the hill itself. The old "Lion City" between the present Hill Street and the sea could not have been a place of great importance.

The sea-front was unfortified. Presumably the fathomless mud of the Singapore harbour made landing at this point impossible, for when the Siamese attacked the town they seem to have disembarked where Beach Road now stands although they had command of the sea. Here let our Chinese witness, Wang Ta-yuan, give evidence in his own words.

"This people (the Siamese) are much given to piracy; whenever there is an uprising in any other country they embark at once in as many as a hundred junks provisioned with full cargoes of sago and by the vigour of their attack secure what they want. In recent years they came with seventy odd junks, raided *Tan-ma-hsi* (Tumasik) and attacked the city moat. The town resisted for a month, closing its gates and defending itself so that they dared not assault it. It happened just then that an Imperial Envoy was passing by the island so that the Siamese drew off and hid."

On Fort Canning Hill were found: (i) a grove of old fruit-trees, the possible descendants of trees of the old settlement; (ii) fourteen sandstone blocks, probably the bases of pillars supporting a temple roof; and (iii) a terrace now known as the "tomb of Iskander Shah" and believed by the ignorant to be the tomb of

Alexander the Great.¹ In recent years pieces of gold jewellery of a Javanese type have also been dug up on Fort Canning Hill, but attempts to excavate on the site of the "tomb" have been doomed to failure. Once more the power of the "ghosts" has been too great to overcome.

After its destruction in the fourteenth century the old settlement became so much waste land, a site for the huts of Proto-Malayn sea-gypsies. In the fifteenth century Bentan, Batam, Bulang, and the other islands (including Singapore) were included in the domain of the Bendaharas of Malacca, the *batin* or Chief of the whole island being the *Dato' Raja Nēgara*. By the first Bendahara-Sultan (1699-1719) the island was offered as a gift to Capt. Alexander Hamilton. In the eighteenth century the *batin* seems to have regarded himself as a local noble of the Riau Court; in the nineteenth century he did not follow the fortunes of Sultan Husain and the *Tēmenggong*, played no part in the cession of the island to Sir Stamford Raffles and disappeared from local politics in Singapore. But his vassals, the sea-gypsies, constituted themselves into a sort of *imperium in imperio* under the British and referred their petty disputes for settlement to their own headman and (as a final authority) to the head of the family of Sultan Husain, that head (in *Tēngku Ali's* minority) being taken to be his mother, *Tēngku Mēriam*.

A picture of Singapore in the days of the sea-gypsies is given by Abdullah.

"At the mouth of the Singapore river were many rocks, you had to thread your way through them by a passage narrow and tortuous as a snake writing under a back-breaking blow. Among these rocks was one with a pointed end that looked like the snout of a long Tom, to this the Orang Laut gave the name of Garfish rock. It was thought to be haunted; vows were paid to it, streamers were hung on it, honour was shown it in every way; for, said the Orang Laut, if you do not respect it it will slay you some day as you pass in or out of the river. Each day fresh offerings were laid at its foot. On the banks of the river you could see lying about on the sand some hundreds of human skulls: some were old, others were fresh, some had the scalp still clinging to them, some showed teeth filed to a point while others did not, skulls of all races in fact. Col. Farquhar was told about them, and when he saw them he had them loaded into sacks and thrown into the sea. When the sea-gypsies were questioned about them they said they were the skulls of the victims of the pirates, Singapore being the place to which captives were taken for slaughter."

¹ A good account of all that is known of this Singapore settlement has been given by Rouffaer.

The Malacca Sultanate.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

Malacca.

There is much old history in Malaya, could we only unearth it. There was a kingdom of Langkasuka, now a mere fairyland of romance, yet referred to by old writers for nearly a thousand years. There were Bruas or Gangga Negara with its legends, the lost castle of Lenggiu in the Johore valley, and the fallen City State that first gave its name to Singapore. Of these only a few traditions now survive. But the story of Malacca is detailed and well-documented from the first. It links with its record the romance of great names: Albuquerque, Magellan, Camoens, St. Francis Xavier, van Riebeeck, Raffles,—as well as those that live for ever in the memories of Malays. Prophetically indeed was the old fortress named by the Portuguese conquerors *A Famosa*, "the Renowned."

About the name "Malacca" there is both legend and history. Malay tradition tells us that when a fugitive king of Singapore was fleeing from his foes, he sat under a tree by the banks of the river Bertam. From his seat he watched a little mousedeer turn upon the hounds pursuing it and fling them back into the water. "A fine site this, for a city," said he, "this place that breeds bravery; let us make it a settlement for ourselves." His followers agreed.—"And what is the name of the tree against which I am leaning?"—"A *Malaka* tree, Your Highness."—Then, we will call our town Malacca." And in time, the Chronicle tells us, "Goods were brought to Malacca from all the neighbouring countries and from the lands beyond the Sea, and the port became so frequented that the Arabs named it *Malakat*, 'the Mart.'"

Here, we get two rival renderings of the one name Malacca; and of the two the second is the truer to fact, for the name is older than the city, the "Mart" than the Sultanate. From its first Chinese visitors we learn that there had been a "Mart" on one of the Five Islands,—probably on Water Island, still the resort of pilgrims to the tombs of pre-Malacca saints; and we meet the name Malacca in a Javanese poem of 1324 A.D. and in a list of Siamese dependencies of about A.D. 1360. The Siamese had sent a fleet to raid the Straits and had levied a "tribute" of 40 taels of gold for which they did nothing in return and which may have been more than the little "Mart" could afford to pay. So the settlement was moved from Water Island to the mouth of the Bertam River, where there was a fishing-village of sea-gypsies,—*"Cellates"* or *Orang Sĕlat*,—a tribe still met with on the isle of Battam, opposite Singapore. From the site on the River Bertam the traders with their wares might slip up-stream should the Siamese fleets show any interest in their "dependency"; and it was to this new "Mart" that they were able, some years later, to welcome

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the Chinese admirals sent out by the Emperor Cheng-tsu with orders "to display his warlike strength to foreign countries." To account for this visit we must turn to Chinese history.

In A.D. 1370 the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty was able to announce to the Indonesian world the overthrow of his Mongol predecessors and his willingness to resume the time-honoured Chinese policy of accepting "tribute" from such nations as were wise enough to give it. Tribute to China had no likeness to Siamese tribute; it was returned in value many times over both in gifts and honours and blessed him that gave rather than the power that took it. It was,—apart from the name—a most enlightened policy of peaceful penetration. But the first Ming envoys stumbled on trouble. The Javan ruler of Majapahit was making war on all the Malay States and was displeased when he met a Chinese ship bearing titles and presents to a local potentate whom he had just overcome. So he slew the Chinese envoys; and the Emperor made a virtue of necessity and "did not think it right to punish him for what he had done." For some years friendly relations between China and Malaya were suspended.

In A.D. 1403 the Ming Emperor Cheng-tsu ascended the dragon-throne and again sent out fleets to ask for the friendly tribute and "to show that China was rich and strong" and worthy to receive it. Of this first Chinese visit to Malacca the Ming record may be allowed to speak.

"In the tenth month of the year 1403 the Emperor sent the eunuch Yin Chhing as envoy to Malacca to bring presents of silk woven with golden flowers, curtains adorned with gold, and other things. In the country there was no king nor was it called a kingdom, but it belonged to Siam to whom it paid an annual tribute of 40 taels of gold. When Yin Chhing arrived he spoke of the power and rank of China and of his wish to take the Chief back with him. The Chief, called Pai-li-su-ra (*përmaisura*), was delighted and sent envoys to go to Court with the Imperial Envoy and to submit products of the country as tribute.

"In the ninth month of the year 1405 these envoys arrived at the capital; the Emperor spoke in praise of their master, appointed him king of the country and sent him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella."

Yin Chhing took the seal, the commission, the robes of honour and the yellow umbrella along with him when he revisited Malaya in A.D. 1406; the kingdom of Malacca may be said to date from that year. On his return-journey in 1407 A.D. he was given further "tribute" for the Emperor which was acknowledged two years later when the famous Chinese admiral, Cheng Ho or Ong Sam Po, visited the little Malay mart for the first time. This admiral was a remarkable man. Having begun life as an officer in the army he passed from grade to grade by "military merit" till he rose to the singular position—for a soldier—of Chief Eunuch

at the Emperor's Court. From this post he was promoted or transferred in A.D. 1405 to the command of an armada of sixty-two ships and 27,000 troops. With this array he was commanded to show his country's flag in the Indian Archipelago and lead foreign countries to see that it was wise to accept the kindly hegemony of China. On his first journey he stopped short of Malacca; he visited Champa, Java and Palembang. In Java he learnt that the King of Majapahit, though harrassed by his Western neighbours, and defeated in a great war, still insisted on claiming suzerainty over Sri Vijaya or Palembang. Palembang he found so fallen from its high estate that a Chinese pirate Cheng Tsu-i was the real ruler of the country though both Majapahit and Malacca claimed to be its overlords. Cheng Ho seized Cheng Tsu-i and took him back a prisoner to Nanking where he was beheaded. So ended Cheng Ho's first voyage in A.D. 1407.

In 1408, after having been rewarded for his services, Cheng Ho was sent on a second and longer mission. On this voyage he touched at Malacca (A.D. 1409) bringing as tokens of imperial favour to the *përmaisura* two silver seals, a cap, a girdle, and a long robe; and in the Emperor's name he proclaimed the mart a City and Kingdom and left behind him a load of tiles for roofing the royal palace. He then went on to Ceylon. In Ceylon he found the king less awake to the logic of facts so the king was kidnapped and taken along to China to see things with his own eyes. On this return journey Cheng Ho touched again at Malacca and gave the *përmaisura* and his wife a passage on his fleet. We are told that the captive Singhalese king was treated with royal honours and escorted back to his own country, wiser for his experience of a kindlier civilisation than his own. Of the *përmaisura's* experiences we are told:

"In A.D. 1411 the King (of Malacca) came (to China) along with his wife, his son and his ministers, some 540 persons in all. When he reached the suburbs of the capital the Emperor sent out two officers to meet and greet him, after which he was lodged in the building of the Board of Rites and received in audience by the Emperor who entertained him in person while his wife and his suite were being entertained elsewhere. Every day bullocks, goats and wine were sent him from the Imperial buttery. He was given by the Emperor two suits of clothes embroidered with golden dragons and one suit with unicorns, other gifts of gold and silver, curtains, mattresses, etc., all complete; his wife and followers also got gifts. When about to leave, the King was presented with a girdle studded with gems, with horses and saddles, a hundred ounces of gold and five hundred of silver, 400,000 kwan of paper-money and 2,600 strings of copper cash; he received also three hundred pieces of silk gauze, a thousand pieces of plain silk and two pieces of silk with golden flowers. His wife, his son, his nephew and

his suite were entertained apart, and got presents in accordance with their rank. Afterwards the officers of the Board of Rites entertained them twice at two different post-stations on their road (to the sea)."

In 1412 A.D. the *përmaisura* sent his nephew with tribute to China. In 1414 A.D. the *përmaisura* was dead.

The subsequent career of Cheng Ho may be of interest as a picture of Chinese policy. In 1412 he left on a mission to Sumatra and returned in 1415. In the winter of the following year he took back the envoys of Malacca, Calicut and seventeen other countries to their homes and returned to China in 1419. In 1421 he set out again on a shorter expedition, returning the following year. In 1424 he was sent to carry a seal and commission to the Imperial Agent at Palembang and found on his return that his master, the Emperor Cheng Tsu was dead. By Cheng-tsu's successor he was appointed to be Guardian of Nanking or Military Governor of the Metropolis of China, a post created for him. He had been sent on missions to no less than thirty countries and might well have looked for rest; but in A.D. 1430 the Emperor noticed that tribute from foreign countries was not as plentiful as before and sent Cheng Ho on one last expedition to seventeen foreign countries. On his return we are told that "Cheng Ho was now old and died soon afterwards." The judgment passed on his work was that "he brought back numberless valuable things but what China had spent on them was not little either."

It is so hard to make out a foreign name written in Chinese that the full extent of Cheng Ho's journeys will never be known. He is believed to have sailed as far as Ormus, Arabia and East Africa. He left a name to conjure with among Chinese families in Java and the Straits. True, that name is given wrongly as Ong Sam-po, the Ong being really the clan-name of his second-in-command who was with him on all his journeys and merits a share in his fame. He was unlucky also in that his reports have perished and that we owe our knowledge of his journeys to the notes of his two interpreters who were Chinese Moslems. We know also a little about his ships. Their dimensions are given as 440 feet long and 180 feet beam, the latter an incredible figure. They were certainly large ships, and each had a smaller pilot-ship to feel the way into doubtful harbours, as well as two large barges in tow to save the ship's company in the event of a wreck. They sailed with one monsoon and returned with the next so that a voyage lasted the best part of a year; on one occasion indeed, Cheng Ho was away three years.

The *përmaisura* was succeeded as ruler of Malacca by his son *Iskandar Shah*, about whom we learn nothing from Malay sources. From Portuguese books we get his name—"Xaquendarsa"—and no more. By Chinese records we are told that *Iskandar Shah* reigned about ten years and visited China in A.D. 1414 and again in A.D. 1419.

Of the third ruler of Malacca, the Chinese Si-ri-ma-ha-la (*Séri Maharaja*) we learn that he visited China in A.D. 1424 and 1431 to beg for help against Siam and that the Emperor sent a decree to the King of Siam "ordering him to live in good harmony with his neighbours and not to act against the orders of the Court."

Our local chronicles—the *Annals* and the *Bostan al-salatin*—tell us of a fourth early ruler of Malacca, a boy-king, Raja Ibrahim, son of the third ruler. This boy-king (whom neither the Portuguese nor the Chinese mention at all) was murdered in a revolution and is known to Malay tradition as *Abu-shahid*, "the Martyr"; he died too young to play a part in history. After his death we get from Malay sources a more detailed story of events.

Of greater interest to the historian, though not to the author of the Malay *Annals*, is the question of the life of the people and the system of trade and government under the first Port-Kings. It can only be learnt indirectly from a few Malay anecdotes and from what the Chinese writers tell us. Early Malacca was made up of two parts: an outer township where most of its people lived and an inner stockaded bazaar where the traders kept their stores, money and provisions. This, the real "Mart," was shut up at night and guarded or policed. Business was carried on in small raised booths or stalls. When a ship arrived from abroad it was stopped at the barrier drawn across the river till it had paid duty on its cargo; after payment it was allowed to enter the river and sell freely to the merchants. At the barrier and at all landing-places there was a show of military force to impress visitors; in the bazaar watchmen went about ringing bells to let it be known that the police were on the look-out and that thieving would not be tolerated.

The first "Malacca" on Water Island was a trading-mart pure and simple; there was no room for serious cultivation. At the new site by the estuary of the River Bertam,—the River of the Mart" or Malacca River as it came to be called,—plantations were possible but were unpopular: "the fields are not fertile," say the Chinese records; "they produce little rice, for which reason the people do not occupy themselves with agriculture." "The Mart" was a trading port. Goods were brought by canoe down the river and by small local vessels from the Malay hamlets along the coast to be sold or bartered for the luxuries offered by the foreign merchants in Malacca. The exports were tin and products of the jungle and the sea such a lignum aloes, camphor, pearl-shell, fragrant woods, rhinoceros-horn, bezoars, ivory, incense, with perhaps, pepper. The tin-business was controlled by the State which sent people to wash streams for the metal and smelted it into small blocks weighing one catty eight taels or one catty four taels official weight; ten pieces were bound together with rattan and sold as a small bundle and forty as a large bundle. In all trading-transactions tin was the currency or standard of value.

The system had merits. Let us picture the life of a Bertam sea-gypsy before the "mart" was brought from Water Island to Malacca. He lived simply. His dwelling was a hut raised four feet above the ground, with a thatched roof, thatched or wicker walls and a grid-like floor of *nibong* or bamboo. On this floor he and his family spread their mats, ate, slept or sat. He fished from a dug-out canoe made from the trunk of a single tree. For light at night he used a torch of resin. For food he had fish, bananas, jackfruit, durian, wild fruits of all sorts, gourds, onions, ginger, leeks, Malay mustard, water-melon, sago-flour, maize and occasionally rice. For wine he had toddy made from the sap of the *nipah*-palm. From the mangrove-swamps, so hideous to us, he got most excellent fire-wood. The Mart interfered (at first) in no way with his means of livelihood, while it enabled him to get luxuries by bartering for them his fish and his finds in the jungle. In time he was destined to learn new arts from the newcomers and to find new openings for gain. Instead of spearing fish with a pointed bamboo he learnt to use nets and fishtraps, the local ramie-fibre giving him string, the mangrove-bark dressing for his nets, and rattans and timbers all that he needed for his traps.

It is the curse of most peoples that what they gain by new appliances they lose through misgovernment and war. Had the Malacca merchants gone on trading and the princes and nobles been satisfied with the return that the trade was bringing them, the poorer classes would have prospered. But with money came greed for more money. The Malay Chiefs began to realize that they had at their doors a Peninsula peopled by a timid primitive folk whom they could exploit with the greatest ease. They sent out parties to conquer or occupy the neighbouring islands and river-basins and parcel them out as fiefs. They introduced the *kěrah* or corvée and made the ryots work for nothing in the service of the State or on the properties of their masters. They put toll-stations at the mouths of rivers and tributaries and so made an income out of all who lived inland. The happiness of a people is not to be rated by statistics of exports and imports; and there is little doubt that the trade and enlightenment that should have done so much for the welfare of the Peninsula were undone by the greed and selfishness of what convention calls the "higher classes." The destinies of "the Mart" were to make this all too plain.

The Ritual of Mohamed Shah.

Doubt has been thrown over the early story of Malacca by the Annals telling us that the conversion to Islam and the planning of the City's Court and government took place in the reign of the third King. This statement cannot be quite true. The second ruler, Iskandar Shah, was a Moslem; his name tells us so, and so does his Chinese visitor, Cheng Ho. The first ruler, the *Përmaisura*,

was (almost certainly) a Moslem also. He may have been the *Mohammed Shah*, "the Shadow of God upon Earth," whose seal is still shown among the Perak regalia as that of the first Malay king; and after he had been given "a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella" by the Chinese Emperor he must surely have done something to create a Court and settle etiquette. But the elaborate ceremonial pictured for us in the Malay Annals was meant plainly for something more spacious than the little mart at the mouth of the Bertam River; and we may well believe that it, at least, was the work of the third ruler. Malacca had prospered in the interval and her Sultan had become a King by birth. Ritual must have meant more to him than it did to his grandfather who was born to other things.

The third ruler's name is as uncertain as the first's. The Portuguese omit him; the Chinese call him by his title only, *Sēri Maharaja*. The Annals name him *Mohammed Shah*, but make it possible that he was styled Sultan *Ahmad Shah*. What does a name matter to realities? He was the third Sultan; and we can follow the Malay story and give him the name *Mohammed Shah* by which he is known to students of his Ritual.

It is easy to reconstruct what happened by collating the Annals of Malacca with those of the earlier Kingdom of Pasai. In both the Moslem missionaries found a trader-Chief with ministers bearing the Sumatran title of *pērpateh* and a suite of notables known by hereditary titles like *tun* and *mēgat*. The missionaries made the Chief a king of their own faith by "drumming" him with the sound of a royal band (*nobat*) and doing homage to him with the time-honoured formula, *daulat tuanku dzil Allah fi'l-alam*, "O King live for ever, thou Shadow of God upon Earth." They made him a "Sultan" and a "Shah" in addition to what he was already; and, by doing so, they added his kingdom to that part of the world which was under the Peace of Islam (*dar al-islam*). In this way it has come about that every Malay Sultan to this day calls himself "Sultan" and "Shah" and that the Perak "thunder-seal" carries these titles in its lettering. The simple ritual of "drumming" is the kernel of a Malay coronation.

The second Sultan, Iskandar Shah, like all the Rulers of the earlier State of Pasai, was content with being drummed; but he is said to have created a bureaucracy of mandarins (*mantēri*), chamberlains (*bēntara*) and pages (*biduanda*) to give more formality to the doings at his Court. Impressed also by the Chinese imperial colour he made its orange-yellow the hue of his umbrella and gave it the first place among marks of rank.

The Ritual of the third King is quite alien to Islam and is almost a reaction against it. It reflects clearly the wish of the then Ruler to become Head of the whole Malay World and to fill the place that the Kings of Sri Vijaya had held. Mohammed Shah took the title *Sēri Maharaja* by which they had been known;

he was installed, like them, to the sound of the *chiri*, a Sanskrit formula which its own custodian had ceased to understand; and he created a nobility bearing Sanskrit titles recalling Buddhist days. Probably he was helped by members of the *Muntah Lēmbu* family, who were the hereditary custodians of the old Sri Vijaya tradition, and who keep it alive in Perak even to this day. From them he must have learnt and revived all that they could remember of the pageantry of the spacious days of Sri Vijaya; and the ritual that he laid down in Malacca is in force in Malaya to-day.

Is it waste of time to put on record the etiquette of a dead Sultanate? Malays find it of absorbing interest. "Much more, could I tell you about it," say the Annals, "but were I to narrate everything it would set you all pining for the past." To the historian nothing is petty. Out of bits of broken pottery he has pieced together the prehistory of the Near East and dated the various layers of the city of Troy. From customs now meaningless he may yet learn of a time when they were full of meaning.

At the head of the State stood the Ruler. In Pasai he had been known as "Sultan" and addressed as *tuanku*; nor was it otherwise under the first two kings of Malacca. Under Mohammed Shah he was styled *Sēri Maharaja* and *Yangdipērtuan*; the first of these titles soon fell into disuse, but the second,—rather than Sultan and Shah,—is now the time-honoured equivalent for "King." Mohammed Shah thought it wise to emphasize a king's position by sumptuary laws, many of which must have been borrowed from Sri Vijaya. The King never slept, he "reposed"; he was never ill, he "had maladies"; he never ate, he "regaled himself." He never walked; he was "borne about on high," preferably on the back of an elephant but in days of eclipse on the shoulders of a slave. Nor could he go unattended. If he went on an elephant the Minister of War sat on its head while an Admiral or General bore the Sword of State behind him. If he went in a hammock-litter his bearers were Ministers and Chiefs of the highest rank and he had a string of chamberlains, insignia-bearers, swordsmen and spearmen in the rear. Before him was borne the metal standard of the State; and before the standard were arranged the bandsmen: gongs, drums, fifes, the royal kettledrum and the silver trumpet with its curious note that Malays liken to the call of a dragon. That was etiquette. In practice, he often went about incognito and rarely for any worthy purpose.

Mohammed Shah was also the first to bring to Malacca the marks of distinction known as *larangan*. He made white the colour of the Royal umbrella and allowed no one to be borne in a litter except himself. He also forbade others to build balconies or rest their ridge-poles on pillars based directly on the ground. Without his permission no one could wear ornaments of gold or use the colour yellow either in attire or to fringe cushions and mats. He might confer on one favoured person the right to wear a kris sheathed in gold, on another the right to wear golden

anklets, on a third the right to wear a yellow coat. As such distinctions were seen at once by everybody, they were prized highly; and in a small State with an empty treasury it was often easier to pay in honours than in cash. All through Malay history we come across the bestowal of privileges comparable to the right of a grandee of Spain to wear his headdress in his sovereign's presence. One notable case is that of the hero Hang Tuah who was exempted altogether from sumptuary rules and allowed to wear anything he liked. Another was the case of a wise old *bĕndahara* or prime-minister who was presented with a royal hammock-litter, which he put away at once in a place of honour where the world could see it. "Why not go about in it," said his wondering family. "To go about in it," said the *bĕndahara*, "is to seem to set myself up as an equal or rival of the King; it is to let my vanity override my prudence."

The King made it also a rule that he should hold his Court, installations, banquets and levees in a hall of audience where the ritual was laid down to the smallest detail. The King was seated at the head of a long raised dais down the sides of which were arranged the highest Officers of State in order of precedence. Nearest royalty were the *bĕndahara* or Prime Minister and the *tĕmĕnggong* or Minister of War. At lower levels on each side of the dais were young men of princely or noble family who had no official position. Behind royalty were drawn up the insignia-bearers headed by the bearer of the Sword of State, the bearer being either the *laksamana* who commanded at sea or the *dato' Sĕri Bija Diraja* who was captain of the guard. The personage to be honoured with an audience—were he an envoy from a foreign State or the captain of a visiting ship or a Malacca Malay about to receive some distinction—was presented formally and moved up the dais with many marks of deference till he crouched humbly at the feet of the king. No one was admitted to the Audience Hall unless dressed suitably, with his kris worn in front, his sarong arranged with a loose hanging end and a scarf flung over both shoulders. All court-attendants were under the orders of the *pĕnghulu bĕndahara* or Chief Treasury Officer, but the magnates were directed to their places by the Minister of War.

On the two great religious festivals, the feast after the great fast and the feast after the pilgrimage, the King was wont to show himself formally to his people. In Java he still does this on a special terrace overlooking the *alun-alun* or esplanade before the palace; in Malacca (as in modern Perak) he did it in a special pavilion built for the occasion and raised high above the ground so that all could see. But the rite was hedged in with formalities and preceded by various processions: on the 27th night of the Fasting Month the royal praying-mat was borne with all honour to the mosque, the king following later; so also the royal litter would sometimes be taken in procession while the Sultan

followed on an elephant. Wherever the king might go in State it was the duty of the *běndahara* or prime minister to await and receive him.

A Sultan who wished to escape some of the cares of office might appoint a King-Coadjutor who enjoyed the same honours less some abatement such as a yellow flag instead of a white or the omission of some instrument from his royal band. Princes of the blood were known as *Raja* and could wear the royal yellow, but they were not all on the same footing: those born of royal mothers ranked above those born of women of lower rank; those who bore princely titles of their own were thought superior to those known only by personal names; and those born after their father's accession to the throne may have enjoyed higher consideration than those born earlier. In times of trouble such rules might easily be broken. Certainly in Malacca it was better for a Sultan's son to be born of a lady of the *běndahara's* family than to be born of a princess. Mansur Shah, Alaedin Riayat Shah, Mahmud Shah, Alaedin II and perhaps Mudzafar Shah were sons of such ladies. The power of the *běndahara* might well override the claim through a mother's royal blood.

The *běndahara* held the position of Prime Minister and Premier Noble of the State; and as the author of the Malay Annals was himself a *běndahara* he dwells with great gusto on the dignity of his high office. He either dined by himself or with princes of the blood-royal and shared no meal with men of lower rank. Among the great Officers of State he alone was excused either waiting on the King or carrying some item of his regalia. On great festival-days he was carried in a litter to be received in audience by the King; and as he approached the Palace all its officers came down the stairs to greet him. Though not of the blood-royal in Malacca he was far the greatest figure in the State, leading the army when he wished to serve in war and sitting as the highest Court of Justice when he wished to try a case. He was Viceroy, King's Deputy, Grand Vizier.

After the Prime Minister came the *Těmenggong* (or Minister of War and Justice) and the *Pěnghulu Běndahari*, the Chief Treasury Officer or Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter controlled all the Revenue and Customs Officers and looked after the Palace buildings and equipment; the former was Master of the Ceremonies at all official receptions. Both were in close attendance on their royal Master. Next came the four mandarins (*mantěri*) or Heads of Departments; and, as time went on, certain titles became linked with definite duties and were granted to those who carried out the duties in question. Technically, however, office and title were distinct things. Then there were many minor officials: heralds, chamberlains, pages, guardsmen,—call them what we will. In time, whole classes of the population might be given some nominal rank. Nearly half the inhabitants of Negri Sembilan are *biduanda* or honorary pages to the King.

Then there were the titled gentry. A Malay title is either a prefix indicating some form of noble descent and given to all who can claim it by right of birth, or else it is made up of two or more honorifics bestowed by the Sultan upon some individual whom he wishes to honour. It has no suggestion of anything official, territorial or feudal, though particular honorifics came in course of time to be linked with the holders of definite duties or Chiefdoms. Sultan Mohammed divided all distinctions into two classes: those beginning with the higher honorific *sēri* and those beginning with the lower honorific *sang*; and he laid down rules as to the ceremonies accompanying investiture in either class. Below these titles came nobles by birth only; below nobles came the gentry and commoners; below commoners came slaves. But, as we have seen, the Sultan might also confer special marks of distinction unconnected with titles, such as the right to wear a certain dress or gold ornament or to carry some article of the regalia. Any honour of this sort was prized greatly.

A man whom the King wished to honour was led in procession to the Palace-gate. If he was to receive a title of the humbler sort he walked there under an umbrella,—blue or black according to his rank,—and was followed by musicians playing one or two of the humbler instruments of the royal band. If he was to be given an office at Court or a command in the Army he rode on horseback with an umbrella over him of purple, red or green, and two fifes and drums playing some sort of tune behind him. If he was a prince of the blood or was about to have high office conferred upon him he rode on an elephant with a yellow umbrella held over his head and the Sultan's sacred kettledrums thudding dully behind. In exceptional cases—as when a sovereign was to be installed—he might have a white umbrella above him while the sacred trumpet blared its one melancholy note to let the people learn that a King was passing by.

When the dignitary reached the palace-gate he dismounted and was greeted by a chamberlain chosen from the family of the *Muntah Lēmbu*, the hereditary custodians of Ceremony. The chamberlain unrolled a scroll on which were written the words of installation and read them out in a language that no one understood, not even the reader (for it was Sanskrit), but we are told that it was "very sweet to listen to." He then folded up the scroll and put it in the hands of others to be covered by an embroidered napkin for presentation to the new magnate. Armed with this warrant the new magnate was allowed to pass the gate and enter the palace where a special sitting-mat was spread for him at some spot chosen by the Sultan. Then came the robing. If the man invested was to be a *bēndahara* five court-orderlies came forward, each bearing a silver platter with a garment upon it: a headcloth, a coat, a sarong, a sash and a plaid. If he was to be a prince or noble of high rank he was greeted with four silver platters, the sash being omitted; if he was to be a dignitary

of the second grade he received vestures on three silver platters: a headcloth, a coat and a sarong. Humbler officials could hardly wear less without discourtesy to the King, so they also received three garments but not on silver platters; their garments were given them by a court-slave who draped the cloth round the shoulders of the recipient. The recipient then kissed the garments and retired to put them on.

When the dignitary has been robed he came forward again and was invested solemnly with a *pontoh*, an armlet or bracelet showing the rank he held, for in those days—not now—all men of title wore these badges of honour. These *pontoh* were of many kinds. Some were of gold, dragon-shaped and talismanic; some were jewelled; some of plain gold; some of silver only; some were worn in pairs; some on one arm only. After receiving his *pontoh* the new magnate was admitted to the royal presence to do homage to his King. The Annals do not describe this part of the ceremony but leave us to picture it from what we see to-day. A Malay Chief begins by pacing with slow steps between the lines of courtiers seated on either side of the raised passage-way (*sēri balai*). After each step he halts, bows low, and raises his hands prayerfully to his forehead. As he comes closer he drops to the ground and worms his way forward till he reaches the Sultan whose knees he kisses or whose foot he places on his head. The Sultan then sprinkles him with sacrificial rice-paste (*tēpong tawar*) to keep away all ghostly powers of evil; and the new magnate, having done his loyal duty, moves back as humbly as he came.

There was ritual also at his departure. He was escorted to the gateway by those who had received him and sent off in honour with music and umbrellas as when he came. In Perak he has to cross the Perak River and for seven days may not look on the Ruler or his palace or anything that is his. Violation of this taboo is believed to mean death either to the King or to the Chief.

In connection with all Oriental etiquette it must be put on record that European visitors were expected to observe it, did not observe it, and have often been commended by historians for showing a proper sense of their own dignity. There is something to be said on the other side. Our own expressions "Your obedient servant" can be subscribed to in letter-writing without protest, and the Malay word *sahaya*, used by all Europeans as a first person singular means much the same thing. But the great Dutch Governor-General, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, when asked so to write to the Emperor of Java protested violently that he served no man save the ruler of Holland; and our own Sir Stamford Raffles refused to allow the Sultan of Jogja to take precedence of him even in Jogja itself. Who can presume to criticize great men? But many will feel sympathy with the Malacca *bendahara* who saw his followers flare up angrily at the loud and familiar ways of the Portuguese Thexeira, and then calmed them with the words, "Leave the man alone,—he knows no better."

Mudzafar Shah.

The fifth of the Malacca Kings, Mudzafar Shah, is a historic figure. He is the Modafaixa of Portuguese, and the Wu-ta-fu-na-sha of Chinese records. His name can be read also on the dated tombstone of his son and successor Mansur Shah. Certainly he existed. But who he was by birth and how he came to be King are not so plain.

The story of his accession, as given in the Malay Annals, is quite easy to believe till we begin to look into details. It is this. The fourth king, "the Martyr," was the son of the third by a royal mother and came to the throne as a mere child. Being an infant he had to be given as guardian his mother's kinsman the Prince of Rekan, a man so tyrannical and unpopular that he provoked a rising in which both he and his ward were slain. The martyr was succeeded by his own elder brother, Raja Kasim, a son of the third ruler by a woman of humble birth. It all sounds likely. But when we search the Annals to find who led this popular revolt against the alien Prince of Rekan we find that it was a pair of foreigners, namely a Tamil merchant living in Malacca and a passing ship-captain, Maulana Jalaludin, a so-called saint who happened to be in the port and who bargained that he should be given the boy-Sultan's young mother as the price of his services. This hardly bears out the idea that there was an outburst of popular indignation over the misconduct of the Regent; it looks more like a conspiracy to murder.

Nevertheless the story is of interest if only as a picture of the times. The ship-captain suggested to the young prince, Raja Kasim, that he should by right have been Sultan of Malacca. The prince answered that with the blessing of Allah and the help of the ship-captain he might yet be put on the throne. The captain said that they might try to get other help as well and if they succeeded—well, what he wanted was the infant-king's mother. "I agree," said Raja Kasim, "if I become King you shall have her." The two then sought the help of the Tamil merchant, Raja Kasim's maternal uncle, who promised to do what he could. "But how can we manage this *coup d'état* if the *bēndahara* is against us," said the young prince; "and if we try to get the *bēndahara* to join us is it in the least likely that he will consent?"—"It can be managed quite easily," said the uncle.

That night the ship-captain landed his crew of armed men while the Tamil merchant and the young prince rode on an elephant to the *bēndahara's* house. "Tell the *bēndahara* that H.H. the Sultan awaits him," said the Tamil. The minister hurried out, leaving his kris behind him in his haste and tying up his head-cloth as he went along. "His Highness is on the elephant, you can join him there." The minister mounted and the elephant moved off. "But this is Raja Kasim," said the minister, "and what is the meaning of all these armed men?"—"Raja Kasim

is out to kill the Prince of Rekan."—"Oh well, it is all the same to me; Raja Kasim is a member of the Royal House." By this time they had reached the Palace, and cries arose, "Raja Kasim is attacking the palace, where is the *bëndahara*?"—"The *bëndahara* is with Raja Kasim." "Well, it is the *bëndahara*'s business to guard the palace; it is not ours." At this point the Prince of Rekan and the boy-king came out; and some one in the crowd, stabbed the Prince to the heart. As he died he stabbed the young king who perished with him, leaving Raja Kasim to inherit the throne.

The new king took the title of *Mudzafar Shah*. He rewarded his uncle, the Tamil, by making him *Dato' Sëri Nara Diraja* and later on (as we shall see) by raising him to the position of *bëndahara*. To the captain he behaved less honestly; he palmed off a pretty and well-dressed girl upon him, saying she was the murdered king's mother; and the captain who did not know the difference went off well pleased. To hand over a princess to a ship-captain would have outraged all Malay ideas of propriety.

The palace revolution that put Raja Kasim on the throne is of interest for a second reason. It brought to the front of Malacca politics the king-maker, the man who was the soul of the plot, namely the Tamil merchant Tun Ali, *Dato' Sëri Nara Diraja* and afterwards *bëndahara*. This man founded a famous house and numbered among his descendants the *bëndahara* who wrote the Malay Annals; indeed we might claim that the Annals, based as they are on family tradition, are really the story of himself and his heirs. They are written therefore with a bias in his favour. Let us see what they say of him, bearing in mind that he was the founder of the fortunes of his house.

They tell us that Tun Ali was the son of an Indian prince, *Baginda Mani Purindan*, who came to Malacca in the reign of Mohammed Shah and there married the daughter of the Malay *Sëri Nara Diraja*. On his way to Malacca he was shipwrecked but managed to get ashore on the back of a barracouta and pulled himself out of the water by clutching at a clump of *gandasuli* (*Hedychium coronarium*), for which reason neither he nor his descendants would eat of that fish or wear the *gandasuli* flower. *Mani purindan* means "treasurer" or *bëndahara*. *Baginda* is used of a reigning king; it is also a Minangkabau honorific so that Dr. Rouffaer sees in it a possibility that Tun Ali was of Minangkabau origin. This is most unlikely. He boasted of his Indian connection and was described by the ex-ruler of Pahang as "that old King." But the story of his father's arrival in Malacca in the reign of Mohammed Shah will not hold water. Mohammed Shah came to the throne in A.D. 1424 so that Tun Ali, born some time after that date, could hardly have been described as an "old old man" twenty years later nor could Tun Ali's younger sister have then been the mother of a grown-up son, Raja Kasim. The Malay Annals are uncritical and weak in their

chronology. But if we throw overboard the story of Tun Ali's royal origin we may still believe that he came as a Tamil merchant to Malacca early in Mohammed Shah's reign, his sister was taken as a secondary wife by the Sultan, and her son, passed over for his mother's humble birth, became by a *coup d'état* Sultan of Malacca under the name of *Mudzafar Shah*.

It is quite clear that the Sultan's weakness for his Tamil uncle or favourite was a thing very displeasing to his Malay subjects. Mudzafar Shah lost his Malay *bēndahara* soon after his accession to the throne. He now tried to govern by means of his Tamil favourite while appointing a Malay to succeed in name to the vacant dignity; but the Malay did not take kindly to slights and committed suicide by poison—a thing without parallel in local history. Mudzafar Shah then showed his hand by naming the Tamil himself to be *bēndahara*, thus dispossessing the Malay family that had held the dignity previously. This led to a feud that made Mudzafar Shah anxious for the safety of the State; "if the Chiefs fall out," said he, "the country perishes."

The office of *bēndahara* was one of those created by Sultan Mohammed Shah when he reorganized the Court; he had then given it to his uncle, the *Dato' Sēriwa Raja*. That uncle was succeeded in the same reign by his brother, the *Dato' Sēri Amar Diraja*, the old man who played such an inglorious part in the *coup d'état*. At his death he was succeeded by his nephew, a son of the first *bēndahara* and known like him as *Bēndahara Sēriwa Raja*. This third *bēndahara* was the man who poisoned himself. He left three children: a daughter, Tun Kudu, married to the king; and two sons, Tun Perak and Tun Puteh, both of whom were destined in time to succeed to his own high office. For the moment they held no office whatever and they resented that fact.

Tun Perak must have been a remarkable man. He is remembered to this day (under the name Tun Merah Galang) among the Protomalayan aborigines as their saviour and protector, but what it was that he did we cannot now know and aboriginal tradition is too mythical to help us. By the Malay Annals we are told that when *pēnghulu* of Klang (his first office) he brought all his aborigines along with their wives and families to Malacca to protect them from a Siamese invasion; and it may be that he saved them from massacre. In any case he was promoted to be a Court Chamberlain, and then again advanced to the high dignity of *Dato' Paduka Raja*. It was after this last promotion that he seems to have thrown off the mask and headed the opposition to the king's Tamil favourite, the *Bēndahara Sēri Nara Diraja*. Mudzafar Shah, disliking the quarrel, tried to arrange a *modus vivendi* by inducing the Tamil to resign his high post in return for the hand of any lady of high rank whom he might choose to marry. *Sēri Nara Diraja* chose Tun Kudu, sister of his rival and wife of the King. The King divorced her at once and sent

her back to her brother's house to await marriage to her new husband. She was young and beautiful, say the Annals, save for a cast in her eyes. Then the Tamil's own household protested, "What is all this nonsense about your marrying a young wife, an old man like you, with eyebrows that go down to your eyelashes." Nara Diraja objected to these personal remarks. He answered that he owned a rhinoceros-horn, a fetish of great price, warranted to keep him young. So the marriage took place. It was from this marriage that the author of the Malay Annals was descended.

The Annals credit Mudzafar Shah with a reign forty years long, but as we hear from the Chinese that he sought recognition on his accession in 1445 A.D. and that Mansur Shah was doing the same thing in 1459 A.D., we may take it that he reigned about fourteen years. Apart from quarrels at his Court he was troubled by Siamese invasions. The first attack came overland and seems to have been baulked by natural difficulties. The second expedition was sent by sea and reached Batu Pahat within easy striking distance of Malacca. There the Siamese ships were seen by a solitary Malay cruiser that had been sent out to look for them; and this cruiser, commanded by Tun Omar, a very gallant son of the *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja*, made a sudden dash at the enemy who were caught unprepared and lost two or three ships besides having their morale badly shaken. That night the Malays lined the mangrove-covered shores with countless torches, suggesting the presence of a formidable fleet and scared their enemies into a hasty retreat. They followed the fleeing Siamese as far as Singapore Straits and then returned in triumph to Malacca to be rewarded by their king. On Tun Perak, now *bēndahara*, who led the expedition and on the *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja*, his second in command, Mudzafar Shah bestowed robes of honour. This *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja* was a certain Tun Hamza, one of the ancient family of the *Muntah Lēmbu*, and is known to Malay fame as the Humpback, the story being that he would never hold himself erect unless there was somebody about for him to fight.

The King of Siam talked of taking the field himself. But his son and heir, Chaupandan, asked for the honour of leading the expedition, guaranteeing that he would capture Malacca. The prince was given the command. Rumours of what was coming reached Mudzafar Shah and perturbed him greatly, nor was he much consoled when a crazy Arab shot an arrow towards Siam and exclaimed, "Die now, Chaupandan"; he only smiled and said, "If that kills Chaupandan you will be a miracle-worker." Shortly after this episode news reached Malacca that Chaupandan had died suddenly. Rumour added that he had been slain by the invisible arrow, and a local poet immortalized the incident in verse.

The death of the young prince led to the abandonment of the expedition. Peace was not made but hostilities were not

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resumed. So matters drifted on till Mudzafar Shah died in A.D. 1459 and left to his son, Mansur Shah, the chance of resuming friendly relations with Malacca's most dangerous enemy.

Mansur Shah's Early Years.

The sixth Sultan of the Malacca dynasty was Raja Abdullah, son of the fifth Sultan (Mudzafar Shah) by Tun Puteh, a daughter of the second *bendahara* (*Sēri Amar Diraja*). Although the Annals would have us believe that he was twenty-seven years of age when he came to the throne he can hardly have been more than thirteen or fourteen and must have been swayed at first in his policy by his cousin and Prime Minister, *Bendahara* Tun Perak. He began a policy of conquest by sending out the *bendahara* at the head of a force of 200 ships to subdue Pahang. Looking at the composition of that force and seeing that it took in none of the leading men in Malacca except the commander himself and the "humpbacked" *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja* who was always on the look out for a fight, we may suppose that it was made up mainly of young men eager for a chance of distinction. From the Annals we get a good picture of the Pahang that we know, with its wide plains, its yield of alluvial gold and its wild cattle "nearly as big as elephants"; and we are told that it was then a Siamese dependency with its capital at a place called *Pura* (= *Pēkan*) and its governor a certain "*Maharaja Dewa Sura*, a relative of the King of Siam."

Pahang offered little resistance and cannot have been held by any large force of Siamese. *Maharaja Dewa Sura* fled upriver and tried to escape into Kelantan by the Tembeling trade-route which seems to have been in use since the Stone Age. He is said to have used an Indo-Chinese form of speech and to have had a daughter with an Indo-Chinese name, though the title given him personally is Sanskrit. He failed to get away; he, his daughter and his elephant were all captured by *Sēri Bija Diraja* who had been sent to pursue him and who had learnt his whereabouts by threats of torture to a woman harbouring him. Once captured he was treated with courtesy both by *Sēri Bija Diraja*, his captor, and by the *bendahara* who was in supreme command.

On the return of the army to Malacca the delighted Sultan gave the *Dato' Bija Diraja* the use of a pair of royal umbrellas with tasselled fringes round them and then named him Viceroy of the conquered country. He allowed the *Dato'* the use of a royal band or *nobat*, minus the kettledrum; and laid it down that this band was not to strike up till it got to Water Island and was well outside the Malacca three-mile-limit. He gave orders also that the Viceroy should come once a year to the capital and do homage for the dependency that he ruled. After receiving these high honours the *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja* set out for Pahang and seems to have governed the country without any serious setback for a decade.

Mansur Shah added the Pahang elephant to the herd that he owned and took the captive governor's daughter into his harem where she bore him two sons, destined to be Sultans. Maharaja Dewa Sura was first handed over to the *bĕndahara's* custody and then passed on to the Tamil *Dato' Sĕri Nara Diraja*. By the *bĕndahara* he had been looked after in a kindly way; by the *Dato' Sĕri Nara Diraja* he was shown respect but shut up in a cage on the verandah. Naturally, he did not like the treatment; and, one day, when the verandah was full of callers he aired his grievances: "I was treated like a prince; and from the *bĕndahara* I received even greater kindness; with this old Kling I am a caged animal." "Quite so," said the old Kling, "from a tried warrior like *Sĕri Bija Diraja* you could never hope to escape, nor could you expect to run away from the *bĕndahara* whom every man is anxious to help; but what of a poor man like me? Were you to give me the slip not a soul would help me, but, when it came to finding fault, they would all do it, from the Sultan downwards." "True," said the prisoner.

Maharaja Dewa Sura was fated to escape from his cage. A tame elephant ran away from the royal herd; and not all the king's mahouts could entice it back. Some one hinted that the captive Siamese Chief came from a country where elephants were bred and trained; possibly he might help. "Let me go free," said the caged captive, "and I promise to get the animal." He was as good as his word. This so impressed Mansur Shah that the Ruler—in his way, an enthusiast for education—made him an instructor in the work of a mahout, as other experts before him had been told off to teach riding, fencing and the use of weapons to the young bloods about the palace.

From this day we hear a good deal about the Malacca elephants. Even earlier a special officer, *Dato' Sĕri Rama*, served as their keeper. Being a man of birth, a "kshatriya" or descendant of the Indian warrior caste, he was given a seat of honour in the Sultan's hall and he had the right of having spirits served up to him in a bowl of alloyed gold covered with an embroidered napkin. In fact, he could treat the bowl as the badge of his position for it is notorious that mahouts in Malaya make use of stimulants. At a later date a *Dato' Sĕri Rama* was seen by a foreign bigot to be the worse for drink. "Alcohol," said the canting Indian, "is the dam of all uncleanness." The angry *Dato'* turned on him, "And what of greed? What brought you from your home but a love of filthy lucre?"

Mansur Shah then turned his thoughts—or those of his Prime Minister—to the fact that no traders from Siam ever came to Malacca and none from Malacca ever went to Siam. He called a council of his notables, beginning with Chiefs like the *bĕndahara* and *Sĕri Nara Diraja* and working down to Chamberlains and warriors and such ship-captains as might be in the port. To them he spoke as follows, "It is Our wish to send envoys to Siam.

Why go on as at present? We have neither war nor peace. What say you, gentlemen?" The meeting answered: "Friends are better than foes." Turning to the *bēndahara* the Sultan asked, "And whom shall we send on this mission?" The Minister named his own son, Tun Talani, and the *Mantēri Jana Putēra*, a higher civil servant. The two were sent to Siam bearing a very conciliatory letter. "And what does the name Mansur Shah mean," said the Siamese king. Tun Talani was silent; his colleague blurted out, "The King to whom God gives Victory." The Annals would have us believe that the king of Siam went on to ask how the Malays had had the best of him in warfare, and we need not trust what we read of this undiplomatic talk. All we learn that matters is that the Malay envoys helped the King in his wars on other enemies, and in this way won his favour and were able to bring back to Mansur a friendly reply to his overtures. Peace was restored.

Incidentally Tun Talani brought back from this mission a Siamese wife, afterwards the mother of his son Tun Ali Haru. From this and other cases we are apt to infer that the old Malays cared nothing for purity of blood. Was it so? Mansur Shah himself had a Siamese wife, the daughter of Maharaja Dewa Sura; later he was to add to his harem a Javanese bride and a lady from China; and in a trading port with large resident bodies of foreigners racial intermixture must surely have been common. Yet even in the Annals, written by a man of Indian descent, we can detect signs of a decided nationalist feeling. The story of "the old Kling," Nara Diraja, suggests that he was disliked as an alien; and though helped by the king he had failed to retain the great post of *bēndahara*. The story of Nara Diraja's brilliant son, Tun Mutahir, shows that he rose to be *bēndahara* by royal favour and perished when the king turned against him. The author of the Annals was proud of his ancestors and does not hide their origin, yet it is claimed for him, illogically enough, that he was a Malay of the Malays, of a family that came in with Sang Sapurba when that Man of Myth revealed himself on Mount Siguntang at the foot of Mahameru.

We are next told that Mansur Shah went on a mission to Java to seek the hand of the beautiful princess Chandra Kirana, daughter of the Ruler of Majapahit. On this occasion he broke all the rules laid down for his guidance by that master of etiquette, Sultan Mohammed Shah, and was content to take with him a petty Chief of the fourth rank, Tun Bijaya Sura, and an escort of a few soldiers of the guard. All his great officers he left behind to guard Malacca. Not only did he win his princess but he so pleased his father-in-law that he got the island of Siantan by simply asking for it. "Not Siantan but Palembang itself would I have given him had he wanted it," said the delighted Javanese king.

The story of this romantic mission is one of the best-known tales in old Malay history, and like many beautiful legends is

probably untrue. The fair princess, Chandra Kirana, whom he went to wed had been dead some centuries. The king her father, does not figure in the list of kings of Majapahit. The king's prime minister, Pateh Gajah Mada, did exist; but in days before Malacca was thought of. Majapahit had seen its own capital destroyed in 1406 A.D. and was no longer a place that a Malay Sultan would visit. Two facts remain: Mansur Shah did marry a Javanese wife, and one of his guardsmen, Hang Tuah, did kill a Javanese in romantic circumstances. These were the outstanding incidents of the mission to Java; they needed no journey; they may have occurred in Malacca. But they are linked with the name of Hang Tuah, the paladin of Malay tales; and all that we hear of Hang Tuah is coloured by the wildest romance. Hence the story of Mansur Shah's visit to Java.

Hang Tuah was a man of humble birth, probably a Proto-malayan sea-gypsy from Bentan. When quite a boy his courage in dealing with some pirates who had attacked him and his play-fellows had brought him to the notice of his feudal master, the *Bēndahara* Tun Perak. Having been taken into the *bēndahara's* service and then passed on to that of the Sultan he came to attend his master to Java—if that story be true. Whether in Java or elsewhere he was called upon suddenly to face a madman who was running amuck. Hardly more than a boy, he saw all his elders fleeing from a Javanese who, when mocked at and mimicked for shivering with ague, had turned on his tormentors slaying all whom he could catch. The young Hang Tuah kept his presence of mind, managed to disarm the amoker and slew him with his own weapon. This act made his reputation.

We have seen that Mansur Shah was in the habit of providing instruction in riding and fencing to his young Malays and can well believe that Hang Tuah proved an apt pupil and became an expert in the use of the kris. We are told instead that he made a pilgrimage to the homes of the anchorites on the hills of Java and was given charms not only for use in war but even to make him master of all languages. Such is romance. As soon as he was old enough to be a guardsman he joined the youths in attendance on the Sultan and had to face the temptations of a palace full of young damsels on the lookout for adventure to break the monotony of their lives. Romance would have us think that Hang Tuah was always discreet in his dealings with the Sultan's lady-friends; Mansur Shah thought otherwise and handed over Hang Tuah to be kressed. The proper authorities were inclined to be pitiful; why waste a brave young life over a trifling matter? They sent Hang Tuah to a place of hiding in the country and kept him there in the stocks. There he was safely out of the way of mischief till the affair blew over.

Meanwhile other young men had taken Hang Tuah's place at the palace and kept up as merrily as ever the Court's reputation for scandal. One of them, at last,—a certain *Hang Kěsturi* who
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was Hang Tuah's personal friend,—having been seen to climb stealthily into the palace, was trapped with his lady-love, while the Sultan and his more faithful women slipped out of danger and left the trespasser to face his fate. Hang Kesturi could hope for no mercy from the guards who ringed the palace and were ready to spear him as soon as he tried to escape. So he did not try to escape; he slew his mistress, stripped and mutilated her dead body and prepared to sell his life as dearly as he could.

For all its tragic side there was something absurd in the situation. The inmates of the palace had left it and stood outside. The guards were safe enough but could do nothing; the first man to enter the building was going to certain death, and no man would lead the way. Meanwhile the outlaw was strengthening his position. Knowing that the one thing he had to fear was an upward spear-thrust through the grid-like flooring, he covered the floor with trays and platters and kept leaping about from tray to tray, while the clang of his movements sounded like a further defiance of the Sultan and his host.

Mansur Shah began now to repent his treatment of Hang Tuah. If Hang Tuah were alive would his sins be forgiven him? "Were they as stupendous as Mount Kaf," said the Ruler, "I should overlook them." Hang Tuah was sent for. He came limping and stiff with long confinement in the stocks, but ready to deal death to his dear old friend for bringing dishonour on the Sultan. He was given time to have his limbs massaged and to pick out the best kris in the royal armoury. Though he came as one risen from the dead to meet a man who never dreamed of seeing him he could hope for no profit from surprise as he was dealing with a man desperate; and though he had the Sultan and all his host behind him he had to fight the duel man to man.

He stood no real chance. Each time he set foot on the stairway he had to spring back to escape the thrust of Hang Kesturi's kris; sooner or later he was bound to spring back too late. All he could do was to appeal to his old friend to be a sportsman and let him mount the ladder. Hang Kesturi moved back into the room leaving the doorway clear. Hang Tuah, leaping up the steps, found himself within the palace; at his feet lay the nude and mutilated body of the palace woman; before him was the lover, well armed and at bay. Hang Tuah attacked, but weak and stiff from long confinement was soon disarmed; he lost his kris and had to appeal to Hang Kesturi not to stab a defenceless man. He was allowed to retake his weapon. Three times he did this; the fourth time it was Hang Kesturi's turn to ask the same favour. Hang Tuah ran him through the body, saying that chivalry was wasted on traitors.

Hang Tuah's action had the full approval of the writer of the Malay Annals. The overjoyed Sultan bestowed on his champion his own royal robes, the title of *laksamana*, the right to dress in

any colour he chose, the honour of carrying the Sword of State in all processions and even the privilege of lolling against the palace wall should the court-ceremonies weary him. The body of the dead traitor Hang Kesturi was dragged with ignominy round the city to be cast into the sea; his wife and family were slaughtered; his house-pillars rooted up and thrown into the waters after their master. So in old Malacca was loyalty rewarded and treason punished.

There is a curious epilogue to the tale of these rewards. At a later date when Hang Tuah—to whom no sign of greatness was refused—was being borne round Malacca in a litter like a prince, the old *běndahara*, who had denied himself that privilege, smiled at what he saw. His people asked him why. "Listen to the voices of the crowd," said he. "They ask, Who is the magnate in the hammock, and are told that it is the *laksamana*.—And is the *laksamana* the first noble in the land?—Oh, no, it is the *běndahara*. Every time Hang Tuah goes out in his litter he advertises Me."

Mansur Shah's Later Years.

While the paladin Hang Tuah had been spending long days in the stocks his royal master had been dealing with the problem of tribute to China. He knew what it meant; he was aware that every gift he sent to China would be returned fourfold. But he did not take kindly to the word tribute; he disliked allowing that there was any one greater than Mansur Shah. We have seen what the Chinese thought of the rich bounty that they bestowed on those who found themselves "attracted by their civilising influence"; and we shall now see how this bounty reacted on the barbarians whom they claimed to treat with benevolence and justice. In short, we shall get the Malay point of view.

According to the Annals the Emperor sent a letter purporting to come "from below the feet of the Son of Heaven to above the crown of the Prince of Malacca." In other words he was writing to one whose highest dignity he thought less than the dust under his own feet. Mansur Shah had to pocket the insult. He sent a mission to China under the *běndahara's* own brother, *Tun Pěrpateh Puteh*, to bear the usual tribute. On its return he learnt that the envoys had been treated with lavish hospitality; they had seen the Son of Heaven himself in a glass-sided dragon-litter as he was borne about in a crowded audience-hall of immense size; they brought back rich gifts; and, last but not least, they had managed to get hold of a Chinese girl who might be presented to the Court as the Emperor's daughter. Mansur Shah was delighted. He married the damsel, bestowed robes of honour on all her escort, and gave out to his loyal subjects that he was now the Emperor's son-in-law. His prestige, in fact, had been enhanced by the so-called tribute.

A second mission was sent, headed by Tun Talani, the *bëndahara's* son, and the *Mantëri Jana Putëra*, a leading official. This mission met with a storm and was driven by stress of weather to Brunei before it got to China. The envoys presented themselves before the Brunei ruler who was anxious to know how the Emperor had been addressed in the letter that the mission was bearing. Tun Talani read out the first words, *Sahaya raja Mëlaka*, "your humble servant, the King of Malacca." "So your royal master is the Emperor's humble servant," sneered the prince of Brunei. Tun Talani was dumb; he could not deny it. But his colleague was equal to the occasion: "So one thinks at first sight," said he. "But *sahaya Raja Mëlaka* means also 'the King of Malacca's humble servants.' They, and not Mansur Shah, are addressing the Emperor as their equal." The Malay words can bear this meaning, and the Annals would have us believe that the Brunei people accepted it and thought all the more of Mansur Shah and his greatness.

Even wilder rumours followed. The Emperor had insulted Mansur Shah in his first letter by treating him as less than the dust under his feet. But an insult to one of the Lord's anointed—and a Moslem king at that—was punished, as all men knew, by higher powers than Man. The Emperor had been stricken with disease. He had consulted his physicians only to be told that nothing could cure him save a dose of the shame that he had put unjustly on Mansur Shah. He had asked this second time, not for tribute, but for some of the water in which the King of Malacca had laved his royal feet, and the water had been sent him as a remedy for his complaint. Once more the sending of tribute was used to enhance the glory of Mansur Shah.

But the history of Sultan Mansur was not all compounded of glory. A single desperado had broken into the royal palace, seized one of its inmates, and turned the king and his women out of their home. The polluted palace had to be pulled down and replaced by something newer and more splendid. A work of this kind was distributed over a number of small townships, each having some special duty as its feudal obligation; and the *bëndahara*, as lord of Bentan, supervised the whole. We are not told the exact site of this palace but may infer that it crowned what is known now as St. Paul's Hill. It was the pride of Malacca while it lasted. It had a frontage of 272 feet (if we allow 5' 4" for the average *dēpa* or span of a man's arms); its pillars were a *dēpa* in circumference; it had projecting eaves to guard its windows against the direct rays of the sun; it was provided with wings and a roof in many tiers; it was a masterpiece of the architecture of its day. To add to its loveliness it was painted up in bright colours with plenty of gilding; it had pinnacles of coloured glass that glowed like rubies; its outer walls were plastered with Chinese mirrors that dazzled the eyes of all who tried to look at them when the sun shone; its tiles were of brass or tin; in short, say

the Annals, "it was very glorious in every way, there was no palace in the world to compare with it." But the ruby-like pinnacles were struck by lightning and the master-piece went up in flames.

As soon as the fire broke out Mansur Shah and his ladies moved to another building with nothing but the clothes they stood in. They left it to the palace-guards, the young bloods of Malacca, to save what they could from the flames, while the crowd looked on and gave the rescuers nicknames befitting the way they behaved. Tun Isup outstripped all his comrades in the race for the burning building, but when he saw what it was like inside he came away in a hurry and stayed outside; he was labelled "the dashing Tun Isup." Tun Mai had long hair and feared that it might catch fire; he crawled about without going in and was called "the hairy caterpillar." Tun Ibrahim kept running round and round looking for an entrance which he took care not to find; he got known as the "circumnavigator." Tun Muhammed kept bringing out heavy pieces of furniture; he won the name of "the Camel." Hang Isa dashed in and out and saved next to nothing; he was styled "the Nimble One." Most of the contents of the building were saved, with all the regalia save those that the dynasty had owned before it ruled in Malacca; the salvage-men could not rescue what only existed in Myth.

This time the Sultan built a new palace of less showy dimensions and gave the builders a month to set it up. He parcelled out the work among the fiefs: the men of Ungaran built one queen's residence; the men of Tungkai built another; the men of Buru built a third; the men of Suyar built the fourth; the men of Panchur and Serapong built the hall of audience; the men of Buru built the outer pavilion; the men of Merba built the royal kitchens; the men of Sawang built the waiting-rooms; the men of Kundur built the robing-room; the men of Malai built the bath-houses; the men of Upang built the shelters; the men of Tungkai built the garden walls; the men of Muar built the porter's lodge. It was built in the time allowed and built better than the one before. Nor does it seem to have lent itself to the scandals that had been troubling its owner's life; from this time forward we hear of them no more.

At some date before the fire the "old Kling," *Sēri Nara Diraja*, had died, after confiding the care of his sons "first to God and after Him to the *Bēndahara Paduka Raja*." He left five children and five chests of money, one for each child. Mansur Shah gave him a funeral of unusual distinction: the silver trumpet, the kettledrums, the band and the royal umbrellas, all followed the bier to the grave. As executor the *bēndahara* first sealed up the chests of money till their owners should grow up; then he took the three boys into his own household and gave them sleeping mats upon his own verandah. He did not find them an unmixed blessing to his old age. Coming home one evening he saw a curious light shining about the head of one of them, his younger nephew

Tun Mutahir, and on going closer he found that it had passed away. "Mutahir," said he, "you will rise to greatness, greater far than mine; but you will not keep it; it will not last." Two of the boys were his dead sister's sons; the third, Tun Abdullah, had a mother living and that mother spoilt him, making him effeminate and a fop. The elder nephew, Tun Tahir, was steady; he was given his father's title, *Sēri Nara Diraja*, and the position of Chief Treasury Officer, third in rank in the State. Young and ardent he was then sent off to Kampar on a mission of conquest.

The new *Sēri Nara Diraja* found Kampar hard to conquer. He was given a foreign soldier of fortune, one Khoja Baba, to be his right-hand-man; and was followed to the fight by Sang Setia, Sang Naya, Sang Guna and other guardsmen of the King. If the Annals are to be believed,—they were written by one of his own descendants and may be biassed,—the young Chief performed prodigies of valour, saved the life of Khoja Baba, took Kampar and slew its ruler with his own hand. Mansur Shah seems to have given more credit to Khoja Baba on whom he conferred the Persian or Indian title of *Ikhtiar Muluk*, a title of a type otherwise unknown in Malaya. To all the warriors he gave robes of honour. Last of all, he bestowed Kampar as a fief on its conqueror, *Sēri Nara Diraja*. But he did not ask *Nara Diraja* to live in the new dependency; he let it be governed from Malacca. Nor did he give *Nara Diraja* the command of the next army of conquest.

This time Mansur Shah sent out a force of sixty ships to conquer Siak. At its head he put the *Dato' Sēri Udani*, feudal Chief of Merba, whose personal followers manned no less than thirty ships. He gave *Sēri Udani* the help of the redoubtable *Ikhtiar Muluk* and of two young guardsmen of good family, Sang Sura and Sang Jaya Pikrama, who had not served in the Kampar force. *Ikhtiar Muluk* slew the king of Siak with his own hand so that the expedition was credited with a victory that seems to have made little difference to the country concerned. The slain ruler's son continued to rule Siak and was given a daughter of Mansur Shah in marriage, and the same Siak prime-minister served both father and son. The warriors got their robes of honour; *Sēri Udani* was given the office of *pērdana mantēri*, the fourth in the State; *Ikhtiar Muluk* was led in procession round Malacca as a tribute to his prowess in killing the King of Siak; and all else went on as before.

Mansur Shah's reign was next disturbed by an incident in which his own eldest son, the heir to the throne, was affected. The young prince was out for a ride when his headcloth was knocked off by a basket-ball kicked about by boy-players. Furious at the mishap the prince either slew the boy responsible for it or had him slain by one of his followers. The murdered boy was *Tun Bēsar*, son of the *bēndahara*. At once the *bēndahara's* household wished to slay the prince. Their master told them that he would have nothing to do with anything that savoured of disloyalty.

"But," said he, "there is one thing we can do; we can all refuse to serve this young murderer should there be any question of his mounting the throne." Mansur Shah sent for his son, "What is this you have done? You have only yourself to blame now that I have no choice but to banish you." He then asked for *Sēri Bija Diraja*, Viceroy of Pahang. "Take this boy," said he, "make him Prince of Pahang." *Sēri Bija Diraja* took the young Prince to Pahang and installed him there as Sultan. By Mansur's orders he gave him as *bēndahara* Tun Hamza, an old man, the son-in-law of the second Malacca *bēndahara* and father of the *Dato' Sēri Udani* who had conquered Siak. On the new *bēndahara* he conferred the title *Sēri Amar Diraja* that the father-in-law had borne, and appointed suitable men to be *tēmenggong* and Chief Treasury Officer of the new State. Then he returned to Malacca leaving his own son, *Dato' Sēri Akar Diraja* to be Chief of the Pahang Sultan's bodyguard. The new Vassal-State was to cover the whole coast from the River Sedili in the South to Trengganu in the North.

Danger now began to threaten Malacca from an unexpected quarter. A Macassar Chief named *Sēmērluki* came down in search of plunder, a precursor of the Bugis pirates who were to effect great dynastic changes in Eighteenth Century Malaya. *Sēmērluki* was out only for loot. After raiding the East Coast he came into the Malacca Straits where he met the redoubtable *laksamana* Hang Tuah, and was beaten off, once and for all, the story being that he threw a rock into the sea and vowed never to return unless the rock floated up to the surface. But he had been a bad enemy. He had used darts smeared with the sap of the upas-tree and had put Hang Tuah's force to very heavy loss as "they did not then know the antidote to that poison." Did not then know! The words imply that an antidote was known later when the Annals were written. What was it? It is not known now, nor was it known to Albuquerque's Portuguese who were fated to lose heavily in the way Hang Tuah's men had suffered before them.

The next event recorded as of importance was the bringing of mysticism into Malaya. A certain Maulana Abu Isahak who had written a treatise on mystic doctrine in Mecca sent one of his pupils, Maulana Abu-bakar, with it to Malacca where the book was received with great honour. So say the Annals. It is more likely that Maulana Abu-bakar was received badly at first by the orthodox as we are told that the Kadzi, Maulana Yusuf, would have nothing to say to him. But Maulana Abubakar went on with his teaching till the Kadzi himself was converted, resigned his high position and became an ascetic. Mansur Shah began to be proud of the position that his capital had been given as a centre of mystic learning and showed his interest by sending a mission to Pasai to propound a problem in religious teaching. A prize was offered for the best solution. "Were the pains of hell

eternal or were they not?" The Sultan of Pasai called a meeting of his theologians to answer this question. "Of course the agonies of hell endure for ever," said their official spokesman, "does not the Koran tell us so? And he quoted the words of the Koran on the subject. "But is that all that you have to tell us?"—said the Malacca envoy. "What more do you want?" said the theologian, just as one of his own suite looked away in disapproval. The Sultan withdrew and the meeting broke up.

The Pasai Ruler was dissatisfied. He sent for the man who had disagreed with the answer given and said to him, "I can quite see that the Sultan of Malacca would not set us a problem that any one can answer out of the Koran, but do you know what the real answer is? And why did you not tell us if you knew it?" The theologian answered, "I could hardly presume to show up my seniors, and I can do nothing now." "Yes, you can," said the Sultan, "it is easy enough. Go to the Malacca envoys and give them your answer, telling them that there are truths in mysticism which may not be stated openly at public meetings." So the theologian went by night to the mission and told its members (we presume) that though the pains of hell are eternal they are only illusion and by the powers of the mystic may be turned into joy. The answer was accepted and honoured with the roll of the royal drums, while the answerer was given the promised prize: ten ounces of gold-dust and two girl-slaves. The Malacca envoys were sent off in glory from Pasai; and the Pasai answer was received with royal distinction at Malacca. There was also the usual bestowal of robes of honour.

Whatever may have been his views on Mysticism this Ruler of Pasai was unpopular; he was driven from the throne by a revolution and escaped to Malacca in a boat of small size. Greeted royally by Mansur Shah he offered to accept Malacca suzerainty if only he could be restored to power. Mansur Shah thought the opportunity too good to be lost, but, knowing that Pasai was a strong State, he felt that the force sent against it would have to be greater than usual. And so it was. It was headed by the old *Bēndahara* who was accompanied by the *laksamana* Hang Tuah, by some of his own sons such as Tun Talani who had gone on the missions to Siam and China, and by a host of lesser dignitaries and warriors. Even so it met with so much resistance that veterans like the *laksamana* Hang Tuah and the *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja* went to their Commander and begged him to give up the attempt. The *bēndahara* hesitated. "Give us younger men one more chance," said his son; "we are ready to follow the *laksamana* in one attack more." On the morrow, after a fight in which the Malacca men narrowly escaped defeat at one moment, Pasai was taken, and its ex-Sultan restored to the throne.

After the ex-Sultan had been installed again as Ruler of Pasai, the *bēndahara* prepared to go home. "Is there any message," said he, "that I may bear to Your Highness's suzerain, Mansur

Shah ? " "Yes," was the answer, "you can tell him that the homage I did him in Malacca was local to Malacca; it does not hold good here in Pasai." The *bĕndahara* was furious and answering, "Nor does my loyalty to you," prepared to sail back. But the people of Pasai, seeing the turn affairs had taken, drove their Ruler from his throne once more. A new situation had arisen: were the Malacca men to put the backslider again on the throne of Pasai or were they to return empty-handed to Malacca ? The *laksamana* advised the former, the *bĕndahara* chose the latter course. The army returned to Malacca, having lost many men and effected nothing. Sultan Mansur Shah was angry and refused to see its leaders for three whole days. On the fourth day he sent for the *laksamana* and asked him to give an account of what had happened. In reply he was told a tale that put all the blame on the *bĕndahara*, who was not present at the audience but was informed of it by his friends. The next day Mansur Shah sent for the *bĕndahara* and asked him for his version of events. The *bĕndahara* spoke at great length of the *laksamana's* courage and services but explained why it was useless to go on with the war. The Sultan was so pleased at his minister's generosity to a man who had spoken ill of him behind his back that he took the *bĕndahara* back into favour and distributed high honours among those who had taken part in this fruitless campaign. The *laksamana* went humbly to his Chief and begged his pardon for what he had done. "It is now a thing of the past," said the *bĕndahara*.

At the close of Mansur Shah's reign his son by his Javanese queen was amusing himself in Kampong Kling when a man ran amuck. There was a stampede for safety; and the amucker was able to run his kris through the heir to the throne. Mansur Shah was bitter. He condemned all his son's guards to death for their remissness, nor was he long in following his boy to the grave.

The Annals claim to give us the Sultan's dying words. Most Malay rulers have been credited with pious sentiments, but Mansur Shah's "testament" has an interest of its own in that he told his son to bear in mind that a Sultan was responsible to God for the care he took of his subjects. A doctrine of this sort is a commonplace at the present day. But we are speaking of a time before the coming of the European East Indian Companies which were to govern Empires avowedly in the interest of their shareholders. True, Mansur Shah only recorded an ideal that was a feeble force in ruler's life, whatever it may have been on his deathbed; but the ideal was there. And the rest of his dying words (as told in the Annals) about the impermanence of human glories are borne out by his tombstone, which speaks of the world as no more enduring than the web that a spider spins.

Mansur Shah's reign is regarded as the most glorious period in Malay History. He turned a little trading-port into a small empire covering Pahang, Siak, Kampar, Trengganu and Johor. Yet he was a man of little force of character, colourless, unwarlike

and perhaps personally unambitious. He owes his fame largely to his *bendahara*, Tun Perak, a Malay of the Malays, not an ancestor of the author of the Annals and personally a rival of that author's House, but a man who is credited by them none the less with being one of the three greatest Ministers of his time, the other two being the *Dato' Raja Kénayan* of Pasai and the famous Gaja Mada of Majapahit.

Alaedin I.

Mansur Shah had married so many women that we find it hard to say who was his principal wife. By the Annals we are only bewildered. In one place they tell us that Mansur gave the rank of principal wife to his Javanese consort; in another that he chose his half-Siamese son to be his first crown-prince. So also while they insist that his Chinese bride was a daughter of the Emperor they make it plain that he took little notice of her rank or of that of her son. Again they say that on his deathbed Mansur Shah spoke to his son Husain as his heir; and a few pages later his son Mohammed tells us that he should have been made Sultan "for I am the elder and my father willed it so." The Chinese wife must have been a lady of little importance; the Javanese was of higher rank though unlikely to have been a princess of Majapahit; Mansur was fickle in his preferences; and the *bendahara*, Tun Perak, stepped in at last and secured the Sultanate for his own nephew, Raja Husain, the son of his sister. Tun Perak, was a man who knew his mind.

So Raja Husain became the seventh Sultan of Malacca with the title of *Alaedin Riayat Shah*. He must have been about fifteen years of age and was married already to two wives: one, a princess, and the other, his cousin, Tun Nacha, a niece and ward of the all-powerful *bendahara*. Tun Nacha was the sister of the Chief Treasury Officer, *Sēri Nara Diraja*, and of Tun Mutahir, his young and brilliant brother, who had already been made *Tēmenggong* and *Dato' Sēri Maharaja*. The new Sultan had the great Malacca Chiefs behind him and had little to fear from his brothers whatever may have been their claims to the throne.

Of the Sultan's surviving brothers the most dangerous was Raja Mohammed, Mansur Shah's second son by the Siamese wife. Raja Mohammed complained bitterly that he had been passed over, though the rightful heir, both by primogeniture and by his father's wishes. When complaints were useless he asked to be allowed to leave Malacca and settle in Pahang, his mother's country and the land that his own dead brother, Raja Ahmed, had been sent to rule. So to Pahang he went, there to find that his brother, who had been known as Mohammed Shah, had died in 1475 A.D. after marrying his *bendahara's* daughter and leaving an infant son Raja Mansur, to succeed him. In fact he found Pahang a regency with a child as king and the *bendahara* administering the government by virtue of his office and as grandfather of the infant

Sultan. Raja Mohammed had the child slain by the captain of his guard, *Sĕri Akar Diraja*, and made himself king with the title Sultan Mahmud Shah. Nor does he seem to have sought or obtained recognition from his younger brother and nominal suzerain, Alaedin of Malacca. The two royal brothers were at daggers drawn.

In his jealousy and bitterness at being passed over for the Malacca throne Raja Mohammed went further. Having heard that one of his vassals, Talani of Trengganu, had been to the capital to do homage to Alaedin as lord-paramount of Pahang, he sent *Sĕri Akar Diraja*, the murderer of the child-king, to murder Talani as well. After *Sĕri Akar Diraja* had had Talani waylaid and slain Raja Mohammed gave him Trengganu as a reward for his services. When the Pahang *bĕndahara* protested against what had been done, his master burst out, "What care I for Sultan Alaedin? It is I who should have been Sultan of Malacca, I am the elder and my father willed it so; and I shall be Sultan of Malacca yet." He then mounted his elephant and directed it at his own audience-hall which it battered down as he cried, "See how some day I shall batter down the walls of Malacca."

Sultan Alaedin resented the murder of Talani. When Talani's grandsons sought redress in Malacca he wanted to declare war. From this he was dissuaded by Tun Perak and his other ministers, men wise enough to see that a war between the brothers would profit nobody. He was advised to pay the murderer in his own coin. He sent the *laksamana* Hang Tuah to Pahang with secret instructions. Hang Tuah and his suite were received in audience before the Pahang dignitaries and presented their despatches to be read in public. While the reading was going on a follower of Hang Tuah stabbed and slew a near relative of the *Dato' Sĕri Akar Diraja* who had murdered Talani. The audience was stopped and Hang Tuah was asked to inflict summary justice on his follower. After the man had admitted his guilt Hang Tuah turned to the Sultan and said, "My follower is plainly culpable; he has murdered *Sĕri Akar Diraja's* cousin. But how am I to punish him when Your Highness has let *Sĕri Akar Diraja* go scot-free after killing Talani?" The Pahang Sultan smiled and said, "I had Talani slain because of his evil tongue; but you can settle this with the dead man's relatives." Hang Tuah returned to Malacca to be rewarded by his king.

