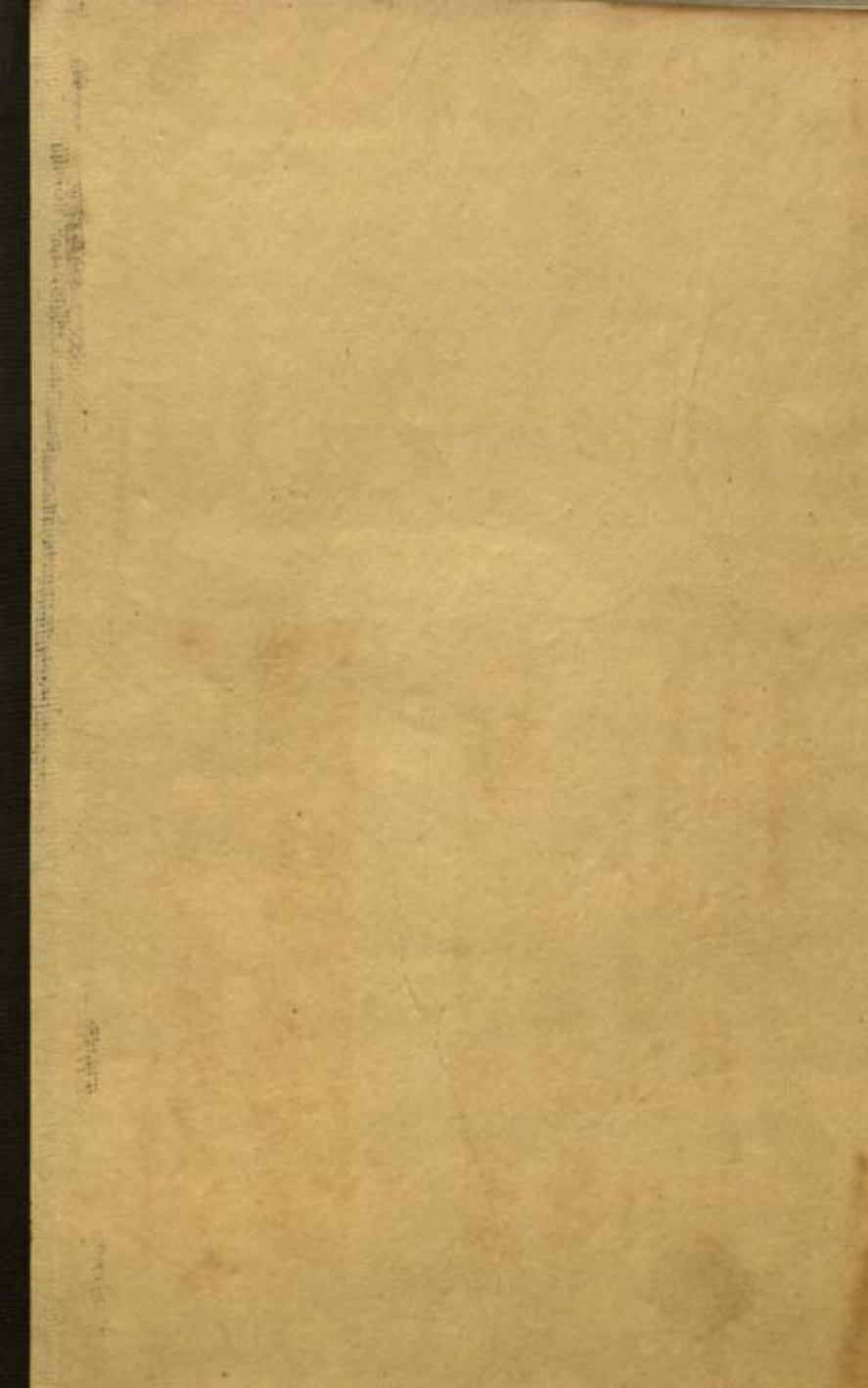


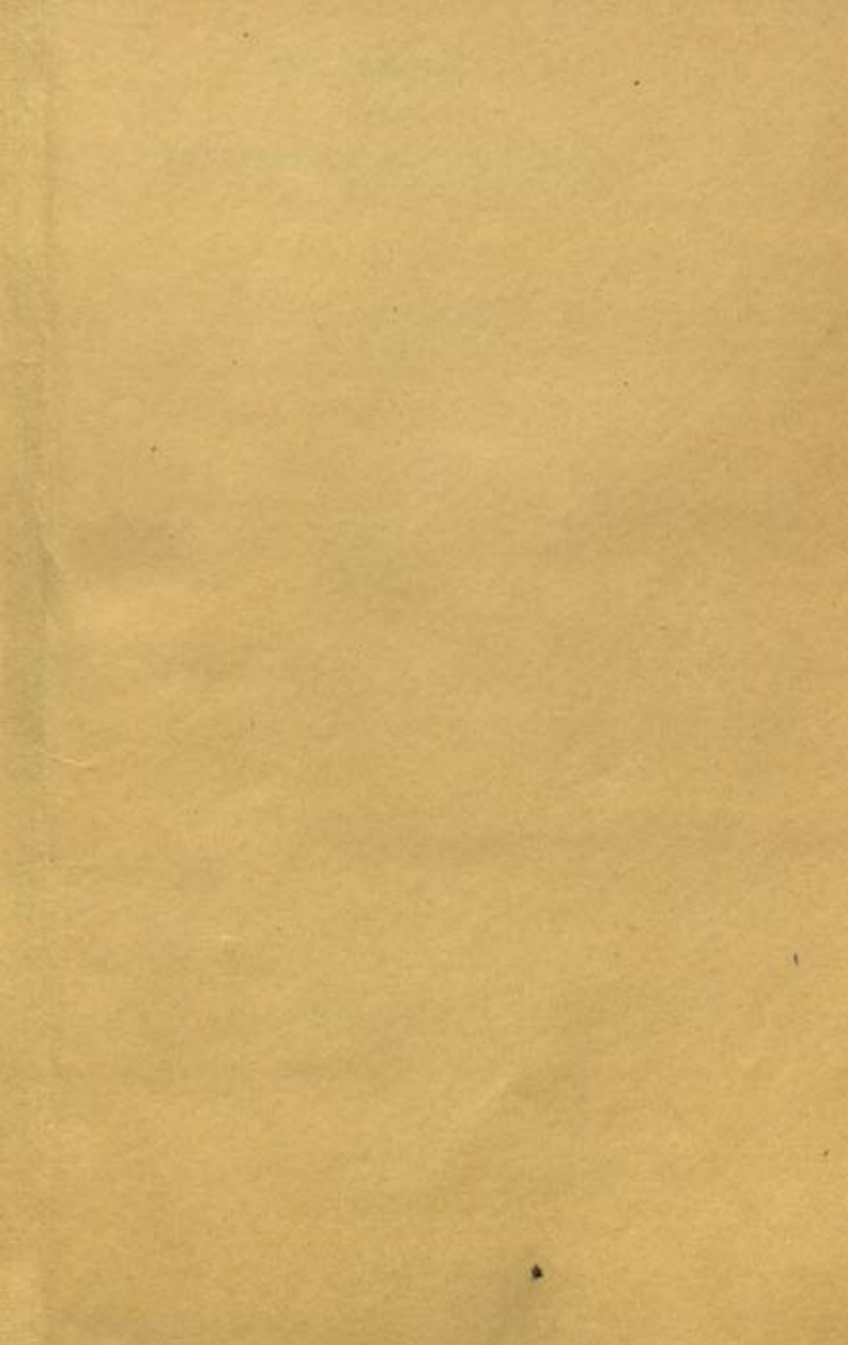
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AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

44048 B. R. PEARN

Formerly Professor of History,
University of Rangoon



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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
<i>THE BACKGROUND</i>	
1. The Peoples of South-East Asia	3
<i>THE EARLY MONARCHIES</i>	
2. Funan and Cambodia	9
Exercises	19
<i>THE ARCHIPELAGO TO THE YEAR 1500</i>	
3. Sri Vijaya, Mataram and Majapahit	21
4. The Coming of Islam	29
5. Malacca	32
Exercises	36
<i>THE MAINLAND MONARCHIES TO THE YEAR 1700</i>	
6. The Pagan Kingdom of Burma	39
7. The Tai	45
8. The Vietnamese	51
9. The Burma-Thai Wars	58
Time Chart	63
Exercises	64
<i>THE EUROPEANS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA TO THE YEAR 1800</i>	
10. The First European Impact	67
11. Java and the Eastern Archipelago	81
12. Malaya and Sumatra	89
Time Chart	93
Exercises	93

THE MAINLAND MONARCHIES 1700-1850

13. The Renewal of the Struggle between Burmans and Thai	97
14. The Decline of Lan Chang	103
15. The Unification of Vietnam	108
16. The Thai-Vietnamese Contest for Cambodia	115
Time Chart	119
Exercises	119

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

17. The Spread of Western Influence	122
18. Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century	124
19. The Malay Lands in the Nineteenth Century	136
20. The British in Borneo	148
21. Burma in the Nineteenth Century	153
22. The French Occupation of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos	163
23. Thailand in the Nineteenth Century	171
24. The Philippines in the Nineteenth Century	178
Time Chart	181
Exercises	182

THE NATIONALIST ERA

25. The Rise of Nationalism	185
26. The Development of Self-Government	189
27. The Japanese War	198
28. The Triumph of Nationalism	202
Time Chart	212
Exercises	213
Further Reading	213
Index	215

MAPS

	PAGE
Physical map of South-East Asia	4
Funan, A.D. 100-500	12
Cambodia, A.D. 800-1100	16
The Archipelago to A.D. 1400	25
The empire of Malacca	31
The kingdom of Pagan, A.D. 1044-1287	39
The Tai States	45
Vietnam and her Neighbours, A.D. 1500	53
Vietnam and her Neighbours, A.D. 1750	66
The Archipelago XVI-XVIII centuries	83
Java XVI-XVII centuries	88
Thailand	109
Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam	111
South-East Asia: areas under Western influence in the early nineteenth century	121
The Malay Peninsula	137
Modern Borneo	151
British occupation of Burma	155
The development of French Indo-China	168
The Philippine Islands	179
Political map of South-East Asia	211

PLATES

	FACING PAGE
View of Angkor	86
General view of Pagan	86
General view of Borobodur	87
Gateway of the Paon Pagoda at Hue	102
Palace at Amarapura, with the White Elephant	103
Palace at Mandalay	166
Reception of the British envoy by King Mindon, 1855	167
View of Bangkok	182
Banda	183
King Mongkut	183

ILLUSTRATIONS IN TEXT

	PAGE
A carving seen through the main entrance to Angkor Wat	15
Gateway into Angkor Thom	18
Corner of Borobudur	23
Ananda Temple, Pagan	43
Temple at Sukhothai	47
Temple at Ayuthia	49
Throne room of the Emperor of Annam	55
Wat Sing, Chiangmai	60
Malacca in the sixteenth century	70
Vientiane: That Luang Temple	105
The Tomb of the Emperors at Hue	113
Penang	139
King Mindon of Burma	157
Palace at Mandalay	161

The Background

The Peoples of South-East Asia

The term 'South-East Asia' is generally understood to mean the countries lying roughly between India on the west and China on the east. It thus includes Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, Sarawak, North Borneo, Portuguese Timor, and the Philippines.

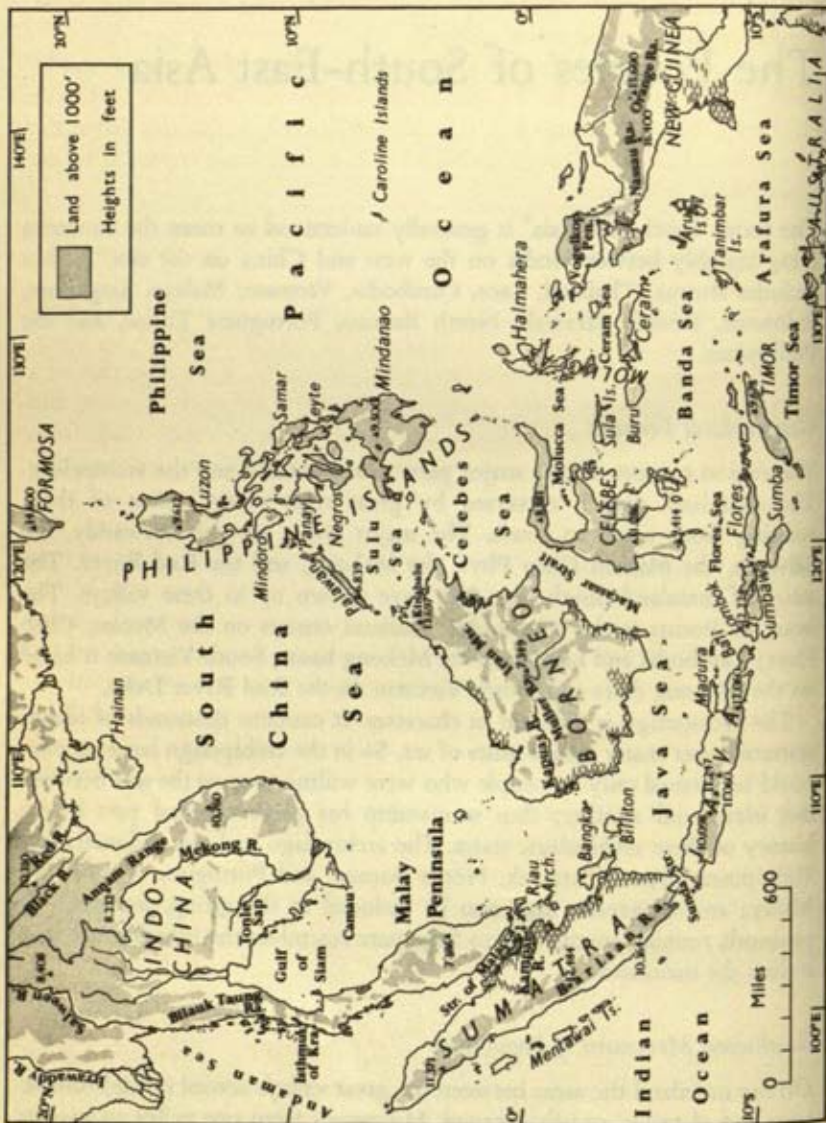
Geographical Features

The region consists of two major parts: the mainland and the archipelago. The mainland part is traversed by great river-valleys, most of them running from north to south. The major rivers are the Irrawaddy, the Salween, the Menam Chao Phya, the Mekong, and the Red River. The states of mainland South-East Asia have grown up in these valleys. The heart of Burma is the Irrawaddy; Thailand centres on the Menam Chao Phya; Cambodia and Laos lie in the Mekong basin; South Vietnam is based on the Mekong delta and North Vietnam on the Red River Delta.

The archipelago is different in character. It contains thousands of islands scattered over many square miles of sea. So in the archipelago large empires could be formed only by people who were willing to cross the seas between one island and another; thus seamanship has played a vital part in the history of these archipelagic states. The archipelago includes Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Portuguese Timor; but Malaya and Singapore may also be included in the group, for the long peninsula running southwards to Singapore resembles the islands more than it does the mainland.

Southward Movement of Population

On the mainland the areas between the great valleys consist of high mountains and plateaux, usually forested. Movement from one valley to another is possible, but it is not so easy as movement along the valleys themselves. Also, the valleys are more fertile than the hills and therefore men prefer to



Physical map of South-East Asia

live in them; and most of the rivers form at their mouths vast deltas of good land, so that the lower reaches can support a larger and more prosperous population than can the upper reaches.

The result is that there has been for centuries a drift of population southwards. People have left the highlands and entered the lowlands, and have left the less hospitable lands of the north and moved southwards down the valleys into the deltas. Some, having reached the sea, have crossed it to the islands of the archipelago.

Early Inhabitants

Skulls found in Java show that thousands of years ago there were in South-East Asia creatures much like men, though of a very primitive type. Later, perhaps ten thousand years ago, the region was inhabited by peoples of a higher level of culture. They were forest-dwellers, living by hunting and elementary cultivation and fishing. They had tools which they made from stone, and so are said to have lived in the Stone Age. From them are descended the Sakai of Malaya, for example. Later still the region was inhabited by negrito peoples, whose descendants survive in the Semang of Malaya and other similar peoples. They too were Stone Age people. Then, perhaps four thousand years ago, the people often called Indonesians came into South-East Asia from south-west China. The Indonesians lived at first on the mainland of South-East Asia, but some of them took to the sea and entered the islands of the archipelago. They appear to have come in two migrations. First came the Proto-Malays or First Malays, from whom are descended, for example, the Bataks of Sumatra and the Dayaks of Borneo. Afterwards came the Deutero-Malays or Second Malays, whose descendants are the Malays of today, the Javanese, the Balinese, and indeed most of the present inhabitants of the archipelago.

The Indonesians brought with them the use of metals; they made implements, mainly from bronze but also to some extent from iron.

Later Immigrants

After the Indonesians, other peoples also moved southwards from western China. The Vietnamese reached the Red River delta two thousand or more years ago. In the following centuries the Khmer people settled in the Mekong valley and delta. The Mons, akin to the Khmer, arrived in the Menam Chao Phya valley and spread westwards into what is now Lower Burma. In the Irrawaddy valley appeared a people known as the Pyu. These races of

people to a great extent displaced the former Indonesian inhabitants. Later, the Burmans came from the north into the Irrawaddy valley. The Tai, from whom the inhabitants of Thailand and Laos and the Shan area of Burma are descended, came from Yunnan later still.

The Early Monarchies

Funan and Cambodia

Historical Sources

Our knowledge of the early history of South-East Asia comes partly from archaeology, but chiefly from written Chinese sources. The style of architecture revealed by the ruins of buildings erected many centuries ago, and pottery and other household objects found in them in many parts of the region, tell us a little about the life and ways of thought of the people of those days. From inscriptions on stone put up in ancient temples, and from statues of gods and of the Buddha which have been found, we can discern something about the people's religion. It is, however, from the writings of Chinese scholars that we derive most of our information.

The official histories which were compiled in China tell us about China's relations with South-East Asia. The earliest source of this character is *The Annals of the Han Dynasty*, covering the years 206 B.C. to A.D. 8. Later histories, such as *The Annals of the Liang Dynasty*, compiled in the seventh century, are still more useful. The Chinese encyclopaedias are important sources from the eighth century onwards. Much, too, can be learnt from the statements of Chinese travellers, like Shih Fa-Hsien who travelled from India to China in the fifth century, and I-Ching who travelled through South-East Asia in the seventh century.

For the history of more recent times, the chronicles compiled by order of the monarchs who ruled in the states of South-East Asia are a valuable source. Information is also found in the stone inscriptions which kings and other important people caused to be erected when, for example, they gave property to temples. And from the fifteenth century onwards the records of European travellers and of European trading companies and governments contain a mass of detailed information.

Early Links with China and India

The evidence tells us that two thousand years ago traders from China on the east and India on the west came to South-East Asia. They came mostly by sea. There was an ancient trade-route across northern Burma, and this

carried traffic between India and China. It is known that envoys from the Roman Empire travelled from the west and reached China by that route in A.D. 97 and A.D. 121. But contact with South-East Asia was made chiefly by sea. Not only did Indian and Chinese traders come to the coasts and islands of the region, but people from South-East Asia sailed to India and China. The peoples of the archipelago were good seamen and were able to make such voyages.

Navigation between South-East Asia and its neighbours was made easy by the prevailing winds. From roughly April to September, the south-west monsoon blows across the seas and from roughly October to March the north-east monsoon blows. Sailing ships could thus easily sail from India and countries farther west to South-East Asia by one monsoon, and then return home by the other. Similarly traders from China could come by one wind and return home by the other. South-East Asia was thus a meeting place for Indian and Chinese traders, where the goods of India could be traded for the goods of China. These foreign traders could also purchase local produce, such as tin and spices, which South-East Asia produced. Equally, traders of the South-East Asian countries could engage in trade with India and China, using the winds.

Introduction of Indian Culture

The Indians seem to have been more active than the Chinese in overseas trade, and Indian merchants settled in the ports of South-East Asia. They introduced the local people to Indian ways of thought and behaviour. South-East Asians who went to India also acquired Indian ideas. So Indian ways of government and Indian religions, both Hinduism and Buddhism, were brought to the region. From the Indians the people learnt the art of writing in an alphabetical form. It was, however, the ruling class and the townspeople who were most affected by India. The mass of people living in small villages were less easily influenced, though as time went on Buddhism certainly gained many adherents among them.

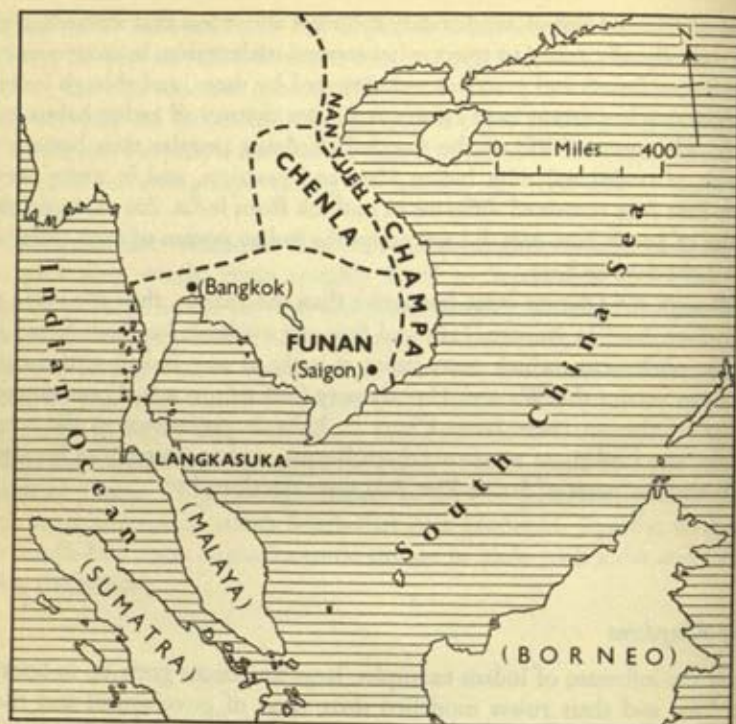
Not all Indian ideas were accepted. The inhabitants of South-East Asia already possessed a culture of their own. They lived in organized, though small, communities under chiefs. They knew the art of agriculture and simple irrigation, and the use of the ox and buffalo. They knew the use of metals. They had their own religion, consisting in the worship of the spirits of the air, of the water, of the trees, and of other natural objects. They were by no

means uncivilized and so, while ready to accept alien ideas that seemed good, they were equally ready to reject what seemed undesirable. In consequence, some Indian beliefs and practices were rejected by them, and though Indian influence was important in its effects, it did not destroy all earlier habits and beliefs. The way of life of the South-East Asian peoples thus became a mixture of traditional with Indian ideas and practices, and in many ways South-East Asia remained different in outlook from India. For example, the peoples of South-East Asia did not adopt the Indian system of caste either in those early days or later.

Although the Chinese were less active than the Indians, they too came to South-East Asia. In Borneo, Java and Sumatra evidence has been found of Chinese settlements which were quite as early as any Indian settlements. The Emperors of the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 8) encouraged the use of the sea route from China to India in preference to the more troublesome land route across northern Burma, and so connexions between China and the ports of South-East Asia were developed.

Early Kingdoms

Under the influence of Indian examples, large kingdoms grew up in South-East Asia, and their rulers modelled their ways of government and their court ceremonies on Hindu practice, and also followed Hindu ideas in religion. In some cases these kings may have been Indians who used their superior knowledge and cleverness to gain control over the people among whom they settled. In other cases the rulers may have been local men who adopted Indian ways. One of the earliest kingdoms of this type appeared in the Malay peninsula. To avoid the long sea trip round the south of Singapore, goods were taken overland across the narrow part of the peninsula; such goods had to be unloaded from the ships on one side and loaded again on the other side of the peninsula; busy ports grew up and the area became prosperous. In the north of the peninsula developed the kingdom of Langkasuka, which became an extensive state, stretching right across the area from the Gulf of Thailand to the Indian Ocean and having its capital perhaps at Patani. Langkasuka seems to have been founded in the second century A.D. Another state which grew up in early days around the trans-peninsular trade routes was Tambralinga, in the Ligor or Sri Thammarat area, north of Langkasuka. The most notable of the early kingdoms appeared farther east, however, in the Mekong valley. This was the kingdom of Funan.



Funan, A.D. 100-500

Funan

The name 'Funan' is Chinese, for such information as is available about the origins of this kingdom comes from Chinese sources. The word 'Funan' is a Chinese form of a Khmer expression 'phnom', meaning 'mountain', for the early rulers of the country were called 'kings of the mountain' owing to their practice of placing their holy buildings on hill-tops.

The kingdom of Funan occupied originally the area which now forms southern Vietnam and Cambodia, in the delta and lower reaches of the Mekong river. The fertile lands of the Mekong valley made it possible for the inhabitants to become prosperous cultivators and to develop a high standard of living; and the need to construct and maintain drainage and irrigation canals caused an early development of a system of government so as to organize and supervise the work involved by these canals. According to Chinese accounts, the kingdom was founded by an Indian named Kaundinya, who subdued the inhabitants and married their queen. This may

have occurred in the first century A.D. During the next two hundred years Funan grew into an extensive empire. Its kings imposed their authority over most of what is now Thailand and even over parts of the Malay peninsula, though their control was limited to receiving tribute from local rulers. In these centuries, Funan was by far the most important state in South-East Asia. It carried on a considerable trade with China and its kings sent embassies there, bearing presents for the Emperor; and on occasion Chinese embassies came to Funan.

Funan's relations with China

Relations with China were not always friendly. The Chinese had extended their sway over the northern part of the territory which is now called Vietnam; but in the second century A.D. the Cham people, living in the vicinity of the present city of Hue (see map on page 53), founded the independent kingdom of Champa. In or about the year 280, Champa and Funan formed an alliance against China and tried to attack the Chinese in the lands north of Champa, later known as Tongking; but the attack was unsuccessful.

Indian influence

Although Funan had close connexions with China, friendly or otherwise, nevertheless the prevailing influence in the country came ultimately from India. The rulers bore Hindu names and followed the worship of Shiva, and in general modelled their conduct and government on Indian patterns. It seems probable, however, that Shaivite beliefs were confined to the ruling class and hardly affected the people in general: most of them were not worshippers of Shiva but were Buddhists, following the Mahayana faith which also came to them from India.

Chenla

Some time in the sixth century, a new power arose in the Mekong valley. This was the kingdom of Chenla. Chenla, which lay to the north of Funan, had been a dependency of the kings of that country, but its rulers revolted, threw off the Funanese yoke, and then conquered Funan itself. Funan may have been allowed to survive as a separate state for a time, but in the early seventh century it was certainly part of the kingdom of Chenla. The Chenla people were the race known as the Khmer or Cambodians, who had migrated down the Mekong valley. So the kingdom of Chenla came later to be known as the kingdom of Cambodia.

The new kingdom had, however, little sense of unity; perhaps the Khmer and the Funanese found it difficult to live together. Whatever the reasons, in the early eighth century Chenla split into two parts—'Land Chenla' in the north and 'Water Chenla' in the deltaic region of the south. This division of course undermined the power of Chenla. The supremacy formerly enjoyed by Funan over the lands now known as Thailand and Malaya was lost; and the country's weakness encouraged foreign attack. Towards the end of the eighth century Water Chenla was attacked by sea raiders, who also attacked the neighbouring kingdom of Champa, and Chenla became for a time tributary to the Sailendra rulers of Java, from where the raiders came.

Angkor

In 802 the two parts of the kingdom were reunited under King Jayavarman II, who declared himself ruler of an independent kingdom, called Cambodia. During his long reign, which lasted till his death in 850, he consolidated the kingdom and re-established its greatness, casting off the authority of the Sailendra kings of Java. Still more notable was King Yasovarman I (889-900). He brought under his sway the lands which had formerly been dependencies of Funan, so that his empire extended as far as the Malay peninsula, though like the Funanese rulers before him he did not rule this vast empire directly but received tribute from dependent kings. His main achievement was the foundation of the city of Angkor and the construction of a remarkable system of canals and reservoirs which provided the city with its water supply and irrigated the surrounding countryside. The impressive ruins of Angkor, which today stand as a memorial to the greatness of the Khmer people, are particularly interesting in the evidence which they give of the strong influence of Indian ideas on Cambodia in this period. Both the architecture and the decoration show this. Hindu influence also affected the government of Cambodia. Though the mass of people were, as in the days of Funan, Mahayana Buddhists, the ruling class followed Hindu beliefs and the kings claimed to be reincarnations of the god Shiva.