This murdered Talani of Trengganu was not the Tun Talani who went on the mission to China and Siam. The name is the only surname in use in Malaya. The Talani family is said to be the oldest in the country, older indeed than the Shailendra kings who had reigned since about 750 A.D.; older, perhaps, than the predecessors of the Shailendra kings. The Talani claimed to be descended from the aboriginal rulers of Palembang. They were the semi-independent feudal Chiefs of Bentan and Trengganu. But it would seem that the Bentan branch had been absorbed

by marriage into the family of the *bēndahara*; for its head, Tun Talani, was a son of Tun Perak and Bentan was a fief of Tun Perak. In his father's lifetime Tun Talani was Chief of Suyor, a settlement that could man twenty small ships for the fleet. He was, however, a relative of the Talani family of Trengganu who always regarded Bentan as the old home of their house.

We must now return to Alaedin Riayat Shah who seems to have been the best of the rulers of Malacca. A man of energy and great physical strength, he did not allow his country to be governed by his officers. Learning that his police were slack and that thieving was rife in the mart where traders kept wares, he set out one night, ill-dressed and with only two guards, to see what was going on. On his round he met five men, two carrying a box and three following. On seeing him they dropped the box and ran. Leaving one of his men to guard the box Alaedin gave chase, caught the hindmost thief on the brow of the hill and cut him in two with a single swipe of his sword. He then followed the remaining four as far as the peepul-tree on the bank of the river; there they turned at bay, four to two. In the fight that followed two of the thieves were killed and the other two dived into the river and escaped. Alaedin returned, found the man who was guarding the box and had it taken to the palace.

In the morning when the Court was sitting the Sultan turned to his brother-in-law, the *Tēmenggong Sēri Maharaja*, Tun Mutahir, and asked, "Were your police on duty last night?"—"Certainly, Your Highness."—"Well," said the Sultan, "I am told that three men were killed, one on the brow of the hill, one under the peepul-tree and the third near the bridge; did your police kill them?"—"I know nothing of this," said the *Tēmenggong*.—"What sort of a guard is this you are keeping, *Dato' Sēri Maharaja*, if three men can be killed while you know nothing about it. Perhaps Hang Isup knows." Hang Isup was one of the two men who had accompanied the Sultan. He produced the box and told the whole story to the great confusion of the *tēmenggong* and his people. Search was made for the owner of the box who had reported the loss and was traced easily. After this episode the *Dato' Sēri Maharaja* took his duties more seriously and followed his master's example by going on rounds himself. On one occasion he saw a thief trying to break into a shop; so he lopped the thief's arm off and left it lying on the window-sill. When this was seen in the morning the object-lesson was enough; there was no more thieving. Still the Sultan was not satisfied; he put up police-stations at cross-roads and a central station in the town and gave instructions that all lost property should be taken there for identification. Any one who misappropriated finds was to be liable to have his hand cut off.

With all his energy and personal courage Alaedin was a lover of peace and went to war only when war was forced upon him. In spite of this unwillingness a trivial incident drew him into war.

The King of Haru sent a mission with letters to the King of Pasai. The letters began with the words, "My greetings to the King my brother." They were read out as "My homage to the King my brother." "That is not the correct text," said the Haru envoy. The letter was read out again in the same way. "The letter says one thing, this man reads out what is totally different," said the envoy who was restive at his king being represented as a vassal of the Pasai court. He then went on, "If I am to die I may as well die at Pasai as at Haru; the dogs of Pasai can get me for all I care." The letter was read again with the word "homage." The envoy ran amuck and slew many courtiers before he was overcome and killed. His suite returned to Haru and told their king of what had happened, upon which he attacked Pasai and even sent a force to raid the Malacca coast.

Sultan Alaedin sent out the *Dato' Sēri Paduka Tuan* (son of the *bendahara*), *Sēri Bija Diraja* and a squadron of ships to patrol the coast and keep the raiders at bay. Off Port Dickson they fell in with the enemy's fleet of a hundred ships and joined battle. After a short but furious fight they drove the Haru men to their own coasts, where their angry king ordered them back to the war. More fighting followed; but in the end the ruler of Haru had to sue for peace. This campaign was remembered for one or two little incidents. A Tamil soldier of rather scanty courage met a goat in the thickets on the Haru shore and mistook it for one of the enemy. He retreated. The goat followed. He stopped and the goat retreated. This little farce had been going on for some time when his comrades came up and asked him what was happening. The indignant Tamil said in a mixture of languages, "This Haru man—I go back and he comes on, I come on and he goes back." When the Haru man proved to be a goat the mockery was general. Another incident was the collapse of the shed in which the leaders were celebrating the conclusion of peace. All the Chiefs lost their presence of mind save the *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja* who was quite unmoved. "This Bija Diraja," said the Haru men, "may be small but he is hot pepper all through."

The next event of importance arose out of an execution at Siak which had taken place without Alaedin having been asked to confirm the sentence. Siak was governed by a vassal Sultan who resented Malacca's suzerainty and wished to emphasize his own independence. Would Alaedin pass it over in silence? There seems to have been no doubt about the justice of the sentence. None the less the *laksamana* Hang Tuah was sent to Siak. When his credentials had been read in open Court Hang Tuah turned to Tun Jana Pakibul, the local Sultan's minister, with the words, "Did you or did you not have So-and-so executed?" Tun Jana Pakibul replied, "I did, and it was by order of His Highness." Hang Tuah turned to the Sultan, "Your Highness is served by a pack of mannerless rustics who are unaware that all executions must be approved from Malacca." This remark was followed by

dead silence. It led however to a humble letter of apology when Hang Tuah, after giving the Sultan time to think things over, was preparing to leave the town. From that time all death-sentences in the provinces were sent for confirmation to Sultan Alaedin.

Alaedin had had three sons. The eldest, Raja Menawar, born of his royal wife, had reached an age at which he could try his prentice-hand at government; so he was sent by his father to be Sultan of Kampar. He was first "drummed" solemnly at Malacca in the presence of the whole Court, the *bĕndahara* alone excepted; and he was then taken to Kampar by the *Dato' Sĕri Nara Diraja* and installed as king under the title of *Mĕnawar Shah*. He was heir to the Malacca throne. But, shortly afterwards, Alaedin fell seriously ill, poisoned (say the Portuguese) by his enemies, the King of Indragiri and his own jealous brother, the Ruler of Pahang. Before he died he sent for his second son and his ministers and gave them the counsels of a dying man.

Alaedin was a strong man who died in the flower of his age; he can hardly have been thirty. If he was not poisoned he would have been put down as killed by poison. Was he poisoned? The Annals are silent except for hints that are full of mystery. After the king's death, the veteran *Sĕri Bija Diraja* came to Malacca and was told that the king's son, Mohammed, had succeeded his father *dĕngan amanat*, that is, peacefully or in the ordinary course of things. The *Dato'* said, "I was not aware that it was in the usual course of things." What did he mean? The new Sultan resented the remark. He had not succeeded "in the ordinary course of things." He was the second son, not the eldest. He was not born of a royal mother. His elder brother was the recognized heir and was being trained at Kampar to succeed to the throne. The new Sultan, a mere child at the time may be acquitted of poisoning his father or forcing a way to the crown; but once again the *bĕndahara* Tun Perak was giving the crown to the son of a lady of his own family at the cost of a prince with better claims. In Sultan Alaedin he had made the best choice possible; in Alaedin's successor he gave Malacca the worst Sultan that it was to know.

Alaedin gave his son the benefit of his dying counsels. So the Annals tell us. Alaedin begged his ministers to watch his son and train him carefully, "Be merciful and forgiving, be patient with your subjects, for the Koran tells us that God is with those who are patient in spirit. Set your duty to God above your own interests and devote yourself to a life of good works. Never sentence any of your subjects to death except for treason to the State, for a king's subjects are the estate that God had given him to be developed and not to be destroyed. Follow this advice and prosperity will be your lot." Advice of this sort is the only criticism that loyalty allows the Annals to make on the kings. In these dying wishes we seem to see the line that the author of the Annals would have liked the new Sultan to take. The magnates did not

train him; they let him drift his own way. The Sultan did not develope the Estate that God had given him; he slew his subjects and saw his kingdom come to an inglorious end.

Mahmud I.

It is clear from the Annals that the new king (*Mahmud Shah*) was a mere boy placed and kept on the throne by the *bëndahara* and other great Malay Chiefs. The boy was, in fact, nephew of the *tēmenggong Sēri Maharaja* and of the Chief Treasury Officer *Sēri Nara Diraja*; the *bëndahara* was his great-uncle. But he was not liked by the ladies of the palace who may have known him better than the Chiefs and who preferred his elder brother, Raja Menawar. So when he fell seriously ill of dysentery he would have died if the ladies, and particularly his grandmother, had been allowed to have their way. As it was, he had to be guarded night and day by the *bëndahara* and *laksamana*, who went so far as to threaten to run amuck if the child's grandmother would not leave the boy alone. She was Tun Perak's sister and was credited with the wish to stifle the sick child so that he should not survive his illness. Thanks to the care of his protectors the boy recovered.

When the boy-king was well again he bestowed robes of honour on the *bëndahara* and *laksamana* and allowed them the use of a litter as a symbol of their importance. As we have seen, the *laksamana* used his litter while the cautious old *bëndahara* gave his a place of honour on the verandah. Meanwhile the young Sultan was sitting in Court and learning the duties of his office. One day a man was brought before him accused of some petty offence. The *Dato' Sēri Maharaja* advised a death-sentence. The old *bëndahara* turned on him, "Oh, oh! look at our *Sēri Maharaja*,—he is teaching a young tiger the taste of blood; some day perhaps, that tiger may turn on him." The words were prophetic. But for the time the *Dato' Sēri Maharaja* was in high favour, while the *bëndahara* and the *laksamana* held together in all they did.

Early in Mahmud's reign the *bëndahara* Tun Perak fell seriously ill. He was very old according to the canons of his short-lived generation; he had served three rulers and was a great-grandfather. Feeling that he was dying he sent for all his relatives. After the usual warning about sacrificing the future for the fleeting honours of this world he turned to the *Dato' Sēri Maharaja*, his nephew: "Mutahir, you may be born to greatness, but do not dwell too much in your thoughts on the fact that you are an uncle of the king's; if you think too much of that relationship, you will meet your death." To his other nephew, *Sēri Nara Diraja*, he said: "Tahir, do not listen too much to the counsels of your brother; if you follow him too far he will lead you to destruction." To his own eldest son, Tun Zain al-abedin, he said: "Keep clear of the Court if you can; small mouths are contented with little." To his young great-grandson he said, "Isup, Isup,

whatever you do, do not try to earn a living as a follower of the King." To the Sultan who came to see him, he spoke more seriously still. "The world," said he, "is slipping from my grasp; the world to come is what I have to face. The destinies of my house are wholly in the hands of Your Highness. Put no trust in what dishonest men may have to tell you, for you will repent the things you do on false reports. Slanders are the work of Satan; angry passions are the cause of kings losing their thrones." With these last prophetic injunctions the old *bëndahara* passed away, and his brother, Tun Perpatih Puteh, was chosen to fill his place.

Tun Perpatih Puteh is one of the many *bëndahara* who are only remembered for some eccentricity. He outraged the thrifty feelings of his people by throwing away half-burnt candle-ends and mats that had only two or three holes in them; for the Malays are simple in their lives and can afford no waste. He was not energetic; he laughed at his brother for conquests made in person when the same conquests could have been effected by other people. The *Bëndahara* Puteh was not a great man like his brother, but he was old and careful and saw to it that Malacca prospered.

In this the Sultan gave him no help. Mahmud Shah had reached a marriageable age and taken the direction of affairs into his own hands. He chose as his consort his cousin, a daughter of his namesake, Sultan Mahmud of Pahang. By her he had two daughters and one son, Raja Ahmad, destined to play a brave, if foolish, part in the resistance to the Portuguese, and also to come to a miserable end. But the Sultan was soon notorious for his infidelities. Unlike his amorous grandfather, Mansur Shah, he did not marry many women, preferring to prey on the wives of his followers. He began by an intrigue with the wife of Tun Biajid, son of the *laksamana* Hang Tuah. Tun Biajid, coming back unexpectedly from a journey, surprised the Sultan, shook his spear at him and told him openly that had he not been the Sultan he would have been slaughtered there and then. Mahmud apologized and supplied Tun Biajid with another wife but failed to pacify him; the injured husband left Malacca and refused to come to Court. The Sultan's next intrigue led to two tragedies. He went to call on a lady, Tun Dewi, and found a rival, Tun Ali, sitting talking to the dame. He went away; but, as he left, he gave one of his own followers, Tun Isup, a quid of betel—then regarded as a very high honour and as a hint that such an honour should be earned. Tun Isup was the luckless boy whom the dying *bëndahara* had warned to keep out of the King's service; as it was, he thought to serve the king by returning and murdering Tun Ali. Unfortunately for the murderer, Tun Ali was a near relative of the *Dato' Seri Dewa Raja*, a man of high birth and a great favourite of the Sultan. The boy-assassin had to flee the country.

The later history of this young murderer is instructive. He fled first to Pasai, then to Aru, then to Brunei. At each of these

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places he might have entered the service of its king but was too loyal to the master whom he had served so pitifully and who cared so little for him. In Brunei he made a good marriage and settled down for years. But, in time, his home-sickness became too strong. "In Malacca was I born," said he, "in Malacca do I wish to die"; and he went back, begging Sultan Mahmud to protect him. He found the Sultan at dinner and was fed from the royal repast. But after being fed he was bound with cloth taken from the Sultan's own wardrobe and sent to his enemy, *Sēri Dewa Raja*, with a message from the Sultan that the feud should end and the man be spared. *Sēri Dewa Raja* was riding an elephant when Tun Isup was brought up. After listening to the Sultan's message he raised the heavy goad used by mahouts and drove its point through the brain of Tun Ali's murderer. *Sēri Dewa Raja* was a favourite and all that he did was overlooked.

Sultan Mahmud had many favourites and would put up with anything they might do. To *Sēri Dewa Raja* he promised the position of Master of the Elephants though it was not vacant; to another favourite he promised the post of *laksamana*; to those who preferred cash to promises he gave gifts of money from the State Treasury. All these things other Sultans had done before him. But he went beyond them in that he allowed his favourites to treat him with gross discourtesy. Once he went to the *Sēri Dewa Raja's* house and asked to see the Chief. He was kept waiting while the Chief had a snooze; then, when waked, the Chief had a bath, dressed leisurely, and, when hurried again, walked slowly out, returning to ask his wife whether his clothes were properly adjusted; after which he rearranged his headdress two or three times and went to meet his king. Soon afterwards Sultan Mahmud sent for the *Sēri Dewa Raja* and chose a certain Tun Isup *Bēragah* as his messenger. Tun Isup Beragah took a mat and pillow with him and delivered the message, after which he spread the mat on the *Sēri Dewa Raja's* verandah and said that he had come to settle there till the *Seri Dewa Raja* was ready; meanwhile he suggested that something might be cooked for him. This time the *Sēri Dewa Raja* rushed off to see the king at once.

By this time Sultan Mahmud, beginning to lose interest in disreputable love-affairs and finding a new hobby in religion, wanted to be taught mysticism by the Ex-Kadzi Yusuf who had resigned his position to become an anchorite. Yusuf had also become an eccentric and used to throw stones at any kite that a child had the bad taste to fly over his house, saying that such kite-flying was ill-bred and ought not to be tolerated. Sultan Mahmud went to the anchorite's house in state on an elephant and asked for admittance. "The Sultan?"—said Yusuf; "What have I to do with Sultans, a poor beggar like me? Lock the Sultan out." The ruler returned home but slipped away that night and knocked again at the anchorite's door. "Who is there," said Yusuf. "The poor beggar Mahmud," said the king. "As we are both beggars,"

said Yusuf, "you may come in." In mystic speech a man who is needy is a man who feels the need of God.

Shortly before this incident the old warrior *Sēri Bija Diraja*, whom the men of Haru had said was hot pepper, had come up from Singapore to do homage to the king at the great festival after the Fast. He arrived just too late. Sultan Mahmud incensed at what he took to be a deliberate attempt to avoid doing homage, ordered the old soldier to be put to death. The Chief asked why. The Sultan said, "This is the man who did not know that my accession to the throne was exactly as it should be. He has never been loyal. Here is a paper with five reasons why he should die." We do not know what the paper said, but on reading it the *Dato' Sēri Bija Diraja* submitted to be killed without a word.

Bēndahara Tun Puteh, though not a fighting man, believed in letting others fight. He sent his nephew, the *Dato' Paduka Tuan* (son of Tun Perak) to conquer Manjong a small place at loggerheads with its neighbour Bruas. Paduka Tuan with a very small force overcame Manjong without difficulty and took the king of Bruas back to Malacca where he did homage to Sultan Mahmud and was given the title of *Tun Aria Bija Diraja*. From this time Manjong and Bruas were added to Malacca's dependencies. The *bēndahara* sent another of his nephews, the *Dato' Sēri Maharaja*, to conquer Kelantan. Kelantan was conquered, and its king's three daughters were taken captive to Malacca where the Sultan married one of them. She became the mother of Raja Mudzafar, the Sultan's second son, afterwards the first Sultan of Perak. At this time the Malacca State was co-extensive with what is now British Malaya except for Kedah and Perlis; but to set against this deficiency it included Siak, Kampar, and Indragiri on the other side of the Malacca Straits as well as the Riau-Lingga Archipelago.

The *bēndahara* lived to see these conquests and to boast of the way in which he had used other people to make him an Empire-builder at no cost to himself. Then he died, and left the Sultan somewhat perplexed as to who should be appointed to succeed him.

Here the Annals give us an interesting account of the way a *bēndahara* was chosen. Nine "eligibles" were drawn up at the palace for the Sultan to choose from: of the nine, four were sons of *bēndahara* Tun Perak, four were sons of the "old Kling" *bēndahara Nara-diraja*, and one was a son of *bēndahara* Tun Puteh. At this time to be the son of a *bēndahara* seemingly made a man eligible to be a *bēndahara*. The senior (and spokesman of the nine) was the *Dato' Paduka Tuan*, son of Tun Perak. He appears to have been the public favourite. But just as Sultan Mahmud was about to choose him, the queen-mother who was peeping through a lattice-window, called out to her son, "Choose your uncle Mutahir." Mutahir was her favourite brother; he was

chosen. Already *tēmenggong* and bearing the title *Dato' Sēri Maharaja*, he was installed in great state, receiving not only the robes of his office but a coat of broad-cloth, a kris, and an inkstand, while his son, Tun Hasan, who succeeded him as *tēmenggong* received a coat of broadcloth, a kris and a state-spear. From this time all political influence in Malacca passed from the family of Tun Perak and Tun Puteh to the half-alien sons of the "old Kling."

Malacca, 1500 to 1510.

The Annals give no dates; we have to rely on a few tomb-stones and the scanty records of the Chinese tribute-bearers. From the former we know that certain disturbances in Sultan Mansur's reign occurred in 1467 A.D.; that the first Sultan of Pahang died in 1475 A.D.; and that Mansur Shah himself died in 1477 A.D. From the latter we learn that Sultan Mudzafar Shah announced his accession in 1445 A.D. and Mansur Shah in 1459 A.D. We know also that princes could be installed as deputy Sultans at from ten to twelve years of age and were married at thirteen or fourteen. From these facts we can build up a little rough chronology.

Given that Mansur Shah came to the throne in 1458 or 1459 A.D. then conquered Pahang and married the daughter of its conquered ruler, we may conclude that his elder son by that lady could hardly have been born before 1460 or 1461. That son, Mohammed Shah, first ruler of Pahang, died in 1475, a married man and the father of an infant or posthumous son, Raja Mansur. Mohammed Shah's youngest brother, Mahmud Shah of Pahang, must have been born about 1462 or 1463; he was old enough in 1477 to complain at being passed over for the succession; but he was not married till later. Alaedin Riayat Shah was younger still. At his father's death he can hardly have been more than thirteen or perhaps fourteen; he was married before his accession and left at his death three sons of varying age: the eldest old enough to be titular ruler of Kampar, the second a boy still young enough to be looked after mainly by women, and the third "much younger still." Alaedin came to the throne in 1477 A.D., and, we may take it, died about 1490 A.D.

Tun Perak had seen Sultan Mahmud attain a marriageable age, had married him to his cousin (the Pahang princess), and was alive to witness his royal master's intrigues with the wives of his followers. Tun Perak must have lived till 1497 or 1498 A.D. He was grown up when Mudzafar Shah came to the throne in 1445 A.D., and must have reached a great age for a Malay; his son, the *Dato' Paduka Tuan*, was decrepit with age and infirmity in 1510 A.D. Tun Perak was succeeded by his brother the *bendahara* Puteh, in whose time Manjong and Kelantan were conquered. This Bendahara Puteh must take us on to the year 1500 or later. As we have seen he was succeeded by Tun Mutahir,

Bēndahara Sēri Maharaja. Tun Mutahir was born in Mudzafar Shah's reign and would have been about fifty years of age when he was given his high office. The events recorded in this chapter must have occurred between 1500 and 1510 A.D.

In Pahang Mahmud Shah was the reigning Sultan. He is spoken of in the Annals as an "old king" and was uncle and father-in-law to his namesake at Malacca. By this time also Sultan Menawar, Mahmud's elder brother and the rightful heir to the Malacca throne, was dead and had been succeeded by his son Abdullah. In Indragiri a certain Raja Merlang was on the throne as a vassal or tributary of Malacca. In Malacca the Sultan was taking more and more to religion and was inclined to leave the control of affairs to the *bēndahara*, the well-known *Dato' Sēri Maharaja*.

If we are to trust the Annals the first event to mark the new *bēndahara*-ship was a change in masculine fashions. Tun Hasan, the *tēmenggong*, being a fop, lengthened the sleeves and skirts of his coats, to the annoyance of the local tailors who said that the new style meant a greater consumption of cloth and had to pay for in higher prices. A minor event in itself, it gives us some idea of the trend of affairs in Malacca. Life was becoming dearer; and to meet their expenses the Chiefs and nobles were bound to extort more revenue from their vassals in the country and from the foreign merchants who lived in the town.

The next incident gives us a strange picture of the age though it took a form well-known till recently in Malaya. A Javanese noble, Pateh Adam, had visited Malacca years before and had called on the *Dato' Sēri Nara Diraja*. There he had attracted the notice of a playful little child, Tun Manda, his host's adopted daughter, who could just manage to run about. "My little girl seems to want to marry you," said the *Dato'*. "Yes, she does," said his guest. *Sēri Nara* had thought no more of the jest, but Pateh Adam went off and bought a little slave-girl of Tun Manda's age to help him keep count of time. When the slave-girl became marriageable Pateh Adam sailed once more to Malacca to seek Tun Manda's hand in marriage. *Sēri Nara* was perturbed; he said the whole thing had been a joke. "Does one fool strangers in this way," said the Javanese. *Sēri Nara* persisted in his refusal, and Pateh Adam left, collected his forty followers and stormed the house, seizing Tun Manda but letting the other inmates go free. The Malacca Malays came up in force and attacked the trespassers, slaying them one by one till only Pateh Adam and Tun Manda were left alive. As the last of the forty died, he said to his master, "I too am dying for you," and was answered, "Be it so; a girl like this is worth it." Pateh Adam then turned to the attackers and said, "you may slay me too, but the girl will die first." *Sēri Nara Diraja* gave in and agreed to the marriage, leaving the Javanese to return to his country with the bride who had cost him forty lives.

After this abduction of Tun Manda Malacca learnt that her queen, the princess from Pahang, was dead; and that the disconsolate husband, Mahmud Shah, desired to wed as her successor the fairy princess believed to haunt Mount Ophir. On this impossible quest the Sultan sent the *laksamana* and one of his guardsmen, *Sang Sëtia*. The Malay is no lover of mountain-climbing; and Mount Ophir, though only 4,000 feet high, was a virgin summit. What they did we shall never know. They may have climbed the mountain, for they complained of the wind and the cold on its higher slopes; they saw no fairies or princesses but claimed to have met an old woman (who, they said, might have been the fairy in disguise), and to have learnt from her that she would marry the Sultan provided he would build a bridge of gold and another of silver between her home and his and would give her as a betrothal gift seven trays of mosquito-hearts, a tub of tears, a cupful of his own blood, and a cupful of his son's blood. Sultan Mahmud said that the first items were reasonable, but the demand for his royal blood did not commend itself to him at all!

After this the Sultan learnt that Raja Merbang, ruler of Indragiri, was dead and that his son, Raja Nara Singa, wished to be drummed in his place. He put him off. Raja Nara Singa waited on with his followers and was the butt of the young bloods of Malacca who asked them to give rides on their backs through the puddles common in the Malacca streets. "Are we the slaves of these Malacca upstarts," asked the Indragiri retainers of their prince. Nara Singa asked to be allowed to leave. The Sultan refused. He then left without permission. On reaching his country he found his cousin had seized the throne. He drove the cousin out but let him establish himself as king of the isle of Lingga.

Sultan Mahmud thinking that he would like painted cloths from India sent one of his followers, Hang Nadim, to get them. Hang Nadim was an artist and was able to draw exactly what the Sultan wanted. But he was unlucky. His ship-captain, thinking that a certain holy man had been trying to cheat him, used bad language to the so-called saint. The saint cursed the captain and told him he would be drowned. Hang Nadim, went to the saint and asked that he, at least, might be exempted from drowning. He was promised safety. On the way back the ship was wrecked and the captain drowned, while Hang Nadim got away in a boat and reached Malacca. But Sultan Mahmud wished to know why Hang Nadim had entrusted a precious consignment of painted cloths to a ship doomed to go down, even if he personally was fated to survive the wreck. Hang Nadim lost the royal favour. He was the son-in-law of the *laksamana* Hang Tuah; and he lost his father-in-law's position also. Another son-in-law, Khoja Hasan, was given Hang Tuah's place. Only after the fall of Malacca did Hang Nadim become *laksamana* and show himself the most daring and resourceful of all the Malay leaders.

Hang Tuah's death was followed by that of Sultan Mahmud of Pahang. This Sultan had murdered his nephew, slain Talani of Trengganu and poisoned his own brother Alaedin. But he had forgiven Malacca after Alaedin's death and given his daughter in marriage to its Sultan. When his son Abdul-jamal sent to Malacca asking to be installed king he was given the *nobat* or state-band that seemingly had never been bestowed upon his father. Unfortunately the friendship was not to last; but the tale of the trouble has been given in my paper on "the Early Sultans of Pahang" and need not be retold.

Meanwhile Malacca had been stirred by a scandal of the first magnitude. Raja Zain-al-abedin, a young half-brother of the Sultan by a royal mother, had grown up to be a dandy and a darling of the ladies. Good-looking and a showy rider, he used to trot about the town dressed in the height of fashion and drenched—he and his horse—in scent. The daughters and wives of the citizens would dash to their windows and look through the chinks or climb up walls to see the prince ride by; and not content with this they took to sending him love-tokens in the form of betel-quids ready for him to chew or flowers prepared for him to wear. Girls whom he liked he took; others he passed on to his followers. There was an outcry from all that was respectable in the town. The Sultan said nothing openly; he did not blame his brother; he only asked a courtier whether a prince like Raja Zain-al-abedin was likely to be murdered without any one detecting the murderer. The courtier slipped out that night and drove a dagger through the grid-like flooring on which the young prince had spread his sleeping-mat. His brother, the Sultan, let the murder go unpunished; indeed he looked with favour on the man whom public opinion saddled with the crime. So say the Annals. There is no proof. The Prince's conduct is enough to explain his fate; the Sultan's remark may have been a warning given in good faith. The author of the Annals had good reason for hating the memory of this Sultan.

A successful war with Siam in Pahang was followed by two great diplomatic gains. The usurper-king of Patani, looking for a patron and ally, chose the king of Malacca and accepted royal honours at his hands; and the King of Kedah followed suit. Malacca now had suzerainty over an area much beyond the limits of the Malaya of today and prided itself on being the bulwark of Islam against the heathen Siamese. It had reached the highest limit of its power. The Malay Annals ascribe this greatness to its Chief Minister, the *Bēndahara Sēri Maharaja*, the most brilliant of his line, a man calm, self-contained, masterful, splendid in his acts, his dress and his appearance. To him they ascribe the control kept upon the taciturn fanatical Sultan and his gang of murderous satellites. The country needed such a minister, for it was in his time that the first European ships cast anchor in Malacca. But the evidence does not bear out all that is said about the glory of the *Bēndahara Sēri Maharaja*.

The Běndahara Sěri Maharaja.

"Uncle Mutahir" who was chosen by Sultan Mahmud to be the third prime minister of his reign is pictured in the Annals as the most brilliant *běndahara* of his long line. He is a figure of great interest not only for his greatness and his fall, but for the qualities that seem to have impressed the men of his time. By us he would be regarded as arrogant.

"The *Běndahara Sěri Maharaja*," say the Annals, "was greater than any other *běndahara*. If he sat on the embroidered mat showing his rank he put a carpet under it (to make it greater); if a prince came to Court he did not go down the stairs to meet him but was content to make a gesture with his hand and say, 'Be good enough to come up, Sir,'—unless the prince was the heir to the throne, he would go down. Should it be the Sultan of Pahang he would rise and give his seat to the Sultan, but he would take a seat near by."

* * * * *

"Tun Hasan the *těměnggong* said to the Sultan of Kedah, 'Your Highness, will you sit down to dinner with us.' The *Běndahara* protested, 'Don't do that! You will be dining on my leavings.' 'What does it matter,' said the Raja, 'you are an old man and might well be my father.' So he sat down with the *těměnggong* and ate what the *běndahara* had left in the dishes." It had been the custom from the first that a *běndahara* should dine alone or with princes. To this *běndahara* it was accounted as glory that even a crowned head would agree to dine after him.

Tun Mutahir was the boy round whose head Tun Perak had seen a fleeting halo and had said, "Greatness will come to you but it will not last." He was the *Dato' Sěri Maharaja* who had been reproached with teaching a tiger the taste of blood; he was the nephew whom that great judge of character, his uncle, had warned against remembering his kinship with the King. True, he stood very near the throne; but in his own blood there was nothing princely. He had to deal with a royal house that was always ready to marry the daughters of a *běndahara* but would never allow its own daughters to marry any noble whose children might aspire to the throne. To remember such a relationship and forget its real nature meant suspicion; and suspicion in the brain of a man like Mahmud doomed him who roused it to an ugly death.

The Annals tell us much more; for this *Běndahara Sěri Maharaja* was the pride of the great family to which the author of the Annals belonged.

"The *Běndahara Sěri Maharaja* was handsome and liked looking well; he would change costume six times a day, having countless coats of every shape and colour and thirty head-dresses made up on blocks. He would begin by dressing in front of a

mirror as tall as himself; and when he had put on his coat, his sarong, his kris and his scarf he would sit down on a swing and ask his wife, 'Which headdress do you think would match my clothes best?' His wife would indicate such-and-such a head-dress. Whatever she indicated he would put on; that was his custom; and in those days there was no one who could compare with him.

"Once when sitting in the company of many others he enquired of those present, 'Who is the handsomer, I or my son Hasan?' The courtiers said, 'You, Sir, are rather better-looking.' But he answered, 'I do not know that you are quite right. Hasan is a young man and has the advantage of me in looks. That my mirror tells me. But when it comes to charm, I beat him.'"

Tun Mutahir was wealthy. In his unguarded moments he would pour money in heaps upon the floor-mats and tell the members of his household to take what they wanted. So many were his slaves that he did not know them all by sight; so well were they clothed that he would ask them sometimes into his house as well-dressed strangers, not knowing who they were. Byres with buffaloes he had all over Malacca territory so that his young relatives, rather to his annoyance, used to slaughter one of his animals when their hunting brought them no better sport. Where did he get his wealth? The Annals tell us that his trading-ventures always prospered—as they were bound to do when all the traders were in his control. He laid himself out to please the skippers of foreign ships so that when they left the port they praised the three things for which Malacca was famous: its bananas, its Bukit China drinking water, and its *Bëndahara Sēri Maharaja*. To the resident merchants he was haughty and often discourteous; and the anecdotes of his rudeness suggest that his victims must have recalled with bitterness that the splendid *Bëndahara Sēri Maharaja* was a trader, the son of one of their own class and race.

He was venal. He accepted gifts from the parties to a suit though he was careful to make it plain to the suitors that their bribes committed him to nothing. He tolerated venality in others. When his son's young men wanted to earn a little money his son would issue orders that the streets were to be made straight, upon which the young men would sally out and find that all the houses jutted out into the streets that were to be laid out. The startled house-owners would then pay up some thirty to two hundred *mas* apiece and the municipal improvements went no further. "In this way" say the Annals, "the *tēmenggong's* followers earned their living."

In short the *Bëndahara Tun Mutahir* was showy, vain, arrogant, lavish and corrupt. He must had many and dangerous enemies. He had them among the foreign settlers whom he oppressed and whose houses he refused to visit, even for gifts

in return. He had them among the Malays. It is often forgotten that there were two families eligible for his high office: one Malay family and one from India. As Tun Mutahir belonged to the latter he must have been thought an interloper; only by the wish of the Sultan's mother had he been made *bĕndahara* over the head of Tun Perak's distinguished son, the *Dato' Paduka Tuan*. The author of the Annals, a member of the same Indian house, would hardly dwell on the weakness of this showy *bĕndahara's* position. Apart from the favour of a capricious and secretive Sultan it must have been weak. He, his son and his brother monopolized between them the three highest offices in the State. He had made an enemy of the new *laksamana*, Hang Tuah's son-in-law and successor, and he must have made enemies of all Tun Perak's descendants who were shut out from office.

One day the Raja di-Baroh, brother of Sultan Alaedin and uncle of Sultan Mahmud, was visiting the *bĕndahara's* house when he met Tun Fatimah, a young daughter of his host and a very pretty girl. The Raja asked, "Has His Highness ever seen this girl?" "No," said the *bĕndahara*, "have you any reason for asking?" "Do not be angry," said the Raja; "you know that the Sultan has lost his consort and that Malacca has no queen. Next after royalty yours is the house from which our queen should be taken. This girl would fill the position worthily." The *bĕndahara* replied, "We are people of no worth and must wed with the worthless." "Well," said the Raja di-Baroh, "it is for you to do what seems best; all I wish is to give you a hint." After this hint the *Bĕndahara* hurried the preparations for her marriage with Tun Ali, her cousin, to whom she had been betrothed. Tun Ali was the son of *Sĕri Nara Diraja*.

Sultan Mahmud had to be asked to the wedding. Unfortunately he came and saw the beauty of the bride as she sat in state on the bridal dais. Although as usual he said nothing, he took a fancy to the girl and thought that his minister had treated him badly. He went home in anger, would not eat, and felt that a slight was put upon him by his *bĕndahara* showing openly that he was not wanted as a son-in-law. But while this memory kept rankling the Sultan was too wise to betray his thoughts. Time passed; the young couple became the parents of a little girl, Tun Trang; and the incident seemed to have been forgotten.

One day when the *bĕndahara* was sitting with others he noticed a Moslem Tamil, Raja Mudeliar, reputed to be the wealthiest trader in Malacca. "Tell me," said Tun Mutahir to the Tamil, "how much are you worth?" Raja Mudeliar answered. "I am quite a poor man; I am worth only five *bahara* of gold." We do not know what a *bahara* was then worth; but the sum was large. "Only a *bahara* short of what I have," said the *bĕndahara*. But when the merchant ventured to greet the *bĕndahara* publicly in the Sultan's presence, Tun Mutahir called him a mannerless

Kling and put him in his place. Money was one thing; rank was different. The incident was not forgotten; and when a certain Nina Sura Dewana, a Malacca merchant, had occasion to bring a suit against Raja Mudeliar, the "mannerless Kling" began to be nervous as to the way the suit would end if tried before the *bëndahara*. He became still more nervous when he learnt what was going on.

Nina Sura Dewana, the other party to the suit, was unaware that his judge was prejudiced against his adversary. Hoping to make things safe for himself he slipped round at night to the house of the *bëndahara*, asked for admittance and made Tun Mutahir a gift of a very large sum in gold—over £1,000, say the Malay Annals. The money was accepted as a gift, no condition being attached. But the incident had been witnessed by a man of humble rank, a Tamil named Kitul, who owed money to Raja Mudeliar and wished to stand well with him. This Kitul rushed off to his creditor's house and said theatrically, "Raja Mudeliar, make the most of to-night, for you know not what awaits you in the morning." Kitul was taken aside and asked to explain. He said that he had seen Nina Sura Dewana give a large sum to the *bëndahara* to have Raja Mudeliar put to death. After thanking Kitul and remitting his debt Raja Mudeliar took all the money and jewellery he could lay hands on and went to the *laksamana* Khoja Hasan, a favourite of the Sultan and an enemy of the *bëndahara*, offering him everything if he would tell the Sultan that Tun Mutahir was conspiring to seize the throne. According to the Annals the *laksamana* lost his head at the sight of so much money, forgetting the words of the wise, "Oh Gold, thou art not God, yet art thou the Almighty." He went to the palace at once and warned his royal master.

The Annals go on to say that the *laksamana's* accusation was to Sultan Mahmud "like the offer of a pillow to a man half-asleep." As king he cannot have liked a minister who made it plain that he and not the Sultan was the real ruler of Malacca. Mahmud was wroth too over Tun Fatimah, the *bëndahara* having robbed him of a pretty wife and shown the world that he did not care to have a man like his master for his son-in-law. By overthrowing his minister he had much to win: the wife whom he had lost, the prestige he had sacrificed, and the wealth of his richest subject. He sent for two of his guardsmen, *Tun Sura Diraja* and *Tun Indëra Sëgara*, and ordered them to put Tun Mutahir to death.

The guardsmen carried out their orders with grim politeness. They went to the compound where the *bëndahara* lived with all his relatives and retainers. Their errand was guessed. Tun Hasan the *tëmenggong* was for offering resistance; all his men armed themselves and flocked to help. But the *bëndahara* would have none of it. "Are we to be traitors?" said he. "It is the glory of the Malay that he is loyal to his King." Tun Hasan threw

down his kris and folded his arms, sent the retainers away and joined the rest of his family in the hall where they awaited the Sultan's messengers of death.

Tun Sura Diraja walked into the hall bearing a silver tray on which lay the Sultan's execution-kris hidden under a napkin of honour. He bowed to the two brothers, the *bēndahara* and *Sēri Nara Diraja*, "Sirs, I greet you with my prayers; God invites you to His presence." The two magnates answered, "What God ordains it is not for us to question." Upon that they purified themselves by prayer and prepared for death. The angry Tun Hasan wished to throw their treasures into the sea, but was again reproved. "Is our death to profit the Sultan so little?" The guardsmen proceeded to slay Tun Mutahir (the *bēndahara*), Tun Tahir (the *Sēri Nara Diraja*), Tun Hasan (the *tēmenggong*), Tun Ali who had married Tun Fatimah, and other members of the family. When they came to a little boy, Tun Hamza, whose cheek had been sliced from mouth to ear by the sword of a Bengali in Tun Sura Diraja's following, Tun Sura intervened, "we are not to slay them all; we must leave somebody to perpetuate the family." So the boy Tun Hamza was spared to become in time a special favourite of Sultan Mahmud.

Sultan Mahmud is said to have come to regret what he had done. He seized Tun Fatimah and married her; he confiscated all the wealth Tun Mutahir had amassed; he appointed Tun Perak's son, the aged *Dato' Paduka Tuan*, to be *bēndahara* and so restored the honour to the old Malay house that had held it before. But he censured the *laksamana* severely for acting on false reports; had Raja Mudeliar slain and his house thrown into the sea; and impaled Kitul head downwards after killing his wife and children. All this we are told he did because the *bēndahara* was innocent.

But was the *bēndahara* innocent? We have seen what he was like and how he loved to take precedence of kings. Professions of loyalty came ill from a man whose father had engineered a coup d'état and slain the boy-king of Malacca known as the "martyr." We find it hard to believe that a man so powerful and arrogant would have submitted without a struggle to be executed peacefully when his armed followers were all ready to protect him. Last of all we do not see how the poor boy, Tun Hamza,—known afterwards as "the leavings of the massacre,"—could have received the wound he did (from mouth to the ear) during an orderly execution by the kris. Probably there was a struggle in which the *bēndahara* and his relatives were slain.

The Fall of Malacca.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

On 1 August, 1509,—some time before the death of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja—a Portuguese squadron of five ships cast anchor in the Malacca roadstead. It was commanded by Diogo Lopez de Sequeira. He began by presenting gifts to Sultan Mahmud and was received with courtesy and also with suspicion. The reputation of the Portuguese had preceded them and did not encourage a closer acquaintance. In the end a misunderstanding embroiled him with some Malays who were visiting his ship and led to fighting while a few of his men were ashore. Not being strong enough to attack the town Sequeira had to sail away, leaving his unfortunate fellow-countrymen in Malay hands.

Two years later Alfonso d'Albuquerque sailed from Goa to avenge this reverse. He arrived at Malacca on 1 July, 1511, with 19 ships and 1,400 troops; and after negotiations which lasted about three weeks and led to the release of the Portuguese prisoners he attacked the town on 24 July. By nightfall he seemed to have made little impression; but on renewing the attack on the following morning he found that the Sultan and his Malays had abandoned the town. Accounts of the visit of Sequeira and of the attack by Albuquerque have been published already in this Journal and need not be repeated; but something may be added regarding our accounts of the size and wealth of the place.

A Portuguese account speaks of a town of 100,000 inhabitants, an army of 30,000 warriors and the capture of thousands of guns. Are these figures credible? Albuquerque's despatch describing the capture to the King of Portugal has never been traced; it was probably lost at sea. The story we have is that of his son, written much later and unlikely to minimize the exploits of a distinguished father. The Malay Annals—though they also boast of the greatness of Malacca—claim that the Malays at that time were unacquainted with the use of artillery. Whom are we to believe? The usual Malay word for a cannon (*mēriam*) is of Portuguese origin; that for a swivel-gun belongs to a later date; nor is it claimed that these thousands of firearms inflicted any serious losses on the Portuguese who suffered most from poisoned darts from Malay blowpipes. The story of the Sultan lending his guards a book to read does not suggest an army of great size, nor is it recorded that any Malay leader of importance was slain in the battle, as was certainly the case when Mahmud was driven out of his capital on the isle of Bentan. From the Annals we can infer a good deal about the nature of the army. There were the Sultan's palace-guards,—not a numerous body. There were the Chiefs' retainers and slaves,—more numerous but of less military worth. There were the conscript levies,—a polyglot crowd of townsmen with no heart in the war. The fleets that Malacca had sent out for her conquests were manned largely by Orang

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Laut from the Riau-Lingga islands and would not be available for the defence of Malacca against a sudden attack.

Still less is it believable that Malacca was a town of 100,000 inhabitants. Malacca had no hinterland of ricefields to feed a large population and could hardly have provisioned herself on so extended a scale from abroad. In every anecdote in the city's Annals she figures as a smaller place; can we imagine, for instance, that public opinion would condemn the highest dignitary of such a huge town for extravagance because he did not use up his candle-ends and threw away matting when it had only two or three big holes in it? The Malacca Malays were a ruling class living rather parasitically on a community of alien traders. By Albuquerque's victory the Malay ruling class was driven out and a Portuguese ruling class took its place. But no one suggests that Portuguese Malacca was a town of 100,000 inhabitants; nor is it suggested that Bugis Riau was a town of any size when it beat off (in 1783) a Dutch force of six large ships of war and 1,900 men and only succumbed (in 1784) when attacked by six battleships of the Dutch navy, 326 guns and 2,130 men.

This account of the Malacca Sultanate is based almost in its entirety upon the "Annals." They are an anecdotal History. They avoid all dates; when they give us the length of a reign they are usually wrong. Always uncritical they record myths and miracles as things that happened. But they give us a life-like picture of the times, reflect the mentality of the Malacca Malays, and explain to us the working of Malacca government with its curious insistence on show and ceremonial for keeping up the authority of princes and nobles. Even though they may go astray in details they tell us what the Sultanate was like. They are the best record we have. The Chinese Annals help us to date events and do little more. When we get to Portuguese and Dutch times we get both dates and detail, but we also find that the writers were kept busy at their work as traders and accountants and had neither desire nor time to study a race whom they regarded as faithless and perfidious. It is part of the greatness of Sir Stamford Raffles that in this matter he broke completely with the past.

An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca.

By ROLAND BRADDELL, F.R.G.S.

§ 1. Prefatory.

This essay is proffered with the object of re-awakening interest in the ancient story of the Malay Peninsula, with which is interwoven that of the Straits of Malacca. So far, despite all that has yet been written, the Peninsula is a dark spot in the ancient story of south-eastern Asia. Two inconsistent views of the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula are too often expressed locally, that there remains nothing worth doing and that it is all too problematic to be worth doing. It is hoped that this essay will prove the incorrectness of both these views.

Hocart begins his *Progress of Man* (1) with these words "Live man wants to know about his past as a key to his present. The man who does not is dead." The inhabitants of British Malaya (as for convenience it has been called) are entitled, if they so wish, to know about the past of the country in which they live. The period of economic development, upon which the Governments of the country have concentrated until now, has surely proceeded sufficiently far to allow of its cultural development. The foundations of a possible future university in Singapore and the progress of higher education throughout British Malaya, with the consequent attraction to the country of teachers and scholars and the creation of a cultured class that seems to be increasing rapidly, would appear to warrant the creation for British Malaya of a department of anthropology in the wide sense and the provision of proper funds for its conduct.

Not only do their Governments owe such a duty to the inhabitants of British Malaya but much more do they owe it to the great world of science outside. While eulogizing the celebrated Dutch prehistorian Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels at the India Society in 1933¹ Sir Grafton Elliot Smith said,

"When we recognize the greatness of the achievement of Dutch archaeologists in the East Indies, the Americans in the Philippines, the French in Indo-China, the Japanese and Chinese, and such enthusiastic amateurs as Drs. Heanley and Shellshear in Hong Kong, it is particularly humiliating to us as Englishmen that so little is being done in Malaya to complete the links in the chains which this great jumping-off place of Asia and cultural exchange alone can supply. Will not the India Society urge upon the Colonial Office and the Government of Singapore and the Federated Malay

¹ See *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VII, p. 14.

States the importance of this work and their duty to the world to make their proper contribution to a vital research ? ”

At present Government maintains a fully trained and highly qualified anthropologist who is conducting an intensive study of the pagan tribes of the Peninsula; it also maintains a fully trained and highly qualified archaeologist who is at present undertaking a systematic course of investigation which is producing good results. The Government further provides admirable museums at various centres with highly qualified staffs and subsidizes the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. From these beginnings it is not too much to hope that there will in due course emerge a department of anthropology, so that research and study throughout the Peninsula may be co-ordinated, directed and maintained with the necessary generous finance.

The view as to archaeology in the Peninsula that has previously been entertained is expressed by Wilkinson (2, p. 12) thus,

“ Although British Malaya is not destitute of old remains it is singularly poor in relics of antiquity when contrasted with Java and Cambodia, or even with the northern part of the peninsula itself.”

The real truth is that for years upon years archaeology was totally neglected and there can be no doubt that owing to indifference or want of knowledge many interesting objects have been lost, destroyed or removed. Only recently, while waterworks were being constructed at Bukit Trek near Muar in Johore, an inscribed sheet of gold was found by a coolie and taken by him to an Indian goldsmith to melt down before news of the find reached the European officer in charge of the work. The institution of a system of rewards to the finders of antiquities of all kinds and the advertisement of the offer of such rewards through the Penghulus of the country and all persons in charge of new construction works would probably assist very materially.

Ivor Evans, who was at that time Ethnographer in the Federated Malay States, in such time as he could spare from his duties and with quite inadequate funds at his disposal, obtained important archaeological results wherever he tried. The Peninsula abounds in ancient gold-mine workings none of which has yet been archaeologically explored; and there are many other places to which the finger of history points as being worthy of attention.

The physical and cultural anthropology of the country is in somewhat better case but there has been a marking time and one would suggest a thorough re-examination and revision of the data recorded in Skeat and Blagden's great work (3) on our pagan tribes in the light of later knowledge. Now that the country is more opened and access to the main range of the Peninsula is a much simpler matter, a close study of the pagan races becomes easier. The ‘ Malay proper,’ as he is called, still remains a largely

unexplained problem, and he awaits a full physical examination, if not a cultural one, while a close comparison of the northern and north-eastern Malays with their western and southern brethren, both physically and culturally, suggests itself as a most fruitful course of study.

Indeed, large though the corpus of material already collected may seem to be, it can be said that it requires enlargement, and re-examination in the light of present-day scientific knowledge. As this essay progresses, it is hoped that this fact will emerge with clarity.

For the sake of convenience, the ancient history of the Peninsula will be divided into main periods by a purely arbitrary method, thus:—(1) Pre-Funan; (2) Funan; (3) Srivijaya; (4) Singhapura; (5) Malacca.

An anthropological excursus, however, must form an essential introduction to this ancient history; and a summary of the latest theories will now be attempted.

The student of anthropology is faced with a great confusion of terminology. In this essay we use the word 'anthropology' in its widest sense as covering all that bears on the study of mankind. In England, France and the United States this is the sense in which the term is used, with a general division into 'physical' and 'cultural'; but in Germany it means only 'physical' anthropology. 'Ethnology' and 'ethnography' are words also with variable meanings. The latter was invented at the end of the eighteenth century by the Dane Niebuhr as a science of classification dealing with the relationships between the races or peoples of mankind but by the middle of the nineteenth century it gradually came to be a science whose task was to describe each of the various races or peoples of mankind. The former was invented when the Paris Société d' Ethnologie was founded in 1839; and as used nowadays in England, Germany and the United States it denotes a more reasoned science of the races or peoples of mankind than ethnography but in France both terms, 'ethnography' and 'ethnology', are interchangeable and denote what in England is meant by 'ethnology.' Lastly, in the terminology applied to races and peoples there is an indescribable confusion which makes the study of the various sciences comprised in the wide term 'anthropology' a very difficult one and it is essential in reading or quoting any given work to make absolutely certain what the author really means before comparing his views with those of any other. This last point is illustrated in the text of the next section of this essay.

In the historical portions of this essay we shall see what a tremendous part India has played in the history and in the cultures of Malaysia and south-eastern Asia generally. The excursus which now follows shows that the nexus with India began in remote ages past so that the Indians who came in historical times were only following a well-known and long used track.

§ 2. *Anthropological.*

The Malay Peninsula, which runs from Tavoy to Singapore, begins at the isthmus of Kra, 10° N., where it is about 35 miles from sea to sea, widening out in the middle to a maximum breadth of under 200 miles and reaching a total length of roughly 1,000 miles. There is no spot, even in the far interior of the Peninsula, which is as much as 100 miles from the sea. Its back-bone consists of a main range (or system of ranges) of mountains which are steep and savage, being clad with jungle to the very sky-line, and which reach in some parts from 6,000 to 7,000 feet high. From this range pour the main rivers of the Peninsula and they for long formed the principal high-ways to and from the coasts. The reader is referred to Skeat and Blagden (3, introduction) for an admirable description of the Peninsula and the environment in which its pagan peoples have lived.

In remote times the Peninsula was continuous with Borneo and Java. Celebes, New Guinea and the neighbouring islands were joined to Australia, but there was always a break between Borneo and Celebes, called Wallace's Line, with perhaps another break between Lombok and Bali. The archaic continent of Asia was, accordingly, divided from the former extension of the Australian continent by a sea-passage which had to be crossed by migrating peoples (4, pp. 121, 131; Fig. 30).

Who first peopled the Malay Peninsula? Whence and how did they come? What part did the country play in the peopling of Oceania? From what races are its present peoples derived? Whence have come the cultures and languages, past and present, of its various peoples? These and others are the problems which make the Malay Peninsula so important to the anthropologist.

Wilkinson (2, chs. I & IV) divides the living peoples, indigenous in the Peninsula, into (a) the Negritos, collectively known as Semang (b) the Sakai (c) the Besisi (d) the Proto-Malays (e) the Malays.

Winstedt (5, ch. VIII) states them as (a) the Negrito (b) the Sakai (c) the Besisi (d) the Proto-Malay (e) the Malay; but in his new *History of Malaya* omits division (c).

Proto-Malay, however, is an expression from the use of which great confusion arises. It appears to have been invented (see 6, p. 238) by Haddon as a convenient term to mean the branch of *Pareoan man*¹ from whom the various specialized modern 'Malays' are sprung. Elliot Smith (4, p. 152) suggests that the expression should be kept for that branch of the Mongol race, sometimes called the Maritime or Oceanic Mongols, from which the modern mixed population of the Peninsula and Archipelago called 'Malay'

¹ Another term invented by Haddon to express the southern examples of *Yellow Man* (6, pp. 62, 63).

is descended. It seems to the present writer that it would be wiser not to use the expression in connection with a living race but, if it is to be used at all, to give the prefix Proto its proper meaning of primordial.

The distinguished American anthropologist Professor Kroeber (7, p. 486) says that the north of the Peninsula is divided into three racial groups, the Semang, the Sakai and the Malays; and he does not mention the Jakun at all.

The divisions of Skeat and Blagden (3, p. 21) appear to be the most convenient, adding to them a fourth group, the Malays, with whom, of course, their work is not concerned. We can, then, state the living peoples of the Peninsula to be as follows,

- A. SEMANG—the Negrito tribes generally; of whom the East Coast ones are known as Pangan;
- B. SAKAI—including the Senoi or central Sakai tribes;
- C. JAKUN—the aboriginal Malay tribes, including the Blandas of Selangor and Sungai Ujong; the Besisi, sea tribes of the Selangor and Malacca Coast; the Mantra, in the interior of Malacca; and the Udai, a mixed tribe of Johore;
- D. MALAY.

These peoples have, of course, mixed and produced mixed tribes but such will fall into the above groups in accordance with what part of the mixture predominates.

It is essential anthropologically to consider questions of race, culture and language separately. In fact, it has become a commonplace that the arguing of connection between these three factors, the making of inference from one to the other, is logically unsound (7, p. 111); yet the fault persists in book after book.

The term *race* is one which has unfortunately acquired a somewhat varied meaning in every-day speech. From the standpoint of the anthropologist a race is a biological group, based on community of physical characters. Where a group is characterized by a linguistic unity he terms it a *stock*; and where it is characterized by cultural, historical or political unity, he terms it a *nation*. If every writer on linguistics, ethnology or archaeology would follow that terminology, much confusion would be avoided. As Kroeber (7, p. 57) says "it may seem of little moment whether the word race is restricted to its strict biological sense or used more loosely. In fact, however, untold loose reasoning has resulted from the loose terminology." A classic instance, of course, is the "Aryan race," an expression that is really meaningless. Aryan is purely a linguistic term and merely indicates a family of languages and the speakers of those languages; yet over and over again it is used as though it actually had a physical meaning and indicated a race of men. The "Latin race" and the "Anglo-Saxon race"

are two more instances; here, what is really meant is the Latin culture and the Anglo-Saxon culture. Then there are such expressions as the "French race" or the "German race," which mean in reality the French nation or the German nation.

Similarly, expressions like Malay, Malayo-Polynesian, Dravidian, Mon-Khmer refer, primarily, to families of languages and, secondarily, to the ethnic complex which speaks such languages. There is, strictly speaking, no such thing as the Malay race; there are the Malay people, the Malay culture and the Malay language etc.

So, too, with culture. Because two peoples possess a certain culture, that is no evidence of any racial unity. Elliot Smith (4, pp. 146, 147) points out, as must be obvious to any student of ethnology, that there is in most modern writings a serious confusion between race and culture. "In ethnological discussions, few people seem to be able to steer clear of such elements of confusion. Race and the culture of a race are two very different things. Any member of any race can adopt the culture of another people without undergoing any change in its physical characteristics."

Finally, language is possibly the worst trap of all. We have already instanced the classic case of the Aryan. "As a matter of fact," writes Kroeber (7, p. 104), "languages often preserve their existence, and even their territory, with surprising tenacity in the face of conquest, new religions and culture, and the economic disadvantages of unintelligibility. To-day, Breton, a Keltic dialect, maintains itself in France as the every-day language of the people in the isolated province of Brittany—a sort of philological fossil. It has withstood the influence of two thousand years of contact, first with Latin, then with Frankish German, at last with French"; and he says later (*ibid.*, p. 111) that "it is possible for a population to substitute a wholly new language and type of civilization for the old ones, as the American negro has done, and yet to remain relatively unmodified racially, or at least to carry on its former physical type unchanged in a large proportion of its members. On the other hand, a change of speech without some change of culture seems impossible. Certainly wherever Greek, Latin, Spanish, English, Arabic, Pali, Chinese have penetrated, there have been established new phases of civilization."

Again, he points out (*ibid.*, p. 113), that "no clear correspondence has yet been traceable between type or degree of civilization and type of language. Neither the presence nor the absence of particular features of tense, number, case, reduplication, or the like seems ever to have been of demonstrable advantage toward the attainment of higher culture."

In comparing language with culture one must bear in mind facts such as that the bulk of Japanese culture is Chinese; yet Japanese speech is built on wholly different principles.

When we come later to deal with Professor Rivet's theories the above commonplaces as to race, culture and language should be kept in the forefront of the reader's mind.

Let us now consider the questions of race with which the Peninsula involves us. The history of race classification will be found traced by Kroeber (7, pp. 49-55). At this date it is generally considered by English scholars that there are six fundamental races, which Elliot Smith (4, ch. IV) states as the Mediterranean, the Nordic, the Alpine, the Australian, the Negro and the Mongolian; and Hocart, perhaps more conveniently, (1, ch. 11) as the Australoid, the Negro and Negroid, the Mongolian and Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Nordic and the Alpine. Kroeber divides them into Caucasian i.e. Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean and Hindu (sic); Mongoloid; Negroid; and people of doubtful position: but the English divisions are convenient and will be followed here.

Taking the living peoples, indigenous in the Peninsula, the Semang are usually stated to be Negroid pygmies; the Sakai to be Australoid; the Jakun to be Mongoloid near-pygmies; and the Malay proper to be Mongoloid.

A local re-consideration of the whole question would, however, be a most fruitful enterprise. Already, according to Mr. A. C. Baker¹, the Temiar in the Cameron Highlands, who are usually called 'Sakai,' are considered by Mr. H. D. Noone, the present Ethnographer, to be "Nessiot², a primitive Indonesian stock who preceded the round-headed Oceanic Mongols."

We shall return further to these racial questions in considering the theories of Professor Rivet.

So far as archaeological skeletal remains are concerned there is little beyond the debris of skulls discovered in 1860 by Mr. Earl at a shell-heap 10 miles from the mouth of the Sungei Muda in Province Wellesley and identified by Professor Huxley³ in 1863 as belonging to 'the Australo-Melanesoid race.' This shell-heap has recently been re-examined by Dr. van Stein Callenfels, whose discoveries confirm (so the writer understands) Professor Huxley's identification.

The remains found by Ivor Evans at Kuala Selinsing, Perak, would appear to belong to the historic period; but the discussion of them by Professor Gordon Harrower (8) would seem to possess more anatomical than anthropological value.

¹ See *Journal of the Malayan Branch. R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, 1933, pp. 288-295 at p. 291.

² Should be Nesiots, i.e. Islanders, a term invented by Haddon to express what are frequently called Indonesians.

³ See Letter on the Human Remains found in the Shell-Mounds; Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. II, new series, 1863.

The languages of the Peninsula have been very fully treated by local scholars and, if there is room for much further research, Hocart (1, p. 280) perhaps points to a direction in which it might proceed. He says that philologists have made a mistake in looking exclusively to words for evidence and in not admitting affinity unless they can identify with certainty a sufficient number of words. They will not admit, he says, that, if the structure is nearly the same in two languages, those languages must be closely related. Structure, he argues, is far more permanent than words, as is shown by the fact that a man who learns another language can master the vocabulary, but seldom the structure, and goes on casting his new words into his old forms.

Winstedt (5, ch. IX) says that the Semang or Negritoes still have a number of words of a distinctive type that have not been traced to a Mon-Khmer or Malayan source many of which, he now tells me, belong to that old Malayo-Polynesian language, Sundanese. The Sakai dialects, he formerly considered, would appear to have been related from the first to the Mon-Khmer languages, though in his latest work he calls their language Malayo-Polynesian with an admixture of Mon-Khmer. The Jakuns speak a Malayan dialect which, however, contains a number of unexplained and possibly alien words.

Malay is universally admitted to form part of the great Malayo-Polynesian family of languages. Some authorities believe that the Mon-Khmer languages of southern Indo-China and the Kolarian or Munda-Kol tongues of India are related in origin to Malayo-Polynesian and denominate the larger whole the Austronesian family. As we shall see, Professor Rivet and others cast the net still wider and insist upon an even greater family of languages which they term Oceanian. Malay, therefore, is a member of the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian or Oceanian families.

Turning now to culture, it is noticeable that the Malay Peninsula has already produced considerable evidence upon which the prehistorian can work, due very largely to Ivor Evans. It is a matter of dispute whether any palaeolithic implements have been discovered. Ivor Evans denied this¹, as also did the late J. de Morgan (9, iii, p. 134) but Fritz Sarasin (10, p. 196; 22, p. 29) asserts that a pure palaeolithic corresponding to the Siamese and the oldest Hoabinhian² of Indo-China can be accepted as existing in the Peninsula. The latest authorities speak of a mesolithic culture which still used palaeoliths.

The early neolithic in the Peninsula corresponds with that in Indo-China called Bacsonian from its presence in the highest degree in the grottoes of the massif of Bac-son in Tonkin, explored by Mansuy and Mlle. Colani, with whose names this culture will always be associated.

¹ see *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XV, Pt. 1 1930, pp. 21-22.

² i.e., of the archaic type found in the province of Hoa-binh, Tonkin.

Fritz Sarasin (22, p. 33) believes it possible to distinguish four series of stone age cultures, from palaeolithic to neolithic, in South East Asia, all of which are represented in the Malay Peninsula.

It need hardly be pointed out that, as used above, the expressions 'palaeolithic' and 'neolithic' merely indicate a stage of culture and not a period of time. Neither is a synchronism with that in Europe but indicates merely a similarity of the implements and the mode of their making¹.

Kroeber (7, p. 486) says that culturally the Malay Peninsula belongs with the East Indies rather than with Indo-China; and that is very true of to-day but it is clear that in pre-historic and early historic times the connection was with what are to-day called Indo-China and Siam. This displacement of culture leads one also to notice (though without drawing any inferences) a somewhat similar displacement of language. Hocart (1, p. 284) says "Dravidian itself seems to have pushed back earlier languages which have left scattered fragments such as Munda near Calcutta. Some authorities link it with Mon-Khmer which once formed a compact mass in Indo-China. This group has been called Austro-Asiatic. This general eastward push has displaced the Malayo-Polynesian family, often called Austronesian. It now only just hangs on to the mainland in the Malay Peninsula, but has spread overseas to Easter Island and to Madagascar. It is divided into Indonesian, of which Malay is the best known, Polynesian, Micronesian and Malagasy."

For the present cultures of the pagan tribes of the Peninsula the reader is naturally referred primarily to Skeat and Blagden (3), a companion to which for purposes of comparative study is Hose and McDougall (11). For the Malay culture the authorities collected in the bibliography below will form a sufficient introduction.

The Malay Peninsula abounds in evidence of the diffusion of cultures but so far no analysis of this evidence has been made in the light of present-day theory and admittedly the difficulty of doing so is very great but some attempt should at least be made.

Events in India since 1920 have shed an entirely new light upon the problems of diffusion and have confirmed theories published by Elliot Smith and Perry some three or four years prior to that date (see, 4, pp. 384-6).

In 1920 preliminary excavations were begun at Harappa, a small village situated on the railway line half-way between Lahore and Multan; and in 1922 excavation began at Mohenjo-Daro in the Larkana district of Sind, some 400 miles from Harappa. As these explorations have proceeded a new archaic civilization has

¹ The writer ventures to suggest that in the Malay Peninsula various stages of stone culture existed side by side and that one of them at least persisted as late as the XVIIIth century A.D.

been revealed dating back to at least 3,000 B.C. and, as a result, ancient Mesopotamia becomes linked with Oceania. Already a large quantity of literature has grown up around these discoveries but it will be sufficient here to refer the reader to Professor Gordon Childe's recent book (12) as the most convenient summary of the cultural results of the discoveries. Those interested in problems of language and palaeography may take as a starting-point Dr. Hunter's recent book (13) which contains a valuable introduction by Professor S. Langdon, in which he entirely agrees with the remarkable discovery of G. de Hévésy of the kinship between the Indus scripts and those of Easter Island and says that there can be no doubt concerning their identity. Dr. Hunter (13, p. 49) reaches the important conclusions that this Proto-Indian script is connected as to its origin with Egypt on the one hand and Sumer-Elam on the other; that the script is, on the majority, if not all, of the texts, a simplified syllabary of open and closed syllables, roughly 250 in number, many of them constituting complete words; that from the open syllables of this script are derived the Brahmi¹ quasi-alphabetic script, and a large portion of Sabaean²; that it is quite possible that Phoenician and Cypriote are likewise modifications of Proto-Indian, which however presupposes a common meeting-ground of their sailors and merchants in the Isthmus of Suez and the mines of Sinai, which re-opens the question of the origin of the Alphabet and suggests that Proto-Indian was an all important link in the chain of its development from pictographic origins.

The connection with Easter Island mentioned above may be noted in conjunction with a statement by Marchal, the well-known French archaeologist, to the effect that the series of blocks sculptured with rather crude images on the plateau of Pasemah remind one of the extraordinary giants of Easter Island, whose origin is still a mystery³. Dutch scholars, however, regard the Pasemah sculpture as pure 'Indonesian' made in the beginning of the Christian Era.

This takes us directly to the problem of the diffusion of culture and the part which the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca have played in such diffusion.

In a notice⁴ of Professor Gordon Childe's *New Light on the Ancient East*, Mr. H. J. Massingham observes that science has now accepted the principle of diffusion, urged upon it incessantly by the Diffusionists, and has deserted the old guard of believers

¹ The principal earliest Indian form of writing, from which all living Indian alphabets are derived.

² The script of the Sabaeans, a name used loosely for the ancient dwellers in south-west Arabia.

³ see *Asiatic Mythology*, 1932, at p. 241; for the Sumatran remains, see *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra*, n.d. (c. 1933) by Dr. Van der Hoop.

⁴ See the London *Sunday Times*, April 22, 1934.

in the independent development of archaic culture; and he says that the weight of Professor Gordon Childe's authority is enough to turn the scale. For the mechanism of diffusion the reader is referred to chap: X of Professor Gordon Childe's book (12) and to the other books cited in the bibliography hereto, particularly the introduction to Dawson's *The Age of the Gods*.

The great protagonists of the diffusionist school are, of course, the late Dr. Rivers, Sir G. Elliot Smith and Mr. W. J. Perry; and, whether he agrees with them or not, an understanding of their theories is necessary to any student of the cultural history of the Malay Peninsula. Hocart (1, p. 37) says that "the true importance of diffusionism does not lie in migrations, as one might think from the literature; but in the working hypothesis that cultures with the same structure are derived from a common original, and that the closer the resemblance the nearer the common original."

Perry begins *The Children of the Sun* (21) with these words, "The vast region stretching from Egypt by way of India, Indonesia and Oceania, to America, is important in the study of the early history of culture. It contains remains of civilizations rooted in the depths of time, whose ruins stand in the fever-haunted jungles of India, Cambodia, Java, Guatemala, on the islands of Micronesia, and elsewhere as silent witnesses to the frailty of human endeavour, arousing in the traveller wonder at the skill of their builders, and pity that such fair creations were doomed to ruin and decay. It contains, on the other hand, many communities of lowly culture, even so primitive in some instances as not to have learned to procure their food from agriculture or domesticated animals, who often live in countries that possess ruins of ancient civilizations, and show no signs of attempting to emulate the efforts of their predecessors."

His book seeks to show that the earliest peoples in these parts who had advanced beyond the food-gathering stage, were so similar in culture that they can be grouped together as constituting what he calls the Archaic Civilization. Given that the later civilizations originated from it, he propounds the question where and how did it come into being? The solution, he suggests, is to be sought in Egypt. The book contains much matter that is of the highest interest to the Malayan student together with a bibliography of great value.

We shall now proceed to a consideration of the theories of the great philologist Professor Rivet of Paris as to the Oceanians (14, 15 and 16) which, we shall find, lead us into a *mélange* of race, culture and language of the most interesting description, and which illustrate what a part the Malay Peninsula and its surrounding seas must have played in the ancient history of man. As Sir G. Elliot Smith said in a passage which we have already quoted, Malaya was, indeed, "the great jumping-off place of Asia and cultural exchange."

By 'Oceanians' Rivet means the ethnic complex which comprehends the Australians and Tasmanians, the Melanesians, the Polynesians and Micronesians, the Indonesians, the Mon-Khmers and the Mundas. It is primarily a linguistic theory and, though it happens that the Australians are one of the fundamental races of man, the use of the word above is not in that sense. Rivet finds a linguistic unity amongst all the above stocks and he goes on to see how the linguistic evidence accords with racial and cultural evidence.

The linguistic unity of the complex, he says, is established to-day since the works of W. Schmidt, d'A. Trombetti and himself; and the student will find a very full bibliography attached to the works of Rivet which we cite (see 14, implemented by 16). Rivet is careful, however, to point out that this linguistic unity does not correspond with an anthropologic or ethnographic unity; that one must presume that the community of languages of people so profoundly dissimilar is a secondary phenomenon; and that it is the tongue of one of them which has obtruded into the general mass for reasons and under conditions which remain obscure. We shall see in later parts of this essay that the ancient Chinese found a linguistic, if not also a cultural, unity running from what is to-day Indo-China round the Gulf of Siam, down the Malay Peninsula, into Sumatra and Indonesia proper; and this unity they described by the word *Kun-lun*, or, as the French write it, *K'ouen-L'ouen*.

Rivet discusses whether it is possible that the linguistic unity, which he considers to be established, can possibly come from the fact that the stocks mentioned represent human waves which once issued from the same region or from contiguous ones, as data furnished by anthropology and ethnography permit him to suspect; and he suggests that there may have been four such human waves.

The oldest of these, he suggests, is represented by the Australians.

At the beginning of history, he says, this stock appears marooned in their great island but the discovery at Talgai of a skull that is perhaps pleistocene, but in any case exceedingly ancient, proves that they occupied their habitat in extremely ancient times and other discoveries show that they once occupied a far wider territory. Thus the find at Wadjak in Java by E. Dubois of two Australoid skulls, very probably pleistocene, and the discovery in 1925 by Mansuy and Mlle. Colani of an analogous skull in the lower neolithic beds at Lang-Cuom in Tonkin show that the Australian territory comprised certain parts of Malaysia and Indo-China. Long before these discoveries de Quatrefages and Hamy had insisted in 1882 upon the existence of an ancient Australoid element in India, a theory confirmed by the discovery in 1920 in the region of Benares of petroglyphs identical with Australian ones and by the demonstration of marked affinities between the Australoid and Munda languages, the latter of which

was spoken of old in the whole of North-East India from the Himalayas to the Gulf of Bengal before having been pushed back by the Tibeto-Burman, Aryan and Dravidian language invasions. He adduces also cultural evidence such as the use of the boomerang in Celebes, South-East India and Gujerat. He concludes that the fact that the very primitive character of the civilization of the Australians which has never passed out of the palaeolithic stage together with the discovery of the Talgai skull go to show that the Australians formed the most ancient part of the Oceanic ethnic complex, and so the most ancient wave, which, since he considers that the evidence shows their presence at a very ancient time in a part of India, in Malaysia and in Indo-China, Rivet suggests came from the southern regions of Asia and Insulind, proceeding down to Australia from north to south.

The Talgai skull which Rivet mentions is considered to be that of a lad about 15 years of age; it was first heard of in 1914 and first described in 1918. Elliot Smith (4, pp. 108, 122, 123, 134; 17, pp. 129, 130) does not admit its great antiquity in point of time, considering that it does not date back further than 4,000 B. C., but he admits the primitiveness of the skull and agrees that one is justified in distinguishing it from the modern Australian by the term Proto-Australian. On the other hand, Sir Arthur Keith (18, p. 303) says that in it was seen for the first time a stage in the evolution of the aborigines of Australia—a stage attained before the end of the pleistocene period of Australia. Its exact age, he says, is a moot point, but if we regard it as corresponding to the late cave period of Europe and assign to it an antiquity of some 12,000 or 15,000 years, we shall probably under-estimate its antiquity.

Elliot Smith (4, p. 133) agrees that the skulls found by Dubois at Wadjak in Java are Proto-Australian.

We can add two further pieces of racial evidence not mentioned by Rivet. Elliot Smith (4, p. 133; 17, pp. 130, 131) mentions an Australoid skull found in the Madras Presidency; and Sir Arthur Keith (18, pp. 304–311) describes a Proto-Australian skull, known as the Cohuna skull, which was found with remains of probably four other individuals at Cohuna, 750 miles distant from Talgai as the crow flies, and he says that this Cohuna man represents, with the exception of the Java pithecanthropus and the Peking sinanthropus, the most primitive form of man known to us.

Elliot Smith (4, p. 121) says that people with the same physical characteristics as the Australian race are found in the South of India and Ceylon, and, mixed with other races, in North-Eastern India, especially in Chota Nagpur. Others, again, are found in the Malay Peninsula (i.e. Sakai), Eastern Sumatra, Borneo and some islands of the Philippines; and he agrees with Rivet that there was a north to south migration, which he puts as from Chota Nagpur eastward and southward through the Malay Peninsula.

Kroeber (7, p. 486) says that the Sakai or Senoi resemble a series of hill tribes scattered from India to the East Indies; the Vedda of Ceylon, the Irula and other tribes of southern India, and the Toala of Celebes. Perhaps the Kolarians or Munda-Kol of Central India, the Moi and other groups of Indo-China, the Nicobar islanders, and certain nationalities of Sumatra are also to be reckoned as partial representatives of the same type. This race, if it is such, is generalized with certain Caucasian and Negroid but few Mongoloid resemblances. It is perhaps to be classed as Australoid and has been named Indo-Australoid¹.

The Melanesians form Rivet's second wave and he says that of old they occupied a much more extensive territory than to-day. De Quatrefages and Hamy have showed that a Melanesian element has intervened in the peopling of a certain number of Polynesian islands as far as and including Easter Island. Mansuy and Mille. Colani have discovered in the most ancient neolithic beds of Duong-thuoc, Khac-Kiem and Lang-Cuom, in Tonkin, skulls approaching clearly to the Melanesian race (sic) and the same ethnic type has been disclosed in India (the pre-Dravidian black type of Lapicque) where it has persisted to our days, in particular amongst the Dravidian populations, as it persists still amongst the Indo-Chinese populations. Ethnography, Rivet says, confirms entirely these conclusions and permits us to enlarge them further. Ethnographers, in particular Graebner, have shown that a great number of Melanesian cultural elements are to be found in the whole Oceanic world, in the Indian Archipelago and in South Asia. So Rivet suggest that it is not illogical to think that the centre of dispersion of the Melanesians has been the same as that of the Australians and they too came from north to south.

There is, in reality, grave objection to Rivet's use of the word Melanesians. Hocart (1, p. 16) says that the inhabitants of Melanesia are sometimes described as Oceanic Negroes; but they are a hotch-potch of races. They include fuzzy Australoids, notably in the hills of Viti Levu.