Though the Khmer kings who reigned in Angkor are remembered for their buildings more than for anything else, still after the fashion of those days they sought fame as conquerors. They made several attempts to conquer Champa and in the twelfth century managed to annex much of that state; but this led to a long period of unrest and warfare from which the Khmer gained little. An attempt in 1150 to conquer the Vietnamese kingdom in Tongking was a disastrous failure.



A carving seen through the main entrance to Angkor Wat

The wars and the labour imposed on the people by the construction of the immense buildings of Angkor caused unrest among the Khmer. While the conflict with Champa was still going on, the peasants rose in revolt; and the unpopularity of the government enabled a usurper to seize the throne in 1166. The weakness of the kingdom gave the Cham an opportunity for vengeance: they invaded Cambodia and in 1177 captured Angkor.

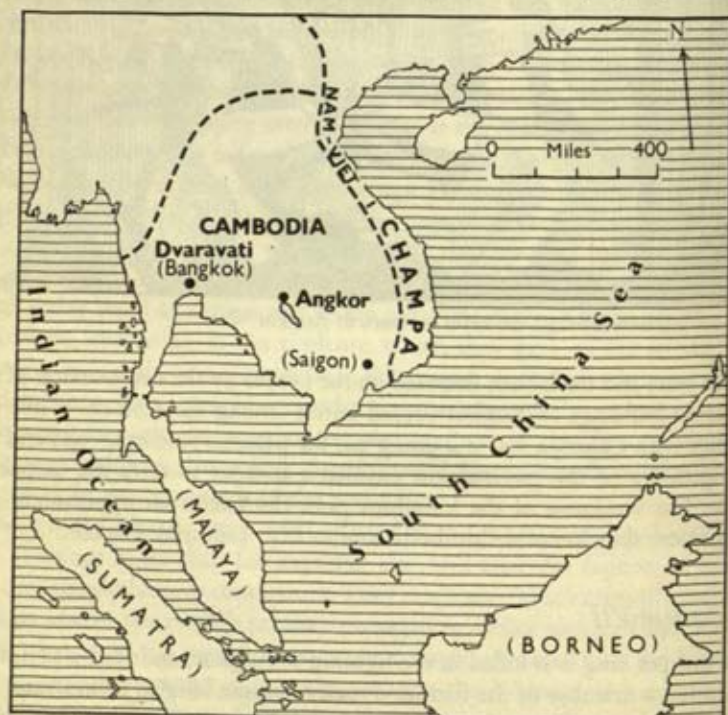
Jayavarman VII

The usurper king was killed in the fighting at Angkor, and after a period of confusion a member of the former dynasty became king as Jayavarman VII (1181-1219). He drove the Cham out and then overran their kingdom.

FUNAN AND CAMBODIA

Under his rule Cambodia recovered its former possessions and even extended them. Besides ruling over the lands as far west as the Malay peninsula, he brought under his control the Mekong valley as far north as Vientiane, in what is now Laos. It was in this reign, too, that the new city of Angkor, or Angkor Thom, was built. To guard against any future disaster, the new city was given a strong defensive wall and a moat; it is today one of the most impressive of all the remains at Angkor. Jayavarman, like one or two of the preceding kings, was a Mahayana Buddhist, and the temple known as the Bayon which he built at Angkor is adorned with a number of enormous statues, representing him in the guise of a Bodhisattva or future Buddha.

Jayavarman's building programme, like that of earlier kings, laid a heavy burden on the mass of people; and though Cambodia attained great heights of power and glory at this period, the effort was too much for his subjects. It is evident that immediately after Jayavarman's death in 1219 the kingdom began to decline, for in 1220 the Khmer withdrew from Champa, abandoning the attempt to hold that restive territory. Other outlying dependencies



Cambodia, A.D. 800-1100

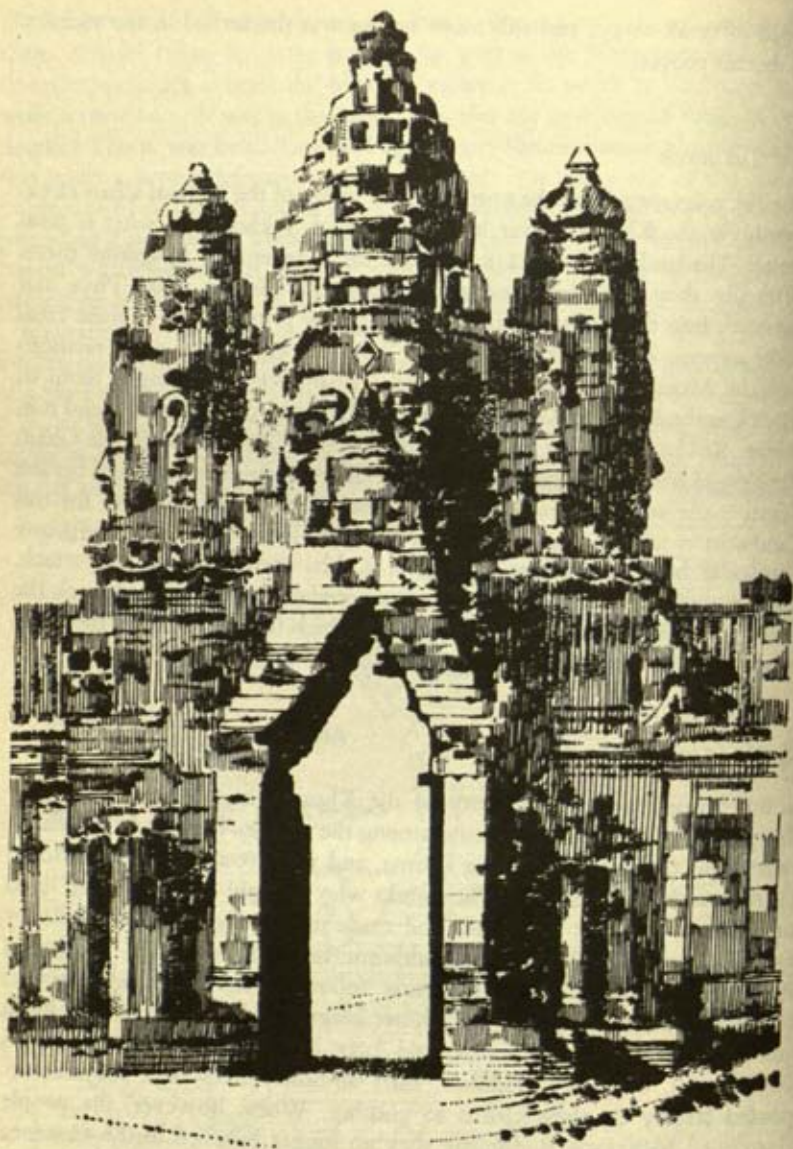
began to break away; and still more serious was the arrival in the vicinity of the Tai people.

The Tai attack

The Tai, migrating from the north into the valley of the Menam Chao Phya, overthrew the Khmer power in the region of Sukhotai, in what is now central Thailand, and in 1238 founded an independent kingdom there. Gradually they extended southwards along the Menam Chao Phya and eastwards into the Mekong valley, forming new principalities in these areas at the expense of Khmer power. The Tai rulers established good relations with the Mongol ruler of China, Kublai Khan, who encouraged them to attack Cambodia when King Jayavarman VIII (1243-95) refused to send him tribute. Kublai Khan sent his own armies against Champa, when the Cham also refused tribute; his general Sogatu invaded Champa in 1281 and his son Togan made another attack in 1285. These attacks failed, and but for this Cambodia would no doubt have been the next victim. Failing to overthrow Cambodia by direct means, therefore, Kublai incited the Tai to attack. Later, as will be explained in chapter 7, descendants of these people took the name Thai, and the kingdom of Ayuthia, which they founded in the fourteenth century, ultimately became Thailand.

Spread of Theravada Buddhism

In this period, too, the authority of the Khmer kings was weakened by the spread of Theravada Buddhism among the people. Theravada Buddhism came from Ceylon, perhaps via Burma, and was brought to Cambodia in the time of Jayavarman VII. The monks who brought this new creed lived and worked amongst the people and made it the religion of the ordinary men and women. Theravada Buddhism thus displaced the Mahayana Buddhism which the people formerly followed, and important political consequences ensued. The earlier Khmer kings had claimed to be the Hindu god Shiva, descended to earth, and later kings regarded themselves as Bodhisattvas, or future Buddhas: their authority over their subjects depended largely on these claims to godship. When, however, the people abandoned Mahayana Buddhism, they no longer believed in the existence of Bodhisattvas, for Theravada Buddhism does not accept this belief. Men ceased to regard the kings as divine, therefore, and so the whole basis on which the authority of the kings rested was undermined.



Gateway into Angkor Thom

Fall of Angkor

While this weakening of the government was going on, the Tai continued to press upon the western frontiers of Cambodia. Their attacks became more violent after they formed the kingdom of Ayuthia, in what is now southern Thailand, in 1350; and this encouraged the Cham to raid the eastern frontier. Gradually the Khmer empire diminished until all that was left was an area corresponding roughly to modern Cambodia and parts of south Vietnam. The most serious disaster came in 1431, when the Tai captured Angkor and put a Tai prince on the throne.

The Khmer managed to regain Angkor and a Khmer prince, Ponha Yat (1432-59), ascended the throne; but Angkor ceased to be the capital of Cambodia. It was too near the Tai frontier for safety. It is possible, too, that the weakened kingdom could no longer maintain the extensive canal system, so that the channels silted up, the waters became stagnant, and malarial fever increased to a degree which rendered the place too unhealthy. It may be, too, that the misfortunes which had befallen Cambodia caused men to believe that Angkor must be an unlucky site for a capital and that the kingdom would prosper better under a new capital elsewhere. Whatever the reason, Angkor ceased to be the capital in 1432; and in 1434 a new capital was established at Phnom Penh. The inhabitants left Angkor, the jungle crept in, and before long the massive structures which had cost so much effort were overgrown and, for centuries, lost to sight.

Cambodia survived as an independent kingdom but it at no time regained its former greatness. It was confined to the Mekong delta and the lower reaches of the river. It ceased to be the principal state in South-East Asia, and its rulers did not again attempt to erect great buildings such as had characterized the Angkor period.

EXERCISES

1. Explain why South-East Asia has experienced a movement of peoples southwards, and state the principal races that have taken part in this movement.
2. Show the importance of the monsoon in the history of South-East Asia.
3. How did Indian influence come to South-East Asia two thousand years ago, and what effect did it have on the life of the inhabitants?
4. Give a brief account of the history of Funan.
5. Compare the work of Yasovarman I and Jayavarman VII of Cambodia.
6. Explain why the Kingdom of Cambodia lost its greatness and why Angkor ceased to be its capital.

The Archipelago to the Year 1500

Sri Vijaya, Mataram and Majapahit

While on the mainland of South-East Asia the Khmer built up their kingdom into a great empire, highly organized states were appearing in the archipelago also. There were many small states in the islands, at first independent of one another; but gradually the more forceful and energetic rulers enlarged their territories at the expense of their neighbours and so formed extensive kingdoms. These kingdoms based their power to a great extent on overseas trade. The fertile character of some of the islands made a profitable export trade possible. Their inhabitants, living on islands, naturally became experienced sailors, capable of crossing the seas and carrying their influence to other islands and to the mainland, and able to maintain connexions with countries farther away such as China and India and even the Middle East. Moreover, as the trade routes between the Indian Ocean and the China Seas passed through the archipelago, rulers of the islands could impose their control over commerce between east and west; they could easily participate in this trade and could augment their wealth by levying taxes on ships using their ports and straits.

These circumstances led to frequent rivalry between kingdoms in Java and kingdoms in Sumatra. Rulers on the east coast of Sumatra could and did control the passage through the Malacca Strait from the Indian Ocean to the China Seas; but there is an alternative route through the Sunda Strait, between Java and Sumatra, and rulers in Sumatra wanted to control this passage also. But it was equally easy for rulers in western Java to control the Sunda Strait, and so rivalry was common. A Sumatran ruler would try to annex the west of Java and a Javanese ruler would try to annex the south of Sumatra, so as to dominate the Sunda passage. The struggle for the Sunda Strait became a major theme in the history of the archipelago. On the whole, Java was in a stronger position than Sumatra. The fertile soil of Java enabled its people to make their lands the granary of the archipelago, supplying food to other islands. So whereas kingdoms in Sumatra based their strength on commerce, those of Java benefited from both commerce and agriculture.

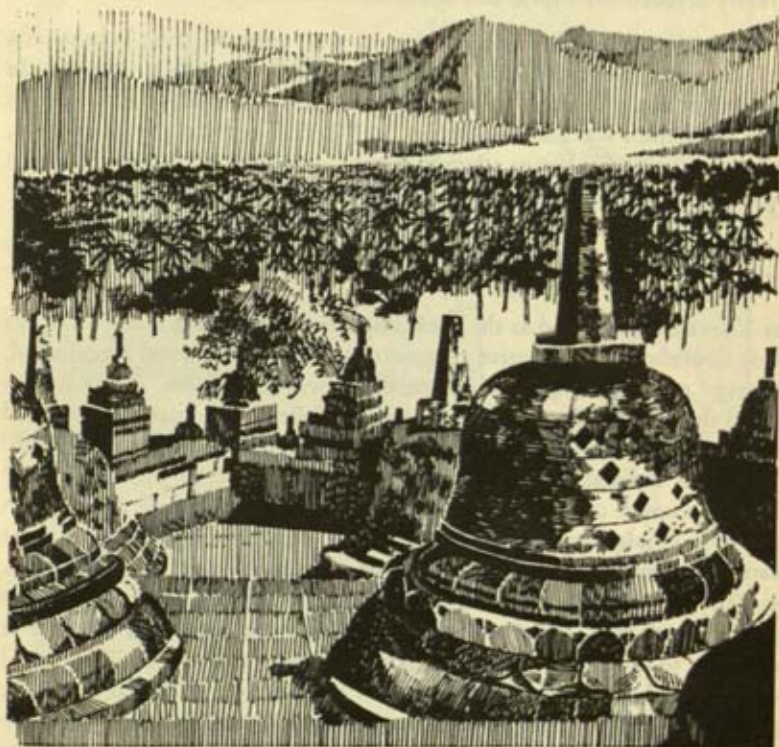
Sri Vijaya

The first important state in the archipelago, so far as the evidence goes, was Sri Vijaya, in south-east Sumatra, in the area where the port of Palembang now stands. By the seventh century Sri Vijaya was well established as the chief commercial centre of South-East Asia, trading with China, India and the Middle East. The rulers of this kingdom gained control of nearly all the coastal areas of eastern Sumatra, including the neighbouring kingdom of Malayu which lay north of Sri Vijaya, where Djambi now is. So as to control the Malacca Strait, Sri Vijaya extended its influence into the Malay peninsula also: in 775 a stone pillar was erected at Ligor, to the north of the peninsula, bearing an inscription in praise of the king of Sri Vijaya. The kingdom dominated the Malacca Strait, the Sunda Strait, and the neighbouring seas. Its weakness was that its territory consisted of a number of widely-scattered sea ports and the lands adjacent to them, separated from one another by miles of sea. Communication between one part of the Sri Vijaya empire and another was not easy to maintain, and it was possible for a powerful enemy to attack outlying territories and overrun them piecemeal. Sri Vijaya thus tended to be less strong than kingdoms in Java based on solid blocks of territory.

Sri Vijaya had links with India and so became a Mahayana Buddhist country. The Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who came there in the seventh century, mentions the presence of a large number of Buddhist monks. From Sri Vijaya, Buddhism spread to neighbouring lands. The stone pillar erected at Ligor in 775 mentions that the king of Sri Vijaya had established a Buddhist sanctuary there, and it was probably from Sri Vijaya that Buddhism came to Java. Sri Vijaya also had contact with the Chinese Government: ambassadors were frequently sent to China, bearing gifts of parrots, musicians and dwarfs, and in 724 the Chinese Emperor conferred a title on the king.

The Sailendra Kings of Mataram

A rival to Sri Vijaya appeared in Java. In that island there were at first many small principalities, but in the later seventh or early eighth century the rulers of the principality of Mataram, in central Java, overran the neighbouring States and built up an important kingdom. The kings of Mataram were known as the Sailendras, or Kings of the Mountain. At first they worshipped Shiva, but later they adopted Mahayana Buddhism and built great Buddhist monuments. The vast temple at Borobodur, in central Java, was built by them in the eighth century: it was probably started in the year 772, by King Pancapana.



Corner of Borobodur

Like the rulers of Sri Vijaya, the Sailendras tried to extend their power to the mainland of South-East Asia. In 767 they raided the coast of Tongking, and in 774 and 787 the coast of Champa was attacked. They also invaded Chenla and made it for a time a tributary state.

The relations between the two kingdoms of Sri Vijaya and Mataram are obscure, but it seems certain that in the end a Sailendra prince ascended Sri Vijaya's throne. In the ninth century, the power of the Sailendras of Mataram declined; a rival dynasty, following the worship of Shiva, rose in Java, and when the death of the reigning Sailendra left only a young prince, named Balaputra, as heir, the rival dynasty secured the throne. Buddhism after that declined in Java and the worship of Shiva flourished once more. Balaputra fled to Sri Vijaya, and there he married a princess of the royal house: thus the Sailendra dynasty of Sri Vijaya was established.

Rivalry between Sri Vijaya and Mataram

In the ensuing years, Mataram held sway over most of Java; it became a political and commercial rival of Sri Vijaya, and so conflicts occurred. In the time of King Dharmavamsa, who ruled in Mataram from about 985 to 1006, an attempt was made to destroy Sri Vijaya. The attacks were repulsed, and in retaliation Sri Vijaya attacked Java in 1006, defeated Mataram, and so regained the control of the Sunda Strait which had for a time been lost.

Chola Attack on Sri Vijaya

Sri Vijaya thus survived as the most important state in the archipelago. Its trade flourished. An extensive commerce in camphor, cloves, sandalwood, nutmegs and other valuable commodities was carried on. Its merchants visited the ports of the China coast, and the Sailendra monarchs maintained friendly relations with China, exchanging embassies at frequent intervals. Trade with India also went on. This was directed especially to Bengal and the Coromandel coast; but difficulties arose with the Indians. In southern India the Chola kingdom of Tanjore had now developed into a great maritime state and had entered the trade with South-East Asia and China. Sri Vijaya's control of the passages through the Malacca and Sunda Straits irritated the Chola. Ships were required, and were compelled by force if necessary, to call at Sri Vijaya's ports while passing through the Straits, and port dues and taxes were levied on them. So in 1025 a Chola fleet was sent against Sri Vijaya. Ligor, Kedah, and Tumasik (as Singapore was then called), all of which Sri Vijaya at that time held, were captured; and the ports on the east coast of Sumatra as well. But the Chola could not permanently occupy places so far distant from their home; the attack was in reality only a large-scale raid, and peace was soon made. There was a further outbreak of war in 1068-69, however.

The Kingdom of Kediri

Gradually Sri Vijaya declined in power and kingdoms based on Java began to take the foremost place. This process took a long time: according to Chinese accounts, in the thirteenth century Sri Vijaya still exacted tribute from most of the Malay peninsula and southern Thailand; but Malayu became independent, and so did Ligor, while in Java a new power arose which finally eclipsed the greatness of Sri Vijaya.

Mataram recovered from Sri Vijaya's attack of the year 1006, and under



The Archipelago to A.D. 1400

King Airlangga (1019-49) began to dominate the east of the archipelago, while Sri Vijaya retained control of the west. In the middle eleventh century, dynastic rivalries split Mataram into two—an eastern part called Janggala, and a western part called Kediri; but a royal marriage reunited the two, and the name Kediri came to be applied to the whole.

In 1222, a usurper displaced the king of Kediri and established a new dynasty, which had its capital at Singosari. The last king of this new line, Kertanagara (1268-92), secured control over most of Java, including the western part, and so renewed the old struggle between Java and Sumatra for control of the Sunda Strait. He exacted recognition of his authority from rulers in the Moluccas, in south-west Borneo, and in Pahang. He also sent an expedition against Malayu, in Sumatra.

Chinese Intervention

At this time the Chinese were taking an increased interest in the affairs of South-East Asia. There had been a good deal of trade between China and her southern neighbours, and individual Chinese travellers had visited the archipelago, but the actual conduct of navigation and trade had been very much in the hands of others. Chinese ships had tended to keep closely to the shores of the mainland, and it was left to the peoples of South-East Asia and to Arab, Persian and Indian traders and sailors to carry on the major part of commerce. In the time of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), however, the Chinese experienced a great intellectual revival. This was a period of notable cultural achievement in China, when the production of porcelain reached new heights of skill, when the art of painting was highly developed, when printing was much improved; and when in the economic field the government took a big part in promoting commerce and in encouraging foreign trade. At the same time the art of navigation was developed to a higher degree than formerly. Contacts between China and South-East Asia thus increased.

In the thirteenth century the Sung dynasty was displaced by the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, and the Mongols sought to extend China's political as well as her economic influence over the adjoining countries. Champa, Vietnam and Burma suffered attack; and in 1289 an embassy from the Emperor Kublai Khan came to Singosari, no doubt demanding tribute. Kertanagara rebuffed the envoys, and in 1292 a Chinese fleet was sent against him. Already, however, a member of the former ruling house of Kediri had raised a revolt and Kertanagara had been killed. The Chinese expedition gave aid to Kertanagara's son, Vijaya, and with their aid he secured the

throne; he then turned against his Chinese allies and drove them out, so regaining his country's independence. Vijaya had started his campaign from the village of Majapahit, on the Brantas river in eastern Java, and he now made this place his capital. So was founded the kingdom of Majapahit.

Majapahit

It took some time for the kingdom to recover from this period of disorder, and at first its rulers had no control over any territory outside Java. The establishment of the empire of Majapahit was mainly the work of Gaja Mada, who became chief minister in the early fourteenth century. The king of Majapahit, Jayanagara (1309-28), was threatened by rebellion in 1319, and his victory over his enemies was due mainly to the courage and energy of this young nobleman. In reward, Gaja Mada was appointed a minister; and his power was greatly increased when, on the death of Jayanagara in 1328, he was succeeded by his granddaughter, Queen Tribhuvana, who left most of the business of government to this trusted adviser. Even when Tribhuvana abdicated in 1350 in favour of her son, Hayam Wuruk (1350-89), the new monarch was content to allow Gaja Mada to retain the management of the kingdom.

Gaja Mada's Government

According to the poem *Magarakertagama*, composed in 1365 by the Buddhist monk Prancapa, Gaja Mada imposed Majapahit's authority over much of the archipelago and the Malay peninsula. The kingdom of Malayu became a dependency, as did the rest of eastern Sumatra; the mainland of Malaya as far north as Pattani also admitted Majapahit's supremacy. Thus Majapahit controlled the Malacca Strait as well as the Sunda Strait; the south and west coasts of Borneo, the Moluccas, southern Celebes, and the Banda Islands were also dependent States. In general, according to Prancapa, the empire of Majapahit included the territories now in Indonesia and most of Malaya as well. Prancapa may, however, have exaggerated the greatness of Majapahit: some historians think that the empire really included only East Java, Madura and Bali.

Whatever the truth about the extent of Majapahit's empire, there is no doubt that when Gaja Mada died in 1364, Majapahit was a powerful and prosperous state. It maintained friendly relations with the mainland states of Thailand, Cambodia, Champa, Vietnam and Burma, and exchanged embassies at intervals with China. Merchants came to the ports of northern

Java from many lands. They traded in pepper, salt and coconut oil from Java, spices from the Moluccas, sandalwood from the Sunda islands, cotton goods from Bali, diamonds from Borneo, ivory from Sumatra, tin and lead from the Malay peninsula, porcelain, jade and silk from China, textiles from India. Majapahit was a major centre of world commerce, where east and west exchanged commodities. The coastal Javanese were shipbuilders and seamen, and they dominated the trade of South-East Asia. Most of the inland population, of course, consisted of cultivators, growing rice as the chief crop but also producing sesamum, beans, fruits and sugar.

In this period Majapahit had an efficient system of administration. There were at the centre several departments, usually headed by members of the royal house, for revenue, justice, agrarian affairs, and roads and bridges. Surveys of the land were made for revenue purposes. A code of laws was drawn up. The central departments were concerned chiefly with deciding policy. The actual administration outside the capital was carried on by the great nobles, who were answerable to the king. The nobles had under them lesser nobles, and so on down to the village headmen.

End of Sri Vijaya

Before the greatness of Majapahit the last vestiges of the importance of Sri Vijaya vanished. In the second half of the fourteenth century Palembang was seized by some Chinese, and for a time they used the port as a base for piracy.

Fall of Majapahit

The vast empire of Majapahit did not last very long. By the early fifteenth century there were signs of changing conditions. Rivalries for the throne weakened the authority of the government; no other statesman of the calibre of Gaja Mada appeared, capable of controlling the kingdom; on the mainland the Thai kingdom of Ayuthia threatened Majapahit's influence in Malaya; and, most important of all, the spread of Islam undermined the power of kings who adhered to Hindu or Buddhist beliefs. Outlying dependencies broke away and became independent; in Malaya a new power, Malacca, grew up and deprived Majapahit of control of the Straits; and in Java itself the Muslims formed independent states, over which the kings of Majapahit tried in vain to enforce their authority. By the early sixteenth century, Majapahit had sunk to being no more than one of a number of small states in Java.

The Coming of Islam

The conversion of the peoples of the archipelago and the Malay peninsula to Islam was to a great extent the result of the growth of commerce. In the period when, under the Sung dynasty, China's trade with South-East Asia increased, there was also a growth of trade with the countries westwards.

Arab seamen and traders visited the ports of China and South-East Asia long before, in the seventh century, the Prophet inspired the Arab people with his faith. The Arabs continued their traffic with China and South-East Asia after their conversion, and in the eighth century there were large communities of Arab Muslims in the ports of China and smaller ones in the ports of South-East Asia. They seem, however, to have lived as distinct societies, not mixing much with the people of the countries in which they stayed, and they appear to have done little to spread the Islamic faith. Later, in the thirteenth century, China was conquered by the Mongols, but though the Mongols were Muslims they did not propagate Islam in South-East Asia. The conversion of parts of the region to Islam was the work of Muslims from India.

Islam spread from Arabia across the Middle East into the Indian sub-continent. In the early years of the thirteenth century a Muslim dynasty was established in Delhi, and at the end of that century Islam was established in the area of Gujerat, in western India. Gujerat was an important trading centre: its chief port, Cambay, had long traded with the archipelago. Now circumstances gave a stimulus to the trade of Cambay and at the same time its merchants, anxious to encourage others to adopt the religion to which they had themselves become attached, were inspired by missionary zeal as well as by desire for gain.

World trade was undergoing a great development. In Europe life was becoming more settled and prosperous than it had been for centuries since the fall of the Roman Empire. The demand for luxuries was growing. Not only were the gems and the ivory and the textiles of Asia in demand in Europe, but also the spices such as pepper, cloves and nutmeg which were grown especially in the archipelago. The commodities which were wanted were small in bulk in relation to their price: the small ships of those days

could carry cargoes which, though not taking up much room, were of enormous value. Trade in luxury goods was therefore possible.

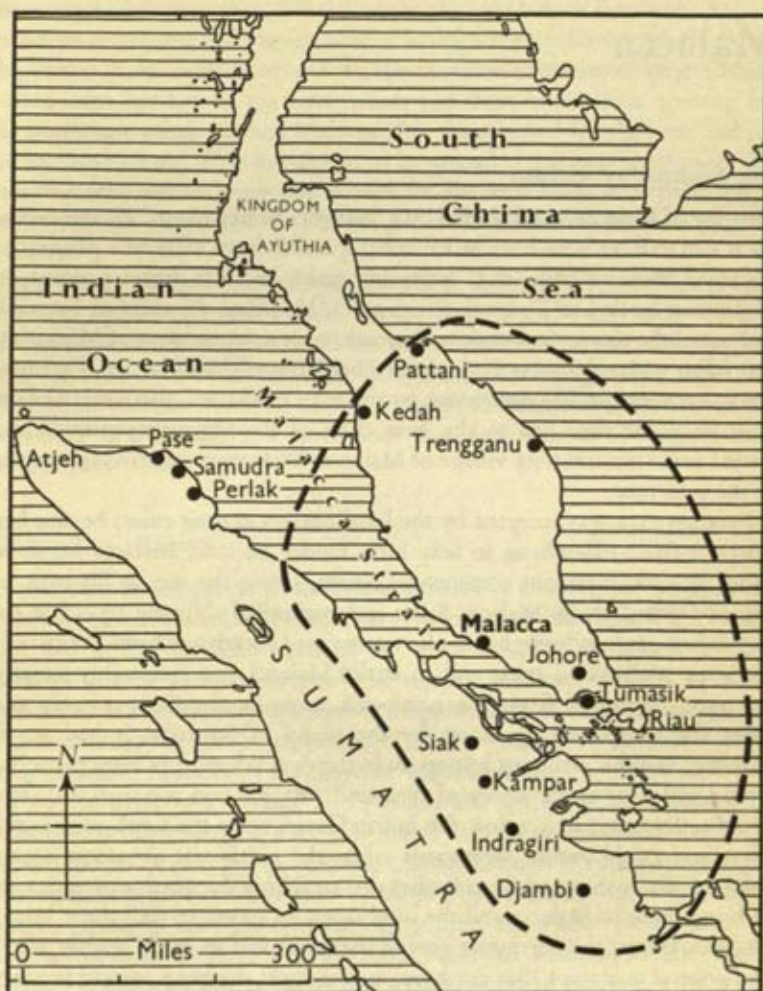
Situated on the west coast of India, the Gujerati merchants were well placed to take part in the new trade with Europe. They acted as intermediaries between Asia and Europe. They acquired the luxury goods of China, South-East Asia and India, and shipped them to Europe through the Persian Gulf and overland to Mediterranean ports or else through the Red Sea and across Egypt.

In the course of their commerce, some Gujerati merchants settled in the ports of the archipelago and there intermarried with local people. The great wealth which they acquired enabled them to marry into the ruling families. Naturally their children were brought up in the faith which the fathers followed, Islam.

In 1292 the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, visited the port of Perlak, in northern Sumatra, and he found that so many Muslim merchants came there that the people of the town had been converted to Islam. In the near-by port of Samudra or Pase, however, he found that the people were not Muslims. It seems therefore that the conversion of Sumatra to Islam was only just beginning when he came there. Conversion must have proceeded rapidly in the next few years, for a tombstone shows that the ruler of Samudra who died in 1297 was a Muslim. It is noteworthy that this stone came from Cambay.

The initial converts to Islam were the ruling class, but their subjects soon followed the example of their governors. Nevertheless, even among the rulers ancient beliefs and traditions died hard. Many rulers who adopted Islam yet maintained the old Hindu ritual at their courts, and some of the mosques which they built bore a resemblance to the older Hindu temples.

From Sumatra, Islam spread to the Malay peninsula. In Trengganu, in north-east Malaya, a stone inscription in Arabic letters has been found. Its date is not certain: some scholars date it as early as 1303, others as late as 1386. But whatever the date of this inscription, Islam did not gain a real hold there till the following century. The conversion of Malaya and also the spread of Islam to the archipelago as a whole was the result of the rise of a new empire, that of Malacca.



The empire of Malacca

Malacca

The Founding of Malacca

The city of Malacca was founded by a Sailendra prince named Parameswara. He is said to have been born in Palembang and to have married a princess of the royal house of Majapahit; becoming embroiled in a dynastic dispute in Majapahit, he fled to Tumasik (Singapore). He killed the chief of Tumasik and seized the town. At that time Tumasik, once a dependency of Majapahit, had fallen under the suzerainty of the Thai King of Ayuthia, and Parameswara was very quickly driven out by the ruler of Pattani, also a vassal of the Thai king. He then fled to the west coast of the Malayan peninsula and settled at the small fishing village of Malacca. This event occurred apparently in the year 1402.

Parameswara was accepted by the local Malays as their ruler; he also had warriors from Palembang to help him. Under his rule, Malacca began to grow into an important commercial centre. Using the city as his base, he gained control of the Malacca Strait and compelled shipping to call at the port when passing through. He also encouraged merchants from Sumatra to come to Malacca to trade and to settle. Malacca was favourably situated for trade. Sheltered from the north-east monsoon by the peninsula and from the south-west monsoon by the island of Sumatra, it had a safe harbour, and this was very important in the days when ships were propelled by sail and were at the mercy of the winds. Its situation was such that ships could easily come to it across the Indian Ocean when the south-west winds blew and could return westwards when the north-east monsoon began, while similarly shipping from farther east could use the north-east monsoon to bring them to Malacca and the south-west monsoon to take them home. Malacca lay on the narrowest part of the Strait and so could readily watch and control any ships that came by, and as most shipping passing between the China Seas and the Indian Ocean used the Strait, occupation of Malacca gave control over the east-west trade.

Malacca thus grew into a large and busy city. There was not much export of local produce, though Malayan tin, which had been exported in Arab ships as early as the tenth century, became a valuable export commodity:

primarily Malacca was a centre for the exchange of goods from the east against goods from the west. As a rule, ships coming to Malacca on one monsoon had to wait there till the winds changed before they went home; therefore merchants and seamen needed living accommodation ashore. Also, ships from India usually arrived on the south-west monsoon after China-bound ships had left on the same wind; and ships from China arriving by the north-east winds reached Malacca after ships bound for the west had set sail by those winds. Thus goods had to be unloaded and kept in Malacca for some months before being put aboard for the next stage of their voyage. For this reason warehouses on a large scale were needed. So Malacca became a big city.

A trading city could not prosper, however, unless it were well governed and were free from outside attack; but for some time the new state was in a precarious position. Majapahit still claimed suzerainty over the Malay peninsula, but her claims could be safely disregarded. The danger came from the Thai: they were no doubt ill-disposed towards Parameswara because of his behaviour in Tumasik, and apart from that they wanted to impose their own authority over Malaya.

Relations with China

At this time the emperors of the Ming dynasty in China (1368-1644) were trying to re-establish Chinese influence, which had diminished in South-East Asia in the declining years of the Yuan dynasty. Ambassadors were therefore sent to the countries of the region, and one of these came to Malacca in 1403. Parameswara took the opportunity to seek Chinese goodwill, and in 1405 he sent an embassy to China in return. He was then recognized as king of Malacca by the emperor and was awarded a yellow umbrella as a sign of sovereignty. The Ming government supported the activities of its ambassadors by sending a series of naval expeditions to South-East Asia and the Indian Ocean, and in 1409 the admiral Cheng Ho called at Malacca. The relations thus established were developed by Parameswara, who himself went to Peking in 1411 and may have gone there again later; he also sent his nephew there as an envoy. China now regarded Malacca as one of its tributary states and this strengthened Parameswara in dealing with other rulers, including the Thai.

Adoption of Islam

Parameswara died in 1424. Before his death he had been converted to Islam

and had adopted the name Megat Iskandar Shah. His conversion was a condition of his marriage to a daughter of the Muslim ruler of Pase, and he was anxious for this marriage so as to gain general support from the Muslims of northern Sumatra against the Thai.

On his death Hindu beliefs seem to have revived in Malacca, for the new ruler, his son, took the Hindu title Sri Maharaja. There was evidently a struggle between the Muslim and the Hindu parties in Malacca. Sri Maharaja's son Ibrahim, who succeeded to the throne in 1444, tried to reconcile the two, and adopted the title Sri Parameswara Deva Shah, a mixture of Hindu and Muslim designations. But in 1446 his brother Kasim, whose mother was the daughter of a rich Tamil merchant of Pase, was encouraged by his mother's brother to usurp the throne. Ibrahim was killed, and Kasim became ruler under the name of Muzaffar Shah. This revolution and Muzaffar's adoption of the Arabic title 'Sultan' indicate the triumph of Islam in Malacca.

Tun Perak

It was in Muzaffar Shah's time that the famous minister Tun Perak came to the fore. Tun Perak's father had been chief minister but his influence was eclipsed by that of Tun Ali, the Sultan's uncle who had inspired the revolution of 1446; in disgust he committed suicide. Relations between Tun Perak and Tun Ali were naturally bad and Tun Perak had to go into exile. At this point war broke out with Ayuthia.

There was inevitably a clash between the expanding empire of the Thai and the expanding kingdom of Malacca. Each was trying to consolidate its position in the Malay peninsula; and as after about 1430 the Ming emperors in China lost their interest in South-East Asia, Malacca was left without protection and so seemed an easy object of attack. The Thai demanded tribute from Malacca and when it was refused they took to arms. Their attack was beaten off, largely owing to the efforts of Tun Perak, who then received the Sultan's favour. To end the ill feeling between Tun Perak and Tun Ali, the Sultan persuaded the latter to resign the office of chief minister to which he had been appointed, in consideration of receiving in marriage one of the Sultan's wives who was in fact a sister of Tun Perak. A family relationship between Tun Perak and Tun Ali was thus formed, and Tun Perak succeeded peacefully to the office of chief minister.

Tun Perak remained in office under successive sultans till his death in 1498. He strengthened his position by arranging further marriages between ladies of his own family and princes of the ruling house, and throughout the rest of his life he dominated the affairs of Malacca. During his period of office,

Malacca was given an efficient system of administration, based largely on Indian patterns; it also extended its influence widely. In the reign of Mansur Shah (1459-77), Tun Perak placed a Malaccan prince on the throne of Pahang in place of the Thai vassal who had formerly ruled there. By war and royal marriages he imposed Malacca's suzerainty over Kedah, Trengganu, and Johore in Malaya; over the Riau Islands south of Tumasik; over Siak, Djambi, Kampar and Indragiri in Sumatra; in eastern and northern Sumatra, only the rulers of Atjeh could hold out against him. Relations with Thailand continued to be difficult and war was frequent; but Malacca could hold her own.

During the reigns of Ala'ud-din Riayat Shah (1477-88) and his successor Mahmud, both of whom were connected by family ties with Tun Perak, the greatness of Malacca seemed firmly secured. The power of Majapahit in Malaya and the western part of the archipelago was eclipsed.

Spread of Islam

The most important effect of Malacca's rise to greatness was the extension of Islamic influence. In Malaya, Islam was established in the several states as a result of the imposition of Malacca's authority, and by the end of the fifteenth century Malaya had become a Muslim region. The ruler of Pahang who died in 1475 was a Muslim; by the same year the ruler of Kedah was also a Muslim; Kelantan, Trengganu and Pattani were converted in the same period.

There were close commercial links between Malacca and the archipelago, especially Java. Malacca needed Java's rice to feed her large population, and Malacca also provided a market for the spices which Javanese merchants and seamen purchased from the Moluccas. Malacca replaced Majapahit as the principal mart at which goods from the archipelago and farther east were traded against goods from India and the farther west; and in this trade the spices of the Moluccas were a major item. So Javanese merchants frequented the port of Malacca in great numbers, and some Javanese were enlisted in Malacca's army. The Javanese who came to Malacca were in many instances converted to Islam, and they carried their new faith home with them. So, starting from Malacca, Islam spread to Java, and by the end of the fifteenth century the rulers of the principal ports of Java had become Muslims, throwing off their allegiance to the Hindu or Buddhist rulers of Majapahit.

In 1498 the Moluccas underwent conversion, as did coastal Borneo at about the same time. Even after, in the early sixteenth century, Malacca was

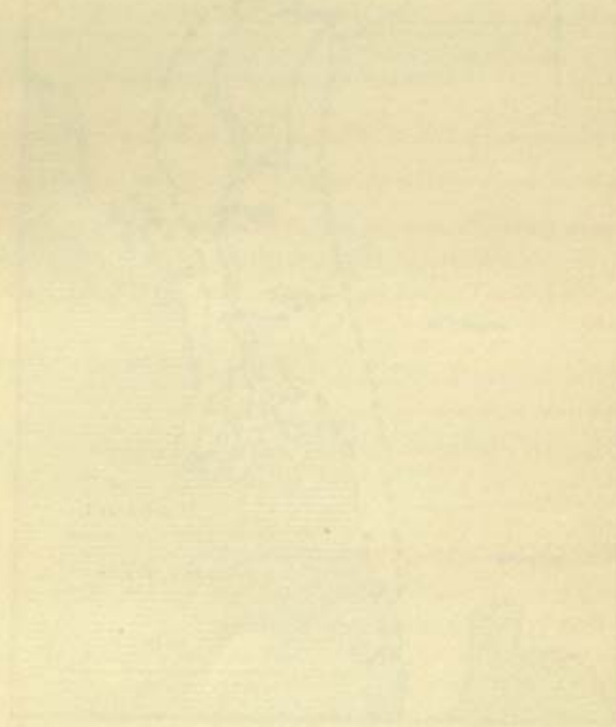
lost to the Christians, Islam still made progress in the east of the archipelago: Makassar, in Celebes, was converted as late as 1603.

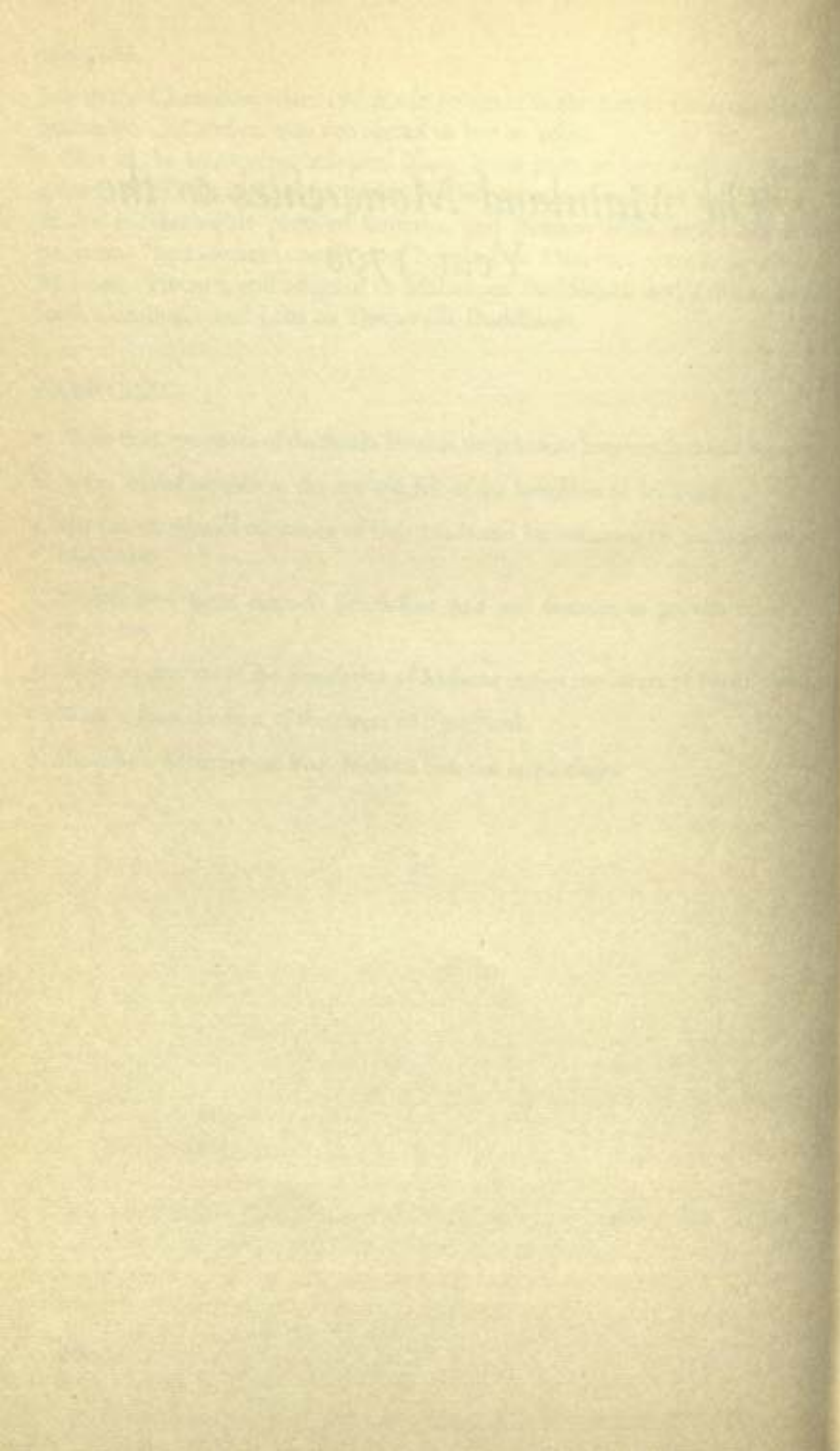
Not all the archipelago adopted Islam. Even parts of Java were not finally converted till the eighteenth century; Bali remains Hindu to this day; and in the less accessible parts of Sumatra and Borneo Islam made but slow progress. The mainland countries of South-East Asia, too, were little affected by Islam: Vietnam still adhered to Mahayana Buddhism, and Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos to Theravada Buddhism.

EXERCISES

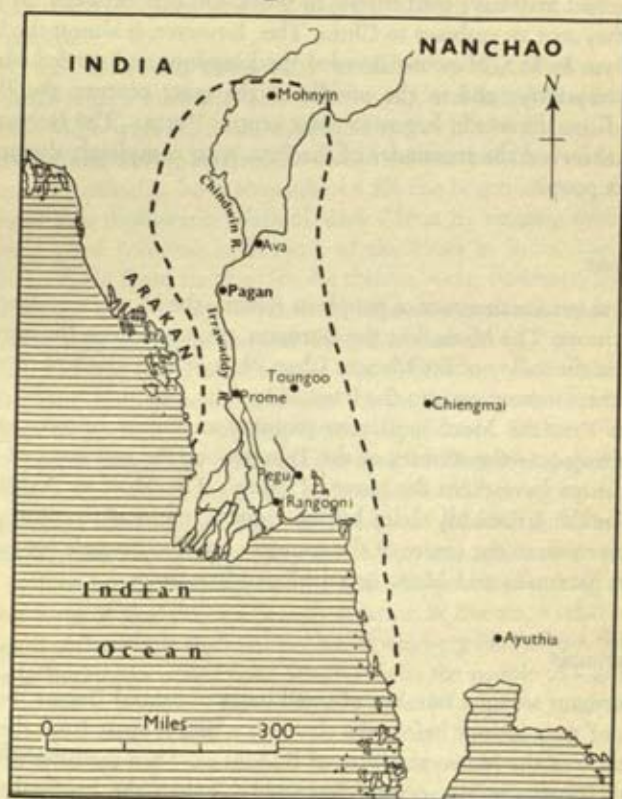
1. Show the importance of the Sunda Strait in the relations between Java and Sumatra.
2. Write a brief account of the rise and fall of the kingdom of Sri Vijaya.
3. Give an account of the career of Gaja Mada and his influence on the kingdom of Majapahit.
4. Explain how Islam came to South-East Asia and describe its growth up to the year 1400.
5. Write an account of the foundation of Malacca and of the career of Parameswara.
6. Write a short account of the career of Tun Perak.
7. Show how Islam spread from Malacca into the archipelago.

*The Mainland Monarchies to the
Year 1700*





The Pagan Kingdom of Burma



The Kingdom of Pagan, A.D. 1044-1287

The Pyu

The first inhabitants of Burma about whom any information of value is available were the Pyu. The Pyu inhabited the valley of the Irrawaddy river. Their most important centre was at Srikshetra, near the modern town of Prome. The remains which have been found there show that the Pyu were worshippers of the Hindu god Vishnu, and that at some stage Mahayana Buddhism also came to be practised. According to legend, Buddhism was

brought to Burma by missionaries from India in the time of the Maurya Emperor, Asoka, about the year 240 B.C., but there is no certain evidence of Indian influence in Srikshetra before the year A.D. 500.

The Pyu had relations with the rulers of the Tai kingdom of Nanchao, in Yunnan, and may have paid tribute to them. On one occasion, in the year 801-2, they sent an embassy to China. This, however, is almost the last trace of the Pyu. In 822, Nanchao invaded the kingdom and carried many Pyu off into captivity; and in the middle of the same century the Burmans, coming from the north, began to enter central Burma. The Burmans seem to have absorbed the remainder of the Pyu, who completely disappeared as a distinct people.

The Mons

There was yet another race of people in Burma, the Mons, who were related to the Khmer. The Mons, like the Burmans, migrated from the north. They came into the valley of the Menam Chao Phya, where many of them settled while others moved on into the Irrawaddy delta region of southern Burma. Like the Pyu, the Mons in Burma acquired an Indian culture, apparently from Telingana—the country of the Telugus—on the east coast of India: so the Burmans gave them the name 'Talaing'. The Mons or Talaings were settled in the Irrawaddy delta by the time in the ninth century that the Burmans came to the centre of the country; and the struggle for supremacy between Burmans and Mons lasted till modern times.

The Burmans

The Burmans set up a number of small states in central Burma, but little is known of their history before the eleventh century, apart from the fact that they followed the Mahayana form of Buddhism. Then the ruler of the small state of Pagan, on the central Irrawaddy, began the unification of the Burmans under one government. This ruler, King Anawrahta (1044-77), brought under his control all the small states in the middle Irrawaddy basin. On the east he built a line of forts to protect the lowlands against marauders from the hills. He also overcame the Mons and annexed their country. Nearly the whole of Burma was thus united under one king. The effect of his conquest of the Mons was that Theravada Buddhism, which the Mons practised, was brought to the Burmans and adopted by them in place of the Mahayana Buddhism so far followed. Anawrahta also began the construction of the massive religious buildings which still survive at Pagan, his

capital, though most of them were erected by his successors. The temples of Pagan are not so splendid as those of Angkor, but they are nevertheless most impressive. Their vastness, their number, and their architecture and decoration show that Pagan was a large and flourishing city, spread over an area of at least sixteen square miles, possessing a high level of culture of an Indian pattern.

Pagan was, however, continually troubled by the restiveness of the Mons. Anawrahta's successor, Sawlu (1077-84), was killed in a Mon rising, though the Mons were afterwards defeated by Sawlu's brother and successor, Kyanzittha (1084-1112). Kyanzittha continued the building of the temples of Pagan; in particular, he is remembered for the beautiful Ananda temple. He entered into diplomatic relations with China by sending embassies; he maintained good relations with some of the kings in India. Disorder and bloodshed, arising from rivalries for the throne, were, however, common in the time of the Pagan kings. Kyanzittha himself was murdered by his own son, who in turn suffered the same fate. The absence of a good system of administration was also a weakness. It was difficult to control the outlying provinces, and when there was a contest for the throne parts of the kingdom were liable to attempt to establish their independence. Stable rule was not restored after Kyanzittha's death till the time of King Narapatisithu (1173-1210), who is also remembered for his temple-building and equally for the introduction of the Sinhalese form of Theravada Buddhism. It is said that a Mon monk, who had spent some years in Ceylon, returned home accompanied by four foreign monks, and with the support of the king they gave this purer form of Buddhism a firm foundation in Burma, so that it became the religion of the whole Burmese people. It was very likely from Burma that Theravada Buddhism passed soon afterwards to the people of Cambodia.

Mongol Attacks

In the thirteenth century the Pagan dynasty came into conflict with the Mongols who had conquered China. The Mongols overran Nanchao, which had so far stood as a buffer between China and Burma, and in 1271 Kublai Khan demanded tribute from Pagan, just as he did from other countries near to China. The demand was rejected. Two years later it was repeated, and King Narathihapate (1254-87) not only refused to comply but actually executed the Chinese envoys. He then attacked a small state called Kanngai, near the north-east border of Pagan, because its chief had submitted to China. Thereupon, in the year 1277, Kublai Khan's viceroy in Yunnan sent an army which expelled the Burmans from Kanngai; the Venetian traveller

Marco Polo was present at this engagement. The Mongol forces then advanced into the Irrawaddy valley where as a punitive measure they destroyed some stockades; after that they went home. The Burmans again made raids across the frontier, and so in 1283 the Mongols once more attacked. This time they reached the banks of the Irrawaddy, and Narathihapate in fear fled from Pagan city to the Irrawaddy delta.

His flight marked the end of the greatness of Pagan. The Mons, who had at no time become reconciled to Burmese rule, seized the opportunity to rebel once more; Narathihapate was murdered by one of his sons; and the whole kingdom fell into confusion. The Mongol army advanced again, in the year of Narathihapate's death, 1287, and occupied the city of Pagan, though they soon afterwards returned to China.

Tai Inroads

The collapse caused by the Mongol attack and the Mon rising was intensified by an irruption of the Tai people, known in Burma as the Shans. They had for some time been infiltrating from the east, setting up small states under independent chiefs in the hills east of the Irrawaddy valley, and now they entered the lowlands. Shan settlements spread over all northern Burma and into Assam on the north-west of Burma. The last king of Pagan, Kyawswa (1287-99), was killed by the Shans, who also sacked the city. The surviving inhabitants abandoned the place; and today only the magnificent temples remain to show how splendid a city Pagan once was.

Break-up of the Pagan Kingdom

The Mongols thought of making Burma part of their empire, and proposed to form it into two provinces, Chieng-mien in the north and Mien-chung in the south; but these plans did not survive the opposition of the Shans and the Mons: perhaps Burma was not important enough for the Mongol government to fight for. Central and northern Burma broke up into a number of small principalities, and the Chinese were content to receive tribute from their rulers.

Separate Shan rulers set themselves up at Pinya and Sagaing, in the middle Irrawaddy valley; a number of Burmans established an independent State at Toungoo, to the south-east; and in the Irrawaddy delta a separate Mon kingdom arose once more. In time, the Shans in the central Irrawaddy area adopted Burmese ways of life and became merged with the Burmans; those who lived in less populous areas retained their traditional ways of life,



Ananda Temple, Pagan

as a separate people. Thadominbya, who was chief of Sagaing from 1364 to 1368 and was more Burmese than Shan, began the reunification of the country. He built a new capital at Ava, south of where the modern city of Mandalay stands, and the name Ava came to be sometimes applied to the whole country, so that kings of Burma were referred to as kings of Ava.

The old enmity between Burmans and Mons persisted, and in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there was much warfare between the two. The Mons, who now had their capital at Pegu, were able to resist attack, and during the fifteenth century their kingdom attained a high level of prosperity, carrying on much overseas trade, particularly with Malacca.

In upper Burma, the kings of Ava tried to impose their authority over the Shans who had established small principalities in the far north of the

country, but the task proved too much for them. In 1527 the Shans of Mohnyin were even able to capture the city of Ava; the king was killed, and once more central Burma became no more than a group of rival and petty states. Many Burmans fled from this disorder and sought refuge at Toungoo, whose rulers thus received an access of strength; and so Toungoo became the most powerful of the many states in Burma.

The Toungoo Dynasty

King Tabinshwehti of Toungoo (1531-50) took advantage of the situation to enlarge his domains. First he attacked the Mons and took Pegu, their capital, in 1539. He treated the Mons well, wishing to gain their support, and with their aid and that of Portuguese mercenaries he consolidated his position in lower Burma; after that he moved against central Burma and occupied Pagan. The completion of the reunification of Burma was the work of his successor, Bayinnaung (1551-81), who took Ava in 1555. Bayinnaung extended his authority over not only the Irrawaddy valley but also the Shan hills and parts of what is now Thailand on the east, and over Manipur on the west.

The unity of Burma was still precarious. Unsuccessful wars against the Thai kingdom of Ayuthia, and the rivalries for the succession which so often occurred in the royal house in Burma, caused another collapse in the time of King Nandabayin (1581-99). The kingdom again broke up, and not till the time of King Anaukpetlun (1605-28) did a Burmese leader appear who was capable of restoring order. For the next hundred years after Anaukpetlun's time, Burma enjoyed a period of relative unity.