Kroeber (7, p. 45) divides the Negroid stock into two large divisions, the African negro proper and the Oceanic Melanesian, with a third division, the dwarf blacks or Negrito, who differ from other negroids in being relatively broad-headed and who, though very few in numbers, possess a wide and irregular distribution in New Guinea, the Philippines, the Malay Peninsula, the Andaman Islands and Equatorial Africa. He suggests that it is possible that the Negrito are an ancient and primitive type who once inhabited much wider stretches than at present in Africa, Asia and Oceania. Rivet says that the fundamental unity of the African and Oceanian negroes is not contested by anybody; but unfortunately he makes no reference to the negrito at all.

¹ These are Kroeber's views but modern scientists, Sir Richard Winstedt informs me, are sceptical of much of the evidence.

Elliot Smith (4, pp: 138-145) after pointing out that the tallest and the shortest people in the world both belong to the Negro Race, says that the Negro population of the world was in ancient times broken into two main groups, African and Melanesian, widely separated in the geographical sense, the vast bulk of the race being found in Africa. The Melanesian Negroes present the general characteristics of the African, but in a form suggesting more or less admixture with other races. In the intervening space between Africa and Oceania only comparatively small numbers of Negroid people are to be found. There are clear signs of Negro mixture in Southern Persia; and again in India, although one great factor in the population is the presence of members of the Australian Race called Pre-Dravidian, there are also traces of intermingling with the Negro Race, to which part of the darkness of skin-colour so widely prevalent in India may be attributed.

"The Far Eastern group of Negroes in Papua and Melanesia is even more mixed than the African group. We do not find here the distinctive features of the African Negro in their most extreme form. It is probable that the Melanesians were intermingled with many other peoples during their easterly wanderings. In particular they became mixed with peoples of Australian and Mediterranean affinities. In the Solomon Islands, and elsewhere in Melanesia, one frequently finds amongst the Negroids individuals who are almost indistinguishable from the Australians. The two races intermingled not only in the islands, but probably also from time to time long before they reached Melanesia."

Here we may recollect Professor Huxley's identification of the debris of skulls discovered in 1860 in Province Wellesley as Australo-Melanesoid.

Later, Elliot Smith says, "As in the case of the migrations of the Australian Race, so also with the Negroes; groups were left on various islands to blaze the trail of the ancient wanderers. There are pygmy Negritos in the Andaman Islands and in various parts of the Malay Archipelago as far east as the Philippines and New Guinea to help us plot the easterly migration. The absence of Negroes of more normal stature in these places may be due to the fact that the taller people intermingled with people of other races to such a degree that their individuality has been lost."

It would, however, seem that the Negrito remains a very puzzling problem. Until lately it was usual amongst local writers to state that he is the oldest inhabitant of the Peninsula (e.g. 2, p. 1; 5, p. 80) but if Rivet is right (and the other authorities quoted seem to support him) this would not seem to be the case, and the Australoids preceded him. Professor Dixon (20), however, agrees with the older local view.

Fritz Sarasin (22, p. 31) says that Mansuy and Mlle. Colani have termed the skulls which Rivet mentions, Proto-Melanesian.

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The last two waves are the Polynesians and Indonesians. As for the Polynesians, Rivet says that the story of their migrations is too well-known to insist upon it. There is amongst ethnologists practical unanimity in attributing to them as their place of origin some region of South Asia or Insulind; and the remarkable discovery of de Hévésy of the kinship between the writing of Easter Island with that of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa brings to the theory a new proof as unexpected as it is decisive, says Rivet. Rivet says that all are agreed that the Indonesians have exercised their influence not only on the Melanesian domain, but also in South Asia. This ancient South Asiatic influence is witnessed not only by ethnography but by linguistics and anthropology. From the neolithic, an Indonesian element has contributed to the peopling of Indo-China (Annam and Tonkin), of which one finds traces among the present people, notably in Cambodia, despite the great mixtures to which they have been submitted.

We now reach a serious divergence of opinions. Hocart (1, p. 16) says that the Mongoloids prevail in Indonesia. They occupy the small islands north of New Guinea where they are called Micronesians, and the Pacific west of Fiji, that is Polynesia.

Kroeber (7, p. 487) says that Indonesia, Micronesia and Polynesia have brown inhabitants of prevaillingly Mongoloid affiliations. At p. 44, he divides the Mongoloid race into the Mongolian proper of Eastern Asia, the Malaysian of the East Indies and the American Indian; and he says that the original Mongoloid stock must be looked upon as having been more like present-day Malaysians or American Indians, or intermediate between them. From this generalized type peoples like the Chinese gradually diverged, while the less civilized peoples of America and Oceania kept more nearly to the ancient type. Within the East Indies, a more and a less specifically Mongoloid strain can at times be distinguished. The latter has often been called Indonesian.

Elliot Smith (4, pp: 169, 170) says that the members of the Mediterranean Race¹, *who form the basis of the Indonesian and Polynesian populations*, are considerably mixed with a type of the Alpine Race, which has been termed "Maritime Armenoid," and to a lesser degree with Mongols and Melanesians: and he says that there has been an appreciable Alpine element, which has left indelible traces in the physical characters of the people in India, the East Indies, Oceania and America. At pp: 147, 148 he says that it is difficult to say with certainty where the Mongol came into existence; the whole question is largely a matter of conjecture. But "wherever the race acquired its distinctive feature, it wandered far and wide as soon as climatic conditions permitted, north into Mongolia, Manchuria and Eastern Siberia; west into Turkestan and Tibet; and south into Yunnan and Burma, and into what we now call Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the

¹ Dolichocephalic, of course.

Malay Archipelago. Different groups had assumed distinctive characters so that Northern, Southern and Maritime Mongols became differentiated; and as the first and third of these subdivisions intermingled freely with other races, their differences from the Southern Mongols (who exhibit the characteristic features of the race in their most extreme form) become further emphasized. To interpret the physical characters of the people we have to picture members of the Mongolian group wandering away from the centre (where the most intensive specialization of racial characters was taking place) before the process of differentiation was far advanced, for on the fringe of the Mongolian domain one finds members of the race differing less emphatically from other human beings than, say, the Chinese do. But as this fringe extended its wanderings, it came at length into contact with the expanding edges of other races, in particular the Alpine people in Central Asia, and the Indian and Indonesian people (both essentially Mediterranean in race) in the South."

At p. 153 he says that the so-called Indonesians were the people who lived in the East Indies before the Malays intruded into the Archipelago. "It is probable that in very early times they had wandered along the southern littoral of Asia, through India, Indo-China, and the Malay Peninsula. In course of time these people, who belong to the Mediterranean Race, became intermingled in the Malay Archipelago with Maritime Mongols, and the two form the chief element in that mixed race—the modern Malay population."

It will be remembered, as pointed out above, that Elliot Smith terms the Mongols of the Malay Peninsula the Maritime or Oceanic Mongols.

It is clear, then, that Elliot Smith differentiates strongly between the Indonesians and the Malays racially: and, as we have seen, both the Malays and the Jakuns are generally considered to be of the Mongoloid Race.

What was the original home of 'the Malay'? It is often stated that Sumatra is his original home, when what is meant is that it is the home of the Malay culture and the country where the earliest written specimens of the Malay language have been found. Using the word culturally Kroeber (7, p. 487, n.l.) says that "the Malays proper, whose home until the twelfth or thirteenth century lay in Sumatra, are to be distinguished as a particular people from the Malaysian or East Indian group which we name after them, in the same way that the Mongols are a nation which is but one of many that constitute the Mongolian race and the Mongoloid stock." But what is the 'Malay proper'? Is the origin of Malay culture in Trengganu and Kelantan really the same as that of the Malay culture on the west and south of the main mountain range of the Peninsula? and did the Malays of these two States really acquire that culture at the same time as

the Western and Southern Malays? What of the Malays still further north in Siamese territory? Did not the Menangkabau matriarchy find its origin in the remotest time and was it not originally common to all the ancestor tribes of the present Malays? A little more light can be shed upon these problems when we come to the historical parts of this essay.

Prehistorical research supports the theory of Kern, as stated by Winstedt (5, p. 86), that the home of the Malay is to be found in Champa, Cochin-China and Cambodia. The Chinese evidence, which will be examined later, certainly points in that direction as does the fact that racially the Malay is a Mongol or Mongoloid.

The objections to the reasoning in Professor Rivet's articles are obvious and are well stated by Professor Meillet (23) though the latter does not refer anywhere in his article to the former.

Meillet says that the traits by which human races are to be distinguished have nothing to do with language. The area occupied by languages depends in no way upon facts of race but solely upon historical circumstances and Meillet instances well-known cases where tongues but not population have changed; thus, the great majority of Europeans to-day use languages of the family called Indo-European but without any community of race. If extensions of language denote extensions of civilization, one would not be surprised to notice an appreciable accord between an area of certain types of civilization and that of certain types of language. Nevertheless, the systematic attempt to prove this made by Schmidt in his recent book on the languages of the world has not achieved results that carry any conviction. An extension of language is more likely to come from the extension of a type of organisation and of psychology than from a material civilization. Meillet concludes his article by pointing out that though linguistics and anthropology are connected sciences, though indeed linguistics form a part of anthropology in the wide sense, it is impossible to establish a connection between the facts of language and the principal questions which anthropologists study; and, even where one sees any possibility of such a connection and facts appear that begin to establish it, it is a matter purely of first beginnings. Such attempts, however, are worth pursuing since linguistics and anthropology will derive benefit from them; but a rigidly critical spirit must be maintained.

The discussion of Rivet's theories, though singularly inconclusive, has proved useful in introducing a number of facts and in enabling us to collect a number of views expressed by other writers. We can now pass to a writer who concerns himself more with living races and whose work is of the greatest utility to Malayan students. This writer is Professor Roland Dixon, the well-known American anthropologist, and we shall conclude with a notice of his work (20).

Whether Dixon's methods are correct or not, whether scientists accept his hypothesis or not (and he admits himself that it places him squarely in the ranks of the "long discredited polygenists") his book contains most valuable material and most valuable indications of the directions in which local research might fruitfully be conducted. Indeed, the present writer has found Dixon's book of greater use than any other in considering the complex problems which the Malay Peninsula presents to the student.

He begins by an attempt to analyze the physical characteristics of the peoples of the world on the basis of eight primary types and thereafter he endeavours to sketch for each continent the broad outlines of its racial history.

In his introduction he reminds us that physical anthropologists are not by any means yet agreed as to what are the true criteria of race, and that there is considerable doubt as to the real correlation of the various characteristics. Since there are no absolute standards of race, some arbitrary criteria must be used; and he chooses three relating to the head—the cranial or cephalic index, the altitudinal or length-height index, and the nasal index—by means of which he is able to divide man into eight fundamental 'types,' which are not races in the ordinary sense of the term, and are not to be confounded with the many more or less clearly differentiated racial groups into which the peoples of the world to-day may be divided. These living races, he says, are each of them the result of some particular combination of the original 'types' or elements. As has already been pointed out, he admits that the general hypothesis on which his work is based places him squarely in the ranks of the long discredited polygenists: but, he says (and, indeed, it seems true) the whole trend of recent anthropological investigation, together with the archaeological discoveries of the past twenty years (a decade when he wrote) can have no other outcome than the abandonment of the monogenist position and the frank acceptance of polygenism¹.

The main interest of his work for the local student, however, lies in his tracing of the racial history of Asia and the introduction to it given above is only necessary to explain the terminology which he uses.

We find that his eight fundamental 'types' divide into four dolichocephalic and four brachycephalic. So we get what he calls

Caspian—dolichocephalic,	hypsicephalic, and leptorrhine;
Mediterranean— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.
Proto-Negroid— do.	hypsicephalic, and platyrrhine;
Proto-Australoid— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.
Alpine—brachycephalic,	hypsicephalic, and leptorrhine;
Ural— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.
Palae-Alpine— do.	hypsicephalic, and platyrrhine;
Mongoloid— do.	chamaecephalic, and do.

¹ See Keane, *Man Past and Present*, 1920, General Considerations pp. 1-19, for the position as to monogenism or polygenism as it stood then.

When the curtain lifts upon the history of the Malay Peninsula we shall find that it can only be understood as a part of the general history of southeastern Asia or Farther India as it is called. Dixon finds it convenient on many grounds to group together all the peoples of south-eastern Asia within Farther India, including within that area Burma, the Shan States, Siam, French Indo-China, and the Malay Peninsula, together with the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal; and this is fortunate since it fits in perfectly with the historical parts of this essay and makes them better intelligible.

The peoples of this whole area are divisible on the basis of language into three main groups—the Tibeto-Burman stock, the Thai stock and the Mon-Khmer stock. The Tibeto-Burman and Thai, with the Chinese, form one great group of languages with various important features in common; the Mon-Khmer stands wholly separate and apart from all of them, and is, on the other hand, related in a similar general fashion to the whole group of Malayo-Polynesian and Melanesian languages which are spread over most of the whole of Oceania (20, pp: 269, 270).

The inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Dixon finds, may be conveniently considered together, since he says that in their history they seem to be more or less closely related. "We have in their area an obviously very much mixed population, ranging from the pygmy-like Andamanese Negritos, through the Semang and Sakai, to the modern Malay." The Andamanese he finds to be in the main true Negrito Palae-Alpines, with a slight admixture of Proto-Negroid elements. The Semang and Sakai, however, offer a very puzzling problem. He suggests that the Semang would represent the result of a mixture between a Negrito Palae-Alpine people similar to the Andamanese, and a Proto-Australoid-Proto-Negroid group, the females retaining more clearly than the males the original Negrito element. The Sakai afford an even more complicated puzzle. If we rely on the head-form "the Sakai are predominantly brachycephalic and platyrrhine, i.e. Palae-Alpine, with a strong secondary factor of the Proto-Australoid or Proto-Negroid types; if we rely on cranial data, they are on the contrary predominantly of these latter two dolichocephalic types, with but a small minority of brachycephalic factors..... The situation is rendered still more puzzling by the fact that measurements of the living Sakai of different sections of the country show equally contradictory results, some being dolichocephalic, others brachycephalic!" (20, p. 274).

"Obviously, in the present state of our knowledge, or lack of knowledge, no valid conclusions can be drawn, but I would suggest the following tentative unravelling of the puzzle.

"The term Sakai (by some called also Senoi) has been applied to a series of very variable small groups of people, who may be regarded as having originated through the mixture, in varying

proportions, of a predominantly brachycephalic people comparable with the modern Burmese or Pwo-Karen and the Semang, who were themselves the result of a blending of a Negroid people with the original Negrito stock. The dominant brachycephalic factor among the Sakai, unlike the case of the Semang, is thus mostly derived from the main, or non-Negroid, Palae-Alpine type. The Nicobarese would then constitute a rather similar group, differing mainly in having a considerable Alpine element, derived probably from later Malay contacts. It is probable that the Blandas and some of the so-called Jakun of the southern portion of the peninsula also belong to this group, although in the absence of any detailed measurements the question cannot be settled" (20, p. 274).

It must be obvious from the above and from other previous quotations that a very great deal remains to be done in connection with the problems of the Semang, the Sakai and the Jakun; indeed, one might almost say that those problems still remain to be approached.

Dixon proceeds, "Quite another stratum of population is represented by the Malay peoples of the peninsula. Some, such as those of south Perak¹ and the west coast farther north, together probably with the Besis of the south, represent a relatively old stratum, in contrast with the later groups which, coming from Sumatra, over-ran and conquered the southern part of the peninsula only a few centuries ago. The older stratum of Malay-speaking folk is almost exclusively brachycephalic, the Palae-Alpine type being in the majority, but combined with a large minority of the Alpine, which increases in strength as one goes southward, and among the shore and island folk in comparison with those of the interior." (20, pp: 274-5).

The Malay of the Peninsula is taken for granted locally but his case remains almost in the same position as those of the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun. He is very largely unstudied. Obviously, close measurements through the various main districts of the Peninsula are essential and such districts must be divided topographically into coastal, riverine and mountain compartments. Siamese help will be required since a study of the Malays of the Peninsula must obviously go as far north as the Isthmus of Kra and possibly even further.

Dixon sums up the racial history of the Malay Peninsula thus (20, p. 275) "The oldest stratum of population was the Negrito Palae-Alpine, which survives to-day in comparative purity only among the Andamanese. With this was later blended a taller Negroid people, of mixed Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid types, to form the Semang. This Negroid population is still represented among some of the hill-folk in Burma, such as the Chin, is more

¹ It is, however, considered generally that most of the South Perak 'Malays' are of quite recent immigration, e.g. Banjarese, Javanese and Achinese.

strongly present in Assam, and dominant in the greater part of India. Subsequently to the formation of the Semang a strong immigration came into the peninsula from the north, of the normal Palae-Alpine type, of which perhaps some of the Karen may be regarded as the last survivors. From the fusion of these with the older Semang was derived the Sakai and some, perhaps, of the Jakun; the later and less modified portions of this wave forming the older Malay groups of to-day. Finally, in recent times, came the Menangkabau Malays from Sumatra, who have overlain the earlier groups throughout the south."

And now we must go north-east to what are to-day Siam and Indo-China. The extreme southeastern corner of the Asiatic continent is dominated by three great rivers, the Menam, the Mekong and the Red or Song-koi. The deltas and lower valleys of these rivers are rich agricultural lands, and have apparently from the earliest times been contended for by one people after another. "To the anthropologist this area is of very great interest, since into it, as into a huge funnel, have come from the north a variety of peoples, and from it have gone out some, at least, of the emigrants who have peopled the island world of the Pacific" (20, pp: 275, 276).

Linguistically, it is a complex region. The Cham and some of the wilder tribes of the southern Annamese plateau speak languages akin, on the one hand, to the Malayo-Polynesian, and on the other to the Mon-Khmer, to which stock belongs the speech of the Cambodians and the majority of the hill-tribes, known generically as Moi, Pnong, or Kha. The Siamese, Laos, Thos, etc., belong, on the contrary, to the Thai stock, as do the Shans of Burma and southern China. The Annamese and Tonkinese, finally, speak languages which are either derived from southern Chinese dialects or have been profoundly influenced by them (20, p. 276).

In the modern population two quite different groups may be distinguished. The first is represented by the Cham and their affiliated tribes, together with a large part of the Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples of the higher plateaus and mountains i.e. the Pnong, Moi, Kha, etc. All of these show a large dolichocephalic factor and in this respect seem allied to the ancient neolithic population. This more aboriginal long-headed group may be further sub-divided into those who, like the Cham, are tall with straight or wavy hair, light skins, relatively narrow and sometimes aquiline noses and non-Mongoloid eyes: and those who, like some of the wilder Mon-Khmer-speaking tribes, are marked by distinctly short stature, dark skin, curly or even frizzly hair, a broad nose and thick Negroid lips. It seems probable that in the latter group are the much mixed survivors of an early Negroid stratum, of mixed Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid types (with perhaps some Negrito), whereas in the former may be suspected the presence of a considerable Caspian-Mediterranean element, of which there

are clear indications farther north in China and in the islands of the Pacific (20, pp: 276, 277).

"The other major division of the population is, in contrast to the first, in majority brachycephalic, and includes the Siamese, Laos, and all the Thai-speaking tribes, together with the Tonkinese and Annamese. All of these are of short stature, with light yellowish skin, straight black hair, and eyes which usually show the Mongoloid fold. In all the Palae-Alpine type is in large, often very large majority, the Alpine being secondary; a small minority of leptorrhine dolichocephalic forms also sometimes appear. The modern Khmer or Cambodians seem to be, on the whole, intermediate between this group and the first.

"Now the origin of this brachycephalic, Thai-speaking group can be traced historically with some certainty. In the third century A.D., when we first get any information in regard to this region, the whole area, except perhaps the southern and southeastern coasts, was occupied by Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples, among whom already cultural influences from India had begun to make themselves felt. In the succeeding centuries a considerable civilization grew up among the Khmer, initiated apparently by actual colonies of Dravidian-speaking peoples from the eastern or Coromandel coast of India. By the fifth or sixth century A.D. these states began to be savagely attacked by Thai-speaking tribes pressing southward from China along the Menam and Mekhong valleys. In the former their pressure was strongest, and although held in check for a time, in the eleventh and again in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they swept away all resistance, and finally conquered the Menam valley to the sea, completely destroying the western Mon-Khmer Kingdoms in what is now Siam. Farther eastward the Laos were less successful, and although the Khmer Kingdom fell before the attacks of the Thai (Siamese) from the west, and those of the Annamese from the east, their descendants still form the bulk of the population of Cambodia to-day. The modern Siamese, Laos, and other Thai-speaking peoples here are thus the somewhat mixed descendants of the old, non-Chinese population of southern China, who.....have been of large historical importance in China since very early times.

"What can be said of the Mon-Khmer peoples, who apparently everywhere preceded the Thai peoples in this extreme southeastern corner of Asia? On the basis of our present data, the most reasonable theory would seem to be that they were a mixed people, predominantly of Proto-Negroid, Proto-Australoid, and Caspian types, with a minority of the Palae-Alpine factor which was dominant in the Thai, and a trace, perhaps, of its Negrito variety. That the early Mon-Khmer had a notable "Negroid" element seems to be corroborated by the Chinese descriptions of them in the third century. In regard to the sources of the Negroid element we have as yet no clear evidence, and can only conjecture that

it came in from the westward along the southern border of the Asiatic continent. The Caspian factor, present in this region in minor degree only, seems, however, clearly to have come down from the north along the Mekong valley, from the mountain and plateau region of the Chinese-Tibetan border, where strong remnants of the type are still to be seen. It is tempting to regard the Cham, who appear to have been the earliest historical occupants of the Mekong delta, as a relatively pure advance guard of this Caspian type, which, mingling with the prehistoric Negroid and Negrito aborigines, formed the nucleus of the people who, under the pressure of the Mon-Khmer, emigrated eastward, to form the older or so-called Indonesian stratum of population in the Archipelago, and later moved on farther east through Melanesia to the islands of the South Seas" (20, pp: 276-278).

Dixon deals with Java and Sumatra under the heading of Indonesia, whose peoples from the linguistic point of view form a unit, since all the languages fall into a single broad group, related on the one hand, to the Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian languages, and, on the other, to the Mon-Khmer stock of south-eastern Asia.

Sumatra which at the Straits of Malacca almost joins the Malay Peninsula, and may have been actually continuous with it even in proto-historic times, is divisible topographically into two very distinct parts, the north-eastern being low, swampy and covered with dense jungle whereas the more healthy south western half is a high rugged plateau. These differences are reflected in the culture, the occupants of the lower portion of the island being in general rather primitive, while those of the highlands are relatively advanced. Dixon says that on physical grounds the population is divisible into three groups, characterized respectively by the predominance of the Alpine, the Palae-Alpine, and the Proto-Negroid types.

"The first group," says Dixon (20, p. 353), "comprises the true or so-called Menangkabau Malays, whose habitat is mainly confined to the central highlands of the south-western side of the island, and who appear to be relatively recent immigrants, reaching their historic homes probably by way of the east coast rivers from the north. . . . In their general physical characteristics they resemble closely the Chinese of the coastal provinces of Fukien and Chekiang."

The second group represents a much older stratum. Amongst them are the Battaks, together with the people of the Lampong and Palembang districts to the south; and to this group also seem to belong the Kubu and other primitive tribes of the eastern lowland. The resemblance of this group to the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula has often been noticed. Dixon finds amongst them a strong predominance of his Palae-Alpine type and a considerable factor of Proto-Negroid and Proto-Australoid types.

The third group is found, so far as we know yet, only in the Palembang highlands, at the extreme southern tip of the island and is contrasted with the other groups in that it is almost purely dolichocephalic. Dixon says that the data here are old and no nasal measurements given, so that he cannot determine the type according to his system, but "if these people of the extreme south are not descendants of the Indian immigrants which came into Sumatra in small numbers in the beginning of the Christian era, we may regard them as probably survivors of the oldest or dolichocephalic stratum of the Sumatran population" (20, p. 354).

If one may be bold to venture a suggestion, might not these dolichocephals represent the incursion which long prior to the Christian era brought into Sumatra that archaic civilisation whose remains are found in the South on the Pasemah plateau, a civilisation which still remains in Sumatra native tradition? (See 24 *passim*).

Java, unlike Sumatra, has no extensive lowland, says Dixon; but is throughout a mountainous and volcanic land. Its population is usually divided into three sections—the Sundanese in the west, the Javanese proper in the centre, and the Madurese in the east. Dixon says that, so far as the data go, there is little difference between them physically but the wide prevalence of the custom of artificial cranial deformation makes the determination of physical types in Java difficult. It seems, however, that throughout the island the Palae-Alpine type is strongly dominant, with the Alpine secondary, and only small minorities of Proto-Negroid and Proto-Australoid being present. The people thus apparently are comparable to the second or main group in Sumatra, who had received a considerable infusion of the Alpine Malay type. That the older, dolichocephalic stratum has not wholly disappeared seems to be shown by the Tenggerese in the mountain country at the eastern end of this island (20, p. 355).

Perry (21) insists upon the prevalence of his archaic civilization in Java and the presence of the remnants of dolichocephals in the island again suggests the conclusion put forward above in relation to Sumatra.

If Perry's archaic civilization were proved to have existed in Malaysia, would it not be more probable that it came from India and was similar to that discovered during the past decade and more in the Indus Valley, rather than direct from ancient Egypt as Perry and Elliot Smith have suggested? The chain might then be Egypt, Elam-Sumer, Indus Valley, Sumatra, Java (and possibly the Malay Peninsula), Indonesia and out through Oceania to Eastern Island, finally reaching the shores of South America. It is a fascinating problem and one more than worth study throughout Malaysia.

The somewhat lengthy quotations from Professor Dixon's book will serve two purposes; to illustrate how useful it is to local

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students and to form an introduction to the ancient history of the Peninsula with which the rest of this essay will deal.

Enough has been said in this excursus to show how necessary is a scientific study of the anthropology, in its widest sense, of the Peninsula and how inconclusive are the main modern authorities, principally, of course, from the lack of data, the patient collection and publication of which should be the first duty of local ethnology.

It is hoped that all the members of the Malayan branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and its Council, in particular, will bring all the pressure of which they are capable upon our Governments to constitute a proper department of anthropology for our part of the Peninsula. The appointments merely of one ethnographer and one archaeologist are totally insufficient.

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The above citations and complementary bibliography have been chosen merely as introductory authorities to a close study of the anthropology of the Malay Peninsula. The caution as to terminology can only be repeated; it will be found that in the main Haddon's terminology has passed into local writings and that Buxton and Keane follow it. Neither in the fundamental races of man nor in the modern peoples is there any consistent nomenclature. The science of anthropology is as divided on its nomenclature as it is on the question of the criteria by which races should be differentiated. It is still divided also upon the basic question of monogenism or polygenism. Finally, in reading the books suggested above, the student must guard against accepting any of them as finally authoritative and must even be carefully on his guard against the facts stated in them, e.g. Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 222. All the anthropological works above endeavour to cover a very wide territory and a large number of races or of peoples, as the case may be; there is no book as yet dealing with south-eastern Asia alone (so far as the writer is aware) and none dealing solely with the totality of the racial questions of the Malay Peninsula.

§ 3. *Pre-Funan.*

As will be seen later, the hinduized State to which the Chinese gave the name of Fu-nan (or Fou-nan, as the French write it) was the first kingdom recorded as having extended its power into the Malay Peninsula but its actual history begins in the 3rd century A.D. and ends in the 7th. It has, accordingly, seemed convenient to treat of the period prior to the 3rd century A.D. under the general name of Pre-Funan.

We embark at once upon the story of Greater India, as her scholars now call it, the India that lay across the Bay of Bengal in south-eastern Asia¹. Throughout this area a most profound influence has been exerted by India which seems to have introduced into it architecture, sculpture, writing, monarchy, religion, iron, cotton and a host of other elements of higher culture. Sir Charles Elliott (25, iii, p. 151) has written that "the destiny of south-eastern Asia with its islands depends on the fact that the tide of trade and conquest, whether Hindu, Moslim or European, flowed from India or Ceylon to the Malay Peninsula and Java and thence north to China with a reflux west in Champa and Camboja." Certain it is that it is quite impossible to study the history of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca without also studying the history of India, China and south-eastern Asia. The student, accordingly, must begin a long study but one which fortunately compensates him most fully with the great interest of its subject-matter.

The splendid isolation upon which the historians of India used to insist so vigorously has now gone to join the many exploded myths of scholarship, and the Vedic gods are seen to have stretched wide powers. The inscription of Boghaz Keui discovered by the German archaeologist, Hugo Winckler, in 1907 proved that in far off Cappadocia, cir: 1400 B.C., the Hittites and Mitanni, while concluding a treaty, invoked Indra, Mitra and Varuna. The discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus valley prove a thriving trade with Mesopotamia three thousand years before Christ and we are now able to link up ancient Egypt, ancient Mesopotamia and ancient India in a most surprising manner. By the 3rd millennium B.C. India was confronting ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia with an individual and independent civilization of her own. Sir Herbert Marshall has written that "we are justified in seeing, in the great Bath of Mohenjo-Daro and in its roomy and serviceable houses with their ubiquitous wells and bathrooms and elaborate systems of drainage, evidence that the ordinary townspeople enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the then civilized world" (as quoted in 26, p. 123).

But this ancient civilization of the Indus valley lay in north India, while we are concerned mostly with the south. India to-day is divided into two main parts. The north is called by the Persian name Hindustan, from the sanskrit² *sindhu*, 'the river,' i.e. the Indus, and *sthana*, 'the land,' and it is shut off from the south, called the Deccan, by the Vindhya range of mountains. The name

¹ Throughout this essay we shall use the expression 'south-eastern Asia' as meaning Lower Burma, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, the Malay Archipelago, Siam and Indo-China.

² The transliteration of sanskrit words used in this essay are mainly those to be found in Dr. A. A. Macdonell's, *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1924. Diacritical marks are, however, omitted for printing reasons.

Deccan is taken from the vernacular Dakkan and is derived from the sanskrit *daksina*, 'the right-hand country,' so called because the ancient Indians faced the rising sun in naming the points of the compass. The full sanskrit for the region south of the Vindhya is *Daksinapatha*, 'the path of the south' or 'the tract in the south.' The sanskrit name for the north is *Aryavarta*, 'the land of the Aryans,' so that India divides, in sanskrit terminology, into *Aryavarta* and *Daksinapatha* and, in English, Hindustan and Deccan. Nowadays, however, English writers more usually designate by 'the Deccan' the plateau and not Malabar and the Tamil countries of the further south. This latter use will be indicated in this essay by the expression 'the Deccan proper' and where we intend to imply the whole area south of the Vindhya we shall use the sanskrit *Daksinapatha*.

In early times *Tamilakam*¹, the land of the Tamils, was shut off from the Deccan proper by a broad belt of forest land. The real importance of *Tamilakam* and of south India generally to the history of India has only come to be appreciated properly in recent times. Vincent Smith (27, p. 8) writes that attention has been concentrated too long on the north, on sanskrit books, and on Indo-Aryan notions. It is time, he says, that due regard should be paid to the non-Aryan element. He then quotes with approval the following words of the late Professor Sundaram Pillai:—

"The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilization by a study of sanskrit and the history of sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India, south of the Vindhya—the Peninsular India—still continues to be India Proper. Here the bulk of the people continue distinctly to retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan languages, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here, the process of Aryanization has gone indeed too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. But, if there is anywhere any chance of such successful disentanglement, it is in the South; and the farther South we go the larger does the chance grow.

"The scientific historian of India, then, ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion."

If that is true of the history of India, it is even more true of that of Malaysia and south-eastern Asia in general. Fortunately, since the last edition of Smith's book, 1924, there has been a rapid increase in our knowledge of South India, thanks largely to the researches of a distinguished body of Indian scholars from some of whose work we shall quote at times as we proceed. But local Tamil scholars with their knowledge of Malaya could help

¹ Or *Tamilagam*, as it is sometimes written.

greatly for there is a rich body of Tamil literature that still remains to be explored and analyzed.

The earliest statement of the territorial limits of Tamilakam is by Tolkappiyar, an ancient grammarian, usually stated as belonging probably to the 4th century B.C., and he asserted that it extended east to west from sea to sea, and north to south from the hills of sacred Tirupati to Cape Comorin. The Indians of to-day are ethnically divided into seven main physical types¹ of which the seventh is the Dravidian, extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chota Nagpur. Of these seven types the Dravidian alone is taken to be indigenous, or at least to be the earliest inhabitants of India. Of the Dravidian languages Tamil is, of course, by far the most important and has undergone a literary cultivation from a very early period. The people of the west coast gradually differentiated themselves from the rest and developed a distinct language of their own—Malayalam, said to be a patois of Kodun-Tamil and Prakritic-Sanskrit.

It has been truly said that history is geography set in motion and that what to-day is a fact of geography becomes to-morrow a factor of history. All historical problems should be studied geographically and all geographic problems must be studied historically (28, p. 11). North India forms one boundless plain with an assured water supply, which permits cavalry hordes to sweep from one end to the other during the dry season. Hence North India has been the seat of large empires, each of which has, in its day, ruled over many provinces, maintained rich and learned Courts, and added to the common culture of all India. The Madras coast, popularly called the Eastern Carnatic, has the same features, though in a very much narrower area. The Deccan proper is cut up by nature into small isolated districts, where racial and linguistic differences have been preserved through ages with very little change. And, hence, the history of the Deccan proper has been a record of the rise of numberless petty kingdoms, their eternal contest with their neighbours, and down-fall one after another. Unlike Hindustan, this region of the south has failed to exert any influence on the other parts of India, but has succumbed to Hindustan or the Carnatic whenever its geographical isolation has been broken by the aggression of some great empire of those parts (29, pp: 5, 6). In reading Indian history, however, one must be on one's guard against the word 'empire,' since its connotation cannot be used without giving a misleading view of the course of that history. No Indian Empire, even that of the Mauryas, had any meaning such as we imply when we speak of the Roman or British Empire. The word merely means that the ruler of some particular dynasty became sufficiently powerful to proclaim himself an all-ruler, 'the wielder of the discus' or 'the holder of the one umbrella.'

¹ See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909, Vol. 1, pp. 283-348.

Though Daksinapatha produced no empire such as, for instance, that of Magadha, it was most excellently fitted to play a supreme part in Indian history and from it sprang greater India. The Kalingas, the Pallavas and the Cholas played a greater part in world history than any northern dynasty. Nature has endowed the southern part of India with greater facilities for maritime activities than either the delta of the Ganges or that of the Indus. Girt by the sea, with dense forests in the interior, abounding in strong timber admirably suited for ship-building, with hospitable coast-lines extending for a thousand miles, southern India was pre-eminently adapted for the development of seamanship and navigation, so that it is no wonder that the inhabitants of the Tamil coastal districts have been called from early times *Paradavar* or sailors. They must early have discovered the periodicity of the monsoons since it is impossible to live on the coasts of southern India without noticing that phenomenon and the possibilities for sailing-craft which it offers. They kept the secret closely guarded from competitors so that it only became known to Europe when it was ascertained by Hippalus, as will be seen later.

✓ For many years ethnologists, archaeologists, etc. hotly disputed the great antiquity of ship-building and ocean travel but to-day it is realized that travel by sea was one of man's earliest discoveries and less risky than travel by land (e.g., see 16, p. 250). Daryll Forde (30) has traced the evolution of ship-building in an excellent little book which contains references to the principal authorities and Hornell (31) has dealt with Indian boat-designs and the use of eyes on the prows of ships and boats. These works establish fully the antiquity of ship-building.

It is, of course, impossible to tell when the Indian sailors first used the oceans but Hall (32, p. 173) says that the ancient Sumerians as disclosed in statuary etc. bear most resemblance to the Dravidian ethnic type of India and that they were very like the southern Indians of Daksinapatha, who still speak Dravidian languages. He suggests that it is by no means improbable that "the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps by sea, through Persia to the valley of the two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed" (ibid: pp: 173, 174). In a footnote (ibid: p. 174, n. 2) he observes that the legend of Oannes, the Man-Fish, argues an early marine connection with a civilized land over sea. Oannes swam up the Persian Gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities, bringing with him the arts of civilization. That is, of course, pure speculation but solid facts proving the great antiquity of the sea-trade between south India and the west, and also of the carriage from India by sea of commodities from Malaysia and China, are to be found in the works of Rawlinson (33), Warmington (34) and Schoff (35). This evidence will be found collated in chronological sequences with further evidence from Tamil sources by Srinivas Iyengar (36).

It was probably from Tamilakam that during the reign of Solomon, about 1000 B.C., the ships of Tarshish came with gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (37, p. 658; 38, p. 4). The names of the last two, *kapim* and *tukim*, as found in the Hebrew Bible, are the same as those used in Tamil *kavi* and *thoki*. Hornell (31, p. 193) points out that Ophir was hardly likely to have been an Arabian trading port as Rawlinson (33, p. 12) asserts, since the round voyage took three years, and he suggests that a port on the Indian coast would suit better but even that seems too near for such a voyage and many writers have suggested, and still suggest, that Solomon's Ophir was the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula: but here again we are obviously in the realms of pure speculation.

There is very much about sea-travel in ancient Indian literature but unfortunately it is almost impossible in the present state of opinion to assign agreed dates to most of it. It is, however, universally agreed that the most ancient of Indian literature is contained in the four Vedas¹ and of these the Rigveda² is the oldest. The most conservative estimate places the Vedas in the 7th century B.C. and the least would have the Rigveda as old as from 2000 to 1500 B.C. In the Vedas are several references to sea-voyaging, such as to "merchants under the influence of greed sending out ships to foreign countries" and to "merchants whose field of activity knows no bounds, who go everywhere in pursuit of gain and frequent every part of the sea," while in other passages we hear of voyages to distant lands and to ships with a hundred oars.

The Ramayana, save for interpolations which would seem to date from the 2nd or 1st century B.C., appears to be the work of Valmiki, an Indian author said to be of the 6th century B.C. The Mahabharata apparently dates from the beginning of the 4th century B.C., with later interpolations. Both contain important references to sea-voyages and the former some celebrated passages relating to Malaysia, which will be considered later.

Buddhism was an international religion and it is not surprising that Buddhist literature contains much about sea voyages, in particular the Jatakas, or Birth stories, all of which have been translated into English by Cambridge scholars³. They "include many incidental references to the political condition of India in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., which although not exactly contemporary with the events alluded to, certainly transmit genuine historical tradition" (27, p. 11).

¹ *Veda* means 'sacred knowledge or scripture.'

² i.e. the *Veda* of verses.

³ Professor Cowell, Dr. Rouse and others; published at Cambridge, 1895-1907.

All the ancient Indian sea literature in the opinion of Professor Sylvain Lévi (39 and 40) certainly alludes to a known venture; but it is difficult to state it with assurance. The movement which brought Hindu civilization to the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and what is now Indo-China was far from inaugurating a new route, as Columbus did in sailing towards the west. Adventurers, merchants and missionaries, they profited by the technical progress of navigation to follow, under better and more efficient conditions, a way that had been traced from time immemorial by the sailors of another race which Aryanized India misunderstood as savages. This ancient race, he says, gave the family of languages which can be traced from Himalaya to Easter Island and their later followers were the unknowing heirs of a civilization which had its greatness.

✓ It was gold that primarily attracted these Indians. Other products also enriched their traffic, notably sandal-wood and eagle-wood, camphor, cloves, spices and drugs, and tortoise-shell, to mention but a few. Perry, Elliot Smith and others have proved conclusively the great importance of gold in the story of man. Macdonell and Keith have written in their Vedic Index that "it is impossible to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the Vedic Indians" (as quoted in 36, p. 24) and Hocart (1, p. 124) deals shortly with its importance, citing the Indian text which says 'Gold is Life.' Here it must be recalled that the Malay Peninsula is full of ancient gold-workings, that the Batang Padang district in Perak still contains gold which can be obtained by washing and that Pahang has a long history of gold mining.

In the fourth canto of the Ramayana we get a veritable course in geography (39). Sita, the wife of the hero, has just been abducted by a ravisher. Sugriva, king of the monkeys, who has contracted an alliance with Rama, sends his fleets to the four cardinal points to track down the wrong-doer and for each of them he prescribes the course which they are to follow. The route begins by the east, continues by the south, then by the west and finishes by the north.

✓ We get a reference to the 'Isle of Gold,' Suvarna-dvipa, and another which is almost invariably¹ taken to refer to Java. In what is known as the Bombay recension it says (40, p. 80), "With all your efforts gain the Isle of Java, embellished with seven kingdoms, the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold; then beyond the isle of Java etc." The sanskrit for Isle of Java here is Yava-dvipa. What is known as the Bengal recension, however, gives a different version; it reads "the Isle of Jala, embellished with fruits and sweet things, and also Suvarna-rupyaka and the isle Gana; then beyond etc." We shall deal later with these references in the Ramayana.

¹ Though in reality the question is one of doubt as will be seen when we deal with the matter later herein.

There is a very interesting article by Professor Lévi (41) in which he deals with two of the Jatakas. He says that a large number of these stories draw their materials from adventures oversea and that the sea and its navigation evidently formed a large place in Indian life in the period when the stories were conceived. The study of the texts throws much light on the glorious period, almost completely ignored in other branches of literature, of the Indian civilization during which the mariners, missionaries and merchants of India carried the culture of the fatherland to the islands of the Malay Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. Manimekhala, 'the Girdle of Gems,' was a divinity of the sea who appears, it seems, in two only of the Jatakas. Lévi's article describes the voyages of Samkha, a rich brahman, and Janaka, a king's son, and how they embark in search of fortune to the land of gold, Suvarnabhumi, the Golden Chersonese of the Greeks. Manimekhala has remained famous in the land of the Tamils and gives the title to a great classical poem in Tamil literature, the Manimekhalai. Whether heroine or goddess, her original residence was at Puhar, in the port where the great river of the south, the Kaveri (or Cauvery), empties itself and which was one of the great centres of traffic between India and the further East. She had her temple, her cult and her festivities at Kanchi, not far from Madras, the holy city of Buddhism in the south of India and a place of the greatest importance in the history of south-eastern Asia, since it was the principal city of the Pallava Kings. She is one of the numerous deities who are 'the guardians of the sea' but her proper domain is that region of the ocean which stretches from Cape Comorin to the El Dorado of Suvarna-dvipa. She still appears in the Cambodian Ramayana (42) and the Siamese Ramayana (43) and appears in the literature and folk-lore of Ceylon (43 and 44). It would be an interesting enquiry to discover if she has any connection with the Chinese Kuan-Yin, in her aspect of protectress of sailors and travellers by sea, or with the Chinese Ma Tsu P'o, the special sea-goddess of Fukien, whence so many Chinese sailors and merchants have travelled to the 'South Seas' from the earliest times. As is well-known the former of these goddesses had an Indian origin, and Ma Tsu P'o, whose origin is quite uncertain, is not unlike Manimekhala in attributes. The modern Chinese sailor carries an image of her crowned with a heavenly crown in a shrine on the left side of his ship, that being the place of honour in the east. Morning and evening incense is burned to her (45).

There is a great body of early Tamil literature (the most flourishing period seems to have lain between 100 and 300 A.D.) which should yield much fruit on the matter of geography, trade and sea-travel when a thorough research has been made into it. Kanakasabhai Pillay has 'ploughed the virgin sail' in his book *The Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*¹ and Srinivas Iyengar

¹ Unfortunately the present writer is unable at the moment to refer to this work.

has made copious use of it in his *History of the Tamils* (36) but much still remains to be done.

It is very clear that long before there are any recorded Indian kingdoms in south-eastern Asia there had been traders and sailors visiting its shores. Gradually their cultural influence took root in the coastal districts and in due course they founded kingdoms so that the coast from Lower Burma to Borneo and round the Malay Peninsula, the Gulf of Siam and Indo-China became dotted with Indian colonies and Indian towns.

As is well-known, the Malay name for Indians from the Coromandel coast particularly and south India generally, throughout the Malay Peninsula and Java, is *Orang Kling*; and it is usually considered that *Kling* here stands for Kalinga. It is also usually considered that the Burmese 'Talaing' is derived from Telingana, in turn derived from Tri-Kalinga or Tri-Linga, and employed to designate the country of Kalinga proper, on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal as well as the country of the Talaings on the opposite shore which had been colonized by them (46, p. 30; 47, p. 6). The Talaings are found chiefly in the Thaton and Amherst districts in Lower Burma. In Siam they are found chiefly on the Menam and Meklawng rivers. Wherever they are found they use their own language and keep up their separate nationality. The racial name of this people is Mon and in Siam they are popularly known by that name alone (48, p. 2). Thyagaraju (49) says that in Burma the Telugus are known as Korangees and he suggests that Korangee, meaning 'from Koringa,' is the same as 'from Kalinga,' since 'r' and 'l' interchange under certain conditions well-known to philology. The Andhras were Telugus and their history and that of the Kalingas seems to interweave.

The history of Kalinga is still obscure and there is much dispute as to the exact territory comprised within the term but Sylvain Lévi (40, p. 11) says that "it comprised all the east coast between the Ulkalas to the north and the Telingas to the south. The Vaitarani watered the country; the Mahendra mountains (Eastern Ghats) were on its confines to the south. It comprised, then, the modern province of Orissa, the district of Ganjam and probably also that of Vizagapatam." In saying this, he is quoting Pargiter¹. In the earliest times it was under reprobation; if a man went there except on a pilgrimage, it was necessary for him to purify. The Mahabharata in one passage puts the Kalingas amongst the tribes who are evil; but a later passage says that they are amongst the people who knew the eternal order in company with nations who are the élite of Brahmanism. This change of attitude, says Lévi, was without doubt due to the importance of Kalinga from the time when Indian civilization spread round the Gulf of Bengal.

¹ Sir Charles Elliot (25, p. 263) says that the Kalinga was 'the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari.'

In 261 B.C.¹ the great emperor Asoka conquered Kalinga and we know that the terrible bloodshed caused thereby provoked the moral crisis from which Asoka came out a transformed man. Thereafter Buddhism became the religion of South India, though side by side with Brahmanism; and it had one of its holy places in Kalinga, Dantapura, the town of the tooth, from which that holy relic was later taken to Ceylon.

The outstanding role which the men of Kalinga played must have caused the east coast of India to be known generally as Kalinga amongst those peoples which use the expression Kling or expressions kindred thereto. People arriving on the eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal and in the Malay Peninsula were described as coming from Kalinga generically. Professor Mookerji in his very entertaining history of Indian shipping (50) says that after the Tamils the leading part in the pioneering of India's eastward maritime trade was taken by the ancient kingdom of Kalinga on the eastern sea-board, which is said to have been founded "at least eight centuries before Christ,"² and which extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna (*ibid.*, p. 144). "If formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India, with its capital about half way down the coast and still surviving in the present city of Kalingapatam." Lévi says (40, p. 12) that the capital was the holy city of Dantapura, the locality of which will be discussed later; Gerini (46, p. 76, n.l.) says that the old capital of Kalinga was at first called Sinha-pura after its founder, Sinha-bahu, the father of Vijaya, the first recorded sovereign of Ceylon.

Mookerji (50, pp: 144, 145) says that some of the Kalinga inscriptions "speak of navigation and ship-commerce as forming part of the education of the princes of Kalinga."³ In a footnote at p. 145 he quotes the following passage from Hunter, "This and others of the inscriptions prove, in the opinion of the scholar to whom we owe their decipherings, that Kalinga was at that time an emporium of trade. We know from other sources that, shut out as Orissa was from the general policy of India, it boasted of fabrics which it could send as valuable presents to the most civilized monarchs of the interior. So fine was the linen which the prince of Kalinga sent to the King of Oudh, that a priestess who put on the gauzy fabric was accused of appearing naked," which reminds one of the Roman moralists who thundered against the indecency of the Indian fabrics affected by the women of Nero's time.

Mookerji (*ibid.*: p. 145) says, quoting from Phayre, that from the evidence of the sacred scripture of the Burmese it is clear that a steady commercial intercourse was cultivated with Burma by the Buddhist merchants of Kalinga, which soon led to missionary

¹ By no means an undisputed date, see *infra*.

² Quoting from Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 188.

³ Quoting from Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 170.

undertakings for the propagation of their religion, and afterwards to the assumption of political supremacy in the land. He also quotes (ibid: p. 146) another authority who states that the intercourse between the east coast of India and the coasts across the Bay of Bengal and along the Straits of Malacca attained its height at the time when the Buddhists were in the ascendant, that is during the first five or six centuries of our era. The first great Buddhist persecution both checked it and also drove great numbers of the victims from India to the opposite coast. The Tamil and Telugu local histories and tradition are full of such narratives.

So far as the present writer is aware, there is no history which deals with Kalinga only; and there is the greatest divergence of opinions about it. Its territory seems to have varied very greatly from time to time. It seems to play a part in the histories of the Andhras, Cholas and Pallavas; or, at all events, its history seems to interweave with theirs. The Andhra-bhasa (as it is called in Sanskrit), i.e. Telugu, is the chief language in eastern India from Madras northwards to near Orissa. It is also spoken in the east of Hyderabad and in the extreme south of the Central Provinces, reaching down into Berar. It has an extensive literature written in a script of its own, which is allied to Devanagari, but characterized by curves. Telugu is, of course, one of the nine vernaculars which compose the Dravidian group of languages. The great exploits of the Chola King that form the subject of the Tanjore inscription, which will be examined later in this essay, are the subject of a panegyry in a Tamil poem called *Kalinga Huparani* (50, p. 177), while Rawlinson (33, p. 139, n.l.) says that "the first Hindu colony reached Java from Kalinga about 75 A.D." The first King was Aditya. The earliest inscriptions are in Vengi (i.e. Kalinga) dialect, and *Kling* is the Javanese for India." The Vengi dialect is nowadays called grantha-pallava and Vengi was, of course, in the Pallava territory² so that it would seem as if Rawlinson identified Kalinga with Pallava.

Much information about Kalinga and the south Indian dynasties is to be found in Sewell and Aiyangar's work on the inscriptions of South India (51), though a certain amount of care must be taken in using it. The authors say, at p. 2, that as far back as the time of the Puranas the people of South India were known as belonging to three Tamil nations, the Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras. The Ramayana adds a fourth, the Telugu country of the Andhras. Buddha, who is almost universally taken to be an historic person, was born about 563 B.C. and died in 483 B.C. According to the Singhalese Mahavamsa the occasion of his death was also the occasion of the arrival in Ceylon of Vijaya, a prince exiled from Bengal (51, p. 3). In 322 or 321 B.C. the great Chandragupta usurped the throne of Magadha in northern India

¹ This, however, is based merely upon tradition.

² Actually it is the Kistna-Godaveri delta.

and to his court Megasthenes came as ambassador in 302 B.C. Asoka who was actually crowned in 264 B.C. began a war on Kalinga in 256 B.C. This last date differs from the one usually given for the conquest of Kalinga, namely 261 B.C., but apparently represents the latest view in India. Asoka (51, p. 12) recognized as independent sovereigns in his day the Chola, Pandya, Chera and Andhra kings in southern India. He died about 226 B.C. according to Dr. Barnett, 232 B.C. according to Vincent Smith and 237 or 236 B.C. according to the Cambridge History of India; and after him the Maurya Empire of Magadha gradually broke up. The Andhras began to acquire power after Asoka had conquered their northern neighbours, the kings of Kalinga. Later, about 163 B.C., the king of Kalinga, Kharavela, was powerful enough to enter into alliance with the Andhra king; and under him Kalinga became the centre of a powerful empire. In 22 B.C. a Pandya king sent an embassy to Augustus Caesar in Rome. Sewell and Aiyangar (ibid: p. 13) give the political condition of southern India in A.D. 1 as follows:—The Ganjam and Vizagapatam country was probably governed by the king of Kalinga. The Andhra king ruled the Godavari and Krishna tracts, with parts of Nellore, Cuddapah and Kurnool. North of what is now the Madras Presidency they had greatly extended their power so as to govern the whole of the Deccan proper and even far to the north of it. The Chola king held the territories lying between Pulikat and Ramnad on the eastern side of the peninsula, with their capital at Puhar on the Kaveri river (Kanchi or Conjuveram was a vice-royalty). The Pandyas held Madura, Tinnevely, Travancore, part of Coimbatore, Cochin and the Palni Hills. The Cheras ruled the country to the north and west of the Pandya dominions.

(To be continued).

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The Perak "Pallava Seal."

By ROLAND BRADDELL.

My note in Vol: XII Pt: 11 of this Journal prompted Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra to comment upon the Perak Seal at length in the Journal of the Greater India Society Vol: II, No: 1, pp: 71-75.

The learned Doctor agrees that the seal reads Sri Visnu-varmmasya, the varmmasya being faulty for varmanah. He says that "the only point on which all the scholars seem to agree is that the type of script represented on the seal is what may rightly be termed as the Pallava-Grantha"; but there is uncertainty as to which stage in the development of that script is represented by the seal.

As to the date of the seal the learned author, after setting out the views of other authorities, says that the consensus of opinion goes in favour of A.D. 600 and even later: but he says that "it is rather risky to draw any such conclusion from a comparison of the few characters of the seal. Apparently they compare equally well with those of Mulavarman's inscriptions (c. A. D. 400) from Borneo and those of Bhadravarman's inscriptions (c. A. D. 400) from Champa on the one hand, and with those of Mahendravarman I's inscriptions (c. A. D. 600-630) from South India on the other.

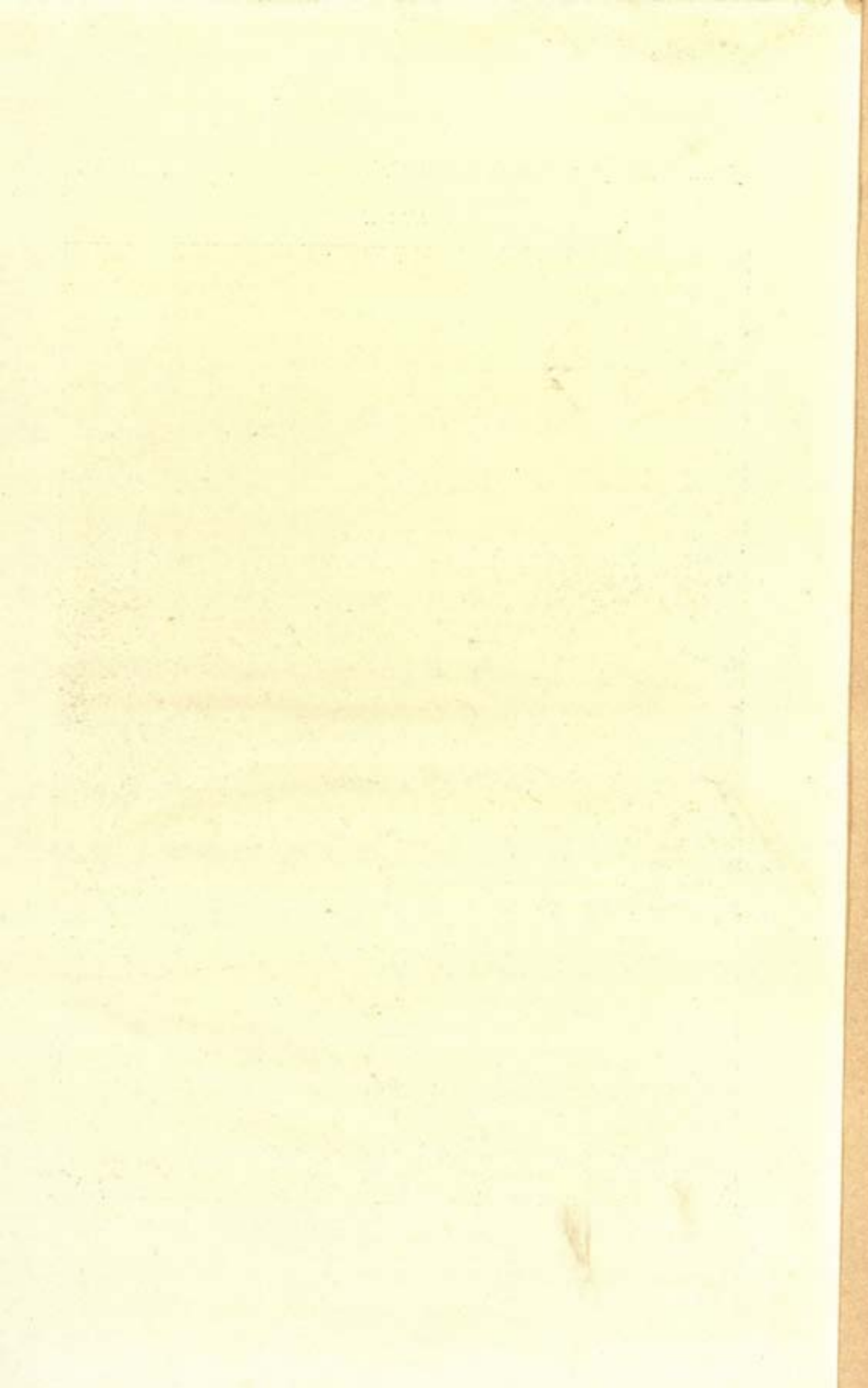
The learned author says that the seal belonged to an individual named Sri Visnuvarman; and that the Sri and the varman possibly refer to a royal personage. He offers an identification of this Sri Visnuvarman, viz: that he is the Sailendra King Visnu who figures on one face of the Ligor inscription¹ which is not dated but is, in any case, anterior to A.D. 775².

The above very brief summary of Dr. Chhabra's article will suffice to indicate its interest to local students. It must be obvious that the site at Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, where the seal and many other antiquities were found by Mr. Ivor Evans, should be fully excavated and explored as soon as possible.

Mr. Evans conducted systematic excavations, extending over two months, of only "a small part of this ancient site" and the necessity for a further examination to be made as soon as possible is shown by Mr. Evans' statement in 1932 that the sea was then "actually engaged in the destruction of the village site itself." It would be a sad thing if a site so fertile in historical possibilities should be allowed to disappear without complete examination.

¹ See BEFEO vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp: 1-36, with plates.

² See also Dr. Chhabra's splendid article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, vol: 1, 1935, No:1.



JORNADA,
QUE
ANTONIO DE ALBUQUERQUE
COELHO,

Governador, e Capitão General da Cidade do
Nome de Deos de Macao na China,

*Fez de Goa até chegar á dita Cidade no
anno de 1718.*

Dividida em duas partes.

Escreita

PELO CAPITÃO
JOAÕ TAVARES

DE VELLEZ GUERREIRO,

E DEDICADA

AO DUQUE,

por

D. JAYME DE LA TE, Y SAGAU.



LISBOA OCCIDENTAL,
Na Officina da MUSICA.

M.DCC.XXXII

Com todas as licenças neceffarias.

Vendefe na mefma Officina.

A Portuguese Account of Johore.

Translated by T. D. HUGHES, M.C.S.

Translator's Note.

During a visit on local leave at the beginning of 1934 to Macau, the little Portuguese Colony adjacent to Hong Kong, where I made careful enquiry in the local archives and library for any historical data, or records relating to the Portuguese occupation of Malacca, Doctor José Caetano de Soares, a leading physician of Macau, shewed me in his library a copy of the 1905 re-print of "*A Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho*" written in 1718 and giving a most interesting account of the ancient Kingdom of Johore in that year. Neither Doctor Winstedt (whose admirable "*History of Johore*" had been published early in 1933) nor myself had heard of this work or seen it listed in any bibliography at our disposal. Doctor Soares was kind enough to lend me the book and subsequently I have devoted all too rare leisure to translating from the Portuguese those portions of the work which treat of Johore.

This interesting little historical record was first printed in Macau, in Chinese style, bearing the date, May 29th 1718 and consisting of 185 pages. Professor Edgar Prestage, Camões Professor of Portuguese at King's College (University of London) writes to me that the work is well known and important in Portugal and that its first edition is extremely rare and valuable. It was reprinted at Lisbon in 1732 and a number of copies of this edition exist. This is the edition that was reprinted in 1905 to form Vol. L. of Mello d'Azevedo's Library of Portuguese Classics, published at Lisbon in that year.

Little is known of the author, Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro except that he accompanied the Governor-designate of Macau from Goa and that he is described as a Captain of Infantry and his appointment to Macau was to the garrison of the Fortress of Barra. From his "*Journey*" it is obvious that he was aide-de-camp to the Governor and a great admirer of his chief to whose service he was devoted. His literary style is soldierly and restrained throughout.

The Governor, Antonio Albuquerque de Coelho is a well known figure in Portuguese colonial history especially in that of the old-established Colony of Macau. He was selected in 1717 as Governor and Captain-General of Macau by the Archbishop of Goa (then acting-Governor of Portuguese India) Dom Sebastião de Andrade e Pessanha. He left Goa on June 2nd 1717, reached Saint Thomé (the first Portuguese settlement on the Coromandel Coast) on July 16th and finding there no suitable vessel for the voyage to Macau he proceeded to Madras which he reached on July 19th. Here he encountered many difficulties in purchasing a vessel and the transaction was only completed on August 5th. Lack of a Pilot and the damaged condition of the vessel obliged him to winter at Johore

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(Djohor or Gior as it is written in the "Journey"). Chapter 8 of Part 1 and Chapters 1 to 8 of Part 2 of the "Journey," which deal with the Governor's stay in Johore, have been translated in full. The Governor finally reached Macau on May 29th 1718 and took over the administration of the Colony on the following day. He was no stranger to the old Portuguese City. He first went out to Portuguese India as a young officer in 1703 and, as a Captain of Infantry, was transferred to Macau in 1708. There he was the principal actor in a touching and beautiful love story in the most romantic tradition, reminiscent of Abélard and Heloise. In 1709, the year after his arrival in Macau, he fell in love with Maria de Moura, a beautiful Portuguese girl (who was affianced to a local merchant, Henrique de Noronha) and who returned the young officer's affection. On August 2nd 1709 the disappointed suitor fired from a window at Albuquerque who was passing by and wounded him in the right arm. A local surgeon together with the surgeon of a Portuguese frigate from Goa in port treated him but the wound did not heal. Fortunately an English East Indiaman bound for Canton now appeared at Macau. Her surgeon was consulted. He found Albuquerque's arm already gangrenous and advised immediate amputation as the only means of saving the young man's life. Immediately after the operation Albuquerque sent a message to his beloved, Maria de Moura, asking if she still desired to marry him now that he had lost an arm. She replied that even if he had lost both legs, as long as he was alive, she would marry him. The marriage took place on August 22nd, 1710 but tragedy still hovered over their great happiness which was not to last long. Having lost their first born, a daughter, only a few days old, in 1712, Maria de Albuquerque Coelho died on July 20th 1714, after giving birth to a son. She was buried by her sorrowing husband in the old Church of S. Francisco in the same tomb that contained his little daughter and his own right arm. Until very recently in Macau the famous story of a love that was unbounded was zealously passed on from generation to generation of the old Macaense families in the form of a charming old-world poem.

The account given to us in the "Journey" is of particular interest as Johore, before the establishment and rise to power of the neighbouring English settlement of Singapore, was a considerable state despite continuous internecine struggles. Little of 18th century Johore is known from contemporary European writers. Certainly nothing is known of the Portuguese Governor's visit from native history, and chequered as Johore's career has been it is not surprising that no Malay record exists. Yet Albuquerque Coelho played an important part in a stirring phase of Johore's history and signed a solemn treaty with her Sultan. The "Journey" which throughout is sober in its relation throws a valuable light on a momentous time when the fate of the Sultanate was in the balance. It supports the tradition (paga 55 of Winstedt's "History of Johore") that the Raja Kechil who usurped the Johore throne in 1717 was a son of Sultan Mahmud and a very young man at the time of his conquest.

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The Raja Muda referred to in the "Journey" was the Yamtuan Muda Mahmud, brother of the old Sultan Abdul-Jalil.

The "Journey" is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, there is the character and personality of the Governor who, (although his country's power in the Far East had long waned since the days of his great namesake, Affonso de Albuquerque) makes a valiant effort, despite great difficulties, to maintain the name and prestige of Portugal. Secondly, the impression is derived from the "Journey" that although the mighty and far-famed Portuguese fortress of Malacca had fallen to the Dutch in 1641, the Portuguese despite their now desultory visits, still enjoyed something of the old prestige in the eyes of the Malays. The same close power of observation of the language, history, and customs of the Malays is shewn in the "Journey," as is characteristic of the "Commentaries" of the great Albuquerque or of the works of the famous 16th century Portuguese historians, Castanheda, Correia, Barros, etc., who treat of Malaya. This interest is borne out by the considerable influence of the Portuguese on the language and habits of the Malays.

Finally, I record here my deep appreciation of the kindness of The Honourable Mr. R. O. Winstedt, C.M.G., D.LITT., M.C.S., General Adviser, Johore, who has been good enough to check, in the light of his great knowledge of local history, my translation and its foot-notes, and who has been the main source of inspiration in this as in other minor tasks of local historical research which I have undertaken.

T. D. HUGHES, M.C.S.

SINGAPORE,

January, 1935.

The Journey
of
Antonio de Albuquerque
Coelho
Governor, and Captain-General of the City
of the name of God, Macau, in China
from Goa until reaching the said City
in the year 1718
Divided into Two Parts
Written
by Captain
João Tavares
de Vellez Guerreiro
and dedicated
to the Duke
by
Dom Jayme de la Tey Sagau
Lisbon Western
At the Music Office
1732
Sold at the above Office
With all necessary licences.

FIRST PART.

Chapter VIII.

*Relating how the Governor embarks for Macao and what happened to him up to the time of reaching the Kingdom of Gior.**

Day broke on the 5th August† when the Governor decided to commence his voyage to Macao. The vessel was not yet completely fitted out because the English pilot who had sold her through the agency of the Governor, also English, had delivered her so badly equipped and so lacking in material, that it was even necessary to provide her with sails. The Governor embarked on that day, which being dedicated to the Feast of our Lady of the Snows augured well for the safety of the voyage, as when any action is commenced under the Polar Star it is certain and sure that the desired end will be achieved. And this Star of the Sea cheered him and filled his heart with confidence when, considering the weather, tempestuous by reason of continuous sumatras, the not too safe condition of the ship to withstand the lashings of surging waves and the furious tempests, it seemed rashness to put out to sea. But in truth his soul was full of assurance and justly so for on that morning of that day he had visited the Church of our Lady of the Light whose memory was being celebrated with great solemnity. Having confessed he heard Mass and received the Divine Eucharist Sacrament from the hands of the Governor of the Bishopric, the very Reverend Father Antonio das Chagas, a Capuchin friar and deposed in the hands of that very gracious Mother of Mercy a petition taking her as his Patroness and Intercessor for the success of the voyage. Having embarked it was necessary to wait three days for the English pilot who was attending to his own business ashore and who finally came on board on 8th August and at eleven o'clock at night they spread sail to the wind which was fairly brisk.

The third day of the voyage was remarkable for the inclemency of the weather and of the Sea which defied by the wind rolled to such an extent as if to capsize the poor vessel which in her state would not have been difficult if it had not been for the patronage of Most Holy Mary under whose protection the Governor and his companions had placed themselves. Suddenly the wind struck the top sails with such force that the vessel heeled to one side and all gave themselves up for lost and cried to God for mercy. This secured to these poor unfortunate ones an abatement in the fury of the wind which if it had continued with such force would have resulted in the inevitable ruin of all. Notwithstanding, the storm did not completely abate and its force weakened and bent the mainmast to the great fear of all on board. The vessel had shipped so much water that the crew all working at the pumps could not keep it down. In a word, all considered it to be held a certain and

* Johore.

† 1718.

obvious miracle and a special Divine favour that they escaped with their lives. The storm having died down somewhat the voyage was continued with the greatest care and caution because sumatras occurred three or four times daily and the resultant great labour was overcome by patience, until finally, on the 21st of that month, they came into sight of Cape Achem† and entered the mouth of the Strait of Malaca.§

Navigation of this strait entailed great patience because of a dead calm. The malice of the Sea spoiled their provisions as the heat wasted the strength of their navigators and on this occasion the calm was extraordinarily prolonged and they lost a month getting to Malacca. For this reason all on board had to exercise such economy that for many days only one meal was served and water, especially, had to be used sparingly and advantage taken of rain as they had not been able to touch at the Isles as is customary. On 19th September they came in sight of Malacca. Formerly a Portuguese city where the great Affonso de Albuquerque performed such marvellous deeds in order to bring it under the Portuguese dominion. But already, years ago, by reason of the sins or inactivity of the Portuguese the city had come under the Dutch yoke. It had been arranged that no call should be made there in order to avoid the demand made of all Portuguese that their vessels should enter and pay anchorage rights but our Governor obliged by necessity and lack of water thought it best to try his fortune and see if he could find courtesy or compassion among the Dutch. Coming to anchor he fired a cannon asking for a boat which was sent from the shore to ascertain what was the vessel and her business and who came in her. The English pilot went down into the boat taking with him a letter to the Governor of the City.

The Dutch Governor was a brave and kind hearted man and reading from the contents of the letter that there came in the vessel a person who should be treated with honour and foreseeing that the members of the Company's Council would demand anchorage dues (as they say) and wishing to prevent the trouble and inconvenience that might be occasioned to the Portuguese Governor, he therefore treated the Pilot with great kindness and ordered him to return to his vessel and that he the Governor would do all that was necessary. It was his intention that the vessel be despatched with her Pilot so that if the members of Council took any action against her she could sail away and take shelter. But the Pilot who apparently intended to stay in the said port of Malacca (as some said) began to argue and replied to the Dutch Governor that in no way would he return on board without bearing the reply, even though the Governor tried to persuade him to return to the vessel and that a reply would be sent next day. But the Pilot remained and the following day was imprisoned which apparently was what he desired.

† Achin.

§ Malacca.

Finally the reply that went from the shore to the Portuguese Governor was that he should pay anchorage dues and that for this purpose his Pilot had been detained. This seemed to the Governor to be an unjust demand—not that it should be made—but that it should be made of him. His decision in the matter was not easy to resolve. On the one hand necessity compelled him to stop and ask for compassion. On the other hand to have sailed away would have been a sign of fear and an admission of being in the wrong which would be the more indecorous and indecent as the vessel was flying the Royal colours. To attempt to avenge such injustice and discourtesy seemed rashness as the vessel lacked many essentials whilst the Dutch were well supplied and in their own territory. What to do? To derive strength from necessity and weakness and to have recourse to fortune which favours the brave. The Governor wrote firmly to the Dutchman that a Governor of His Most Serene Highness, the King of Portugal, was not a person of whom such demand could be made and that either his vessel should be re-provisioned or that his Pilot should be restored to enable him to set sail. The reply of the Dutchman was not as courteous and honourable, as it ought to have been, and as it had been the previous day. For this reason the Governor lost his temper and sent a somewhat harsh reply telling the Dutchman to his face what he was. Both sides became annoyed and after protests had been exchanged that both belonged to nations that lived in terms of peace and friendship, the challenge was given and both sides prepared for battle. The Governor placed his vessel in order with the small number of Portuguese that he had on board, some negroes and 5 small-sized pieces of artillery; the Dutchman sent out five ships fairly well armed. The Portuguese first showed himself and came in sight of the enemy and sailed past the fortress challenging him. The Dutch carried vessels out of their movement and then returned but they remained distant and out of range.

A few days passed in this way until the Governor impatient of delays spoke to his ship's company as follows:—

"Friends and companions in glory—either our work is before us and we have to fight which, although to some will seem rash and imprudent, is in glorious truth but worthy of the Portuguese name—or we have to go away from here with our name tarnished and all of us liable to perish shamefully. The wind does not favour us; the lack of a Pilot makes it impossible to navigate in such shallow waters. The almost extreme necessity in which we see ourselves does not permit us to give up in the middle of this strait. With our withdrawal or flight these Dutchmen will pluck up courage to pursue us and will await a favourable opportunity to completely destroy us. Thus the decision we ought to make, worthy of the Portuguese name, is to capture the sloops so that the garrison of the fortress which will follow the action will be overawed at our determination and will grant our request or we will die in combat with them thus boldly proclaiming our reputation. Better glorious death than life maintained through dishonour." Thus valorously

spoke the Governor. Some of the Portuguese approved the resolution and willingly offered themselves for the enterprise. But the others, following the example of the Chaplain, disapproved of the scheme as being too risky and imprudent, or as being against Christian principles.

The Governor seeing that his resolution was not generally approved, decided to leave the place and to navigate, as best as he could, until reaching an anchorage in which he could refit. He had already detained a small vessel belonging to the Malacca Malays as a reprisal for the detention of his own Pilot on shore. He now sent word to the Dutch Governor to send back his Pilot as he wanted to sail and that he would release the Malay vessel. But as nothing resulted, he decided to release the native vessel and set sail. He sent notice to the Dutch Governor that he would leave at such hour and that if the sloops were sent to chase him he was ready to receive them. On the 26th of that month he set his sails, giving sign by firing his signal guns. Navigation was undertaken with great difficulty, there being no Pilot and the Governor himself, with his own dead reckoning and his own experience of sailing in those waters, had to fill the gap. On the 12th October they entered the channel called the Governor's Strait where they had to prepare for combat with a vessel that was following them. The crew took up stations, arms were distributed together with further ammunition but as the vessel mentioned appeared to have no intent of fighting, they entered the Strait of Sincapura* and then the Gior River. What took place there will be related in the second part of this Book.

* Singapore.

SECOND PART.

Relating what happened in Gior and thence to Macao.

Chapter I.

In which mention is made of certain matters pertaining to the Kingdom of Gior.

I now undertake to relate the actions of the Governor in Gior which by some who are well disposed will be attributed to the valour of a brave man and by others lacking in affection will be vilified profusely as being due to great imprudence or lucky temerity. The former base their opinion on the fact that the Governor only had a single badly armed vessel and a dozen Portuguese whose names were (they do not remain nameless in this account as they were principally concerned in the work and labours).

Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro

João da Costa (Master)

Domingos dos Santos (Master Gunner)

Antonio Lopes

Pascoal da Silva

Pedro Farobo

Ignacio Lobo

Pascoal Rodrigues

Antonio Rodrigues

Miguel da Costa

Antonio da Costa

Lourenco Fernandes,

not including the Rev. Father Thomaz de São Joseph, ship's chaplain and the Rev. Brother Angelo de Santo Antonio, (Italian) doctor. Both were Capuchin monks (belonging to the seraphic and learned Province of Madre de Deus), together with the remaining crew of black people, more suited for handling rigging and manipulating sails than to fire cannon and brandish lances. The armament was very limited consisting of five pieces of cannon of small calibre. Finally without the necessary equipment the ship's company was to oppose more than 800 war vessels (which although small were well armed and manned) and to undertake other venturesome actions in a distant land; all of which in truth seem to indicate a vain appetite for glory but were based more on an imprudent hope of good luck than on mature reflection and real valour. But this note is dissipated if it is considered how the Books of Romance aver that worthy actions are more based on prudent audacity accompanied by good order than by strength of arms. Whoever wishes to make a name must attempt something says the eloquent Orator no less than the learned Philosopher. Never would Alexander the Great have undertaken to attack with a small army the whole Persian Empire and all the forces of Asia, if he had not been carried away by gallant daring. Duarate Pacheco would not have achieved what he did in matching himself with so few Portuguese against the

armies of the Camorin* and of his allied kings, if his ruthless and daring spirit had not animated the enterprise. A faint heart is dismayed in face of danger. Often it is not rashness to undertake that which is seemingly greatly daring (rather than resort to prudent courage) when circumstances and necessity require it. But before we prove this statement, which shall be done in due course in the light of the Governor's deeds, let us touch on certain details concerning the State of Gior.

The Kingdom of Gior situate in the land of the Malays on the terra firme facing the Island of Sumatra stretches along the coast from Malacca to Talagane* and includes an innumerable number of Islands which form many straits and among them that of Singapura is not the least; moreover on the left towards the N. W. the mouth of a great river opens out or rather the mouth of a gulf which within is divided into many channels, some large, some small but well formed and distinct with a variety of islands scattered over that gulf. The principal channel is that which with its meanders stretches for more than ten leagues to the principal City and the Court of this Kingdom which is situate between the 2nd and 3rd degrees North of the Equinoctial Line. So that as this land is in the centre of the Torrid Zone it ought obviously to experience excessive heat by reason of the Sun's direct rays, that it should do so is the natural impression, but the contrary is the case—the climate is cool and delightful and has the qualities of a perpetual Spring which is also the case in the greater part of that tract of land. For as there is much water either divided into the various channels or spread out in large lakes or given off by perennial springs vapours arise continuously which afresh the air and moderate its heat which results in almost daily rain which not only cools the earth but fertilises it. This causes the large and diverse growth of many trees which with the thickness and closeness of their branches prevent the Sun's rays from entering. However by reason of the thick vapours which abound, the climate is not very healthy, especially for Foreigners who are not brought up amidst such sheets of water.