7

The Tai

*Nanchao*

The Tai States

The Tai people seem to have originated in south-west China. They were especially numerous in the area later called Yunnan, and there in the seventh century A.D. they established the kingdom of Nanchao. Like other peoples of South-East Asia, the Tai were inclined to be migratory. Though many stayed in Nanchao, others moved westwards across the north of Burma and in addition to forming principalities there, they even entered Assam where in 1229 they established the Ahom kingdom. Others moved south from

Nanchao down the great river valleys of the Mekong and the Menam Chao Phya. In course of time they became divided into three major groups, speaking slightly different languages. In the Burma region they became known to the Burmans as the Shans, though they still called themselves 'Tai'; in the Menam Chao Phya region they adopted the aspirated name 'Thai', meaning 'free'; in the Mekong area they called themselves Lao, perhaps from a Chinese word *Ai-lao* originally applied by the Chinese to the Tai of Nanchao. The word 'Tai', which includes all three groups, may have the sense of 'great'.

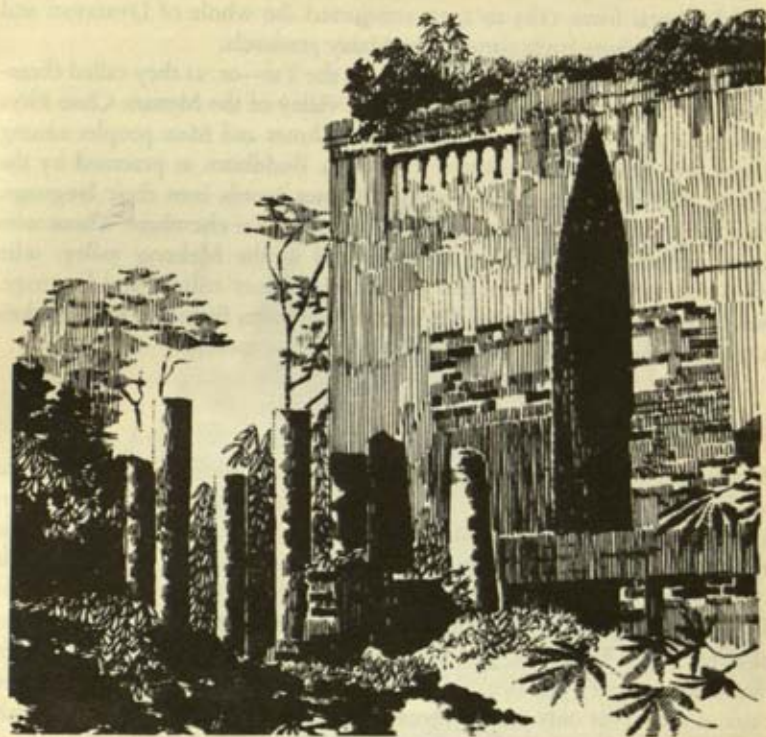
In modern times the Thai became known to Europeans as the Siamese and their country as Siam. The derivation of the word 'Siam' is not certain: it was applied to the Thai in slightly varying forms by both the Khmer and the Chinese, and is probably a form of the word 'Shan', the derivation of which is also doubtful. The name 'Siam' is still often applied to Thailand.

In the lands which they occupied the Tai did not form a large empire under the rulers of Nanchao, but set up instead small independent states under separate princes. In all probability they did not displace the original population in these new states, but settled among them and imposed their authority over them. So in some places today there is still a mixture of peoples, Tai and others living close together as they do in the Shan areas of Burma, while in yet other parts, notably southern Thailand, Tai intermarried with the original inhabitants and formed in time one people with them.

Sukhotai and Chiengmai

The Tai had reached what is now northern Thailand by the end of the eleventh century; a small Tai state was established there at a place called Payao in 1096. In the next hundred years or so more Tai moved southwards and by the beginning of the thirteenth century they had established themselves in such places as Chiengrai and Chiengsen, also in northern Thailand. In 1238 they overran Sukhotai, in the centre of modern Thailand, which till then had been part of the Khmer empire, and they established a kingdom there. Another important state was set up, in 1290, at Chiengmai, which had also been a dependency of the Khmer.

Their migration was encouraged by the Mongol conquest of Nanchao in 1253. The kingdom of Nanchao disappeared and Yunnan became a province of China, though small Tai states, paying tribute to China, continued to exist along the upper Mekong valley where China and Burma meet. It is possible that many Tai left Nanchao when it lost its independence, and so



Temple at Sukhotai

gave added strength to the southwards thrust, and certainly the Mongol rulers of China, wishing to weaken the neighbouring kingdoms such as Pagan and Cambodia, encouraged the new Tai states to attack them.

Tai Occupation of Khmer Territories

So, at the same time as the Shans were overrunning northern Burma, their fellow Tai were moving southwards along the Mekong valley, continuing their invasion of lands which had so far been dependent on Cambodia. Here, in the Mekong basin, they formed small states such as Muong Swa, in the area where Luang Prabang now is, and Xieng Khouang, lying west of Muong Swa. The Tai also reached the lower valley of the Menam Chao Phya which at that time contained the kingdom of Dvaravati, a dependency

of Cambodia occupied by the Mon people. King Rama Khamheng, who ruled Sukhotai from 1283 to 1317, conquered the whole of Dvaravati and also exacted tribute from parts of the Malay peninsula.

As a result of the conquest of Dvaravati, the Tai—or, as they called themselves, the Thai—who settled in the lower valley of the Menam Chao Phya acquired a good deal of the culture of the Khmer and Mon peoples among whom they lived. They adopted Theravada Buddhism as practised by the Khmer, and they incorporated many Khmer words into their language. Thus they tended to become distinct from other Tai elsewhere. Those who stayed farther north, beyond Sukhotai and in the Mekong valley, who called themselves Lao, were less affected by Khmer culture and language, and though they also adopted Theravada Buddhism from the Khmer, their language was not greatly affected by Cambodian speech.

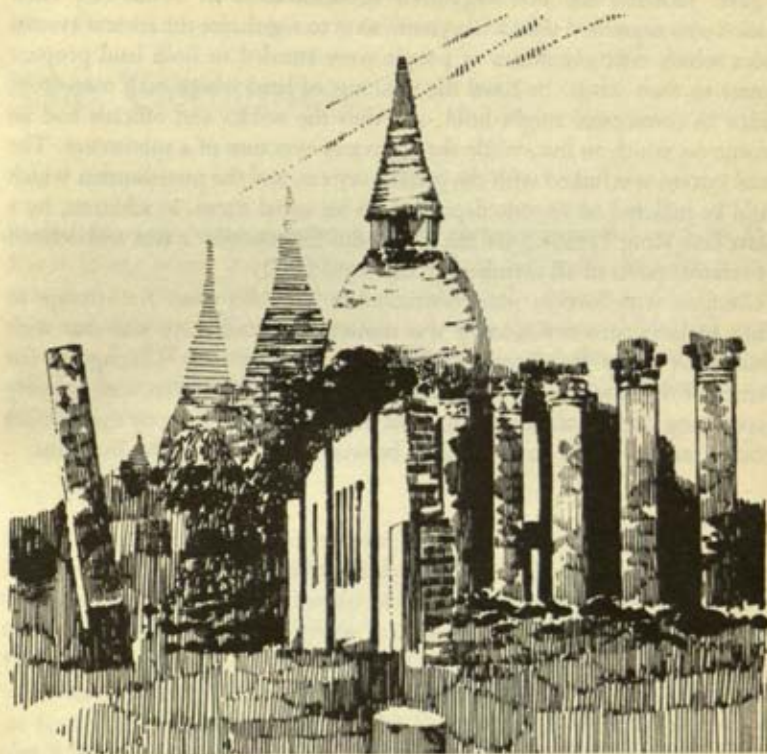
Rise of Ayuthia

Rama Khamheng's successors as kings of Sukhotai lacked his ability, and the once powerful state of Sukhotai declined. Other Tai states became more important: in the north, Chiangmai developed as a powerful kingdom, and in the Mekong area a Tai chief called Fa Ngoun, ruler of Muong Swa, in 1353 united a number of small principalities, previously dependent on Sukhotai or Cambodia, into the kingdom of Lan Chang—i.e., the Kingdom of a Thousand Elephants. Lan Chang had its capital at Luang Prabang, on the Mekong river's east bank, but it included extensive territory on the west bank as well. Not only was Sukhotai a feeble state in contrast to these rivals, but also its outlying provinces began to break away. In the lower part of the Menam Chao Phya valley, a chief called Rama Tibodi (1350–69) was able to set up a new kingdom at Ayuthia which succeeded to the position of the most important Tai state and even conquered Sukhotai itself.

Ayuthia became a large kingdom. It included the Menam Chao Phya valley, and also much of Malaya and the Tenasserim area on the sea coast of Burma. But Ayuthia's power was not established without a struggle. Chiangmai was a rival in the north, and conflicts between the two sometimes occurred; the Khmer also resisted Ayuthia's encroachments. There was a prolonged struggle with Cambodia, which led in 1431 to the Thai capture of Angkor.

King Trailok

By the fifteenth century the kingdom of Ayuthia was firmly established, and



Temple at Ayuthia

in that century it underwent rapid development, especially in the sphere of law. King Trailok (1448-88) was chiefly responsible for this. He reorganized the government so as to give a better control of the provinces of the kingdom. So far the provinces had been almost independent states, where each governor levied taxes as he wished and maintained his own army. Now King Trailok put the governors under the authority of his ministers: at the capital he established five departments of state—for the interior, for local government in the city and province of Ayuthia, for finance and foreign trade, for agriculture, and for the royal household. The last-named ministry was responsible for the administration of justice. A military department was also set up to provide for better defence and to keep the armed forces under control. This system of departments lasted till the nineteenth century, and

it gave Thailand the best organized administration in South-East Asia. Trailok also organized the social system, so as to regularize the ancient system under which different classes of people were entitled to hold land proportionate to their status: he fixed the amounts of land which each man from prince to commoner might hold, and thus the nobles and officials had an income on which to live, while the cultivator was sure of a subsistence. The social system was linked with the judicial system, and the punishments which could be inflicted on anyone depended on his social status. In addition, by a palace law, King Trailok fixed the tribute due from subject states, and defined the relative ranks of all members of the royal family.

Conflicts with foreign states continued in Trailok's time. An attempt to bring Malacca into dependency was unsuccessful, and there was war with Chiangmai more than once. Indeed, the struggle with Chiangmai for control of the northern part of what is now Thailand went on with varying success long after Trailok's death, until in the sixteenth century this conflict became merged in a greater struggle between the Thai and the Burmans.

The Vietnamese

Today the term Vietnam means roughly the two great deltas of the Red River in the north and the Mekong river in the south, and the narrow coastal plain which, lying between the hills of the Annamite Chain on the west and the South China Sea on the east, links these two deltas. Till recent years the Red River area was often called Tongking, the coastal plain was called Annam, and the Mekong delta was called Cochin-China; but now all three are known collectively as Vietnam.

Nan-Yueh

The Vietnamese people seem to have originated in southern China and to have moved from there southwards to the Red River delta and so ultimately into the coastal plain. The Chinese name for them was Yueh, this being the Chinese equivalent of Viet. In the year 208 B.C., when the Chin dynasty in China was collapsing, a Chinese general united the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi into an independent kingdom called, from its people, Nan-Yueh or Southern Viet. He brought into his kingdom also the area occupied by the Yueh or Viet people in the Red River delta and the near-by coastal plain. In 111 B.C. the Chinese government of the Han dynasty annexed Nan-Yueh, and the part comprising the delta and the neighbouring coastal strip became a province of the Chinese Empire: so it remained for a thousand years. The territory was at that time called by its people 'Nam-Viet'.

Chinese Rule

The long period of Chinese rule had the effect of establishing Chinese culture among the Vietnamese people. So, whereas the rest of South-East Asia derived much of its culture from India, Vietnam derived its culture from China. Roughly, the Annamite Chain is today the dividing line between the countries of Indian culture and the one country in South-East Asia which has a Chinese culture. The Chinese introduced the use of the plough, brought new lands under cultivation, founded schools, and

introduced Chinese customs and religious ideas. They also established the use of the Chinese system of writing in ideographs, whereas in the countries of Indian culture alphabetical systems derived from Indian practice were adopted.

From time to time the Vietnamese tried to throw off Chinese control, but without success. The need for Chinese protection was demonstrated, too, by the Sailendra raid on the coast in the year 767. Chinese protection was not always effective, however. The Vietnamese were under pressure from the kingdom of Champa which lay south of Nam-Viet and which in the year 780 annexed the southern part of the province. The Tai of the kingdom of Nanchao, on the north-west of Nam-Viet in what is now called Yunnan, also pressed on the border and in 862 even reached the coast of the delta and sacked the town of Hanoi. Chinese protection in the declining days of the Tang dynasty (618-906) was clearly of little value, and when the dynasty fell in 906 Nam-Viet passed out of Chinese control. In 939 a leader named Ngo Quyen established himself as king of a Vietnamese state.

Relations with China after 939

The Chinese were reluctant to lose their province, but decided to be content with an acknowledgement of suzerainty. The Vietnamese recognized that their country was bound to send tribute to the Chinese emperor, and in return the emperor refrained from interfering in Vietnamese affairs. This understanding did not last very long. In 1076 the Chinese made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the lost territory but after two years their forces had to withdraw.

In the period when the Mongols were overrunning China, the Vietnamese supported the Sung dynasty which the Mongols were displacing, and their position thus became difficult when in 1253 the Mongol forces occupied Nanchao. In 1257 a Mongol army invaded the country and sacked Hanoi, though it could not hold the place in the face of Vietnamese resistance. The king, Tran Thanh Ton (1258-78), thought it wise to come to terms with the emperor, Kublai Khan, and began to send tribute to him. Kublai Khan, however, wanted the king to send his sons to Peking as hostages and to supply troops for his army. These demands were not complied with. Then, in 1278, when the king of Champa refused the tribute which Kublai Khan demanded, a Mongol army was directed to pass through Vietnam so as to reach the Cham country. Faced with the common danger, the Vietnamese and Cham forgot their usual enmity and made an alliance. The Vietnamese refused to let the Mongol forces pass, and when in 1281 an attempt was

made under the Mongol general Sogatu to attack Champa by sea, the Vietnamese helped to repel it. In 1285 the Mongols invaded Vietnam, but though they reached Hanoi once more, Vietnamese opposition was again too strong for them: Kublai Khan's son, Togan, suffered defeat, and general Sogatu was killed. The Mongols were persistent and in 1287 they managed to occupy Hanoi once more, but not for long. After this the Mongols left Vietnam alone, but the Vietnamese were exhausted by the struggle; so the emperor was content when Vietnam sent tribute and the Vietnamese were glad to have peace in return for the tribute.

Relations with Champa

Vietnam's relations with Champa were always troublesome. Warfare between the two was incessant. The Vietnamese population was growing fast and was becoming too big for the Red River delta to accommodate. The



Vietnam and her Neighbours, A.D. 1500

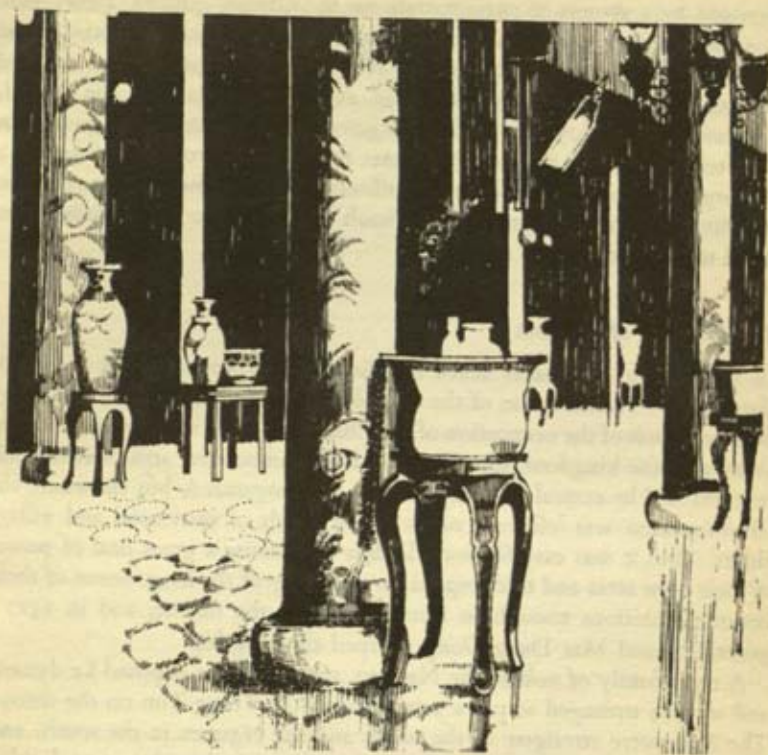
Vietnamese therefore expanded southwards, and this southward movement continued for centuries. First it brought the Vietnamese into conflict with the Cham, and later with the Khmer. In the eleventh century the Cham had to give up the territories which they had taken in 780, and thereafter the Vietnamese began to annex Cham territory. In this process they were aided by the long struggle between Champa and Cambodia, which distracted the attention of the Cham from their northern frontier. Though the war between Champa and Cambodia ended in 1220, Champa was much weakened; and in 1312 the Vietnamese invaded Champa and carried off its king as a prisoner.

Second Chinese Conquest

Champa was not crushed without a long struggle, and though during the fourteenth century the Vietnamese seized more of the Cham lands, yet on two occasions the Cham invaded Vietnam. These disasters and the prolonged burden imposed by the war aroused unrest among the Vietnamese people, and in 1400 King Tran Thieu De (1398-1400) was deposed by one of his generals, Ho Qui Li, who set up the short-lived Ho dynasty. The supporters of the royal house of Tran sought Chinese aid, and it happened that at this time the Ming dynasty in China (1368-1644) was seeking to increase Chinese influence in South-East Asia generally; and so, under the pretext of restoring the royal house of Tran, a Chinese army in 1407 overthrew the usurping ruler. The Chinese then tried to incorporate the country into their Empire once more. Chinese officials were brought in to govern it. A census on the Chinese pattern, Chinese costume, conscription for the Chinese army, were all introduced. Heavy taxes were levied. Vietnamese customs were prohibited. In general the Chinese tried to impose their own way of life on the Vietnamese people. As in earlier centuries, the Vietnamese would not submit to Chinese authority and in 1418 a leader named Le Loi began a rebellion. After ten years of war he took Hanoi, the capital, and proclaimed himself king. The Chinese accepted the situation in preference to continuing a troublesome war, and when in 1428 Le Loi sent an embassy bearing tribute, the emperor recognized him as king of Annam. The name Annam, meaning 'pacified south', was now applied by the Chinese to all the Vietnamese lands.

Le Thanh Ton

The Le dynasty produced at first some able rulers. The most famous of these was Le Thanh Ton (1460-97). He obtained a decisive victory over the Cham



Throne room of the Emperor of Annam

in 1471 and annexed most of Champa; a small Cham kingdom was allowed to survive as a dependency of Vietnam till 1720, but its rulers had no power. Le Thanh Ton also began the process of Vietnamese expansion westwards across the Annamite Chain. Lan Chang had aided the Chinese against the Le earlier in the century, and in 1478 Le Thanh Ton took revenge by invading Lan Chang and capturing the capital, Luang Prabang, though the Vietnamese occupation did not last long. The Vietnamese also exacted tribute from the small state of Xieng Khouang, in the Mekong area.

Le Thanh Ton organized the administrative system of his kingdom on an efficient basis, copying Chinese methods to a great extent. He established at the capital six departments of state, for finance, rites, justice, personnel, armed forces, and public works; and he divided the officials into nine grades,

recruited by a system of examinations on the Chinese pattern. Every year an examination was held in each province, and successful candidates could then appear at the examinations held every three years at regional centres; the final examinations were also held every three years, at the capital. Admission to employment under the government depended on success in these tests and so did permission to enter the teaching profession. The army was organized on a similar basis, the officers being recruited by examination and divided into nine grades. Le Thanh Ton's system of administration lasted till modern times.

The Partition of Vietnam

Le Thanh Ton's successors lacked his efficiency and proved unable to control the country. The inclusion of the coastal plain with Tongking in one kingdom as a result of the occupation of the Cham territories was administratively awkward: the kingdom, spread over a long and narrow area, was difficult to control. The central government was well organized, but elsewhere the administration was left very much in the hands of provincial and village elders. Thus it was easy for local leaders to exercise a great deal of power in their own areas and to disregard the authority of the king. Some of them became ambitious enough to think of seizing the throne, and in 1527 a general named Mac Dang Dung usurped the kingship.

A rival family of nobles, the Nguyen, supported the deposed Le dynasty and in 1533 managed to put a prince named Le Trang Ton on the throne. The Mac were strongest in the north and the Nguyen in the south, and, finally in 1540, as a result of mediation by China, the kingdom was divided with the Mac ruling in Tongking and the Nguyen, acting through the Le dynasty, in the south.

The Nguyen party became disunited, however. Rivalry developed between the Nguyen family itself and the Trinh family who were related to the Nguyen by marriage. For a time the Trinh gained control of the centre of the country, with the Mac ruling in the north and the Nguyen in the south. In 1592 the Trinh overran the north and drove out the Mac; they then brought the Le king to the old capital, Hanoi. The Nguyen remained in control in the south, with their capital at Hue.

The Trinh made several attempts during the seventeenth century to conquer the south, but without success, and after the failure of an attack in 1673 the effort was abandoned. In the north the Le, controlled by the Trinh, reigned over the kingdom of Tongking, 'Tongking' being a Chinese term meaning 'Eastern Capital', referring to Hanoi. In the south the Nguyen

ruled as kings of what the Europeans called Cochin-China, this name being derived through Malay and Portuguese from a term 'Chiao-chih' which the Chinese applied to parts of Vietnam. The division between these two Vietnamese kingdoms was marked by a wall at Dong Hoi, north of Hue, running from the sea to the foothills of the Annamite Chain.

The Burma-Thai Wars

The Mainland States in the Sixteenth Century

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Ayuthia and Burma were the two most powerful states in South-East Asia. The Portuguese had taken Malacca, and though the Malaccan sultans retained other parts of their territories, their wealth and power were reduced; in addition, they became engaged in a long struggle for supremacy against Atjeh. In the archipelago, the fall of Majapahit had left a number of minor and warring states, none of great power. On the mainland, Cambodia had been reduced to small dimensions by the Thai attacks; Champa had become a puppet-state of the Vietnamese, and the Vietnamese were themselves divided by the conflict between the Nguyen and the Mac. Lan Chang had recovered from the Vietnamese attack of 1478, when Le Thanh Ton sought vengeance for the aid given to the Chinese during the troubles in Vietnam earlier in the fifteenth century, but Lan Chang was nevertheless a less populous and well-organized state than either Ayuthia or Burma. Chiengmai was troubled by rivalries for the throne, in which both Ayuthia and Lan Chang intervened, each trying to install its own candidate as king; thus Chiengmai was enfeebled.

Burma and Ayuthia, then, were the most solid kingdoms in South-East Asia, and their rivalry brought a hundred years of war which came to involve nearly all mainland South-East Asia from Arakan on the west to Cambodia on the east, but which in the end gave neither of the two major contestants a complete victory or a domination of South-East Asia generally. The main effect of the wars was the weakening of lesser states which, unable to withstand or recover from the losses of war, became increasingly incapable of maintaining their independence.

Tabinshwehti

The war was begun by King Tabinshwehti of Burma (1531-50). The reason which he gave for making war was that the king of Ayuthia possessed a number of white elephants and would not give them up. The white elephant was, and is, a sacred animal, whose possession would bring prosperity to the

kingdom and glory to the king; but there may have been other reasons for war as well. In the Indian Ocean, trade was increasing, and the ports of Tenasserim, which had fallen into Thai hands after the collapse of the Pagan kingdom, were becoming important; it was possible to land goods at them and carry them overland to the ports on the Gulf of Thailand where they could again be put on board ship for further transit eastwards, so avoiding the passage through the Malacca Straits where the Portuguese were now in control. Also, the Burmans had suffered long at the hands of the Shans, and revenge at the expense of their fellow Tai may have been sought. Whatever the reason, in 1547 Tabinshwehti invaded Ayuthia, taking the route through Moulmein and the Three Pagodas Pass. He failed to capture the city of Ayuthia, however, and after a month's siege he gave up the attempt.

Bayinnaung's Conquests

This failure by the Burmese king encouraged the Mons to revolt once more, and Tabinshwehti was murdered by them in 1550. Order was swiftly restored by his brother-in-law, Bayinnaung, who then completed the work of uniting the country of Burma. In 1555 he took the city of Ava and placed one of his family there as sub-king. He then turned against the rulers of the small Shan states in the eastern hills, who had so far been independent, and compelled them to pay him tribute. In 1556 he advanced from the Shan states against the more important state of Chiengmai, which also was over-run and converted into a vassal state.

Lan Chang attempted to intervene in Chiengmai, but without success. It was evident that the occupation of Chiengmai put the Burmans in a strong position for a further attack on either Lan Chang or Ayuthia, and so these two states entered into an alliance against Burma. So as to keep in close touch with his new ally, King Setthathirat of Lan Chang (1548-71) moved his capital southwards from Luang Prabang to Vientiane, where he built the That Luong temple which still stands there.

Faced with this combination, Bayinnaung in 1563 invaded Ayuthia, entering the country through the Shan states and his subject kingdom of Chiengmai. This time the Burmans were aided by Portuguese mercenaries with artillery, and the city of Ayuthia quickly surrendered. The king was taken to Burma as a prisoner and his son was put on the throne as a dependent ruler; the Tenasserim ports passed into Burmese hands. Bayinnaung's forces were then turned against Lan Chang, but though they took the capital, Vientiane, the people maintained a steady resistance and the country was not really subdued.



Wat Sing, Chiangmai

Burma had acquired a large empire, but her hold on the conquered countries was insecure. The peoples of Chiangmai and Ayuthia, like those of Lan Chang, would not submit to Burmese rule. Hoping to calm the restive people of Ayuthia, Bayinnaung sent home the captive king, who said that he wanted to perform a pilgrimage; but he promptly raised a revolt and in 1568 Bayinnaung had to conquer Ayuthia again. This time the siege of the city lasted for ten months, and in the end it fell only through treachery. Another Thai prince was then installed as dependent king. Bayinnaung after that made a further attempt to subdue Lan Chang, but his forces were exhausted by the long campaign against Ayuthia, and they failed to achieve any success.

Bayinnaung was now overlord over a number of sub-kings. He himself governed Pegu and the Mon area of Burma directly; but in other parts of

Burma such as Toungoo, Prome and Ava, and in Chiengmai and Ayuthia, he installed members of his family or trustworthy adherents to govern as his vassals. He wanted to bring Lan Chang into the same category and he conducted three further campaigns against that country during the 1570s. At times he was able to establish a puppet king in Vientiane, but he was at no time able to control the country as a whole, for it was too far from his base of power in lower Burma. After Bayinnaung died in 1581, Lan Chang quickly regained its independence under King Nokeo Koumane (1591-96). Nevertheless, Bayinnaung had built up an extensive empire for Burma during his reign.

Nandabayin and Pra Naret

Bayinnaung's son, Nandabayin (1581-99), lacked his father's energy and ability. On his accession he was faced with an attempt by the sub-king of Ava to gain independence, and while Burma was thus in a condition of some confusion, a new leader appeared in Ayuthia. This was Pra Naret, afterwards King Naresuen. He took advantage of the situation to start a rebellion and in 1584 Nandabayin, having dealt with his opponents at home, went in person to Ayuthia. Once more the city was besieged, but its people held out and after five months the Burmese army withdrew. While the Thai were occupied with the Burmese invasion, however, the Cambodians tried to regain lost territory by also invading Ayuthia, and the need to repel their attack prevented Pra Naret from inflicting complete defeat on the Burmans.

Pra Naret's success enabled him to become king of Ayuthia, with the designation Naresuen (1590-1605). Nandabayin was not prepared to let this part of his empire go, however, and by 1593 he had made five attempts to reconquer the country; but in the end he achieved nothing, except suffering for his own people. The constant demands for service in the army, and the heavy loss of life in the campaigns, caused much unrest in Burma; many, especially among the Mons, fled from Burma and took refuge among the Thai.

After 1593, the Burmese attacks temporarily ceased, and King Naresuen then took revenge on the Cambodians. In 1594 he invaded Cambodia and placed a Thai garrison in the capital, then at the town of Lovek. Though he did not annex any territory, he deported thousands of Cambodians to the kingdom of Ayuthia to make up for the loss of population during the Burmese wars. He took advantage of Burma's weakness to seize the Tenasserim area. In Chiengmai, too, he gained control: King Nandabayin of Burma could not protect this distant part of his empire, and King Nokeo

Koumane of Lan Chang attacked the Burmese prince ruling there. Naresuen intervened and saved Chiengmai from Lan Chang's attack, but only on condition that its ruler became a dependant of Ayuthia.