In colour the natives of this country vary between that of Europeans and Ethiopians. Those who live near the ocean are partly of the accursed Mohammedan sect, treacherous by nature and of little loyalty. A considerable number of the natives and subjects of this Kingdom make their permanent homes in boats—an usual practice in all that part of Asia up to China—forming towns, with large families, in the middle of the waters. The land is of itself very fertile but the many civil wars have rendered it barren. It abounds in pepper, gold, tin, aloes-wood (*agallochium*) camphor, tortoise-shell, birds-nests, black-wood, rattans (there are plenty of canes), ivory, wood-oil, very cheap tar and timber (especially for any kind of ships' masts, as there are large trees both straight and narrow). Formerly this Kingdom of Gior was subject to the King

* Zamorin—native ruler of Calicut.

† Trengganu.

of Sião,* as were all those lands running from Tenecari† to the Coast of the Gulf properly called the Gulf of Sião. But as that King who had been the terror of Bengala,§ Pegu,‡ Laos and his other neighbours had fallen from former power (partly because of the malice inherent in Asiatics and principally on account of the divisions and parties formed which are customary in Sião upon the death of the King) the Kingdom of Gior had rebelled and raised its Head. It was now governing itself and lately had expanded so much so that on that Coast it had more territory than any of the other Kingdoms.

But as these Kingdoms did not know of the true Cross of the Faith which prescribes sure and certain laws of justice, it resulted that there often lacked the correct degree of obedience between the Princes and their subjects. For this reason, 20 years before, the King of Gior himself was murdered by his vassals; either he was lacking in understanding and reason or his government had degenerated into tyranny. Upon his death the Datubandar¶ was made King. Datubandar is a dignity or important title which is always attached to families or houses of Royal blood. The Datubandar commands the Fleet, gives orders to the soldiers and bestows all posts relating to the fleet or army with such authority that he is in this respect almost the equal of the King himself. The latter thus suffers much lèse-majesty and runs the risk of ruin, as happens at every turn, and found himself engaged in the war of which mention will be made in due course. All in the Kingdom owe obedience to the Datubandar who after three years (during which he governed the Kingdom with peace and calm) either because he was a man of good understanding who realised he would not be safe on the throne and did not wish to experience the unfortunate fate of his predecessor or for some other reason gave over the throne to his brother on the condition that his brother should support him and not proceed in matters involving the death penalty without first consulting him which shewed him to be a kind and good-hearted man.

This brother of the old King was called Raiamuda*; a clever and intelligent man and when he took over the Government he endeavoured to take necessary steps for his own preservation and the security of his States by acquiring riches and establishing forces which finally grew to be such that it was said they exceeded those of any other King of the Malayan Coast. The forces he was able to acquire according to definite information, consisted of more than 100 river galleys not to speak of the type of boats called "Cacapus†" and "Paraos§" which were also armed, exceeding a total of 1,000

* Siam.

† Tenasserim.

‡ Burma.

§ Bengal.

¶ Datok Bandar.

* Rajah Muda.

† Kakap (Malay) = river craft with lofty prow and stern but low waist.

§ Përahu (Malay) = boat.

boats. These form the fortifications of this people and as nearly all the land is flooded and intersected with channels, all its wars are naval. Ordnance abounds and it is said that they have more than 1,000 pieces, the greater part of bronze, a few ranging in calibre from twelve to twenty-four pounders and the rest ranging from two to three and four pounders. They have over 2,000 guns and two large storehouses with different kinds of arms and ammunition. Their wealth in gold seems incredible since it is related that when this King Raiamuda fled he loaded thirty men with gold. The number of people living on land or in the boats is very large and it is said that the number of men bearing arms in the Court would amount to 5,000 not including the crews of the Fleet which belong to the maritime race which inhabits those Islands and the shores. But even although the power and riches of this King were such they were not sufficient to prevent the loss of his Kingdom; the treachery of his Datubandar counting more than his own ability, power and riches. Thus is proved the saying that the loyalty of Chiefs is worth more in maintaining a Kingdom than strong armies and abundant forces. But before we see what happened in this respect let us look at the entry of the Governor into Gior and at the events of the first few days.

Chapter II.

*The Governor enters Gior and what happened to him
during the first few days.*

The vessel having entered the river or channel of Gior the Governor learned that there were two European vessels there—one English and the other Danish—for the purpose of trade and he wrote to the Captains that they should send him Pilots who knew the channel so that his vessel could enter safely and make for some convenient anchorage when, without her ship's company, she could pass the shallows at their deepest point. The Danish Captain then sent a Pilot who navigated the vessel, wind and the tide helping him. He then returned to his own vessel leaving a logbook of sailing directions which the Portuguese were to follow during the rest of the journey. But during the following tide the Portuguese Pilots laid aside the sailing directions and the vessel, through their laziness, ran aground not only with obvious danger of breaking up but to the fear and terror of those who saw the terrible condition of the ship's bottom. So much so that those who had embarked in the ship were lost in admiration to reflect that their lives should be dependent upon such a frail craft and they were grateful to Divine grace which in infinite mercy had delivered them from so many perils and placed them where they could clean and repair the vessel which proves that misfortune and danger often result in greater perils being avoided as on this occasion. The Governor had previously agreed in his own mind to examine and clean the vessel and it was now decided to carry out the work. Finally with the help of the pilots of both the

other vessels the vessel cleared the bank on which she rested and having reached a safe place she anchored.

Whilst the vessel was entering the River the King of Gior appeared, accompanied by many boats and Court followers. He was diverting himself, perhaps little conscious of what was to happen to him within a few months. The Governor knowing that he was the King decorated his vessel with streamers and pennants, lined up the ship's company and sounded trumpets whilst a skilled musician he had brought from the Coast sweetly played a guitar. And when the Royal boats were near the ship he saluted the King with five cannon all of which was not only pleasing to the eye but jolly to the ear. The King thought the vessel carried a person of great importance and this was the principal reason why the Governor was subsequently treated with great honour. This shews the value of such procedure in the beginning, which ensure both respect and esteem and shews why in many cases enterprises which lack such procedure at the commencement incur disastrous results. The Governor sent a Pilot to the King bearing a present of little value but greatly esteemed by the King who received it with great pleasure.

The King did not fail to return the courtesies of the Governor. The latter received the visit of the King's Sibandar* who gave the Governor a Royal present. The Sibandar holds the post of principal Minister of the Kingdom whose functions are to despatch vessels to collect customs dues, to draw up treaties and decide what they comprise, to lead the Captains of the King's ships and to supervise everything connected with the merchants. The King was greatly pleased not only with the beautiful harmony of the trumpets but with the joyful and soft sound of the guitar. He sent word by the Sibandar asking the favour of the Governor that the musicians should be taken to the Palace, as he wanted to hear them in the company of his wives and family. Courtesy is very necessary in such cases but it must follow the precepts of true Christianity and be subject in all things to the laws of the Catholic Church. A decision either way appeared to the Governor to be fraught with much risk because to refuse the request would be to expose himself to the anger of the King who, an Infidel and powerful in his country, could easily take vengeance which did not suit the Governor as he had need of the King's help to repair the vessel. On the other hand to grant the King's request was to risk the spiritual good not only of the two Kaffirs but also of the Guitarist if it should happen that the King, carried away by pleasure, should keep the instruments in his Palace for his diversion and entertainment with great risk to the spiritual salvation of the players. This reflexion carried great weight with the Governor who realised that the stay of two freed Kaffirs in the Palace would lead to their morally losing their souls, being naturally ignorant with no deep knowledge of the Catholic Faith.

* (Malay) Si-Bandar.

Influenced by this reasoning the Governor made a resolution no less generous than Christianlike and replied he could not do what was asked of him as he ran the risk that the Kaffirs and the Guitarist would either escape or would be detained in the Palace. The refusal did not anger the King and as he was greatly desirous of hearing the instrument being played in his Palace, he repeated with insistence his original request offering security and engaging his Royal word that the musicians would be restored and that he would see that they returned to the vessel. The Governor was thus obliged to comply with the King's request and he sent them together with Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro to visit the King in the Governor's name and to make him an offering of some things from Saint Thomé* consisting of two pieces of fairly fine white cloth from the Coast, two flasks of rose-water and two coat-lengths of carmine cloth. When they arrived at the Palace the Trumpeters and the Guitarist were received with great expectation and applause and the King himself led them to the women's quarters where his favourite Ladies listened not only with inexpressible content, never having heard such thing before, but also with great admiration. Both in the Court and Palace the opinion formed of the Governor, increased, who having brought with him such singular instruments of amusement could not fail to be a man of the greatest talents.

This occurred on the ninth of October and as the King knew that Captain João Tavares came in the name of the Governor to make his visit and proffer his gift he desired the ceremony to be conducted with significance and solemnity in the presence of his Chiefs and he postponed it till the next day. Captain João Tavares, together with the two Captains of the English and Danish ships, spent the night in the Palace and were treated with great dignity. The next day all the King's Court assembled in the Palace and Captain João Tavares, attended by the two Captains mentioned, paid his visit in the name of Governor fulfilling his embassy with the utmost solemnity, equally pleasing to the King and the Court. The two Captains were both jealous and impressed as they had not received similar honours when they had offered gifts of greater value and esteem than those now offered in the name of the Governor. But they must have realised that the King although a barbarian knew how to distinguish between persons and as he was intelligent, valued a gift not by its price, but by the conduct of the donor towards him.

There occurred during the presenting an event which, although it may seem rashness to some, created the greatest respect and esteem for the Portuguese nation. It happened that the native custom was that the donor of the gift should lift it up in his hands as the above mentioned Captains had done. But Captain Tavares not only refused but the Sibandar whom he impatiently

* on the Portuguese Settlement Coromandel Coast.

and repeatedly asked to perform such ceremony also refused and the Captain boldly seized the Sibandar by the hand in front of all the Court and the King forcing the Sibandar in person and with his own hands to make the offering. It is a crime among this people to commit such an impatient and provoking act and to fail to observe the Court etiquette. But whilst such action which appeared bold and lacking in respect deserved punishment it was considered to be the action of a person who was not subject to the laws of ordinary men although the Sibandar who considered himself insulted nursed rage and a desire for vengeance in his heart which later he endeavoured to effect. The Captains of both vessels also desired to render courtesies with public demonstrations in honour of the Governor. They paid him a solemn visit and afterwards invited him to a banquet on their ships given with the grandest magnificence not only on account of the thundering of the amazing salvoes but also on account of the variety of dishes and liquors.

Chapter III.

Relating other events that occurred during these days.

As the esteem in which Gior held the Governor grew so did the respect with which he was treated and the King knowing that the Governor desired to repair his vessel offered to find a suitable place in which she could be run on to land and repaired. He ordered his people to obey the Governor in all that he should request and undertake all that was necessary, that such orders should be followed exactly and that those who disobeyed should be punished. The English Captain saw that with the favour of the Governor he could also repair his vessel with great convenience and less expense and thus leave earlier. He therefore asked the Governor to do him the favour of first repairing his own vessel and allow him to remove his belongings to the Governor's vessel while repairs were being undertaken. The Governor treated this request kindly and generously and when the repairs were completed the English Captain desiring to return the favour which he had received removed to his vessel everything in the Governor's ship and repeatedly invited the Governor to stay with him on board, pointing out the inconvenience that would ensue during repair, but the Governor did not desire to accept the invitation and remained on his own ship although put to considerable discomfort, because he considered honour to be greater than his own personal convenience. When he descended from his ship to see the repairs to the vessel's bottom he was accompanied by a guard of twelve armed men while another guard remained in the ship as was the custom.

Whilst the vessel was still on land being repaired, an event occurred which had several consequences which could have occasioned serious troubles for the Governor if his authority and prudence had not helped him by minimising a matter which others would have considered important. It so happened that a sailor

born on the Coast but married in the Kingdom of Gior together with a Malabari from the Danish vessel purchased from a Portuguese in the Governor's ship some clothing made on the Coast. The price having been fixed the latter handed over the goods on being promised payment on another occasion. After a few days the Malabari was asked to pay but he was unwilling saying that the other sailor had taken the clothing and that it was not for him to pay. The claim was brought to the notice of the Governor who having gone into it found that the Malabari should settle the debt and admonished him paternally to pay the price that had been settled for the clothing. Having heard the admonition but preferring to study his own convenience rather than be fair and listen to his conscience the Malabari did not pay relying on the Danish Captain, the Sibandar and the local populace to defend him. In view of this decision the Governor reflected that to do nothing would lead on one hand to loss of prestige and lay himself open to further disrespect but on the other hand he realised that if he took extreme measures against the Malabari he would annoy the Danish Captain, the Sibandar and the others. But counting honour more important than the consequences, which his own ability would enable him to meet, he decided to act.

Being thus resolved the Governor sent for the Malabari, seized him and placed him in irons informing him that he would only be released upon payment of his debt. This procedure greatly angered the Danish Captain as it was natural he should not approve of the Governor carrying out a sentence on a man under his own command. But fear and respect reduced him to silence. The Malabari, realising that only by meeting his debt would he be released, paid what he owed and was set free. As soon as he was out of the Governor's hands the Malabari, who was infuriated not only at the affront but at the loss of the money which he had paid, endeavoured to take vengeance. He gathered together all his countrymen who were numerous in Gior and went with them to speak to the King complaining that he had been unjustly and shamefully treated by the Governor and begged the King to do him justice. The King was quite willing to grant the petition of the supplicant as the Malabari were of greatest use and profit in his Kingdom but such was his esteem for the Governor that he desired to consider his own ends rather than insist on the respect that was due to him as King and he sent away the petitioners consoling them and saying he was unable to grant their request.

Seeing that they could do nothing through this channel these people then had recourse to the Sibandar who cherished much bitterness against the Governor and his men on account of what had occurred, during the offering of a gift to the King by Captain João Tavares and also in the last instance.

The Sibandar therefore desired revenge as in addition to having made no profit from the Governor's vessel and being by nature avaricious he was annoyed at not being able to effect the robberies

which he carried out on other vessels. It thus seemed to him he had good reason to carry out vengeance and he went to the King addressing him in this manner: "Your Majesty—sovereignty and weakness in a King do not go well together. A Prince who desires respect should not shew himself to be remiss by ignoring offences or excesses which result in diminishing his authority—sovereignty is affected thereby—for whilst credit is acquired for kindness a note of lesser courage and respect is cultivated. A haughty foreigner comes to this part and is totally opposed to the procedure of our laws and is as ambitious of fame as he is indifferent to the profits and interests of other merchants. Your Majesty by clemency has paid him honours which he has abused. He had become insulting, not only in the contempt which he has shewn towards our people but also by his conduct in asserting absolute independence in a country which is not his own. I will not mention the arrogance, pride and boldness shewn by his Captain when visiting your Majesty and proffering a gift. I will not dwell on the haughtiness and arrogance by which he desires not only his own people but also ours to be in fear of him. I only say that he cannot be allowed to exercise the authority which he has usurped by punishing the Malabari, a serious insult, not only to such a worthy Kingdom as ours but also to the Danish Captain. If this insult is allowed to pass without some act of Royal justice the pride of this insolent foreigner will embolden him to do worse things to the detriment of that respect due to the person of your Majesty. But if your Majesty proceeds to punish him who then can fear to rely on your Majesty's courageous spirit and strong right arm without which there can be no valour"?

So spoke this barbarian in a spirit of jealousy and revenge. But the King who in addition to his Royal prerogatives possessed good sense and prudence took no notice of the argument of the Sibandar. The latter, seeing that he was ignored, tried to sow discord and to embroil the Governor not only with the local populace but also with the Danes and Englishmen who were not very friendly towards the Governor on account of the great difference not only in religion and customs but also in conduct and deportment. The Governor having wind of this desired to let the Sibandar know of what stuff the Portuguese were made. But he was unable to find a suitable opportunity as the Sibandar did not visit the Governor's vessel where he was unable to satisfy his thieving propensities. The Governor, therefore, asked his crew to let him know when the Sibandar visited the English vessel which was not far away. It so happened that one day such visit occurred and the Governor learning of it sent an invitation to the Sibandar to visit him on board. The poor man was overcome at the invitation and being smitten by his conscience feared to appear before the Governor who might demand complete satisfaction. But it was necessary to make an appearance. What was he to do? However he took the English Captain as his protector and accompanied by the latter he obeyed the Governor's call. Having

reached the Governor's presence he heard the following words pronounced with gravity and determination: "Learn that the Portuguese sword is very long and if it were necessary it could reach the Court of your King." These strong and useful words were sufficient and thereafter this Malay ceased his intrigues.

Repairs being completed, on the 2nd of December the vessel went out to her anchorage. All was prepared so as to sail on the first convenient occasion and to be ready for anything that might occur. But before setting sail other events occurred affecting the Governor and the Portuguese nation. There is in Gior a certain type of Malay called, Bugis*, who being Royal slaves are insolent and oppress the People, robbing, wounding and killing and as they are surrounded by the shadow of the King no one dares to incur harm by resisting them. Now one of these Bugis in the Village called Panchor, near to the ship's anchorage, considered himself as an absolute Prince and was feared and respected by the miserable People. He persuaded himself that he could also carry out his daring outrages against the Governor's company. When one of the Governor's officers was buying provisions for the crew in the Village, the Bugis seized all the goods that had been bargained for, carried them off and ordered them to be put in his vessel—not one of those present daring to open his mouth. The Governor was quickly advised of what had occurred and mounting his quarter-deck he saw the Malay passing by in his boat with the provisions that had been violently and rudely seized. He called him but the Malay paid no attention whereupon the Governor quickly despatched a small boat in pursuit. The Malay put up resistance, and one of the Governor's Kaffirs was wounded. The alarm was sounded in the village for which the Malay boat directly headed in order to be able to defend itself with the others.

This happening, the Governor was put on his mettle; he increased the number of his men ashore and sent artillery to dominate the village. Sounding trumpets loudly he signalled to his company on land to seize the Bugis and any others that offered resistance. The Bugis barricaded himself in a Temple of idols where he was attacked and wounded to such an extent that he was covered with blood. The populace was so frightened by what had happened to the Bugis and by hearing the trumpets sounding loudly that they abandoned their houses and ran into the jungle. The Bugis was taken before the Governor and being, wretched fellow, more frightened than wounded, he threw himself on his knees and raised his hands begging mercy. But the Governor being of opinion that a harsh example was necessary in order to prevent further outrages and to frighten the others solemnly rebuked the man, charged him with wounding the Kaffir and pronounced the sentence of death. In order to give the impression that he would carry out the sentence he ordered the necessary instruments to be prepared. The two Franciscan friars

* Celebes tribe.

now intervened and pleaded for the prisoner but the Governor shewed himself adamant and refused to pardon the Malay who abjectly pleaded. The friars meanwhile continued their intercession and finally the Governor relenting, shewed pity, pardoned the prisoner and allowed him to go free to recover from his wounds. News of this reached the King and although some thought that this would be considered an affront the King took the opposite view and sent his apologies to the Governor for the discourtesy shewn him and thanked him for having taught his slave a lesson by punishment.

Chapter IV.

The King of Gior requests the Governor's aid against the Raiaquichil and in which are related the reasons and what transpired in this matter.

In the first chapter it was briefly mentioned how the King of Gior called the Raiamuda reigned through the renunciation of his elder brother upon whose violent death at his subjects' hands he had been proclaimed the King. After the demise of the late King a son either real or false escaped to the King of Manacabus* whose territories lie on the coast on the frontier of Malacca and who was a relative of the dead King of Gior. After some years this fugitive Prince who called himself Raiaquichil † endeavoured to recover the Kingdom of Gior claiming to be the legitimate son of the murdered King. With this object he gathered to himself some men as well as the support of the King of the Manacabus and the King of Palimbão § whom the claimant also asserted to be his relative. But as the total number of men was small and he had no Galleys he prepared a feigned petition and sent it with an embassy to the Raiamuda saying that he desired to render a visit and indirectly suggested that he would be pleased to marry the Raiamuda's daughter and for this purpose he requested twelve Galleys. The King Raiamuda either thinking there was no pretence on the Raiaquichil's part or despising any fear he may have had and relying on his large forces, knowing the Raiaquichil's forces to be few or none, he sent the twelve vessels that had been requested. But Raiaquichil immediately seized them and placing in them the men he had gathered he seized the Bancules* territory belonging to Gior and declared himself the rightful heir and lord of Gior.

When these tidings reached the King Raiamuda he immediately saw the necessity of putting himself on the defensive and, as he could not completely rely on the forces of his Chiefs whom he knew to be not entirely loyal, he sought help of the foreigners. As the Danish vessel was about to sail he sent by her an Ambassador

* Minangkabaus.

† Raja Kechil.

§ Palembang.

* Bengkalis.

to Malacca to ask for help. But an Envoy of the Raiaquichil had already reached that city having gone there for the same purpose. Neither obtained what he wanted of the Dutch not only because the forces in the Fortress were considerably reduced but also because the Dutch had astutely judged that it was better to let the two Princes weaken themselves. This was in accordance with their oft-practised policy of which the dictum is to increase the strength of one's own State by fomenting dissensions amongst one's neighbours. Placing no reliance on help from this quarter the King Raiamuda sought help from the Governor, sending the Sibandar to the ship on his behalf to request that the Governor should aid him with his vessel by proceeding to the mouth of the river and giving battle to the enemy, promising in return ten catties of gold. Having listened to the proposal the Governor replied that the Portuguese nation did not serve any Prince in return for payment much less did she hire out her arms for money and that in the defence of friends or of those worthy of her she would willingly lay down her life without hope of reward or temporal gain. Further he stated his vessel would not leave her anchorage until he finally set sail to take up his Governorship. The King could rest assured that he the Governor being where he was he would see to it that none of the King's enemies entered the river without first paying for their effrontery with their lives.

The King Raiamuda was very pleased with this reply considering himself to be safe from that quarter. He now sent the Fleet to overthrow the enemy which would have been very easy if the Datubandar had been faithful. But the Prince Raiaquichil seeing that his forces were insufficient to penetrate the channel which leads to the Court of Gior, having only 30 galleys badly provided with armament, remained in the straits robbing any vessel he could seize. Finally the Datubandar of Gior communicated with him secretly and persuaded him to carry on with the enterprise that had been commenced, promising help as he the Datubandar looked after the maritime people who manned the Fleets and who were accustomed to obey him and that therefore the Prince had no need to fear the great power of the King of Gior. Emboldened by the persuasion and promise of the Datubandar, Raiaquichil carried on with the undertaking and entered the mouth of the Sincapura Straits. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring Islands rendered obedience to the Prince in view of the orders and assiduity of the Datubandar. All this was known to the Raiamuda and he, ignorant as yet of the base treachery of the Datubandar, despatched his third brother with a Fleet of 70 galleys including three Garabus which are Royal vessels and in which embarked three Chiefs, all closely related to the King, as well as a brother, a brother-in-law and a third, a nephew of the said King.

Having come in sight of the opposing fleet and confident of their great strength they attacked. But there is no power that

can resist treachery. As soon as the two fleets were engaged the crews of the Royal vessels threw themselves into the water and swam towards the Raiaquichil whereupon the Chiefs of the Royal Fleets tried to fire their cannon and mortars which would have been sufficient to destroy the enemy Fleet but none of them discharged. The wretched vanquished seeing that there was nothing left to them but to try and save their lives escaped in small boats and having arrived at the Court informed the King of the sad news. The King's eyes were only now opened to the treachery inside his Court and he realised that he had been betrayed. He immediately laid hands on the Datubandar desiring to make an example by punishing him with death. But the old King, elder brother of Raiamuda, objected being influenced not only by love for his daughter who was married to the Datubandar but because he realised the use of prudent action in shewing benevolence to the Datubandar and in acting kindly towards him so that he should feel obliged to correct the treachery he had schemed. So the old King counselled his brother to inform the Datubandar that his treason was pardoned but that he would be relieved of governing the Kingdom having when in power sought to rise up and destroy his Prince. Thus in such straits the Datubandar found himself but it was too late to do anything as the Prince was now very powerful.

This being the state of affairs, Raiamuda did not lose hope of maintaining himself in power bearing in mind that as Raiaquichil could not now count on the Court he could never become Lord of the Kingdom. Raiamuda again implored the Governor to help him and with this object sent one of his courtiers with a rich present saying that now he had lost his naval forces only with the Governor's aid could he conserve his Kingdom. The Governor, by reason of the King's necessity and the favour which the latter had shewn him, courageously resolved to promise all assistance and he assured the King that none of his enemies would be allowed to enter the channel to attack him and dispossess him of his Kingdom. The Prince Raiaquichil who was already outside the mouth of the Sincapura Straits with a powerful and large fleet and who intended, having entered the channel, to penetrate to the Court of Gior, decided to spy out the land and for this purpose sent forward some of his boats. These having drawn near the Governor's vessel, the Governor gave order that they should be chased and they were taken by force. Some of the prisoners he sent to the King but two of them whom he considered deserving of death he retained and executed. The King was well satisfied with this sentence having now hope of maintaining his Kingdom whilst the Prince was seized with considerable fear and was apprehensive that he could not now carry out the enterprise which he had commenced with such success.

The treacherous Datubandar who already presumed to the Lordship of Gior since he could count on the larger part of the

Court and the consent of the old King and the young King was only apprehensive of the naval power which unfortunately he had disloyally handed over to Raiaquichil. But seeing the valour, ability and success with which the Governor had seized and punished the Pretender's men he endeavoured to obtain the Governor's favour. Accompanied by all his fleet he paid visit to the Governor's ship. The Governor solemnly and courteously received him with much pomp so that the eyes of the barbarian were full of admiration. And whilst outwardly that latter desired to appear partial to the Raiamuda his real intention was to overthrow the Fleet of Raiaquichil or at least to impede him and divide his strength so that he should not prove an obstacle to his own assumption of power which he was already gathering into his own hands. For this reason it was necessary to send some of his trusty followers to negotiate with the Fleet which was under the orders of the Raiaquichil. And as no boat whatever its destination could come or go, without being searched by the Governor's sentries and receiving the Governor's passport, on the pain of imprisonment or punishment, the Datubandar agreed with the Governor that the vessels which he despatched should bear either the Governor's passport or safe-conduct so that they should return in safety. Thus was the Governor Lord of the whole channel and all vessels, greatly frightened, did not venture to proceed there.

The King Raiamuda seeing himself more and more closed in and recalling the favours he had received from the Governor sent his Secretary offering the Governor twenty thousand patacas* saying that this was to go towards the cost of the aid which the Governor had offered him. But the Governor generously refused and only asked for four things. The first that the King give permission to build a public Church and that Christians should have place and dwelling throughout the Kingdom. The second that the King should send him all Christians who were his prisoners and especially the two fugitive Kaffirs who were in the Palace. The third that the King should pay the ten thousand patacas which the Court owed the English Captain and refused to pay. The fourth and the last that the King should give him six pièces of cannon and eight mortars with a sufficient quantity of powder and ball. This is what the Governor asked and there is therein matter for reflexion. Rejecting gold and silver of which he was in much need he only requested that which was fitting of a true and faithful Christian, of a noble and generous soldier; despising riches when he could have acquired much wealth he sought only honour and fame, advancing the cult of the true God, redeeming lost souls and endeavouring to obtain settlement of the debts of others. To have accepted the gold and silver offered would have shewn him to be a trader, by asking what he did he shewed himself

* Spanish old silver coin, worth 750-800 reis and a nomenclature still retained by the Portuguese.

as he really was. Only in his last request did he appear to shew any sign of greed but whoever considers the matter will have no doubt that his request was entirely honourable and free of any covetousness for it would have been imprudence itself not to have procured the necessary means not only to defend himself against the pretender Prince to whom he had given offence by punishing his men but also to maintain the defence of the channel as he had promised.

The Secretary, being satisfied with the Governor's reply, bore it to his King who reflecting on the great difficulty of his position and the little honour and security left him when the Datubandar had already gained the adherence of nearly all the Court, decided upon making a safe retreat, being persuaded that in the Governor's vessel he could proceed without fear or misgiving to the Kingdom of Pam † or of Talagane ‡. Thence he would flee with all his riches consisting of more than two hundred "picos ¶ of gold which is more than seven hundred" arrobas § and not including an abundance of many other things of value all of which would be carried by two sloops. The King therefore sent word to the Governor that he agreed to the latter's demands and that he desired to avail himself of the Governor's vessel and to place himself and all his belongings under the protection of the Royal Flag of Portugal. He asked that the Governor should receive him on his vessel and if this were impossible that the Governor at least should take upon himself the defence of the two sloops loaded with goods and convey them to the Kingdom of Pam or Talagane and from the value of these goods the Governor could draw ten thousand patacas for restitution to the Englishman. As for the captive Christians, artillery, mortars, powder and ball, there was no difficulty, he stated, and to this end he sent some Christians, part of the cannon requested and a goodly quantity of powder and shot.

Having read the King's petition the Governor deemed that he should afford all the favour and help that was asked and for this purpose he sent Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro with ample powers and authority to concert the best way for the King's retirement and to arrange means for the payment of ten thousand patacas to the Englishman. But these points had to be treated by means of a spokesman or interpreter who was a well-known cheat and liar, more solicitous of his own interests by stealing, than in securing justice in the negotiations in which he was intermediary and interpreter. For this reason he did not translate the proposal and decisions faithfully and the matter was not concluded to the satisfaction of the parties. Further to this, the news reached the Court that Raiaquichil had already entered

† Pahang.

‡ Trengganu.

¶ Picul—Malay measure = 133½ lbs.

§ Old Portuguese measure = 32 lbs.

the channel seizing all whom he encountered and that the Datubandar as Lord of the Court was already preparing for the defence. So that the King in order to place himself in safety, on the 4th of March, 1718, handed to Captain João Tavares the Christians that remained, a cask of powder, six pieces of artillery and that night he fled only taking with him the gold which he had loaded in the sloops together with a squad of thirty warriors who were loaded with gold in addition to their arms. He left the bulk of the treasures in the sloops sending lists of them to the Governor who also received by hand one or two other things, sent to him for delivery. But when the King fled the men who were guarding the sloops seeing that the Raiaquichil was very close in with all his forces, fired the vessels with all that was in them, otherwise the enemy would have seized them. Thus it was fulfilled exactly that things that are unjustly acquired are justly lost according to a sure rule of Divine Providence.

Chapter V.

In which is related what occurred between Raiaquichil and the Governor.

The King now lost and having escaped in this way, the Governor was in a perilous position with graver chances. He was already face to face with the Raiaquichil, powerful and proud, with more than three hundred war vessels, to whom he had given offence by seizing and killing his mén. It was very natural that the latter should desire to take vengeance. Flight, apart from being unworthy of his person and reputation, was a sign of cowardice and fear, and seemed impossible since it would have to be made through the enemy forces which held the channel with many men and cannon. However brave and mettlesome the Lion might be it could not prevail amidst so many mastiffs armed with teeth and temper and it would be finally exterminated, even although at the cost of the lives of many of its adversaries. On the other hand, although the Datubandar professed himself devoted, he was not to be trusted greatly, because apart from his power being limited, he had a variable disposition and there could be no guarantee of his constancy and fidelity. The Englishman although an European was more a trader than a soldier and considered more the advantages of lucre than the claims of honour. His strength in men was limited but the courage of himself and his crew was even less. Beset by so many troubles, the courage of any other man but the Governor would have failed him. But he took no notice of the perils which surrounded him and made ready to defend himself and prevent the enemy passing.

If fear was absent from the Governor's mind it filled that of the Prince Raiaquichil when he desired to carry out the plan which he had executed with his spy vessels a few days previously. But wishing to tempt fortune he wrote a letter to the Governor in which he gave no indication of the fear which possessed him but on the contrary professed to despise it. He asked permission

to enter the Court of Gior and hinted that, if refused, he would enter without it. To this letter the Governor replied:

"From Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, etc. To Raiaquichil, Admiral of the Fleet (said to be outside). I have read his letter and consider that he sends to ask whether or not I wish to be his friend. And if I desire to be, he asks that I allow him to enter the Kingdom of Gior and that if not, even my cannon-balls will not overcome him nor my sword hurt him. I reply that I am in this port, in friendly relationship with the King of Gior, awaiting the monsoon in order to proceed and take over my Governance in China, which will be about one month hence. The Captain of the English frigate awaits payment of money due to him in this port. I inform the Raiaquichil that if he wishes for my friendship he must procure it by legitimate means. If he desires to take this Kingdom he will only do so after taking his vessels out of the port because as long as they are there my cannon-balls will overcome them and my sword will cut, as he will find, if he but try.

Dated at Panchor 3rd of March of 1718."

This is faithfully the letter which the Governor wrote to the Raiaquichil, two days before the King Raiamuda fled.

In view of the determination of Raiaquichil to enter and subject the Court to his will, the Governor tried to prepare himself as best he could, since the forces at his disposal were not really adequate to deal with the enemy fleet. He therefore decided to avail himself of pretence and misleading war strategy, a practice that, as we read in history, was adapted by the most famous Captains. For this purpose during the night of the 4th to the 5th of March he arranged his vessel in such a way that the following morning on break of dawn she appeared no less beautiful than formidable to those unaware of the careful preparations involved. Two war drums together with two kettle drums were rolled, two clarions were sounded and a salvo fired from the biggest cannon, which was a four-pounder, saluted the dawn which had just broken. The vessel was then revealed completely dressed with flags or pennants which challenged the wind no less than the enemy. Cannon were unmasked from prow to poop, two from the stern window, and two from the prow, unmasking in all a total of sixteen pieces. But truth is that five of them were made of wood but so ingeniously contrived that they deceived the eye. In addition there were eight mortars, with grenadiers stationed in the scuttles, and fire-pots on the yard-arms, cunningly made with sand inside and ship-pitch on the outside, with two powder-chests on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, which were furnished with five hundred javelins (seized from the boats mentioned in the previous chapter) and closed with side-planks and covered with screens. All was prepared in a way that not only struck terror and fear in the

hearts of the barbarians of that land but aroused the admiration of the Englishmen who were moored nearby and who could not understand how and why the frigate should be so well equipped.

The Governor, thus prepared, awaited Raiaquichil who with his fleet appeared on the evening of the 5th of March with the intention of forcing his passage but the Governor sent a messenger to warn him not to advance otherwise he would experience the force of the Governor's cannon-balls and the keen edge of his sword. On receiving this intimation the Prince Raiaquichil lowered his sails and dropped anchor, and cautiously sent some of the principal captains of his Fleet (all of Bugis race) to the Governor, to distract his attention, to identify him, and to learn of his vessel's strength, also, by creating a diversion to enable the first galleys to pass. The Governor had been warned that these chiefs had all the appearances of "Amoucos" * (possessed of the same determination as the Roman Decimvirs who sacrificed their lives but at the cost of the deaths of many of their enemies). They wore tunics of blue damask, allowed their hair to grow long and untied, reaching to the waist. They were girded with three krises, which is the usual arm of these people, and their eyes were terrifying on account of the drink they imbibe on such occasions. The Governor who received them on the quarter-deck was attired in gold-cloth and was seated in his chair resting his feet on a powder chest. Two Portuguese stood by his side with broad swords and bucklers. Two of the Portuguese were stationed at the entrance to the quarter-deck with their blunderbusses cocked and pointed. There were also two lascars with halberds. The rest of the company were in good order and at their posts with lighted match-cords ready. This so frightened the Malays that they changed their original intention and decided the best way was to conciliate the Governor to afford his favour to their Prince. To this end, in the best and most efficacious manner possible, they expressed the Raiaquichil's great desire to contract the friendship and regard of His Lordship and that for this purpose they were commissioned with ample powers to establish friendship and consideration in such way as would please His Lordship.

At this juncture the Englishman whose vessel lay alongside the Governor's commenced to shout that the Galleys of the enemy were trying to pass. Upon this the Governor rose to his feet and turning to the Malays with no less acrimony than caution told them to get out of his presence and to tell their Prince that since he so lacked sincerity and straightforwardness he was not worthy of the Governor's friendship and favour. Thereupon the Governor ordered the Cannon to be cleared and discharged at the Galleys. This order was followed by such promptitude and display of skill that the Bugis were overcome with much fear and they implored the Governor to suspend the order assuring him that their Prince would do all that was required of him and jumping into their

* amok (Malay) a furious attack.

boats they obliged the Galleys to withdraw and go back and they joined the body of the Fleet which was out of gunshot. By this artful and shrewd action the Governor earned such name and esteem, that not only did he avoid remaining there dead and being overcome by the multitude of the enemy, but acquired instead great reputation, not only during the time he was there but even afterwards as is testified by many Portuguese who in that year passed by Talagane, en route to Macau. The following day the Prince's interpreter came to the Governor and in the name of his Sovereign said that as His Lordship would not allow the Fleet to pass, would he at least allow some of the Prince's men to land whenever the Prince was in great need. Night had almost fallen and suspecting that this petition might be a stratagem on the Prince's part he refused it and said he would consider the matter the following day. Thus was the interpreter dismissed.

Day broke on the 1st of March when the Prince impatient of delays swept round with the greater part of his fleet and disembarking with sufficient men commenced work on a fortress situate on a prominent site facing the vessel. He sent word to the Governor that he had undertaken this work in order to defend himself against his enemy the Datubandar, who had not only tried to resist him but had also attacked him. The Governor fully understood the intention of the Prince which was to fortify himself in that place not so much against Datubandar as against the Governor and to make there a base from which his Army could attack the Court. Therefore the Governor sent word to the Prince saying that he should desist from such work and not proceed a step further until first a pact and terms had been settled between them. The Governor had already made up his mind to allow the Prince the right of way to the Court if the latter remained in friendly relationship. On the one hand the Governor considered himself free of the alliance he had made with Raiaamuda who had already fled from his Kingdom and who could have no hope of regaining it. On the other hand the Kingdom must needs fall into the hands of either the Raiaquichil or the Datubandar. The latter apart from having been treacherous and unfaithful had no direct claim to the Kingdom and disposed indubitably of smaller forces. For these reasons the Governor thought it a lesser evil that the Kingdom should go to the Raiaquichil and that he should not impede his entry—thus leaving the Prince and the Datubandar to break their heads together.

As soon as Raiaquichil understood that the Governor had made mention of conditions, without which the Fortress could not be built, he sent to ask what these were. And the Governor with continued greatness of soul and heart free of avarice replied that he desired nothing more than full permission to erect in the Kingdom of Gior a public Church, a site for Portuguese to dwell on and liberty for Christians to attend their religious services. Furthermore the money owing to the Englishman by the Court was to

be paid and which the fleeing King had engaged to pay. The Raiaquichil was well pleased with these proposals admiring the disinterested spirit of the Governor and rejoicing in having dealings with a man of such excellent principles and he agreed to approve the proposed covenant. It now happened that one of the Prince's captains, a man of great valour and reputation among these people, desired to pass in his vessel. The Governor commanded him to withdraw which he refused to do. The Governor seeing this ordered a cannon to be levelled at the vessel. The Prince observing the obstinate daring of the Malay no less than the determination of the Governor seized a musket and aiming at his Captain, so frightened him, that he was obliged to withdraw.

The Prince having approved the covenant of friendship sent it to the Governor by one of his principal Captains and the Governor in return sent a similar treaty of alliance with the Prince and the terms of both will be seen accurately copied in Chapter VII. The signature of both agreements was celebrated with many salvoes of artillery. The following day the same Prince signed another agreement by which he undertook to pay the Englishman 10,000 patacas, of which mention has been made above, on condition that this Englishman should aid with his vessel and crew in reducing the Fortress, situate three leagues away and which was held by the Datubandar. The said patacas were not repaid for reasons that we shall see hereafter. On the same day the Prince sent a gift to the Governor. The latter made a similar offering and the Captain who bore it and presented it to the Prince was greeted with tumultuous cannon salvoes. However the Governor did not enter into an agreement to personally assist the Prince in conquering the Fortress being of opinion that such enterprise was not within his authority and that such assistance would be more highly considered when it became necessary and was successful. This in fact is what occurred as will be seen.

Before reaching the Court there was a fortress which although of wood was very strong not only on account of its well placed palisade constructed of extremely large timbers but also because of its armament of excellent artillery consisting of fourteen pieces, all of bronze, whose calibre was of 12, 16 and 24 pounds. The river which the Fortress dominated was so narrow that it could be crossed by a musket shot and vessels could only pass in single file. A quarter of a league before coming abreast of the Fort the prows of the vessels were straightened and the fleet aligned at equal distance with poops presented to the Fort. The cannon fire from the Fort reached the water's edge and covered the palisade half way up the hillside at which the summit was all closed with undergrowth. On the other side of the land facing the Fort were four well armed sloops, one with twelve cannon ranging from 4 to 12 pounds, another with ten cannon, and both others with six cannon each. In addition to these defences of the Fort, there were twenty-four Galleys, amply supplied with men and arms, and

all these forces as well as the Fortress and its vessels were under the command of the Datubandar who had declared himself King of Gior and an enemy of the Raiaquichil whom he had previously aided. And in all truth the forces at his disposal for defence and preventing the passage of the enemy were considerable, since the Court forces alone consisted of more than 4,000 armed men but as they lacked spirit and military skill they were to be of little use.

Raiaquichil who greatly feared the said Fortress and considered the passage to be impossible desired the strong arm of the Europeans and their forces to aid him. But especially did he desire the assistance of the Governor who for various sound reasons did not wish to join such enterprise. The Englishman who desired to collect his ten thousand patacas, joined the venture much against his will having repeatedly made known his desire that the Governor should accompany him, since he did not dare to make such request directly. The Fleet of the Raiaquichil and the English vessel having come within sight of the Fortress, a messenger from the Datubandar appeared bearing a communication which stated: "I will allow the Raiaquichil passage and possession of the Kingdom if he will give security that no one will be punished and that he will forgive all who have given him cause for offence." The Raiaquichil agreed readily with the conditions and despatched the necessary security. Suddenly there was seen fluttering from the Fortress a red flag and then a 24 pounder in the Fortress was fired at the Fleet and the ball caused such damage that the Fleet scattered and withdrew out of sight of the Fortress. All were not only frightened but surprised, none knew the reason for the change in the Datubandar's attitude. But this was revealed later. The Datubandar had learned for certain that the Governor had not accompanied the Fleet. He had sent for the mentioned security being convinced previously that the Governor would command and inspire the Fleet of the Prince.

The Raiaquichil then sent this news to the Governor who was eight leagues away and also requested counsel as to what he should do. The Englishman sent openly for help and requested that Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro be sent at night in the ship's boat together with the trumpeters and that with the break of the day the Fortress would be certainly deserted. But the Governor desiring to teach the Barbarians the art of war, sent Captain João Tavares to the Prince telling him to order 200 men with matchlocks to the summit of the hill, overlooking the Fortress, and that below, the cannon of the Fleet should play upon the Fortress with numerous discharges. This counsel seemed excellent to the Prince and he sent the 200 men who taking possession of the position found planted there twelve mortars and the construction of the necessary palisade already commenced. Driving out the few men they found there they opened fire with the mortars and with the arms they carried against the Fortress and drove out from their positions those of the garrison who

manned the breastwork. The Datubandar seeing himself pressed from the heights and from below, abandoned everything taking security in flight and the Prince captured not only the Fortress but also the Datubandar's Fleet and despatching his official interpreter he informed the Governor of the news and at the same time thanked him for the counsel afforded, without which nothing could have been concluded. Thus Raiaquichil became Lord of the Kingdom and the direction of a good brain was worth more to him than all his forces.

Chapter VI.

In which are related some differences which the Governor had with the Englishmen and others.

Relationship and familiarity between people of different Religions and customs can never be solid nor genuine. So, too, when tastes and mode of life lack uniformity, there can be no concord when such dispositions meet. The Governor shewed great and true elevation of sentiment in the precepts of the Catholic Religion. An enemy of vice and low cowardly actions he was a constant defender of the authority and greatness of the Faith. In all his actions he gave clear signs of the inbred nobility of his soul. But on the other hand the Captains and Officers of the other vessels revealed themselves by their conduct to be possessed of less humility and whose principles little resembled the laws of true Christianity. They conducted affairs by low means and vice in order to secure their own ends and the qualities of nobility and generosity shewed up but little, if at all, in their actions. This difference between them in nature and in reason which even among Barbarians could not be completely hidden, was well known. Any one who earned the respect of the Governor went down in the esteem of the English and Danish Captains. For this reason although the Governor was feared by them he made no friendly gestures towards them. Thus the estrangement which had occurred between them and a foreigner was increased by reason of the latter's deferential civility to the Governor.

There lived in Gior a Greek called Lazaro David who was well liked and treated by the King Raiamuda who had given him as a wife a Lady of his Palace and who employed him in his service in honourable and lucrative affairs. As soon as the Governor entered the port of Gior this man became friendly with him, offering himself for any necessary services and giving proof of his good will by his attitude and offers of service. Especially did he point out to the King the great difference that existed between the Portuguese and the English and between Catholics and Heretics; greatly praising the Governor for his impartiality and abhorring the vice and baseness of the said Englishmen and Danes. And the information supplied by this Greek was the principal reason for the King shewing the Governor great honour

and esteem. The two Captains did not dare to attempt anything against the Greek but they bore in their hearts a desire for revenge whenever the occasion should present itself as it finally did to the English Captain.

When Lazaro David saw that Raiamuda could not hope to maintain his kingdom and that Raiaquichil would usurp all, he knew very well that among these Barbarians not only would the dispossessed King suffer ruin but also all his favourites. With this in mind he embarked on a sloop belonging to Chinese merchants, which was in the port near the Fortress, together with nearly two thousand patacas, household goods, his wife and two servants, thinking that thus hidden and his whereabouts unknown, he would be safe. But these measures taken beforehand did not avail him because with the fall of Fortress as was related in the last chapter the English, wishing to profit of the occasion, plundered the vessels they found there and when they reached the said Chinese sloop they found and recognised Lazaro David who was very ill and bedridden. They refused to shew the compassion which he requested and seized both him and the woman. Contrary to the laws of respect and mercy due to the sex of the latter they stole her jewels and carrying them both to their vessel they robbed them of all their best and most valuable possessions.

This reached the ears of the Governor who was three leagues away. He, moved no less by pity and kindness, than by the cruelty and inhumanity of these Heretics sent Captain João Tavares to request the English Captain to deliver up Lazaro David and his property. The English Captain was now very haughty, because of the victory attending the capture of the Fortress to which he had so little contributed (the Governor having been mainly responsible) and also because of his satisfaction at being in the very good graces of the new King and in possession of much booty from the plundered vessels. He replied to Captain Tavares that not even thirty Governors would take the said Greek from his vessel. It was eleven o'clock at night when this reply reached the Governor who reflecting on the compassion and mercy which he owed towards the distressed Greek found himself again confronted with the necessity of displaying his authority. At the same time he was incensed with the nature of the reply and was strongly inclined to take the vessel by force and punish in person the impudence of this Heretic.

But tempering his valiant impulse with prudent calm he decided he would first try and conciliate the new King who would have first cause for offence if he saw in his own port the Governor punishing a man who had aided the King in taking the Fortress in which the Governor had taken no direct part.

He then decided on more fitting procedure and sent Captain Tavares with three men and explicit instructions to the new King to inform him of all that had occurred and to request him not

to take offence if he the Governor were to punish in the King's port and almost in his presence the discourtesy and insolence of the Englishman. It was two o'clock at night when Captain Tavares reached the Royal quarters where the King was sleeping. His guards awakened him and informed him of what had occurred between the Englishman and the Governor and of the request of the latter. The King was very alarmed at the news. He had not yet entered into peaceful possession of the Court and therefore did not desire to offend any party which might swell the numbers of his adversaries. But judging it to be more convenient to have the Governor on his side rather than the Englishman, he sent a Horamcai*, a great title among those Malays, to Captain Tavares to relieve him of anxiety and to assure him that the Englishman would have to give the required satisfaction under the pain of no longer being afforded immunity in the port. At the same time the King sent an order to the Englishman that he should deliver to Captain Tavares that which the Governor required and that if he acted to the contrary the King would not protect him against the righteous indignation of the Governor.

In view of the King's decision the Englishman could not refuse what was requested of him and so he handed over Lazaro David and his wife to the said Captain and as the Greek was seriously ill the Governor shewed him kindness and endeavoured to secure his recovery which was effected when time and place permitted. The Greek then endeavoured to recover his property which the Englishman had stolen availing himself of the Governor and being much aided by the Governor's authority. But the Englishman seeing that he was to be obliged to relinquish that which he had so unjustly appropriated endeavoured to cause discord between the King and the Governor, both through his interpreter and certain of the King's retinue. The first thing at which he aimed, Heretic that he was, was to get the King to cancel the permission he had given for the erection of a Church in his Kingdom. To this end he availed himself of all possible deceit, discrediting the Catholics and especially the Governor. News of what the Heretic was scheming reached the Governor who considering that not only the Englishman had failed to make restitution to the Greek, but also the imputation against the Governor's personal honour and especially that against the Divine honour and that of the Catholic religion, he could not allow patience any further play. He sent a challenge to the Englishman and raising sail brought his vessel to where the English Heretic was anchored near to the Fortress. The latter upon receiving the message and in fear of whom was descending upon him, took flight and placed himself near the Royal Palaces, so that under the shadow of these he could not be attacked. But if the Royal protection was valuable to him at this moment it availed him very little after a few days and if it had not been for the intercession of the Governor, as will be seen in due course, he would

* Orang Kaya = a Malay dignitary.

have met violent death and his ship and company mulcted to the King's exchequer.

The restitution of the goods stolen from the Greeks could not be completely effected because as the robbery had been committed by many and, as happens in such cases where everyone seizes what he can find, it was not easy to find into whose hands the booty had fallen. In Chapter VIII it will be seen that through the events that are there related the English vessel by order of Raiaquichil was delivered to and placed at the disposal of the Governor who ordered the restitution to Lazaro David of his plundered goods. This order was speedily executed, and everything found in the ship of his was restored to him which was not all that had been stolen, but only that which could be procured without violence and great tumult, the Governor sparing a little the oppressed crew of the Englishman, not wishing to add oppression to oppression.

Chapter VII.

The Governor takes solemn possession of the site for the Church.

The intrigues of the Heretic Englishman, mentioned in the previous chapter, only served to kindle the piety of the Governor and increase his desire to take possession of the site promised for the Church. This he did on March 25th, as we shall see hereafter, after exact translations had been prepared of the documents of agreement and concert between the Raiaquichil and the Governor. That of the Raiaquichil read as follows:—"In the name of God. Amen. The year 1130. Amen. The 7th of March, a good day upon which I the King, servant of God and in his name and that of my father (for I am the son of King Macamrom*, now deceased and his rightful heir brought up at the Court of my grandfather, King of Menancabo †, beneath the green mountain of King Macaduli, 'Rehan de Parituan Hian Satty §' by name) who sent me from there navigating over the seas and I come to claim the Kingdom of my father. My grandfather sent all his fleet with me to this my Kingdom. Chiefs and men of the Fleet are all vassals of the King of Menancabo, my grandfather. And in this sea obedience is owed to me by all those who inhabit its shores by reason of the orders of the said King, my grandfather to the men of his Fleet that they should place me in possession of the said Kingdom of Gior and that of Pam. Thus in this way I was accompanied by the men of the Fleet upon land and upon sea. Coming then to this port of Gior I met here His Lordship the Governor and Captain-General of the City of Macau who was anchored off the town called Panchor. I availed myself of him so that he should permit me

* Raja Mahmud, his pretended father, last of the Johor-Malacca royal line.

† Minangkabau.

§ Raja Duli Yang di-pertuan Yang Sakti.

to enter and in all he helped me like a brother and took compassion upon me, recognising me as legitimate heir to the Kingdom. And I, the Prince, having requested His Excellency the Governor to allow me to enter the Court of Gior, have promised to maintain friendship with his King of Portugal. Thus have I made this oath to him as if it had been to the Royal person of his King. And so His Excellency the Governor has helped me in all things as a favourite of his King and he, on his part, on behalf of the Portuguese nation, has undertaken the same obligation. All this I swear to His Excellency the Governor, as the Prince that I am. And whosoever breaks this oath let not God aid him in peace or in war. And as this is the alliance that I offer to His Excellency the Governor, I have promised liberty for his Church in this Kingdom and he may, for the year, send a Father of his persuasion. And in security thereof to His Excellency, witness herewith my Royal seal."

This is the signed and sealed agreement which the King Raiaquichil transmitted to the Governor who drew up his own as follows:—"Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, Nobleman of the Household of the King, my Lord of Portugal, Governor and Captain-General of the City of Macau and its Fortresses in the Empire of China. By the friendly manner in which the Prince Raiaquichil arrived at this port of the Kingdom of Gior (he being the heir of the said Kingdom, having already conquered the greater part of it, which Kingdom was in the possession of another King but not, it was said, as his rightful inheritance) I found myself wintering there being unable to overcome the monsoon and take up my Governance. And the Prince has so respected my presence in the said Port that he has decided not to enter into possession of the Court of this Kingdom, in whose river I lie, without drawing up the following agreement by which he desires to contract real friendship with the King, my Lord. He agrees to a Church in this Kingdom to enjoy all his favour and protection and free passage for any Portuguese vessels that may arrive in the said Kingdom—the King of Portugal, my Lord, treating as vassals those who promise true and loyal brotherhood in the form that is customary between Royal Persons. This agreement is undertaken so that I may grant the Prince free passage and defend him from any invasion (that his enemies may undertake against him), so long as the monsoon does not turn to enable me to take up my Governorship. In recognition and in consideration of all which, the King, my Lord, whom God preserve, finds fitting that I should favour the said Prince according to the Treaty which he has guaranteed by his signature and Royal seal and I already in possession thereof have signed as well so that my Lord may take it under his Royal protection. Given in the Kingdom of Gior and signed and sealed by me on the 7th day of March, 1718, etc., etc."

Copies of the Treaty having passed between the Governor and Raiaquichil, so that neither the latter could deny what was

promised nor the former fail to do that which aided so much Divine honour and the Catholic Religion, the Governor now sent word to the King that he desired to take possession of the site for the Church, especially in view of the fact that the time was approaching on in which he the Governor would be able to leave for Macau. Raiaquichil offered no difficulty, although the Englishman and the others opposed the project. The King courteously made reply to the Governor that he should be excused from attending in person with all his Court at the Ceremony of possession, as the wars in which he was still engaged did not permit his presence but that he would send his interpreter and also the State barge (the Royal vessel used by the King) for the Governor to use and from which he could disembark in honour. At the same time he ordered that the site for the Church should be drawn up (which the Governor selected with no less joy than pleasure) and that everything necessary be provided for the use of the Church and of the Governor as well as for the ships that were there, that is, near the town of Giorlama*.

Giorlama is situate two leagues away from the town of Panchor and is four leagues distant from the rivermouth. It has a good anchorage and is a fair-sized town. It is a pleasant spot by reason of abundant good water and the delightful aspect of the very fertile land around. Formerly, for these reasons, it was the Court of the Kings of Gior and it still has the surrounding moat, which is three leagues in length and upon which vessels can navigate. So that this part of the land forms a complete island, where a strong and beautiful city could be built, since it possesses a hill where there is a perennial spring of fresh water and upon which hill could be constructed a fortress which would defend both the land and the port. This place has in addition an excellent advantage, in that in all the long channel which runs from the entrance of the river to the Court, it is the best and safest anchoring place where any vessel, however large, may load ample cargo. For this reason vessels coming from the Court with little cargo, take on here whatever more is required. As this place enjoyed so many advantages the Governor decided it was the best and most suitable site upon which to found the Church, not only for the convenience of the serving Priest who was to reside there but also for the convenience of the Portuguese vessels who should desire to call there.

The most happy day shone on March 25th†, the date when the Divine Word, celebrating its espousal with human nature, took personal possession of the lost land of Adam and of its inhabitants, in order to liberate them from the captivity of the Devil (to whom they were subject) to sanctify them and to join them with the closest bond possible. The Governor considered this to be the most fitting day and purposely chose it for assuming possession of the site—in the name of God and of the Roman Church—

* Johore Lama former capital of Johore.

† Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

thereby sanctifying that land already rendered unclean by the spurious rites of Mohamed and abominable sacrifices to idols. On that spot would be raised the Royal Standard of our Redemption and there would be offered up the most pure Sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb. Thus on the morning of this day the Chaplain, the Rev. Brother, Thomaz de São Joseph (a Capuchin friar of the Province of Madre de Deus) with Captain Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro, landed in the King's State Barge, bearing with the greatest deference possible, an Altar, adorned with pieces of silk and fine cloths from the Coast. On one side they bore aloft the Sacred Standard of the Cross and on the other the pendant of the Royal Arms of Portugal. When all was ready and the greater part of the ship's company being present, the celebration of Mass commenced to the sound of clarions, drums and salvoes of artillery. The same ceremony and thunderous applause was repeated upon the raising of the Host and of the Cup. As soon as Mass had finished the ship responded joyfully with a sonorous salvo and a devout Procession was formed, rendered more striking by the piety of those composing it than by their actual small number and variety. It was further rendered imposing by the tumultuous and varied harmony of the clarions, drums and artillery.

In this way was the site taken over and there was born a Catholic and pious desire to propagate the Faith of Christ. Some whose inclination is more to underline Apostolic deeds than to imitate them would even say more. Is it prudence they would say to take over that site and allow the Holy Cross to be raised there without adequate hope of the Church being built there and of its firm foundation and so allow the Most Holy Instrument of our Redemption to be insulted by that unbelieving and savage people? To undertake enterprises whose designed aims cannot be prudently expected is more the result of a bold appetite for glory than of deliberation born of mature counsel, so they say. These and similar speeches would lead us to imitate the spider and make venom of flowers rather than to follow the example of the bee who sucking the same flowers transforms them into sweet honey. Such speeches would also result in the degeneration of the Apostolic zeal of those ancient Portuguese from the time of the never-to-be-praised-enough Prince, Dom Henrique*, first discoverer of the Conquests to that of the pious Christian effort of Dom João III † or of those old Portuguese, part of whose cargoes in their vessels always consisted of Crosses which they raised up and left in the lands they discovered, testifying by this action that in taking possession of these lands they did so in the name of God and in that of the Holy Roman Church rather than in that of their King. The Portuguese of those time continued the old zeal of their forbears and raised Crosses without fear that they should fall to the ground. But later all schemed to acquire worldly profits and neglected the interests of glory Divine and of Portugal, so much

* Prince Henry—the Navigator.

† King John III of Portugal.

so, that to prevent any diminution of the former, many vessels lacked a Chaplain. Thus there was obvious risk to the salvation of many souls if in the lands of the Infidel Crosses were neither raised nor left and bad examples remained in their places.

Chapter VIII.

How the Governor takes the Englishmen and their vessel under his protection.

A generous soul always meets occasions when it is able to display benevolence and magnanimity unimpeded by recollections of insults received. In Chapter VI we saw the Governor in righteous anger with the Englishmen. In this Chapter we shall see him the kind Protector of the same Englishmen. These men continued to be extremely violent and they endeavoured to extract the ten thousand patacas owing to them. The Malays on their part did not shew the promptitude the Englishmen expected of them. On the one hand, rebellion and war, and on the other, the attachment of these people to other matters, provided serious obstacles to due settlement of the debt, especially now that both the King and the Sibandar had fled. It was the former who had received and who owed the ten thousand patacas and it was difficult for the new King and his people to pay for what they had not received. In addition to this, Lazaro David, who was already better after his illness, persisted and did all he could at Court in order to secure restitution of all that of which the English had robbed him. And as the latter failed to give satisfaction it only served to the Malays as an example not to pay what they owed. So, the state of mind on both sides being restless and rebellious, the time came for the Governor's departure to Macau. He accordingly informed Rajaquichil of his intention to set sail and take over his Governorship. Upon receiving this news the Prince sent his Interpreter in the State Barge to conduct to the Palace Captain João Tavares, who, in the name of the Governor, was to take leave of the said Prince or new King. It was on the 7th of April that the said Captain João Tavares, accompanied by the Portuguese, Antonio Rodrigues, Paschoal de Sousa and by the Greek, Lazaro David, (amply prepared for whatever might occur since distrust of the Heretic English and their little faith necessitated every precaution) set out for the Court where on arrival they were received by the King with noteworthy signs of pleasure and courtesy. Making his farewell in the Governor's name Captain Tavares referred to the reasons requiring the continuation of the broken journey and incidentally he did not pass over in silence the sly lies of the Englishmen's Interpreter or of the unjustifiable jealousy of the same Englishmen. The King replied by a speech fuller of kindness and respect than of eloquence. "Finally, he said, now that I want to take leave of my elder brother, I find it difficult to express my feelings, when I realise that I am to lose the protection of such a noble and faithful friend whose generous soul—with the passage of time, and upon every occasion—I have

learned to know better. I can only wish that he would give me more time to shew proof of my gratitude and at the same time to enable me to prove by my works that I have never credited what has been related to me by those jealous of him. And now I shall prove how my spirit revolted at believing even the smallest blemish against my elder brother, the Governor." So saying, the King sent for the Interpreter of the Englishmen to come to his presence.

The said Interpreter arrived accompanied by the English Captain and another Englishman, together with four sailors, all armed. Having reached the King's presence the King commenced to upbraid the Interpreter who had treacherously both in word and deed endeavoured to discredit the honour of the Governor and cause the King's Royal Person to give credence to what he said. But the Interpreter who was a mean intriguer denied having said anything against the Governor and, confronted with his very words, he said he could not remember having used them. Finally the King having severely reprimanded the Interpreter turned to Captain Tavares and told him that he did not propose to proceed further against such a despicable man. It was wiser, he said, to pay no heed to what was related by such people. He felt certain that the Governor's generous nature would have just cause for complaint if attempts were made to ascertain the truth from the mouth of a liar or to take supreme revenge upon him. Finally he undertook (the King imagined this to be the last farewell) not to forget what he had promised the Governor in the matter of paying the English Captain the sum of ten thousand patacas. But he found that the said debt was not as large as this for the Captain had already received certain things in satisfaction thereof and the King considered that adjustment should be made in his Council Chamber. He asked that Captain João Tavares should be present not only so that with his authority business would be transacted more peacefully and payment secured of what was due to Lazaro David but also to receive some mark of Royal remembrance to be offered to the Governor.

Having taken leave of the King, Captain João Tavares encountered the Englishmen, who were awaiting him a few paces away outside the King's Chamber. A dispute immediately arose between them and it was the Interpreter who moved towards the Portuguese, Antonio Rodrigues. And as the temper of both parties was rapidly rising, an Englishman who was nearby fired his carbine at the Portuguese who moving his body slightly upon the discharge received two balls which went through his left shoulder. The Portuguese angered by the pain he felt fired his blunderbuss with all speed and his aim was so good that the Malay who was the nearest died in less than a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile Captain João Tavares could not take account of what had occurred between the Portuguese and the Malay as he was fully occupied in endeavouring to restrain the English Captain who was pulling a pistol from his belt. At the sound of the discharges the Royal Guard

quickly came up and seeing the Portuguese wounded immediately informed the King by crying out in loud voices, "Englishmen, traitors, slayers of the Governor's men!" These shouts loudly reached the King's ear who swiftly jumping down from his Throne unsheathed the kris at his waist and reaching the door of the Chamber gave instant order that all the Englishmen were to be killed and all the Governor's men to be brought into his presence.

The Royal command caused remarkable confusion amidst that medley of struggling bodies. On the one hand the Malays who were mainly military Chieftains, formidably armed with lances, knives and krises (but even more formidable in their hate of the Europeans, especially the English) shouted out that the Portuguese should be divided from the Englishmen. On the other hand the Englishmen who in courage were very different from the Portuguese linked their bodies to those of the latter so as to escape death but in such a way that it was impossible to separate them. As soon as the Malays seized hold of a Portuguese and would shout "General! General!"* so successfully that he was released and the Englishmen seeing that the word "General" was the best and surest shield against the Malays and to save them from death all started to shout "General! General!" The Malays upset by such shouting were unable to carry out the Royal command until recognising the English Captain, who could not be mistaken, they fell upon him. He was locked with Captain João Tavares in whose arms and protection he hoped to find remedy from such obvious danger. He was not mistaken in this as Captain Tavares both generously and mercifully did all he could to save the Englishman from death at imminent peril to his own life. But the Malays were many and with great force and violence, in obedience to the command of their King, they dragged the Englishman from the arms of Captain Tavares and despatched him with cruel lance thrusts, only the English chief falling a victim to the Malay fury.

The English Captain having been killed in this way, his men and those of the Governor were taken into the presence of the King who with obvious signs of pleasure at the event affectionately received Captain João Tavares. He then perceived and examined the wound of the Portuguese whereupon his anger against the Englishmen was further increased. He pronounced sentence of the seizure of the vessel and goods of the Englishmen who were all to be put to death. Captain Tavares now gave proof of his generous and forgiving nature and pleaded insistently with the King that he should postpone execution of the sentence until the Governor be acquainted of it. "For, said Captain Tavares, the esteem which the Governor enjoys in your Majesty's eyes demand that the sentence should not be carried out before being reviewed by the said Governor who is a principal and directly interested party. His natural nobility and compassion make him desirous of protecting

* referring to the Governor's title of Captain-General.

many of those sentenced who may be innocent or in a lesser degree guilty according to their own laws. It is only right that your Majesty should not cause this trouble to one who is both grateful and friendly." The King indicated that suspension of the sentence was much against his will but, the trait of a generous and loyal soul, he postponed sentence. Granting the request of Captain Tavares he said that in courtesy to his brother the Governor he would send him advice of the occurrence and would await his reply. For this purpose he sent his State Interpreter to the Governor to give in the Royal name an account of what had occurred and to request the Governor's approval of all that had been decided in punishment of the presumption of the Englishmen.

The Palace guards now arrived bearing as their prisoner the Englishman who had fired at the Portuguese, Antonio Rodrigues. They also brought news that the Englishmen's Interpreter was lying dead in an attap* house. The King ordered the death of this Englishman but Captain Tavares interceded and requested the favour that the prisoner be handed over to him for delivery to the Governor to which proposal the King agreed. And as the Malays of the Palace as well as of the Fleet were considerably excited at what had occurred the King sent Captain Tavares with his companion Antonio Rodrigues, also Paschoal de Souza, to the English vessel together with the remainder of the crew in order to protect and defend the Englishmen from the violence of the Malays. This the Captain did and he found the Englishmen completely broken in spirit and full of vague tears. When they perceived Captain Tavares they embraced him and asked for mercy. By order of the King more than two hundred Malays were placed on the vessel as guards. This so terrified the English Pilot that he resolved to also petition the Governor. He therefore sent a letter of which the following is a faithful copy:—

"To the General.

Sir,

I am in sorry straits. I hope Your Lordship will help me because this evening they wished to sack the vessel and Captain João Tavares in the name of Your Lordship (thanks be to God) saved me and the crew of this vessel. I therefore beg of you by reason of your friendship and influence with the King to be good enough to help and favour us. Because after your Captain had saved me and all the crew from death he made me remain on board this vessel or rather sloop. And as ordered by your Captain, I am still on board.

Hoping for your favour, I remain Your Lordship and may God preserve you,

Your humble servant,

THOM. FRASON †.

* Malay thatch of palm-leaf.

† probably Thomas Fraser.

This is the letter which the Pilot wrote from aboard the vessel.

The Governor who was aware of what had occurred and taking pity on the English Pilot as well as on the other Christians spoke to the Interpreter and asked him to request the King in his name to revoke the sentence which had been passed. Especially so as the wretched men concerned had committed no crime deserving of such punishment and the two guilty men had already paid with their lives. He also asked that the English prisoner be released. The King having heard this petition replied that he was prepared to accede thereto provided the Governor signed and sealed a document undertaking, not to favour or aid the Englishmen against the King, that the said Englishmen should renounce their claim (if they had any) to the ten thousand patacas which the King had promised to pay and that the Governor should take over the English vessel and place his own commander on board as he thought fit. The Pilot having learned of this decision wrote as follows:—

To the General,

Sir,

Your Lordship's Captain is writing on our behalf. We trust in your generosity and may nothing lack Your Lordship. We await your reply and our salvation. We confess ourselves (as if we were Your Lordship's most humble servants) to be deeply grateful to Your Lordship for having saved our lives, the ship and our goods. We hope to be able to thank you personally and for this purpose it is necessary at the request of the King to draw up a document and we would ask you to do this as quickly as possible because we are not safe here. All that Your Lordship has heard of me is false and I will give Your Lordship personal satisfaction for all that has occurred. I am most desirous of seeing Your Lordship and I wish you health and may God guard you.

Written on board, April 9th, 1718.

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

THOM. FRASON.

And here it is much to be admired that the Malays on guard on the English vessel, knowing that the Governor had interceded for the Englishmen, and without waiting for an order from their Prince, released the vessel without stealing a single thing which is most worthy amplification on the respect in which they held the Governor. The Englishmen were much impressed but did not yet feel themselves to be safe. They therefore appealed to Captain Tavares not to abandon them and he remained with them until he was summoned by the King.

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Realising the King's determination and wishing to deliver the English Pilot and the crew of the vessel from danger and annoyance the Governor decided that he would draw up the document required by the King in the following way:—

“ From Antonio de Albuquerque, etc., etc.,

As the King of this Kingdom of Gior (whom God enlighten) is bound in friendship with me in the name of my Lord, the King of Portugal, (whom God preserve) and as he has permitted the establishment of a Church (of which I have taken over the site) and liberty to the Catholic Faith throughout the Kingdom and has pardoned the lives of all the Englishmen of the sloop ‘Success’ and released the said sloop which had been seized by the King's Exchequer on account of the crimes committed by the Captain and the “Jerubassa” * who (now deceased) desired at the entrance to the Palace to shoot dead my captain whom I had sent on my behalf to take leave of the King. All of which was caused by the calumny of the said Interpreter. And my entreaty for a pardon has been granted and by reason of the Royal friendship and at the request of the said King, I hereby undertake that the Englishmen can at no time have any claim for what has occurred neither can they maintain claim to what is owed them by the King and the Sibandar who have fled. Neither can they ask fulfilment of the engagement undertaken (through me) by the King to the deceased Captain (that if the latter would help the King) the debt due to him by others would be paid. The King informs me that the engagement is null and void and the debt cancelled, by reason of the crime committed, of the lives which he has spared and the release of the ship and goods from the Exchequer. These conditions I guarantee in return for the pardon. I hereby declare that at no time will there be any claim against the King nor will settlement be required of him. I also promise that I will in no way aid the said sloop in anything against the service of the King but will prevent the contrary from occurring. The Englishmen who were without hope and who have no claim on the King recognise this favour as obtained through the respect I enjoy of the King which alone has led him to help them. Given on board in this harbour of the Kingdom of Gior on the 10th of April, etc.”

The Governor's document having been seen by the King the latter drew up a pardon for the Englishmen which I desire to set down word by word not only as proof of the esteem which the Governor enjoyed but of the truth of what occurred.

“ In the name of God. Amen. In the year 1130 of our Era etc. and on the 9th of the moon of April there

* Juru bahasa (Malay) = interpreter.

arrived at this Court the Portuguese Captain together with some other Portuguese, in order to take leave of me, on behalf of their General* who was about to depart. They were received by me with the pleasure worthy of the friendship into which I had entered by treaty with the said General. I desired to clear up the falsehoods with which others had desired to disturb the amity between me and the said General. As these falsehoods had reached me through the Englishmen's Interpreter I sent for him. He came to my Palace with his Captain and with armed men. I was able to establish the falsity of the said Interpreter who had desired to upset the friendship between me and the General. From this it resulted that the General desired to fight the said Captain who withdrew to this Court. It seemed to me that the English Captain was not involved in the treachery of the said Interpreter. I and my Council then arranged that the General should pardon the Englishman and in this respect I promised the General that in the term of two years I would pay the Englishman the debt owing to him by the usurper King who with his Sibandar had already fled. And the Governor having asked me to favour the Englishman in this way, in witness thereof, I appended my Seal and thereupon sent for the parties to come to the verandah of my Council Chamber. Before they could reach my presence one of the Portuguese was fired upon by one of the Englishmen and wounded. Thereupon my Guard rushed up and seeing a Portuguese wounded, that is one of the Governor's men, with whom I was on terms of special friendship, they fell upon these Englishmen. Their Captain was killed and as a result of the various shots the said Interpreter was also left dead. Having been informed of the event and having investigated it I condemned all the Englishmen to death and their vessel and goods to be confiscated. My Council spared only the lives of those sailors who were Catholics and therefore of the same faith as the General. Whereupon the Portuguese Captain appeared and on behalf of the Governor requested that execution of the Decree be suspended so that he the Captain could give full account to the Governor. This request I granted by reason of the friendship that exists between us. Entreaties then reached me from the Governor and I and my Council found it well to condescend and spare the lives of the prisoners and suspend the execution of the Decree. I then ordered that all in the vessel should be handed over to the Governor for which reason I had pardoned them. Nothing whatsoever was missing from the said vessel, as I pointed out to the Portuguese Captain, to whom the vessel was delivered in order to be taken to the Governor. All this I did in consideration of the friendship into which

* i.e. the Governor.

I had entered with the Governor and which will endure as long as there is Sun and Moon. Furthermore the claim of the said Englishmen against this Kingdom for the debt contracted by the usurped King and the Sibandar is also cancelled in view of the great crime committed by the English Captain. But so that such claim should not be brought against me later and on the entreaty of the Governor whom I wish to favour in this matter the Governor undertakes that the English Captain and Pilot will at no time proffer a claim. And as my Kingdom is still disturbed by enemies on land and on sea and as I have been only one month in the Kingdom I have nothing worthy to offer to the Governor as a sign of my friendship and as a remembrance. I can only offer now some pieces of bronze cannon and I hope later to be able to give what I desire. Given, as above, in the Kingdom of Gior under my signature and seal, etc., etc."

The esteem in which the Governor was held by the King will be seen from this document of which this further observation can be made. The King had no real cause to fear the Governor especially as he had killed or taken prisoner all the crew of the English vessel and he knew very well of the small forces on the Governor's vessel. Why then such courtesy and so many signs of regard, esteem and benevolence on the King's part? The reasons I leave to my dear Reader who will certainly say that the honourable nature of a noble, generous and disinterested soul will always earn respect and esteem even from savages. The mentioned document having been despatched, the King sent for Captain João Tavares to go to the English vessel where with great difficulty the crew were released, with the exception of the Englishman who wounded the Portuguese. The King received the Captain with great pleasure and affirming his great esteem for the Governor he now presented the English vessel together with some bronze cannon and some buffaloes to the Governor as a sign of benevolence and gratitude. Whereupon Captain Tavares took his leave together with the State Interpreter and the King's gifts and proceeded in the State Barge to the English vessel. Finally the latter was released with her crew and handed over to the Governor who generously confirmed and ratified the Englishmen's freedom and who chose the Pilot as the vessel's Captain in place of her own killed in the Palace. In this manner the English vessel set sail and sought in the shadow of the Governor's vessel protection and security against the Malay vessels which went up and down the channels and roads and from which the Englishmen did not feel secure.

As soon as the English vessel approached the Governor's ship it fired a salvo with all her cannon rendering thanks in this way for the favours received by the crew. The English Pilot and other Officers now proceeded to the Governor's vessel to express their

thanks and gratitude to such a singular benefactor. And the Governor forgetting the wrongs that had been done to him treated the Englishmen with kindness and benevolence. Some of the English sailors (most of them Catholics) who had been unable to go in person to the Governor to render proof of their gratitude did so by writing and signing a letter of which a faithful copy follows:—

“ To the General,
Sir,

We thank you for all the assiduity with which Your Lordship's Captain in your name took up our case with the King and thereby saved our lives from the sentence of death passed upon us. Your Lordship came to the help of those who had been abandoned completely and in this way we were afforded Your Lordship's protection, for which good offices, we all and each one in particular express gratitude and render thanks to Your Lordship for such valuable assistance. Words fail us to thank you for your kindness. Had it not been for your great zeal as a Catholic we could hardly have escaped with our lives and we would have died outside the Faith without hearing the name of Jesus. May Your Lordship live long and in perfect health for the succour of such unfortunates as we ourselves were in this Kingdom of Gior,

Your Lordship's most humble servants,
JOTIN BARVER,*
DOOMINGOS COUTINHO.† ”

Ten other signatures follow but they are not given for the sake of brevity.