Naresuen then invaded lower Burma. Soon afterwards the king of Arakan, on the north-west of Burma, also invaded the Irrawaddy delta with the aid of Portuguese mercenaries. He seized the port of Syriam, on the Rangoon river, and there he left a Portuguese named Philip de Brito as its governor. Under the impact of these disasters, Burma fell into confusion. Nandabayin was killed in 1599 and the kingdom once more broke up; the sub-kings of Ava, Prome and Toungoo began to rule as independent monarchs.

Anaukpetlun and his Descendants

In 1605 a grandson of Nandabayin, named Anaukpetlun, who was ruling in Ava, began the task of rebuilding the Burmese kingdom. Having first secured his position in the north of the country, he took Prome in 1607 and three years later took Toungoo. In 1613 he captured Syriam and executed de Brito. After that Anaukpetlun tried to recover some of the territories lost by his grandfather. He regained the northern part of Tenasserim and in 1615 drove the Thai out of Chiengmai, where he put one of his sons to rule. He did not, however, attempt to regain Ayuthia or to interfere in Lan Chang. It was impossible in those days when communications were difficult to keep control over such distant lands: it was more sensible to concentrate on holding the territories nearer to Burma. So Anaukpetlun wisely limited his conquests, though if he had lived longer his ambitions might have grown. After his death in 1628, his successors lacked his energy and showed no desire for war; the Thai, on their part, were engaged in a further conflict with the Cambodians. While the Thai were busy trying, in vain, to maintain their hold on Chiengmai, the Cambodians expelled the Thai garrison from their land. The Thai made a number of attempts to subdue Cambodia once more, but without success.

Under these conditions the war between Burma and Ayuthia gradually petered out. No treaty of peace was made, and minor conflicts continued to occur; thus in 1661 there was a revolt among the Mons of Burma who, when they were defeated, were pursued into Ayuthia's territory by Burmese forces. The Thai drove the Burmans out and in retaliation invaded lower Burma. The Thai also invaded and conquered Chiengmai in 1662, but were unable to hold it against a revolt of its people; in 1664 a Burmese prince was again in power as king of Chiengmai, and Chiengmai remained a dependency of Burma till 1727.

Results of the Wars

The result of this century and more of warfare was that the Burmese kings had established their suzerainty over the Shan chiefs in the eastern hills and over Chiengmai; but this limited result had been attained at heavy cost. There was a serious loss of man-power, especially in lower Burma from which most of the troops used in the invasions of Ayuthia were drawn. Apart from deaths during military operations, many Mons fled from Burma to escape military service; the population of the Irrawaddy delta was thus seriously diminished. In addition, the frequent Thai invasions had inflicted much devastation on this part of the country.

On the part of the Thai, the independence of Ayuthia had been secured after much difficulty; beyond that, the war had brought no gain but only loss. Nor had other states benefited. The Cambodians, who had become involved when they tried to take advantage of Ayuthia's preoccupation with Burma, had maintained their independence but had failed to regain lost territory. Chiengmai had ceased to be an independent state, and the lesser Tai rulers in the Shan states north of Chiengmai had also become dependants of Burma. Lan Chang had held its own, after much war, and had even gained a little, for King Nokeo Koumane had reasserted an old claim to tribute from the neighbouring Tai kingdom of Xieng Khouang, which lay between Lan Chang and Vietnam, but as this small state paid tribute to Vietnam at the same time, the gain was not very great.

The main effect of the long wars was, therefore, to destroy the independence of a number of minor states. Beyond that there seems to have been little outcome for so much suffering.

Time Chart

B.C.

- 111 Chinese conquest of Vietnam

A.D.

- 100 Rise of Funan
 500 Rise of Chenla, Sri Vijaya and Mataram
 801 Pyu Mission to China
 802 Cambodia established
 906 Vietnam independent
 1025 Chola attack on Sri Vijaya
 1044 Pagan in Burma founded
 1238 Sukhotai in Thailand founded

THE BURMA-THAI WARS

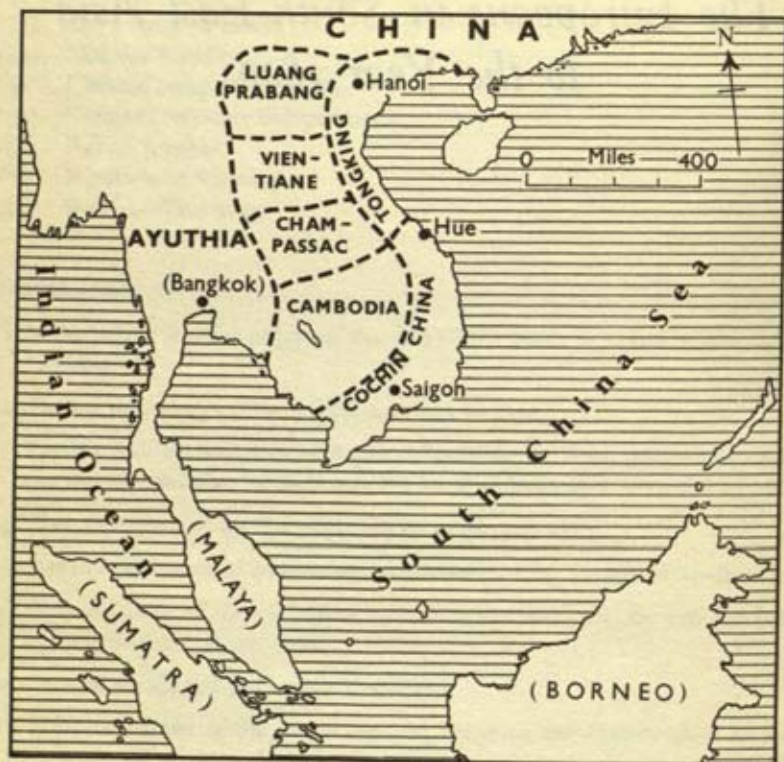
- 1287 Mongols conquer Burma and attack Vietnam
- 1292 Chinese attack Java
- 1300 Rise of Majapahit
- 1350 Ayuthia in Thailand founded
- 1353 Lan Chang founded
- 1402 Malacca founded
- 1407 Chinese conquer Vietnam
- 1428 Vietnam recovers independence
- 1431 Fall of Angkor
- 1540 Partition of Vietnam
- 1547 Burma—Thai wars

EXERCISES

1. Write a brief account of (a) the Pyu and (b) the Mons in Burma in the early centuries A.D.
2. Outline the history of Pagan from A.D. 1044 to 1257.
3. Explain how the kingdom of Pagan collapsed in the thirteenth century, and describe the condition of Burma in the hundred years after this event.
4. Give an account of the Tai migration up to the year 1300.
5. Describe the system of government established by King Trailok of Ayuthia.
6. Give an account of the relations of Vietnam with China up to the year A.D. 939 or between A.D. 1257 and 1428.
7. Describe the life and work of Le Thanh Ton.
8. Write an account of the rivalry between Tongking and Cochin-China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
9. Describe the growth of the Burmese empire in the time of King Bayinnaung.
10. Outline the history of Chiangmai from its foundation to the year 1727.
11. What were the principal results of the Burma-Thai wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?
12. Describe the policy of the Yuan dynasty of China towards South-East Asia.

The Europeans in South-East Asia to the Year 1800





Vietnam and her Neighbours, A.D. 1750

The First European Impact

Though a few Western travellers, such as Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, had visited South-East Asia, it was not till the sixteenth century that Europeans came to the region in any great numbers.

The Portuguese

The first Europeans to play an active part in the affairs of South-East Asia were the Portuguese. During the fifteenth century they made voyages along the west coast of Africa, and one of their fleets, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and crossed the Indian Ocean, reached the west coast of India in 1498. The Portuguese were inspired by both commercial and religious motives. The Ottoman conquest of the Middle East had interfered with commerce between Asia and Europe, and the Portuguese therefore thought of finding a new route to Asia, free from such troubles. Also, the older routes were dominated at their western end by the Italian merchants, and the Portuguese wanted to gain a share in the trade for themselves. Further, by by-passing the Middle East and trading direct with Asia, the Portuguese could damage the prosperity and power of the Ottoman Empire which, since it was an Islamic state, they regarded as their enemy. They hoped also to make converts to Christianity in Asia.

Within a few years after their arrival in India the Portuguese, whose ships were better built and better armed than the local shipping, dominated the Indian Ocean. They did not want to gain territory to any great extent: instead, they took a number of ports on the Indian coast which they could use as commercial centres and harbours.

Having secured their bases in India, the Portuguese looked for a base on the eastern side of the Indian Ocean, so that they could control the trade between India and eastern Asia, just as they tried to control trade between India and the Middle East by holding bases on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. They also wanted to engage direct in the trade with South-East Asia instead of allowing the Malaccans and others to act as middlemen. A visit

of a fleet to Malacca in 1509 was received with suspicion by the sultan there and a conflict broke out. Two years later the viceroy, Afonso D'Albuquerque, came in person and on 10 August 1511, Malacca fell to his attack. This was the first establishment of European power in South-East Asia.

The Portuguese built new fortifications for Malacca; they also built a Christian church. They treated the local people and the Javanese, Chinese, Indian and Mon merchants who came there quite well, for they did not want to discourage commerce; but they had from the first to face a good deal of opposition from both the dispossessed sultan of Malacca and other Muslim rulers. On many occasions the town was attacked by Malay forces, though without success. The Portuguese wanted, like the Malaccan sultans before them, to control the Straits and so they tried to establish a foothold in Sumatra. There the Muslim rulers formerly dependent on Malacca had, with the Portuguese capture of the city, become independent. The Portuguese interfered in a dynastic dispute in Pase, and for a time they were able to keep a garrison there; but the strongly Muslim king of Atjeh intervened and drove them out.

However, by means of their navy the Portuguese established a fairly effective control over the Straits. They compelled shipping to call at Malacca and pay taxes, and to a great extent made non-Portuguese ships use Malacca as their centre of trade, though the more powerful ships belonging to other countries sometimes successfully defied them. In either Portuguese or other ships, cotton textiles were brought from India and bartered in Malacca against pepper from Sumatra, tin from Malaya, and spices from the Moluccas.

To extend their commerce and to keep out rivals, the Portuguese tried to establish themselves in the archipelago. They were especially interested in the Moluccas, from which the most valuable spices came and which were therefore known as the Spice Islands. In 1513 they began trading with Ternate and Tidore, in the Moluccas; but the sultans of these two states were rivals and the Portuguese became involved in their quarrels, so that their position in the Spice Islands was often precarious. However, they held a fort at Ternate and another on Amboyna Island, a dependency of Ternate. The establishment of their trade in the Spice Islands led to a conflict with the Spaniards who, after occupying central America, crossed the Pacific Ocean and so reached the Spice Islands from the east. The Spaniards had a trading post at Tidore for a time, till the Portuguese drove them out in 1527. Although by the Treaty of Saragossa, 1529, the Spanish Government gave up all claim to the Moluccas, the Spaniards in South-East Asia were reluctant to abandon their plans, and armed conflicts continued between Portuguese

and Spaniards till the former won a complete victory in 1545. After that the Spaniards concentrated their attention on the Philippine Islands.

Meanwhile the Portuguese explored the archipelago. Their ships reached Borneo in 1524, Celebes and New Guinea in 1525-26, and Timor in 1532. They held trading stations at Ternate, Tidore and Amboyna in the Spice Islands; they traded with the mainland countries as well, and had trading posts in Ayuthia, in Cambodia, and on the Tenasserim coast. But the rulers of the mainland kingdoms were too powerful for the Portuguese to do more than trade, and they could not hold forts and ports as they did in Malacca and the archipelago. They had a settlement at Macao, off the China coast, as well, and trade between China and the West was largely in their hands. Many Portuguese, too, found employment as mercenaries in the armies of the South-East Asian kings.

Their attempt to introduce Christianity into Asia did not have much success. The famous missionary, St Francis Xavier, came to Malacca in 1545 and went from there to the Spice Islands; and prior to his death in 1552 he spent some time in those territories; but Islam was already well established in Malaya and the archipelago and was still making progress in the eastern islands while the Portuguese were trying to propagate Christianity. Christian communities were established in Malacca and in parts of the eastern archipelago, but the numbers of converts were small, even though the Portuguese sometimes used force against those who would not accept their faith.

The maintenance of Malacca and other forts and ports against attacks from Islamic rulers placed a heavy burden on Portuguese resources, which were involved in maintaining an empire of forts and ports scattered between Brazil in South America on the west and Macao in China on the east. Portugal, with a population of only about a million, lacked the manpower which could sustain the heavy losses incurred by war, shipwreck, and tropical diseases. Some of the Portuguese who came to Malacca and the Spice Islands were men of bad character, who had been sent away from Portugal or from Goa, the Portuguese headquarters in India, so as to get rid of them; their corruption and misbehaviour incurred the severe censure of St Francis Xavier. Portuguese attempts to propagate Christianity led to constant friction with the Muslim states, which also resented the attempt to monopolize commerce: and the Portuguese habit of attacking Muslim shipping on the excuse of war against the unbelievers was regarded as mere piracy. War was unceasing. Not only did the Muslim rulers in Malaya and Sumatra resist them, but also Muslim princes from Java at times engaged in the efforts of those rulers to overthrow Malacca. Thus after their brilliant start, the Portuguese found their position increasingly weak.



Malacca in the sixteenth century

In the Spice Islands, where their commercial interests mainly lay, the Portuguese clashed with Sultan Hairun of Ternate, who opposed the work of the Christian missionaries, and in 1570 he was murdered when he visited the Portuguese fortress. His son and successor, Baabullah, thereupon began war and for five years the Portuguese on Ternate were besieged. During that time neither Malacca nor Goa sent any help; and in 1576 the fortress surrendered. The death of Baabullah, however, gave the Portuguese an opportunity to retrieve the situation in the Moluccas. At this point, too, Portugal passed under the rule of the king of Spain. This occurred in 1580, and as a result the rivalry with the Spaniards ceased. The Portuguese now received some support from the Spaniards, and they managed to hold on in Ternate and elsewhere, but their position was never so strong as it had formerly been.

In addition, the Portuguese monopoly of trade aroused the envy and impatience of other European peoples, who in their turn began to come to the archipelago. Also, as Portugal was now ruled by the king of Spain, the Portuguese were involved in war with the Dutch, who were fighting a war of independence against the Spaniards; the Dutch attacked the Portuguese just as they attacked the Spaniards, and they wanted to weaken Portugal's economic position as a means of reducing the power of the Spanish king. By the end of the sixteenth century the position of the Portuguese had become very insecure, and by the end of the seventeenth century they lost all their territories in South-East Asia except part of the island of Timor and an uncertain hold on the neighbouring island of Solor and the eastern tip of Flores. They still, however, held Macao in China and Goa and one or two other ports in India.

The Spaniards

While the Portuguese approached South-East Asia from the west, the Spaniards came there from the east. Early in the sixteenth century they gained control over central America and so reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean. They began to explore the Pacific, and in 1521 the navigator Magellan, whose ship *Vittoria* carried out the first circumnavigation of the world, reached the islands known later as the Philippines. Magellan was killed there in a fight with some of the inhabitants. The survivors of the expedition went on to the Moluccas and eventually sailed home round the Cape of Good Hope.

Then ensued the struggle between Spaniards and Portuguese for the trade of the Spice Islands. When, in 1545, the Spaniards realized that they had lost this struggle, they turned their attention to the Philippine Islands. This name was given to these islands in honour of Prince, afterwards King, Philip of Spain. The Portuguese tried to obstruct the Spaniards there also, but in 1565 the first Spanish settlement of a permanent character was established. This was on Cebu island. In 1570 the Spaniards invaded Luzon, the most important island in the Philippines, and there in 1571 the city of Manila was founded.

In 1580 King Philip II of Spain became also king of Portugal. This ended the rivalry between Spaniards and Portuguese in the archipelago until the two kingdoms were again separated in 1640, so the Spaniards supported the Portuguese against their enemies and at the same time seized the opportunity to regain a foothold in the Spice Islands. The Dutch drove the Portuguese from Ternate and Amboyna in 1605, but in the following year the Spaniards

sent a fleet from the Philippines which made new settlements in Ternate and also in Tidore. Though in 1607 the Dutch again took Ternate, their attack on Tidore in 1613 was a failure, and not till 1663 were the Spaniards finally compelled to leave the Moluccas. A Dutch attempt to take Manila in 1616 met disaster, and further attempts in succeeding years likewise failed.

The Spaniards had at this time no real hold on the southern islands of the Philippines, but they were able to establish a firm control over the remainder. They introduced their own methods of administration under a governor who had absolute authority, though his power was sometimes challenged by that of the clergy. They also introduced a system of large-scale land holdings, so that extensive tracts of territory were owned by Spanish laymen and by the clergy. The clergy established schools of a Spanish type, and began higher education by establishing the College of St. Thomas in Manila in 1619.

New crops, such as tobacco, were introduced from America, but these were grown mainly for local consumption, not for export. External commerce was concerned chiefly with the China trade. Trade between China and the Philippines had gone on, though on a small scale, since at least the twelfth century, and a number of Chinese traders were living on Luzon island when the Spaniards first came there. Now the China trade developed fast: silk and other produce from China came to Manila in Chinese ships, and was bartered against silver brought from Mexico in Spanish ships. One result of the growth of trade was an increase in the numbers of the Chinese settlers.

The Spanish authorities had a good deal of trouble with the Chinese. In 1574 a Chinese pirate, Lim Ah Hong, attacked Manila and for a time besieged the garrison. After that the Spaniards were suspicious of the Chinese, and became alarmed at the increase in their numbers. In 1603 the arrival of envoys from China aroused the fear that the Chinese intended to conquer Luzon: a conflict broke out between the Spaniards and the local Chinese, and many of the latter were killed. A second such outbreak occurred in 1639. The Chinese were too useful, as traders and as artisans, to be expelled, but the Spanish authorities imposed severe restrictions on their freedom of movement about the islands and tried to limit their immigration, though without much success. Again in 1662 there was a panic among the Spaniards when the famous Chinese corsair, Cheng Cheng-hung, known to Europeans as Koxinga, who had seized Formosa, threatened to attack the Philippines; but his death averted this disaster.

Among the Filipinos, the Spaniards were able to impose their own ways of life and thought. When they first arrived, they found that most of the

people were still animists, though some Hindu influence had penetrated from Java. Christianity readily spread among the animists. In the southern part of the Philippines, however, Islam was already firmly established, and there the inhabitants, called by the Spaniards 'Moros' (i.e. 'Moors' because they were Muslims like the inhabitants of Morocco who were familiar to the Spaniards), clung steadfastly to Islam and have continued to do so to this day.

One result of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines was the introduction of a system of coinage. The Spanish or, as it was often called, the Mexican dollar came into use and was widely employed in South-East Asia generally for purposes of international trade: it was the origin of the Straits Dollar later used in Malaya.

The Dutch

When the produce of Asia sent to Europe by the Portuguese reached their home port, Lisbon, much of it was sold to Dutch merchants who distributed it to other parts of Europe. The Dutch, however, became engaged in a war of independence against the Spanish king, who then ruled their country, the Netherlands; and after he became also king of Portugal, Philip II tried to ruin the Dutch by closing Lisbon to them in 1594. The Dutch thereupon decided to send their own ships to Asia, and in 1595 the first expedition went out. Further fleets were sent in succeeding years, and in 1602 the various interests that had been responsible for these ventures were combined into the Dutch East India Company.

The Dutch resolved to secure for themselves a monopoly of trade in South-East Asia, and this necessarily led to conflict with the Portuguese and Spaniards. They established a trading post at Bantam in East Java, in 1600, and then turned to the Spice Islands. Dutch naval power was superior to that of the Portuguese, and gradually the latter were expelled from nearly all their positions in the archipelago. In 1605 the Dutch drove the Portuguese from Ternate and its dependency of Amboyna. The Spaniards, supporting the Portuguese, established themselves in Tidore and Ternate in 1606, and though they lost their place in Ternate again in 1607, they were not completely driven from the Spice Islands till 1663. In Malacca the Portuguese held out against attack till 1641, when the Dutch in alliance with the sultan of Johore, the heir of the Malaccan sultans, captured the town. The Dutch thus gained control of the Malacca Strait, and as their position in East Java gave them command of the Sunda Strait also, they were in a good position to monopolize the trade of the archipelago with the West. From now

onwards most of this trade passed through the Sunda Strait. Malacca declined in importance, for the Dutch preferred to use the Sunda Strait because it was a more convenient approach to their headquarters in Java.

Besides the Portuguese, the English East India Company was a rival to the Dutch. They too set up trading stations in Bantam, in the Spice Islands, in Borneo, and on the east coast of Sumatra; but the Dutch met this challenge with force. Despite an agreement between the English and Dutch Governments in 1619, allowing the English company a share in the trade of the archipelago, the Dutch officials who were working in the area continued to use violence against their rivals; and after the killing of most of the English agents at Amboyna in 1623, the English effort in the archipelago was almost confined to Bantam. The English company found it more profitable to devote attention to India; and they were finally forced out of Bantam by Dutch pressure in 1682.

The virtual eviction of the English from the archipelago was the work of Jan Pieterzoon Coen, who was governor-general for the Dutch company from 1618 to 1623, and from 1627 to 1629. He is also remembered for his establishment in 1619 of the Dutch headquarters at Djakarta, which the Dutch called 'Batavia' from the ancient Latin name of the Netherlands. From this centre the Dutch extended their control over the surrounding areas of Java. They were interested primarily in trade, not in gaining and governing territory; but to safeguard their hold on Djakarta, they had to control the land around it; and to guard the areas thus obtained they had to enter into treaties with neighbouring rulers; and so by degrees they acquired political interests and power. They also wanted a monopoly of trade, and this could be gained and kept only by bringing the local rulers under their influence both in Java and elsewhere. So, although their object was trade, the Dutch became a political force.

In Java, the principal states at this time were Bantam in the west and Mataram in the centre and east. Both Bantam and Mataram resisted Dutch encroachments for a long time, but they were themselves rivals for power in Java, and so they did not combine against the Dutch; and in addition both suffered from frequent contests for the throne among rival claimants. By intervening in the consequent civil wars, the Dutch were able to install their own candidates as rulers of the two states, and in return they obtained the cession of extensive territories, which came directly under their government, acting through Javanese officials known as regents; they also exacted the grant of exclusive trading rights. So by the end of the seventeenth century, the rulers of both Mataram and Bantam owed their thrones to the Dutch and had given the Dutch a dominant place in the economic life of their people.

In the eastern part of the archipelago also, many islands were brought under Dutch control during the course of the seventeenth century. Amboyna, in the Moluccas, fell to the Dutch in 1605; the Banda Islands, like Amboyna a dependency of Ternate, were subdued during the years 1602-23. Ternate itself came under Dutch protection in 1607, and Tidore in 1666. In Celebes, Makassar was captured in 1667. On Flores, the Dutch drove the Portuguese out of all but Larantuka, at the eastern end of the island, in 1613, and on Timor they captured the port of Kupang in 1653. Attempts were made to establish trade with Borneo, but these were not very successful, and the Dutch gained no political power in that island.

In Sumatra, the Dutch pursued tactics similar to those employed in Java and the eastern archipelago. By a combination of protection against his enemies and threats, the ruler of Palembang was induced in 1642 to grant a monopoly of the pepper trade; and in 1659 the Dutch built a fort which dominated his capital. In other parts of east Sumatra, which were not commercially so valuable, the Dutch were content to enter into friendly relations with the local rulers. They failed, however, to come to terms with the sultans of Atjeh, in the north of Sumatra, who continued to trade with the English; but alliances were made with the chiefs of Sumatra's west coast.

Except in parts of Java and in Amboyna and the Banda Islands, the Dutch did not exercise direct rule. The local rulers were left in charge so long as trade was carried on to the liking of the Dutch. If, however, rulers engaged in trade with other Europeans, the Dutch did not hesitate to make war on them. Yet it was difficult for the Dutch to exercise a close control over all the islands of the archipelago; moreover, the authority of the rulers with whom they made treaties did not, in many instances, extend very far from their capital cities, and so the rulers could not fully enforce their treaties even if they wished to. Thus the Dutch commercial monopoly was at no time complete. In the areas under their direct control, on the other hand, they could impose their will. In Amboyna, the Bandas, and the part of west Java known as the Preanger, they compelled the people to grow produce suitable for export, whether it was profitable for the growers or not, and if production grew too fast they would limit it for a time, so that sometimes cultivators would be forced to grow certain crops and later forbidden to grow them. These measures pressed hard on the cultivators, who were compelled at times to grow crops on unsuitable soil and were forced at all times to grow what the Dutch wanted rather than what they needed for their own use; often, too, because of this compulsory cultivation of export crops, the cultivators were unable to grow their own food and had to buy food at high prices from the Dutch.

The Dutch endeavoured also to confine the production of the more valuable commodities, such as cloves and nutmegs, to those areas which they themselves directly controlled; and they used force to prevent such forms of cultivation elsewhere. Thus every year a fleet of ships carried out an inspection in the eastern archipelago and destroyed spice-bearing trees in prohibited areas. The general result was a serious lowering of the standard of living of numerous people.

One effect of the Dutch methods was to disrupt the established pattern of trade in the archipelago. Seamen who had formerly engaged in commerce found that the Dutch had destroyed the export trade in valuable commodities from some islands, and in the case of other islands had monopolized it for themselves. Such seamen had to find another means of living, and so they took to piracy. Piracy, which was of course by no means unknown before, became a very serious problem in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the Bugis from Celebes in particular carried out depredations on a large scale, operating with big pirate fleets.

Besides gaining a wide measure of control over the commerce of the archipelago, the Dutch traded with the mainland states. During the seventeenth century they had trading stations in Arakan, in Burma, in Thailand, in Cambodia, and in Vietnam. Their position in these countries was very different from that which they enjoyed in the archipelago. They held no territory or fortified places, and were only traders, subject to the government of the king, whose consent they had to obtain if they wished to carry on business; and so in these countries they had to compete with the English and the French and could not expel these rivals by force.

The French

At the same time as the Dutch were establishing their ascendancy in the archipelago, French merchants were attempting to open trade with South-East Asia. In 1601 a French expedition reached Bantam, and two years later an East India company was formed in Paris. It was not at first very active, but in 1615 and again in 1617 trading fleets were once more sent to Bantam. The Dutch, however, were as successful in coping with the French as they were with the Portuguese and English; the French East India Company almost ceased to exist, and French commerce in South-East Asia was limited to the visits of a few individual traders who occasionally came to Sumatra or Celebes. It was left to the Roman Catholic missionaries to arouse French interest in South-East Asia in any serious degree.

The Protestant Dutch destroyed the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries who worked in the archipelago during Portuguese days, but the Roman Catholics hoped for more success in the mainland states. In 1615 some members of the Jesuit society established a mission on the Vietnamese coast at Fai Fo, south of Tourane; and their success led to the despatch to Tongking in 1627 of Alexandre de Rhodes, who is remembered not only for his missionary labours but also for his part in devising a method of writing the Vietnamese language in Romanized script instead of in the Chinese ideographs so far used. Neither the Nguyen nor the Trinh princes were well disposed towards the mission, however, and persecution of both the missionaries and their converts sometimes occurred.

Alexandre de Rhodes went to Europe to seek support, and his enthusiasm led to the formation in 1659 of the French Society of Foreign Missions. In 1662 a number of French missionaries sent by this body arrived in Ayuthia, intending to go to Vietnam, but owing to the persecution going on there, they stayed in Ayuthia. De Rhodes's report about conditions in South-East Asia also aroused hopes of French commercial and political expansion, and in 1664 the French East India Company was revived.

At this time the Dutch had a major share of Ayuthia's external trade, and the strong position they had gained and their readiness to use threats and violence if they did not get their way led King Narai (1657-88) to look for allies. The English East India Company was unwilling to interfere, but the French were willing and able to assist. The missionaries interested the French Government in the affairs of Ayuthia, and royal letters were sent to King Narai, professing French friendship. French influence was increased by the friendly attitude of a Greek named Constant Phaulkon, who served the Ayuthia government as superintendent of foreign trade and exercised great power. In 1680 an embassy set out from Ayuthia to France, but the ship conveying it was sunk off Madagascar; in 1682 a French agent set up a trading station in Ayuthia; and in 1684 a Thai embassy arrived in France. In return, a French embassy came to Ayuthia in 1685. As a result, the French East India Company was granted extensive commercial concessions and was given permission to garrison the port of Songkhla as a defence of the kingdom against the Dutch. The missionaries hoped that the presence of French troops would facilitate the conversion of the country to Christianity.

The position of the Dutch was made so difficult by Phaulkon that in 1686 they closed their trading post in Ayuthia, leaving the field to the French. Phaulkon was now so closely allied to the French that when their troops arrived in 1687, he allowed them to garrison Bangkok, down the river from Ayuthia, instead of Songkhla which was further from the capital; they were

also allowed to occupy Mergui, on the Tenasserim coast. Thus the French controlled the route to Ayuthia up the Menam Chao Phya and also the overland trade route from the Indian Ocean through Tenasserim.

The power exercised by Phaulkon and the presence of French troops aroused the anger and fear of the Thai nobility. When in 1688 King Narai fell seriously ill, the anti-foreign group arrested Phaulkon and executed him. The missionaries suffered severely, and the French forces had to leave the country. So the French attempt to dominate Ayuthia failed. The Dutch regained something of their former position in commerce; but the Thai made sure that no foreigner should attain a position such as Phaulkon and the French had held, and for the next hundred and fifty years neither the French nor other Europeans were really welcome in Ayuthia.

The Society of Foreign Missions continued its work in South-East Asia despite this setback. Its missionaries were especially active in Cochin-China where, in spite of frequent persecution, they had by the middle of the eighteenth century built up a Roman Catholic community numbering 300,000.

The English

The English had no greater success in South-East Asia at this time than did the French. Their interest had first been aroused when in 1579 the navigator Drake called at Ternate, in the Moluccas, during his circumnavigation of the globe. Other expeditions visited the archipelago later in the century, and in 1600 the East India Company was formed to trade with the Spice Islands. The company was at first fairly successful. Its fleet reached Bantam in 1602 and formed a trading station there. In 1604 trade was opened with Amboyna and the Banda Islands. In 1612 they established a trading post at Pattani, in the south of the Kingdom of Ayuthia, and one at Ayuthia itself. In the archipelago, too, the company set up a trading post at Sukadana, in Borneo, in 1609; in 1613 trade began with Makassar, in Celebes; and in the next year the company also established itself at Djakarta. An attempt to trade at Chiangmai had to be abandoned when the Burmans conquered the city in 1615.

Though the English were able to carry on a fairly profitable trade for some years, after a while Dutch opposition defeated them. Determined to gain a monopoly of trade, the Dutch seized English shipping whenever they could and did not hesitate to use force to drive the English out. In 1619 the governments of England and the Netherlands made a treaty under which the English should have had a peaceful share in trade, but the Dutch in South-East Asia would not respect the agreement. In 1621 they expelled

the English agents from the Banda Islands; in 1622 the English had to leave Pattani and Ayuthia; in 1623 the Dutch accused the English on Amboyna island of conspiring against them, tortured them, and put most of them to death.

The English government were not prepared to go to war for the sake of the East India Company or its agents. The result was that after this Massacre of Amboyna, as the English called it, the English agents withdrew from the eastern parts of the archipelago, where their lives were obviously in danger. English ships still sometimes went to Makassar or Borneo for trade, but this activity was on a small scale. The company held on in Java, where in 1628 it moved its headquarters from Djakarta to Bantam, so as to get away from the Dutch; but in 1682 the sultan of Bantam gave way to Dutch demands for their expulsion.

Two years after this the company established Fort York at Benkulen, on the west coast of Sumatra. In 1714, owing to the unhealthy character of the place, the company moved to a new site near by, where Fort Marlborough was set up. But Fort Marlborough, being far away from the main trade routes, was at no time a profitable centre for trade.

On the mainland, too, the English East India Company had little lasting success. A trading post was established once more at Ayuthia in 1661, but first Dutch and then French competition prevented a profitable trade. By the end of the century the English had withdrawn. Attempts to trade in Burma were also unsuccessful. The company opened a trading post at Syriam in 1647, but the Dutch who had established themselves there twelve years earlier already had most of the trade. Also, war broke out in Europe between England and the Netherlands, and the company's shipping suffered so severely from Dutch attacks that it was impossible to maintain the station at Syriam, which was therefore abandoned in 1657. The Dutch in their turn closed their Syriam station in 1679, when they were refused permission by the king to open up trade with China overland. Later, in 1709, the English East India Company began to keep an agent at Syriam to look after repairs to shipping, which could be cheaply effected there, but otherwise little interest in Burma was felt.

Similarly in Vietnam, English efforts at trade produced little result. In 1613 an agent was sent to the port of Fai Fo, but he was murdered; a trading expedition to Tongking soon afterwards was also a failure. In 1672 a trading station was set up in Tongking, but the dislike which the rulers of the country felt towards foreigners prevented any profitable trade and the attempt was abandoned in 1697. The Dutch, who had been there since 1636, likewise abandoned their efforts in 1700. Not long afterwards the English made a

settlement on the island called Pulo Condore, off the Mekong delta, but in 1705, after only three years' occupancy, they had to give the place up because the garrison, consisting of mercenary troops from Makassar, mutinied. In Cambodia, too, a trading post set up at Lovek in 1654 had to be abandoned in 1659 owing to a Vietnamese invasion.

Effects of the European Impact

It is evident that Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, French and English achieved very little in South-East Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, except in limited areas. The Spaniards gradually introduced their own culture into the Philippines, with lasting effects. In the archipelago, the Dutch imposed their government directly over some areas and indirectly had control of other areas, including most of Java; yet in Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes their authority was confined to a few ports and the immediate neighbourhood thereof. Though they had treaties with most of the local rulers in these islands, they left them very much to their own devices so long as trade went on satisfactorily, and in any case these rulers exercised little authority beyond the coastal areas.

On the mainland, the Europeans had still less influence. Except for the port of Malacca, no European managed to establish an independent position: the Europeans were only traders, generally dependent on the good will of the king of the country and exercising no political power.

In general, at this time European influence touched only the fringe of South-East Asia. Europeans appeared in the seaports but very rarely penetrated inland; vast areas even of the archipelago never saw a European, and this was still more the case with the mainland states. Except for parts of the archipelago, the peoples and governments of the South-East Asian states were unaffected by the European impact; governments pursued their own policies, and the inhabitants went on in their accustomed ways, most of them probably not even knowing that such people as Europeans existed.

II

Java and the Eastern Archipelago

The decline of Majapahit under the impact of Islam, and later the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese, fundamentally altered the situation in the archipelago. There was no longer any powerful state dominating the area. Instead, many petty states appeared, usually warring among themselves and often troubled by civil wars arising from contests for the throne. The ruling groups in these states continued their internecine disputes even in the period when the Dutch were penetrating the archipelago; and their failure to realize that their best interest lay in combining against the Dutch, and the readiness of some of them to seek Dutch aid against their rivals, greatly eased the way of the Dutch in gaining the dominant position which they attained in the islands.

Demak, Mataram and Bantam

When in the early sixteenth century the Muslims living in the coastal areas of Java threw off the yoke of Hindu Majapahit, a number of small states developed. Those on the north coast of the island grew in wealth by exporting rice and by engaging in the spice trade of the Moluccas. The most important of these states was Demak, though others such as Surabaya, Japara and Tuban were also wealthy. Demak gained control of a good deal of territory inland; and among its subordinate states was Mataram. The ruler of Mataram at the end of the century, Suta Vijaya (1582-1601), had the ambition of restoring his country to the high position which Mataram had enjoyed in earlier centuries; and taking advantage of the weakness of the many states in Java, he built up a large independent kingdom in the inland districts of the island. In the same period Hasan Udin, who ruled in the west of Java (1552-70), created an important state with its capital at Bantam, which he developed into a major port.

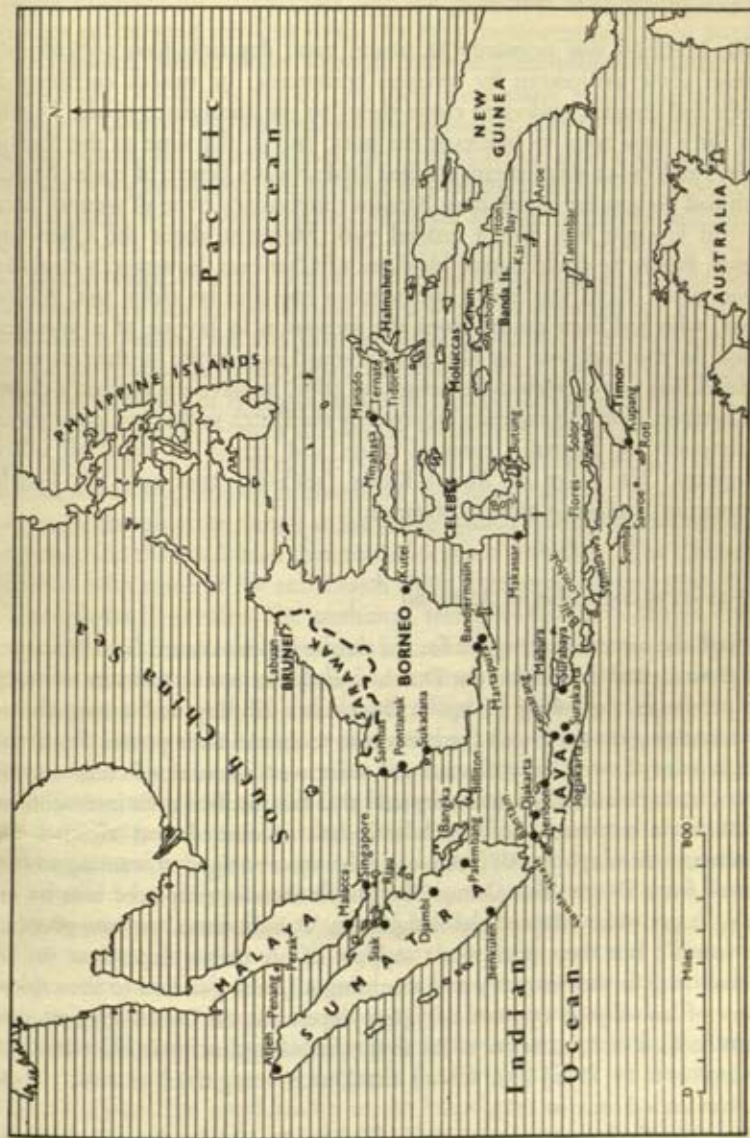
Sultan Agung

The history of Java during the first half of the seventeenth century is

largely the history of a struggle by Mataram for domination over the whole island. Sultan Agung of Mataram (1613-45) nearly achieved this objective. When the coastal states tried to combine to resist his aims, he speedily defeated them. Tuban was subdued in 1619, and Surabaya in 1625; he overran the island of Madura in 1624; he forced the rulers of Cheribon, lying between his territory and Bantam, to pay homage. His ambitions extended beyond Java, and in 1622 he sent an expedition to Borneo which destroyed the port of Sukadana. He claimed overlordship over all Java, and therefore in 1625 adopted the title 'Susuhunan', meaning 'he to whose feet other people look up'. He did not, however, succeed in his hopes of subduing Bantam, and he came into conflict with the Dutch. In 1629 he besieged them in Djakarta, but the attempt failed, and thereafter he gave his attention mainly to the east of Java, where the state of Balambangan was still following the Hindu religion: in 1638 Sultan Agung conquered this country. He tried as well to subdue the Hindu island of Bali, but its inhabitants put up a successful resistance. Being an ardent Muslim, Agung made contact with the Muslims in Arabia, and in general sought to extend the realm of Islam. By the time of his death in 1645, little of Java except Djakarta and Bantam lay outside his empire.

Dutch Intervention in Mataram

Agung's successor, Amangkurat I (1645-77), unlike his father, was on good terms with the Dutch, whom by treaty in 1646 he allowed to trade freely in his territories; and the Dutch in return agreed to aid him against his enemies. In addition, the Dutch undertook to send him presents every year and to recognize him as their overlord. Though the overlordship was a means of saving Amangkurat's pride, the fact that the Dutch made this concession shows that at this stage they were still very far from being the dominant power in Java. Later, Amangkurat invoked the agreement about aid, when in 1674 a prince of the old house of Majapahit attempted to gain the throne. The rebels managed to take Amangkurat's palace at Mataram, and he fled to the protection of the Dutch. When, soon after, he died, his successor, Amangkurat II (1677-1703), realized that only Dutch help would enable him to gain the throne. So as to induce them to fulfil their undertaking about aid, he granted them extensive commercial rights and also gave them wide territories south of Djakarta. They now held the Preanger area and their lands extended right across the island from north to south. The Dutch then defeated the rebels and Amangkurat was placed on the throne as in reality the dependant of the Dutch East India Company.



The Archipelago XVI-XVIII centuries

Dutch Intervention in Bantam

While Mataram was primarily an inland state, depending on agriculture, Bantam grew prosperous by overseas commerce. Its sultans encouraged French and English traders to come there, to the annoyance of the Dutch who for a time tried to blockade the port; and in the time of the Sultan Abdul Fatah (1651-82) Bantam rivalled Djakarta as a centre of trade. Abdul Fatah had designs for establishing Bantam's supremacy over all western Java and this brought him into a quarrel with Mataram about the Cheribon district. Before he could pursue his claim to Cheribon, however, a dynastic dispute arose. Civil war broke out between him and his eldest son, Abdul Kahar, who had been ousted from the succession in favour of a younger prince. In this civil war the Dutch intervened and owing to their support Abdul Kahar was victorious. In return, in 1682, he gave up Bantam's claim to Cheribon, paid the expenses incurred by the Dutch in the war, gave them a monopoly of Bantam's external trade, and agreed to expel all other Europeans. The reign of Abdul Kahar (1682-87) thus saw the Dutch dominating Bantam as well as Mataram.

The Wars of Succession in Mataram

Though the successive struggles for the throne had weakened both Mataram and Bantam and so enabled the Dutch to make extensive gains in territory and privileges, the ruling groups in these states still disputed among themselves and so gave the Dutch further reason to extend their power. From the Dutch point of view, only if peace and order were maintained could a prosperous trade be carried on, and they held that this justified their intervention. In Mataram resistance to Dutch influence continued and affected the Susuhunan, Amangkurat III (1703-05), who showed signs of wanting to free himself from Dutch domination. The Dutch therefore replaced him by his uncle, Puger, who adopted the designation 'Pakubuwana' or 'the pivot of the world'; but they made their support of his claims dependent on his surrendering further territory and admitting a Dutch garrison to the capital. Many of his subjects opposed a régime dependent on Dutch support, and when he died in 1719, some of his sons rebelled against their elder brother, Amangkurat IV (1719-25), whom the Dutch recognized as ruler. These troubles ended only in 1723.

Mataram lost yet more territory to the Dutch in the reign of the Susuhunan Pakubuwana II (1725-49). The trouble began with a rising among the Chinese in Java. Chinese traders and artisans had settled in Java

in small numbers for many years, and the growth of trade under Dutch influence encouraged more to come. By 1733 there were said to be 80,000 in the Djakarta district alone. Though many of them prospered, some did not, and the Dutch complained that there were many wandering beggars among the Chinese who endangered law and order. The Dutch feared, too, that the wealth and importance of the richer Chinese were a threat to the influence of the company. The Javanese as well disliked the Chinese because some of them were moneylenders. Attempts to stop further immigration failed, owing to corruption among the company's officers; and crime, it was said, still increased. In 1740 the Dutch issued an order that any Chinese who could not prove that he had regular work was to be deported to Ceylon or South Africa. Fearing that this order would be extended to Chinese generally, many of the community left Djakarta and took to arms. The Dutch massacred those who remained in Djakarta, and over 10,000 Chinese were killed. The surviving Chinese made their way to the territory of Mataram where they took vengeance on any Europeans they could find. Pakubuwana II saw in this situation an opportunity to throw off the Dutch yoke, and he joined the Chinese in besieging the Dutch at Semarang. Dutch reinforcements reached Semarang, and the susuhunan then made his peace with them. The Chinese, in alliance with some of the anti-Dutch chiefs, thereupon set up a grandson of Amangkurat III as ruler. The susuhunan, seeing his throne in danger, then joined the Dutch in attacking his late allies, and the rebellion was crushed in 1743. The susuhunan was compelled to surrender to the Dutch the north coast districts which he held and also the island of Madura.

Civil war broke out in Mataram once more in 1749. When Pakubuwana II was nearing death, he sought to ensure the succession of his son by ceding all his remaining territories to the Dutch; and when he died the son, Pakubuwana III (1749-88), was installed as ruler by the authority of the Dutch governor-general, who thus became his overlord. The new ruler was opposed by his uncle, who disapproved of the growth of Dutch power, and a hard-fought war ensued, ended in 1755 only by the division of the kingdom: Pakubuwana took the eastern half of Mataram with his capital at Surakarta, and his uncle and rival, Mangkubumi, received the western half with his capital at Jogjakarta. Thus the kingdom of Mataram ceased to exist.

In Bantam likewise a dynastic dispute led to war from 1748 to 1753; and here also, in return for putting Pangeran (i.e. Prince) Gusti on the throne, the Dutch gained the overlordship of the kingdom.

Thereafter Java was fairly peaceful. The Dutch dominated all; and this outcome was due very largely to the failure of the Javanese rulers to combine for their common welfare and perhaps still more to the constant dynastic

squabbles in both Mataram and Bantam and the willingness of claimants to the throne to accept Dutch aid in return for help in gaining a position as *susuhunan* or sultan which became increasingly insignificant. The Dutch on their part, though they often quarrelled among themselves, were a disciplined body of men who worked together when they were faced with danger from others.

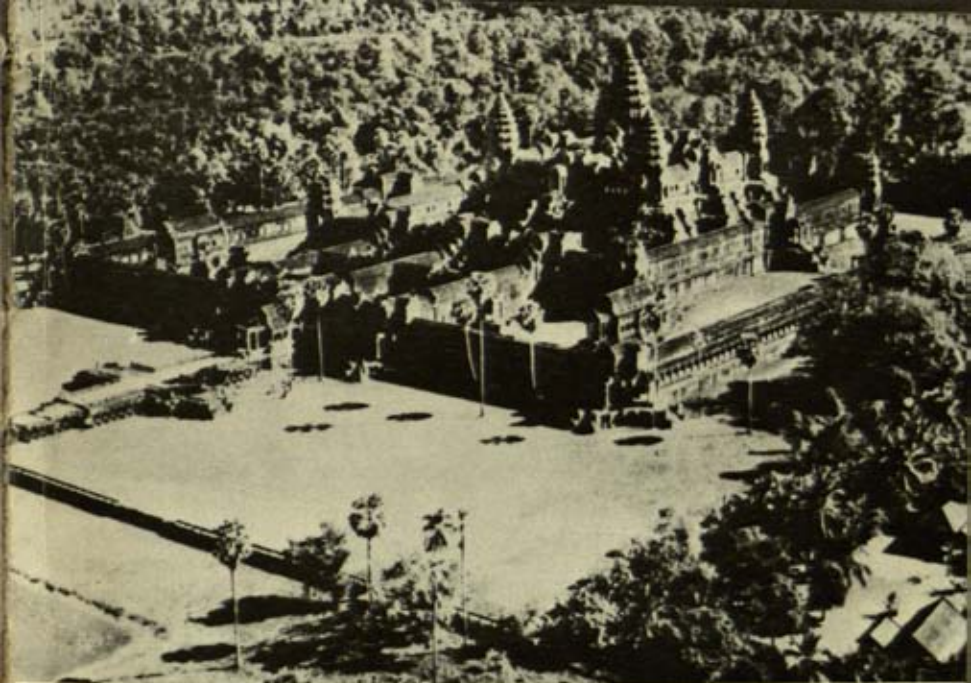
The Eastern Archipelago

The islands of the eastern part of the archipelago, like Java, were divided among a number of rulers. Control over the Moluccas was in dispute between the rulers of Tidore and of Ternate, who were in a frequent state of war. In Celebes, a powerful state grew up with its centre at Makassar, in the south-west of the island. In Borneo there were a number of states in the coastal areas, such as Bandjermasin in the south, Sukadana and Sambas on the west, and Brunei to the north, though none of these had effective authority over the interior.

The Rise of Makassar

Makassar became important when, about the year 1540, Malay traders settled there. They carried on trade with the Moluccas on the east and the Malay peninsula on the west; it was probably they who introduced Islam to Celebes and led to its formal adoption by the ruling prince in 1603.

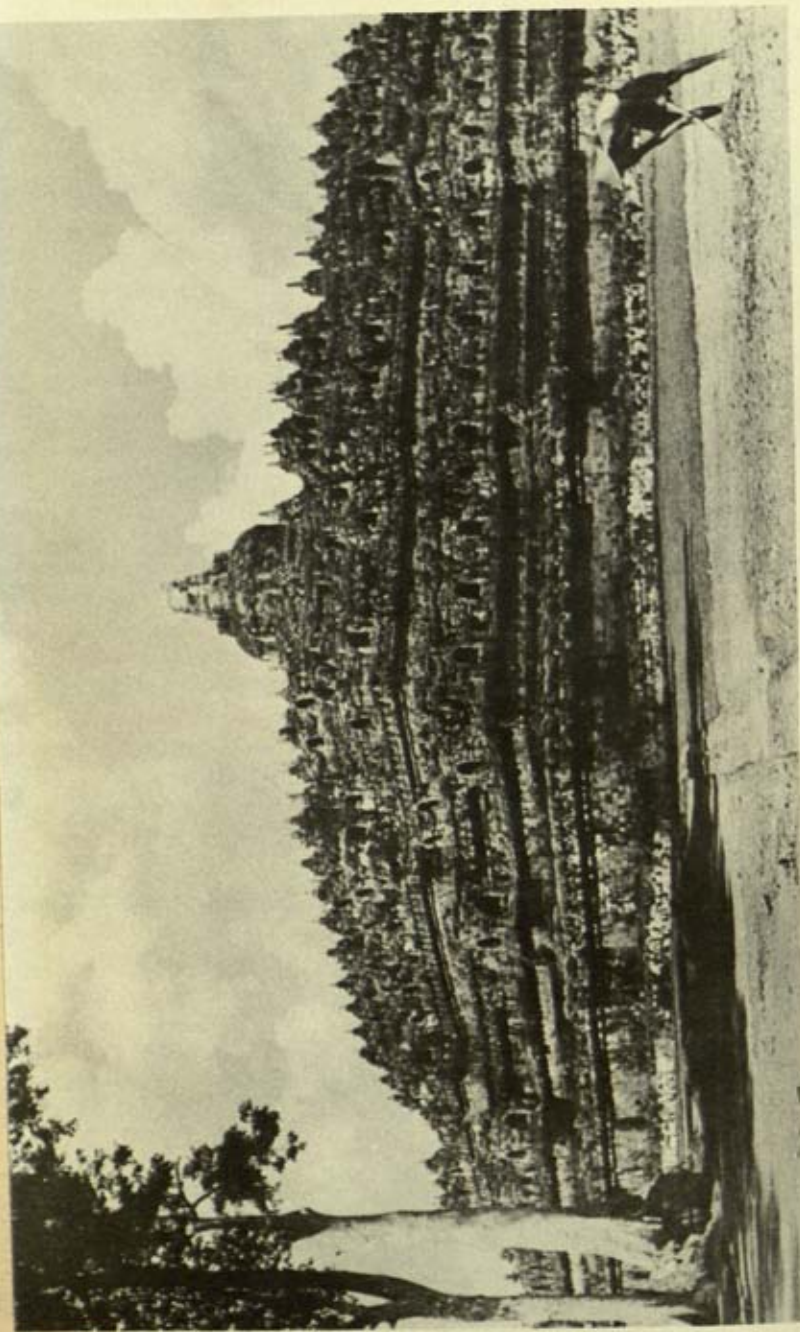
Makassar benefited from the situation which developed in the Moluccas. The constant rivalry between Tidore and Ternate weakened both these states, and their position was further undermined by the intrusion of Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch. When in 1607 the Dutch finally drove their rivals from Ternate, its ruler tried to secure his position by recognizing the Dutch as his protectors, and from that time the economy of Ternate was under Dutch control. The Dutch had already, in 1605, captured the Portuguese fort on the island of Amboyna, nominally a dependency of Ternate, and had also established themselves in the Banda Islands, likewise subject to Ternate. They first gained a hold in Banda in 1602, when the local chiefs agreed to give them a monopoly of the nutmeg trade, but the Dutch methods of controlling trade aroused resentment and the Dutch therefore undertook a military conquest of the islands which they did not complete till 1623. Thus Ternate lost a good deal of its territory, and its weakness enabled Makassar to make territorial gains by attacking, for example, the island of Butung, a dependency of Ternate lying off the south-east of Celebes.



View of Angkor

General view of Pagan





General view of Borobudur

In addition, the control which the Dutch imposed over the trade of the Moluccas led to much smuggling of spices from those islands, and Makassar became the principal market for this clandestine trade. Makassar grew rich and developed into a powerful maritime state.

Makassar expanded over all south-west Celebes, over part of east Borneo, and over Sumba and Sumbawa islands to the east of Java. Its sultans allowed free trade in their territories, and Portuguese, French and English traders frequented their ports. The Dutch as well had a trading post at Makassar, set up in 1609, but they had to share the trade with the other Europeans.

The Fall of Makassar

The Dutch obviously could not establish the monopoly of the spice trade at which they aimed unless they controlled all the Moluccas and unless they could repress the smuggling in which Makassar played so big a part. Makassar was, however, a powerful kingdom, and its rulers strengthened themselves by purchasing firearms and artillery from the British and Portuguese. The Dutch therefore hesitated to make an attack; but relations became worse when, so as to improve their position in Celebes, the Dutch sent Protestant missionaries to Halmahera, in the north-west of the island, and also improved their hold on the Moluccas by sending missionaries to the island of Ceram. These measures aroused the wrath of the Muslim rulers of Makassar.

Finally, in 1666 the Dutch began operations against Makassar on a considerable scale, aided by the prince of Boni, a state in Celebes whose territory had been attacked by the Makassarese. After hard fighting the town of Makassar surrendered in 1667. To maintain control, the Dutch built a fort there; most of the territory of Makassar was annexed and placed under vassal rulers; other Europeans were expelled, and the Dutch gained a monopoly of external trade. During these operations, too, the ruler of Tidore was forced in 1666 to accept Dutch overlordship. Thus Dutch control in the Moluccas and in Celebes was put on a firm foundation.

Borneo

In Borneo the coastal states for a long time maintained their independence from the Dutch. They welcomed traders of all nationalities, and Dutch attempts to gain a monopoly were defeated. The rulers of Sambas and Sukadana allowed the Dutch to set up trading stations in 1609, and Bandjermasin allowed one in 1635; but other Europeans were equally welcome. After 1667, the Borneo states took the place of Makassar as a market for

spices smuggled from the Moluccas; and while Makassar declined in prosperity, Bandjermasin and other Borneo ports became richer. The English East India Company set up a trading station in Bandjermasin in 1701, though disagreements with the ruler led to their expulsion in 1707. During the eighteenth century, the Dutch strengthened their influence. By sometimes using force, and by often playing off one sultan against another, they gained power in western and southern Borneo. Even so, they were unable to maintain a monopoly of trade, and in 1790 they withdrew from Borneo almost completely: they still had a fort at Tatas, on the southern coast, but that was all.



Java XVI-XVII centuries

Malaya and Sumatra

The fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 was followed by the dissolution of the Malaccan empire. After this, no one Malay ruler was able to dominate the peninsula and much of Sumatra as the descendants of Parameswara had done for a hundred years. Instead, the ruling princes in this area, like those in Java in the same period, disputed and fought among themselves, with no permanent advantage to any.