To conclude this Chapter I desire to give the true testimony which the Pilot-Captain and the other Officers of the English vessel sent to the Governor confessing their obligation in the following way:—

“ We, the undersigned, Captain, Officers and crew of the brigantine ‘ Success.’ (Owner, Master James Vvilliamum,* Factor, Jotin Dean,†) having come to this port of the Kingdom of Gior at the beginning of October last in order to do business, we were saved by his Lordship, Antonio Albuquerque Coelho, Governor and Captain-General of the City of Macau and to whom by the grace of God we

* probably John Barber.

† almost certainly a Portuguese probably from the Coast. There were Portuguese sailors among the crew of the English vessel.

* probably James Williams.

† probably John Dean.

owe our lives as well as the restoration to us of the brigantine and our goods. This gentleman had not only already helped us by making the late King who lost the Kingdom promise to pay the sum of nine or ten thousand patacas (which payment would have been effected had it not been for the lack of veracity of our Interpreter) but also obliged the Prince who conquered this Kingdom to undertake to settle the mentioned amount in view of the flight of the King and the conquest of the Kingdom by the Prince. We, on our part, undertook to help the Prince in every way possible and he drew up and gave to the Governor an undertaking to pay which was handed to Captain Ricardo Langdon §, now with God. Finally on the 8th day of the month of April the Malays killed the said Captain Langdon as well as our Interpreter. This was the occasion on which Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro had come to take leave of the Prince and King on behalf of the Governor. The Prince later gave order that we should all be killed and the brigantine seized. The Captain hastened to our assistance and on behalf of the General requested that the King postpone sentence which was not likely to please the Governor who was the friend and brother of the King and it should not be carried out without advising the Governor as those condemned were also Europeans and friends of the Governor. In view of this request the King sent the Portuguese Captain to the brigantine in order to avoid excesses by the Malays. In the meantime the King through the State Interpreter informed the Governor of what had occurred. The Governor thereupon pleaded earnestly for us through the Captain. And when the Governor's petition arrived the said Malays had already seized our brigantine and were only awaiting a signal in order to put us all to death, had the Governor not pleaded for us. But by reason of the Governor's petition our lives were spared and our brigantine and goods restored to us and by order of the said Prince we were handed over to the Governor. We hereby confess, as we have declared above, our gratitude of which we shall be always conscious and we hereby proffer this letter to the General as a mark of our appreciation. Given in this harbour of the Kingdom of Gior on the 17th day of April of the year 1718.

RICLI VVALLIS †

THOM. FRASON

JOTIN BARVER

DANELL STINGBIS.

§ Captain Richard Langdon.

† Richard Wallis (?)

This document bore in addition the names and marks of 21 more. The sight of this testimony and of the other documents referred to in this Chapter make it unnecessary to say any more and there is no need to halt over this matter any longer.

Before we relate the parting of the English and Portuguese vessels we should not pass over in silence a notable act of piety and religion on the part of our Governor. Now it happened that in the English vessel there were many sailors born on the Coast and brought up in the Catholic faith. But Roman Rites were never carried out on board nor were the precepts of the Church observed. Thus these sailors were unable to carry out their obligations as Catholics. This state of affairs came to the notice of the Governor who with his affection for things of the Catholic Church exercised the authority which was now his and compelled the heretic Captain to allow his men who were Catholics to proceed to the Governor's vessel on Feast Days in order to hear Mass. But the Governor's pious and generous nature did not stop there. In addition he sent a boat from his vessel to bring the men over and to take to the English vessel some of his own Moors who worked in the English vessel while the Catholics were hearing Mass. He thus combined two most worthy acts in one. One of piety and religion and the other of justice in that he realised what was due of him and that the work of the other vessel should not be interrupted. Despite this precaution the heretic Captain took very badly the presence of his sailors at Mass and being unable to shew his great dissatisfaction to the Governor he vented it upon the wretched Catholics, punishing them when they returned to the vessel.

Finally as the vessels were about to separate and as it was Holy Week the Governor again exercised his authority with which the others had to comply and made certain that all the Catholic sailors confessed and took communion so as to comply with the precepts of the Church which they had not observed for years such being the misfortune of Catholics who serve upon the vessels of Heretics. How much more fortunate are those who find opportunity to serve under a Master who not only saves their lives but also delivers their souls from the captivity of the Devil !

Lightning Injuries to Trees.

By C. X. FURTADO, B.AG. (Botanic Gardens, Singapore).

About the middle of July 1928 two lightning strokes occurred on the same day near the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, at a distance of about half a mile from each other. One of these spent its greatest force on a fig tree, *Ficus variegata* Bl., and the other on a *Tembusu* (*Fragræa fragrans* Roxb.). On the first of January 1929 another discharge in the same vicinity struck a tree known as *Albizzia moluccana* Miq. The effects of each of these three discharges were very peculiar, and as there are few records of the effects of lightning strokes on trees, it seems worth while to publish my observations. It may be remarked here that the first visit to each of the first mentioned two trees was made within half an hour or so after their being struck by lightning flashes, while the third tree was struck just in front of my eyes and hence I could see here the tissues rupturing instantaneously after the occurrence of the flash and detonation.

1. Discharge No. 1.

As already said, this stroke discharged its greatest force on a *Ficus variegata* Bl. This tree was about forty to fifty feet tall with its stem straight and free of branches for about twenty-five to thirty feet. There were other trees hard by, but this was the tallest. Like the other members of the family this fig had soft wood covered with a fresh bark containing a good deal of milky juice.

On the first day of the stroke there appeared very little to show that the tree was struck by lightning except some cracks in the bark of the trunk and some upper branchlets. On the second day the leaves began drooping and many looked as if scorched. Within two weeks after the incident all the leaves became wilted and were shed. The bark up to a height of about twenty-five feet from the base also became detached from the wood and was divided horizontally into two parts or cylinders. Though somewhat dislodged from their proper place these bark jackets or tubes still obstructed the wood from view except a small portion which was exposed in the upper part owing to their displacement. The bark at the very base up to a height of three feet from the ground was vertically split and dead in some parts, but the other portion were not affected and remained alive for a long time. Six weeks after the occurrence of the flash it was evident that the wood above the basal live portion was completely dead and drying rapidly; but from the base new shoots began to arise. These new shoots continued to grow healthily and vigorously for some months, and then, as the bark at the base of the tree died off, so the shoots began to die basipetally, those situated in the higher parts being affected first. By March 1929, that is, nine months after the tree was struck by the flash, the entire tree had died

back to its very roots. There was no splitting of the wood in the stem. The sod around the tree was not affected in the least.

At a distance of about 15 feet to the north of this tree there was another *Ficus variegata* Bl. which looked healthy for some time as if it was not affected by lightning. A week after the incidence the end of a side branch nearest to the affected tree began to die back, and death gradually extended towards the main axis. By the end of August 1929 the upper portion of the tree had died completely up to a height of about twenty feet from the base, but later the downward march of the death seemed to be rather slow. The tree is still alive (November 1934) and the lateral shoots produced on the stem after the upper portions had started dying off are growing quite healthily.

2. Discharge No. 2.

The first tree to show the signs that it was struck by this lightning discharge was *Fagraea fragrans* Roxb., the *Tembusu* of the Malays. This tree has very hard, durable wood with straight fibres and as it is not easily split it is rarely used by the local Malays as fuel, though it burns very well. Unlike that of the fig trees, the bark of the *Tembusu* has a thick covering of dead tissue, is comparatively hard and fibrous and is not easily detached from the wood even a long time after the death of the tree—qualities which make *Tembusu* poles with the bark intact an excellent timber for rustic constructions.

The tree affected by lightning was about sixty feet tall. Within half an hour of being struck it manifested the following effects, apparently as an instantaneous result of the flash: Irregular bits of bark, some a yard long and six inches wide, were seen lying on the ground, at a distance of even twenty feet. These bits of bark were apparently detached from the wood by the force of the lightning stroke. The exposed white surface of the wood had vertical cracks some of which penetrated to the centre. These cracks were also visible in many portions of the stem which was still covered with the bark. The greatest effect of the stroke seemed to have occurred at a place between twenty and thirty feet high from the base. In this portion the wood had split and the bark had separated in all directions. Above this zone the tree had branches, and the cracks diminished in number and size with the height, and there had occurred no bark separation at all. Below this zone of the maximum damage the injury was no doubt less, though much more than in the portions above the zone, and the cracks in the bark and wood and the separation of the bark extended down to the base in two more or less opposite and vertically straight, though discontinuous, lines. On the second day of the lightning discharge the branchlets were drooping rapidly and on the third day, when the symptoms became more pronounced, the tree was cut down in small blocks. An examination of the blocks showed that the wood had cracked along various rays so

that it was extremely easy to split longitudinally into small bits by means of an axe. The wood dried quickly and was fit to be used as a fuel after a week. Three months after the occurrence of the lightning flash, the six inch stump left on the ground had put forth new shoots on the southern and south-western side, though it was dead up to the soil on the northern side. In course of time these shoots gradually decreased in number and by August 1929 only one was left which is growing even now (1934), though from time to time ephemeral shoots occasionally arise on the stump.

Some three months after the death of the *Tembusu* tree, two trees belonging to the nutmeg family, *Knema intermedia* Warb. and *K. furfuracea* Warb., and one *Jambu* tree, *Eugenia grandis* Wight, began to die simultaneously but very gradually from above downwards, the branches on the side towards the dead *Tembusu* dying more quickly and sooner than the others. These three trees lay in more or less a straight line to the northern side of the *Tembusu* and were respectively 12, 15, 20 feet away from it. The *Jambu* tree was about fifty feet tall and therefore was slightly shorter than the *Tembusu* and its branches extended in all directions one touching the stem of the dead *Tembusu* and nearly overshadowing the two *Knema* trees which were both less than thirty feet in height. They had all died in another six months and were therefore cut down. About eight months after the lightning had struck the *Tembusu* tree, another *Knema intermedia* Warb. about twenty feet high began to exhibit very sickly foliage and later a few branches died, but in the end the tree recovered and is now (November 1934) growing well. This tree is about fifteen feet away from the dead *Tembusu* and lies to the north-western side of it. The trees which became moribund in consequence of the lightning stroke were the ones nearest to the *Tembusu* on its northern side. In other directions there were trees much closer, one so close as five feet, but they were not affected.

The grass on the ground showed no signs of having been affected by lightning though examined immediately after the stroke and also on subsequent occasions.

3. Discharge No. 3.

This discharge hit an *Albizia moluccana* Miq., which is a soft wooded species having a smooth bark resembling that of a *Ficus*. The tree was about 50 feet high and stood alone on a cleared place on the top of a hillock close by my house. The lightning discharge caught the tip of a long branch that was lying on south-eastern side and travelled spirally along the branch to the main stem downwards, splitting the bark and wood during its progress. The leaves began to wilt within a week and in about three months the whole tree was dead. On cutting a healthy specimen of this species it was found that the fibres of this tree often grow spirally especially in the branches. The grass on the ground remained uninjured.

Discussion and Conclusion.

Knowledge of the effects of electric discharges on plants is most meagre. It is no doubt demonstrable that electrical changes take place in all parts of plants in connection with their vital functions (Riede, 1928); and certain experiments (Baines, 1919) tend to show that an electric current passes regularly from the soil to the atmosphere and back again to the earth through the plants and contributes to their healthy growth. But very little is known about the exact way in which electric stimuli influence plant growth. Phytobiologists are however agreed that electric currents (other than those naturally developed in plants or ordinarily passed from the earth and air to the plants) may affect the growth beneficially, neutrally or harmfully. At a certain *minimum* strength the electric current begins to act as a favourable stimulus to physiological activity, which gradually increases with increasing current until the *optimum* is reached. The subliminal stimulus seems to be *neutral* or unmeasurable, while a stimulus above the optimum retards the plant's activities until the *maximum* is reached when all the tissues coming under its direct action are immediately killed.

Naturally the minimum, the optimum or the maximum strength will vary with every species of plant and to a certain extent with the individual also, being dependent upon the genetic as well as its somatic constitution.

Further the results of various experiments tend to show that the effects of electric currents continue a long time after the current has ceased to act. Stalfelt (1919), for instance, demonstrated an increase in the rate of cell-division in Pea-plant (*Pisum sativum*) as a result of the action of weak electric currents on its roots and this increased rate of cell-division was noticeable for several hours after the cessation of the stimulus. Mercier (1919) reports the beneficial effects obtained by electrifying seeds before sowing. He used electrified seeds of different kinds to sow more than 2,000 acres and in all cases he obtained a marked improvement not only in the total yield but also in the weight per bushel of seed, in the length and strength of the straw and in the number of tillers to each seedling plant. So far, however, the investigators have paid little attention to the effects on plants due to electric currents above the optimum strength. But since the effects of a beneficial electric stimulus become generally manifest on the physiology of plants affecting both food assimilation as well as cell-division and growth, it is to be presumed that a harmful stimulus will have a retarding effect on all these functions. This means therefore that above the optimum there will be various grades of retardation in activity. In plants suffering from an electric charge slightly above the optimum the total output of synthetic and restorative processes, though retarded, will be more than enough to compensate for the destructive or katabolic processes occasioned in the plant tissues; while under the influence of stronger charges the destructive

activities in a plant may exceed the constructive ones. That means that the plants under the last mentioned condition are doomed to die sooner or later, though they may be able to live for a time on their reserves. From this it follows that one could group plants suffering from a harmful dosage of electricity under three classes.

- i. Those which die outright because the strength of electric discharge is higher than the tissues can endure.
- ii. Those in which the discharge may establish harmful physiological activities causing a slow, but sure death.
- iii. Those in which the rate of growth is temporarily retarded but which in the end overcome the abnormal and harmful effects of the electric charge which thus but slightly exceeds the optimum.

In the cases reported above all the trees which received the greatest force of the lightning discharges and which in consequence suffered severely and began to die immediately after incidence of the discharge (e.g. *Ficus variegata* no. 1., *Fagraea fragrans* and *Albizzia moluccana*) will fall in the first category; those which died a gradual death (e.g. *Eugenia grandis*, *Knema furfuracea* and *K. intermedia* no. 1.) may for practical purposes be included in the second class, while *Ficus variegata* "no. 2" and *Knema intermedia* (no. 2) which showed at first signs of being "diseased" but which later recovered will come under the third category. It has been shown by Sharples (1933) that in the case of rubber trees (*Hevea brasiliensis*) lightning discharges may render the trees susceptible to the attacks of parasitic insects or fungi. This means that the fungus attacks may obscure not only the category in which the plant will fall but even the actual cause of the disease should the plant die as a result of the action of fungi. Sharples has also offered strong evidence to show that the so-called budrot disease of the coconut palms in the Malay Peninsula is nearly always a consequence of the trees being struck by lightning, resulting in the suppression of the activities of the apical meristem which alone can carry on stem-growth in the palms. This means that in practice it is not easy to designate with certainty the class in which a tree that dies a slow death should be placed since there exists the possibility of the fungi invading plant tissues of the trees of class iii and killing them. In the trees which I observed, no parasitic insects were seen, but it is possible that the trees may have been subjected to the action of some parasitic fungi.

Further it is a well-known fact that succulent tissues such as the cambium or the layers of living cells offer the least resistance to electricity, while the outer dry corky bark offers the greatest resistance, with phloem, sapwood, etc. occupying an intermediate position. In *Fagraea fragrans*, the outer bark is thick and dry, and the cambium layer is so thin that the outer bark does not easily detach itself even on drying. The wood is close grained

and hard. This means that the whole of the stem tissue would offer a great resistance to electrical currents, and perhaps this resistance was the cause why the wood was so much split and the bark was torn away as with a great force. *Albizzia moluccana* has very soft wood and there is hardly any layer of dry bark outside so that the bark and the wood are probably equal in their power of conduction. This may explain why both the tissues were equally split. In the case of *Ficus variegata* the bark is thick and contains a copious supply of milky juice which probably helps to absorb or attract the whole of electrical discharge to it. This may explain why the bark was injured and detached like a jacket from the wood, while the latter did not reveal any rupture of its tissues except at the point where the discharge probably struck it.

In all these cases the roots were last to die, the death progressing from the top downwards. These observations, coupled with those of Weir (1928) and Sharples (1933), show that dicotyledonous trees could as a rule be saved from death by pollarding them during the early stages of "lightning disease."

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A Disease of the Angsana Tree.

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Introduction.

Angsana is a Malay name for *Pterocarpus indicus*, Willd. Owing to its beauty and quick growth, to the freedom it had enjoyed in the past from pests and diseases, and to the readiness with which it was propagated by seeds or cuttings, this tree had become very popular throughout the Malay Peninsula as a shade and avenue tree along the roads and in private compounds and gardens.* Unfortunately a certain obscure disease started taking a very heavy toll on these trees and making the remaining ones very sickly and unsightly, requiring this beautiful tree to be substituted by others in many ways less attractive than the *Angsana*. The extensive planting of the tree throughout the Malay Peninsula has undoubtedly helped to distribute quickly the disease far and wide, making the isolation of a tree or of a group of trees so as to protect it from extraneous infection extremely difficult. The country being moreover subject to frequent and sudden showers of rains, the use of sprays and dustings so as to prevent certain factors from operating and to verify any conclusion that one may arrive at, is out of the question. Hence the cause of the disease has remained so long in the realms of speculation and obscurity.

My acquaintance with the disease dates from April 1923 in which month I arrived in Singapore. Opportunities were available to make some few observations on this disease. And as very few

* The following two references from Dr. J. G. Koenig's account of his voyage to Malacca where he arrived from India in September 1778 (cf. *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Str. Br.* 26, 1894) show that Angsanas were being used in Malacca as avenue or shade trees even at this remote period:

"Before this dining pavilion [of the lodging where he had stayed] grew on either side a big tree; the leaves were bifarious, on long threadlike alternate stalks, the leaflets were oval, pointed and finely ribbed. The pods, which were ripe now and still grew in great abundance near the top of the tree, showed them to be a *Pterocarpus*. There were no blossoms on them now, but they resembled those trees which I had seen near Tafuapaduan in Wannis, and the Malays also told me, that a red sap flowed out of them if one cut a hole into the tree; this sap was regarded as a great remedy here, as well as in Ceylon." (*op. cit.* p. 101).

"In the afternoon I went to the north part of the Tranchur [Tranquera], where one has many gardens on one side and the harbour on the left. There was a beautiful smooth and even avenue, consisting only of big *Pterocarpus*. They were all covered with foliage, but had not a single blossom. The branches, which bore the alternate ovate leaves, bent very much because they are thin and threadlike. Most of their stems were covered with parasitical plants, either with a kind of *Contorta* (*Apocynaceæ*) unknown to me, which had round leaves and linear follicles grooved at the base, and beaked, but no blossoms, or they were *Filices* or *Orchids*. There were some others, which I was not able to classify at all." *op. cit.* pp. 103-104.

records are available detailing the symptoms of the disease, and as I am no longer able to prosecute the investigations any further, an excuse is found to publish here the results of my studies, though they are by no means exhaustive and complete. Advantage is also taken to gather together all the available information, published or unpublished, on the disease and an attempt is made to interpret the various symptoms in the light of the new observations.

I am indebted to Dr. N. G. Cooper, the Health Officer in charge of the Quarantine Station at St. John's Island, and his staff for facilities to make observations in the island and for supplying me information regarding the first appearance of the disease in the island and its later progress.

History.

The disease was reported first about sixty years ago from Malacca where the whole of an avenue along the sea front was destroyed (Fox, 1910). There appears to be no record of a similar recurrence of the disease in the Straits Settlements or in the Malay States until the year 1906 when it was observed in Penang, where during the following four or five years it did considerable damage to the Angsana avenues (Derry, 1907; Fox 1909). In December 1910, a number of trees died at Tapah. In 1912, the trees began to die simultaneously in Taiping, Kuala Kubu, and Kuala Lumpur (Bancroft 1912). "It [the disease] appeared in Pulau Brani in 1914 and from there it seems to have jumped to the Connaught Drive [the Esplanade, Singapore]: next from the Connaught Drive it appeared half a mile away at Dhobi Ghaut and then one quarter of a mile further on in the Government House Grounds." (Burkill, 1918, p. 7). The avenues were immediately cut in the hope of restricting the disease, but in vain. The disease marched on inwards and at the end of May 1919 "some trees at the end of an avenue at Tanglin Barracks, Singapore, began to show the well-known symptoms. Four months afterwards the 'disease' had advanced considerably along the avenue, but not successively taking toll of every tree for occasionally one tree was omitted, but so many trees were affected that it was deemed necessary to cut the avenue down." (Chipp, 1920, p. 197). But the measure was not effective in arresting the disease, for by the end of the year 1922 the disease "removed all the *Pterocarpus* trees from the Tanglin Barracks grounds, except three which are isolated" (Burkill, 1923, p. 6).

Since then the disease has spread in many other parts of Singapore and also in St. John's Island (in 1923) and as well as in other parts of the Malay States.

Symptoms Hitherto Recorded.

There is very little recorded in shape of detailed descriptions of the symptoms. The only reference whence we can get a good idea is written by Bancroft, who was mycologist in the Federated

Malay States. He described the symptoms of the disease occurring in the States in, and previous to, the year 1912 thus: "The symptoms of this disease are in all cases almost similar. The branches and leaves wither and death follows rapidly being complete usually within two or three months after the trees commence to show signs of being affected. The first observable symptom is the withering and death of young branches bearing leaves and fruits. Single branches may in some few cases show this effect but usually several dead branches appear simultaneously. The death of these branches is followed by the dying of the remaining shoots, and the complete death of the tree. Sometimes an attempt at recovery is made the tree sending up shoots from near the base." "The age of the trees so affected ranges from about ten to forty years." (Bancroft, 1912). Previously Gallagher (1908), the predecessor of Bancroft in the mycological section of the F.M.S. Department of Agriculture, who had devoted some time to the study of the disease in Penang, wrote in a preliminary report (unpublished) submitted to the Penang Municipality thus:

"With Mr. W. Fox I examined dead and dying Angsana trees. My investigations were mainly confined to a tree apparently dead on one side. I found the leaves, branches and stem to be free from fungi and bacteria, but found fungi present in two of the lateral roots. These roots were on the same side of the tree as the branches which had shed their leaves and were apparently dying. These roots are easily recognisable by their dark colour and from the fact that they do not, when cut, give out a red exudation like normally healthy roots. The other roots were healthy in outward appearance, and when microscopically examined were found to be free from parasites. I believe the source of trouble lies in the root and most likely in the fungus I found. I cannot make a definite statement until I know the results of numerous infection experiments I have made here [i.e. Kuala Lumpur] on healthy trees.

"I believe there will be no difficulty in preventing the further spread of the disease, but it is premature to talk about preventive measures until I have found out more about the life history and methods of attack of the suspected fungus. Inside six weeks I expect to be able to say what methods should be followed."

Apparently the investigations and experiments did not yield any satisfactory results, for no reference is made to them in any of the succeeding reports on the disease.

Fox (1910) who as the Superintendent of Forests and Gardens, Penang, was mainly responsible for enlisting the services of the mycologist Gallagher and who had carried out observations in Penang described the disease thus: "I noticed in Macalister Road, Penang, three medium-sized trees showing signs of disease. Examination shewed no palpable cause except an exudation of Kino. The trees died in less than three months from the sign
1935] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

of attack, and were cut down and burned. A few months later, trees for the most part of the largest size, here and there along the road side began to exhibit the same symptoms and eventually died, the greatest number dying during the year 1908-1909" (Fox, 1910). It is not clear from his description whether the exudation of kino was constantly associated with other dying trees also. Bancroft who had visited Penang about the beginning of the year 1913, (Bancroft, 1913) did not make any reference to the kino exudation at all, but remarked that the symptoms of the disease appear to be identical with those noticed by him elsewhere in the Malay Peninsula, thereby confirming his first statement: "The symptoms of this disease are in all cases almost similar." It is evident from the report by Fox (1910) that the disease in Penang was not at first in an epidemic form and that it spread irregularly from the first attacked trees.

The next important record of the disease I have been able to obtain is by Chipp (1920, p. 197), the Assistant Director in the Botanic Gardens, Singapore. He, however, did not describe the symptoms; but since he reviews the previous attacks of the disease, one is led to conclude that what he terms "the well-known symptoms" are in general identical with those described by Bancroft. The disease in the Tanglin avenue is said to have progressed from one end of it to the other and, though it was in an epidemic form, yet there were stray trees which escaped the disease.

Theories as to the Cause of the Disease.

Fox (1910) was inclined to think that the causal organism was a root fungus and hence he tried isolation by trenching as much as the roads would permit and dusted liberally the bottoms and sides of the trenches with finely divided powdered lime and copper sulphate. This, however, failed to arrest the disease the failure being attributed to the incompleteness of isolation. The plan of cutting down every affected tree was then adopted and the disease then seemed to be under control, though not exterminated. Three species of fungi were found on the dead tissues of stem and roots, one of them being *Polyporus (Polystictus) occidentalis*, Kl., which was suspected to cause the disease. It is not stated whether this fungus was constant on every diseased tree in Penang. Fox quotes G. Massee's suggestion that the weakness brought about by old age (counted from the time of planting the cutting or seedling) is probably a predisposing factor for the fungus to cause such mortality. The view that the disease may be due to a root fungus was also held by Derry (1907) and Gallagher (1908) and in fact the remedial measures tried by Fox were exactly those recommended by Derry.

In 1912, Bancroft described his observations thus: "An examination of the dead and dying shoots does not reveal the presence of any organisms to which death can be attributed. The

nature of the symptoms suggests some trouble affecting the roots of the tree. When roots in different stages of disease were examined it was found that death of the outer bark and cambium occurred first and was followed in later stages by the disintegration of the wood. The death of the roots was particularly obvious near the collars of dying trees.

"The white mycelium of fungi could be observed in many cases on the outside of the bark and between the bark and wood of the dead and dying roots. The mycelium which was most commonly found was frequently aggregated in patches and seldom appeared as strands; where the latter occurred they only travelled for a short distance. In one case I obtained the mycelium of five out of six roots of a tree whose roots were examined at Kuala Kubu."

Besides *Schizophyllum commune*, Fr., (found also by Fox) he had found another fungus belonging to the genus *Polyporus* and suspecting this to be *Polyporus (Polystictus) occidentalis*, Kl., he remarked: "The repeated association of the fungus with dying and dead Angsana trees in the F.M.S. suggests that it may be the cause of the disease. The fungus is very abundant in the F.M.S. and is apparently easily distributed by spores. It would appear, however, on further consideration that there is a factor in the cultivation of Angsana as an avenue tree which tends to render it liable to attack from fungus organisms and that is repeated vegetative propagation from cuttings. Repeated propagation by cuttings tends to lead to deterioration in plants and the Angsana trees in the F.M.S. show in many cases a poor growth, scanty foliage, etc. It is probable that repeated propagation from cuttings, by producing weakened plants whose period of life is short, causes a predisposition to disease from fungi. The rapid growth and fine condition of trees in the Connaught Drive in Singapore is attributed by Mr. Derry to made up earth which was deposited there following on reclamation of the sea-front." These trees in the Connaught Drive were swept away in 1917; that is, only five years after Bancroft's ecomiastic description of them.

Subsequent to this theory, Bancroft got information from Kew that the fungus he had found on dead and dying roots of the Angsana trees was not the suspected *Polyporus occidentalis*, Kl., but *P. hirsutus*, Pers., which is widely distributed over the world occurring on trunks of trees as *saprophyte* or *wound-parasite*. Later he examined the dead Angsana trees in Penang but could not find *P. hirsutus*, Pers. In the light of these facts Bancroft (1913) modified his theory: "The above facts would appear to indicate that the trees at certain periods of their lives become susceptible to the attacks of wood-destroying fungi. This susceptibility... may be brought about by repeated propagation from cuttings, and it is therefore desirable in the future to propagate

the plant from seed. This is being tried at the Kuala Lumpur Experimental Plantation."

I have not been able to find any published results of these experiments, and A. Sharples, the successor of Bancroft as the head of mycological section in the Agricultural Department, has been kind enough to inform me that he has not been able to find any data regarding these experiments in his Department's archives.

Burkill had also paid some attention to it from 1914 onwards and his earlier conclusions seem to make a fungus responsible for the disease. In the *Annual Report* written by him as the Director of the Gardens' Department in the Straits Settlements for the year 1917, he wrote thus: "This disease, well-known by its depredations, first in Malacca and then in Penang, is of fungal origin." (Burkill, 1918, p. 17); and later in the *Report for 1918* he noted that "the Angsana avenue which had the disease in it in 1917, was destroyed by the extension of the fungus" (Burkill, 1919, p. 6), though in the previous year all the trees in the diseased part of the avenue were cut down immediately on the appearance of the disease in the hope of restricting it. (Burkill, 1918, p. 7). Subsequently, however, perhaps in view of Chipp's investigations and theory (vide infra), Burkill seems to have modified his opinions regarding the disease, for in the *Report for 1921* he made the following remark: "The disease still remains obscure." (Burkill, 1922, p. 4).

In Singapore the fungi collected by Chipp (1920, pp. 197, 280, 349 and 350) are quite different from those previously collected, viz:—*Ganoderma* (*Polyporus*) *lucidum*, Ley., *Poria interrupta*, Berk. and Br. and *Irpex flavus*, Kl., but no fungus was actually observed in the living tissue of the plant. These observations led him to make the following remarks: "On the other hand it is understood that this tree is generally propagated by means of cuttings. Now there are some who hold that the reason of this tree dying off in the manner it does is a question of senile decay and not of disease. The theory put forward is that the age of the individual tree must be counted from the time its stock was grown from a seed. It is quite likely this may be many generations and correspondingly a considerable number of years. It is also presumed that the avenues and groups of trees which die off at the same time, in the same locality are planted from the same stock of cuttings and would therefore be of the same age" (1920, p. 197). It is interesting to note that five months after he had written the article on the Angsana disease, he is found to write thus: "It is possible, however, that some fungi collected from the dead stumps of the Angsana may be responsible for hastening its death, the fungus fructification only appearing at a later stage when the damage is done, and in this connection the shiny chocolate brown bracket fungus, sometimes appearing with a false stalk, *Ganoderma* (*Polyporaceæ*) *lucidum* is more than suspected." (1920, p. 280).

The General Condition of the Site Selected.

The observations were started in April 1923, soon after my arrival in the colony. Though trees in many avenues and private compounds were examined, the site chosen for intensive study was the Nassim Road Avenue, a few furlongs from Tanglin Barracks and the Botanic Gardens. There were in this avenue many trees dead and dying which were said to show the typical symptoms of the disease. This avenue being in the immediate vicinity of the old Economic Garden, and of my quarters, and, therefore, a convenient place to make observations without seriously interfering with my ordinary duties in the Garden, the locality was given preference over others.

The condition of the plot was not then in any way healthy: With the exception of a few trees that were growing mixed with rubber trees at one end of the avenue, nearly all the others that were in leaf—for there were some trees leafless also—had a yellowish, sickly foliage. There were in the avenue nine stumps here and there, of Angsana trees that had been cut down flat with the ground apparently because the disease had killed them. Eleven trees appeared completely dead, a few of them with their bark exfoliating, but without any signs of the exudation of kino. Besides these there were three other which were dying. The first one of these three trees had one of its large branches dead and the other dying. The next had a large wound on the stem about four feet from the ground, and although the exposed wood was dead, there was no sign of its decay, and callus was forming all round. In addition to its leader, it had two more branches, one dead and the other dying, and it was leafless. The third tree had three large branches one of which was dead, the second had sickly foliage and the third had in addition some twigs with leaves that were wilting and drooping down or that had wilted previously and had in consequence become dry and dark. Numerous leaves on the ground led to the conclusion—a conclusion confirmed by subsequent observations—that it was shedding its leaves very rapidly. All these trees, whether dead or dying, were distributed irregularly in the avenue without any definite relation to the old stumps or to themselves. There was a portion of the avenue about a hundred yards in length planted mostly with rubber trees (*Hevea brasiliensis*) interspersed with a few Angsana trees, and here all of them were healthy and in leaf.

Further Observations.

Dying-back twigs did not reveal the presence of any fungus, nor did the portion where the tissue had died recently or was dying. The roots of a tree which appeared completely dead but which had no bark exfoliating (the trees with bark exfoliating seemed to have died earlier than the others) were dug out and a patch of living tissue about six inches in length was found on a large dead root about one and a half foot away from the stem.

Its lower half was dead, but the living portion extended as far as the core of the wood tissue. The tree had no more living tissue either on the stem or on the other roots examined. Laboratory examination did not disclose any signs of fungus in the living, dying or recently dead tissue of the root. A close inspection of the stems and roots of the eleven apparently dead trees revealed some interesting facts. Five of these were completely dead. Of five others, two which were shedding off their bark were found to contain at the base, a strip of living bark which was connected with living roots below, and the latter (the roots) were numerous or had numerous branches and looked healthy. In the three remaining trees, this living tissue was about two feet high above the ground and in one it was six feet, and in all the five it was a span or more broad at the base. The wood underneath looked quite healthy. Two of these five trees had shoots sprouting. There was no girdling or collar rot at the base or on the stem above. The eleventh tree which had its bark exfoliating from the stem and branches had a long root running along the side of the road gutter, which was found to be alive from four feet onward from the stem. This tree had no portion of stem alive and the tree appeared to have died many months before as the dead wood seemed to be old. The trees which were partially dead were examined next and it was noticed that the dead parts above were connected with the dead portion of the roots below by a strip of dead bark running vertically along the stem. The transitional portion between the dead and living bark was invariably found somewhat discoloured, and often contained a good deal of foul-smelling sap, the quantity of the liquid and the intensity of the smell being more pronounced in recently dead tissue. The large branches that appeared dead had completely died, while the ones that looked alive had towards the side nearest to the dead branches a longitudinal strip of mortified tissue which was connected with the dead tissue in the dead branch and the dead portion of the bole. The dead tissue was continuous, there being no island of living tissue in it, nor was there more than one strip of dead tissue on the same branch or bole. On the half-dead branches there were many leafless dead twigs on the side that was alive, and on the middle branch of a trifurcated tree there were some wilting twigs with drooping leaves. Some of the tops or tips of these branches were completely dead.

To detect the exact stage when the tree begins to die due to the disease is by no means an easy matter, as its death is very gradual at first and as it is not easy to distinguish between a leafless twig or branch that will start dying due to the disease and a leafless one that will put forth new leaves again. It has been observed that in Singapore the constant shedding of leaves occurs in these trees as a normal phenomenon. There appears to be no definite season for effecting the renewal of foliage, which may take place more than once within a year; and it is not uncommon to find on a single tree at one and the same time resting

buds and shoots in all stages of development. Such a phenomenon is reported by Coster (1928, pp. 27-31) to occur in a large number of temperate climate plants when they are cultivated in the more or less uniform moist, mountain climate of Tijbodas in Java which suggests the possibility of *Pterocarpus indicus* being better adapted to a less tropical, and less uniform climate than to that of the island of Singapore*. Some trees, on the other hand, may take

* D. Prain was the first to show that the *Angsana* tree is not a native of India and Burma as was formerly supposed, though it occurred occasionally as an escape near the coastal towns of south Burma (*Report on Indian Species of Pterocarpus in Indian Forester XXV, Appendix*, 1900, pp. 1-16). In the letter quoted by Fox (1910), Prain is quite definite that the plant was introduced in India from Moluccas where, according to him, it is really wild. From other accounts the plant's native home appears to be the Malay Archipelago as far as the New Guinea, the Malay Peninsula being the most north-westerly limit of his natural distribution. H. N. Ridley (*Flor. Malay Penins. I*, 1922, p. 593) thinks that the plant may be really wild in the Malay Peninsula only in the rocky places near the sea and rivers; and F. W. Foxworthy (*Malayan Forest Records III*, 1927, pp. 96-97) notes that naturally grown trees occur but very rarely in the Peninsula, usually in alluvial soil, and that though they may show a sharp periodicity in the leaf shedding in climates where there is distinct dry season, they become very erratic in their periodicity in the west side of the Peninsula where there is no sharp distinction of season. According to Troup (*Silviculture of Indian Trees I*, 1921, pp. 292-294), the *Angsana* tree may be a native of the Peninsula and the Archipelago and becomes in India and Burma leafless or nearly so towards the end of cold season, but it is in full foliage during the hot season, when shade is most required. In east Java the tree begins to lose its leaves after the rainy season becoming quite bare for a short period in July (Ch. Coster in *Ann. Jard. Bot. Buitenzorg XXXII*, 1923, p. 133), but at Buitenzorg this periodicity seems to become very irregular in some cases the renewal of the leaves taking place even before the complete shedding of the old leaves (Coster, *op. cit.*, XXXVII, p. 89). Some observations made by E. J. H. Corner (cf. R. E. Holttum in *Gard. Bull. S.S.V.*, 1931, pp. 202-203) seem to suggest that though various branches of an *Angsana* tree may not change their leaves simultaneously, yet the leaf periodicity in the individual branches is very distinct in Singapore and occurs approximately at intervals of 12 months. If this rule be applicable to all the *Angsana* trees in Singapore, then the renewal of the leaves which was observed by me to occur at shorter intervals may be a result of the parasitic action of the jassids, for the trees were in the Nassim Road avenue where the jassids were very numerous. On the other hand it is possible that the leaf shedding at shorter intervals was a consequence of some climatic factor peculiar to that year (1923-1924) which combined with the soil factor may have been responsible for this peculiar behaviour of these few trees observed by me; for H. Dingler (*Sitz. bericht. K. Bayer. Akad. Wiss., Munchen II*, 1911, 217-247) noted some species of plants having a distinct annual periodicity in Europe to renew their leaves and fruit twice a year in the uniform, moist climate of the Hakgalla mountain in Ceylon and Ch. Coster (*op. cit.* XXXVIII, 1928, p. 28) noted a similar phenomenon in *Prunus puddum* at Tijbodas.

It is possible that the *Angsana* tree was of some religious importance in the Malay Archipelago before the spread of Mohammedanism in XIV and XV centuries and during the domination of the Hindu kings of the Sri-Vijaya or the Madjapahit dynasties (circa V century B.C. to XV cent. A.D.) and that the Hinduism or Buddhism may have been responsible for the wide distribution of the trees in the Archipelago so as to make it very difficult now to determine its original habitat. The facts that the word *Angsana* appears to be of Sanskrit origin (*Ansana*) meaning a portion of a portion of the Hindu deity, Krishna, that this name or its derivatives

more than four months to put forth new leaves when once they have shed, while the neighbouring trees are producing fresh foliage after a period of rest of a few days only, or sometimes even without any rest. Normally a few twigs may remain inactive and may ultimately die. All this comes in the way of making observations and of following the behaviour of the trees step by step till the stage is arrived when one can unmistakably say that the tree is suffering or dying from the disease.

Then there is the question of the strip of the dead tissue in the cortex which invariably precedes other more marked symptoms of the disease. When does the tissue begin to die? At what stage? These and such other points will have to be solved before one can arrive at a means to detect the very early progress of the disease. An apparently healthy tree with a few or no dead twigs may have a strip of dead cortex which sometimes extends along every large branch and to many roots, and it is only when this strip of dead tissue has far advanced that the symptoms such as described by Bancroft become visible. It was extremely difficult to find the incipient stages of the dead strip in the cortex, owing to the fact that it is not possible to distinguish a dead cortex from a living one unless one cuts notches in it with a knife. But from the observations hitherto made, it appears that this tissue occurs simultaneously on the main stem and one or more principal roots and thence it extends to the branches. On one occasion, while examining the cortex of trees, I came across a strip

are widely used in the Archipelago (cf. M. W. E. Maxwell, *A Manual of the Malay Language* 11th Ed., 1920, p. 24; E. D. Merrill, *An Enumeration of Philippine Plants* II, 1923, 297; F. S. A. de Clercq, *Nieuw Plantkundig Woorderboek voor Nederlandsch Indie*, 1909, pp. 312-313) and that the tree bears fragrant flowers lend support to this surmise. Maxwell (*op. cit.* p. 21) notes that many names of trees having no special significance for the modern Malays were fraught with mystic solemnity for their distant Hindu ancestors and that the use of sweet smelling flowers is a noticeable feature in the religious worship of the Hindus. Among the people of the Malacca town there is still a belief that the *Angsana* tree harbours spirits or devils which may punish those who trample on its shadow during nights with sickness that may ultimately lead even to death. May not this belief represent a vestige of the religious importance of these trees in the ancient Hindu dynastic times? Rhumphius (*Herbar. Amboinense* II, 1750, pp. 205-210) notes that the Malays and Macassarians valued the *Angsana* tree not only for the sake of its timber, gum, and medicinal products but also for the sake of its flowers which were much prized by the ladies to decorate their hair and which were obtainable even in bazars, remarking in addition that owing principally to its flowers the tree was planted by the Malays and the Macassarians round about their dwellings. Rhumphius also notes that the plant was widely distributed in his time (he lived in the Archipelago between 1653-1702) in the Malay Archipelago from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java eastwards to Amboina and Moluccas and northwards to south China and that he had seen it wild in many islands comprising the Amboina group.

There is also the possibility that the Indians had regarded the *Angsana* tree as a Malayan form of *Pterocarpus marsupium*, or serving the same purpose as it and *Terminalia tomentosa* which are known in some parts of India as *Asan*, *Asana* or *Ansana* (cf. Troup *op. cit.* I, p. 514, and II, p. 266; and Maxwell *op. cit.* p. 24).

which showed some unusual darkish streaks in the cortex and a rather thick dead bark over it. The cortex all round the tree, from the base up to a height of twelve feet was examined, but nothing unusual besides this could be distinguished. The next day the condition of the cortex was almost the same. On the third day, however, a strip of the thickness of the pencil was found dead in the cortex as far as the cambium, extending from a principal root underground to a height of twenty feet. This dead tissue began to widen so rapidly that on the third day of its appearance its width was about three inches and there was no death of any twigs on the tree, or leaf fall that could be attributed to the disease. In another instance the bark of a tree which had two small dead twigs at a height of ten feet from the ground was examined and a dead strip, an inch wide, was discovered extending from a root up on the stem to a height of fifteen feet. The lateral progress of the death of the bark was very much more rapid in the upper half of the stem than in the lower half and at the base; and its progress laterally or in the branches was not attended with any definite symptoms so that if one does not take the trouble of examining the cortex from time to time, one might not detect the diseased condition of the tree except in its last stages when rapidly dying. By cutting the diseased trees it was found that the death of the cortical tissue was accompanied by the death or discoloration of the sapwood which rapidly extended towards the heartwood. The symptoms that are described by Bancroft are of those that become apparent when the disease has made a considerable progress, though in many instances they do not become so pronounced as to enable one to distinguish the diseased trees by their appearance only. Other observations are briefly as follows:—

1. The foliage of the diseased and dying trees is sickly. Many trees in the avenue where the disease is prevailing show a very poor foliage and this was the condition of the trees in the Federated Malay States in 1913 when Bancroft made his observations. It is not easy to distinguish between the sickly foliage of a tree with dead tissue on the stem and branches and of one without this diseased tissue. This poor leaf growth was not apparent in avenues where the disease was not prevailing, though later almost all trees in Singapore had very poor aspect.
2. Small branches on twigs die slowly at first irregularly here and there on the tree; but during the last stages of the disease, it becomes evident that the death is proceeding from the terminal shoots down to the base, that is, in basipetal succession. A few twigs also die in healthy trees growing in avenues where no disease prevails, and so it is not easy to say in earlier stages whether the death is due to disease or not. One rarely finds a tree which produce flowers and fruits immediately before its

death. Usually the dying trees do not flower at all, or when they do flower, they do so very sparsely.

3. Where the stem is divided into more than one principal branches one branch may die completely, while others live for a long time even though they have a strip of dead tissue on them. If such a tree happens to be among the last survivors in the avenue, one can save it from death by cutting off all the dead and dying twigs and branches. Piling around the stem of all the cut material so as to permit re-infection of the disease does not seem to affect the health of this tree.
4. Dead trees were infected by numerous wood and bark borers. But the examination of the tissues of the dying trees as well as of the healthy trees did not reveal any parasitic insects to which death could be attributed, though sometimes several roots were dug out and examined. There were no doubt such insects as termites, and occasionally some beetles and aphids here and there underneath the dry bark of the stem, but these were so few in numbers that they were regarded as unlikely to cause, if at all, more than a local injury. Besides they were not present on all trees. In fact most of the trees were conspicuous by the absence of such insects.
5. The progress in the death of the bark is often accompanied by the fall of leaves. If this happens during a cool and fairly moist season, the leaf-fall is often so gradual as to pass unnoticed since it is extremely difficult to distinguish this leaf-shedding from the one which is occurring as a normal phenomenon. Many times, however, the principal leaf veins get discoloured with a darkish tinge and then one can be almost sure without examining the bark that the tree has dead tissue in the bark and that this dead tissue is spreading very rapidly. After a period of rest such a tree may put forth new leaves on the branches that have not died in the leafless or resting season. On the other hand, should the progress of the dead tissue take place in dry and hot or windy season, the symptoms become very much pronounced. The leaf-fall becomes very rapid and numerous twigs start wilting, most of the abscised or wilting leaves having their principal veins darkened. Such trees usually die very rapidly, and do not, as a rule, put forth new leaves on the crown, though suckers may arise on the stem near the base.
6. Some trees exude a reddish gum in patches here and there on twigs, branches and sometimes even on the main stem, but this symptom is not, by any means, constant on every dying tree, though this red exudation was very often present on the trees dying rapidly during the hot and dry or windy weather. These red patches were

rarely found on the tissues that died at the incipient stages of the disease and were never seen to appear on the already dead tissues. They occurred irregularly at any place in the living tissue, not necessarily very close to, but even in places very remote from, the dead strip. Material from these red patches was frequently submitted to laboratory examination and culture, but no parasitic organism was obtained from it. This material was taken within twenty-four hours of the appearance of the gummy spots on the trees, as *Melipona* bees were found to visit the older patches. According to Sharples, *Nectria* sp. was found growing profusely in such spots in the Angsana trees at Kuala Lumpur.

7. In most cases the dying trees put forth new shoots near the base; but cutting an affected tree flush with the ground causes new shoots to appear more rapidly at the base or increases the vigour of the existing ones. Many of the coppice shoots that arise after the phase of the greatest force of the disease in an avenue is over have been observed to grow for many years even when the stump producing them was of diseased tree and bore many fungus fructifications.
8. Small trees, whether weak or vigorous, and the trees which have poor growth of leaves and branches due to attacks of wound fungi and termites, are not very often the ones that succumb first in the avenues, and such trees may even escape death when other healthy trees close by die in numbers.
9. In every case examined by me, the disease after taking a large toll on the trees in an avenue in a more or less epidemic manner seems to diminish in force towards the end, so that the last trees usually take a long time to die and a few trees here and there in an avenue nearly always survive for many years after the epidemic has ceased. This seems to be the experience of the previous workers also.
10. The disease seemed to march from the Nassim Road Avenue to the Economic Garden, and then crossing over a hill and a strip of jungle to the Cluny Road, and thence to the Bukit Timah Road at the Fourth mile. In the last two places the Angsana trees are growing mixed with other trees and here the disease seemed to have made no great progress after the death of a few trees. In St. John's Island the disease had first appeared near a sea-front, and thence it had crossed from one side of a hill to the other but in doing so the trees immediately at the bottom of the leeward side of the hill were free of the disease and quite healthy during my visit in middle of 1923.

11. Cuttings taken from dying branches have been observed to strike roots and grow healthily even now, though a period of more than ten years have elapsed. So also coppice shoots from diseased stumps have grown healthily for equally long period without showing any symptoms of the disease.
12. I found on dead Angsana wood the following fungi:—*Ganoderma lucidum* Ley., *Fomes* sp., *Hexagona tenuis*, Hook., and *Schizophyllum commune*, Fr., the last being the commonest of all. *Dothidella pterocarpi*, Mass., was frequently found causing brown patches and holes in living leaves, but it does not affect the leaves very seriously. The attacked leaves do grow and function in spite of the brown patches on them. *Helminthosporium obovatum*, Mass., has been recorded from the living leaves in Kuala Lumpur. Other saprophytic or hemi-saprophytic fungi recorded from the dead Angsana wood in the Peninsula by the previous workers are:—*Polyporus hirsutus* Pers., *Polyporus occidentalis* Kl., *Polystictus floridanus* Sacc., *Poria interrupta* Berk. & Br., and *Irpex flavus*, Kl., (Chipp, 1920, p. 280 and 1921). The two fungi *Aldona stellanigra*, Rac., and *Micronectria pterocarpi*, Penz., & Sacc., are also recorded from Angsana trees (Baker, 1918) though these are not included by Chipp. Sharples isolated a *Nectria* sp. which was growing profusely in the gummy exudation and which being the more prominent fungus in the diseased avenues at Kuala Lumpur was put under suspicion, but, owing to other more pressing problems demanding his attention, he was forced to abandon his studies before he could carry out the inoculation experiments to a definite conclusion*.
13. Experiments to produce the disease by artificial infection have given negative results. For this purpose diseased tissues from the stems including the portion of the stem with the reddish exudation, and of the roots of dying trees together with their various fungus growths were forked around the base of healthy trees situated in places where the disease had not arrived, the operation being done by means of a spade so as to cause the wounding of roots. Wounds were also made on the larger roots, on the base of the stems, and on the larger branches, and they were all infected with the same material. These inoculation experiments were repeated three times during the interval of two years on the same trees, and twice on two small plants raised from cuttings, and in all cases with no success. In one case such an inoculation

* Information supplied to me through a letter by Mr. A. Sharples, the mycologist of the Agricultural Department, S.S. & F.M.S.

was made on a young Angsana tree about eight feet tall in the diseased avenue. The plant had already become weak owing to its stem having a large wound about a foot long and it being attacked by termites and wound-fungi. The inoculation material was also introduced into the wound, it being cleaned of the termites (white-ants) and of the dry rot so as to expose the fresh tissues. But though the healthier trees in its vicinity fell victims to the disease, the infected plant remained healthy for more than a year after this infection when it was cut down by the municipal authorities. Attempts were also made to infect the leaves and the young shoots of the two young trees referred above. For this purpose, dying and dead leaves, shoots and pieces of stem with and without the red exudation were removed from a tree dying in the diseased avenue and the plants were infected by means of pins which were first inserted in the diseased material and then into the tissues of the plant. The remaining material was buried around the roots by means of a spade as above. These last trials were repeated five times at an interval of a fortnight, but again with no success.

14. A jassid is constantly associated with the disease in Singapore. It was apparently a new arrival in Singapore. It was invariably present in all the diseased Angsana avenues, but was absent (in 1923) in the Cluny Road and the Bukit Timah Road (at the junction of fourth mile) avenues which were also free of disease. Later, in 1924, the disease appeared in these avenues and so did also the insect. In 1923 the jassid was not present in the avenues in the Pasir Panjang district of Singapore, but more recently (1930) the disease appeared there and so did also the insects. This jassid was also present in St. John's Island in 1923 when the disease was prevailing there. I found it in Penang, Kedah, Taiping, Kuala Lumpur and Malacca during my visits there between 1925-1928. This jassid sucks the juice from the leaves and tender shoots, showing a special preference to the new growth where the activities of the newly hatched larvæ or nymphs are to all appearances wholly restricted. The sickly appearance of the leaves of the trees in diseased avenues is apparently due to the parasitic action of this jassid which punctures the tissues of the tender shoots and of leaves, causing the latter to become thereby yellow in spots around the punctures and to curl. In the diseased avenues where the parasitic action appears also to be very severe, the leaves have so many of these yellow spots that practically the entire surface of the leaves becomes yellowish and gives a very sickly appearance to the trees. This should not be confused

with the natural yellowness of the young leaves or with the untidy appearance of very young trees having a few lateral branches, each of which shed their leaves at different times of the year and not simultaneously. In the course of some years following the disease, the last surviving trees in a diseased avenue will be found to improve gradually and on a closer scrutiny it will also be noticed that insects have diminished in numbers.

A leaf-miner was also occasionally found to do some damage, but that was only in a few places in Singapore. Corbett & Gater (1926) record two more insects (*Hypomeces squamosus* and *Neptis columella*) and Miller (1932, p. 30) a third (*Pteroma plagiophleps*) all occurring in the Angsana leaves, but apparently they do not become a serious pest, nor are they constantly associated with the disease.

15. Experiments to produce the disease on three young plants about two feet in height raised from cuttings were made by infesting the plants with the jassids brought from the attacked trees, but gave negative results, though the experiments on the same plants were repeated at three different times. In a few days after the infection the insects would disappear leaving no trace whatsoever except a few moults. Three years afterwards two of the three plants became naturally infected with the jassids, which did not succeed in doing any great damage except the production of yellowish spots on many leaves. The plants are still growing despite the jassids.

An Analysis of the Various Theories.

I. *The Theory of Old Age.*

Without going into the appreciation of this much-disputed theory regarding the senescence in plants, though there seems to exist decisive evidence against the validity of this theory (cf. Wilson, 1925, pp. 233-247)*, there are reasons why this theory cannot be invoked to explain the disease in the Angsana tree. Granting that the age of each individual plant should be counted in the manner described above by Chipp, (1920, p. 197) and also granting that the Angsana raised from cuttings are subject to senile decay in the end, it seems reasonable to suppose that senility should bring about a gradual loss of vigour and of the power

* I may also draw the attention to the fact that M. R. Ensign (*Amer. Journ. Bot.* VII, 1921, pp. 433-441) has offered data to show the faultiness of the technique adopted by H. M. Benedict in his investigations on the senile changes in leaves (*Cornell Univ. Memoir* VII, 1915, pp. 271-368) to which an allusion was made in the extract quoted by Chipp (1920) in explaining the disease on the theory of old age. With a better technique Ensign did not find a single instance in which the leaf-venation—the criterion used by Benedict to judge the relative ages of plant—might be taken as an index of the relative ages of the plants investigated by him or by Benedict.

to produce leaves, twigs, fruits, callus, etc. followed by gradual death, the duration of life of each vegetatively raised tree being determined, at least to a certain extent, by the individuality of the bud from which it arose, and by the edaphic conditions which will obviously vary from tree to tree even in the same avenue. No doubt some plants (e.g. some bamboos) are said to die gregariously but this is said to occur always after their gregarious flowering. In a diseased Angsana avenue no such gregarious flowering is noticed at all; in fact though many plants may produce flowers before they die, the majority of them may not do so. It, therefore, seems improbable that mere senile decay would be responsible for causing such epidemics as are reported above. In such a case of senile decay, moreover, the disease would not appear to spread from a point of infection as it did in Penang, St. John's Island and in Singapore, but from the commencement death would occur irregularly at various places simultaneously. It is also important to note that no such troubles have been reported from India and Burma where the Angsana tree has been so long in cultivation as an avenue tree that India has been regarded as its native home when its original habitat is somewhere in the Malay Archipelago; nor does Troup (1921) make any reference to such a disease in his recent work on the silviculture of Indian trees. On the contrary, Angsana avenues are rapidly increasing in India and recently this plant has been made use of in the avenues of the Bombay city. Further as the Angsanas are easily raised from seeds, it seems probable that the city authorities in charge of the avenues would import seeds rather than cuttings to make their first long avenues and it is probable that this was being done in Singapore some twenty or thirty years ago; for Main who in all probability was describing the method then prevailing in the Botanic Garden and elsewhere in the Singapore Island writes in the *Agricultural Bulletin* in 1908 that the Angsana is "propagated by seed which is produced in great abundance" and does not refer to asexual method at all (p. 332). This view is also supported by the records of the plants introduced in Singapore by the Singapore Botanic Gardens; for they (the records) show that the Angsana was imported only once by plants (i.e. in 1875 from Ceylon), while all the other introductions were by seeds (viz: in 1879 from Calcutta; in 1882 and 1883 from Burma; and in 1884 from Malacca). In such a case the age limit of the Angsana trees would be ridiculously small since many of the Singapore avenues where the disease has been or had been prevailing are not more than forty or fifty years old*, and the oldest of this town avenue cannot be much

* The reclamation work of the Esplanade ground was finished apparently in the year 1884 (cf. N. Cantley, *Annual Rept. Bot. Gard., Singapore, for 1884*, p. 6) and the Angsana trees were planted there first in 1890 (cf. H. N. Ridley, *Annual Rept. Bot. Gard. and Forest Dept. for 1890*, p. 6). This means that the oldest of the trees that died in 1918 were only 28 years old, the age being counted from the time of planting the seedling or cutting in the avenue.

older than one hundred years for the obvious reason that the town was not in existence then. As far back as 1912 and 1913 Bancroft recommended propagation by seeds as a measure against this disease, and it is to be presumed that his advice was generally followed, especially in Kuala Lumpur; yet no improvements in the avenues seem to have occurred in the infected districts. On the contrary the Angsana tree is not favoured as an avenue tree in Kuala Lumpur. There are, however, two more points which militate against the view that the Angsanas are dying merely of old age and not of any disease. The first is that coppice shoots from the stumps of the trees killed by the disease have grown and produced trees; and the second is that cuttings taken from dying trees have taken roots and are still alive (in 1934); though their parents died some ten years ago.

II. *Is the Disease Due to a Soil Fungus.*

It seems improbable that semi-parasitic wood destroying fungi would sweep away the Connaught Drive avenue in the year 1917 (Chipp, 1920, p. 197), when about five years earlier it was the finest avenue in the whole Peninsula (Bancroft, 1912). There is plenty of evidence to show that such fungi as the species of *Polyporus* or *Polystictus* are usually weak parasites and require some sort of scars or wounds where they must live as saprophytes before they can encroach on the sound tissue (cf. Weir, 1923).

Excepting *Nectria* found by Sharples, all the other fungi hitherto found on the Angsana are widely distributed as saprophytes and wound-parasites. If any of these were responsible for these epidemics then the fungus ought to have been repeatedly associated with dead Angsana trees; but none of these have been proved to be of such occurrence. Moreover since these fungi are very common as saprophytes one should expect the first outbreaks of the disease to occur in or near the gardens, jungles, etc. where these fungi will be largely growing, and lastly in the heart of the towns and sea-fronts as the Esplanade (Singapore), where such fungi get very little chance to thrive; but the available records and my observations in Singapore seem to show that the avenues protected by jungles etc., are usually the last to suffer from the disease. Further the available records show that it was extremely difficult to collect fructifications from the dead or dying trees as the investigators on this disease had either to wait for a long time after the death of the trees or to cultivate the fungi in the laboratory. If the infection is assumed to spread by means of mycelium from the first attacked trees and not through the spores distributed by wind, insects, etc., one should not expect such a rapid spread of the disease from a point of attack, since in the cultivation of the Angsana trees as an avenue tree there are no such factors as tillage to cause a widespread infection in the soil; for the same reason the infection by the underground diffusion of the mycelium should have been very slow and continuous, and not very rapid and irregularly all over the avenue.

Further it has been noticed that the roots live for a long time after the death of the aerial portion of the tree, and sometimes they give shoots which grow healthily in spite of the fact that the stumps are bearing fungus fructifications. If the death of the original tree was due merely to a fungus attacking the roots, then the same fungi ought to have invaded the healthy tissue of the coppice shoots and cause their death too. Further the trees that have a poor growth of leaves and branches due to the ravages of termites and wound-fungi ought to have been the first to succumb in the avenues since they are more susceptible to be attacked by such fungi; but observations show that they are not usually the first ones to suffer and may even escape death, though healthy trees in close proximity may be dying very rapidly.

All this plus the fact that the inoculation experiments and the search for the actual presence of fungus in the living tissue of the roots have proved a failure and that no one fungus has been found to be constant on dead tissues of the Angsana in any one outbreak incline one to conclude that the causative organism is not a root fungus.

III. *Is It An Aerial Infection?*

The disease appears to be an aerial infection, not only because of the failure of the attempts to produce the disease upon the healthy trees by soil or root inoculation, and of the success in renewing the trees from the shoots produced by the stumps of the dead trees, but also because of the peculiar march of the disease. In Penang the disease appeared to spread from the three trees that were first to be infected. In Singapore, Malacca and St. John's Island, the disease appeared first in sea-front avenues, suggesting thereby that the disease might have been an exotic one brought in by sea-breezes, commercial traffic, etc. In the latter three places, the disease seemed to travel inwards from the sea-front, and in the Tanglin avenue (Singapore) itself it appeared as if the infection had spread from one end of the avenue to the other. Thence it went to the Nassim Road, but the Cluny Road and the Bukit Timah Road avenues which are protected from the former by hills and formerly also by jungles were last to be attacked. In the Nassim Road itself those inter-planted with rubber trees were the healthiest ones in the avenue at first, though they also began to grow poor later on. In St. John's Island the disease had crossed from one side of the hill to the other, but in so doing the trees immediately at the bottom of the leeward side of the hill had remained free of the disease and were (in 1923) quite healthy. Had the trouble been due to a soil fungus the trees in the immediate vicinity of the other side of the hill ought to have been the first to be attacked, as it was easier to spread the infection there through the drainage-water or mycellum travelling underground. Again considering the whole of the Malay Peninsula, there appears to have occurred a regular but rapid progress southwards from Penang to Singapore. In 1906

the disease occurred in Penang; in 1910 at Tapah; in 1912 at Kuala Kubu and Kuala Lumpur; in 1914 in Pulau Brani and in 1917 in Singapore. Of course it is possible that these dates do not indicate the real progress of the infection and that the disease had really travelled from Malacca, but that it had not all this while assumed the proportion of a pest to attract the attention of the public; for the dates available are for the most part merely of the years when the trees began to die in numbers and not when the first solitary trees died of the disease. However the dates are very suggestive, and show how rapidly the disease had spread within three scores of years since its first appearance in Malacca.

IV. *Is the Disease Due to any Aerial Fungus, Micro-organism or Virus?*

It has been already noted above that no fungus has been in constant association with the disease. Even the reddish exudation wherein Sharples found a *Nectria* species growing profusely was not a constant symptom of the disease. No *Nectria* species has been found in Singapore at all during my observations, though such reddish spots were frequently submitted for laboratory examination; and previous observers have also not recorded the presence of any *Nectria* from such spots. By this I do not wish to dismiss the possibility of such a fungus being found constantly associated with the reddish spots. If found, its association would seem to be due to a later infection, for during my observations I took special care to remove from the trees only such material on which the red spots had appeared on the very day of their removal for the laboratory observations; for, later, the gummy substance in the spots would attract the *Dammar* bees (*Melipona* sp.) which could have infected the areas with various saprophytes and wound-parasites.

There are yet other factors to be considered. Such insects as the jassids, for instance, often carry with them a virus or micro-organism which in very many cases is known to cause the actual disease in plants, though its spread is largely or entirely dependent on the insect carriers. But the observations recorded above and the results of the inoculation experiments seem to militate against the probability of the existence of such virus or micro-organisms in this case. Further in the case of an organism or virus introduced in the plant by the insects the death should have extended from the point of the punctures in the leaves to the whole leaf and then to the shoots and branches. But, as we have seen already, the death does not extend except a little from the centre of the puncture which is quite attributable to the development of the tissues since their injury during the young stage. An organism or virus, moreover, that is capable of spreading so very rapidly and of causing such severe epidemics as to be able to destroy within a few years the avenues along Connaught Drive, Tanglin

Barracks, Nassim Road, Orchard Road, etc. in Singapore must infect readily, but, as we have seen, all the attempts to spread artificially the contagion on trees growing in isolated places have proved failures. Then why should very young and weak trees generally escape death? And why should the severity of the disease decrease when the avenues have been thinned so that trees here and there escape death, even when some dead twigs and red gummy spots are present on them? It could not certainly be a case of resistance or immunity of the trees, for the trees having a large dead branch or tissue on the stem and the roots might be among the survivors in the avenues.

All this and the facts that coppice shoots arose from the stumps of trees killed by the disease and having a large part of the dead tissue on their main roots, and that, by cutting off of the dying aerial parts, one could save the diseased trees from death, even when they had a longitudinal strip of dead tissue and several gummy spots on them and even when all the cut parts were piled around so as to cause the re-infection of the disease, seem to militate against a theory which would seek to make aerial fungi or such organisms responsible for the disease.

V. *Could any Insects be the Cause?*

We have already given reasons to show that the disease is not likely to be due to the direct action of any micro-organisms or viruses attacking the roots or the aerial parts of the trees. Such agents should infect coppice shoots and branches growing on the diseased stems and not permit them to grow into healthy trees. Further such agents should not invariably produce a continuous dead tissue arising first in a longitudinal strip from a root along the stem and then travelling in the branches and the twigs; for the chances are that they would infect a tree in various centres or places, whence the infection would spread irregularly. For the same reasons insects which would attack bark, sapwood, etc. and permit the entrance into the tissues of the plants of some fungi, bacteria, etc. (parasitic or causing obstruction to the transpiration current in the vessels) are to be ruled out of consideration.

The rapid death from the aerial parts accompanied or preceded by the appearance in the stem and roots and branches of a continuous longitudinal strip of dead tissue that does not become limited to the cortex alone but extends also inwards to the sapwood and also the successful growth of the coppice shoots arising on the diseased stems suggest that the death is due to some profound physiological disturbances in the plants. Further the peculiar march of the disease in avenues and the fact that it always appears first in sea-fronts and then proceeds inwards point to some sort of organisms capable of aerial distribution. The only organism that could be convicted on indirect and circumstantial evidence is, in my opinion, the jassid.

It is not only present throughout the Malay Peninsula but in Singapore the march of the disease as seen in the avenues at the Nassim Road, Bukit Timah Road and Pasir Panjang Road has been parallel with the spread of the insects. The insect was found present in all diseased avenues in Singapore, whereas those in which there were no insects were free from the disease. The insect was also present in St. John's Island. It is moreover such as to allow winds to cause its dispersal.

The hopper measures about one-eight to one-tenth of an inch in size and because of its smallness it easily escapes detection, particularly if old and dying leaves are examined. The adults have bluish wings and hop off the leaves when disturbed, but also fly. The nymphs which are yellowish, are found in large numbers in the young leaves and shoots, and probably the eggs are laid on these portions also. The generations are superposed, that is, the adults mating, nymphs and larvæ may be found on the same tree or twig at one and the same time. They show a great partiality to tender and nether surfaces of leaves and to the tender shoots, probably because they are easier of penetration. They are sucking insects belonging to the bug-family (*Hemiptera*), using their "beaks" (proboscides) to puncture and suck the juice on which they live. Yellowish dots which locate the punctured regions in the leaves and which increase in size with the leaf-growth become so numerous on severely parasitized leaves that the latter curl and look very yellowish and sickly. This explains the general sickly appearance of the trees in Nassim Road and other parts of Singapore. As soon as the new twigs or leaves are put forth, the insects are seen feeding on them, but as the young leaves are normally yellowish and partly folded, the damage done at this stage does not become conspicuous until the foliage has grown.

Owing to their small size, one is often apt to underestimate the harm produced by the attack of such plant insects. But the studies of Mann, Nagpurkar and Kulkarni (1921) on the potato mite show how heavy a drain on the food and how intensive a physiological disturbance in the plant such tiny sucking insects may cause. An extract from their work may give us a better conception of this damage:

"At any stage of the plant's growth, but generally after it is a month old, spots with very slight, somewhat oily-looking blackish colour begin to appear on the under side of the leaves, and especially on the younger foliage. These spots turn reddish extend in area and in number very rapidly, and ultimately become a bronze colour, giving an almost uniformly reddish tinge to the leaves. The upper foliage of the plant acquires a bunched-up appearance, the edge of the leaves becomes wrinkled, and leaf hairs become very prominent. Gradually, commencing from the top, the whole of the foliage withers leaving however the main stalk still green and living, though it also ultimately becomes discoloured and withers. The plant endeavours to recover, by giving out a series

of auxiliary shoots, which are, however, rapidly attacked and wither accordingly. *All these stages only require from thirteen to fifteen days from the beginning to the final ruin of the plants.* The attack usually occurs after the tubers are formed and when they are about the size of a walnut. They cease, however, to develop further and hence the yield consists of very small weight of very small potatoes." (*Italics are mine*).

Yet these mites are tinier than the Angsana jassids and though they can neither hop nor fly as the jassids, they spread from a point of infection so very rapidly that the disease appears to come on "almost as if a fire is passing through the fields." That this disease in potatoes is not due to any bacteria, fungi, or virus carried by the mites is clear from the fact that Mann and his co-workers have been able to arrest the progress of disease and enable the attacked plants to recover by using such sprays or dustings as would kill only the mites (e.g. sulphur powder) and not any disease travelling within the inner tissues of the leaves and the branches of the potato plant.

Exactly what physiological disturbances are produced in the Angsana plants was not within the province of my investigations. I do not know of any similar case being reported before except those mentioned below, and they do not appear to be exactly analogous.

In Fiji the death of the shrubby weed, *Clidemia hirta*, is reported to occur as a result of the activities of a thrip introduced there from the West Indies. According to Taylor (1928) who made his observations in Trinidad "it causes brown spots on the leaves, which finally turn black and drop, the whole shoots eventually dying. A preference is shown for young shoots, all of which may be destroyed on a bush, while the older leaves remain healthy. Though rarely killed by the thrips alone, attacked plants become stunted, flower very little and easily succumb to drought, etc..... The nymphs begin feeding on the lower surface of the leaves, but after 4 or 5 days, when the first moult occurs, they often move down the stem and feed there, frequently attacking the petioles and causing the leaves to drop off."

In Europe Elm trees grown principally in the avenues are being killed in large numbers but the progress of the disease and death in the individual trees, as described by various workers on the disease (cf. Bartlett 1928) and also as seen by me at the Experimental Station of the Biologischen Reichsanstalt für Landund Forstwirtschaft in Berlin-Dahlem*, do not appear to be in any way comparable with the Angsana disease. No doubt the disease spreads very rapidly through the air due to the agency of the

*I am indebted to its director, Dr. H. W. Wollenweber, for taking me round and giving me a general view of the various investigations that are being done there in the connection of the disease.

bark beetles which feed on the bark of the Elm trees, but one can always trace a definite march of the disease in the plant tissues from a point of infection—and there might be several such points even on a single branch—in such a way that there are persons who differing from the current views among the pathologists consider that the bark beetles are the primary agents of the injury and that the *Graphium* fungus which is constantly associated with the disease is there merely in a secondary capacity (Kaiser, 1931).

On the other hand deficiency of a nutritive element or a disturbance in the proportions of various chemical components of the plant seem to produce symptoms somewhat similar to those produced in the Angsana disease as may be seen from the following cases:

It has been observed in Indigo and Almond that partial or complete cutting back of vigorously growing plants leads to extensive death of the feeding roots and if this is done under circumstances when root-regeneration is difficult or impossible, poor growth, wilt and death are often the result. (Howard & Howard, 1919 & 1922). Extensive pruning in the tea plants are reported to cause under certain conditions a severe stem disease (Tunstall, 1931) which is summarised thus in the *Review of Applied Mycology* XI (1933): "Affected plants show the roots in good condition, but the stems are full of rotting holes. In early stages new growth arises from the collar, but eventually this becomes involved and a rotting stump is left with a few weak shoots. The disease in question is not due to any specific organism and is thought to arise from the physiological condition of the plants, though soil deficiency is evidently not involved as bushes newly planted in the affected areas grow normally."

Experimenting for several years with the effects of various chemical elements on the *Citrus* species grown in pure quartz sand Haas (1930) noticed that the lack of any of the elements like boron, titanium, lithium, iodine, etc. (of which only traces are needed to maintain the healthy growth of the plants while excess is prejudicial) produced the following symptoms: "The leaves curled downward along the midrib, their colour being brownish or yellowish green, often with a yellowing along the midrib; the midrib or veins in many cases were conspicuous, corky, and split; and there was a progressive loss of affected leaves in a basipetal direction. In severe cases there was a tendency toward 'multiple bud' formation, due to new twigs dying when barely visible. The bark of the internodes of the basal part of the branch may split when an amber-coloured gum oozes out, the crack eventually widening so that woody tissue is exposed. In these severe cases the apical portion of the branch dies back. The gumming differs from that characteristic of 'exanthema' or 'die-back,' in which the gum pockets are at the leaf nodes. There is a marked reduction or even absence of flower production. The roots become dark brown, fail to elongate, and in advanced cases the rootlets decay."

Though the insect attacks on Angsana are limited to the leaves and shoots, yet for reasons given below they are comparable with the causes that bring about the above-mentioned pathological symptoms in Indigo, Almond, Tea or Citrus plants.

Firstly, the injury by the insects to the leaf tissues and chlorophyll will not only decrease the assimilatory power but also tend to remove all control on the evaporation current and allow the water to pass out freely even under adverse conditions through the injured stomata and the punctures in the leaf surface. The fact that in the field the Angsana trees severely attacked by the insects start dying in dry and hot or windy seasons in a manner as if they are suffering from inordinate transpiration seems to lend colour to this view. Harvey (1930) has collected some evidence that goes to show that insect punctures on leaves do promote a high rate of transpiration; and Maximov (1929, p. 246) points out that excessive transpiration may cause irremediable injury to the plant as a whole or to the roots much earlier than the cells of the leaf itself.

Secondly, the insect injury might interfere with the translocation of photosynthetic products from the leaves.

Further the insects may destroy certain chemical substances or hormones the function of which is to prevent abnormalities in the plants and maintain a proper physiological balance, to aid root-regeneration and to induce a healthy growth. That certain substances, though elaborated in the leaves,—a region where the activities of the jassids are intensive and also prolonged—exercise a profound physiological influence in the regions very remotely situated is evident from the work of Bouillene & Went (1933). These investigators found that the healthy development of the roots and their regeneration and branching were entirely dependent on the small quantities of a substance that is produced only in the adult leaves, though later transported downwards to the roots. (They call this substance "rhizocalin"). If the formation, or the translocation, of such a substance were interfered with due to the parasitic action of the jassids, it is evident that the roots will die and produce conditions in plants comparable to those resulting from the extensive pruning of shoots or from food deficiency, for owing to the deficient translocation of substances elaborated in the leaves some organs will actually be starved.

Why should the adult and healthy trees usually succumb to the disease earlier than the young and the weak? The healthy adult trees have several branches all of which, as it has been mentioned above, do not often shed their leaves simultaneously. More frequently than not one notices, on different parts of such trees, leaves at all stages of development. This means that such trees provide for the insects a continuous supply of new growth on which they can not only feed themselves but also lay eggs and multiply. On the other hand a young tree, or one of poor growth, is more likely to shed its leaves all together and so oblige

the insects to abandon it. A small tree with a complete crown of full grown leaves is abandoned or not attacked because of the absence of the young growth so necessary for supplying food for the young larvæ and nymphs. It is no wonder therefore that a continuously parasitized tree should die earlier than the one where the parasitism is frequently interrupted and reduced.

This leaf-shedding and the consequent check on the multiplication of the insects will also explain why the last few trees usually escape death, for owing to the large gaps caused by the deaths of several trees it will become increasingly difficult for the insects to migrate from one surviving tree which has started to shed its leaves to another which is still in leaf or putting out new growth and which may be at a distance of some hundreds of feet; and the difficulties will become all the more severe should the few surviving trees shed their leaves simultaneously. Similar difficulties of migration of the insects will also account for the slow progress of the disease in mixed avenues and also for the failure to produce the disease in solitary isolated seedlings or trees, despite the presence of insects or the frequent infections.

Why the death of a tree should usually be rapid as soon as one or more of the larger branches are dead is not clear. It is possible that the acceleration in the death is due to the production, from the dead tissues, of some toxic substances which diffuse in the weakened, but living, tissue. The fact that the removal of the diseased parts increases the vigour of the remaining ones is in favour of this hypothesis.