The Tripartite Struggle

The weakness which the sultan of Malacca had shown when he lost his capital to the Portuguese encouraged rulers of subordinate states to try to assert their independence. In addition a new Muslim power arose to rival the Malaccan dynasty. This was the kingdom of Atjeh, or as it was often called Achin, in north Sumatra. Atjeh had in this period a line of able and ruthless monarchs, quick to take advantage of the situation presented by Malaccan weakness; and so a threefold struggle began. The former rulers of Malacca and the rulers of Atjeh contested for leadership of the Muslim states, and both wanted to expel the Portuguese. The struggle went on for over a hundred years: as a rule each of the three contestants was fighting the other two at once, though there were brief periods when two of them combined against the third.

The Johore Sultanate

Sultan Mahmud still after 1511 claimed to be ruler of Malacca, but he had to find a new capital; eventually the dynasty settled in Johore, and it may therefore conveniently be referred to as the Johore dynasty. Mahmud carried on war against the Portuguese, with little success; and his death in 1528 caused a further disintegration of his empire, for one of his sons, Muzaffar, became independent sultan of Perak, while another, Ala'ud-din, ruled Johore and what remained of the empire. Ala'ud-din (1528-64) carried on

the war against the Portuguese for some years; but then fear of the rising power of Atjeh caused him to make peace with the Europeans in 1536.

The Rise and Decline of Atjeh

Atjeh was an expanding power. Taking advantage of the weakness of Johore and its absorption in the war with the Portuguese, Atjeh conquered the neighbouring states of Pedir and Pase, in north Sumatra, which had been dependent on Malacca. These states were important for their export of pepper and Atjeh now became a prosperous commercial state, trading with Gujerat and with China. The sultans of Atjeh aimed at gaining for themselves the position formerly occupied by the Malaccan sultans as controllers of the Straits; and they also were ardent Muslims. For both these reasons they made several attacks on Portuguese Malacca, though without success. Sultan Ala'ud-din Ri'ayat Shah (1537-68) also captured the port of Deli, in north Sumatra. Alarmed by Atjeh's pretensions, the rival Malay rulers allied together against her; and in 1540 Johore, Perak and Siak together defeated Atjeh in a big naval battle.

This success revived Johore's dreams of regaining Malacca, and in 1551 Ala'ud-din of Johore besieged the place for three months. Meanwhile Atjeh recovered from the setback of 1540. Its sultan strengthened his forces by obtaining arms and artillerymen from Turkey, and in 1564 attacked Johore and took its sultan prisoner. In consequence, when he again attacked Malacca in 1568, Johore aided the Portuguese in defeating him. So in 1575 Atjeh overran Perak, ruled by a member of the Johore family, and made it a vassal state. Yet ten years later, in 1586, Johore and Atjeh were co-operating in an attack on the Portuguese.

Sultan Iskandar Shah of Atjeh (1607-36), also known as Meukuta Alam, continued the policy of expansion. He gained control of further territories in Sumatra, and brought some of the states in the peninsula under his domination. He enforced Atjeh's suzerainty over Perak, in 1618 Pahang became his vassal, and in 1619 Kedah did the same. The rulers of Johore were now willing to accept any aid that they could find against Atjeh. The Dutch had reached the archipelago, and in 1606 Johore operated with them against both Atjeh and Malacca; but in revenge Sultan Meukuta Alam attacked Johore and took Sultan Ala'ud-din (1597-1613) prisoner.

Meukuta Alam's death in 1636 marked the end of Atjeh's period of expansion. No successor of similar ability appeared; and from 1641 onwards a line of queens ruled the state. Soon Atjeh lost its empire in the peninsula and most of its subject states in Sumatra.

Dutch Intervention

The Dutch were now aiming at establishing themselves in Malacca, and when they attacked the place in 1640-41, Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johore (1623-77) supported them. If, as is likely, the sultan hoped that the Dutch would entrust Malacca to his keeping, he was disappointed: they kept it themselves. However, he was recognized by the Dutch as overlord of the Malay peninsula and of the east Sumatra states of Siak, Kampar and Indragiri, and of the Riau Islands.

The Dutch were interested in the tin ore for which Perak in particular was famous, and in their usual fashion they used force to gain a monopoly of its export. Atjeh was now too weak to resist, and by a series of treaties allowed the Dutch to control Perak's tin trade; the Dutch also made agreements about tin with the ruler of Kedah in 1642.

End of the Malaccan Dynasty

The decline of the power of Atjeh should have enabled Johore to regain a dominant position; but Abdul Jalil engaged in a war with the Sumatran state of Djambi over a dispute about a marriage between his son and a Djambi princess, and in 1673 the Djambi forces sacked his capital. When he died four years later, his successor, Sultan Ibrahim (1677-85), continued the war with the aid of Bugis mercenaries who sacked Djambi in 1679. The last sultan of the dynasty was Ibrahim's son, Mahmud, who was murdered in 1699. This ended the Malaccan royal house in Johore. The chief minister, Abdul Jalil Ri'ayat Shah, became sultan; but as a usurper he could not command the loyalty of other Malays of influence, and in 1717 Raja Kechil, ruler of the dependent state of Siak, seized the throne. Raja Kechil was aided by a Bugis leader, Daeng Parani, with whom he quarrelled; and in 1722 the Bugis drove him out and put the son of the usurper Abdul Jalil on the throne of Johore as Sultan Suleiman (1722-60).

The Bugis

From this time the Bugis played a major part in the affairs of the Malay States. They came from Celebes. A race of adventurous seamen and warriors, they had learnt the use of firearms from the Portuguese. They had played a prominent part in the trade of the eastern archipelago, and had also often taken employment as mercenary soldiers: thus they had served the Dutch in the wars against Mataram. The Dutch conquest of Makassar and the

general disruption of the life of the eastern archipelago through the economic policy of the Dutch, deprived them of many opportunities for peaceful trade, and they increasingly took to piracy. Some of them settled at river mouths in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula and from these bases attacked merchant shipping; some of them aided Sultan Ibrahim of Johore in attacking Djambi in 1679; and in general they sold their swords to whoever would pay them in the internecine wars which were going on at the time. In Johore, Daeng Parani and his four brothers, having put Sultan Suleiman on the throne, demanded and obtained their reward in the appointment of one of the brothers as Yam-tuan Muda or deputy king; and in this capacity Daeng Marewah really ruled the state and the sultan was only a figurehead.

Bugis Conquests in the Peninsula

Using the Johore kingdom as their base, the brothers established their power in Kedah by taking part in a struggle for the throne between two claimants: though Daeng Parani was killed in 1723, the Bugis won the war and Kedah fell under their domination. Daeng Marewah then attacked Perak and conquered it; and another brother, Daeng Chelak, who succeeded Daeng Marewah as Yam-tuan Muda of Johore when the latter died, established his own son, Raja Lumu, as sultan of Selangor.

The Bugis-Dutch War

Sultan Suleiman wanted to free himself from Bugis control, and he sought help from the Dutch, to whom he promised his Sumatran dependency of Siak and a monopoly of tin exports from his dominions. The Dutch took possession of Siak in 1755, and war between them and the Bugis ensued. After two years of war, during which the Bugis unsuccessfully attacked Malacca, peace was made in 1758, the Bugis leaders agreeing to confirm the tin monopoly granted to the Dutch by the sultan. Sultan Suleiman's bid for freedom, however, was a failure, and when he died in 1760 the Bugis killed his successor and installed an infant prince as sultan, so that Daeng Kemboja, son of the dead Daeng Parani, ruled as regent.

Daeng Kemboja had the aid of his nephew, Raja Haji, who had had wide experience of warfare in Borneo as well as in Malaya and Sumatra. Raja Haji re-established Johore's authority as overlord of Djambi and Indragiri; and when Daeng Kemboja died in 1777, Raja Haji succeeded him as deputy king in Johore. He came into conflict with the Dutch, however. The Netherlands were at war with Great Britain from 1780 to 1784 and the Dutch therefore

captured any British ships that they could: when they took a British ship off Riau, Raja Haji demanded a share of the plunder, and when this was refused he made war. The Bugis, in 1782, raided Dutch stations in the Malacca Straits, and after the failure of a Dutch attack on Riau in 1783, Raja Haji in 1784 besieged Malacca: but the arrival of a Dutch fleet frustrated his plans, and he himself was killed in the fighting. The Dutch drove the Bugis from Selangor and from Riau; and the Bugis thereupon made peace. A treaty was made between the Dutch, the Sultan Mahmud of Johore, and the Bugis, under which the sultan surrendered his territories to the Dutch and agreed to rule as their vassal. After further fighting, the Bugis sultan of Selangor, Ibrahim, who was a son of Raja Lumu, also made his peace with the Dutch and, while regaining his kingdom, accepted their suzerainty.

Sultan Mahmud of Johore died in 1810. At the time of his death, his eldest son, Tengku Hussein, was absent, and the Bugis deputy king installed a younger son, Abdur-Rahman, as the new sultan.

The general effect of the Bugis activities was to complete the disintegration of the empire of Johore. The Johore sultan had lost almost all control in Sumatra, and on the peninsula he held little territory outside the lands constituting Johore of today. But he still ruled the Riau islands.

Time Chart

- 1511 Portuguese capture of Malacca
- 1571 Manila founded by Spaniards
- 1600 English East India Company formed
- 1602 Dutch East India Company formed
- 1603 French East India Company formed
- 1619 Foundation of Batavia
- 1623 Massacre of Amboyna
- 1641 Dutch capture of Malacca
- 1667 Dutch capture of Makassar
Bugis activity in Malaya
- 1685 French Treaty with Ayuthia
- 1699 End of the Malaccan dynasty

EXERCISES

1. Describe the attempts of the Portuguese to establish their influence in South-East Asia after the conquest of Malacca.

2. Explain why the Portuguese failed to retain their position in the archipelago.
3. Give an account of the efforts of the Spaniards to establish their influence in the Spice Islands.
4. Write a brief account of the history of Spanish colonization of the Philippine Islands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
5. Give an account of the relations between the Spaniards and the Chinese in the Philippines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
6. Describe the commercial policy of the Dutch in South-East Asia in the seventeenth century and its effect on the life of the people.
7. Write a short account of French activities in Ayuthia in the seventeenth century.
8. Describe the rivalry between the Dutch and the English East India Companies in South-East Asia during the seventeenth century.
9. Show the extent of European influence in South-East Asia by the end of the seventeenth century.
10. Give an account of the career of Sultan Agung of Mataram.
11. Describe the growth of Dutch influence in Mataram in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
12. Give an account of Dutch policy towards the Chinese in Java in the eighteenth century, and its consequences.
13. Describe the rise and fall of the power of Atjeh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
14. Give an account of the activities of the Bugis in Malaya in the eighteenth century.

The Mainland Monarchies 1700-1850

The Renewal of the Struggle between Burmans and Thai

Thai Isolation

After the frustration in 1688 of the French attempt to dominate Ayuthia, that country entered a period of deliberate isolation. Mistrust of foreigners was strong, and foreign traders, especially from the West, were not welcome. In the succeeding years, Ayuthia underwent a period of relative peace, broken by little more than the contests among rival princes for the throne which were normal in autocratic monarchies. External relations were uneventful, except that the period saw the beginnings of a long contest with the Vietnamese for control over the Mekong area: when in 1714 the king of Cambodia was deposed by his uncle, who had Vietnamese support, the Thai government tried to reinstate him, though they did not succeed in this aim.

Burmese Isolation

In Burma, too, a period of relative isolation was experienced. In 1635 the capital was once more established at the city of Ava, in the centre of the country, remote from the sea and from foreign influences. Foreigners were now not very welcome, and the country was little affected by them. Dutch, English and French East India Companies made not very successful efforts to trade with Burma. But these contacts were of little interest to the Burmese government, which was far more concerned with relations with China.

Sino-Burmese Troubles

When in China the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) was overthrown by the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912), the Emperor Yung-li took refuge in Yunnan; but in 1658 the Manchu drove him out and he went to Burma. Bands of his supporters roamed the country on both sides of the border, committing outrages against the inhabitants, and so much disorder prevailed that in 1661

King Pindale (1648-61) was deposed by his disgusted people in favour of his brother Pye (1661-72). Pye, however, was equally feeble and when in 1662 the Manchu forces, determined to stop the disorders on the frontier, entered Burma and demanded the surrender of Yung-li, Pye gave way. Yung-li was taken to Yunnan and there was executed. The Burmese kings thus showed that they could not protect their own people against Chinese bandits or Chinese armies.

Mon Rebellion

The weakness revealed by Pindale and Pye was shown also by their successors. Control over outlying provinces was lost: Chiengmai successfully revolted in 1727 and was thereafter ruled by a prince from Luang Prabang, and in the north-west the armies of the state of Manipur, formerly tributary to Burma, not only annexed parts of Burma's territory but also carried out plundering raids as far as the city of Ava itself. The decline in the government's authority encouraged the Mons to rise once more. In 1740 they threw off the authority of the Burmans, which had already become limited to the towns and villages on the banks of the Irrawaddy river, and installed a king of their own at their old capital, Pegu. The whole of the Irrawaddy delta and the country as far north as Prome and Toungoo were brought under Mon rule, and the Mons were able to raid upper Burma as well. In 1752 they captured the city of Ava and deposed King Mahadammayaza Dipati (1733-52).

Alaungpaya

The Mons lacked a competent leader, and in contrast to the Burmans their numbers were small. They could not maintain control over all Burma, and in particular they failed to enforce submission on the village of Moksobomyo, now known as Shwebo, north-west of Ava. There a Burmese leader named Alaungpaya, who claimed descent from the old royal house of Pagan, set himself up as king. Mon efforts to subdue him failed, and so he gained support. In 1753 he captured Ava from the Mons and then extended his authority over the surrounding districts where the Burmese population welcomed him as a saviour from Mon attacks. In 1755 he moved south and having more than once defeated the Mon armies he occupied the town of Dagon, the city of the famous Golden Dagon temple. He renamed the town 'Rangoon', meaning 'the end of war', though in fact the war was not yet over. From Rangoon he moved against the port of Syriam and after a year's siege stormed the town. As some French ships in the harbour had aided the

Mons, he beheaded the ships' officers and compelled their men to serve in his army as gunners: the acquisition of efficient artillerymen was a great asset to the Burmans and was the basis of their power for the next half-century.

Syriam ceased to be a place of importance. It was replaced as Burma's principal port by Rangoon; and European attempts to trade in Burma practically ceased.

Pegu, the Mon capital, fell to Alaungpaya in 1757. Apart from one or two minor risings, this was the end of Mon nationalism for nearly seventy years. The reconquest of the Mon country had been accompanied by much bloodshed, and the Irrawaddy delta thus suffered a further loss of population, comparable to that of the earlier periods of war, from which it did not recover for a hundred years. The Mons were in consequence too few to give any serious trouble.

Renewed Burmese-Thai Conflict

Alaungpaya also overran Manipur and in 1759 occupied its capital. He then turned against Ayuthia, hoping by conquering the Thai to obtain slaves with whom to repopulate the devastated areas of lower Burma. He took his army through Tenasserim and began a siege of the city of Ayuthia in 1760; but the Thai held firm, the approach of the rainy season made it impossible to carry on the attack, Alaungpaya himself was wounded; and so his army had to retreat. He himself died before he reached his own land.

Alaungpaya's Achievement

In his short reign of seven years from the capture of Ava, Alaungpaya had reunited Burma, had restored to the Burmans their dominant place in the country, and had established a dynasty which was to last a hundred and thirty years. He failed, however, to make satisfactory provision for the succession to the throne and, as happened in many other kingdoms, the death of a king usually produced a struggle for the succession which weakened the whole state. This happened when Alaungpaya himself died: his eldest son, Naungdawgyi, had to overcome both his brother and his uncle.

Fall of Ayuthia

Naungdawgyi's reign (1760-63) was brief, and on his death he was suc-

ceeded by the brother whom he had earlier defeated: this was King Hsinbyushin (1763-76). Hsinbyushin's reign was marked by a resumption of war with Ayuthia and by war with China and Manipur. In 1764 he advanced through the Shan states and took Chiengmai. Wishing to guard his flank during his advance southwards, he subdued Luang Prabang and made an alliance with Vientiane. In 1766 he reached the city of Ayuthia, and this time, after a long siege, the city fell in 1767. The Burmans destroyed the city and carried off much booty and many slaves. Ayuthia never regained its importance. But the Thai would not submit to Burmese rule, and a half-Chinese officer, Paya Taksin, raised an army and set himself up as king. Burma was now distracted by war with China, and so Taksin had the opportunity to build up an effective resistance force.

Sino-Burmese War

The trouble between Burma and China arose from complaints by Chinese merchants of ill-treatment by Burmese officials and also from Burmese demands for tribute from Shan chiefs whom the Chinese regarded as their dependants. The Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1735-96) was not the man to tolerate such happenings, and from 1766 to 1770 Chinese armies invaded Burma: in 1768 they even came within thirty miles of Ava. The French gunners were the saving of Burma, however, and in 1770 the Chinese gave up the profitless struggle and made peace. In the same year Burmese forces again invaded Manipur and put a new ruler on its throne.

Paya Taksin

Meanwhile the kingdom of Ayuthia had disintegrated; provincial governors set themselves up as independent rulers and orderly government ceased. A long and bitter struggle ensued before Taksin could reunite the country, but in the end he succeeded. As early as 1768 he took Ayuthia, but he made Bangkok the capital of the kingdom. In 1775 he took Chiengmai; and by the time that Hsinbyushin died in 1776, Taksin had driven the Burmese armies from all Ayuthia and from Chiengmai, though the Burmans still held the Tenasserim area. Taksin also intervened in Cambodia and placed his own nominee on the throne there; he conquered Vientiane and exacted homage from Luang Prabang; he began to revive Thai suzerainty over the northern part of the Malay peninsula.

The Chakri Dynasty

But Paya Taksin became insane, and in 1782 he was deposed. General Chakri, who had played a prominent part in the wars, then became King of Thailand as Rama I, and so founded the dynasty which still reigns.

The war with Burma dragged on. In 1785 the Burmese forces again carried out a large-scale invasion, but the Thai armies under Rama I were too strong for them and the attempt failed. After this, raids and counter-raids were frequent, but neither kingdom was in a position to overcome the other, and though warfare continued into the nineteenth century, it was on a minor scale. Peace was not formally made, but the struggle gradually petered out, as had happened with the earlier struggle a hundred and more years earlier.

Burmese Intervention in Arakan and Assam

The Thai, in preference to attacking Burma, turned their attention to the Mekong area, where they renewed the contest with Vietnam for control over Cambodia and the Lao lands. The Burmans turned their attention westwards. In 1784-85, King Bodawpaya (1781-1819) conquered the independent kingdom of Arakan, along the coast of the Bay of Bengal, which had fallen into disorder owing to disputes about the succession. The Arakanese did not accept Burmese rule willingly, however, and rebellion was frequent. Bodawpaya also interfered in Assam: in 1812 he settled a quarrel over the succession to the throne of his tributary state of Manipur and acquired an extension of territory at Manipur's expense; and using Manipur as a base he intervened in the kingdom of Assam. His successor, Bagyidaw (1819-37), carried on the interference in Assam and also threatened the neighbouring state of Cachar. These events alarmed the English East India Company, which feared that the Burmans would attack company's territory next. In Arakan as well, conflicts occurred on the border when rebels fled from that country into the company's territory and operated against the Burmans from there. Burmese officials demanded their surrender and at times used force. Clashes thus occurred between Burmese and company's troops.

Results of the Thai-Burmese War

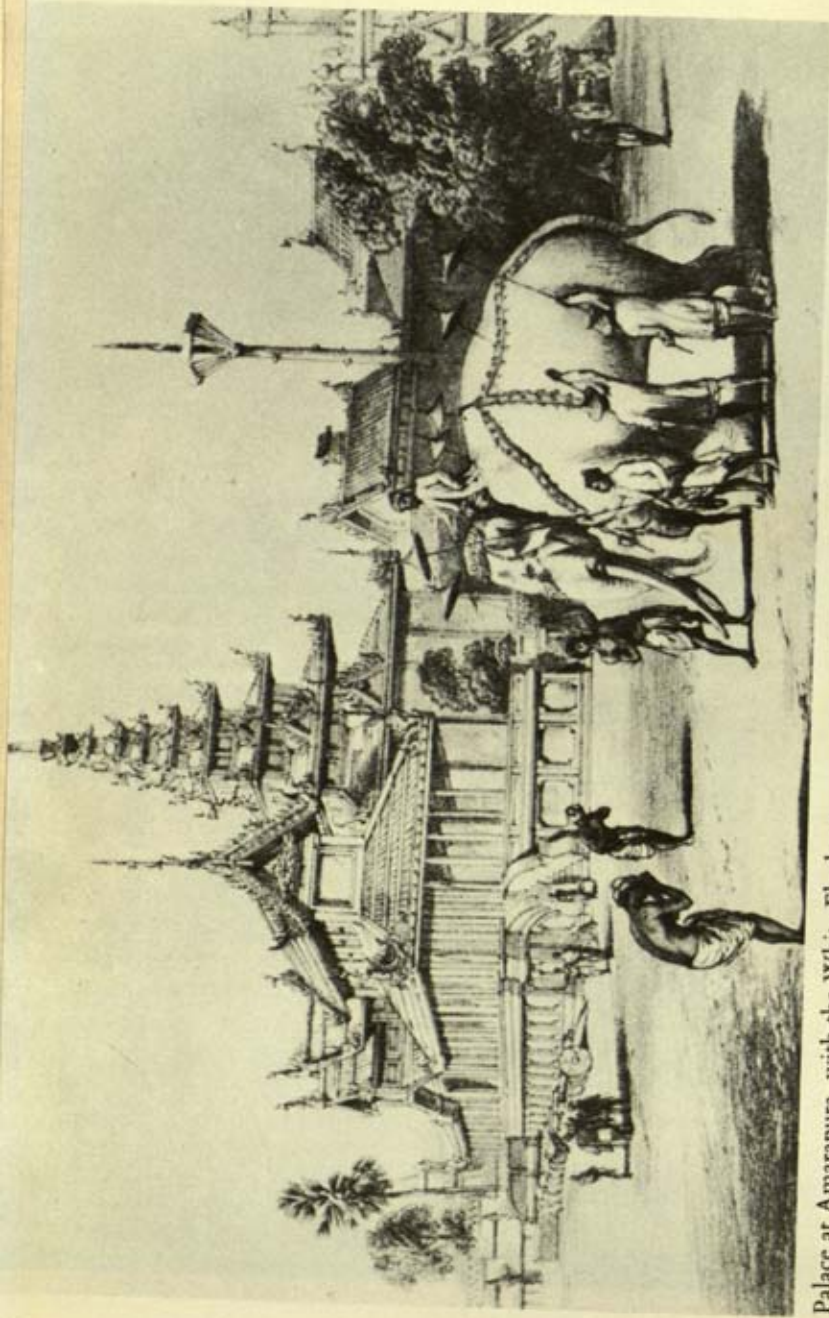
The outcome of the long period of wars was that Thailand, having been conquered by the Burmans, recovered her independence. Not only was Thai unity regained, but Thai power was extended over Chiangmai, Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Cambodia, and the north of the Malay peninsula. Burma

after early successes suffered defeat and lost all hope of holding Chiengmai; but Burma held Tenasserim and gained Arakan and Assam.

The general situation of Burma in the early nineteenth century thus was that the country, having ceased to expand eastwards, was expanding westwards towards the English East India Company's territories. A collision was inevitable.



Gateway of the Paon Pagoda at Hue



Palace at Amarapura, with the White Elephant

The Decline of Lan Chang

Souligna Vongsa

King Nokeo Koumane (1591-96) re-established the independence of Lan Chang after the Burmese invasions, and exacted homage from the small neighbouring state of Xieng Khouang. His successful reign was followed, however, by a period of disorder, in which contests for the succession to the throne occurred time after time. At last, in 1637, a prince named Souligna Vongsa forced his elder brother, Som Pou, to flee to Vietnam, and gained the throne. Souligna Vongsa ruled for the next fifty-seven years with firmness and justice. The kingdom prospered in his time and remained at peace except for a conflict with Xieng Khouang: the refusal of the king of that state to give Souligna Vongsa his daughter in marriage in 1651 led to war. In 1652 the Lan Chang forces occupied Xieng Khouang and compelled the king to submit.

Sai Ong Hue

Souligna Vongsa's death in 1694 was the signal for another struggle for the succession. His heirs were two grandsons who were too young to rule, and one of his ministers, named Tian Tala, usurped the throne. Tian Tala was murdered in 1700 and again confusion ensued. This situation gave an opportunity to Sai Ong Hue, son of Som Pou who had lost the contest for the throne in 1637. Sai Ong Hue secured Vietnamese support on condition of recognizing Vietnam as his overlord; he also had help from Xieng Khouang; he was thus able to capture Vientiane and set himself on the throne.

Partition of Lan Chang

Souligna Vongsa's two grandsons took refuge in the north of the kingdom. There they gathered forces and in 1707 they drove Sai Ong Hue's troops from Luang Prabang. One of the two princes proclaimed himself king of Luang Prabang, with the designation of King Kitsarat (1707-26). Besides thus losing the north of the kingdom, Sai Ong Hue was unable to hold the

south: there his brother, Chao Soi Sisamout, became independent ruler of Champassac (1713-37). Thus Lan Chang fell apart into three separate states, Luang Prabang in the north, Vientiane in the centre, and Champassac in the south.

Lan Chang had been an extensive and powerful kingdom, but the three successor states were individually small and weak. Their rulers, too, regarded one another with suspicion, and failed to co-operate. It is therefore not surprising that they became the prey of more powerful neighbours. Both Vietnam and Thailand cast covetous eyes on the Mekong valley kingdoms; and so did the Burmans.

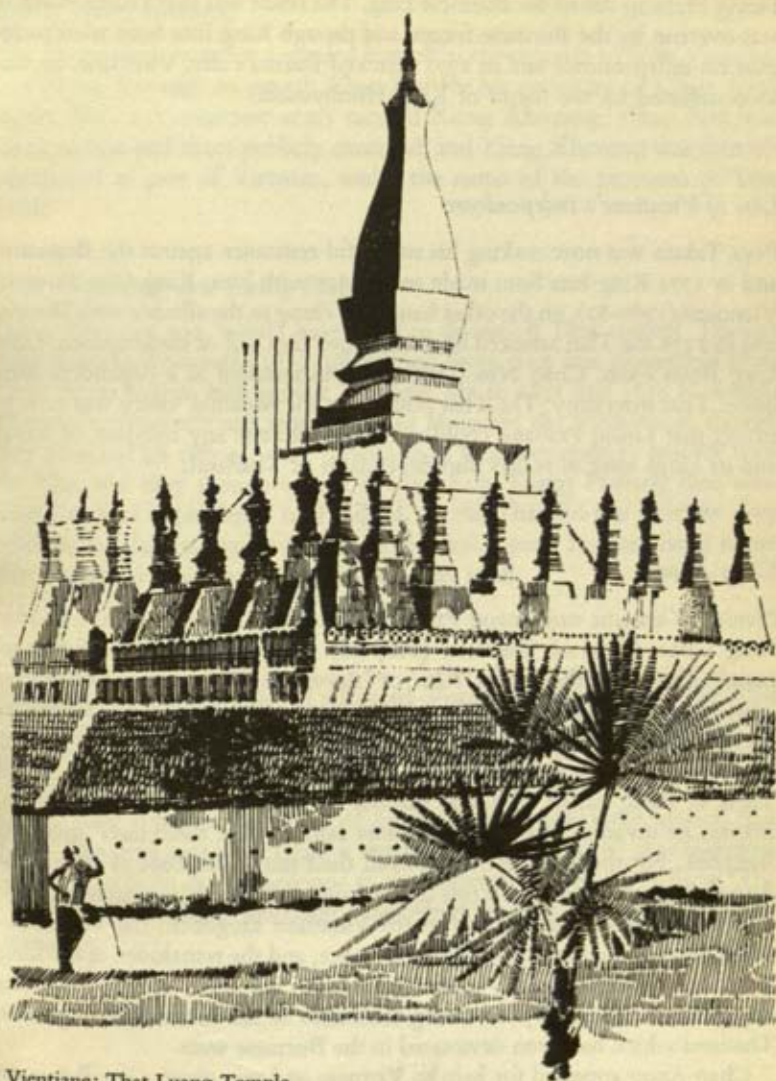
Vietnamese Intervention

King Inta Som of Luang Prabang (1727-76) tried to strengthen his position by securing Chinese patronage. In 1729 and in 1734 he sent embassies to Peking; but though friendly relations were thus established, they were of little help. The Trinh rulers of north Vietnam were now thinking of expanding into the Mekong valley, and in 1750 they claimed tribute from Luang Prabang; they sent an army to enforce their claim, and Inta Som had to resist this attack without any aid from China. Fortunately for him, internal troubles in Vietnam caused the Vietnamese to withdraw.