It may be noted that the rapid and wide dispersal of the disease in the avenues of the Malay States between the years 1906-1918 and in Singapore during 1918-1924 is not incompatible with the above explanation of the disease which attributes the principal share of responsibility to the jassids. The observations of Mann and his co-workers referred to above show how rapidly even wingless creatures like mites can spread over a wide area from a point of infection. Simmonds' (1932) work on the thrips introduced in Fiji to control the *Clidemia* weed shows that these (winged) insects can spread very rapidly migrating over a mile or two of jungle or open sea. And Börner (1922) has proved that small winged insects can be carried by winds over fifteen miles at a stretch and a journey of even thirty miles is not impossible for them.

Remedies.

In the face of our ignorance of the details of the life-history and the habits of the insect, it is difficult to suggest any practical remedial measures. Spraying the trees with insecticides will be very costly and unless it is done simultaneously over large areas, it will be useless, since such insects, as has been pointed out by Börner & by Simmonds, are capable of effecting long distance journeys within a short time. Further the vagaries of the climate

have to be taken into account which may produce a heavy shower soon after a spraying and prevent its success. Parasites or predators might exercise control, but there is at present no information about these. Mixing various trees in the avenues seems to be objectionable from the aesthetic aspect, though it would to a certain extent check the disease. Investigations to select an immune strain are hardly practicable. The only measure that is likely to be of help in keeping these insects under control is to restrict the use of the Angsana tree to a few short avenues widely separated from each other and to parks where it could be mixed with other trees. This measure would limit the food supply of the jassids in a given area and their migration from avenue to avenue will also be difficult. Trials of other allied *Pterocarpus* species, e.g. *P. dalbergioides*, Roxb. (the Andaman Padauk), *P. macrocarpus*, Kurz (the Burmese Padauk), *P. santalinus* L. f. and *P. Blancoi* Merr. as avenue trees in the Peninsula could also be made. Two specimens of *P. macrocarpus*, Kurz (?) were existing in the now extinct Economic Garden and Arboretum, Singapore, and both these individuals were free from the attacks of the jassids in question, though an Angsana tree close by was infested with the insects.

Summary.

The history of the Angsana disease as far as it is known has been reviewed together with the observations recorded by the previous workers on the disease. My new observations made in the field coupled with the march of the disease seem to go against the theories put forward regarding the cause of it. The disease appears to be due to aerial infection and the circumstantial evidence available points to a jassid as the causal organism which is widely spread throughout the Malay Peninsula. The death of the plants is apparently due to disturbances brought about in the physiology of the plant. An attempt has been made to point out some of the ways by which such disturbances could be brought about through the parasitic action of the insects.

As to the control measures, the use of sprays, or laying out experiments to find an immune strain of trees are hardly practicable. The only practicable measure that is likely at the same time to prove effective in keeping the disease under control is to limit the plants to a few short avenues widely separated from each other and to parks where it could be grown mixed with other trees. As this measure will restrict the food supply of the jassids in a given area to a few isolated avenues and parks, it will also render difficult the migration of the insects from one avenue to another. Mixing the Angsana trees with other sorts will give an additional protection to these few avenues, though objection may arise on aesthetic grounds. There are reasons to believe that some other species of the genus *Pterocarpus* may be immune to these insects and so trials may be undertaken to test their suitability as avenue trees.

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Corrigenda.

By A. E. COOPE, M.C.S.

The following corrections should be made in my paper on "The Black Art," published in this Journal, XI, 1933, p. 264.

On page 269 "Names of God" and "Ho Names of God" should be deleted in lines 6 and 31 respectively and "whose names are one with God" substituted therefor in each case.

On page 270 "Ho Names of God" should be deleted in line 20 and "whose names are one with God" substituted therefor.

On page 270 the brackets and query mark around "tanah raya" should be deleted in lines 34 and 35.

On page 270 "Little Comrades" should be deleted in line 39 and "Comrade" substituted therefor.

On page 271 the brackets and query mark around "the mainland" should be deleted in line 2.

On page 271 "of the" should be deleted in line 4.

On page 271 "Tanah Raya" may be a corruption for Hantu Raya" should be deleted in line 13.

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TRENGGANU MALAY.

By C. C. BROWN, M.C.S.

PREFACE.

Parvos parva decent. This little book has no greater pretensions than its predecessors, † *Perak Malay* and * *Kelantan Malay*. All three are written by one who is neither philologist nor ethnographer, to serve as introductions to the study of particular dialects of the Malay language of the Peninsula. Possibly it is a bit late in the day to study these dialects. The vernacular schools teach a "standard Malay" to the kampong children and the vernacular press does much the same thing for their parents. Possibly also it never was worth while studying dialects of Malay at all. In 1895 Clifford and Swettenham ‡ wrote: "the local dialects of colloquial Malay form a subject of minor importance and consist more in slight differences of pronunciation than in the variety of words employed." I leave that *dictum* to the judgment of those who have read *Perak Malay* and *Kelantan Malay*. My own comment on it is best expressed by the following story. Some twenty years ago a Civil Servant, who had justly acquired a reputation as a good Malay scholar in the Western States and was Federal Examiner in Malay, was seconded for service in one of the Eastern States. After he had been there for a month or two, the then Sultan of that State remarked of him that he was an excellent officer but *not very good at Malay*. I do not say that the present Sultan of that State would pass the same judgment now on a European who declined to accommodate the Malay of Negri Sembilan to his East Coast audience, but Malays are a conservative people and I fancy that it will be a long time before the dialects go.

The language of Trengganu is perhaps not quite so puzzling to the new comer as that of Kelantan, but the two dialects have

† Papers on Malay Subjects (second series): *Perak Malay* by C. C. Brown, 1921.

* Papers on Malay Subjects (second series): *Kelantan Malay* by C. C. Brown, 1927.

‡ A Dictionary of the Malay Language by Hugh Clifford and Frank Athelstane Swettenham, 1894.

a good deal in common (which must be my excuse for the repeated references hereinafter to *Kelantan Malay*) and I hope that this little book will serve its purpose of forearming Europeans against some of the difficulties of diction and pronunciation they may encounter on arrival in the State. The reader can at any rate be assured that the samples of the language which are provided by the dialogues are entirely native products, and I hereby acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to the authors, Tengku Wangsa, Dato' Jaya Perkasa and Tengku Segara. I have received from Che' 'Abdu'llah, Official Translator, valuable assistance in elucidating the meaning of difficult words or sentences in the dialogues; and for the description of Trengganu fishing methods in the Appendix I have to thank Mr. M. C. ff Sheppard, M.C.S., who originally wrote it, and Mr. W. Birtwistle, Officer-in-Charge of Fisheries, S.S. and F.M.S., who revised it.

C. C. BROWN.

PAHANG,

6th October, 1935.

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INTRODUCTION.

(1) BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It is sad that the late Mr. J. L. Humphreys did not write a study of the Trengganu dialect, a task for which he was qualified as no other European has been, is or probably ever will be. Not only had he the opportunities, offered by a sojourn of nearly ten years in the State at a time when the language was even less affected by outside influences than it is now, but he was a scholar *ad unguem* and as is shewn by the copious notebooks he has left, keenly interested in the language he was hearing all day and every day. All that he wrote however was an article in this Journal on geographical terms employed in Trengganu.

There are a few notes on Trengganu pronunciation in the Introduction to Clifford and Swettenham's Malay Dictionary†: but the only published contribution towards a knowledge of the dialect is an article by Mr. P. A. B. McKerron, M.C.S. entitled "A Trengganu Vocabulary" in this Journal in May, 1931. A few of the words he quotes are misspelt, e.g. *gētek* for *getek* (or *gatek*), *tempek* for *tepek*, *hampus* for *hapus*: but otherwise the only criticism that can be offered on the article is that its quantity does not equal its quality.

(2) GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRENGGANU DIALECT.

It would be misleading to suggest that there is only one dialect of Malay spoken in Trengganu. The specimens of Ulu Trengganu speech which are given at p. 86 reveal a striking dissimilarity, not only in pronunciation but also in diction, to the other specimens given in this book: and in the Besut district the language heard is often that of Kelantan pure and simple. But the fact that two of the leading Malays of Kuala Besut, who were born there and are rapidly qualifying for the "oldest inhabitant" category, speak the language of Kuala Trengganu with little or no trace of Kelantan influence suggests the inference that the true Trengganu dialect is that which is illustrated in all the dialogues that follow except No. X.

2. This dialect shares the merits and defects of the Kelantan dialect, to which it bears a very strong general resemblance. Its chief merit is its purity: probably no dialect in the Peninsula includes less foreign words in its everyday vocabulary. The intercourse with Siam, such as it was, of former days seems to have left no influence on the language of Trengganu; and many of the Portuguese, Chinese and Indian words which in Malay guise have

† A Dictionary of the Malay Language by Hugh Clifford and Frank Athelstane Swettenham, 1894. Hereinafter referred to as Clifford and Swettenham.

long been incorporated in the Malay of the Western States are still unknown in Trengganu.

3. Where Kelantan Malay fails, Trengganu Malay fails also, as exhibiting less of those refinements of style and diction which Perak, more faithful to the classic tradition as typified by the *Sējarah Mēlayu*, has preserved. As in Kelantan, so in Trengganu the passive *di.....nya* construction (e.g. *sahaya di-hambat-nya* "he chased me") is never heard in everyday speech, as it is in Perak: the radical form of the verb is used after *hēndak* (*nak*), *turun*, *pērgi*, *biasa*, etc. (thus *nak lihat*, *turun tengok*, *pērgi ambil*, *biasa tulis* instead of *nak mēlihat*, *turun mēnengok*, *pērgi mēngambil*, *biasa mēnulis*): and there is little use of those picturesque and effective proverbial sayings (*tēlabai*, *'ibarat*, *bidalan*) which are still, it is to be hoped, heard from the lips of the Perak peasantry.

(3) TRENGGANU WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS.

The dialogues which follow do not indicate any consistent practice in regard to pronouns. There appears to be no Trengganu counterpart of the *tēman—mika* of Perak. *Mu* is evidently the common pronoun of the second person singular and *mu-ma* for the second person plural is used in the *darat*. But whereas in Perak if a person is addressed as *mika* or *kamu*, the speaker will invariably refer to himself as *tēman* or *aku* as the case may be, there seems to be no such regular practice in Trengganu, *saya*, *amba* and *aku* all being used for the first person when *mu* is being used for the second person. *Dia* appears to be the pronoun of the third person plural: *dia orang* is never heard and *dema* only in the *darat*. The Trengganu use of *nya* seems to be identical with that of Kelantan, see p. 6, *Kelantan Malay*.

2. Most of the words and expressions noted at pp. 6 and 7 of *Kelantan Malay* as common colloquialisms in Kelantan are equally common in Trengganu. On the coast *kabar* (*khabar*) is generally heard for "to tell," but *ruwiyat* (pronounced *roya'*) is also used and in the *darat* is the regular word. Similarly *buleh* (*bēruleh* "obtain"), *hak*, *gegir*, *gak* (Kelantan *gat*) are used in Trengganu as they are in Kelantan. There are a few very common Kelantan expressions which do not appear to be used in Trengganu, at any rate on the coast, viz. *balas* with the same meaning as *macham* in the Western States (*balas mana* = *macham mana* "how?", *balas itu* "thus"): *kēlek* = *balek*, *mēgapa* = *moga apa* "what?", *tak sir* = *tidak hēndak*, for which the invariable Trengganu equivalent is *ta'amboh* (*tidak ēmboh*).

3. The following is a list, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, of common words and expressions with which any newcomer to Trengganu should familiarise himself:—

achap

"often": *achap-achap* and *bērachap* are equally common forms. *Kērap* in this sense is not used in Trengganu.

<i>achu</i>	the <i>chuba</i> of the Western States. <i>Achu kēleh</i> "just look."
<i>amas</i>	<i>sa-amas</i> is fifty cents and \$1.50 is described in Trengganu as <i>tiga amas</i> rather than <i>sa-ringgit sa-tengah</i> or <i>tengah dua ringgit</i> .
<i>ba'apa</i>	i.e. <i>buat apa?</i> "Why?" "What is it?"
<i>bēhang</i>	i.e. <i>bahan</i> , used literally to mean "give a drubbing" and also in an applied sense "done for", the equivalent of the Perak <i>lantak</i> , e.g. <i>padi habis bahan di-tikus</i> "the rats have ruined the padi."
<i>bēlai</i>	<i>biar</i> , e.g. <i>bēlai-lah</i> "never mind", <i>bēlai-lah tēntu</i> "let's have no doubt about it."
<i>chēmak</i>	"many", "much": apparently always used interrogatively, <i>chēmak mana?</i> "How many (did you get, do you want etc.)?"
<i>dang</i>	i.e. <i>dan</i> , "time to...", e.g. <i>dang-ka kita sapai?</i> "Can we get there in the time?" <i>Tak dang gēlap sapai-la</i> "Yes, we shall be there before dark." Also "time at...", e.g. <i>rumah gudang tēbakar 'itu dang tuan-ka?</i> "Was that shop-house fire in your time?", <i>dang bila-bila sēnang</i> "whenever you can manage it."
<i>gēnap</i>	rather than <i>tiap</i> , thus <i>gēnap-gēnap tahun</i> , <i>gēnap-gēnap orang</i> "every year," "every man."
<i>kēleh</i>	commoner than <i>tengok</i> .
<i>kohor</i>	<i>pērlahan</i> , see note on <i>kēha</i> at p. 23, <i>Kelantan Malay</i> and at p. 37 of this book.
<i>la</i>	<i>kala</i> . <i>La 'ni</i> = <i>sēkarang</i> , <i>tengah ini</i> (Perak) "at the present time." Very often used without <i>ini</i> : thus <i>sapai kēla</i> "up to the present", <i>nak buat bila?</i> <i>La-lah</i> "When's it to be done? Now!"
<i>liat</i>	<i>lihat</i> : e.g. <i>achu gi liat</i> "just go and have a look."
<i>nu</i>	"yonder", the Perak <i>nun</i> . The termination is very indefinite and <i>nung</i> is as commonly heard as <i>nu</i> .
<i>pēlawak</i>	<i>bērbohon</i> "to tell a lie," e.g. <i>dudok pēlawak sokmor (sa-'umur)</i> "always telling lies."

- pekong, pēlekong* "throw" = *baling*, see *tohok* below.
- pera, pēlera* *piara, pēlihara* "look after," "maintain," e.g. *lēmbu 'ni s'apa dia pera* "who is keeping these cattle?" *'dok pēlera mata bēsar kēleking*, see p. 26.
- pitis* *duit*, i.e. money generally, e.g. *nak gi dēngan mētēkar pun ta'adak pitis* "we haven't got the money to pay car hire."
- rak* (a) physical ability, the *lalu* of Perak, e.g. *rak-kah mu pikul?* "Can you manage it?"
 (b) physical well-being, used negatively only, e.g. *badan tak rak sangat* "not feeling at all strong."
 (c) scrub, light jungle, e.g. *ikut balek rak itu* "go by that patch of scrub."
- riyal* "a dollar," rather than *ringgit*.
- sabab* *sēbab*.
- sokmor* i.e. *sa-'umur* "always," e.g. *tēbi'at dia bēgitu sokmor* "that's how he behaves always." *Salalu* is not used in this sense in Trengganu, see note on *sēlalu* below.
- sakat (sēkat)* (a) "up to" "as far as," e.g. *sēkat ping-gang* "up to the waist": *kita mudek 'ni sēkat mana?* "How far are we going upstream?"
 (b) "since," see note at p. 15.
- sat 'ni* as in Kelantan, means "recently," not "presently" as in Kedah. It refers to a time more recent than *tadi*.
- sēkala* "formerly" "hitherto," e.g. *sēkala tidak-lah bēgitu* "that wasn't so on former occasions." *Murah pada sēkala* "cheaper than it used to be."
- sēlalu* as in Kelantan, is always used in the sense "forthwith," e.g. *dia gi sēlalu* means in Trengganu "he departed there and then and not "he always went," which would be *dia gi sokmor*, see note on *sokmor* above.
- sēmulai* "over again," "once more," e.g. *tanya dia sēmulai* "ask him again." The word is pronounced *sēmulai*, not *sa-mula*.
- sudi* "experience," "make trial," e.g. *orang sudi 'dah* "people have tried it."

<i>těbeng</i>	"persist," e.g. <i>dia těbeng juga minta</i> "he went on asking all the same." A common variant is <i>tuas</i> .
<i>tohok</i>	used as in Kelantan for (a) "throwing away" a thing, with or without <i>buang</i> (b) "throwing" an object a short distance. See note at p. 117, <i>Kelantan Malay</i> .
<i>was</i>	"be anxious, doubtful," not quite the same as either <i>bimbang</i> or <i>shak</i> , e.g. <i>dudok was tadak pasal</i> "worrying without reason" or <i>dalam pěkara itu běrasa was sikit</i> "not altogether happy in my mind about that matter."

(4) PRONUNCIATION.

The tendency to save the tongue as much work as possible in the pronunciation of the Malay language is common throughout the Peninsula. In Perak, Pahang, and Kedah there may be Malays who in their everyday speech with one another make a practice of sounding properly the final *s* or the final *l* of a Malay word and say *kěris* and *chěngal*, but they are heavily outnumbered by those who affect the more easily sounded *kěreh* or *chěngai*. In Perak final *ar* and *au* are pronounced identically, to rhyme with the English *daw*, no attempt whatsoever being made to give the true value to the final *r* of such a word as *děngar*: nor is any such attempt made in Kedah, where words ending in *ar* are pronounced as though they ended with the letter *ain*, the word *kějjar* for instance rhyming with *roja'* (Ar. رجاء).

2. This tendency is pushed further in Trengganu and Kelantan than in any other part of the Peninsula. The Perak Malay gives up the struggle to sound the final *l* of *bantal* and merely says *bantai*, leaving the context to explain whether he is speaking of a pillow or of cutting up a buffalo. The Trengganu and Kelantan Malays attempt neither final *l* nor medial *n* and simply say *batai*, which might represent *bantal*, *bantai* or *batal*.

3. The labour-saving devices of Trengganu and Kelantan in this respect may be tabulated as follows:—

(1) ellipse of medial consonants

- (a) where medial *-m* is followed by *-p*, only the *-p* is sounded: thus *sapai* for *sampai*, *sapan* (actually pronounced *sapang*, see (2) (b) below) for *sampan*, *sipang* for *sim pang* (or *simpan*) etc.: but *lambat* not *labat*;
- (b) where medial *-n* is followed by *-ch* or *-t*, only the *ch* or *t* is sounded: thus *bachi* for *banchi*, *běchah*

for *bēnchah*, *patai* for *pantai* etc.: but *landak*, not *ladak*, *pandai*, not *padai*.

- (c) where medial *-ng* is followed by *-k* or *-s*, only the *k* or *s* is sounded: thus *paku* for *pangku*, *pakat* for *pangkat*, *basal* for *bangsal*, *lasong* for *langsong* etc.

(2) assimilation or slurring of terminations

- (a) final *-ab*, *-ap*, *-at*; *-ib*, *-ip*, *-it*; *-ub*, *-up*, *-ut*. The final *b*, *p* and *t* are not properly pronounced, the sound in each case being merely a glottal check: thus *saba'* for *sabab* (*sēbab*), *taka'* for *tangkap*, *banga'* for *bangat*; *mēgarek* for *Mēgarib* (*Maghrib*), *bakek* for *bangkit*, *kēlek-kēlek* for *kēlip-kēlip*; *sangguk* for *sanggup*, *ikuk* for *ikut*.
- (b) final *-ai*, *-ar*, *-au*. In Kelantan these terminations are pronounced identically, to rhyme with the English *bar*. In Trengganu final *-ar* is pronounced, on the coast, as it is in Perak, i.e. to rhyme with the English *daw* (inland the tendency is to pronounce it as in Kelantan). But whereas Perak and Kelantan both pronounce final *-au* as they pronounce final *-ar*, this termination in Trengganu is sounded, at any rate on the coast, identically with final *-ai*. Thus for instance the place name *Chērang Sa-pulau* (in the district of Kuala Trengganu) is pronounced, and often written, as *Chērang Sa-pulai*, though it is obvious that the true name is *Chērang Sa-pulau* i.e. the patch of scrub.
- (c) final *-am*, *-an*, *-ang*. In Trengganu the words *padam*, *padan* and *padang* are, for all practical purposes, pronounced identically, to rhyme with the English *hung*. A favourite word of the present Chief Minister's is *batuang*, in such a phrase as *jadi batuang pada kita*. This would not be readily recognised by the newcomer to Trengganu as *bantuan*. Other good illustrations of this peculiarity of Trengganu pronunciation are *sekeng-heng*, the local equivalent of the English *second-hand*, and *Hey Li Chang* as the Trengganu version of a Chinese "chop" well-known along the East Coast, whose own spelling of its name is *Heng Lee Chan*!
- (d) final *-i*, *-im*, *-in*, *-ing*. The Kelantan habit of tacking *-ng* on to the end of words ending in *-i*, e.g. *bining* and *guning* for *bini* and *guni* is equally a Trengganu habit. In fact the pronunciation in Trengganu of the last syllable words ending in *-i*, *-im*, *-in*, *-ing* is so indefinite that it would be almost safe to say that these terminations are sounded in the same way, viz. a slurred *-ing*. One certainly never hears the word *lagi* pronounced sharply *lagee* and though it

could not be said that it is definitely *laging*, the latter spelling (or *lagi^{na}*, see (5) 2. below) gives a better idea of the sound than *lagi*. A striking instance of this peculiarity appeared recently in an old Court document in which occurred the words *iya tiada bĕraning mĕngaku*.

- (e) final *-u*, *-um*, *-un*, *-ong*. The observations in the immediately preceding paragraph apply *mutatis mutandis* equally to the Trengganu pronunciation of such words as *Trĕngganu*, *ma'alum*, *turun* and *borong*. The sound given to the last syllable in each case is so vague that *-ung* might be said to represent all four terminations. *Tĕganung* (or perhaps *Tĕganu^{na}*) is undoubtedly as good a phonetic rendering as one can give with the Roman alphabet of the local pronunciation of the name of the State.
- (f) final *-oh*, *-ok*. There is no practical difference between *balok* and *balak* as pronounced in Trengganu: the final syllable in each case is pronounced *au'*, the *au* having the same sound as the *au* in the English *auk*. Thus *esok*, *pokok*, *patok* sound in Trengganu like *esau'*, *pokau'*, *patau'*: just as *kĕsak*, *kotak*, *katak* sound like *kĕsau'*, *kotau'*, *katau'*. The same is not altogether true of words ending in *-ah* and *-oh*. One hears *pĕnauh* for *pĕnoh* but one does not hear *gadauh* for *gadoh*.

4. In Trengganu, outside the Besut district, the Kelantan pronunciation of final *a* which makes *duka* sound like the English *do caw* is never heard. Final *a* is pronounced in Trengganu as it is in Perak: that is to say, *dua* rhymes with the English *doer*. In other respects there is, as may be gathered from the preceding paragraph, a strong similarity between the pronunciations of the two States: and the following oddities of Kelantan pronunciation are common to Trengganu also:

- (i) the substitution of *w* for *m* in all compounds of the word *mana*; thus *dĕwana* for *dimana* (and *dari-mana*), *kĕwana* for *ka-mana*, *'gĕwana* for *'gimana* (*bagi-mana*);
- (ii) the substitution of *r* for *ng* in such words as *pĕngais* (*mĕngais*) and *pĕngayoh* which are pronounced as *pĕrais* (*mĕrais*) and *pĕranyoh*;
- (iii) the insertion of an *n* between the *a* and *i* (*y*) of such words as *mayang*, *mayat*, *pĕngayoh* which are pronounced *manyang*, *manyat*, *pĕranyoh*;
- (iv) the addition of a final *k* to the words *nasi*, *tahi*, *biji* and *juga* which are pronounced *nasek*, *tahek*, *bijek* and *jugak*.

(5) ORTHOGRAPHY.

In the dialogues that follow, the right-hand column gives the full spelling of the words in the accepted Romanised form. In the left hand column an attempt has been made to give the reader some idea of the way in which the words are pronounced in Trengganu. In one published critique of the author's *Kelantan Malay* the reviewer justly complained that "the limitations of the Roman alphabet compel the reader to remember about twenty rules of pronunciation if he desires to realise what the language really sounds like." In this book the strain on the reader's memory is slightly reduced, as the Roman alphabet has been made to do heavier duty in the representation of sounds, particularly of terminations. The last syllable of words ending in *-am*, *-an*, *-im* and *-in* is, for all practical purposes, pronounced in Trengganu as the terminations *ang* and *ing* are sounded in standard Malay. Words ending in *am* and *-an* have therefore been written in these dialogues as*ang*, and those ending in *-im* or *-in* as*ing*: thus *malang* for *malam*, *bukang* for *bukan*, *rajang* for *rajin*, *musang* for *musim* and so on. Similarly *-k* has been substituted for final *p* or *t* (see (4) 3. (2) above) where that can be done without causing confusion. Thus *ikuk*, *sakek*, *sikek*, *lauk* give the reader a reasonably correct idea of the Trengganu pronunciation of *ikut*, *sakit*, *sikit* (*sadikit*), *laut*: but *sangat* could not be written *sangak* without causing him to wonder whether *sangak* represented *sanga'* (see (4) 3. (2) (a)) or *sangau'* (see (4) 3. (2) (f) above). But no confusion can arise from the writing of *halus* as (*h*)*aluh* or *habis* as *habeh*: if the reader pronounces *haluh*, *habeh* as he would pronounce them if they were words in standard Malay, he will give the Trengganu sound of *halus*, *habis*. Similarly *kərbau* has been written as *kərbai* as this spelling gives a good idea of the way this and other words ending in *-au* are pronounced in Trengganu.

2. Two innovations in Romanising have been made in this attempt at a phonetic rendering viz. (i) *^{ns}* to represent the Trengganu pronunciation of final *-i* or *-u*, e.g. '*ni^{ns}* (*ini*), *Tĕnganu^{ns}* (*Trĕngganu*)† and (ii) *ay* to represent the sound of final *a* in the Ulu. The Ulu pronunciation of the word *buta* can be represented by the English *boo tay*, just as *bay buss* is a fair phonetic rendering of the word *bebas* according to the standard pronunciation. Under the accepted system of Romanising the letter *e* represents the English *ay*, but to write *buta* as *bute* might not immediately suggest to the reader that the word was pronounced in Ulu Trengganu to rhyme with the English *day*. The spelling *ay* for final *a* of words in dialogue No. X has therefore been adopted, unscholarly as it may appear to be. Italics have been used to show that this *ay* represents a special sound and should not be pronounced like the *ay* in *layak*.

† To represent every final *-i* or *-u* as *-i^{ns}* or *-u^{ns}* throughout the dialogues would be wearisome to the eye. This *^{ns}* has accordingly been inserted from time to time only, to serve as a reminder to the reader that this *^{ns}* sound is always *there*.

I.—THE FISHERMEN.

Bakar 'dak kēlauk¹ ari niⁿ ?

*You didn't go out fishing to-day,
Bakar ?*

Kēlauk jugak.

Oh yes, I did.

Banyak boleh ikang ?

Did you do any good ?

Ta'adak, boleh dua ekor 'ja. Ari
'niⁿ kurang patok sikek, upang
pung abeh. Gi chari dēpukat
tarek² pung ta'adak upang.
Banyak ikang-ikang lēpas kē-
lauk, ayir pung jērneh, boleh
napak tanah.

*No good: only got a couple.
They weren't biting properly
and I ran out of bait. I tried
a drag-net boat and they hadn't
got any bait. The fish had all
got away out to sea, the water
was so clear you could see the
bottom.*

Apa kabar ari 'niⁿ ?

How does it go to-day ?

Ikang takul³ banyak jugak.

*The lifting-net people are doing
well.*

Bakar tidak ka-laut hari ini ?

Ka-laut juga.

Banyak bēruleh ikan?

Tidak ada, bēruleh dua ekor
sahaja. Hari ini kurang patok
sadikit, umpan pun habis. Pērgi
chari di-pukat tarek pun tidak
ada umpan. Banyak ikan lēpas
ka-laut, ayir pun jērneh, boleh
nampak tanah.

Apa khabar hari ini ?

Ikan tangkul banyak juga.

¹ kēlauk—for spelling see Introduction, p. 8. This is the regular expression in Trengganu for "fishing" (at sea). The life of a fisherman is described as kērja ka-laut and it will be seen on p. 17 that that balek kēlauk means "come in from fishing."

² pukat tarek—the drag-net worked inshore, principally for the catching of bilis. For a description of the nets used by Trengganu fishermen and the methods of working them, see Appendix.

³ takul—see Appendix.

'gëwana ikang payang¹ 'dak napak ? Gamak 'dak boleh mëmukat lagi, aruh dëras sangat s'ari dua 'ni², kochah getek. Këmaring këlauk jugak chari tēgiri³.

How is it there's no fish from the payangs? I suppose they haven't been able to do any fishing yet, the currents have been strong this last day or two, and it's been rough too. I went out yesterday for tēgiri.

'dah, makang-ka tidak ?

Were they coming at all ?

'dak nya² sēnjah. Sēnjah sēkali, luchuk. Hala balek sēnjah sēkali³ boleh bēsar bēteh. Gamak s'ari dua lagi boleh payang 'mukat, gamak-nya kēkohor³ nya tēdoh.

They weren't biting. I had one on but he got off. On the way back I hooked another, the size of the calf of your leg. The payangs ought to be fishing in a day or two, it looks like calming down.

Mari dëwana 'tu, Sa'id, napak lēteh sangat 'tu ?

Where have you come from, Sa'id ? You're looking jagged out.

Saya baru sapai dari Tēlok Mēkuang.

Just in from Tēlok Mēngkuang.

Bagimana ikan payang tidak nampak ? Gamak tidak boleh mëmukat lagi, harus dëras sangat sa-hari dua ini, kochah getek. Kēlmarin ka-laut juga chari tēnggiri.

Sudah, makan-kah tidak ?

Tidak dia sēnjah. Sēnjah sa kali, luchut. Hala balek sēnjah sa-kali boleh bēsar bētis. Gamak sa-hari dua lagi boleh payang mëmukat, gamak-nya kohor-kohor dia tēdoh.

Mari dari-mana itu, Sa'id, nampak lēteh sangat itu ?

Sahaya baharu sampai dari Tēlok Mēngkuang.

¹ payang—see Appendix.

² nya—see Introduction, p. 2.

³ kēkohor—see note on kor at p. 37.

Dudok buat kĕrija¹ apa dĕnu^{ng} ?

What are you working at there ?

Auh kĕrija apa lagi, kĕrija-ang
sokmor 'tu-la.

Oh, the same old thing.

Mu kĕlauk payang jĕragang Musa
lagi-ka ?

Are you still in Musa's payang ?

'dak 'dah. Saya bĕrĕti lĕbeh
kurang dua bulang dĕngang dia.
Masa la 'ni^{ng} kĕlauk takul
Jĕragang Pak Yak pulak.

*No, I left him about two months
ago and now I'm in old Siak's
tangkul.*

Ikang chara boleh tahang-ka
dĕnu^{ng} ?

Is the fishing pretty good there ?

Auh, sama jugak dĕngang sini^{ng},
'tapi bila musing barat kĕna.

*Oh, the same as here, but it's
good when the wind's in the
north-west.*

'dah, mu mari ba'apa kĕsini^{ng} ?

Then what are you doing here ?

Saya ingat nak chari kĕrija darat
sĕmĕtara pĕriyang ujang 'ni^{ng}.

*I thought I'd try and get some-
thing to do inland until the wet
weather's over.*

Dudok buat kĕrja apa di-nu ?

Auh kĕrja apa lagi, kĕrja-an sa-
'umur itu-lah.

Mu ka-laut payang Jĕragan Musa
lagi-kah ?

Tidak sudah. Sahaya bĕrhenti
lĕbeh kurang dua bulan dĕngan
dia. Masa (ka)la ini ka-laut
tangkul Jĕragan Pa' Siak pula.

Ikan chara boleh tahan-kah
di-nun ?

Auh, sama juga dĕngan sini, tĕtapi
bila musim barat, kĕna.

Sudah, mu mari buat apa ka-sini ?

Sahaya ingat hĕndak chari kĕrja
darat samĕntara pĕriyam hujan
ini.

¹ Kĕrija—this word might really be spelt *kija* to represent the local pronunciation, as in Kelantan. See note on *kĕrja* *kal* at p. 142, *Kelantan Malay*.

Lēpas 'tu mu nak balek kě-Tělok
Měkuang pulak ?

*Then you'll go back to Telok
Mengkuang ?*

Rasa-nya ta'amboh 'dah. Dari
sini^{ng} saya nak tēruh kě-
Těganu^{ng}¹.

*No, I've given that up. From
here I'm going straight to
Trengganu.*

'gěwana, mu ada bēsēlēhing² kira
děngang kawan-kawang ?

*What, have you fallen out with
your pals ?*

'dak aih.

No, I haven't.

'dah, ba'apa 'dah nak balek
s'orang ?

*Then why are you going back
there by yourself ?*

Saya dēngar lēpas bah³ 'ni^{ng} dė
Těganu^{ng} raja nak kěrija bēsar,
ada sērba nika mainang.

*I hear that after the wet season
in Trengganu the Sultan's giving
a big do, every sort of show.*

Iya sunggoh ? Mu dēngar s'apa
kata ?

Is that so ? Who told you ?

Lēpas itu mu hēndak balek ka-
Tělok Měngkuang pula ?

Rasa-nya tidak ěmboh sudah.
Dari sini sahaya hēndak tērus
ka-Trěngganu.

Bagimana, mu ada bēsēlēhing
kira dēngan kawan-kawan ?

Tidak aih.

Sudah, buat apa sudah hēndak
balek sa-orang ?

Sahaya dēngar lēpas bah ini di-
Trěngganu raja hēndak kěrja
bēsar, ada sērba anika mainan.

Iya sunggoh ? Mu dēngar siapa
kata ?

¹ Těganu^{ng}—for spelling see Introduction, p. 7.

² bēsēlēhing—the meaning is the same as that of bēsēlēh.

³ bah—the word appears to be used in Trengganu with the meaning
"wet season" like tēngkujoh in Perak: the latter word is unknown in
Trengganu.

Saya dēngar dēkastang Kijal,
kērani^{ng}-kērani^{ng} dudok bē-
kechek. Tak 'kang orang buat
lolak'. Mu rasa nak gi ?

Sahaya dēngar di-Customs Kijal,
kērani-kērani dudok bērkechek.
Tidak akan orang buat lolok.
Mu rasa hēndak pērgi ?

*I heard at the Customs office at
Kijal, the clerks were talking
about it. People wouldn't in-
vent a thing like that. Are you
thinking of going ?*

Auh, aku tak napak jalang boleh
gi, tadak modal sēkepeng²
harang.

Auh, aku tidak nampak jalan
boleh pērgi, tiada modal sa-
kepeng haram.

*I don't see how I can go, I've
not got a bean.*

Choh³, gēwana gamak kita 'ni^{ng} ?
Well, what about it, Jusoh ?

Jusoh, bagaimana gamak kita ini ?

Gamak apa, Long ? Anging bē-
dohor⁴ machang 'ni^{ng} nak kē-
lauk 'dak boleh, kohor dudok
kēruteh⁵ hak-hak dērumah
sēkepeng dua. Kalu tadak,
bēdagu⁶-la kita, nak kērija apa
la 'ni^{ng} ?

Gamak apa, Long ? Angin bē-
dohor macham ini hēndak ka-
laut tidak boleh, kohor dudok
kēruteh hak-hak di-rumah sa-
kepeng dua. Kalau tiada, bē-
dagu-lah kita, hēndak kērija
apa (ka)la ini ?

*You may well say that, Long.
With the wind blowing great
guns like this you can't do any
fishing, you've simply got to
live in the house. If it wasn't for
live on the cent or two that's*

¹ *lolak*—so the word is pronounced, but it is presumably the same word as *lolok* given by Wilkinson†. *Buat lolak* means "pulling one's leg."

² *Sēkepeng*—the first *e* of *kepeng* is long. See Wilkinson under *kepeng*.

³ *Choh*—other common but not easily recognisable Trengganu abbreviations of proper names are *Yir* (Tahir), *Ya* (Yahya), *Yis* (Dēris), *Chang* (Hassan), *Uk* (Daud), *'At* (Sa'at), *We'l* (Isma'il), *Cha* (Musa).

⁴ *bēdohor*—an onomatopoeic: it should be pronounced as though it ended in ع Some of the local pundits say that this word is more properly used of the sound of the waves booming on the shore in rough weather, and that the word for the sound of a strong wind is *bērdēngong*, see Wilkinson s. v.

⁵ *kēruteh*—the original sense of this word apparently is "chip off," as e.g. of a person using his fingers instead of scissors to deal with a finger-nail that wants cutting: so metaphorically to "use bit by bit."

⁶ *bēdagu*—one might have thought this to be the Malay equivalent of "chin-wagging": but actually it is used of a person who has nothing better to do than sit with his chin resting on his hand—the attitude of despondence.

† A Malay-English Dictionary by R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., 1932.

*that, there'd be nothing to do
but sit with your chin on your
hand, there's no work going of
any sort.*

Kĕrija ada, kadang¹ 'dak chakap
kita nak gi jauh-jauh ulu-ulu,
susah nak tinggal anak-pinak.
Amba tak sĕtuju machang
orang, nak gi kĕwana-wana gak²
punggah-la tuku lĕkar.³

*There is work to be had, but you
and I aren't signing on for
going right away inland miles
away, you can't leave the family
behind. I don't hold with
taking the whole bag of tricks
with you wherever you go.*

Hor, amba bĕgitu jugak. Sa⁴
pulah, pĕtang-pĕtang balek,
awak-awak kita 'tu dudok
mĕletir 'ja dĕkĕdai-kĕdai kupi,
nak gi bubul pukat ta'amboh
sĕtarang.⁵

*You're right there. What's more,
when you come back in the
evening, you'll find the crew
sitting gossiping in the coffee-
shops, no mending nets for
them !*

Kĕrja ada, (tetapi) tidak chakap
kita hĕndak pĕrgi jauh-jauh
hulu-hulu, susah hĕndak tinggal
anak-pinak. Hamba tidak sa-
tuju macham orang, hĕndak
pĕrgi ka-mana-mana gak,
punggah-lah tungku lĕkar.

Hamba begitu juga. Sa (pĕrkara)
pula, pĕtang-pĕtang balek,
awak-awak kita itu dudok
mĕletir sahaja di-kĕdai-kĕdai
coffee, hĕndak pĕrgi bubul
pukat tidak ĕmboh sa-tir haram.

¹ kadang—this word means "but" and is said to be the old Malay word for the more modern *tĕtapi*. It is not known to the dictionaries in this sense. It is possibly a corruption of *ka-ada-an* "the position being" ?

² gak—see note on *gat* at p. 21, *Kelantan Malay*. The spelling *gak* more nearly represents the Trengganu pronunciation, the sound being deeper here than in Kelantan. The note above quoted applies however to Trengganu as regards the use of this interjection.

³ tuku lĕkar—lit. the stone for the cooking pot while it is cooking, and the stand for the cooking pot when taken off the fire: in other words, cooking apparatus. But in Trengganu *tungku lĕkar* includes not only the things you cook with but also the person who does the cooking, viz. one's wife: and to ask *tuku lĕkar bawak getek* ? is a polite way of inquiring whether the person addressed is taking his wife with him !

⁴ sa—used regularly in Trengganu for *satu*. A good example of this is the name of a locality near Kuala Trengganu which the uninitiated might think was called Pulau Rusa: its true name is Pulau Ru Sa, i.e. the island of the solitary casuarina.

⁵ sĕtarang—this and *sĕtabok* (*sa-tir kabok*) and *sĕtama* (*sa-tir hama*) are the common negative expletives used in Trengganu, in common with Kelantan. *Ta'amboh sĕtarang* would be rendered in the Western States as *ta'ndak sa-kali-kali*.

Sakat¹ përiyang ujang 'niⁿⁱ mu
makang ikang apa 'ja ?

Sangkat përiyam hujan ini mu
makan ikan apa sahaja ?

*Since this wet weather's set in,
how have you been managing
for fish ?*

Ikang hak jërok ari 'tu-la ada
sikek-sikek lagi, sëtengah tẽ-
payang 'dak sapai. Amba kata
'dah k'orang 'puang amba, buat
tahang mẽmbing² sikek. Dia
tëkak, "aih 'niⁿⁱ jënoh 'dah,"
kata dia. 'dah, mu makang
ikang apa ?

Ikan hak jërok hari itu-lah ada
sadikit-sadikit lagi, sa-tengah
tẽmpayan tidak sampai. Hamba
kata sudah ka-orang pẽrẽmpuan
hamba, buat tahan ëmbing
sadikit. Dia tẽkak, "Aih, ini
jẽnoh sudah," kata dia. Sudah,
mu makan ikan apa ?

*There's still a bit left of the fish
we pickled, barely half a jar
though. I told my wife to
pickle plenty, but she would
have her own way and said
"This is heaps." How are you
doing for fish ?*

Ikang kërëng anak-anak tambang
buru bẽsar-bẽsar këleking,
dudok gonyil hak 'tu, nak buat
'gẽwana lagi ? Biar rasa tahung
dẽpang 'niⁿⁱ kita gomol biar
sakang jërok sama buat kërëng.

Ikan kërëng anak-anak tamban
buru bẽsar-bẽsar këleking,
dudok gonyil hak itu, hẽndak
buat bagimana lagi ? Biar rasa
tahun di-hadapan ini kita gomol
biar sakan jërok sama buat
kërëng.

*All we've got is some sardines the
size of your little finger and we
just chew those, that's the
measure of it. Next year we'll
make a job of it and put down
plenty of pickled stuff, and
dried as well.*

¹ *sakat*—It looks as though this word was the Trengganu version of a word *sangkat*. It is used in two different senses (a) "since" (b) "up to (the limit of)". For an example of the latter use, see *sakat sërıyal* on p. 53. Wilkinson does not give *sangkat*, but under *sengkat* he quotes the Trengganu use (b) above. This must be a mistake as *sengkat* would be pronounced *sekat* in Trengganu; and *sekat* in that sense is never heard in Trengganu though *sëkat* is, and *sëkat sërıyal* is as common as *sakat sërıyal*. Another word for "since" in Trengganu is *mẽjak*, a local corruption of *mẽnjak* which is more easily recognised as the *sēmẽnjak* of the Western States.

² *mẽmbing*—a variant of the common Trengganu expression *ëmbing* with the meaning of *sangat*, e.g. *kaya ëmbing* "very rich."

Kita bĕratang¹ buat-la, 'chara apa
hal orang ?

Kita bĕrantam buat-lah, bĕchara
apa hal orang ?

*Yes, let's make a job of it together,
and never mind what other
people do.*

(Later)

Ah, bĕranjak, Dolah, kĕrija parak²
sangat lagi.

Ah, bĕranjak, Abdullah, kĕrja
parak sangat lagi.

*Now then, Dolah, get a move on,
there's a lot of work still to be
done.*

Baik-la, amba pung orang tĕpah
buboh atap rumah.

Baik-lah, hamba pun orang tĕm-
pah buboh atap rumah.

*All right, I've got an order for
thatching a house.*

Pĕgi gonyoh pĕrahu, Muda, sokmor
iduk lak³ bĕgitu bĕsĕlĕpat-wat⁴
sisek-sisek ikan. Aku tengok
dalang-dalang petak timba
ruang⁵ petak bĕlakang bawah-
bawah chaping 'tu busok-bangar
nak buka idong 'dak boleh.

Pĕrgi gonyoh pĕrahu, Muda, sa-
umur hidup lak bagitu bĕrsĕ-
lĕpat-wat sisip-sisip ikan. Aku
tengok dalam-dalam petak
timba ruang petak bĕlakang
bawah-bawah chaping itu busok-
bangar hĕndak buka hidong
tidak boleh.

*You go and clean up that boat,
Muda. You always just leave
it as it is, with fish scales all
over the place. In the holds
amidships and astern and up in
the bows, you have to hold
your nose for the stench.*

¹ bĕratang—see Wilkinson under *rantam*. In Trengganu this is more commonly used than *bĕrpakat* in the sense of "combining to do" something.

² parak—see Wilkinson under *parak* II: commonly used in Trengganu, cf. *Chek nak parak bĕda'ah* on p. 81.

³ lak—has the same meaning as *biar* in the phrase *biar kĕdia-la* on p. 68 i.e. "let be." Other examples will be found on pp. 38 and 39. The word is not known to the dictionaries.

⁴ bĕsĕlĕpat-wat—see Wilkinson under *sĕlĕpat*. The -wat is merely an intensive, of the type common in Kelantan: see note on *kĕluloh-woh* at p. 40 of *Kelantan Malay*.

⁵ petak timba ruang—the *kolek* used by the *tangkul* (see Appendix) fishermen has three places for depositing the fish while the boat is still at sea, viz. two "holds" (*petak*) amidships and in the stern respectively and the space in the bows known as *bawah chaping*. The former are filled first and it is only when there has been a big catch that fish are laid up in the bows. These are known as *ikang luang* (*ikan haluan*) and they are generally larger and better fish than the main catch.

Getek pung¹ masing-masing balek
kĕlauk² bĕratang naik-naik,
mana-mana pung kita jugak
kĕna tĕbokok s'orang.

*That's because when we get back
from fishing, the others all go
ashore together, leaving me to
do the work by myself.*

Bĕgini, Muda, s'esok-s'esok³
pĕrahu sapang unjang⁴ sĕbuah
'tu mu pajak gonyoh s'orang.
Aku bĕri bĕgiang lĕbeh-lĕbeh
pada awak-awak laing, rĕga-
rĕga ikang luang.⁵

*Well, Muda, I'll tell you what.
In future you take on the
cleaning up of the unjam boat
yourself, and I'll give you a
bigger share than the others in
what we get for the best fish.*

'dah, lĕbeh chĕmak mana ?

How much bigger ?

Kalu awak-awak laing boleh tiga
amas, mu boleh kurang suku
dua riyal, aku tak 'kang makang
reng⁶ orang.

*If the others get \$1.50, you shall
have \$1.75. I'm going to give
every one a fair deal.*

Pakai bĕgini, sudah-la, pak.

*Let's put it this way and have
done with it.*

Getek pun masing-masing balek
ka-laut bĕrantam naik-naik,
mana-mana pun kita juga kĕna
tĕrbongkok sa-orang.

Bagini, Muda, sa-esok-sa-esok
pĕrahu sampan unjam sa-buah
itu mu pajak gonyoh sa-orang.
Aku bĕri bahagian lĕbeh-lĕbeh
pada awak-awak lain, harga-
harga ikan haluan.

Sudah, lĕbeh chĕmak mana ?

Kalau awak-awak lain bĕruleh
tiga amas, mu bĕruleh kurang
suku dua riyal, aku tidak akan
makan reng orang.

Pakai bagini sudah-lah, 'pak.

¹ *getek pung*—this phrase is also used at p. 32 and the meaning evidently is "the reason is." This must be a particular use of *getek*, which is used ordinarily in Trengganu as it is in Kelantan, see note on *gatek* at p. 24, *Kelantan Malay*.

² *balek kĕlauk*—see note on *kĕlauk* at p. 9.

³ *s'esok-s'esok*—an intensive form of the *sa-esok* of Kelantan, see *Kelantan Malay*, p. 25, and of the *esok* of Perak, see *Perak Malay*, p. 24, with the meaning of "in future."

⁴ *sapang unjang*—see Appendix.

⁵ *ikang luang*—see note on *petak timba ruang*, p. 16.

⁶ *makang reng orang*—lit. consume the strength of men, i.e. take unfair advantage of the work they do. See Wilkinson under *reng* II.

Pakai 'gěwana? Bělai-la tētu.¹

What way? Let's have it straight.

Pakai bagi 'pat, sěbagi bėgiang
chuchi pėrahu, tiga bagi bėgiang
s'orang awak-awak, saya kamat²
padang 'dah.

*Let there be four shares: one share
goes to the man who cleans the
boat, the other three to be
divided among the crew. That
seems fair to me.*

Lohor³, jusělang⁴, kita ari 'ni^{ng},
gamak boleh ikang banyak 'tu.

*You're late back to-day, Juru
Selam. That means a lot of
fish, I know.*

Iya 'dak, boleh ikang maneh-
maneh sambal⁵ 'ja.

*Yes, I'm late enough but no fish
to speak of. Just enough for
us all to eat but nothing to sell.*

Běrapa buah?

How many boatfuls?

Boleh těngah dua buah, jual 'pat
likor sěbuah.

*One and a half, it fetched \$24 a
boat.*

Pakai bagimana? Bělai-lah těntu.

Pakai bahagi ěmpat, sa-bahagi
bahagian chuchi pėrahu, tiga
bahagi bahagian sa-orang awak-
awak, sahaya kamat padan
sudah.

Lohor, jěru-sělam, kita hari ini,
gamak bėruleh ikan banyak itu.

Iya tidak, bėruleh ikan manis-
manis sambal sahaja.

Bėruleh těngah dua buah, jual
ěmpat likur sa-buah.

¹ bělai-la tētu—i.e. biar-lah těntu. For bělai see *Kelantan Malay*, p. 20 under balai-la. Bělai is the form most commonly used in Trengganu.

² kamat—used in Trengganu as a variant of gamak, though it appears unlikely that there can be any connexion between the two words. Instances exist of k and g being interchanged in local varieties of the same word, e.g. *tukal* (Kedah and Perak) and *tugal* (Kelantan and Trengganu), *mega* (Hg. Tuah) and *mika* (Perak, coll.): but this can hardly be one of them, as the termination is not the same in the two words. Kamat is pronounced kama' and gamak is pronounced gamau' in Trengganu.

³ lohor—lit. mid-day, i.e. metaphorically, "late." The *tangkul* (see Appendix) fishermen usually come in earlier than the others.

⁴ jusělang—i.e. juru sělam, the diver. See Appendix. An appropriate English rendering is difficult to find.

⁵ maneh-maneh sambal 'ja—lit. enough to give flavour to the rice, viz. of the crew of the boats.

Amba pēgi balek, pēgi balek dua ari 'dah bēhang tang¹ kēring. Pukat soyak rabak abeh, nya gomol dēlēlumba. Ari 'ni² tang malang² 'dok bubul 'dak abeh sēkētir.

I've been out and back, out and back these two days without getting a thing. The net was all torn to bits by dolphins. I've been mending it the whole day and haven't finished yet.

Ambohi, pukat baru mētah³ pung rabak jugak.

What, that brand-new net of yours all in holes !

Bapak lēlumba tumbok bēri rabak⁴, tak dang bēkechek, tarek-tarek napak tēprēhong⁵ 'pat 'nang lubang charek, s'ekor buta⁶ tadak ikang. Majal⁷ sunggoh takul amba, d'ulu nyareh-nyareh nak tēbalek bēhang di-ombak. Rēga pukat orang tak bēlēpasang lagi, 'pat orang bērutang 'tu, amba sēbuchu.

Hamba pērgi balek, pērgi balek dua hari sudah, bahan hēntam (?) kēring. Pukat soyak rabak habis, dia gomol di-lomba-lomba. Hari ini tahan malam dudok bubul tidak habis sa-kētir.

Ambohi, pukat baharu bēnar pun rabak juga.

Bapa lomba-lomba tumbok bēri rabak, tidak dan bēkechek, tarek-tarek nampak tēpērēhong (?) ēmpat ēnam lubang charek, sa-ekur buta tiada ikan. Majal sunggoh tangkul hamba, dahulu nyaris-nyaris hēndak tērbalek bahan di-ombak. Harga pukat orang tidak bērlēpasan lagi, ēmpat orang bērhutang itu, hamba sa-buchu.

¹ tang—this may be a clipped form of *hēntam*, but the latter word is not used in Trengganu as it is in Kelantan, see note on 'tam at p. 60, *Kelantan Malay*, *bēhang* (bahan) being the Trengganu equivalent: and this is more probably a corruption of *tahan*.

² tang malang—i.e. all day long. See note on 'tan malam at p. 90, *Kelantan Malay*. This is most probably a corruption of *tahan*. If it were an abbreviation of *tēntang*, as Wilkinson appears to suggest under *tang*, *tang malam* would surely mean "at night," whereas in Trengganu it means "all day," presumably because one holds out until the night?

³ baru mētah—the word *mētah* is probably only an intensive, see Wilkinson sub voc. The Kelantan equivalent is *mēnah*, see note thereon at p. 48, *Kelantan Malay* though the connexion suggested there between *mēnah* and *bēnar* is no longer supported by the author.

⁴ bēri rabak—the use of the suffix *-kan* to make a transitive verb is uncommon in Trengganu and Kelantan, *bēri* plus the simple form of the word being used instead, cf. *bēri mati tikus*.

⁵ tēprēhong—the meaning apparently is "gaping open" as of anything with a large hole in it. The word *pērēhong* is unknown to the dictionaries.

⁶ s'ekor buta—see note on *abok* at p. 45, *Kelantan Malay*. This is one of the strong negatives commonly used in Trengganu and Kelantan.

⁷ majal—see Wilkinson s. v.

A big dolphin went into it and it was torn before you could say knife. We hauled in and found five or six huge holes, not a fish did we get. We've had no luck at all with this net. One day we all but capsized in a big sea. What's more, we haven't paid for the net yet. There are four of us in it and I've got a quarter.

Sakek bēda'ah¹ kēlauk pēriyang 'ni, salah-salah lek² 'dak balek sētarang gamak-nya.

It's no joke fishing at this time of year. If anything goes wrong, you'll never get back home again.

Hey, amba gak lēteh, sēkali-sēkali nak jual pērahu kuwe³ amba, murah pung bēlai-la asal laku.

Oh, I'm fed up with it. Sometimes I feel like selling my boat, at any price it'll fetch.

Jual ba'apa, pērahu sēbuah? Jang nak pulak, nak gagai kēwana? Gamak beleh mata nak chari machang pērahu mu 'tu, paluk⁴ pulak kēpala dēngang tuboh 'tu baru song-kēbangong⁵ napak-nya.

What are you going to sell it for when you've only got the one? When you want a boat, where

Sakit bēda'ah ka-laut pēriyam ini, salah-salah lek tidak balek sa-tir haram gamak-nya.

Hey, hamba gak lēteh, sa-kali sa-kali hēndak jual pērahu kuwe hamba, murah pun bēlai-lah asal laku.

Jual buat apa, pērahu sa-buah? Jam hēndak pula, hēndak gagau ka-mana? Gamak bilis mata hēndak chari macham pērahu mu itu, palut pula kēpala dēngan tuboh itu baharu song-kēbangun nampak-nya.

¹ bēda'ah—see Wilkinson s. v.

² lek—see Wilkinson under lek II, though the meaning assigned there is not quite correct as far as Trengganu is concerned. An instance of the Trengganu use of lek-lek will be found at p. 88. The meaning is "assuredly."

³ kuwe—see Appendix.

⁴ paluk—the meaning is as in the translation, "go well with." The word presumably is the same as palut given by Wilkinson though with a different meaning.

⁵ song-kēbangong—see Wilkinson under song.

are you going to find it? You'd have a job to get another like yours, her head goes so well with her hull and that gives her such lovely lines.

Kalu amba jual, gamak mepeh¹ amba, 'dak k'ada² mēnakul gamak-nya. Orang kata³ pērahu 'tu tak 'sah atok⁴ sama pērahu Dēreh 'ni, nya makang dia lēsap-patat.⁵

If I sell the boat, I shall be hard put to it to live, not being able to fish. There's no comparison between that boat and Dēris's, mine would leave his standing.

Sunggoh, amba kēleh pung bēgitu jugak. 'tu mēnatang apa⁶ mu baruk dēngang kaing 'tu?

Yes, so I've seen myself. What's that you've got wrapped up in cloth?

Kalau hamba jual, gamak mipis (?) hamba, tidak akan ada mēnangkul gamak-nya. Orang kata pērahu itu tidak usah antok sama pērahu Dēris ini, dia makan dia lēsap-patat.

Sunggoh, hamba kēleh pun bagitu juga. Itu bēnda apa mu barut dēngan kain itu?

¹ *mepeh*—the meaning is as in the translation: it may be *mipis* (see Wilkinson, s. v.), i.e. "thin" for lack of food?

² *'dak k'ada*—presumably represents *tidak akan ada*, i.e. "there'll be no more fishing"? A similar expression will be found at p. 54, *Kelantan Malay* see note on *'ka'ada*, which might be a corruption of *akan ada*.

³ *Orang kata*—this phrase is often used in Trengganu with no particular meaning, simply to fill out a sentence. Good examples of this use will be found in the dialogue at p. 94.

⁴ *atok*—the word means "compare." It may be a corruption of *antok*, though the dictionaries do not know that use of *antok*.

⁵ *lēsap-patat*—this is the same expression as what was written as *'sap-patak* at p. 105, *Kelantan Malay*. The author of the note thereon is now convinced that the expression is *lēsap-pantat*, an unvarnished description of "going out of sight."

⁶ *mēnatang apa*—Wilkinson under *binatang* says "(Kel., Pat.) thing whether animate or inanimate, = *bēnda*." The local pundits scorn the suggestion that *mēnatang* and *binatang* are the same word, and it is interesting to note that *atang* can be used with the same meaning, cf. p. 51. The balance of probability however evidently is on the side of the lexicographers, as Clifford and Swettenham are at one with Wilkinson in the matter. The local pronunciation is however *mēnatang*.

Auh, golok bakong amba bëli hak orang kētek¹. Hamba bëli jugak 'ni² kēnang kēmata tajam sangat, hamba achu choba sēkali makang rambut. Bimbang takut nya kēleh dēsi-pidi, nya igat.³

Oh, it's a knife I bought. It's stolen property but I bought it all the same because of its marvellous blade, I've tried and you can cut hair with it. But I'm scared of the O.C.P.D. seeing it, and then he'll clap me into the lock-up.

'dah, mu nak gi kēwana lagi napak lorat t'adi chaibilai-chaibilai ?⁴

Well, where are you off to now ? You seemed to be tearing along in the devil of a hurry just now.

Nak gi ambek anak kayu dalang rak 'tu 'ja.

I'm just going to get a few sticks in the scrub yonder.

'dah, gi-la banget, ari nak malang 'ni², bërani² te.⁴

Well, you'd better hurry up. You're a brave person going out as late as this.

Auh, golok bangkong hamba bëli hak orang kētek. Hamba bëli juga ini kēnang ka-mata tajam sangat, hamba achu chuba sa-kali makan rambut. Bimbang takut dia kēleh di-O.C.P.D., dia igat.

Sudah, mu hendak pērgi ka-mana lagi, nampak lorat tadi kachau-bilau kachau-bilau ?

Hēndak pērgi ambil anak kayu dalam rak itu sahaja.

Sudah, pērgi-lah banget, hari hēndak malam ini, bërani te.

¹ *kētek*—the word means "to steal" and the spelling represents the pronunciation. It may be the local version of *kētip*, see Wilkinson s. v., "stealing" being a recognised form of "nipping" ?

² *igat*—see Wilkinson under *igak*. The latter is a misleading spelling as *igak* in Kelantan would be pronounced *igau*, whereas the word is either *igap* or *igat*, either of which would be pronounced, in Kelantan as in Trengganu, as *iga*. The word is undoubtedly the same as *rigap*, given by Wilkinson as a Kedah word. See note on *rigap* at p. 19, *Kelantan Malay*.

³ *chaibilai-chaibilai*—said to be an abbreviation of *kachau-bilau* (see Wilkinson s. v.). For pronunciation of *-au* as *-ai* see Introduction, p. 6.

⁴ *te*—the spelling *teh* in *Kelantan Malay*, see note at p. 48, is wrong. This is obviously the same word and it is pronounced to rhyme with the French *te* as in *tête*, i.e. a long drawn out English *tay*.

Baik-lah, malang karang kita
bětēmu pulak nal.¹

*All right then, I'll be seeing you
to-night.*

Mērayek kēwana lama 'ni² tak
napak mata, Pak Mat?

*Where have you disappeared to
that we haven't seen you all
this time, Pa' Mat?*

Hey, Li, apa kabar? Mu kērija'
apa chara sēnang bēnar napak?

*Hello, Ali, how are you? What
are you doing these days?
You seem to be very comfort-
able.*

Sēnang apa bēnda? Dapat kē-
lauk pēranyoh³ sēputong³ boleh
sēkupang tiga amas liching
lēsap mēkalas. Pak Mat pēgi
kēwana tak napak mata idong?

*Who says comfortable? When I
go fishing, I'm only one of
many in the boat and I earn
12½ cents but I never see again
the \$1.50 I've had to put up.
Where have you been to, Pa'
Mat, that we haven't seen you?*

Baik-lah, malam karang kita
bětēmu pula.

(Me)ghaib kamana lama ini tidak
nampak mata, Pa' Mat?

Hey, Ali, apa khabar? Mu kērja
apa chara sēnang bēnar
nampak?

Sēnang apa bēnda? Dapat ka-
laut pēngayoh sa-puntong bē-
uleh sa-kupang tiga amas lichin
lēsap mēngkalas. Pa' Mat
pērgi ka-mana tidak nampak
mata hidong?

¹ *nal*—it is difficult to represent the pronunciation of this word. There is of course no *l* sound in it, see Introduction, p. 5 and *nar* would be a better spelling were it not for the fact that words ending in *ar* in Trengganu are pronounced to rhyme with the English *par*. The nearest English equivalent to the Trengganu pronunciation of *nal* is the cockney pronunciation of *now*.

² *pēranyoh*—see Introduction, p. 7.

³ *sēputong*—the note on *sēputong* at p. 33, *Kelantan Malay* applies equally to Trengganu. The general meaning of this sentence is clear, viz. it is intended as a vigorous denial of the suggestion that the speaker is doing well: but it is not so easy to get at the meaning of each constituent part of the sentence. By *pēranyoh sēputong* the speaker evidently conveys that he is only one of a crew, and *boleh sēkupang* describes his actual share of the proceeds of the catch. The words *tiga amas.....mēngkalas* presumably describe the outlay he has had to make for the hire, or his share in the purchase price, of the net used.

Nak pēgi kēwana sangat ? Achu
kēlauk dēPahang tak napak
jalang, tak kēna ikang. Abeh
'dah jajah ta'alok Pahang sē-
puluh kali ganda baik sini¹.
Bērasa sērek, ta'amboh bara¹
kēlaing 'dah, udoh molek nak
kēlauk dēsini-la.

Hēndak pēgi ka-mana sangat ?
Achu ka-laut di-Pahang tidak
nampak jalan, tidak kēna ikan.
Habis sudah jajah ta'aluk
Pahang sa-puluh kali ganda
baik sini. Bērasa sērek, tidak
ēmboh bara ka-lain sudah,
hudoh molek hēndak ka-laut
di-sini-lah.

*Oh, I've not been very far away.
I tried fishing in Pahang, but
couldn't do any good, no fish
to be had. I've tried every
part of Pahang but it's ten
times as good here. I've learnt
my lesson and there's no more
going abroad for me. Good or
bad, I'd sooner fish here any
day.*

Esok saya tupang s'orang gak ?
Can I come with you to-morrow ?

Esok sahaya tumpang sa-orang ?

Mari-la. Mu dudok dēwana ?
Certainly. Where are you living ?

Mari-lah. Mu dudok di-mana ?

Dudok tupang sēlopir² Kasing
Barat 'tu.

Dudok tumpang sa-lopir (?)
Kassim Barat itu.

*Kelantan Kassim lets me put up
in a corner of his house.*

Hak bējalang ngok-ngok, kaing
sēlai sēpinggang kēmaring 'tu ?
*What, the man I saw yesterday
who walks at a trot and goes
about with nothing but a sarong
on ?*

Hak bējalan ngok-ngok, kain sa-
hēlai sa-pinggang kēlmarin itu ?

Iya-la, s'apa lagi ?
Yes, that's the man.

Iya-lah, siapa lagi ?

¹ bara—the meaning is as in the translation, though this use of *bara* is not mentioned in the dictionaries.

² sēlopir—apparently means a part of a house added to the main building.

Mu mēnanak pētang sikek nal,
pukul satu kita tunjai sēlalu,
pēgi unjang¹ tanah gēlap².
Sēkala-sēkala³ unjang 'tu bē-
jasa pēriyang 'ni⁴.

*You'd better have your meal a
bit late in the evening, as we
shall be starting at 1 a.m. I
want to get to the bait before
it's light. That bait always
used to be a good one at this
time of year.*

Pak Mat, saya 'ni ta'adak baju
nak buat bēsahang⁴, mitak-la
sēlai. Baju saya charek sērēn-
yeh⁵, sēkali 'dak boleh pakai.

*Pa' Mat, I haven't got a jacket
to wear. Could you give me
one? The one I've got is in
tatters and simply isn't fit to
wear.*

Hak bētapong-tapong ubong⁶ ada.
Kalu nak, ambek-la.

*There's a patched one you can
have if you like.*

Baik-la, malang karang saya gi.

*All right then, I'll be with you
to-night.*

Mu mēnanak pētang sadikit, pukul
satu kita tunjai sa-lalu, pērgi
unjam tanah gēlap. Sa-kala
sa-kala unjam itu bērjasa pēri-
yam ini.

Pa' Mat, sahaya ini tidak ada
baju hēndak buat basahan,
minta-lah sa-hēlai. Baju sahaya
charek sērēnyeh, sa-kali tidak
boleh pakai.

Hak bērtampong-tampong hubong
ada. Kalau hēndak, ambil-lah.

Baik-lah, malam karang sahaya
pērgi.

¹ unjang—see Appendix.

² tanah gēlap—Wilkinson gives *tērang tanah* with the meaning "early dawn." *Tanah gēlap* represents an even earlier time of day.

³ sēkala-sēkala—see Wilkinson s. v. The unreduplicated form is commoner.

⁴ buat bēsahang—"for daily wear"; not, as one might think, "a bathing clout."

⁵ sērēnyeh—possibly a variant of *sērunyai*, see Wilkinson s. v. ?

⁶ bētapong-tapong ubong—i.e. with a new piece let in (*hubong*).

Mu kalu orang gërak, bikas-bangun sëlalu nal, jangang pulak orang 'dok tunggu tang malang tang siang¹, 'dok pëlera mata bësar këleking² përuk bësar gëbana 'dak pëlera.

Yes, and when people give you a call, you get up at once. I don't want to be hanging about waiting for you all day and night: think about getting your food and never mind about your sleep.

'dak. Saya mējak 'ni³ 'dak boleh kërsek sikek, tēkējuk sëlalu.

Oh no, nowadays the least sound wakes me.

Mu kalau orang gërak, bingkas-bangun sa-lalu-lah, jangan pula orang dudok tunggu tahan malam tahan siang, dudok pëli-hara mata bësar këlingking, përut bësar gëbana tidak pëli-hara.

Tidak. Sahaya sēmēnjak ini tidak boleh kërsek sadikit, tērkējut salalu.

¹ tang malang tang siang—lit. all day and all night, see note on tang malang at p. 19.

² pëlera mata bësar këleking—a proverbial expression, with something like the same meaning as the English "penny wise, pound foolish": lit. you take care of the eye, the size of your little finger, but you don't take care of the stomach, the size of the big drum: i.e. you think more of your sleep than you do of getting the food to fill your belly.

II.—THE FISH BUYERS.

Ada ikang we ?

Got any fish ?

Ada jugak s'ekor dua.

Yes, a few.

Soh-la kĕlat 'tu sikek nak tupang
kĕleh. Bĕrapa ekor tĕgiri^{ng} ?

*Slacken off that sheet a bit and
let's have a look at them. How
many tĕnggiri are there ?*

'dak banyak, ada lapang ekor.

Not many, I've got eight.

Bĕrapa nak jual 'tu ?

What do you want for them ?

Saya lĕtak rĕga mati, lima riyal
sĕkupang.

*\$5.12½ is my price and not a
cent less.*

Ambor, mĕhal-nya. 'dak boleh
kurang-ka ?

*That's a devil of a lot. Can't you
take a bit off ?*

Kurang chĕmak mana ? Tawar-
la nak dĕngar.

*How much off ? Let's hear your
offer.*

'pat riyal suku 'dak boleh ?

What about \$4.25 ?

'dak boleh. Saya lĕtak 'tu molek
'dah.

*Nothing doing. My price is a
fair one.*

Ada ikan we ?

Ada juga sa-ekur dua.

Soh-lah kĕlat itu sadikit hĕndak
tumpang kĕleh. Bĕrapa ekur
tĕnggiri ?

Tidak banyak, ada lapan ekur.

Bĕrapa hĕndak jual itu ?

Sahaya lĕtak harga mati, lima
riyal sa-kupang.

Aambohi mĕhal-nya. Tidak boleh
kurang-kah ?

Kurang chĕmak mana ? Tawar-
lah hĕndak dĕngar.

Ēmpat riyal suku tidak boleh ?

Tidak boleh. Sahaya lĕtak itu
molek sudah.

'dah, bĕrapa ?

Well, what's it to be ?

Bĕgini^{ng} sudah. Saya kata sĕkali
nal, pakai lima riyal gĕnap,
sudah.

*Well, this is final. I say, five
dollars.*

Molek 'dah saya tawar 'tu. Kalu
nak bĕri, dĕras-la, malang 'dah
'ni^{ng}.

*I've made you a fair offer. If
you're selling, hurry up, it's
getting late.*

Baik-la, kurang suku lima, sudah.
All right then, \$4.75.

Saya bĕli ikang kurang suku lima.
I'll take them at \$4.75.

(To the Consumer)

Dĕras we tĕgiri sĕgar-sĕgar 'ni^{ng} !
K'ang habĕh k'ang, baru tahu.
Orang kĕlauk tadak sĕbuah
habok 'dah.

*Come on everybody, here's some
fine tĕnggiri ! They'll be gone
in a minute and then you'll be
sorry. All the boats are in by
now.*

Batai-la, saya nak sĕkĕping.
Bĕrapa rĕga sĕkĕping 'ni^{ng} ?

*Cut them up, I want a piece.
How much is this piece ?*

Bayar dua-bĕlas seng sudah.

You can have it for twelve cents.

Bagini sudah. Sahaya kata sa-
kali, pakai lima riyal gĕnap,
sudah.

Molek sudah sahaya tawar itu.
Kalau hĕndak bĕri, dĕras-lah,
malam sudah ini.

Baik-lah, kurang suku lima, sudah.

Sahaya bĕli ikan kurang suku
lima.

Dĕras we tĕnggiri sĕgar-sĕgar ini !
Karang habis karang, baharu
tahu. Orang ka-laut tiada sa-
buah habok sudah.

Bantai-lah, sahaya hĕndak sa-
kĕping. Bĕrapa harga sa-
kĕping ini ?

Bayar dua-bĕlas sen, sudah.

Allah, mēhal-nya, ada bēsar dua jari 'ni*! T'adi ikang Yaya jual bēsar sangat sēpuluh seng 'ja.

What, that price for this little bit? Why, Yahaya was selling huge pieces for ten cents just now.

Kalu mu nak, pakai sēpuluh seng jugak 'gēwana? Ambek-la kēmu bēguri¹. Tēlor ta'ambobh sēkapoh?

If you want it, let's say ten cents then. Will that do you? You can have it for that as you're the first comer. What about taking a roe?

Aih, 'dak padang makang tēlor-tēlor, we.

Oh, fish roes are too dear for the likes of me.

(One fish-dealer to another)

Mu bēli ikang s'apa, Bērahing?

Who did you get your fish from, Brahim?

Bēli ikang Mamad Aji Abas.

Mamad, Haji Abas' son.

Bērapa ekor?

How many?

Lapang ekor.

Eight.

Allah, mēhal-nya, ada bēsar dua jari ini! Tadi ikan Yahaya jual bēsar sangat sapuloh sen sahaja.

Kalau mu hēndak, pakai sapuloh sen juga bagimana? Ambil-la ka-mu bēguri (?). Tēlor tidak ēmbobh sa-kampoh?

Aih, tidak padan makan tēlor-tēlor, we.

Mu beli ikan siapa, Brahim?

Beli ikan Muhammad bin Haji Abas.

Lapan ekor.

¹ *bēguri*—the first person to make a purchase and therefore to be treated with consideration so that the remaining sales may go well (*laris*)—a seller's superstition. *Bēguri* is not known to the dictionaries and no information is forthcoming as to its origin.

Rěga bėrapa ?

What did you pay ?

Mėhal sangat, kurang suku lima bėnar.

The devil of a price, \$4.75 if you please.

'dah, 'gėwana mu jual, ada utong-ka tidak ?

*Well, how did the selling go ?
Did you get anything out of it ?*

Jual 'dak utong, balek pokok 'ja : kadang¹ boleh jugak panggang sėkėping.

Nothing, just got my money back and a piece of fish for myself.

Aih, jadi jugak. Yang amba 'ni^{ng} rugi bėhang tiga amas.

Oh, that's not too bad. I lost money outright, \$1.50.

Mu bėli ikang s'apa gak ?

Whose fish did you buy ?

Amba bėli ikang Bėdolah.

Abdullah's.

(The fish-buyer at home)

Ambek ikang 'ni^{ng}, dia we.²

Here's some fish for you, my dear.

Nak buat 'gėwana ?

What am I to do with it ?

Harga bėrapa ?

Mėhal sangat, kurang suku lima bėnar.

Sudah, bagaimana mu jual, ada untong-kah tidak ?

Jual tidak untong, balek pokok sahaja ka-ada-an (?) boleh juga panggang sa-kėping.

Aih, jadi juga. Yang hamba ini rugi bahan tiga amas.

Mu bėli ikan siapa gak ?

Hamba bėli ikan Abdullah.

Ambil ikan ini....(?)

Hėndak buat bagaimana ?

¹ kadang—see note on p. 14.

² dia we—apparently a form of address of husband to wife or wife to husband.

Panggang, sudah, kita chichah
budu. Mu ada taroh tēpoyak,
'dak ?

*Oh, just broil it and we can dip
it into the pickle pot. Have
you got any potted durian ?*

Ta'adak sētabuk.¹

Not a scrap.

Gi suroh Awang běli kēpasar gi.
Bēli jēring sēlalu, bētanak
dēras-dēras sikek gak, lapar
sangat 'ni^{ng}.

*Just tell Awang to go and get
some from the market, and some
jēring too, and get on with the
cooking as quick as you can.
I'm famishing.*

Allah, mu baru balek sat 'ni^{ng}
nak makang 'dah ! Orang
sēmayang Asar 'dak lagi.

*Why, you're only just back and
you're wanting your food
already ! It's not three o'clock
yet.*

Ambor, sēlama kēni^{ng} 'dak buat
apa.

*What, haven't you been getting
anything ready all this time ?*

Aku sakek pēruk gēlēpar, sat
'ni^{ng} baru boleh bangun.

*I've had the collywobbles and
have only just been able to
get up.*

Panggang, sudah, kita chichah
budu. Mu ada taroh tēpoyak,
tidak ?

Tidak ada sa-tir habok.

Pērgi suroh Awang běli ka-pasar
pērgi běli jēring salalu, bēr-
tanak dēras-dēras sadikit gak,
lapar sangat ini.

Allah, mu baharu balek sa'at ini
hēndak makan sudah ! Orang
sēmbahyang 'asar tidak lagi.

Ambohi, sa-lama ka-ini tidak buat
apa.

Aku sakit pērut gēlēpar, sa'at ini
baharu boleh bangun.

¹ sētabuk—see note on sētarang, p. 14.

Getek pung¹ bĕrahi makang lanas²
bĕda'ah, 'dak nya sakek
ba'apa ?³

*That comes of eating all that
pineapple, of course it'll put
your stomach out of order.*

'dak sabek⁴ kĕrana lanas, nak
sakek-sakek jugak.

*No, it wasn't the pineapple, I was
in for it anyhow.*

'dah 'tu, bĕrasa 'gĕwana ? 'dak
sakek 'dah ?

*Well, how are you feeling now ?
Is the pain gone ?*

Bĕrasa jugak lagi.

No, I've still got it.

'dah, bakar tuku-la.⁵

*Well then, you'd better try the
hot stone.*

'tu pung bĕtuku tang malang 'dah
yang boleh bangun 'ning.

*I've been trying that all day or
I shouldn't be up now.*

Getek pun bĕrahi makan lanas
bida'ah, tidak dia sakit buat
apa ?

Tidak thabit kĕrana lanas, hĕndak
sakit-sakit juga.

Sudah itu, bĕrasa bagimana ?
Tidak sakit sudah ?

Bĕrasa juga lagi.

Sudah, bakar tungku-lah.

Itu pun bĕrtungku tahan malam
sudah yang boleh bangun ini.

¹ *getek pung*—see note at p. 17.

² *lanas*—as always in Trengganu and Kelantan, instead of the *nanas* (*nĕnas*) of the Western States.

³ *'dak nya sakek ba'apa*—lit. not sick why ? i.e. of course sick.

⁴ *sabek*—see Wilkinson under *sabit* II. ? a corruption of *thabit* (Ar.). See note on *sabit* at p. 25, *Kelantan Malay*, and cf. *sabek pung kita tengok* at p.

⁵ *bakar tuku-la*—the excellent local substitute for a hot-water bottle to relieve stomach pains. A hearthstone (*tungku*) is heated and then wrapped in a sarong. Incidentally it retains its heat longer than most hot-water bottles.

Tadak arah kalu machang 'ni^{ng}
gak mĕraih 'dak buleh utong.
Kĕmaring rugi dua kupang,
pĕtang 'ni^{ng} mujor 'dak rugi^{ng},
balek pokok saja. Ikang 'tu
sĕkĕrat saja utong-nya.

*I don't know what's going to be
done about this fish-buying with
no profit in it. Yesterday I
was down 25 cents. This after-
noon I was lucky enough not
to be down and got my money
back, but all the profit I got
was half a fish.*

'dah, nak buat 'gĕwana? Getek
pung mu balek malang sangat.
Kalu balek awal-awal, laku
mĕhal sikek ikang, bulang-
bulang pĕwasa 'ni^{ng} orang bĕli
ikang awal-awal.

*Well, what can one do? The
trouble is you always come back
so late. If you could get back
early, you'd get a better price
for your fish. In the Fasting
month people always buy their
fish early.*

Esok aku nak bĕli ikang dĕlauk
pulang.

*To-morrow I'm going to try buy-
ing out at sea.*

Aih, mari-la makang nasek, masak
'dah 'ni^{ng}.

*Well, come on and have your food,
it's ready now.*

Tiada arah kalau macham ini gak
mĕngais tidak bĕrulah untong.
Kĕlmarin rugi dua kupang,
pĕtang ini mujur tidak rugi,
balek pokok sahaja. Ikan itu
sa-kĕrat sahaja untong-nya.

Sudah, hĕndak buat bagaimana?
Getek pun mu balek malam
sangat. Kalau balek awal-awal,
laku mĕhal sadikit ikan, bulan-
bulan puasa ini orang bĕli ikan
awal-awal.

Esok aku hĕndak bĕli ikan di-
laut pula.

Aih, mari-lah makan nasi, masak
sudah ini.

III.—AGRICULTURE.

Pak Teh 'dak bĕgala¹ lagi tahun
'ni² ?

*Haven't you done your ploughing
yet this year, Pa' Teh ?*

Bĕgala sudah 'dah, tĕngah dudok
bĕchĕdong³, s'ari dua lagi
abeh-la.

*Oh yes, that's done and I'm
planting out now. That'll be
finished in a day or two.*

Banyak mana buat tahun 'ni² ?

*How much are you planting this
year ?*

Auh, tanah tiga lajor 'tu gak
abeh-lah kĕsĕrĕma⁴, nak pinjang
orang pung rusing kĕlembu
'dak chukuk. Kalu ada sĕ-
dĕni⁵ lagi, dang⁶ sudah d'ulu
pada orang lagi.

*That three-strip piece is fully
planted. I'd get people in to
give a hand but I'm afraid there
wouldn't be enough cattle. If
I had another pair of bullocks,
I should be finished before the
others.*

Pa' Teh tidak mĕnĕnggala lagi
tahun ini ?

Mĕnĕnggala sudah sudah, tĕngah
dudok bĕrchĕdong, sa-hari dua
lagi habis-lah.

Banyak mana buat tahun ini ?

Auh, tanah tiga lajur itu gak
habis-lah ka-sĕmua, hĕndak
pinjam orang pun rusing ka-
lĕmbu tidak chukup. Kalau
ada sa-dĕning lagi, dan sudah
dahulu pada orang lagi.

¹ bĕgala—This might equally well be spelt mĕgala, the difference in sound between the two being negligible. Bĕgala or mĕgala in the Kelantan and Trengganu version of the mĕnĕnggala of the Western States.

² bĕchĕdong—See Wilkinson under chedong (which should be written chĕdong). The note on mĕchĕdong at p. 52, *Kelantan Malay* applies equally to Trengganu as regards the use of chĕdong.

³ kĕsĕrĕma—i.e. ka-sĕmua. As in Kelantan, so in Trengganu sĕmua is seldom heard, the local version being either sĕrĕma or sĕma.

⁴ sĕdĕning—see Wilkinson under dĕning. It is characteristic of Trengganu pronunciation of terminations that the author of this dialogue wrote sĕdĕni, though the true form of the word evidently is dĕning: had the word really been dĕni, it would not have been incorrect to represent its Trengganu pronunciation phonetically as dĕning!

⁵ dang—see Introduction, p. 3.

Amor, lembu Pak Ngah Soh ada
sĕdĕni^{ng}, bu kang? Ba'apa
'dak pinjang?

Ambohi, lembu Pa' Ngah Jusoh
ada sa-dĕning, bukan? Buat
apa tidak pinjam?

*But hasn't Pa' Ngah Soh got a
pair? Why don't you borrow
those?*

Auh, Pak Teh 'dak bĕtĕgor lama
sangat 'dah dĕngang dia, salah-
salah¹ bĕchara ayang makang
padi bĕneh dia ari 'tu. Gak
sapai la 'ni^{ng} mĕsamang² moka.

Auh, Pa' Teh tidak bĕrtĕgur lama
sangat sudah dĕngan dia, salah-
salah bĕchara ayam makan padi
bĕneh dia hari itu. Gak sampai
la ini masaman muka.

*Oh, he and I haven't been on
speaking terms for ever so long.
We fell out over a matter of
jowls eating his seed padi one
day, and since then I only get
sour looks from him.*

Omar, dĕsini^{ng} tanah banyak
buleh buat padi^{ng}.

Omar, di-sini tanah banyak buleh
buat padi.

*There's plenty of land for padi
here, Omar.*

Sunggoh, kalau tanah gak, ikut
nak pileh-la 'tapi 'dak chukuk
dĕsini^{ng} kĕrbai lembu, kurang
bĕnar.

Sunggoh, kalau tanah gak, ikut
hĕndak pileh-lah, tĕtapi tidak
chukup kĕrbau lembu, kurang
bĕnar.

*True enough as regards land, you
can take your pick. But the
cattle's the trouble, we're very
short of them.*

¹ salah-salah—"there was trouble": another instance of this highly idiomatic expression will be found at p. 83.

² mĕsamang—the spelling accurately represents the pronunciation. Parallels for the shortening of the first syllable of the simple form of the word when the suffix -an is added are jĕmuan instead of jamuan and bĕsahan instead of basahan.

Kalu ada, gamak 'dak nya abeh makang. Arap kēchakul mana tēchakul, bu kang nya banyak kērbai lēmbu, ada pung bēgitu-la. Ta'adak hak sēdiri 'tu payah-la nak sewa s'ekor pung, bēbulang-bulang chari 'dak boleh. Orang buat mēgala 'tu bētina pung buat jugak, hak jatang abeh sēmēleh. Ada jatang pung aluh-aluh.

Kalau ada, gamak tidak dia habis makan. Harap ka-changkul mana tērchangkul. Bukan-nya banyak kērbau lēmbu, ada pun bagitu-lah. Tidak ada hak sēndiri itu, payah-lah hēndak sewa sa-ekur pun, bērbulan-bulan chari tidak bēruleh. Orang buat mēnēnggala itu bētina pun buat juga, hak jantan habis sēmbeleh. Ada jantan pun, halus-halus.

If we'd got the cattle, there'd be more padi than we could eat. All one can do is to use the hoe on the land you can hoe. It isn't as though there were plenty of cattle about the place. There are some, but that's all you can say. If you haven't got your own, you'll have a job to get a single bullock on hire. You may look around for months and you won't get one. Why, people are even using cows for ploughing, the bulls have all been cut up for meat, and any bulls that are left are on the small side.

'dah, kalu bēgitu baik buat uma-la.

Sudah, kalau bagitu baik buat huma-lah.

Then there's nothing for it but hill padi.

'dah, yang sēlama kēni^{ng} pung hak 'tu-la sēnang, 'tapi sēpēkara saja yang susah, sēpa burong kita, tahun 'ni^{ng} kēsini^{ng}, tahun 'tu kēsitu chari 'dak sēnang.

Sudah, yang sa-lama ka-ini pun hak itu-lah sēnang, tētapi sa-pērkara sahaja yang susah, sa-rupa burong kita tahun ini ka-sini, tahun itu ka-situ chari tidak sēnang.

That's all we've been able to manage up to now, but there's one thing that's wrong, we're like birds, going to this place one year and to another the next, and that's no fun.

'dah, nak buat 'gěwana? Ambat
kěmakang bėgitu-la gěnap-
gěnap tahung.

*Well, what can one do? That's
the way one has to chase after
one's food year by year.*

Sudah, hěndak buat bagimana?
Hambat ka-makan bagitu-lah
gěnap-gěnap tahun.

Ma'ali, 'gěwana lěmbu děpadang
tadak běsar, chěding-chěding¹
bělaka?

*What ails the cattle in the fields,
Mat Ali, that they're all so
small? There's not a decent
sized beast among the lot.*

Mat Ali, bagimana lěmbu di-
padang tiada běsar, chěding-
chěding bělaka?

Auh, nak buat 'gěwana? Kalu
musing mėlěpas-kang, jatang-
jatang sěrabuk² dudok kěro-
mung kěbětina, hudoh molek
ada bělaka. 'dah, anak-nya
'dak 'kang bějuruh³, kor⁴ lama,
kor udoh.

*What is one to do? When the
time comes for turning them
out, the bulls are all after the
cows, good or bad, and you
can't expect decent calves, they
simply get worse as time goes
on.*

Auh, hěndak buat bagimana?
Kalau musim mėlěpas-kan,
jantan-jantan dudok kěrumun
ka-bětina, hudoh molek ada
bělaka. Sudah, anak-nya tidak
akan běrjurus, kohor lama
kohor hudoh.

Ba'pa ta'amboh kasi jatang-jatang
barak⁵ 'tu, tinggal hak molek-
molek saja buat baka?

Buat apa tidak kasi jantan-jantan
barok (?) itu, tinggal hak
molek-molek sahaja buat baka?

¹ chěding-chěding—see Wilkinson under chěding II.

² sěrabuk—Wilkinson gives the word sěrabut but does not mention its common meaning in Trengganu and in Kelantan, viz. "bothered," "fussed."

³ bějuruh—has the same meaning in Trengganu as in Kelantan, see note at p. 66, *Kelantan Malay*, viz. "good," "successful." It is more commonly heard negatively than positively.

⁴ kor—the Trengganu use of this word proves that the spelling kěha adopted in *Kelantan Malay* is wrong, and that the word is kohor. The shortening of kohor is not surprising, but kohor could not become koh and the Upper Perak motto koh dahulu should evidently be kor dahulu. Except in regard to the spelling, the note at p. 23, *Kelantan Malay* holds good of the use of this word in Trengganu. In this instance the word is used as makin would be in standard Malay.

⁵ barak—see Wilkinson under bara II and barak.

Why don't you get the randy ones castrated, just leaving the good ones for breeding?

Nak kasi 'gěwana? Tadak s'apa pandai. Nak panggil orang-orang dari jauh nak upah pawah, kor payah. Timbul-timbul¹ gak, lak bėgitu-la.

But how's the castrating to be done? There's no one here who knows how to do it, and getting people in from a distance means paying fees, which is no joke. So in the end we just let things go on as they are.

Allah, mari bila 'ni²?

Hallo, when did you get here?

Baru sapai sat 'ni.

Just this minute.

Naik-la bėtenggek. Apa kabar budak-budak dėrumah?

Come in and sit down. How's the family?

Kabar baik, ta'adak sakek dė-mang, baik bėlaka.

Very well, thank you, no fever or anything.

'gěwana gamak padi tahun 'ni²? Ta'adak apa sėtėru hak lain²?

How's the padi this year? Any trouble with pests and that sort of thing?

Tikuh 'ja.

Only the rats.

Hėndak kasi bagimana? Tiada siapa pandai. Hėndak panggil orang-orang dari jauh hėndak upah pawah, kohor payah. Timbul-timbul gak, lak bagitu-lah.

Allah, mari bila ini?

Baharu sampai sa'at ini.

Naik-lah bėrtenggek. Apa khabar budak-budak di-rumah?

Khabar baik, tidak ada sakit dėmam, baik bėlaka.

Bagimana gamak padi tahun ini? Tidak ada apa sėtėru hak lain?

Tikus sahaja.

¹ timbul-timbul—"ultimately."

² hak lain—apparently means *et cetera*.

'dah, nak buat 'gěwana ?

Sudah, hěndak buat bagimana ?

Well, what are you doing about it ?

Buat 'gěwana ? Rachung 'dak makang, pěrakap 'dak kěna, tadak arah nak buat, lak kědia saja.

Buat bagimana ? Rachun tidak makan, pěrangkap tidak kěna, tiada arah hěndak buat, lak ka-dia sahaja.

Blest if I know. Put poison down and they don't touch it, set traps and you don't catch them. There's nothing to be done, just let them have their own way.

Hey, 'dak boleh bėgitu. Baik chari bomor pulak, kalu-kalu nya pakai bomor.

Hey, tidak boleh bagitu. Baik chari bomor pula, kalau-kalau dia pakai bomor.

Oh, that's no good. Why not get in the bomor ? He might do some good.

'dak lagi-la, 'tapi japi těpong-těpong tawar pěrcek 'dah 'dak jadi běnda' jugak, lěmah 'dah rasa.

Tidak lagi-lah, tětapi jampi těpong-těpong tawar pěrcek sudah, tidak jadi běnda juga, lěmah sudah rasa.

We haven't done that yet, though we've tried spells and sprinkling rice-flour, but nothing's come of it and were tired of trying.

Allah, Che' Mamad, lama nya 'dah kita 'dak bětěmu.

Allah, Che' Muhammad, lama-nya sudah kita tidak bětěmu.

Why, Che' Mamad, it's a long time since I saw you.

Iya, saya sudah bětěmu dua kali puasa děngang 'ni^{ng} 'dah, 'dak dudok deChukai 'ni^{ng}. 'dah, Che' Muda nak ala kěwana ?

Iya, sahaya sudah bětěmu dua kali puasa děngan ini sudah, tidak dudok di-Chukai ini. Sudah, Che' Muda hěndak hala ka-mana ?

Yes, I've left Chukai over two years now. Where are you off to, Che' Muda ?

¹ 'dak jadi běnda—lit. doesn't turn into anything, i.e. "useless." The use of this idiomatic expression is not confined to the East Coast and it is surprising that the dictionaries do not mention it.

Auh, saya nak gi ala kēkēdai 'tu
sēbētar 'ja ajat-nya. 'dah, Che'
Mat undor 'dok kēwana pulak ?

Auh, sahaya hēndak pērgi hala
ka-kēdai itu sa-bēntar sahaja
hajat-nya. Sudah, Che' Mat
undor dudok ka-mana pula ?

*Oh, I'm just going to the market
for a minute. Where are you
living now, Che' Mat ?*

Saya pindah gi dudok dēkapong
Binjai tēpi jalang tambak.¹

Sahaya pindah pērgi dudok di-
kampong Binjai tēpi jalan
tambak.

I've moved to Binjai, on the road.

Pindah habeh sērēma-ka ?

Pindah habis sēmua-kah ?

Have you made a complete shift ?

Pindah sērēma-la dēngang rumah
tangga anak bēranak saya.

Pinda sēmua-lah dēngan rumah
tangga anak bēranak sahaya.

*Yes, we've moved the whole lot
of us, bag and baggage.*

'dah, Che' Mat bēkērija apa dē-
Binjai ? Sēnang jugak boleh
rējēki dēnu² ?

Sudah, Che' Mat bēkērija apa di-
Binjai ? Sēnang juga bēruleh
rējēki di-nun ?

*Well, what are you doing at
Binjai ? Is it easy to get a
livelihood there ?*

Bēgitu-la orang kata³ bēlang-
bēlang⁴ buat kēbung sayor
bēlang-bēlang mēmotong.

Bagitu-lah orang kata bēlang-
bēlang buat kēbun sayur,
bēlang-bēlang mēmotong.

*It's not too bad, what with a bit
of a garden and some rubber
tapping.*

Mēmotong dēkēbung s'apa dia⁵ ?
On whose estate are you tapping ?

Mēmotong di-kēbun siapa dia ?

¹ *jalang tambak*—see Wilkinson under *tambak* I.

² *dēnu*—for *nu* see Introduction, p. 3.

³ *orang kata*—see note at p. 21.

⁴ *bēlang-bēlang*—see Wilkinson under *bēlang* II.

⁵ *s'apa dia*—see note on *dia* at p. 32, Kelantan Malay.

Mula-mula saya keriya dengang tokeh Aheng ada sēbulang dua. Bērēti kērana 'dak chakap bērluang, kēbung-nya jauh kēdarat. Masa la 'ni^{ns} saya bēkērija dē-kēbung Haji Long pulak dēkat jalang tambak.

I started with Towkay Ah Heng and was with him for a month or two, but I gave it up as I couldn't manage the long journeys to and fro, his place is a long way in. Now I am working on Haji Long's place near the road.

Che' Mat makang gaji-ka kira bagi ?

Are you working on wages or sharing ?

'dak, aih, Haji Long bējanji dia ambek dengang rēga lima bēlas riyal sēpikul kēring.

No, Haji Long's giving me \$15 a pikul dry rubber.

Ah, kalu saya, suka chari tēpat boleh makang gaji 'pat lima puloh seng s'ari daripada janji bēgitu, sabab maktung-la kita orang hal, dudok tunggu nak boleh sēpikul 'tu nganga anak-anak 'dak dapat makang.

If it was I, I'd sooner try for a place where I could get 40 or 50 cents a day wages than have an agreement like yours. As you know, you and I are working people and while we're waiting to get together a pikul of rubber, the children have got their mouths open asking for food.

1935] Royal Asiatic Society.

Mula-mula sahaya kērja dēngan taukeh Ah Heng ada sa-bulan dua. Bērēnti kērana tidak chakap bērluang, kēbung-nya jauh ka-darat. Masa (ka)la ini sahaya bēkērja di-kēbung Haji Long pula dēkat jalan tambak.

Che' Mat makan gaji-kah kira bahagi ?

Tidak, aih, Haji Long bērjanji dia ambil dēngan harga lima bēlas riyal sa-pikul kēring.

Ah, kalau sahaya, suka chari tēmpat boleh makan gaji ēmpat lima puloh sen sa-hari daripada janji bagitu, sēbab ma'alum-lah kita orang hal, dudok tunggu hēndak bēruleh sa-pikul itu nganga anak-anak tidak dapat makan.

Sunggoh, . Che' Muda, 'tapi
machang saya 'dak boleh
makang gaji orang.

*That's true, Che' Muda, but a
man like me can't work on
wages.*

Apa pasal ?

Why ?

'dak boleh nak bĕkĕrija kĕkal
ari-ari 'dok rembeh¹ dĕngang
hal budak-budak 'tu-la.

*I can't take on a job that means
working regularly day in, day
out: the children are such a tie
to me.*

Rembeh 'gĕwana pulak ? Bukang
anak-anak Che' Mat sudah
bĕsar bĕlaka ?

*Why should they be ? Aren't
they all grown up now ?*

Budak hak bĕsar 'tu 'dah bĕ-
rumah 'dah lĕpas-lah daripada
kĕsusa'ang saya, 'tapi hak
kĕchek-kĕchek dua orang.

*The older ones are married and
off my hands, but there are two
young ones.*

Ba'apa 'dak boleh tinggal dĕn-
gang mak-nya ?

*Why can't you leave them with
their mother ?*

Mak-nya sakek lĕmbek sudah
sĕtahung tutuk 'dah, dudok
sĕlepo' tĕpat tidor 'ja.

*Their mother's been laid up with
beri-beri for over a year now,
absolutely bedridden.*

Sunggoh, Che' Muda, tĕtapi
macham sahaya tidak boleh
makan gaji orang.

Tidak boleh hĕndak bĕkĕrja kĕkal
hari-hari dudok rembis dĕngan
hal budak-budak itu-lah.

Rembis bagaimana pula ? Bukan
anak-anak Che' Mat sudah
bĕsar bĕlaka ?

Budak hak bĕsar itu sudah bĕ-
rumah sudah, lĕpas-lah daripada
kĕsusahan sahaya, tĕtapi hak
kĕchil-kĕchil dua orang.

Buat apa tidak boleh tinggal
dĕngan ĕmak-nya ?

Ėmak-nya sakit lĕmbek sudah sa-
tahun tuntutan sudah, dudok
sĕlepok tĕmpat tidor sahaja.

¹ rembeh—"occupied with," a very common expression in Trengganu to express the ties of parenthood.

'dah, Che' Mat kĕtiar dĕngang
bomor mana ?

Who's the doctor ?

Sudah Che' Mat akhtiar dĕngan
bomor mana ?

Saya 'dah panggil machang-
machang bomor bĕkĕtiar, 'tapi
Tohan 'dak kĕrnia bĕkas dĕn-
gang obat-obat yang tĕlah
sudah.

Sahaya sudah panggil macham-
macham bomor bĕrakhtiar,
tĕtapi Tuhan tidak kurnia
bĕkas dĕngan ubat-ubat yang
tĕlah sudah.

*I've tried doctor after doctor, but
God hasn't granted any benefit
from their medicines so far.*

Kalu 'dah bĕgitu, baik-la choba
mitak obat dĕrumah sĕpital.
Kata-kata orang mustajat
sangat obat-obat pĕnyakek
lĕmbek bĕgitu.

Kalau sudah bagitu, baik-lah
chuba mintak ubat di-rumah
Hospital. Kata-kata orang
mustajab sangat ubat-ubat pĕn-
yakit lĕmbek bagitu.

*Then you'd better try and get
some medicine from the Hos-
pital, I hear their stuff for
beri-beri is marvellous.*

Kalu sunggo bĕgitu, saya nak
choba achu mitak sikek, kalu-
kalu nya nak bĕtulang mana
kĕtahu ?

Kalau sunggo bagitu, sahaya
hĕndak chuba achu minta
sadikit, kalau-kalau dia hĕndak
bĕtulan, mana-kah tahu ?

*If that's so, I'll have a try at
getting some, it might do the
trick, you never know.*

Baik-la, Che' Mat, saya nak
bĕjalang-la dulu. Dang¹ bila-
bila sĕnang singgah-la kĕrumah
makang sireh.

Baik-lah, Che' Mat, sahaya
hĕndak bĕrjalan-lah dahulu.
Dan bila-bila sĕnang, singgah-
lah ka-rumah makan sireh.

*Well, Che' Mat, I must be getting
along. Look in whenever you're
passing.*

¹ Dang—almost certainly not *dan* = "and" but *dan* = "time of," see
Introduction, p. 3.

Baik, Che' Muda, ma'as¹ kēsaya
getek. Dang bila-bila Che'
Muda bējalang-jalang kēdarat
singgah-la jugak kēpondok saya.

*Well, so long then, Che' Muda,
when you're up our way, mind
you stop and see us.*

Baik, Che' Muda, ma'af ka-
sahaya getek. Dan bila-bila
Che' Muda bējalan-jalan ka-
darat, singgah-lah juga ka-
pondok sahaya.

¹ *ma'as*—the word is pronounced as though it ended in *-h*, just as *wakaf* is pronounced *wakah*. It has been spelt *ma'as* here because the pronunciation of the last syllable is exactly the same as that (in Trengganu) of any word that ends in *-as*.

IV.—AN EXPEDITION.

Planning the Start.

Ali, bila tětap gamak kita nak
bējalang esok ?

*Ali, what time are we starting
to-morrow ?*

Kawang ikuk bila-bila pung.
Whenever you like.

'dah, kalu bēgitu gak, gēlap esok.
*All right then, crack o' dawn
to-morrow.*

'dak apa-la, 'tapi takuk 'dak tē-
kējuk, 'tu-la. Dang jēnēra gak,
'dak tahu-la.

*All right. The only thing is I'm
afraid I shan't wake up. If I
once go fast asleep, there's no
knowing.*

Amor, ayang mu bu kang ada ?
Buleh dēngar kukok.

*Well, you've got some fowls,
haven't you ? Their crowing'll
wake you.*

Hey, ayang 'dak boleh bēchara,
kadang sēpuloh kali sēmalamang
pung bēkukok. Kalu murai
boleh jugak bēchaya, 'tapi
bunyi pulak aluh sangat.

*You can't go by the fowls. Some-
times they crow ten times a
night. You can trust the robins,
but they don't sing loud enough.*

Ho'r, kalu bēgitu gak, mari kita
tidor sēmēgek¹-la. Orang pukul
gēduk 'tu, kita jaga-la.

*Well, let's go and sleep at the
mosque then. We shall wake
with the drum.*

Ali, bila tětap gamak kita hēndak
bērjalan esok ?

Kawan ikut bila-bila pun.

Sudah, kalau begitu, gēlap esok.

Tidak apa-lah, tētapi takut tidak
tērkējut, itu-lah. Dan jēndēra,
tidak tahu-lah.

Ambohi, ayam mu bukan ada ?
Buleh dēngar kukok.

Hey, ayam tidak boleh bēchara.
Kadang sa-puloh kali sa-
malaman pun bērkukok. Kalau
murai boleh juga pērchaya,
tētapi bunyi pula halus sangat.

Ho'r, kalau begitu, mari kita
tidur mēsjid-lah. Orang pukul
gēdok itu kita jaga-lah.

¹ sēmēgek—the Trengganu equivalent of the Perak sēmēgid, the peasant's version of mēsjid. A similar corruption in Trengganu is sēmēking for miskin and also sēmēkuk for the English biscuit !

On the Way.

Awang, mana jalang nak kě-
Sungai Děraka ?

*Which is the way to Sungai
Derhaka, Awang ?*

Ikuk 'ni-la, turuk susuk jalang
'ni-la. Gak kalu bětēmu cha-
bang ikuk bėlāh kanang lalu
tēpi dusung lama ada sėbuah
rumah orang tinggal. Sapai
dėsitu ada orang buat uma,
tanya-lah arah dėsitu pulak.

*This way, straight along this path.
When you get to a fork, take
the turn to the right and go
along past an old orchard until
you come to a deserted house.
There you'll find some people
planting hill padi, and you can
ask them your way on from
there.*

Dang-ka 'dak ? 'ni mětari rėndah
sangat 'dah.

*Can we get there before dark ?
It's late in the afternoon now.*

Dang. Kalu 'dak mipat¹ jalang
gak, 'dak dang gėlāp.

*Yes, if you don't miss the way,
you'll be there before dark.*

Ali, 'gėwana kětīar nak jēmėrang
ta'adak pėrahu 'ni^a ? Nak
mėngarong ayir dėras sangat.

*How are we going to get across,
Ali, without a boat ? There's
too much stream running to
wade.*

Awang, mana jalan hėndak ka-
Sungai Děraka ?

Ikut ini-lah, turut susup jalan
ini-lah. Gak kalau bėtēmu
chabang, ikut bėlāh kanan lalu
tēpi dusun lama, ada sa-buah
rumah orang tinggal. Sampai
di-situ ada orang buat huma,
tanya-lah arah di-situ pula.

Dan-kah, tidak ? Ini mata-hari
rėndah sangat sudah.

Dan. Kalau tidak mipat (?)
jalan, tidak dan gėlāp.

Ali, bagaimana akhtiar hėndak
mėnyėbėrang tidak ada pėrahu
ini ? Hėndak mėngarong ayir
dėras sangat.

¹ *mipat*—means "to take the wrong turning when you get to a fork in the road" as opposed to *sėsat* which means "to get off the road altogether." The word is not known to the dictionaries and may be a Trengganu word pure and simple.

Ho'r, lah-la. Jangang gēlechir-tubir, sudah-la. Kalu gēlechir gak, sēlēlai-la kita, 'dak apa ada-la.¹

Oh, let's have a shot at it. But mind you don't slip. One slip and we're done for.

Kita bējalang 'ni jauh 'dah, 'dak bērasa lēngoh? Kalu bērēti sēbētar pung bērēti-la.

We've done a good stretch, aren't you feeling a bit leg-weary? What about a halt for a bit?

Saya 'dak apa, ikuk orang-la, nak bērēti 'dak apa, ta'amboh pung 'dak apa.

I don't mind either way: stop or go on, as you please.

Jangang bēgitu-la, baik bērēti sējuruh, orang 'dak ambat kita.

Don't put it that way. Let's stop for a bit, there's no one chasing us.

A', mari-la kita bējalang lagi.

Well, let's be getting on.

Ali, jangang lalu ikuk jalang chekok-belok lēkok-lēkir bēgini, kaki amba sakek.

Ali, for heaven's sake don't choose such awful paths, twisting all over the place and full of holes, my foot's hurting me.

Ho'r, lah-lah. Jangang gēlinchir-tubir, sudah-lah. Kalau gēlinchir gak, sēlēlai-lah kita, tidak apa ada-lah.

Kita bējalan ini jauh sudah, tidak bērasa lēngoh? Kalau bērhēti sa-bēntar pun bērhēti-lah.

Sahaya tidak apa, ikut orang-lah: hēndak bērhēti tidak apa, tidak ēmboh pun tidak apa.

Jangang bagitu-lah, baik bērhēti sa-jurus, orang tidak hambatkan kita.

A', mari-lah kita bējalan lagi.

Ali, jangan lalu ikut jalan chengkok-belok lēkok-lēkir bagini, kaki hamba sakit.

¹ 'dak apa ada-la—lit. there is nothing, i.e. *habis kesah*, nothing more to tell.

Aih kaki pekar sikek, bēchara sangat.

Oh, a bit of a sore foot's nothing to make all that fuss about.

Hor, 'ni-tah¹ tengok-la kaki amba sakek 'ni² banyak-ka sikek ?

Oh, you just have a look at it. Is that only a bit of a sore foot ?

(A girl passes)

Anak s'apa dia 'tu lēsoh³ 'neh'?

That's a fair girl. Whose daughter is she ?

Anak Che' Da, bukang ?

Isn't that Che' Muda's daughter ?

Auh, auh, sabek pung kita tengok meh-meh⁴ sēpa Che' Da saling 'dak tupah⁵ pak dia. Bērapa 'dah omor 'tu ?

Of course, she's the very spit of her father. How old is she ?

Tahu, omor budak 'ni⁶ wēkētu bēras mēhal⁷ sēgantang sēriyal d'ulu.

Oh, I couldn't tell you, she was born at the time when the price of rice went up to \$1 a gantang.

Ta'adak orang masok lagi ?

No suitors yet ?

Aih, kaki pengkar sadikit, bēchara sangat.

Hor, ini-tah tengok-lah kaki hamba sakit ini, banyak-kah sadikit ?

Anak siapa dia itu lēsoh ini ?

Anak Che' Muda, bukan ?

Auh, auh, thabit pun kita tengok meh-meh sa-rupa Che' Muda salin tidak tumpah bapa dia. Bērapa sudah umur itu ?

(Tidak) tahu, umur budak ini waktu bēras mahal sa-gantang sa-riyal dahulu.

Tidak ada orang masok lagi ?

¹ 'ni-tah—apparently means "Is this the case ?"

² lēsoh—"fair," in the sense of having a light complexion: not necessarily pretty.

³ meh-meh—see Wilkinson under meh II.

⁴ saling 'dak tupah—lit. changed without a drop being spilt, the metaphor being presumably that of transferring a liquid from one vessel to another.

⁵ bēras mēhal—the reference is obviously to the rice shortage of 1919.

'dak dëngar orang bërkechek,
takuk nya buat sënyap-sënyap,
'dak tahu-la.

*Not that I've heard, but they may
have had offers on the quiet,
I don't know.*

Hey, 'dak, gamak-nya. Kalu ada,
ada-la dëngar. Napak budak-
nya molek jugak.

*I doubt it. If there had been,
we should have heard. She's
quite a pretty girl.*

Ho'r, jadi-la jugak, maneh-maneh
machang dëdusung¹, 'tapi pë-
diang sikek.

*Oh, she's all right, up to average.
But she's got nothing to say
for herself.*

Ho'r, kalu bëgitu, tadak molek
pula. Kalu muluk ta'adak
sangat k'orang, s'ari 'dak nya
bëtutor sèkali^{ng}.

*That's against her. If she's
frightened of speaking to people,
you won't get a word out of
her all day.*

(They meet a friend)

Lah, mari dëwana gadoh sangat
te?

*Where have you been, Lah? You
look all hot and bothered.*

Hey, payah sangat, 'musing ligat
chari orang nak mitak tulong
mënyurat sèbareh nak kiring
k'orang dëPahang.

*I've had the devil of a job, trying
to find someone to write a line
for me to Pahang.*

Tidak dëngar orang bërkechek,
takut dia buat sënyap-sënyap,
tidak tahu-lah.

Hey, tidak, gamak-nya. Kalau
ada, ada-lah dëngar. Nampak
budak-nya molek juga.

Ho'r, jadi-lah juga, manis-manis
machang di-dusun, tètapi pë-
diam sadikit.

Ho'r, kalau begitu, tiada molek
pula. Kalau mulut tidak ada
sangat ka-orang, sa-hari tidak
dia bëtutor sa-kali.

Abdullah, mari dari-mana gadoh
sangat?

Hey, payah sangat, mëmusing-
ligat chari orang hëndak minta
tulong mënyurat sa-baris
hëndak kirim ka-orang di-
Pahang.

¹ maneh-maneh machang dëdusung—lit. the sweetness of the horse-mango
in the orchard, i.e. nothing exceptionally sweet, "very ordinary."

'dak bĕtĕmu dĕngang Leh ? Dia
bukung pandai jugak ?

*Didn't you see Leh ? He's quite
good at it, isn't he ?*

Bĕtĕmu jugak sat 'ni^{ng}, 'dak
mitak tulong-la, orang kata
suratang dia 'dak boleh bacha,
hat-nya lokek¹ sangat.

*Yes, I saw him just now, but I
didn't ask him. I hear people
can't read what he writes, his
is such a bad hand.*

Ali, mu tengok 'dak kapal
tĕrbang ?

*Have you ever seen one of these
aeroplanes, Ali ?*

'dak rajing sĕkali lagi^{ng}.

Never in my life.

'gĕwana, mu bĕchaya-ka tidak
orang 'dok kata ada 'tu ?

*Do you believe what people say,
that there are such things ?*

Tĕtu-la ada.

Oh, there must be.

Hey, aku s'orang tadak arah nak
kata. Nak bĕchaya kabar 'tu
pĕlek sangat, tĕrbang mĕga²
burong, ta'amboh bĕchaya
orang-orang kata bĕlaka.

Tidak bĕrtĕmu dĕngan Saleh ?
Dia bukan pandai juga ?

Bĕrtĕmu juga sa'at ini, tidak
minta tulong lah. Orang kata
suratan dia tidak boleh bacha,
khat-nya lokek (?) sangat.

Ali, mu tengok tidak kapal
tĕrbang ?

Tidak rajin sa-kali lagi.

Bagimana, mu pĕrchaya-kah tidak
orang dudok kata ada itu ?

Tĕntu-lah ada.

Hey, aku sa-orang tiada arah
hĕndak kata. Hĕndak pĕr-
chaya khabar itu pĕlek sangat,
tĕrbang (sĕpĕrti) burong, tidak
ĕmboh pĕrchaya orang-orang
kata bĕlaka.

¹ *lokek*—apparently means "hard to read": explained by the author of this dialogue as *payah*.

² *mĕga*—"like," a common Trengganu alternative of the *macham* or *sĕpĕrti* of the Western States. The form *bĕga* is equally common, and it looks as though we have here the true origin of the word *bagitu*. *Bĕga itu* becomes *bĕgitu* very easily, whereas the transition from *bagai itu* involves the shortening of the first syllable of *bagai* and the elision of the *a* in the second syllable.

Well, I don't know what to say myself. It's an extraordinary thing to believe, flying like a bird; but when everybody says they do fly, it's hard not to believe.

Kabar 'tu bĕgitu-la, ada sayap,
ada ekor, gamak tiru burong-la.

That's what they say, wings and tail, just like a bird.

Allah, pandai sunggoh nya chari
kĕtiar 'tu machang-machang:
tidak bĕgitu, bĕgitu. Bĕrapa
tinggi tĕrbang itu ?

People can devise almost anything these days. First this, then that. How high can they fly ?

Orang kata sayuk.

Out of sight, they say.

Allah, kalu kita naik gamak-nya
sĕrung' 'tu pung padang.

By Gad, if you and I were to go up, we should be frightened out of our wits.

(They meet another friend)

Atang² apa mu bawak 'tu, Yir ?

What've you got there, Tahir ?

Baju kuk dabal.³

A jacket open at the neck.

Khabar itu bagitu-lah, ada sayap,
ada ekor, gamak tiru burong-lah.

Allah, pandai sunggoh dia chari
akhtiar itu macham-macham:
tidak bagitu, bagitu. Bĕrapa
tinggi tĕrbang itu ?

Orang kata sayup.

Allah, kalau kita naik, gamak-nya
sĕrun itu pun padan.

(Benda) apa mu bawak itu,
Tahir ?

Baju coat double (?).

¹ sĕrung—the meaning is said to be similar to that of the English “goose-flesh.” The phrase *sĕrun itu pun padan*, lit. the feeling of terror would be sufficient, is apparently an example of meiosis, the real meaning being that the terror would be overwhelming.

² atang—see note on *mĕnatang* at p. 21.

³ kuk dabal—this is the expression used in Trengganu to describe a jacket of the ordinary European style as opposed to a jacket of the tunic pattern buttoning up to the chin. *Dabal* does not connote that the jacket is double breasted. None of the meanings assigned to *dabal* in the dictionaries will fit here.

Mari dĕwana ?

Where did you get it ?

Aku bĕli dĕrumah tukang.

From the tailor's.

Mu bĕli hak sudah 'dah ?

Ready-made ?

Ho'r-la.

Yes.

Achu mari aku tengok.

Let's have a look at it.

Auh, 'gĕwana 'ni¹ ? Mu kata hak baru. Aku napak bĕkĕruk¹ lehir bĕbulu-bĕbala².

Hallo, you said it was new, but I see it's all crumpled and frayed at the collar.

Aku bĕli hak sekeng-heng.

I bought it second-hand.

'dah, apa mu kata bĕli dĕrumah tukang ? Kata-la bĕli dĕpajak.

Then why did you say you got it from the tailor's ? Own up that you got it from the pawnshop.

Mari dari-mana ?

Aku bĕli di-rumah tukang.

Mu bĕli hak sudah sudah ?

Auh, bagimana ini ? Mu kata hak baharu. Aku nampak bĕkĕruk lehir bĕrbulu-bĕrbala.

Aku bĕli hak *second-hand*.

Sudah, apa mu kata bĕli di-rumah tukang ? Kata-lah bĕli di-pajak.

¹ bĕkĕruk—see Wilkinson under kĕrut.

² bĕbulu-bĕbala—see Wilkinson under bulu for bĕrbulu meaning "frayed." Bĕbala appears to have no meaning of its own, bĕbulu-bĕbala being only one of those jingles that are so common in the Malay of Kelantan and Trengganu.

V.—THE TRADERS.

Ari 'ni ari Kameh, 'dak gi kě
Binjai Rěndah ? Gamak ramai
abeh sara-la¹ orang-orang bėjual.

*This is Thursday. Aren't you
going to Binjai Rěndah ?
There's sure to be a big crowd
selling there.*

Nak gi jugak, nak bėri abeh²
buah-buah kayu ada sėkarong
dua lagi 'tu. Kalu 'dak gi ari
'ni³ burok-pok-la, rugi pulak.
'tapi tuboh rasa lėmah sangat,
'dak 'sah³ nak mėngandar, bė-
jalang saja pung 'dak chakap.

*Oh yes, I'm going. I've got a
bag or two of fruit to get rid
of. If I don't go to-day, it'll
go bad and that'll be a loss.
But I'm jagged out and don't
feel up to the walk, let alone
carrying the fruit.*

Kalu bėgitu, baik jual dėrumah
murah mėhal pung.

*Then why not sell off the stuff at
home for what it'll fetch ?*

'tu pung tawar 'dah, tadak orang
nak jugak. Kalu modal sėdiri,
biar-nya rugi-la, 'ni modal
orang. Tadak arah-la, kėna gi
jugak, nak kata apa lagi ?
Kalu kais pagi makang pagi
kais petang makang petang
pung 'dak apa-la, 'ni³ kėna
bėlapar pulak s'ari sėpagi³.

Hari ini hari Khamis, tidak pėrgi
ka-Binjai Rěndah ? Gamak
ramai habis sara-lah orang-
orang bėrjual.

Hėndak pėrgi juga, hėndak bėri
habis buah-buah kayu ada sa-
karong dua lagi itu. Kalau
tidak pėrgi hari ini, burok-
ėmpok-lah rugi pula. Tėtapi
tuboh rasa lėmah sangat, tidak
usah hėndak mėngandar, bėr-
jalan sahaja pun tidak chakap.

Kalau bagitu, baik jual di-rumah
murah mėhal pun.

Itu pun tawar sudah, tiada orang
hėndak. Kalau modal sėndiri,
biar-nya rugi-lah, ini modal
orang. Tiada arah-lah, kėna
pėrgi juga. Hėndak kata apa
lagi ? Kalau kais pagi makan
pagi kais pėtang makan pėtang
pun tidak apa-lah, ini kėna
bėlapar pula sa-hari sa-pagi.

¹ *abeh sara-la*—means "to the limit": thus *ramai habis sara* means "as many as possible." This use of *sara* is not mentioned by Wilkinson.

² *bėri abeh*—see note on *bėri rabak* at p. 19.

³ *'dak 'sah*—As in Kelantan, so in Trengganu *tak ('dak) 'sah* is always heard and not the familiar *ta'usah* of the Western States.

I've tried that and offered it for sale, but there are no takers. If it was my own money only, I'd risk the loss but there's other people's money in it as well, so I've no choice but to go. What's to be done? If it was a matter of living from hand to mouth, I wouldn't mind, but it's worse than that, one simply doesn't get one's daily bread.

Mari dēwana, We'il, panas-panas 'ni^{ne} ?

Where have you been to, Ismail, in the heat of the day?

Mari mēnunggu dēbalek 'tu 'dak boleh sēkepeng habok. Lēpas esok, esok. Tak tērulang 'dah, utuk kaki-kaki, panas lagi.

Trying to get my money yonder, but not a cent did I get. It's always "to-morrow" there. I'm sick of going again and again. It's hot work and bad for one's legs.

Auh, 'tu-la, kalu kēna basa payah, tadak arah, balek kita pulak bērasa malu dudok ulang kē-rumah dia.

Those bad payers are the very devil. It's we who get the shame, going backwards and forwards to their houses.

'dah, nak buat gēwana? Nak samang 'dak patuk.

But what's one to do? One can't take them to court.

Mari di-mana, Ismail, panas-panas ini ?

Mari mēnunggu di-balek itu, tidak bēruleh sa-kepeng habok. Tīdak tērulang sudah. Untut kaki-kaki, panas lagi.

Auh, itu-lah, kalau kēna bangsa payah, tiada arah, balek kita pula bērasa malu dudok ulang ka-rumah dia.

Sudah, hēndak buat bagimana? Hēndak *summon* tidak patut.

'gěwana 'dak patuk ? Ba'apa'
hak kita ? Samang-la.

Bagimana tidak patut ? Buat apa
hak kita ? *Summon*-lah.

*Why not ? It's our money. Take
them to court every time.*

Biar-la sěkali dua lagi. Kalu 'dak
buleh jugak, kita pęgi kamah²
sěnanang.

Biar-lah sakali dua lagi. Kalau
tidak bęruleh juga, kita pęrgi
mahkamah, sěnanang.

*I'll give them another chance or
two. If that's no good, to Court
we'll go.*

Mari děwana 'tu merah-pijar³
moka-moka ?

Mari di-mana itu, merah-pijar
muka-muka ?

*Where've you come from all
heated up like this ?*

Mari mitak utang dęrumah Che'
Long sat 'ni⁴ 'dak 'leh sętarang,
tiga 'pat kali ulang 'dah. Lępas
esok, esok. Ingat-ingat sěkali
bķķlahi.

Mari minta hutang di-rumah Che'
Long sa'at ini, tidak bęruleh
sa-tir haram. Tiga ęmpat kali
ulang sudah. Lępas esok, esok.
Ingat-ingat sa-kali bķķlahi.

*I've been to Che' Long's for the
money he owes me, but I can't
get a cent out of him, though
I've been there three or four
times. It's always "to-morrow"
there, enough to make one want
to have a row.*

Auh, Che' Long 'tu bęgitu sokmor,
tębi'at pidal.⁴

Auh, Che' Long itu begitu sa-
'umur, tabi'at pidal.

*That's just like Che' Long, he
always was an awful man to
get money out of.*

¹ Ba'apa hak kita—the phrase is elliptic. Fully expressed the question would be *buat apa tidak saman ? Bukan-kah hak kita yang di-bęchara-kan ?*

² kamah—the *Kut* (Court) of the Western States is not yet used in Trengganu for the law courts. On the other hand the official Arabic word *mahkamah* is rather a tongue-twister for the peasantry and they either shorten it down to *kamah* or call it *rumah kamah* !

³ merah-pijar—for *pijar* see Wilkinson: but it is doubtful whether *pijar* has any meaning of its own here and this is more probably one of those reduplicated descriptive expressions so common in Malay, cf. *puteh-sęlēput*, *lichin-mayar* (p. 74), *puteh-lęhar*, *puteh-męlēpak*, *kuning-męngęhe*, *merah-padam*, etc.

⁴ *pidal*—the meaning is as in the translation; *pidal* describes the character of a man who has money but dislike paying. A purely Trengganu word ?

Kalu 'dak bəri, kata 'dak bəchaya
kēdia: bəri k'ang 'dak timbul
pokok. Sērba salah. Běrasa
ta'amboh bėdagang mēnega
'dah, sėrek kalu kēna basa 'tu
gak.

*If you don't give them credit,
they say you don't trust them.
Give them credit and you don't
see your money again. What-
ever you do, you're wrong.
One feels like giving up trade
altogether when you get that
sort of customer.*

Long, bėrapa rėga ayang s'ekor ?

Long, what's the price of fowls ?

Hak panggang-pěrėnggi.¹

Small or big ?

Hak panggang-pěrėnggi.¹

Middle size.

'tu ayang mēhal te, ta'adək ayang
lalu la 'ni², abeh bėhang
pėnyakek bėkaparang. 'ni,
buleh 'ni pung tēbėng-tēbėng
chari rata-rata kapong. Sėbuah
kapong buleh s'ėkor dua, 'tu
pung tuang-nya ta'amboh jual,
dia nak buat pėnawar.²

*The fact is that fowls are very
dear, there simply aren't any
to be had, all laid out with
disease all over the place.
These I've got were only to be
had by sticking to it and going
to every blessed kampong. In
one kampong you'd only get one
or two, and those their owners
wouldn't want to part with,
they're keeping them for luck.*

Kalau tidak bəri, kata tidak
pėrchaya ka-dia: bəri karang,
tidak timbul pokok. Sěrba
salah. Běrasa tidak ěmboh
bėrdagang mēniaga sudah, sėrek
kalau kēna bangsa itu.

Long, bėrapa harga ayam sa-ėkor ?

Hak kėchil-kah hak bėsar ?

Itu, ayam mēhal, tidak ada ayam
lalu kala ini, habis bahan
pėnyakit bėrkaparan. Ini, bėr-
uleh ini pun tēbing-tēbing chari
rata-rata kampong. Sa-buah
kampong bėruleh sa-ėkor dua,
itu pun tuan-nya tidak ěmboh
jual dia hėndak buat pėnawar.

¹ panggang-pěrėnggi—apparently means "soon about to lay" and is only used of hens.

² pėnawar—this must surely mean "as an antidote" to the evil influence that has brought the disease, though one explanation given was that it merely meant "for stock."

Ilir bila we, Che' Ali ?

*When did you come down, Che'
Ali ?*

Sapai dina ari sĕmalang lagi 'dah.

*I got here before day-light this
morning.*

Napak bĕsar bĕnar rakek 'tu.
Kayu apa 'ja yang banyak
sangat 'tu ?

*That's a big raft you've got
there. What's all that lot of
wood ?*

Ada bĕlaka sĕrba sĕbatang bĕ-
chapor-chapor, chĕngal getek
kapor getek tĕkawang getek.

*All sorts, a mixed lot, chĕngal,
kapur and tĕngkawan.*

'tu yang bĕsĕrkuk bawah kajang
'tu mĕnatang apa¹ pulak ?

*What have you got under the
awning there ?*

Apa mĕnda² yang ada ? Choma
putek-putek pisang dĕngang
jĕring 'ja. Masa la 'ni³ d'ulu
tadak napak laing dĕgangang.

*Nothing much, only some young
bananas and jĕring. That's all
there is for sale upriver at the
moment.*

Tupang singgah tengok pisang
sikek gak, kalu-kalu bĕtulang³
bĕli sĕtandang dua.

Sampai dini-hari sa-malam lagi
sudah.

Nampak bĕsar bĕnar rakit itu.
Kayu apa sahaja yang banyak
sangat itu ?

Ada bĕlaka sĕrba sa-batang
bĕrchampur-champur, chĕngal
getek, kapor getek, tĕngkawan
getek.

Itu yang bĕsĕrkup bawah kajang
itu bĕnda apa pula ?

Apa bĕnda yang ada ? Chuma
putek-putek pisang dĕngan
jĕring sahaja, masa kala ini
di-ulu tiada nampak lain da-
gangan.

Tumpang singgah tengok pisang
sadikan kalu-kalu bĕtul-an
bĕli sa-tandan dua.

¹ mĕnatang apa—see note at p. 21.

² mĕnda—in Trengganu, as in Perak, an equally common form of the better known bĕnda: cf. mĕga and bĕga, see note on mĕga at p. 50.

³ bĕtulang—in Trengganu, as in Kelantan, bĕtulan is used idiomatically in three senses (a) of time, e.g. saya nak gi bĕtĕmu dĕngan Pak Ya, bĕtulan Pak Ya mari "I was just going to see you, Pa' Yahaya, and here you are turning up yourself" (b) of price, as in the present instance (c) of a thing that "works," cf. kalu-kalu nya nak bĕtulang (of medicine) at p. 43.

Can I stop and have a look at the bananas? If the price is all right, I'd like to take a cluster or two.

Apa salah-nya? Mari-la, Che' Mang.

Why not? Come along, Che' Man.

'dah, buka-la, Che' Ali, sĕrkuk kajang 'ni¹. Kalu tidak, nak tengok 'gĕwana?

Well then, open up the awning, Che' Ali. How's one going to see them if you don't?

Buleh buka sĕdiri-la, buka-nya payah sangat. Aku rasa 'dak rak¹ tuboh sangat aih, Che' Mang.

You can open it for yourself, it's not all that difficult. I'm feeling all in, Che' Man.

Ba'apa pulak, baru baik dĕmang-ka?

What's the matter? Have you just got over a bout of fever?

'dak, 'tapi buat bĕgalah dari s'ari yang kĕmaring hingga sutok dina ari sĕmalang.

No, but I've been poling the boat from yesterday till near daylight this morning.

'gĕwana? Ilir bĕrapa orang 'ja, ayir dĕras-ka?

How was that? How many were there of you? Was the current strong?

Apa salah-nya? Mari-lah, Che' Man.

Sudah, buka-lah, Che' Ali, sĕrkup kajang ini. Kalau tidak, hĕndak tengok bagaimana?

Buleh buka sĕndiri-lah, buka-nya payah sangat. Aku rasa tidak rak tuboh sangat, Che' Man.

Buat apa pula, baharu baik dĕmam-kah?

Tidak, tĕtapi buat bĕrgalah dari kĕlmarin hingga suntok dini-hari sa-malam.

Bagimana? Hilir bĕrapa orang sahaja, ayir dĕras-kah?

¹ dak rak—see Introduction, p. 4.

Saya ilir bētiga dēngang Bēdolah
dang Kasing, 'tapi nya 'dak
nya bēgalah sētabuk-ama, 'dok
jērengging¹ dēngang rokok
dēmuluk.

*I had Abdullah and Kasim with
me, but they didn't do a hand's
turn with the poling, just sat
there lolling over the side of
the boat smoking cigarettes.*

'dah, bērapa rēga pisang 'ni²,
Che' Ali ?

*Well, what's the price of these
bananas, Che' Ali ?*

Hak mana 'tu ?

Which ?

'ni²-la, kēlat Siang tiga tandang,
pisang naka sētandang.

*These. Three bunches of kēlat
Siam and one bunch of nangka.*

Auh, pakai saya kata sēkali buat
chara adek bēradek² sudah-la.

*Oh, let's have the price I name,
as though it was a family
matter, and have done with it.*

Iya-la, kata-la, nak dēngar.

*All right, name your price, I want
to hear what it is.*

Saya pakai putus, bayar sēriyal
dua kupang, sudah-la.

*Well, here's my price and no
offers: you pay me \$1.25 and
they're yours.*

Sahaya hilir bērtiga dēngan
Abdullah dan Kasim, tētapī dia
tidak dia bēgalah sa-tir habok
hama, dudok jērengging dēngan
rokok di-mulut.

Sudah, bērapa harga pisang ini,
Che' Ali ?

Hak mana itu ?

Ini-lah, Kēlat Siam tiga tandan,
pisang nangka sa-tandan.

Auh, pakai sahaya kata sa-kali,
buat chara adek bēradek sudah-
lah.

Iya-lah, kata-lah, hēndak dēngar.

Sahaya pakai putus, bayar sa-
riyal dua kupang, sudah-lah.

¹ jērengging—evidently a different word from the jēringing given by Wilkinson, apart from the difference in spelling. Jērengging means to sit leaning with your elbow on something, in this instance the gunwale of the boat.

² buat chara adek bēradek—i.e. at cost price, as one would with one's own kith and kin, and not at the price one would ask from an outsider in the ordinary way of trade.

Jangang bĕgitu-la, Che' Ali, bĕri sakat¹ sĕriyal chukuk 'dah-la, sabab saya pung bila bawak kĕpasar nak chari jugak pekdaħ kadar sĕkupang dua.

Oh, come, Che' Ali, that won't do, a dollar's plenty. I've got to try and get my bit, ten or twenty cents, out of it when I take them to market.

'dah bĕgitu gak, ambek-la, Che' Mang.

Oh, all right then, take them, Che' Man.

Auh, 'ni² dia piteħ, Che' Ali, tĕrima-la bilang dang kita 'akad jual bĕli.²

Here's the money, Che' Ali, take it and count it and we'll have a sale in proper form.

Baik-la, saya tĕrima-la piteħ 'ni² sĕriyal dang saya jual-la pisang 'tu kĕChe' Mang.

Very well, I accept this money, \$1, and I sell those bananas to you, Che' Man.

A'ah, saya pung bĕli-la pisang 'ni², Che' Ali, dĕngang rĕga yang dĕbayar. 'dah, tulong-la akat getek uboh³ kĕdalam pĕrahu saya.

And I purchase the bananas, Che' Ali, at the price paid. Now then, just give us a hand with the bananas and put them into my boat.

Jangan bagitu-lah, Che' Ali, bĕri sangkat sa-riyal chukup sudah-lah, sĕbab sahaya pun bila bawa ka-pasar hĕndaħ chari juga fa'idah kadar sa-kupang dua.

Sudah bagitu, ambil-lah, Che' Man.

Auh, ini dia pitis, Che' Ali, tĕrima-lah bilang dan kita 'akad jual bĕli.

Baik-lah, sahaya tĕrima-lah pitis ini sa-riyal dan sahaya jual-lah pisang itu ka-Che' Man.

Sahaya pun bĕli-lah pisang ini, Che' Ali, dĕngan harga yang di-bayar. Sudah, tulong-lah angkat getek, buboh sa-dalam pĕrahu sahaya.

¹ sakat—see note at p. 15.

² 'akad jual beli—to judge from the oral evidence produced in the courts in support of alleged, but unregistered, sales of land (when the witnesses remember with astounding clarity the incidents, including the denomination of the money that passed, of transactions five or ten years ago!), the formal contract of sale that is here described is a regular concomitant of humble business deals in Trengganu.

³ uboh—a common Trengganu variant of buboh.

Auk, Allah, sabab 'pat tandang,
akak sĕkali pung abeh.

*What, with four bunches? You
can lift those at one go.*

Baik-la, Che' Ali, ma'as-la kĕsaya
getek, saya nak kĕpasar sĕlalu,
'ni^{ng} tĕngah ari 'dah.

*Right then, Che' Ali. So long.
I'm off to the market, it's
mid-day.*

Iya-la sama-sama, Che' Mang,
lain kali bĕtĕmu pulak.

*So long then, Che' Man. I'll be
seeing you again one of these
days.*

Saya bĕtanya sĕpatah lagi, Che'
Ali.

*Oh, there's one thing I wanted to
ask you, Che' Ali.*

Tanya apa pulak?

What is it?

'dah, bila agak-agak Che' Ali nak
mudek?

*Well, when do you think you'll be
going back upriver again?*

Ajat saya bila-bila sĕlĕsai tolak
mĕnolak pĕkara kayu rakek
'ni^{ng} gak saya pung nak mudek
sĕlalu-la.

*My idea is to get back the moment
I've squared accounts over the
timber we've got here.*

Mudek sĕkali 'ni^{ng} lama mana
gamak-gamak ilir?

*When you go back this time, how
long do you think it'll be before
you're down again?*

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Allah, sĕbab ĕmpat tandan!
Angkat sa-kali pun habis.

Baik-lah, Che' Ali, ma'af-lah ka-
sahaya getek, sahaya hĕndak
ka-pasar salalu, ini tĕngah hari
sudah.

Iya-lah, sama-sama, Che' Man,
lain kali bĕrtĕmu pula.

Sahaya bĕrtanya sa-patah lagi,
Che' Ali.

Sudah, bila agak-agak Che' Ali
hĕndak mudek?

Hajat sahaya bila-bila sĕlĕsai
tolak mĕnolak pĕkara kayu
rakit ini, sahaya pun hĕndak
mudek salalu-lah.

Mudek sa-kali ini, lama mana
gamak-gamak hilir?

Gamak saya tahang ujung-ujung
bulang. Ba'apa, Che' Mang?
Ada hajat apa?

*Oh, towards the end of this month,
I expect. Why? Is there any-
thing you want?*

Iya, kalau kěmudahang, tolong
Che' Ali tēpah dēngang adek
kakak ulu chari isi kapur, saya
nak bēli.

*Yes, if it's not too much trouble,
you might pass the word to the
people upriver get me some
lime, I'll buy.*

Chěmak mana?

How much?

Kalu hak molek banyak sikek
pung 'dak apa, saya sangguk
ambek.

*If it's good stuff, I'll take all they
can let me have.*

Insha' Allah, Che' Mang, saya
ingat-la pēsanang Che' Mang.

*Please God, I'll remember to pass
on your message, Che' Man.*

Gamak sahaya tahan hujong-
hujong bulan. Buat apa, Che'
Man? Ada hajat apa?

Iya, kalau kěmudahan, tolong
Che' Ali tēmpah dēngan adek
kakak hulu chari isi kapur,
sahaya hēndak bēli.

Kalau hak molek, banyak sadikit
pun tidak apa, sahaya sanggup
ambil.

Inshallah, Che' Man, sahaya
ingat-lah pēsanan Che' Man.

VI.—THE BIRD SNARER.

Teh, Teh, Mat gi kēwana ?

Where's Mat, Teh ?

Gi kēwana lagi ? Bawak dēnak¹
dia-la gēlap-gēlap tadi lagi,
chērah 'dak chērah lēsap-patat
'dah.

*Where do you think he's gone ?
Out with his decoy of course.
He was away before break of
day. By the time it was light
there wasn't a sign of him.*

'dah, balek bila ?

When'll he be back ?

Nya balek lagi gēlap 'dak gēlap
'dak pēduli 'dah, makang 'dak
makang nya sēdiri 'tu. 'dah-la
anak bini² pung 'dak pēduli
jugak.

*Any old time of day or night,
food or no food, wife or no wife.*

Balek 'tu gak nak marah, awa²
pērūk lapar, 'dak rak tuboh
lagi. Kita takuk kēdia 'dak
pēduli-la pinjang sēlang bē-

Teh, Teh, Mat pērgi ka-mana ?

Pērgi ka-mana lagi ? Bawa
dēnak dia-lah gēlap-gēlap tadi
lagi, chērah tidak chērah lēsap-
pantat sudah.

Sudah, balek bila ?

Dia balek gēlap tidak gēlap tidak
fēduli sudah, makan tidak
makan dia sēndiri itu. Sudah-
lah anak bini pun tidak fēduli
juga.

Balek itu gak hēndak marah,
hawa pērūt lapar, tidak rak
tuboh lagi. Kita takut ka-dia
tidak fēduli-lah, pinjam sēlang

¹ *dēnak*—the birds generally snared in Trengganu are turtle-doves. The snarer sets out with the decoy-bird (*dēnak*), which is carried in the low, round and beautifully made cages (called in Trengganu *sarang*, not *sangkar*) used for this purpose, the top of the cage being covered with a rather elaborate betasselled cloth known as *pēřēkok*. Having chosen the scene of operations he pegs down three rows of nooses (*rachek*), which are made of the hair from a bullock's tail, and takes the decoy-bird out of the cage and tethers him, having first put up a sort of screen of brushwood behind the place where he proposes to tether the decoy. The object of the screen is to prevent the wild bird (described typically as *hak hutang*, i.e. *hak hutan*!) from engaging the decoy except on the ground where the nooses have been laid. The decoy-bird then struts about and presently a wild bird comes to fight. Its claws are inevitably caught before long in the nooses which are almost invisible, and the owner of the decoy then comes out of his hiding place near by and envelops the victim in the old sarong he has brought with him for the purpose. A good decoy bird will command any price up to \$5. The birds caught may fetch 5 to 10 cents.

² *awa*—means "because," cf. *awa Mak Teh itu adek-kakak ayah dia* at p. 101. This use of the word is not known to the dictionaries.

utang bareh¹ pung tanak-la
jugak.

*But when he does get back, we
hear all about it, how he's had
nothing to eat all day, tired to
death and so on. I'm so terri-
fied that I don't care, go
borrowing all over the place,
anything to get him some food.*

běrhutang baris pun tanak-lah
juga.

'dah, boleh burong 'tu, běrapa
laku s'ekor ?

*When he's got his birds, what do
they fetch ?*

Sudah, běruleh burong itu, běrapa
laku sa-ekur ?

Běrapa 'dah boleh 'tu gak, s'apa
nak, s'apa ambek.

*Whatever birds he's got go to
anyone who likes to take them.*

Běrapa sudah běruleh itu gak,
siapa hěndak, siapa ambil.

'dah, kalu bėgitu, gila gamak-nya.

Why, he must be daft.

Sudah, kalau begitu, gila gamak-
nya.

'dak gila pung sěrambi²-la.

*If he's not daft, he's next door
to it.*

Tidak gila pun, sěrambi-lah.

¹ sělang bėrutang bareh pung—lit. even if (sělang) (it means) borrowing. The word bareh (baris) is constantly associated with bėrhutang in Trengganu, the idea being apparently of debts "in a line," i.e. one day you borrow from your next-door neighbour, the next day you go to the house beyond and so on until you owe money all down the line !

² sěrambi-la—"nearly."

VII.—DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.

Mu nak kēwana 'tu, Saleh ?
Where are you off to, Saleh ?

Mu hēndak ka-mana itu, Saleh ?

Ajat nak kēLimbong.
I'm going to Limbong.

Hajat hēndak ka-Limbong.

Gi chari apa gak ? Mari gak
dulu.

Pērgi chari apa gak ? Mari gak
dahulu.

*What are you after ? Come with
me.*

Ba'apa pulak, Ngah ? Orang nak
gi tengok budak main rodāt.¹

Buat apa pula, Ngah ? Orang
hēndak pērgi tengok budak
main rodāt.

*What's the idea, Ngah ? Every-
one's going to see the rodāt.*

Aih, main rodāt dēwana ? S'apa
kata ?

Aih, main rodāt di-mana ? Siapa
kata ?

*Where's there a rodāt ? Who
said so ?*

Jusoh kabar k'aku orang main
dērumah Jusēlang Sēma'il Lim-
bong.

Jusok khabar ka-aku orang main
di-rumah Juru-sēlam Isma'il
Limbong.

*Jusoh told me that there was a
performance at Ismail, the
diver's, at Limbong.*

Amor aih aku 'dak dēngar, k'ang²
nya kechek³ saja dēJusoh kēmu.

Amboshi aih, aku tidak dēngar,
karang dia kechek sahaja di-
Jusoh sahaja ka-mu.

¹ rodāt—said to be an Arabic word. The performance is apparently the same as the *hadzrah* of Penang (see Wilkinson s.v.), a semi-religious dance and chanting by boys.

² k'ang—the meaning is "probably," "I expect." In Perak *takut* or '*kut* could be used in this context. The origin of k'ang is unexplained. *Karang* is conjectured, diffidently.

³ kechek—apparently used here in the sense generally associated in the Western States with the word, see Wilkinson s. v., viz. "cheating with plausible stories." Ordinarily *kechek*, in the form *bērkechek*, means in Trengganu, as in Kelantan, "chat" talk," cf. *kērani-kērani dudok bērkechek* at p. 13.

I haven't heard anything about it, I expect Jusoh was pulling your leg.

Tak tahu-la aku, 'tapi tak sabah¹ nya buat pĕlawak² sabab Jusĕlang Sĕma'il ada bĕkĕrija sunat anak nya.

I don't know, but it's not likely Jusoh was inventing it as Ismail the diver's celebrating the circumcision of his son.

Kalu bĕgitu bĕkali iya sunggoh. Kita gi bĕsaing dua. Mari singgah kĕrumah aku sĕbĕtar nak ambek baju.

Oh, I daresay it's all right then. Let's go together, but stop a minute at the house while I get my jacket.

Aku nak tengok sĕbĕtar 'ja, dalam sĕjang jadi-la. Lĕpas 'tu aku nak balek.

I'm only going for a short time, an hour'll be long enough. After that I must get home.

Ba'apa? Mu takuk bini³ mu marah?

Why? Are you frightened of a wiggling from your wife?

Hey, Ngah, mu 'dak tahu aku lohor tadi gĕrah-gĕrah³ lagi bĕchĕrai dĕngang bini³ aku?

Tidak tahu-lah aku, tĕtapi tidak mĕnasabah dia buat pĕlawak sĕbab Juru-sĕlam Isma'il ada bĕkĕrja sunat anak dia.

Kalau bagitu barang-kali iya sunggoh. Kita pĕrgi bĕrsaing dua. Mari singgah ka-rumah aku sa-bĕntar hĕndak ambil baju.

Aku hĕndak tengok sa-bĕntar sahaja, dalam sa-jam jadi-lah. Lĕpas itu aku hĕndak balek.

Buat apa? Mu takut bini mu marah?

Hey, Ngah, mu tidak tahu aku lohor tadi gĕrah-gĕrah lagi bĕrchĕrai dĕngang bini aku?

¹ *sabah*—another homely adaptation of an Arabic word, viz. *mĕnasabah*, cf. *kamah* at p. 55.

² *pĕlawak*—see Introduction, p. 3.

³ *gĕrah-gĕrah*—so written by the author of this dialogue but see Wilkinson under *gĕroh*. For pronunciation of final *ah* and *oh* see Introduction, p. 7. The meaning here is "nearly." The connexion with *gĕroh* is not obvious: *gĕrah-gĕrah* is explained as meaning *hampir-hampir kĕna bahaya*.

*Why didn't you know, Ngah, that
at mid-day to-day I came as
near as no matters to divorcing
my wife?*

Pasal apa gak, Saleh? Mu
sokmor iduk bēbalah dēngang
bini¹. 'dak baik, nak tahu¹.

Fasal apa gak, Saleh? Mu sa-
umur hidup bērbalah dēngan
bini. Tidak baik, hēndak tahu.

*What was the trouble, Saleh?
You're for ever having rows
with her. No good'll come of
that.*

Tadak arah, Ngah. Mula-mula-
nya dia suroh aku ambek ayir
dētēlaga isi dalang tēpayang.
Aku kata "Nati pētang-pētang
sikek lagi."

Tiada arah, Ngah. Mula-mula-
nya dia suroh aku ambil ayir
di-tēlaga isi dalam tēmpayan.
Aku kata "Nanti pētang-pētang
sadikit lagi."

*I don't know what to do, Ngah.
It began this way. She told
me to get water from the well
and fill the jar. I said "Oh,
wait till a bit later in the day."*

Lēpas 'tu?

And then?

Nya marah k'aku, nya kata
kēleksa² machang orang nak
mapuh dudok matang kēdarah³
sahaja.

Dia marah ka-aku, dia kata
kēleksa machang orang hēndak
mampus dudok (?) ka-darah
sahaja.

*She raved at me, saying I'd no
more go in me than a man with
one foot in the grave and just
did nothing but guzzle food.*

¹ 'dak baik, nak tahu—lit. (if you do what is) not fitting, you'll know, i.e. there'll be trouble coming to you—from heaven. This is apparently a recognised form of warning against pursuing any line of conduct or action that is not right. In this instance the warning is against continuance of connubial wrangling.

² kēleksa—explained as pēmalas. A purely Trengganu word?

³ matang kēdarah—cf. muntah kēdarah in Perak. A coarse expression for "eating."

'dah, apa salah-nya? Dia bēlebir¹ bēgitu biar kēdia-la, memang tēbia't orang 'puang gēnap-gēnap orang bērahi² bēlebir.

Sudah, apa salah-nya? Dia bēr-lebir begitu biar ka-dia-lah, memang tabia't orang pērēm-puan gēnap-gēnap orang bērahi bērlebir.

Well, that won't hurt you. If she likes to keep on talking, let her. That's just like a woman, every one of them love talking.

Hey, Ngah, aku 'dak boleh tahang, chuping tēlinga aku nipeh, sēkali-sēkali nya kata tutur 'tu, aku dēngar bērasa bēdēsing lubang-lubang tēlinga.

Hey, Ngah, aku tidak boleh tahan, chuping tēlinga aku nipis, sa-kali-kali dia kata tutur itu, aku dēngar bērasa bērdēsing lubang-lubang tēlinga.

Oh, I can't stand it, Ngah. The lobes of my ears are thin, and when I hear her talking like that, I feel as though her words were simply whistling in my ears.

Aih, kalau kēna k'aku, aku undor kēlaing. Puas-puas nya bēlebir, nya diang getek.

Aih, kalau kēna ka-aku, aku hundur ka-lain. Puas-puas dia bērlebir, dia diam getek.

If I came in for that sort of thing, I should clear out of the house. Let her have her say and finish, and then she'll stop.

Aku bukang sayang sangat kēdia 'tu 'tapi yang aku sabar-sabar kērana kēnang k'anak-anak 'ja.

Aku bukan sayang sangat ka-dia itu, tētapi yang aku sabar-sabar kērana kēnang ka-anak-anak sahaja.

I'm not desperately fond of her, but I haven't done anything about it for the sake of the children.

¹ bēlebir—"rattle on," the word regularly used in Trengganu of garrulity, whether of the nagging variety or the merely narrative. The Perak equivalent is *mērepek*. Another Trengganu word with much the same meaning is *mēletir*.

² bērahi—in Trengganu generally used to express being "fond of doing" some particular thing, e.g. *dia itu bērahi sangat mēnembak burung* "he's a very keen shot."

Běrapa orang ada anak mu
děngang dia ?

*How many children have you got
by her ?*

Tiga orang, sa laki, dua bětina.
Kalu ta'adək anak, aku buang
'dah tadi.

*Three, one boy and two girls. If
there hadn't been children, I'd
have divorced her just now.*

Jangang Saleh ikuk apa kěnapsu
panas, kěna pikir aluh-aluh kita
děngang hal anak bini¹.

*Don't you go doing anything in
the heat of the moment, Saleh.
One's got to think things out
very carefully where it's a
matter of wife and children.*

Aku herang sangat tēbi'at bini¹
aku 'tu, sěkali-sěkali nya baik,
nya buat kaseh k'aku bukaŋ
maing-maing hingga 'dak boleh
běrěnggang¹ jauh.

*She's an extraordinary woman is
that wife of mine. Now and
then she's as nice as can be,
so fond of me that she won't
let me leave her.*

'tu-la aku kata, orang-orang
puang sějata muluk 'ja, bila dia
marah-marah kita bujok sikek-
sikek baik sělalū.

*That's what I say, a woman's only
weapon is her tongue. When
she's in one of her tempers,
speak nicely to her and she'll
be all right again.*

Běrapa orang ada anak mu děngang
dia ?

Tiga orang, satu laki-laki, dua
bětina. Kalau tidak ada anak,
aku buang sudah tadi.

Jangan Saleh ikut apa ka-nafsu
panas, kěna pikir halus-halus
kita děngang hal anak bini.

Aku hairan sangat tabi'at bini aku
sa-kali sa-kali dia baik, dia buat
kaseh ka-aku bukan main-main
hingga tidak boleh běrěnggang
jauh.

Itu-lah aku kata, orang-orang pě-
rěmpuan sějata mulut sahaja,
bila dia marah, kita bujok
sadikit-sadikit, baik salalū.

¹ běrěnggang—very commonly used in Trengganu with the meaning of
"leaving the company of," not because of disagreement or permanently.

Biar aku nak achu ingat, kalau
masa dia marah, aku nak bujok.

Biar aku achu hendak ingat, kalau
masa dia marah, aku hendak
bujok.

*I'll try and remember that, and
the next time she goes for me,
I'll see what the soft word
will do.*

Ah malu sangat yang mu 'dok
bėkoking¹ bising-bangar dēn-
gang bini² mu 'tu, orang-orang
dėkat rumah 'dak dēngar ?

Ah, malu sangat yang mu dudok
bėrkongkeng bising-bangar dēn-
gan bini mu itu, orang-orang
dėkat rumah tidak dēngar ?

*Yes, I expect you don't like the
idea of your neighbours hearing
the rows between you and your
wife, as of course they must.*

'dah, dia dēngar apa pėduli dia ?

Sudah, dia dēngar, apa fėduli dia ?

*Well, I don't suppose they worry
about it.*

'dak pėduli pung nya bosang
jugak lubang tēlinga-nya dēngar
'dok ngu-nging ngu-nging.

Tidak fėduli pun, dia bosan
juga lubang tēlinga-nya dēngar
dudok ngung-nging ngung-
nging.

*Well even if they don't, they must
get fed up with the buzz that
comes from your house.*

Mu mari dēwana napak machang
orang bangung tidor 'ja ?

Mu mari darimana nampak
macham orang bangun tidur
sahaja ?

*Where have you been ? You look
as though you'd just got out
of bed.*

Aku bangung tidor sunggoh.

Aku bangun tidur sunggoh.

That's just what I have done.

'dah bangung tidor 'tu tak gi
mandi-manda lagi ? K'ang nak
makang minung pulak.

Sudah bangun tidur itu tidak pėrgi
mandi-manda lagi ? Karang
hėndak makan minum pula.

¹ bėkoking—a common use of this word is to describe the barking and
yelping of a pack of dogs after a bitch.

Well, haven't you had your bath yet? You'll be calling for your food in a minute.

Ari 'dah tēngah ari, lauk-pitok ta'adak sēchubek harang, piteh k'ada¹ sēkeping.

It's mid-day and there's not a scrap of anything to eat with the rice or the money to buy anything.

'dah, payah apa? Ta'adak piteh, gi bērutang bareh pung boleh jugak.

Oh, that's easy. If there's no money, one can always borrow.

Mu tadak kērija lain, asal sikek nak bērutang. Jang nak bayar esok bēkētia². Mulai³ rochoh⁴ situ 'dak kēna, rochoh sini⁵ 'dak kēna. Gi-la chari d'erah⁶ 'kuk pandai mu-la, aku 'ni⁷ nati mu balek.

That's all you do, borrow money. But when you've got to pay it back, you're in a fix, you can't get it this way and you can't get it that. Go out and see what you can do, I'll wait till you come back.

Mu 'dak 'sah arap sangat. Aku kalau ada saing ajak aku makang dēkēdai, aku bēhang nasek kēdai. Mu dērumah 'kuk pandai mu-la.

Hari sudah tēngah hari, lauk-petok tidak ada sa-chubit haram, pitis-kah ada sa-kepeng.

Sudah, payah apa? Tidak ada pitis, pērgi bērhutang baris pun boleh juga.

Mu tiada kērija lain, asal sadikit hēndak bērhutang. Jam hēndak bayar esok, bērkētia². Mula rochoh situ tidak kēna, rochoh sini tidak kēna. Pērgi-lah chari dairah ikut pandai mu-lah, aku ini nanti mu balek.

Mu tidak usah harap sangat. Aku kalau ada saing ajak aku makan di-kēdai, aku bahan nasi kēdai. Mu di-rumah ikut pandai mu-lah.

¹ k'ada—i.e. -kah ada "is there a cent?", i.e. there is not.

² bēkētia—see Wilkinson under kētia.

³ Mulai—see note on sēmula at p. 91, Kelantan Malay. As in Kelantan, so in Trengganu sēmula (sa-mula) with the meaning "once more," "over again," is pronounced sēmula (N.B. not sēmula-i): and here is an instance of the root form of this word, mulai not mula. The meaning is not very clear. Apparently it is "first you try this.....then you try that."

⁴ rochoh—lit. "prod": the English "have a stab at" is a rough parallel.

⁵ d'erah—lit. "go and look all over the place." This use of dairah is not known to the dictionaries.

*Well, don't be too sure about me.
If people ask me to feed at the
coffee-shop, I shall have my
meal there and you must do
the best you can for yourself
here.*

Molek-la mu 'uat bėgitu, kalu mu
ta'amboh balek, buat chara
ta'amboh balek, aku 'dak payah
nati mu.

*That's all very well. If you're
not coming back, let's take it
at that and I needn't stay in
the house waiting for you.*

'dak, aih, aku buat lolak.

I was only pulling your leg.

Mek, Mek, 'dak mėnanak lagi-ka ?

*Haven't you cooked the food yet,
Mek ?*

'nak mėnanak dėngang apa ?
Ayir ta'adak sėtitek dėtėpayang,
bėras pung ta'adak sėjėpuk
dari kėmaring lagi.

*What's one to cook with ? There's
not a drop of water in the jar
nor a pinch of rice since yester-
day.*

Ambohi, 'gėwana yang bėgitu 'tu ?

Why, how's that ?

'gėwana, 'gėwana ? Mak dudok
tėletang dėtikar dari kėmaring
d'ulu lagi, sakek 'pala, nak
tinggal 'dak buleh.

*How indeed ? Why, mother's
been laid up since the day
before yesterday with a bad
head, and I couldn't leave her.*

Molek-lah mu buat bagitu, kalau
mu tidak ěmboh balek, buat
chara tidak ěmboh balek, aku
tidak payah nanti mu.

Tidak, aih, aku buat lolok.

Mek, Mek, tidak mėnanak lagi-
kah ?

Hėndak mėnanak dėngan apa ?
Ayir tidak ada sa-titek di-
tėmpayan, bėras pun tidak ada
sa-jėmput dari kėlmarin lagi.

Ambohi, bagimana yang bagitu
itu ?

Bagimana, bagimana ? ěmak
dudok tėrlentang di-tikar dari
kėlmarin dahulu lagi, sakit
kėpala, hėndak tinggal tidak
buleh.

Ambohi, tadak s'apa-s'apa mari ?

But hasn't any one been to the house ?

Ambohi, tiada siapa-siapa mari ?

Ada pung jadi apa ? Dudok tětinjau-tinjau dētanah, panggil naik, 'dak naik, datang-datang¹ lēsap sēlalu.

No one to do any good. They just stayed outside peering in. Ask them in and they wouldn't come in, and then they'd be gone.

Ada pun jadi apa ? Dudok tēr-tinjau-tinjau di-tanah, panggil naik, tidak naik, datang-datang lēsap salalu.

Nak kēwana 'tu, Pak 'At ?

Where are you going, Pa' 'At ?

Hēndak ka-mana itu, Pa' Sa'at ?

Nak kēdalang rak 'ni 'ja chari daun sērung.

Only just into this bit of scrub to look for some sērung leaves.

Hēndak ka-dalam rak ini sahaja chari daun sērung (?).

Nak buat apa pulak sērung 'tu ?

What are you going to do with them when you've got them ?

Hēndak buat apa pula sērung itu ?

Aih, Cha, mu 'dak dēngar-ka sēmalang guguk-gegir orang lupa mak Chek mu bēranak jatang lēkat uri ?

What, Musa, didn't you hear all the fuss there was last night over my wife giving birth to a boy and the after-birth not coming away ?

Aih, Musa, mu tidak dēngar-kah sa-malam gugup-geger orang lupa ēmak Chek mu bēranak jantan lēkat uri ?

Mak Mah jadi bidang, dina ari baru sēlēlai, mujor 'dak mati. Kalu panggil bidang dēsēpital aku gamak 'dak jadi bēgitu.

Ma' Fatimah jadi bidan, dini-hari baharu sēlēlai, mujur tidak mati. Kalau panggil bidan di-hospital, aku gamak tidak jadi bagitu.

¹ datang-datang—a common Trengganu variant of tiba-tiba.

Ma' Mah was the midwife and it wasn't till early this morning that it was all over. It was a very near thing. If we'd had the midwife from the hospital, we shouldn't have had all that trouble.

(The proud father)

Budak lësoh 'neh, mēga anak patong. Aku bēkaul kalu panjang omor nak jēmēleh kērbai.

Isn't he a fair child, just like a doll? I've vowed to kill a buffalo if he lives.

Mu, Pak 'At, bētuah-la anak jatang puteh-sēlēpuk¹ liching-mayar. Saya nak tupang makang kērbai getek.

You're a lucky man, Pa' 'At, to have a boy like this, clear skin and not a blemish. I'm coming in for that buffalo feast if I may.

Mu, Chek, dē'a² sama-sama.

Well, say a prayer for us then.

Baik-la. Gi-la, Pa' 'At, saya nak gi jerah kubor sēbētar.

Yes, I will. Well, on you go, Pa' 'At, I'm just going to pay a visit to a grave.

Bētimah, ambek daun sērung 'ni^{ng}, aku nak kēkēdai. Mu tulong-la Chek 'tu ikuk chara anak buah mu.

Budak lësoh ini, mēga anak patong. Aku bērkaul kalau panjang 'umur hēndak sēmēleh kērbau.

Mu, Pa' Sa'at, bētuah-lah anak jantan puteh-sēlēput lichin-mayar. Sahaya hēndak tum-pang makan kērbau getek.

Mu, Chek, do'a sama-sama.

Baik-lah. Pērgi-lah, Pa' Sa'at, sahaya hēndak pērgi ziarah kubur sa-bēntar.

Fatimah, ambil daun sērung ini, aku hēndak ka-kēdai. Mu tulong-lah Chek itu ikut chara anak buah mu.

¹ *puteh-sēlēpuk*—see note on *merah-pijar* at p. 55.

² *dē'a*—this spelling represents the usual pronunciation of this word in Trengganu, in contradistinction to the *do'a* generally heard elsewhere.

Here's some sērūn, Fatimah. I'm going to the shop. You'll look after the wife as though she were your own daughter, won't you?

(The wife, some days later)

Sa'at, mējak¹ aku bēranak kēchek 'nin², mu gak bējalang saja malang-malang. Kēwana gak mu pēgi?

Sa'at, since I've had this baby, you've always been going out at night. Where have you been going?

Kēwana sangat, Chek? Abeh sara² kēsēmēgek³ dēngar-dēngar tok bilal bacha hadeh Nabi.

Oh, I've only just been going to the mosque, my dear, to hear the Bilal reading the sayings of the Prophet.

Aih, Sa'at, mu sah⁴ nak kechek⁵ k'aku, aku tahu bēlaka aluh kasar. Mu gēnap-gēnap malang gi kērumah orang bujang-jalang⁶. Mu chērai aku, Sa'at. Kalu mu 'dak chērai, mu dayuh⁷.

Sa'at, sēmēnjak aku bēranak kēchil ini, mu gak bējalan sahaja malam-malam. Ka-mana gak mu pēgi?

Ka-mana sangat, Chek? Habis sara ka-mēsjid dēngar-dēngar to' bilal bacha hadith Nabi.

Aih, Sa'at, mu tidak usah hēndak kechek ka-aku, aku tahu bēlaka halus kasar. Mu gēnap-gēnap malam pēgi ka-rumah orang bujang-jalang. Mu chērai aku, Sa'at. Kalau mu tidak chērai, mu dayus.

¹ mējak—the Trengganu version of sēmēnjak "since"; sakat (see note at p. 15) is perhaps commoner. In Perak sēmēnjak is shortened down to ēnjak, to which ukor is frequently added.

² abeh sara—see note at p. 53.

³ kēsēmēgek—see note at p. 45.

⁴ sah—so written by the author of this dialogue, i.e. 'sah instead of the more common 'dah 'sah (see note at p. 53)). In Perak the word usah by itself, instead of ta' usah, is common.

⁵ kechek—another example of the use of this word in the sense given by Wilkinson, see note at p. 65. It looks as though kechek in the simple form is regularly used in Trengganu in that sense, and it is only bērkechek that means "talk" "chat."

⁶ bujang-jalang—means "women living without husbands" and the jalang does not at all necessarily connote that a woman so living is immoral. The jalang probably has no meaning of its own here, bujang-jalang being simply one of the old-fashioned Malay jingles so common in the language of Trengganu and Kelantan.

⁷ dayuh—the term dayus is applicable apparently not only to a husband who is aware of his wife's infidelity but refuses to divorce her, but also to a husband who being unfaithful to his wife and being asked for that reason to give her her freedom declines to do so.

It's no good your telling me those stories, Sa'at, I know the whole business. You're going every night to women's houses. You must divorce me, Sa'at. If you don't, your name will be mud.

Jangang, Chek, mu buat mē-musang¹ bēgitu. Achu mu pikir abeh-abeh d'ulu. Kita ada anak, kēlak-kēlak mu sēsāl. Jangang pakai achung orang. Orang-orang 'tu gēwana sangat? Bila tengok kita sēnang, dia dēki.

Jangan, Chek, mu buat mēmusang (ēmbusan?) begitu. Achu mu pikir habis-habis dahulu. Kita ada anak, kēlak-kēlak mu sēsāl. Jangan pakai achum orang. Orang-orang itu bagaimana sangat? Bila tengok kita sēnang, dia dēngki.

Oh, come, Chek, you're not going as far as that. You'd better think things over carefully first. Remember we've got children, and you may be sorry afterwards. Don't you go listening to what people tell you. What do they amount to? It's simply that they're envious because we're getting on nicely.

Sa'at, mu 'dak 'sah bujok, pada sakek ati rela aku mati². Mu chērai, Sa'at, bēlanja nikah sēlikor riyal 'tu aku halal³, 'dak tutuk da'wa dēnia akhirat.

Sa'at, mu tidak usah bujok, pada sakit hati ridla aku mati. Mu chērai, Sa'at, bēlanja nikah sēlikur riyal itu aku halal, tidak tuntutan da'wa dunia akhirat.

It's no good you're trying to wheedle me, Sa'at, I'd sooner

¹ mēmusang—so written by the author of this dialogue; but the word is said actually to have no connexion with *musang* but to be a corruption of *pungasan*. The word *pungah* (? *pungas*) in Trengganu, as in Kelantan (see note at p. 134, *Kelantan Malay*) means "fierce" "hot-tempered." This derivation is not altogether convincing. A more obvious derivation is from *ēmbus*, see Wilkinson s. v. The word *ēmbusan* meaning "bellows" is always pronounced *musang* in Trengganu.

² kēlak-kēlak sēsāl—"who knows but you may be sorry." The colloquial use of *kēlak* is confined to Trengganu?

³ *halal*—the money in question should of course have been paid to the woman at the time of the marriage: and by the law of Trengganu it is now forbidden to any *tukang nikah* to celebrate a marriage until he has satisfied himself that the dowry has in fact been paid. In this case the money was a debt due by the husband which the woman remits (*halal*) as an inducement to him to divorce her.

*be dead than sick at heart.
You divorce me, Sa'at, and you
can have the twenty dollars of
my dowry, I'll promise not to
claim it in this world or the
next.*

Chek, 'dah mu nak sangat, aku
chërai mu satu talak.

Chek, sudah mu hëndak sangat,
aku chërai mu satu talak.

*All right then, as you're so keen
on it, I divorce you once, Che'.*

Mari kita gi rëpuk k'oepèh.

Mari kita përgi *report* ka-office.

*Let's go and report that at the
Office.*

(The Kathi)

Mu, Sa'at, dëngang Chek mari
k'oepèh ada kërja-ka?

Mu, Sa'at, dëngang Chek mari ka-
Office ada kërja-kah?

*Have you and Che' come here on
business, Sa'at?*

Iya, Che', ada kërja. Saya nak
rëpuk bëchërai laki bini^{ng}
dëngang Chek 'ni.

Iya, Inche', ada kërja. Sahaya
hëndak bërchërai laki bini
dëngang Chek ini.

*Yes, on business. I've come to
report that Che' and I are
divorced.*

Amor, mu 'ni, Sa'at, mëga
dëngang orang muda-muda 'ja.
Anak bëdëru-bëdërang¹ mu
'dah tua-reta² bëchërai jugak?

Ambohi, mu ini, Sa'at, (sëpërti)
dëngang orang muda-muda
sahaja. Anak bërdëru-bër-
dëram mu sudah tua-renta
bërchërai juga?

*Why, Sa'at, that's a matter for
young people only. Here are
you with any number of children
and in your old age and yet
you're going in for divorce?*

¹ bëdëru-bëdërang—the meaning is “numerous,” possibly derived from the primary meaning of *dëru* (see Wilkinson s. v.) because of the noise that a number of children are likely to make?

² tua-reta—see Wilkinson under *renta*. “Old and worn out.”

Tadak arah-la, Che', sudah sapai
tĕmuang nak abeh.

*There's no help for it, we can't
get on together any longer.*

Mu kata 'gĕwana, Sa'at, mu
chĕrai bini^{ng} mu 'ni^{ng} ?

*Well, what is it you've got to say,
Sa'at ? You divorce your wife
here and now ?*

Saya kata "aku chĕrai mu, Chek,
talak satu." Chek halal bĕlanja
nikah sĕlikor riyal. Saya baru
chĕrai sĕkali 'ni^{ng} saja.

*I say "I divorce you once, Che'."
Che' makes no claim to her
dowry of twenty dollars. This
is the first divorce.*

'dah, 'gĕwana ? Mu ta'amboh
roja'-ka ?

Then you don't want her back ?

Hak 'tu, Che', bĕlai-la, nak kĕkor
pikir d'ulu.

*Ah, that must wait. That wants
some thinking over.*

'gĕwana, Chek, mu dĕngar bĕlaka
'dah ?

*Well, Che', what have you got
to say ? Have you heard all
that's been said ?*

Iya, kata Sa'at 'tu bĕtul bĕlaka.

Yes, it's just as Sa'at has said.

(Third party comments)

Mak Chek, saya dĕngar mu bĕ-
chĕrai dĕngang Pak 'At ?

*I've heard that you and Pa' Sa'at
are divorced ?*

Tiada arah-lah, Inche', sudah
sampai tĕmuang hĕndak habis.

Mu kata bagimana, Sa'at, mu
chĕrai bini mu ini ?

Sahaya kata "aku chĕrai mu,
Chek, talak satu." Chek halal
bĕlanja nikah sa-likur riyal.
Sabaya baharu chĕrai sa-kali
ini sahaja.

Sudah, bagimana ? Mu tidak
ĕmboh rojok-kah ?

Hak itu, Inche', bĕlai-lah, hĕndak
kohor-kohor pikir dahulu.

Bagimana, Chek, mu dĕngar
bĕlaka sudah ?

Ma' Chek, sahaya dĕngar mu bĕr-
chĕrai dĕngang Pa' Sa'at ?

Iya, anak Chek¹. Aku 'dak chakap nak sabar. Sa'at 'tu kělorek² sangat, anak kuchi děpinggang³. Kalu orang machang 'tu, rela aku bujang sapai kěmati.

Yes, I couldn't stand it any longer. Sa'at was so stingy, with the keys always at his belt. Rather than have that sort of husband, I'm quite happy to remain single for the rest of my days.

'dah, anak-anak 'gěwana? S'apa tanggung?

Well, what about the children? Who's maintaining them?

Tadak s'apa tanggung. Mějak běchěrai sapai la 'ni⁴ sěbėlak⁴ sěng pung Sa'at 'dak běri. Aku o'k esok 'ja⁵, aku nak měngadu kěTěku.

No one's maintaining them. From the day he divorced me till now Sa'at hasn't given me a cent for them. I'll give him till tomorrow and then I'm off to complain to Tengku.

Mak Chek baik pakat-pakat d'ulu,

Iya, anak Chek. Aku tidak chakap hěndak sabar. Sa'at itu kělorek sangat, anak kunchi di-pinggang. Kalau orang macham itu, ridla aku bujang sampai ka-mati.

Sudah, anak-anak bagimana? Siapa tanggung?

Tiada siapa tanggung. Sěměnjak běrchěrai sampai (ka) la ini sabėlak sen pun tidak Sa'at běri. Aku (nanti sampai) esok sahaja, aku hěndak měngadu ka-Těngku.

Ma' Chek baik pakat-pakat

¹ anak Chek—the person addressed is not the child of the speaker; but as the latter has been addressed as *Mak Chek*, she replies *anak Chek*.

² kělorek—"close-fisted." The word is not to be found in the dictionaries but is not peculiar to Trengganu?

³ anak kuchi děpinggang—another common expression to describe the "careful" master of the house is *běras dalam guri pun dia ukor*, i.e. he measures the rice in the jar before he goes out so that he will know how much has been used in his absence!

⁴ sěbėlak—i.e. one piece, i.e. one cent.

⁵ o'k esok 'ja—the word represented as o'k, which gives a fairly good indication of its pronunciation, is explained as having the meaning "until" and it is very commonly heard in this phrase o'k esok: but no suggestion as to its origin is forthcoming.

'dak sudah jugak¹ mēngadu-
mēngadang² 'tu.

dahulu, tidak sudah juga
mēngadu-mēngadang itu.

*Oh, you'd better try and get
things arranged, Ma' Che', by
agreement. Going to court
won't settle the business.*

(On the way)

Mu nak kēwana 'tu, adek Chek,
bēsērembeh³ sēkali 'tu?

Mu hēndak ka-mana itu, adek
Chek bēsērembeh sa-kali itu?

*Where are you going, Che', in
such a state?*

Saya nak k'opeh mēngadap Tēku,
abang Leh, nak mēngadu Sa'at
mējak bēchērai dia 'dak bēri
nēpēkah anak-anak.

Sahaya hēndak ka-Office mēnga-
dap Tēngku, abang Saleh,
hēndak mēngadu Sa'at sēmēn-
jak bērchērai dia tidak bēri
nafkah anak-anak.

*I'm off to the Office to complain
to Tengku about Sa'at not
giving me anything for the
maintenance of the children
since we were divorced.*

(Before the State Commissioner)

Chek, mu apa kērija mari k'opeh
'ni?

Chek, mu apa kērja mari ka-
Office ini?

What brings you here, Che'?

Patek mēngadap Tēku nak sēm-
bah Sa'at janda patek mējak
bēchērai 'dah lima bulang 'dak
nya bēri nēpēkah anak-anak.
Patek nak mēngadu kēTēku
nak dēngar Ukung.

Patek mēngadap Tēngku hēndak
sēmbah Sa'at janda patek sē-
mēnjak bērchērai sudah lima
bulan tidak dia bēri nafkah
anak-anak. Patek hēndak
mēngadu ka-Tēngku hēndak
dēngar Hukum.

*I've presented myself to lay before
you that Sa'at, my former*

¹ 'dak sudah jugak—cf. the saying *tak sudah sēluang mēlout*. "There's no finality."

² mēngadu-mēngadang—the second half of this expression is not used with its true meaning. *Mēngadu-mēngadang* is merely a frequentative form of *mēngadu*.

³ bēsērembeh—describes apparently the appearance and demeanour of a person who has set out on some urgent business, hasn't therefore troubled much about the clothes he or she is wearing or how they are put on, and looks as though the business was urgent—a good deal of meaning to pack into one word!

husband, has not given me the maintenance for the children since we were divorced five months ago. I therefore make this complaint to you and ask for judgment.

Sa'at, aku nak tanya mu. Chek, janda mu 'ni¹, mari mēngadu mu 'dak bēri nēpēkah anak-anak mu d'erah² lima bulang 'dah. Mu jangang buat bēgitu, Sa'at. Kalu mu ta'amboh susah jēnoh³, baik mu bēri nēpēkah anak-anak mu 'tu.

Sa'at I want a word with you. Che', your former wife, complains that you've not provided maintenance for your children for about five months. That won't do, Sa'at. If you don't want to let yourself in for bad trouble, you'd better provide maintenance.

'dak, Tēku. Chek sēmbah 'dak bēnar. Patek bēri jugak sikek-sikek chara alah kadar⁴, 'tapi Chek nak parak⁵ bēda'ah. Patek pung orang hal⁶ jugak, tadak arah-lah. Hak 'ni¹ gak pulang pada timbang saja-lah.

No, Tengku, what Che' says is not true. I have been giving the little bit I could afford, but she wants such a lot. I'm only a working man and can't do it. I leave it to you to decide.

Sa'at, aku hēndak tanya mu. Chek janda mu ini, mari mēngadu mu tidak bēri nafkah anak-anak mu dairah lima bulan sudah. Mu jangan buat bagitu, Sa'at. Kalau mu tidak ēmboh susah jēnoh, baik mu bēri nafkah anak-anak mu itu.

Tidak, Tēngku. Chek sēmbah tidak bēnar. Patek bēri juga sadikit-sadikit chara ala kadar, tētapi Chek hēndak parok bida'ah. Patek pun orang hal juga, tiada arah-lah. Hak ini pulang pada timbang sahaja-lah.

¹ d'erah—this use of *dairah* is not confined to Trengganu and it is surprising that it has escaped the notice of the lexicographers.

² susah jēnoh—"your fill of trouble."

³ alah kadar—see Wilkinson under *ala* II. The spelling *alah* represents the Trengganu pronunciation, though whether the last letter should be *h* or *s* is difficult to say.

⁴ parak—see note at p. 16.

⁵ orang hal—the Perak expression is *orang ka-hal-an* with the same meaning, viz. a man who has to work for his daily bread and earns just enough to pay for it.

Mu kĕrija apa, Sa'at ?

What do you do for your livelihood, Sa'at ?

Patek kĕrija kuli jalang bandarang.

I'm a Town Board road cooly.

Mu boleh gaji bĕrapa ?

What wages are you getting ?

Gaji patek 45 seng s'ari.

Forty-five cents a day.

Kalu bĕgitu, Sa'at, aku ukung mu kĕna bĕri nĕpĕkah anak-anak mu nang riyal sĕbulang.

That being so, Sa'at, I order that you pay six dollars a month as maintenance for your children.

Mu kĕrja apa, Sa'at ?

Patek kĕrja kuli jalan bandaran.

Mu bĕruleh gaji bĕrapa ?

Gaji patek 45 sen sa-hari.

Kalau bagitu, Sa'at, aku hukum mu kĕna bĕri nafkah anak-anak mu ĕnam riyal sa-bulan.

VIII.—VILLAGE SQUABBLES.

'gěwana Che' Lijah 'tu pagi 'ni¹
gegir-guguk¹, ba'apa ?

*What was the trouble at Che'
Lijah's this morning? There
was the devil of a row going on.*

Bunyi-bunyi-nya salah-salah²
ayang. Che' Teh katak, 'dah,
bėgomul.

*I heard there was some trouble
about fowls, Che' Teh hit the
fowls and then Che' Lijah went
for her.*

Auh, Che' Lijah 'tu bėgitu sokmor.
Kalu apa-apa dia gak, 'dak
buleh kosek 'dah.

*Ah, that's Che' Lijah all over.
If there's anything of hers, no
one can go near it.*

'tu-la, tak bėtėmu gu³ tak apa.
Kalu bėtėmu gu gak baru tahu
kėrasa-nya.

*That's all right until she meets
her match, but when she does
meet her match, it's a different
story.*

'gěwana napak Kasing dėngang
sėpupu dia 'tu dudok bėrulang
kėkamah gėnap-gėnap ari ?
Ba'apa gak ?

*Why is it one sees Kassim and
that cousin of his going to and
from the Court every day?
What's it all about?*

Bagimana Che' Lijah itu pagi ini
gegir-gugup, buat apa ?

Bunyi-bunyi-nya salah-salah
ayam. Che' Teh katok, sudah,
bėgomul.

Auh, Che' Lijah itu bagitu sa-
umur. Kalau apa-apa dia
gak, tidak boleh kusek sudah.

Itu-lah, tidak bėrtemu gu, tidak
apa. Kalau bėrtemu gu gak,
baharu tahu ka-rasa-nya.

Bagaimana nampak Kassim dėn-
gan sa-pupu dia itu, dudok
bėrulang ka-mahkamah gėnap-
gėnap hari ? Buat apa gak ?

¹ gegir-guguk—see Wilkinson under gegir II and gugup.

² salah-salah—see note at p. 35. Evidently Che' Lijah's fowls came into Che' Teh's premises to see what they could pick up and Che' Teh took vigorous measures to remove them, thereby incensing their owner.

³ gu—not so much a "partner; comrade," as Wilkinson says s.v., as an opponent. In Kelantan one hears *lėmbu itu payah gu* "it's a job to find a match for that bull."

Auh, 'dak tahu lagi dia bėguang
bėlang bėchara kėpėsaka-
pėsaka 'tok dia.

*Oh, I don't know, they've got
some lawsuit on about their
grandfather's estate.*

Amor, 'gėwana yang sapai bė-
guang bėkatang¹ bėnar 'tu,
sama-sama sėpupu, bukap ?

*Fancy them going at it hammer
and tongs like that when they're
cousins !*

Auh, jamang 'ni 'dak nya kira
adek-bėradek anak-bėranak, pak
dėngang anak lagi bėlawang
sėmachang.

*Oh, people don't worry about
relationships these days. You'll
find father and son scrapping
just like any one else.*

Auh, tidak tahu lagi. Dia bėr-
guam bėlang bėchara ka-pėsaka-
pėsaka datok dia.

Ambohi, bagaimana yang sampai
bėrguam bėrkhatam (?) bėnar
itu, sama-sama sa-pupu, bukap?

Auh, zėman ini tidak dia kira
adek-bėradek anak-bėranak,
bapa dėngan anak lagi bėrlawan
sa-macham.

¹ bėkatang—said to be a corruption of bėrkhatam; the meaning of bėrguam bėrkhatam being "to fight it out in the courts to a finish (bėrkhatam)". The letter kha is of course seldom pronounced properly in the colloquial language, degenerating into either k, e.g. kabar for khabar, kėtiar for akhtiar, etc. or h, e.g. habar for khabar (in Perak), hat for khat, etc.

IX.—RYLANDS v. FLETCHER.

Long, Long, ada 'dak mu tengok
lĕmbu dĕpadang sat 'ni^{as} ?

*Did you see a bull out in the field
just now ?*

Lĕmbu 'gĕwana ?

What sort of a bull ?

Lĕmbu itang ekor-nya panjuk,
goh-nya tinggi.

*A black bull, with a white-tipped
tail and a high hump.*

Ho'r, ada saya napak lĕmbu 'tu
barak, tandok-tandok 'tu landat.

*Yes, I saw that bull, a vicious
looking beast with very sharp
horns.*

Auh, 'tu-la, bimbang orang lalu
tambat dĕtĕpi jalang.

*Ah, that's just it. I'm frightened
for people passing with that
bull tethered by the side of the
path.*

Kalu bĕgitu, baik aleh lĕkas.

*Well, you'd better shift him
quickly then.*

Susah sunggoh lĕmbu 'tu, tawar
rata-rata tadak s'apa nak bĕli.

*That bull's a regular nuisance.
I've tried all over the place to
sell him but no one'll take him
off my hands.*

Long, Long, ada tidak mu tengok
lĕmbu di-padang sa'at ini ?

Lĕmbu bagimana ?

Lĕmbu hitam, ekur-nya panjut,
goh-nya tinggi.

Ho'r, ada sahaya nampak lĕmbu
itu barak, tandok-tandok itu
landat.

Ah, itu-lah, bimbang orang lalu
tambat di-tĕpi jalan.

Susah sunggoh lĕmbu itu, tawar
rata-rata, tiada siapa hĕndak
bĕli.

X.—IN THE ULU.†

(1) Buffaloes.

Demay¹ jēmērang 'gēwanay?
Kawan nak jēmērang t'adi
ta'adak pērau, kawan mēngan-
dai² 'jay.

Dema mēnyēbērang bagimana?
Kawan mēnyēbērang tadi tidak
ada pērahu, kawan mērandai
sahaja.

*How did you get across the river?
When I was coming over just
now, there was no boat and I
just waded.*

Kawan pun chari ligok tak bētēmu
abok, kawan mēngandai jugay.

Kawan pun chari ligok, tidak bē-
tēmu habok, kawan mērandai
juga.

*I looked all over the place but
couldn't get a boat, so I had
to wade over too.*

Aih, jēmalang³ 'unggoh kērbau
Hamad makan padi kawan
sēmalam mēkalas⁴.

Aih, jēmbalang sunggoh kērbau
Ahmad makan padi kawan sa-
malam mēngkalas.

† Reference has already been made (see Introduction, p. 1) to the dissimilarity of the Malay that is illustrated in this dialogue to what may be termed the standard Malay of Trengganu. In the upper reaches of the Trengganu river the Malays speak with a *lepir* accent which I had thought hitherto to be a peculiarity of certain parts of Perak (see *Perak Malay*, page xiv), and I fancy that an intensive study of the Ulu Trengganu dialect would disclose resemblances of diction also to that of the Parit sub-district of Perak. It is noteworthy that in this dialogue one of the speakers uses the word *mēngandai* for "to wade," which is obviously the Perak *mērandai*, whereas the common Trengganu word for "to wade" is *mēngarong*; and *datang*, *juga* are used instead of the *mari*, *jugak* usual in Trengganu. Similarly 'unggoh for sunggoh is reminiscent of the Perak 'angat for sangat, 'udah for sudah etc. I am told moreover that *mika* for "you" is still to be heard in Ulu Trengganu. One is left wondering whether the people of this part of the State are descendants of immigrants from Perak or whether the *lepir* accent and words such as *mika* are survivals on the Trengganu and Perak rivers of a proto-Malay which was once spoken throughout the Peninsula. [C.C.B.].

¹ *Demay*—for the spelling see Introduction, p. 8. Final -ay in this dialogue rhymes with the English *day*.

² *mēngandai*—the word was thus written by the author of this dialogue but it is evidently the same word as the Perak *mērandai*. For the interchangeability of *ng* and *r* see Introduction, p. 7.

³ *jēmalang*—this word is used, not only in the Ulu but also on the lower reaches of the Trengganu river, simply to mean "mischievous," of cattle, without a definite suggestion that the animal is the terrestrial form of a gnome (see Wilkinson under *jēmbalang*).

⁴ *mēkalas*—see Wilkinson under *kalas*. A common expression is *chuchi mēngkalas* "a clean sweep."

*Curse that buffalo of Akmad's, it
made a clean sweep of my padi
last night.*

Padi pulau manay ?

Which bit of padi ?

Padi hak dĕtokeng rumah 'tu-la.
Aih, sayang 'unggoh tak mĕngĕ-
nyang kawan tahun 'ni.

*That bit behind the house. It's
a bad business, we shan't have
enough to eat this year.*

Ba'apay tak igat ?

Why didn't you catch 'im ?

Igat 'gĕwanay ? Kĕrbau jalong.
*How was I going to ? It's a wild
brute.*

Mak-nya Minah¹, kĕrbau t'adi
'gĕwanay ? Tambat 'dak agu² ?

*What about the buffalo, lass ?
Has he been tied up yet ?*

Tahu akok³.

I don't know.

Achu liat.

Just go and see.

Padi pulau mana ?

Padi hak di-tongkeng rumah itu-
lah. Aih, sayang sunggoh,
tidak mĕngĕnyang kawan tahun
ini.

Buat apa tidak igat ?

Igat bagaimana ? Kĕrbau jalong.

Ĕmak-nya Minah, kĕrbau tadi
bagimana ? Tambat tidak
lagi ?

(Tidak) tahu aku.

Achu lihat.

¹ *Mak-nya Minah*—to address one's wife as the mother of one's child (Minah in this instance) is a common practice throughout the Peninsula, but the -nya is peculiar to Kelantan and Trengganu ?

² *agu*—so written by the author of this dialogue or rather so romanised from his Malay manuscript: but the word may be *agau*, as a word with a sound corresponding to that spelling is used on the Nĕrus river with the same meaning as in this instance, viz. "yet" = *lagi*.

³ *akok*—apparently a variant of *aku*, though later in this dialogue the word *akoh* occurs frequently with the same meaning.

'nĕdah¹ aku, gĕlĕmat².

Not I, it's dark.

Gi, akok tunjok.

Go on, I'll give you a light.

Oni³ mari bilay ?

When did you get here ?

Baru sapai 'ni.

Just this minute.

Kawan 'dok bĕkiray jugay nak
gi bĕtĕmu dĕngan oni. 'dah,
bĕtulan oni mari, boleh kitay
bĕkiray sĕlalu.

*I was thinking of coming to see
you, and now you've turned up,
so we can go into the business
at once.*

Oni nak gi kĕwanay ?

Where are you off to ?

Kawan nak gi liat kĕrbau Pak Su
Hamad dĕGaung, ada s'ekor
bapak balar, kalu bĕtulan
kawan nak seway 'uat bĕgalay.
Demay royat hĕnalan⁴ 'angat.

*I'm going to see that buffalo of
Pa' Su Ahmad's at Gaung.
He's got a big white bull, and
if we can come to terms, I want
to hire him for the ploughing.
They tell me he's a rare good
'un.*

(Tidak hĕndak) aku, gĕlĕmat.

Pĕrgi, aku tunjok.

Oni mari bila ?

Baharu sampai ini.

Kawan dudok bĕrkira juga hĕndak
pĕrgi bĕrkira dĕngan oni.
Sudah, bĕtulan oni mari, boleh
kita bĕrkira sa-lalu.

Oni hĕndak pĕrgi ka-mana ?

Kawan hĕndak pĕrgi liat kĕrbau
Pa' Bongsu Ahmad di-Gaung,
ada sa-ekur bapa balar, kalau
bĕtulan, kawan hĕndak sewa
buat mĕnĕnggala. Dema ruwi-
yat handalan sangat.

¹ 'nĕdah—all that can be said with any certainty about this word is that it has the meaning "don't want to." No conjecture as its origin is offered by the local pundits.

² gĕlĕmat—the expression gĕlap-gĕlĕmat is common, not only in Trengganu: see Wilkinson under gĕlap.

³ oni—means "you." That is all that can be said with authority on the subject.

⁴ hĕnalan—see Wilkinson under andal.

Kawan liat jugay Pak Su Hamad
bēgalay kērbau 'tu kēmarin
d'ulu, kawan liat tak napak
jalan, tak rak 'angat bēgalay.

Kawan lihat juga Pa' Bongsu
Ahmad mēnēnggala kērbau itu
kēlmarin dahulu, kawan lihat
tidak nampak jalan, tidak rak
sangat mēnēnggala.

*I saw Pa' Su Ahmad ploughing
with that buffalo the day before
yesterday, and from what I saw
of him, I wouldn't touch it, he's
not a bit of good for ploughing.*

Biar-la kawan nak gi jugay,
tēwakal lēlah¹.

Biar-lah kawan hēndak pērgi juga
tawakkal-'alallah.

*Well, I think I'll go and have a
look, even if I have the journey
for nothing.*

Iya-la, boleh-la achu liat pulay².

Iya-lah, boleh-lah achu lihat pula.

*Yes, you'd better have a look at
him, I daresay.*

(2) Much in Demand.

Kawan datang 'ni nak pinjam
demay³ mēnēbas tanah kawan
dēTanjong Taray esok, royat-la
kēdemay-demay, ayah.

Kawan datang ini hēndak pinjam
dema mēnēbas tanah kawan di-
Tanjong Tara esok, ruwiat-lah
ka-dema-dema, ayah.

*I've come to ask you to give a
hand with clearing my land at
Tanjong Tara to-morrow. Will
you tell the others?*

¹ *Tēwakal lēlah*—is clearly the unlettered Malay's version of the Arabic *tawakkal-'alallah* (توكل على الله), the last part of the latter being corrupted into *lēlah* i.e. I resign myself to the weariness, whereas the Arabic means "resign yourself to (the will of) God"!

² *pulay*—it is noteworthy that in the Ulu the pronunciation of *pula* as *pulak*, which is universal throughout the Peninsula?, is not adopted.

³ *demay*—used in this dialogue, as in Kelantan, as the pronoun (a) of the second person singular and (b) the third person plural.

Mamad pun pinjam esok, Ma'Ali pun esok jugay, badan s'orang. Allah, sërba salah, ta'amboh gi kata dëdemay tak kënay bëlakay. Kalu bëgitu aku nak gi hak d'ulu jugay.

Muhammad pun pinjam esok, Mat Ali pun esok juga, badan sa-orang. Allah, sërba salah, tidak ëmboh përgi kata di-dema tidak këna bëlaka. Kalau bagitu, aku hëndak përgi hak dahulu juga.

Mamad wants me to-morrow, and Mat Ali wants me to-morrow, and I can't turn myself into several people. Whatever I do will be wrong. If I refuse to go at all, they'll all say I let them down. So I shall just go to the one who first asked me.

Asal oni, buat pëlek-pëlek-la.

That's just like you, you're always doing something odd.

'dah, nak buat 'gëwanay? Kawan tak tahu. Ma'as-la këkawan, bilay-bilay masay kawan boleh tulong mu pulay.

Sudah, hëndak buat bagaimana? Kawan tidak tahu. Ma'af-lah ka-kawan, bila-bila masa kawan boleh tulong mu pula.

What can I do? I'm blest if I know. I'm sorry, any other time I'll give you a hand.

Allah, mëtari bëdëgap¹ 'dah. Ma'as-la, kawan këkor nak balek-la.

Allah, mata-hari bërdëgap sudah. Ma'af-lah, kawan kohor-kohor hëndak balek-lah.

Well, it's getting late. So long. I must be making my way back.

(3) A Complaint.

Kami datang nak bitay² këmu, mak dia, anak mu Mat Jusoh gi mënakal-nakal dëkat rumah kawan këmari, kami chayer³ tëlör ayam kami dalam sëpong

Kami datang hëndak bërita kamu, ëmak dia, anak mu Mat Jusoh përgi mënakal-nakal dëkat rumah kawan këlmarin, kami chayer tëlur ayam kami

¹ bëdëgap—"high in the heavens"? See Wilkinson under dëgap II.

² bitay—said to be the local corruption of bërita, see Wilkinson s.v.

³ chayer—means "see" and is presumably the same word as chayer, see Wilkinson s.v.

lēsap, ta'adak bēsēbutir, gamak
churēh¹ dēMat Jusoh, aih,
jēmalang 'unggoh.

dalam sēpong lēsap, tidak ada
barang sa-butir, gamak churi
di-Mat Jusoh. Aih, jēmbalang
sungoh.

*I've come to tell you about that
boy of your's, Mat Jusoh. He
came playing round my house
yesterday and when I looked
for the eggs that were in the
coop, they'd gone, not one left.
He took them, I'll be bound,
the young rascal.*

Manay gētahu² akoh?

Mana pērgi tahu aku?

How am I to know?

(4) The Village Counsellor.

Chek, akoh mari 'ni nak bēroyat
kēmu, aku nak bēlakeh. Surat
nikah tok janday aku d'ulu
lēsap, tak tahu k'alay-balay.

Che', aku mari hēndak bēruwiyat
ka-mu, aku hēndak bērlaki.
Surat nikah 'tok janda aku
dahulu lēsap, tidak tahu ka-
hala-bala.

*I've come to have a word with
you. I want to get married
again, but I've lost my marriage
certificate with my old husband,
goodness only knows where it's
got to.*

Mu chari ratay-ratay 'dah?

Mu chari rata-rata sudah?

Have you looked everywhere?

Chari rata-retay, gēnap chērok
'dah, ligok-ligang lichin-mēkalas
tak jupay jugay.

Chari rata-reta, gēnap chērok
sudah, ligok-ligang lichin-mēng-
kalas tidak jumpa juga.

*I've searched all over the place,
every nook and cranny, here
there and everywhere, and can't
find it.*

Mu ambek kupi sēmulai, bayar
dua riyal.

Mu ambil copy sa-mula, bayar
dua riyal.

¹ *churēh*—for this tacking of an *h* on to the last syllable words ending in *i*, cf. *inēh* for *ini*, *bēlakeh* for *bērlaki* on this page.

² *gētahu*—This may be a shortened form of *gi (pērgi) tahu* (see note on *mana nak gi tahu* at p. 136, *Kelantan Malay*); or perhaps it should be written *kētahu*, i.e. *mana-kah tahu*.

You can get a copy for a couple of dollars.

'tu-la, ta'adak masay nak bayar, orang puan juang nak boleh kēpith, sēriyal dua riyal kērija apay? Kēsian-la kēsayay, Chek, makan getek 'dak getek, nak ambek dēwanay?

Itu-lah, tidak ada masa hendak bayar, orang pērēmpuan juang hendak bēruleh ka-pitis, sa-riyal dua riyal kērija apa? Kasihan-lah ka-sahaya, Chek, makan getek tidak getek, hendak ambil di-mana?

That's the trouble, no chance of finding the money. It's a job for a woman to scratch a few cents together, so what work is there that'll bring in a dollar or two dollars? It's hard, isn't it? I'm not even sure of my daily bread, let alone getting this money.

Chek, aku mari 'ni nak mēngadu kēChek, bini aku lari kērumah mak ayah diay, aku turut ajak balek, dia 'nēdah balek, dia maki supah tunjok-tunjai k'aku, aku sayang nak chērai diay.

Chek, aku mari ini hendak mēngadu ka-Chek, bini aku lari ka-rumah ēmak ayah dia. Aku turut ajak balek, dia tidak hendak balek, dia maki sumpah tunjok-tunjai ka-aku, aku sayang hendak chērai dia.

I've come to make a complaint. My wife's gone back to her people. I went after her and asked her to come back, but she refused and hurled abuse at me. All the same I don't want to divorce her.

(5) Diversions.

Kawan nak bewah¹ sulong bulan 'ni, tulong bitay kēdemay-demay kēbudak-budak datang kērumah. Kawan makan nasi barang-barang lauk garam, budu pēlaray 'jay.

Kawan hendak bērarwah sulong bulan ini, tulong bērita ka-dema-dema ka-budak-budak datang ka-rumah. Kawan makan nasi barang-barang lauk garam budu pēlara sahaja.

¹ bewah—see Wilkinson under *arwah*.

*I'm going to give a bit of a party
at the beginning of this month.
Will you tell the people and ask
them to come? It'll only be
a very small affair, just rice,
salt fish and pickles.*

Iya-la, boleh-la kawan bitay
kēdemay-demay.

Iya-lah, boleh-lah kawan bērita
ka-dema-dema.

All right, I'll tell them.

Auh, kaya 'unggoh pagi tadi
kawan liat lēmbu Pak Da Jin
bēlagay dēngan lēmbu Ēndoh¹
Sēman, bēlagay dēpulau umay
Ēndoh Sēman, nya dēsauk dē-
lēmbu Pak Da Jin sēkali tē-
pukang lēmbu Ēndoh Sēman.
Sapai mētari tuleh bēgalay² baru
surai nya ambat dēbēbudak.

Auh, kaya sunggoh pagi tadi
kawan lihat lēmbu Pa' Muda
Zin bērlaga dēngan lēmbu
Ēndoh Sēman, bērlaga di-pulau
huma Ēndoh Sēman, dia di-sauk
di-lēmbu Pa' Muda Zin sa-
kali tērpukang lēmbu Ēndoh
Othman. Sampai mata-hari
tuleh tēnggala baharu surai,
dia hambat di-budak-budak.

*There was a great show this
morning, a fight between Pa'
Da Zin's bull and Ēndoh
Sēman's. They fought on Ēndoh
Sēman's bit of padi land, and
his bull was clean thrown once
by Pa' Da Zin's. They fought
on till about ten o'clock when
the boys came and drove them
away.*

¹ Ēndoh—said to be an Ulu equivalent of abang.

² tuleh bēgalay—the Perak toleh tenggala, see Perak Malay, p. 1.

XI.—WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Allah, lama 'dak tĕmu.

It's a long time since we saw you.

Orang kata¹ nak mari s'ari-s'ari
'dak tĕmari.

Orang kata hĕndak mari sa-hari
sa-hari tidak tĕrmari.

*I've been meaning to come for
ever so long but couldn't
manage it.*

Ho'r, buat molek bĕgitu-la².

Ho'r, buat molek bagitu-lah.

Ah, that's what you say.

'dak sĕtarang. Sunggoh. 'tapi
maklung-la tĕpat jauh 'tu,
bukang dĕkat, banyak gĕndala-
nya.

Tidak sa-tir haram. Sunggoh.
Tĕtapi ma'alum-lah, tĕmpat
jauh itu, bukan dĕkat, banyak
gĕndala-nya.

*No, indeed, it's the truth. But
it's a long way to come and
there's lots to hinder one.*

Sunggoh-la hak 'tu. 'ni pung tak
lupa sĕtarang nak gi kĕnu²,
'tapi bĕgitu-la orang kata nak
tinggal rumah 'tu 'dak mudah
sĕlakang tinggal sĕbĕtar-bĕtar,
lagi pung bĕrasa bimbang.

Sunggoh-lah hak itu. Ini pun
tidak lupa sa-tir haram hĕndak
pĕrgi ka-nu tĕtapi bagitu-lah
orang kata hĕndak tinggal
rumah itu tidak mudah sĕlang-
kan tinggal sa-bĕntar-bĕntar,
lagi pun bĕrasa bimbang.

*Yes, that's true. I myself haven't
forgotten about going to see
you, but it's no easy job to
get away from the house even
for a minute or two, and one's
always worrying when one does
leave it.*

¹ orang kata—see note at p. 21.

tĕmari—in Trengganu, as in Kelantan, the word *datang* with the meaning "come" pure and simple is seldom heard, *mari* always being used in that sense (*datang-datang* = *tiba-tiba* is a Trengganu expression): and though in the sentence *dia 'dak mari lagi* "he has not come yet" it might be said that the strict translation should be "he is not hither yet," it appears doubtful whether Wilkinson is right in refusing to acknowledge the existence of *mari* as a verb. The form *tĕmari* (*tĕrmari*) appears to strengthen the case for *mari* being a verb.

² *buat molek begitu*—the meaning is as in the translation, the phrase being used to express polite incredulity.

(Enter daughter)

Mak, mak, Mek nak turun kuala getek dēkat-dēkat pēnama bulang 'ni¹, nak tengok raja mēmaing. Tahun ari 'tu' Mek pēgi 'dah sēkali, mak, ramai sangat orang tengok.

Ėmak, Ėmak, Mek hēndak turun (ka)-kuala getek dēkat-dēkat pēnama bulan ini, hēndak tengok raja mēmain. Tahun hari itu Mek pēgi sudah saka-kali, ramai sangat orang tengok.

Mother, I want to go down to the Kuala about the middle of the month to see the festivities. I went once before and there was a tremendous crowd there looking on.

Allah, raja pung nya nak mēmaing apa sangat²? Aku tua kēdiri 'dah, 'dak kuasa³ nak mēngabeh-abeh kēpith, tang malang kērija 'dak boleh s'amas. 'ni-tah kēmarang tang malang⁴, sēmalang tang siang 'dah buat nya 'dak sudah jugak.

Allah, raja pun dia hēndak mēmain apa sangat? Aku tua kēndiri sudah, tidak kuasa hēndak mēnghabis-habis kapitis, tahan malam kērja tidak bēruleh sa-amas. Ini-lah kēlmarin tahan malam, sa-malam tahan siang sudah buat dia tidak sudah juga.

Well, what are the festivities after all? I'm getting an old woman and don't believe in throwing away my money. A whole day's work doesn't bring me in 50 cents. Here have I been at this job all day yesterday and all last night and it's not finished yet.

Auh, biar-la, mak, sēkali sētahung 'tu, bēras murah.

Auh, biar-lah, Ėmak, sa-kali satahun itu, bēras murah.

Oh, Mother, once a year, dash it all. Food's cheap now.

¹ tahun ari 'tu—as one might say in English “that year.” The expression *jaman retu* in Perak meaning “a long time ago” is a corruption of *sēman hari itu*.

² apa sangat—this idiom is worth noticing, cf. *kēwana sangat* at p. 75. If one asks the price of a thing, a common reply is *bērapa sangat?*, e.g. *bomor* to prospective client *kēna tahan bēkēras-lah dahulu* “You must put up the fee first”: *bērapa pulak bēkēras itu, tok bomor?* “Well, what is the fee?”: *auh, banyak mana sangat?* *Lima kēnēri saja* “Oh, only 15 cents.”

³ 'dak kuasa—the expression *tak kuasa* with the meaning “don't want to” is commonly heard in Perak and throughout the Peninsula? It is surprising that no mention of it is made by Wilkinson.

⁴ tang malang... tang siang—see note at p. 19.

(Exit daughter. Friend resumes)

'gěwana napak nak mēmusing¹
'tu? 'dak kěna dēwana?

Bagimana nampak hěndak mēmusing itu? Tidak kěna di-mana?

You seem to be rather down on the child. What's she done wrong?

Sěpagi 'dah sakek ati kěbudak 'tu. Orang kata tengok pėriyok gatek atas dapor 'tu. Nya dudok maing sapai hangek-bangar hanguh-lětong 'dak nya endah sětarang, nya pěrchong dudok maing situ jugak.

Sa-pagi sudah sakit hati ka-budak itu. Orang kata tengok pėriok gatek atas dapur itu. Dia dudok main sampai hangit-bangar hangus-lětong tidak dia endah sa-tir haram, dia pěr-chom dudok main situ juga.

Yes, I've had it in for her this morning. She was told to watch the pot cooking, but she went on playing till the whole thing was burnt. She didn't take any notice, just went on playing.

Sunggoh. 'dah bėsar-bějalar² 'tu, 'dak boleh harap lagi. Bila nak rěti? Dang³ bėsar bėlaki bėr-anak gak, mulai⁴ mēnanak 'dak masak.

Sunggoh. Sudah bėsar-běrjalar itu, tidak boleh harap lagi. Bila hěndak hěrti? Dan bėsar bėrlaki bėranak, mula mēnanak tidak masak.

That's true. She's a big girl now and you can't rely on her. When's she going to learn? By the time she's old enough to have a husband and children, she won't know how to cook.

Auh, tadak arah nak ajar 'dah. Ajat nak bėri kětok dia dē-darat biar nya těkusing-kusing⁵ dalang utang.

Auh, tiada arah hěndak ajar sudah. Hajat hěndak bėri ka-'tok dia di-darat, biar dia těr-kusing-kusing (?) dalam hutan.

¹ mēmusing—see note at p. 76.

² bėsar-bějalar—apparently only one of the common jingles, the bějalar adding nothing to the meaning of bėsar.

³ dang—see Introduction, p. 3.

⁴ mulai—see note at p. 71. The meaning may be "the first time she boils the rice, it won't be cooked"?

⁵ těkusing-kusing—the meaning apparently is "to be dependent on oneself" "having no one to help you": but how it comes to mean this is not explained by the local pundits.

I've found I can't teach her. I'm thinking of sending her to her grandmother away inland and let her see what she can do in the jungle.

Ayah, ayah !

Father !

Mitak seng dua seng gak, ayah,
Awang nak beli puluk lepa.

Minta sen dua sen gak, ayah,
Awang hendak beli pulut lepa.

Give me two cents, father, I want to buy.

Hey, ya Allah, budak bala aleh¹
ineh, seng saja. Sat 'ni² baru
sudah makang nasek.

Hey ya Allah, budak bala aleh
ini, sen sahaja. Sa'at ini baharu
sudah makan nasi.

Why, bless the boy, always wanting money—and you've only just had your dinner.

(The mother chips in)

Ho'r, iya sunggoi pak dia. T'adi
behang 'dah seng dedebawah
tikar sekeneri benar.

Ho'r, iya sunggoi bapa dia. Tadi
baham sudah sen dari di-bawah
tikar sa-keneri benar.

Your father's quite right. You've been at the money under the mat just now.

'dak, aih, mak. Awang 'dak
ambek setarang³ k'Allah-ta'ala.

Tidak, aih, emak. Awang tidak
ambil sa-tir haram ka-Allah
ta'ala.

No, indeed, I swear I didn't.

'dah, kalu mu 'dak ambek, s'apa
dia lagi ? Lek-lek-la⁴ aku
buboh⁴ desitu seng sekupang

Sudah, kalau mu tidak ambil, siap
dia lagi ? Lek-lek-lah aku
buboh di-situ sen sa-kupang hak

¹ *bala aleh*—a common variant of this expression is *bala Allah*. The true expression is *bala alaihi* "calamity upon him (*alaihi*, Ar.), see Wilkinson under *alaihi*.

² *setarang*—see note at p. 14.

³ *Lek-lek-la*—see note at p. 20.

⁴ *buboh*—a common Trengganu variant is *uboh*.

hak Bědolah Ombak-ombak¹
bayar rēga tēming golok t'adi.
'ni² tinggal sēbilang seng² aja
ho'r.

Abdullah Ombak-ombak bayar
harga tēmin golok tadi. Ini
tinggal sēmbilan sen sahaja.

*Well, if you didn't take the money,
who did? I'm positive I put
12½ cents there, the money
that Abdullah Ombak-ombak
paid just now for the band on
his chopper, and now there's
only 9 c. left.*

Auh, bēri-la, mak dia, bosang
sangat. Aih 'dak tēbeng bē-
babil³ budak machang 'ni².
Aku 'dak tēbeng bēlekok⁴ lama,
'kang pēpasal pulak.

Auh, bēri-lah, ěmak dia, bosan
sangat. Aih, tidak tēbeng bē-
babil dēngan budak macham
ini. Aku tidak boleh tēbeng
bērlengkok lama, sēkarang
pasal-pasal pula.

*Oh, give it to him or he'll plague
the life out of us. I can't hold
out arguing with a brat like
this. I can't stand a lot of
talking, there'll be trouble if it
goes on.*

Auh, ambek, Awang, pēgi-la
mēngambuh⁵ gi. K'ang nya
tebang⁶ di-ayah mu k'ang.

Auh, ambil Awang, pēgi-lah
mēngambus pēgi. Sēkarang
di-teban di-ayah mu sēkarang.

¹ *Ombak-ombak*—obviously a nickname but the allusion is unexplained.

² *sēbilang seng*—the arithmetic is difficult. *Sa-kupang* ordinarily means, at any rate in the neighbourhood of Kuala Trengganu, six cents only, though local currency nomenclature has, until recently, been sadly complicated by the co-existence of two kinds of cent, viz. the standard cent of the Peninsula known in Trengganu as *seng merah* and the old Trengganu cent known as *seng puteh*, three of which had the same value as two standard cents. The *seng puteh* have now been demonetised, and presumably the days when even in the *darat* monetary values other than those of the standard Malayan currency will obtain are numbered. In this dialogue the currency is apparently the same as that of Kelantan in former times, i.e. a *kupang* is reckoned as 12½ cents, known as *kupang riyal*. The child is accused of having abstracted a *kēnēri*. Four *kēnēri* went to the old Kelantan *kupang*: one *kēnēri* is therefore the equivalent of 3½ cents, and if a *kēnēri* be taken from a *kupang*, the balance left is approximately nine cents!

³ *bēbabil*—see Wilkinson s.v.

⁴ *bēlekok*—the meaning is as given in the translation: but whether this is an applied meaning of *bērlengkok* or a purely Trengganu word cannot be said with certainty.

⁵ *mēngambuh*—see Wilkinson under *ambus*.

⁶ *tebang*—the word always used in Kelantan and Trengganu for beating with a cane. Whether it is the same word as *teban* given by Wilkinson is doubtful.

*Oh, take it, Awang, and hop it
or you'll get a whacking from
your father.*

Mak, tulong gak chapai kaing
Awang sēlalu chēlah ebek¹
dēkat chēpu² ayah 'tu.

*Mother, just reach me my sarong.
There it is, hanging on the rail
of the lean-to just by father's
box.*

Ho'r, ambek.
There you are.

Heh, Awang, heh, mari gak d'ulu !
Kalu mu gi ala kēchērok rumah³
Tok Su Che' Muk tulong royat⁴
kēMak Teh Sung kata mak
panggil.

*Oh, Awang, come here a minute !
If you're going near your uncle
Che' Mud's house, tell your
aunt Kēlēsum that I'd like to
see her.*

'dak 'sah tēbeng⁵ panggil-la, mak,
kata orang Mak Teh 'tu pēlēsek,
k'ang nya chēkek adek k'ang.

*Don't you go calling her, mother,
she's got an evil spirit and it'll
do for my brother.*

Ēmak, tulong chapai kain Awang
salalu chēlah ebek dēkat chēpu
ayah itu.

H'or, ambil.

Heh, Awang, heh, mari gak
dahulu. Kalau mu pērgi hala
ka-chērok rumah To' Su Che'
Mahmud tulong ruwiyat ka-
Ēmak Teh Kēlēsum kata ēmak
panggil.

Tidak usah tēbeng panggil-lah,
ēmak, orang kata Ēmak Teh
itu pēlēsit, sēkarang nya chēkek
adek sēkarang.

¹ ebek—"an addition made to a building" (Clifford and Swettenham).

² chēpu—used in Trengganu with the meaning of a box for clothes,
"a dressing case when on a journey" (Clifford and Swettenham).

³ kēchērok rumah—lit. "to the spot where is the house of..." ?

⁴ royat—this favourite Kelantan word is not heard much on the coast
of Trengganu but is common inland.

⁵ tēbeng—generally used with the meaning "to persist in" doing some-
thing, see note at p. 41, *Kelantan Malay*. In this instance it seems to add
little to the meaning of 'dak 'sah.

Aih, pandai sangat budak 'ning,
nya dëngar dëMak Teh nya
genyeh muluk¹ 'tu baru tahu
kërasa-nya.

Aih, pandai sangat budak ini, di-
dëngar di-ëmak Teh dia genyeh
mulut itu, baharu tahu ka-rasa-
nya.

*Just listen to the child ! Just let
her hear what you've said and
she'll give your mouth what for,
and that'll learn you.*

'dak ba'apa², mak ? Orang 'dok
kata bëlaka sëmaling chëkek
anak Mak Domek Nipah Pan-
jang, mënanggong bëlalak mata-
mata, gamak kësëlësai 'dah.
Mujor dang³ Pak Wa Jusoh
tulong.

Tidak buat apa, ëmak ? Orang
dudok kata bëlaka sa-malam
chëkek anak Ma' Domit Nipah
Panjang, mënanggong bëlalak
mata-mata, gamak-kan sëlësai
sudah. Mujur dan Pa' Wa
Jusoh tulong.

*Why do you say that, mother ?
Everybody's saying how last
night it throttled Ma' Domit's
child at Nipah Panjang. The
child's eyes were staring and
they thought it was all up.
Luckily Pa' Wa Jusoh got there
in time.*

Apa 'dah Sëma'il kata⁴ Pak Wa⁵
Jusoh mu kata bukangang Mak
Teh 'tu ?

Apa sudah Isma'il kata Pa' Wa
Jusoh mu kata bukangan Mak
Teh itu ?

*But Isma'il said that your uncle
Jusoh said it wasn't she.*

¹ *genyeh muluk*—when a Malay child says something it should not, a lesson is taught by doing something to its mouth, e.g. rubbing the lips with some rough or otherwise unpleasant substance, or smacking on the mouth.

² *'dak ba'apa*—lit. why (should you say) it is not (so).

³ *dang*—see Introduction, p. 3.

⁴ *Apa 'dah Sëma'il kata*—lit. what has Isma'il said, that Pa' Wa Jusoh said....

⁵ *Pak Wa*—an abbreviation of *bapa saudara*; but whether Jusoh was actually the uncle of the boy in this dialogue or merely was of such an age that he might have been the boy's uncle is left to the imagination. This note applies equally to Mak Teh if one substitutes "aunt" for "uncle." *Pak Da* and *Mak Da* are used for "step-father" and "step-mother" respectively.

Aih, bēchara¹ kēsēma'il 'dok
pēlawak paik² 'tu, awa³ Mak
Teh 'tu adek-kakak⁴ ayah dia,
nya kata-la tidak.

*You can't go by what Isma'il says,
of course he'll tell lies about it
as Ma' Teh is related to his
father. He's sure to say it
wasn't she.*

Aku dēngar Mak Teh nak mudek
k'Ibok lēpas lohor esok.

*I hear Ma' Teh is going up river
to Ibok at mid-day to-morrow.*

Hauh, iya-la, mak, dia nak gi
bērubat buang pēlēsek aras⁵ Pak
Ēmbor, nak bēbageh⁶ mēmin-
dok⁷, sēnang sikek dēnu⁸, nak
buat dēsini⁹ takuk nya igat
dēmata-mata.

*That's just what I told you,
mother. She's going there to
get Pa' Embur to cast out the
spirit. It's easier to have a
séance there: here they might
get arrested by the police!*

Auh, patuk aku kēleh sēMek
anak dia bawak nyior gubal
dēngang bēnang itang susuk
dalang kaing ala kēnu¹⁰ tadi.

*Oh, that explains why I saw Mek,
her daughter, carrying a husked
coconut and black thread
wrapped up in cloth and going
that way just now.*

Aih bēchara ka-Isma'il dudok
pēlawak pahit itu, hawa Mak
Teh itu adek-kakak ayah dia,
dia kata-lah tidak.

Aku dēngar Mak Teh hēndak
mudek ka-Ibok lēpas dzohor
esok.

Hah, iya-lah, ěmak, dia hēndak
pērgi bērubat buang pēlēsit aras
Pa' Ēmbur, hēndak bērbagis
mēmindok, sēnang sadikit di-
nun, hēndak buat di-sini takut
di-igat di-mata-mata.

Ah, patut aku kēleh si-Mek anak
dia bawa nyior gubal dēngan
bēnang itam susup dalam kain
hala ka-nun tadi.

¹ bēchara—lit. take notice of Isma'il! Why, of course....

² pēlawak paik—this may mean "the man's a confirmed liar" or it may mean that "he's telling lies hard in this matter." Paik presumably represents pahit.

³ awa—see note at p. 63.

⁴ adek-kakak—"related," but not necessarily closely related. This is the regular Malay equivalent, not only in Trengganu, for the English "related."

⁵ aras—used in Trengganu, as in Kelantan, where pada or kapada would be used in the Western States, see Wilkinson under aras I.

⁶ bēbageh—apparently the instrument played at these séances, the bagis (?)

⁷ mēmindok—see Wilkinson under mindok.

'tu-la, mak 'dak bēchaya lagi ?

Itu-lah, ěmak tidak pērchaya lagi ?

There you are, don't you believe me now ?

Kalu bēgitu, 'dak 'sah panggil-la, Awang. Gi-la mu nak gi kē-wana-wana pung.

Kalau bagitu, tidak usah panggil-lah Awang. Pērgi-lah mu hēndak pērgi ka-mana-mana pun.

Then never mind about calling her, Awang. You just go off wherever you want to.

Iya-la, mak. Mujor Awang bē-kabar.

Iya-lah, ěmak. Mujur Awang bērkhabar.

All right, mother. It's a good thing I told you.

Oh Mek, Mek oh jah.

Mek, Mek !

Iya, ba'apa gak ?

Iya, buat apa ?

Yes, what is it ?

Mari gak sēbētar. Tulong gi bēli tēbakai sēseng dēkēdai nung. Auh, malasang, aih. K'ang ayah mu nak makang.

Mari sa-bēntar. Tulong pērgi bēli tēmbakau sa-sen di-kēdai nun. Auh, malasan, aih. Karang ayah mu hēndak makan.

Come here a minute. Just go and get a cent's worth of tobacco from the shop yonder. Oh, you lazy little brat, your father'll be home in a minute and be wanting it.

Auh, ta'amboh gi aih.

Auh, tidak ěmboh pērgi, aih.

I don't want to go.

Aku bēhang k'ang 'ni baru-la. Kalu orang suroh 'tu, malas sokmor.

Aku baham karang ini, baharu-lah. Kalau orang suroh itu, malas sa-umur.

I'll learn you, my girl. You always were as lazy as could be when some one asked you to do something.

(Father returns)

Ba'apa Mek mēnangēh 'tu ?

Buat apa Mek mēnangis itu ?

What's Mek crying for ?

Aku bēhang sikek 'ja sat 'ni¹
suroh gi kēdai bēli tēbakai 'ja,
nya 'dak nak gi sētama.

Aku baham sadikit sahaja sa'at
ini, suroh pērgi kēdai bēli tēm-
bakau sahaja, dia tidak hēndak
pērgi sa-tir hama.

*Oh, I gave her a little bit of a
whipping just now. I told her
to go to the shop to get some
tobacco and she refused point
blank.*

'dah, yang mu 'dak gi bēli sēdiri
ba'apa ? Malang-bolir¹ pung
'dok suroh budak situ jugak.

Sudah, yang mu tidak pērgi bēli
sēndiri buat apa ? Malam-
bulir pun dudok suroh budak
situ juga.

*Why couldn't you go yourself and
get it ? You can't expect the
child to go there at dead of
night.*

Ho'r, jangang dēsuroh ? Anak
mu 'tu taroh buat raja 'ja ?

Ho'r, jangan di-suroh ? Anak mu
itu taroh buat raja sahaja ?

*Oh, she's not to be told to do
anything ? You want the child
brought up like a princess, do
you ?*

Bukang aku 'dak bēri suroh. 'ni
gak tak dang awa-daba² bēhang
d'ulu.

Bukan aku tidak bēri suroh. Ini
tidak dan hawa-daba baham
dahulu.

*I'm not saying you can't give
orders to the child, but you give
her a beating first and go into
the whys and wherefores after-
wards.*

¹ *malang-bolir*—the expression *gēlap-bolir* is equally common. Wilkinson gives *bulir* but with a meaning that will not fit here and this is probably only one of the old compounded words in which the second half adds nothing to the meaning of the first.

² *awa-daba*—see Wilkinson under *hawa* and *daba*, but neither of the meanings assigned by him to the expression *hawa-daba* fits here. The meaning in this instance is as given by Clifford and Swettenham who say "this word (*daba*) is also used in a figurative sense to mean cause, reason."

Ho'r, mu tahu bĕgitu-la. Balek
gak nak makang 'ja. Kalu
ta'adak, marah k'orang jugak.

Ho'r, mu tahu bagitu-lah. Balek,
hĕndak makan sahaja. Kalau
tidak ada, marah ka-orang juga.

*Oh, that's what you think, is it ?
When you come home, you want
your food there and then, and
if there isn't what you want,
some one's in for trouble.*

Dari siang t'adi mu 'dak bĕchara
kĕlauk-pitok 'tu ba'apa ?

Dari siang tadi mu tidak bĕchara
ka-lauk-petok itu buat apa ?

*Why haven't you done something
about getting something to eat
with the rice since this
morning ?*

Jangang bĕchara aku dudok saja
'ni^{ng}. Aku mĕnanggong 'dak
bĕreti tangang. Gamak-nya mu
'ja kĕrija s'orang.

Jangan bĕchara aku dudok sahaja
ini. Aku mĕnanggong tidak
bĕrhĕnti tangan. Gamak-nya
mu sahaja kĕrja sa-orang.

*Don't you imagine I've been sit-
ting doing nothing all day. I've
had my hands full, I can tell
you. You seem to think you're
the only person who does any
work.*

Auh, sudah-la bising-bangar, bĕ-
garek 'ni. Orang nak sĕbayang-
bang¹ 'dak boleh. Kauk-kauk-
la nasek 'ni^{ng}.

Auh, sudah-lah bising-bangar,
maghrib ini. Orang hĕndak
sĕmbahyang-bang tidak boleh.
Kaut-kaut-lah nasi ini.

*Oh, that's enough of it now. Here
it is time for the evening prayer
and you're talking so much I
can't say it. You just ladle
out the rice.*

Mari-la makang nasek 'ni^{ng}, lauk
ta'adak sĕkĕtĭl², ikang pang-
gang saja 'ja.

Mari-lah makan nasi ini, lauk
tidak ada sa-kĕtĭl, ikan pang-
gang sahaja sahaja.

*Come on and have your food.
There's no meat, only broiled
fish.*

¹ sĕbayang bang—the bang adds nothing to the meaning.

² sĕkĕtĭl—"a pinch," see Wilkinson under kĕtĭl.

APPENDIX.

The principal varieties of nets used by Trěngganu sea fishermen are *pukat tangkul*, *pukat payang*, *pukat hanyut*, *pukat dalam*, *pukat bawal* and *pukat tarek*. Until a few years ago all nets were bought from Kělantān, principally from Bachok, but now net making is a by-industry of Marang and Kuala Trěngganu. The twine for nets is bought from Singapore and the prices of a complete net vary from \$400 for a *pukat tarek* (the high price being due to the fineness of the mesh), and \$300 for the great *pukat payang* (total length about 170 fathoms), to \$70 for a *pukat bawal* and \$25 for *pukat hanyut*.

Fashions in nets have changed very little during the memory of the older inhabitants, though the types of the fishing boats have altered. The popular *kolek kuwe** now used with almost all nets except the *payang* is comparatively new.

Much depends on the correct location of the fish, the task entrusted to the *juru sělam* who dives and "listens" for them. Shoals of certain fish are said to make a loud noise like that of a strong wind, and the dreaded sound of the shark is easily distinguishable, said to resemble the buzzing of a beetle. The shark is dangerous not only to the diver but also to the nets.

The following is a brief description of the methods in use with each type of net.

(1) *Pukat tarek*. This net is used only near the shore and the principal catch is *bilis* (anchovies). One boat only, a *kolek*, with about ten men, is generally employed. The net may be let down at random for the catching of prawns, *gělama* and other demersal fish; but if a school of pelagic fish such as *bilis*, *tamban*, *kěmbong*, or *sělar* is sighted on the surface, the net is deliberately set round it, one end of the net being tied to a float and dragged ashore by two or three men whilst the rest of the net is paid out from the boat which is rowed swiftly round to complete the encircling movement. While the one end of the net is being hauled ashore, a man remains between each wing and keeps the foot rope on the bottom by treading it down to prevent the fish escaping beneath. When the shore is again reached after a wide half circle out to sea, the net, which has an exceedingly fine mesh, is hauled in and the catch landed.

(2) *Pukat bawal*. This net, which is described by local fishermen as the ugliest (*hudoh*) of their nets, is pocket-shaped, and is used by night as well as by day. A *kuwe* worked by only three men is employed, and the principal catch is *bawal*. Where that fish has been located, an *unjam* (pronounced *unjang* in

* ? *Kuwe* (*Kuwil*). The origin of this word is unexplained.

Trěngganu: it is the same as the *tuas* of other parts of Malaya) is let down. This is a fish lure consisting of interlaced coconut or sago palm leaves on the end of a bamboo pole, the latter serving as a float. The fish are attracted by the lure and gather round it, whereupon the net is let down with the pocket mouth towards the boat. A long pole is used to prod the net and frighten the fish down towards the bottom of the pocket and the net is then drawn up.

(3) *Pukat dalam*. This net is generally used on dark nights, the boat employed being a *kolek*, with a crew of 15 to 20 men but no diver. The phosphorescent light of a shoal of herrings and mackerel swimming on the surface, as is the night habit of these fish, is sighted by the look-out, the rest of the crew of the *kolek* are roused from sleep and they row towards the place. The net forms a kind of fence and when let down stays upright in the water; it is anchored at one end with a stone and the rest of it is then quickly paid out while the boat rows round a full circle. Once the fish have been surrounded, big stones are heaved into the centre and all available means including flares are used to frighten and to drive the fish head first in to the surrounding meshes where they will be caught by the gills.

When a reasonable time has elapsed, the net is hauled in and the slow and painful work begins of removing the fish one by one from the mesh, a task which will wound the hands of the inexperienced and may incapacitate them for the next week for using their fingers for conveying rice to their mouths. For this reason the *pukat dalam* is not altogether a popular fishing method.

(4) *Pukat hanyut*. This net is operated by three men only in a *kolek kuwe*. When the fish are located (usually not by diving) the net is let out, leaving one end fastened to the boat. Like the *pukat dalam* the net takes the form of an upright fence, but in this case the fence is more or less straight and it floats instead of being anchored. No special effort is made to frighten fish into the net and after half an hour or so it is drawn in, the catch removed and later on if more fish are located, let out again. Only very small catches can be expected.

(5) *Pukat payang*. In former days this net was also known as *pukat chang*. In the part relating to Pahang of a Report on the Fisheries of the Straits Settlements and the Protected Native States published in 1896 this net is described as "pukat chang or paiang."

This net is carried in the particularly attractive boat known as a *payang*, with a crew of 15 to 20, of whom two, including the *juru sělam*, are assigned to the *sampan jongkong* which is carried on board the *payang*. On reaching the fishing ground the *sampan* is lowered with the *juru sělam* and another man on board. The former then dives and when he has located the fish he signals, by hand or by splashing on the water, to the parent *payang* to

come and let out its big net. One end is anchored with a stone and the remainder quickly let out in a wide circle. The *sampan* enters the circle and the *juru sĕlam* listens again. He signals, holding on to the side of the *sampan* with one hand, and splashing the water with the other. When the net is to be drawn in, and while the hauling is being done several boatmen in the *payang* beat a tattoo on fixed blocks of wood with the object of frightening the fish away towards the further side of the circular bag net in which they are now enclosed. At this far end is a sort of extra pocket with a specially fine mesh called the *kĕrochong* (*kĕronchong*) and the fish tend to dart into this as the net is drawn further and further in. The *sampan* slips out of the circle when the net is almost all drawn in and its occupants help to land the *kĕrochong* (*kĕronchong*).

(6) *Pukat tangkul* (Tr. *takul*). Five boats are used with this net, the boats being usually *kuwe* with five or six men to each. The *unjam* (see *pukat awal* above), is first anchored; two boats then join ropes and drop the net overboard. A third then takes a rope and takes up a position opposite and then a fourth boat takes a rope, the boats forming a square. The net is now spread out on the bottom of the sea, or at any rate at a considerable depth, like a carpet. The first boat now lifts the *unjam* gently and takes it slowly into the middle of the net, the fish following (if they are behaving as they should). The *juru sĕlam* dives and reports what he can hear of the catch by signals with one hand. The *sĕlar kuning* usually caught by this method are said to be particularly noisy and when they *mĕngirap* (dart away with a flick of their tails) the sound is easily recognised by the trained diver. The net is hauled in from all four corners so that it is steadily raised, the catch being concentrated in the centre of the net. The fifth boat helps with the landing.

In the case of the *pukat tangkul* and *pukat payang* one successful cast is all that is needed to send the boat home well satisfied.

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14. ✓

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