The kingdom of Vientiane also had trouble with the Vietnamese. The conflict arose over rival claims on Xieng Khouang. This state had long paid tribute to both Lan Chang and Vietnam, and now Vientiane claimed tribute as the successor to Lan Chang. King Ong Long of Vientiane (1735-60) used force to support his claims and took King Chom Pou of Xieng Khouang captive; the Vietnamese then intervened and in 1760 Chom Pou was released, though he thereafter paid tribute to Vientiane regularly, as well as paying it to Vietnam.

Burmese War

Still more serious were the troubles arising from the wars between Burmans and Thai. The Burmese armies invading Ayuthia wanted to protect their flank as they advanced, and therefore demanded the submission or the alliance of the states in the Mekong valley. Vientiane and Luang Prabang invariably took opposing sides: Vientiane accepted a Burmese alliance while Luang Prabang supported the Thai. So King Ong Long of Vientiane supported Alaungpaya's forces when they attacked Ayuthia, and Inta Som of



Vientiane: That Luang Temple

Luang Prabang defied the Burmese king. The result was that Luang Prabang was overrun by the Burmese forces, and though King Inta Som tried to regain his independence and in 1771 attacked Burma's ally, Vientiane, he was soon defeated by the forces of King Hsinbyushin.

Loss of Vientiane's Independence

Paya Taksin was now making his successful resistance against the Burmans, and in 1774 King Inta Som made an alliance with him. King Ong Boun of Vientiane (1760-82), on the other hand, still clung to the alliance with Burma, and in 1778 the Thai attacked him and drove him out of his kingdom. Later Ong Boun's son, Chao Nan (1782-92), was installed as a dependent king under Thai suzerainty. The Thai position in the Mekong valley was now so strong that Luang Prabang could no longer exercise any freedom of action and its kings were in reality also dependants of Thailand.

Chou Anou

Neither Vientiane nor Luang Prabang welcomed Thai suzerainty. In 1817 King Chao Anou of Vientiane (1805-28) suppressed a rising of the hill people, known to the Lao as 'Kha' or 'slaves', in Champassac, and secured Thai recognition of his son, Chao Ngo, as ruler of Champassac under Thai suzerainty. Having thus increased his strength, he sent tribute to Vietnam in the hope of gaining support from its emperor, though nothing came of this. Then, in 1826, misled by a false rumour of war between the Thai and the British, he invaded Thailand. His forces came within three days' march of Bangkok, but the Thai recovered from their initial surprise; in 1827 Chao Anou's forces were driven across the Mekong and the Thai occupied the city of Vientiane. This was the end of the Vientiane kingdom: the Vietnamese seized parts of the province of Khammouane, and the remainder of the kingdom was brought directly under Thai rule. The Thai to a great extent depopulated the area by removing thousands of the inhabitants to parts of Thailand which had been devastated in the Burmese wars.

Chao Anou appealed for help to Vietnam and was given a small measure of support with which he was able to re-enter the city of Vientiane. The Thai soon drove him out once more and he took refuge in Xieng Khouang. But King Chao Noi of Xieng Khouang surrendered him to the Thai in 1831, and he died in captivity in Bangkok in 1835.

Fall of Xieng Khouang

The Vietnamese emperor regarded himself as the suzerain of both Vientiane and Xieng Khouang: to punish Chao Noi for his surrender of Chao Anou to the Thai, a Vietnamese army entered Xieng Khouang, Chao Noi was taken to Hue and there publicly executed, and Xieng Khouang was then administered as part of Vietnam, under the name of the province of Tran Ninh.

Thai Suzerainty over Luang Prabang

Luang Prabang, too, would have liked to throw off Thai control. Though King Mantha Thourath (1817-36) refused more than one suggestion from Chao Anou to join him against Thailand, yet in 1831 and 1835 he sought Vietnam's protection and sent tribute to Hue; but the Vietnamese, though they accepted his tribute, were unwilling to incur unnecessary trouble with the Thai and they therefore gave him no help. Luang Prabang thus continued to be a dependency of Thailand. As the Thai did not interfere very much in the day-to-day governing of the state, Luang Prabang fared better than Vientiane which had ceased to be a state at all.

Position of Xieng Khouang

Xieng Khouang, too, achieved a limited degree of independence. The Thai incited revolts against Vietnamese rule, and in 1855 the government of Vietnam decided to pacify the people by installing as governor a prince named Chao Pho, son of Chao Noi who had been executed twenty years earlier. King Tiantha Koumane of Luang Prabang (1851-69) argued that Xieng Khouang was once more a separate state and that he was therefore entitled to tribute as the successor to the ancient kings of Lan Chang. The upshot was that Xieng Khouang paid tribute to both Luang Prabang and Vietnam.

The Unification of Vietnam

Divided Vietnam

For a hundred years after the Vietnamese kingdom was divided in 1673, peace prevailed between the two parts. In the north the Trinh family ruled Tongking in the name of the Le dynasty, and in the south the Nguyen family ruled Cochin-China as kings. The Nguyen hoped to regularize their position by sending tribute to China and securing recognition as vassal kings under the Chinese Emperor, but the Chinese still regarded the Le dynasty as the lawful rulers of all Vietnam, and therefore these advances were rejected.

The Trinh devoted their attention to improving the administration of Tongking and they limited their foreign activities to occasional attempts to impose their authority over the area west of the Annamite Chain. The Nguyen, in Cochin-China, were engaged in expansion southwards along the coastal plain and into the Mekong delta.

The Southwards Expansion

The ancient kingdom of Champa was finally suppressed by the Nguyen in 1720, when the last nominal king of the Chams fled with many of his people to Cambodia, where their descendants still live. By stages the Nguyen also gained control over much territory that had formerly been part of Cambodia. Military colonies were formed in lands beyond the Vietnamese frontier, retired soldiers and prisoners being sent to dwell in them; and when a colony had become well established, it was incorporated into the Cochin-China kingdom. War with Cambodia, and a contest with Ayuthia which also sought to gain Cambodian lands, occurred frequently, and by the middle of the eighteenth century Cambodia had lost all the lands of the Mekong delta now included in southern Vietnam.

The Tayson Rebellion

In 1765 Nguyen Phuc Khoat (1738-65) of Cochin-China died without leaving an adult heir. A regency was set up which proved incapable of controlling

the state; and in 1773, in the district of Tayson in the hills of the Annamite Chain, three brothers began a rebellion. Their names were Nguyen Van Nhac, Nguyen Van Lu, and Nguyen Van Hue, but 'Nguyen' was not their original name and they were not members of the ruling family: they adopted this name because it would lend authority to their movement. The Tayson rebels prospered, and the Trinh from Tongking seized the opportunity presented by the collapse of government to try to conquer Cochin-China under the pretext of aiding the Nguyen. They occupied Hue, the Cochin-China capital, in 1775 but were then halted by the Tayson under Van Nhac. In the south, Van Lu took the city of Saigon in 1776, and though the Nguyen regained it for a short time, the Tayson took it once more in 1777.



Fall of the Trinh

The Tayson brothers then attacked the Trinh. In 1786 they drove them from Hue and invaded Tongking itself. By the end of 1788 the Trinh were utterly crushed, and the last of the Le dynasty in whose name they had ruled, Le Man Hoang De (1786-1804), fled to China. Van Nhac was then proclaimed emperor of Annam, ruling the central part of the country, while Van Hue ruled Tongking and Van Lu ruled the south.

Nguyen Anh

A member of the Nguyen family, Nguyen Anh, had meanwhile taken refuge in the swamps of the Ca Mau peninsula, in the far south and, when driven from them, in the islands off the coast. One of his supporters, Do Thanh Nhon, raised an army and it was by his efforts that Saigon was regained by the Nguyen for a brief spell in 1777. Do Thanh Nhon was even able to intervene with success in the affairs of Cambodia. Nguyen Anh's prospects in the south seemed good but, apparently out of jealousy, he caused Do Thanh Nhon to be murdered. The latter's army naturally deserted the Nguyen cause, and though in 1782 the Nguyen forces once more took Saigon, they suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the Tayson in the next year.

Pigneau de Behaine

Nguyen Anh gained the friendship of a French missionary, Bishop Pigneau de Behaine, who resolved to seek French aid for the prince. In 1787 Pigneau arrived in France with Nguyen Anh's son, Canh, and proposed to the French government that a military expedition be sent to Vietnam to repress the Tayson brothers. For both religious and commercial reasons, the French government were not unfavourable. In November 1787 a treaty was signed, whereby France was to provide military aid in return for a monopoly of external trade and the cession of the island known as Pulo Condore off the mouth of the Mekong, and further territory at the port of Tourane in central Vietnam.

The French government were bankrupt, however, and they left the task of carrying out their obligation to the governor of the French establishments in India; but they privately told him that he need not take any action if it seemed better not to. The governor was not interested in Vietnam, and when Pigneau reached Pondicherry in 1788 he received no official help. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and the long years of war in Europe



Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam

that ensued also contributed to the frustration of Pigneau's plans: nothing at all was done by the French government to help Nguyen Anh. Some of the French merchants in Pondicherry provided money, however, and so the bishop raised a few hundred volunteers and purchased four shiploads of arms.

Nguyen Anh's Victory

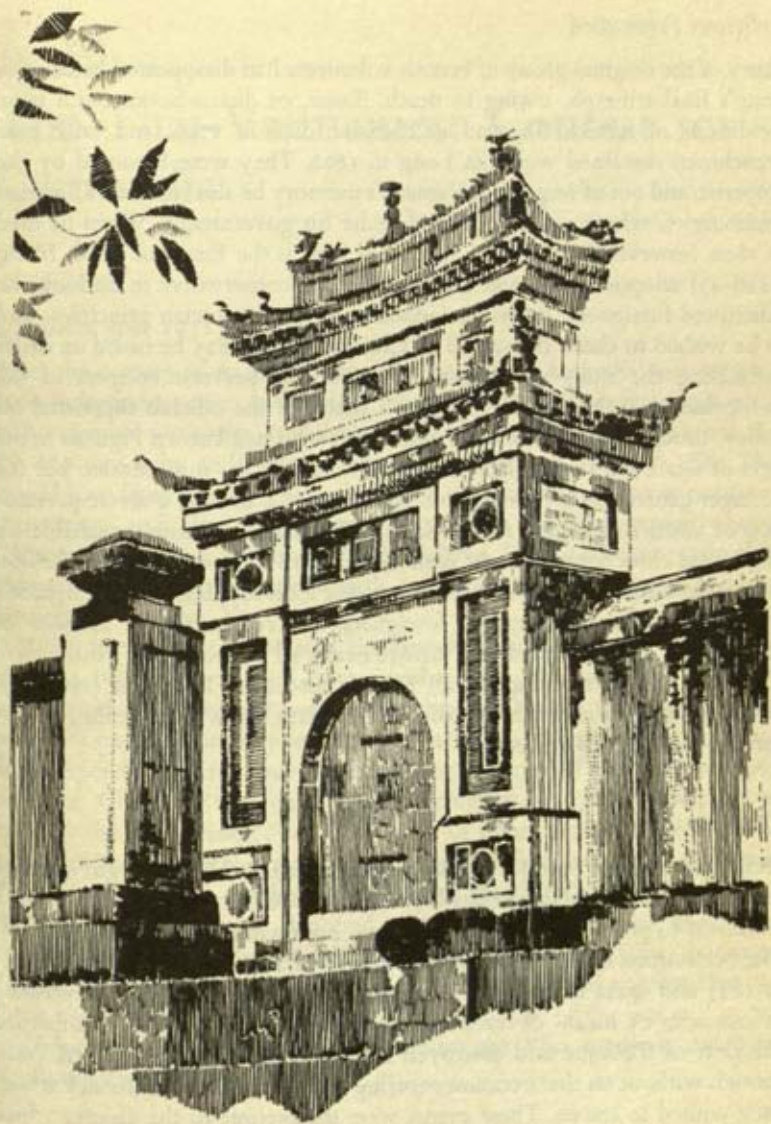
The preoccupation of the Tayson brothers in their conquest of Tongking, whither they had withdrawn most of their forces from the south, gave Nguyen Anh a chance to make progress in Cochin-China. In 1788 he finally captured Saigon. The help which soon afterwards arrived from Pondicherry aided him in gaining more of the delta region. The French volunteers were employed to train the Nguyen army, to construct fortifications, and to create a navy. Such help was of value, but Nguyen Anh was perhaps assisted still more by the outbreak of disputes among the Tayson brothers.

In 1792, Nguyen Anh was able to attack the north where Van Hue, the ablest of the brothers, had just died. Van Nhac died in the following year, and leadership passed to Quang Toan, Van Hue's son, who lacked his father's ability. The war went on for another ten years, till in 1801 the Nguyen forces took Hue and in 1802 took Hanoi.

Nguyen Anh then proclaimed himself emperor of Vietnam with the designation of Emperor Gia Long, so indicating that he had united Vietnam from Gia Dinh (the region round Saigon) in the south to Thanh Long (the region of Hanoi) in the north. He sent an embassy to Peking and in the following year, 1803, a Chinese mission brought him a seal of office, on the understanding that tribute would be regularly paid. To the Chinese he was known as the ruler of Annam.

Gia Long's Rule

The period of war which Vietnam had undergone necessitated a period of reconstruction. Many important public works were therefore carried out in Gia Long's reign. The irrigation and flood-control system in the Red River delta was repaired and improved. A road some 1,300 miles long was constructed along the coast between Hanoi and Saigon. Fortifications were built at strategic points. To control his far-flung dominions, Gia Long divided his kingdom into three parts, corresponding with their historical development. In the north, the region of Tongking which the Trinh had governed formed one major division under a viceroy; in the centre, the lands which the Nguyen had long controlled formed the region of Annam which the emperor himself directly governed from his capital at Hue; and in the south the lands, now known as Cochin-China, which had formerly been part of Cambodia, formed yet another division under a viceroy. Each division was organized into a number of provinces, of which there were thirteen in Tongking, nine in Annam, and four in Cochin-China; and each province was subdivided into counties, below which were districts and villages. The administrative work was carried on by civil servants: officials who had served the Trinh princes in Tongking were readily re-employed, and to fill vacancies, the old system of competitive examinations was revived. At Hue, the central government comprised six ministries, for public affairs, finance, rites, war, justice, and public works, and the ministers in charge of these departments formed the emperor's supreme council. In 1815, Gia Long issued a code of laws, based on Chinese principles. By these measures, which recall Le Thanh Ton's work in the fifteenth century, Gia Long formed a strong state, with an effective centralized government.



The Tomb of the Emperors at Hue

Religious Persecution

Many of the original group of French volunteers had disappeared before Gia Long's final triumph, owing to death, illness, or dissatisfaction with their conditions of service. Pigneau de Behaine died in 1799, and only four Frenchmen remained with Gia Long in 1802. They were favoured by the emperor, and out of respect for Pigneau's memory he also tolerated Christian missionaries, whose work flourished under his government. When he died in 1820, however, his son who succeeded him as the Emperor Minh Mang (1820-41) adopted a different attitude. He was conservative in outlook; he mistrusted foreigners; he was an adherent of the Confucian principles; and so he wished to check the spread of Christianity. In 1825 he issued an order forbidding the entry of missionaries since 'the perverse religion of the Europeans corrupts the heart of man'. Many of the officials supported his policy, though not all. The older generation who had known Pigneau in the days of Gia Long's struggle were well disposed to the missionaries, but the younger generation favoured Minh Mang's views. In 1833 a severe persecution of Christians began. Adherence to Christianity became punishable by death, and churches were to be demolished. This measure caused a rebellion in Cochinchina, and though the rising was soon suppressed, the emperor's mistrust of Christians and of foreigners was confirmed. A number of missionaries were executed, and in 1836 nearly all the ports of Vietnam were closed to foreign shipping. Minh Mang's successor, Thieu Tri (1841-48), continued to persecute the Vietnamese Christians but was less willing to put foreign missionaries to death.

French Intervention

During the time of both Minh Mang and Thieu Tri, the French government made attempts to establish friendly relations. On several occasions envoys were sent to propose a commercial treaty, but their proposals were rejected. The persecution of the missionaries then led to forceful action by the French: in 1843 and again in 1845, French warships secured the release of arrested missionaries by means of threats to use force; and in 1847 they bombarded the port of Tourane and destroyed a number of Vietnamese naval craft, though without on that occasion ensuring the safety of the missionary whom they wished to rescue. These events were the prelude to the disaster which befell Vietnam in the reign of Thieu Tri's successor, when the French conquest of Vietnam began.

The Thai-Vietnamese Contest for Cambodia

Cambodia after 1431

After the capture of Angkor by the Thai in 1431, Cambodia still survived as an independent state, and though shorn of its former greatness still occupied extensive territories. It included not only Cambodia of today but also the Mekong delta and wide areas which are now in Thailand. The Thai would have liked to keep a puppet king on the throne, but Khmer resistance was strong and also Ayuthia was busy with the long contest against Chiangmai and with the conflict with Malacca. Cambodia thus retained its independence, though relations with Ayuthia were still difficult and war sometimes occurred.

When in the sixteenth century the kingdom of Ayuthia was undergoing attack by Burma, Cambodia became involved. King Barom Racha (1566-76) reorganized the army and built a fleet; he then sought vengeance for his country's past sufferings by invading Ayuthia in 1571, though he achieved little beyond capturing many Thai whom he carried off as slaves. His successor, Chettha I (1576-94), repeated the venture in 1587, but was driven back by the Thai leader, Pra Naret, who in return invaded Cambodia in 1594. Pra Naret's forces occupied and plundered the Khmer capital, then at the town of Lovek, north of the modern capital, Phnom Penh. Many thousands of Khmer were deported to replace population lost during the Burmese wars, and a Thai garrison was left at Lovek. For a time, therefore, Cambodia became a dependency of Ayuthia; but this did not last long. In about 1615 the Cambodians, again taking advantage of the war still going on between Ayuthia and Burma, drove out the Thai garrison, and Thai attempts to regain control failed.

Vietnamese Encroachment

Soon afterwards Cambodia had a new enemy to face. The Khmer began to experience the effects of the Vietnamese expansion southwards, and from

this time onwards the history of Cambodia is largely the story of the rivalry between Vietnamese and Thai for control over the Khmer lands.

The formation of Vietnamese colonies outside the frontier of the Nguyen kingdom of Cochin-China and the subsequent incorporation of these colonies into Cochin-China led to frequent outbreaks of war; and also the progress of the Vietnamese southwards enabled them to interfere in Cambodia's domestic politics. Cambodia suffered, like other kingdoms of the period, from frequent disputes about the succession to the throne, and rival candidates looked for outside help. Thus the ruling class in Cambodia became divided into two parties, one looking for help from Vietnam and the other looking for help from the Thai; and both Vietnamese and Thai expected some return, in the form of cessions of territory, for their aid.

Chinese Intrusion

A further complication was the arrival in Cambodia of Chinese forces. These were adherents of the Ming dynasty in China, who fled abroad at the time of the Manchu conquest of their homeland. Just as some sought refuge in Burma and proved a nuisance there, so others found a home in Cambodia and likewise caused much trouble. They went first from China to Vietnam, where they enlisted under the banner of a Cambodian prince named Ang Non who had been defeated in a struggle for the Cambodian throne in 1671 and had found refuge under the Nguyen. Ang Non had lost the throne to his cousin, Ang Sor, who had Thai support; so he hoped for Vietnamese aid. The Nguyen, seeing an opportunity for both aiding Ang Non and getting rid of their unwelcome guests, encouraged the Chinese to follow Ang Non back to Cambodia. One group under an officer named Yang settled at Mytho, south-west from Saigon; another group under an officer named Yeng went to Bien Hoa, north-east of Saigon. They proved more troublesome to Ang Non than to his cousin, however, and to keep them in order he again sought Vietnamese aid. The Vietnamese subdued the Chinese and, their forces being thus well established in the Mekong delta, they seized the chance to bring part of that area under their own rule; they also forced Ang Sor to recognize the Nguyen king as his overlord. Yet a third Chinese group under Mac Cuu settled in the Hatien region, west of the delta, on the seacoast.

Loss of the Mekong Delta

Again in 1714 the Khmer throne was disputed: King Thommo Racha was

driven out by his uncle, Ang Em, who was supported by the Vietnamese. He went to Ayuthia and obtained Thai aid. In the three succeeding years Thai armies entered Cambodia and, to bring the war to an end and to avoid becoming too dependent on his Vietnamese allies, Ang Em submitted to Ayuthia and agreed to pay tribute. During these campaigns the Thai attacked Hatien, and Mac Cuu therefore put himself under Cochinchina's protection and Hatien became a province of Cochinchina with Mac Cuu as its Governor. Later in the eighteenth century, when the Thai were once more engaged in war with Burma, and so could not give any attention to Cambodian affairs, the Vietnamese took more Khmer territory so that they held all the delta.

Thai Intervention

The Thai recovery under Paya Taksin altered the situation. Once more Cambodia suffered a contest for the throne, between two princes named Ang Nong and Ang Tong, and again the rivals sought Thai and Vietnamese aid respectively. In 1769 Paya Taksin drove Ang Tong out and, though the Nguyen managed to reinstate him for a time, in 1773 he gave up the struggle and retired in favour of Ang Nong. Yet again in 1779 civil war occurred: the pro-Vietnamese party rebelled and, with the aid of Nguyen Ahn's general, Do Thanh Nhon, were victorious. Ang Nong was killed and Ang Eng, son of Ang Nong's former rival, Ang Tong, became king. A Thai army was then sent into Cambodia but before it had achieved anything its commander, General Chakri, had to return to Bangkok owing to the deposition of Paya Taksin.

Thai Domination

For the time being the pro-Vietnamese party in Cambodia was triumphant. But Vietnam was distracted by the long civil war which did not end till Gia Long's triumph in 1802. Cambodia again fell into disorder and the young king, Ang Eng, had to flee the country. There was no safety for him in Vietnam, so he sought refuge with his former enemies, the Thai; at Bangkok in 1794 he was proclaimed king of Cambodia as a dependant of Rama I, and was then sent back to Cambodia under the protection of an army led by an officer named Ben. Ang Eng was put on the throne, and Ben as reward was appointed governor of Battambang province, which he ruled in the name of the king of Thailand and which thus ceased to be part of Cambodia.

The Thai now had control over Cambodia, and when King Ang Eng died

in 1796 they kept the throne vacant for six years; they then installed Ang Eng's son, Ang Chan. During this interregnum the Thai gained for themselves the provinces of Mongkol Borey, Sisophon and Korat.

Renewed Vietnamese Intervention

Gia Long's victory in Vietnam led to a revival of Vietnamese interference. He desired tribute from Cambodia, and so as to avert a further war, the Khmer government sent tribute to him as well as to the king of Thailand. In 1812, however, occurred another of the incessant dynastic struggles which caused Cambodia so much suffering and loss: one of Ang Chan's brothers rebelled and King Rama II of Thailand sent an army to support the rebels, while Gia Long sent an army to support Ang Chan. Rama II, not wanting a large-scale war, withdrew his forces. A Vietnamese garrison was then stationed at the capital, Phnom Penh; but the Thai, as recompense for withdrawing, occupied the provinces of Melouprey, Tonle Repou, and Stung Treng.

The 1845 Compromise

The Thai were not content with seeing Cambodia pass under Vietnamese control, and in 1831 the forces of King Rama III invaded the country, accompanied by one of Ang Chan's brothers named Ang Duong. Ang Chan fled to Vietnam, and the Vietnamese emperor, Minh Mang, sent a force which repelled the Thai and reinstated Ang Chan. On Ang Chan's death in 1834, he left no son to succeed him; so, in preference to his brother Ang Duong, who was a protégé of the Thai, the Vietnamese put on the throne a princess, Ang Mey, as queen. They also reorganized the administration of the country, dividing it into thirty-three new provinces and making the country for administrative purposes part of Vietnam. The absorption of Cambodia by Vietnam led to resistance, and a Khmer party offered the crown to the exiled prince Ang Duong who was still living in Thailand. He accepted the offer and in 1841 a Thai army entered Cambodia and put him on the throne. The Vietnamese resisted the Thai invasion, and war went on till 1845. Then a compromise was agreed to: Cambodia was placed under the joint suzerainty of both Thailand and Vietnam, and Ang Duong paid tribute to each.

The situation by the middle of the nineteenth century thus was that Cambodia had lost the Mekong delta, which had been annexed by Vietnam, and had lost much territory also to the Thai, who had gained the provinces

in the west and north of the kingdom. Cambodia was reduced to small dimensions, and would very likely have disappeared entirely had it not been for the intervention of the French a few years later.

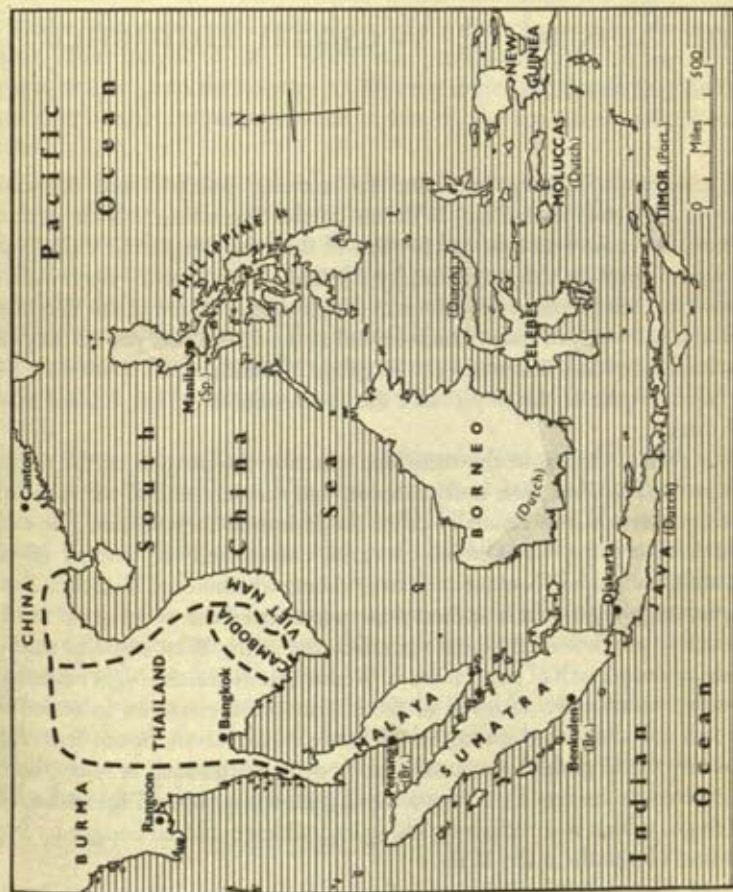
Time Chart

- 1713 Partition of Lan Chang
- 1753 Alaungpaya's capture of Ava
- 1760 Burmese invasion of Ayuthia
- 1765 Tayson rebellion in Vietnam
- 1767 Burmese capture of Ayuthia
- 1782 Rama I, King of Thailand
- 1784-5 Burmese conquest of Arakan
- 1802 Gia Long, Emperor of Vietnam
- 1827 Fall of Vientiane
- 1845 Joint Thai-Vietnamese suzerainty over Cambodia

EXERCISES

1. Write an account of the career of Alaungpaya and show his importance in the history of Burma.
2. Give a brief account of the Burma-Thai wars of the eighteenth century.
3. Explain how Lan Chang came to be divided into three separate States.
4. Describe the career of Nguyen Anh (Gia Long) and its effects on Vietnam.
5. Describe the weaknesses under which Cambodia suffered in the seventeenth century.
6. Write an outline history of the kingdom of Vientiane from 1707 to 1831.
7. Indicate with the aid of a sketch-map the losses of territory which Cambodia suffered at Thai and Vietnamese hands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Nineteenth Century



South-East Asia: areas under Western influence in the early nineteenth century

The Spread of Western Influence

The nineteenth century witnessed far-reaching political and economic changes in South-East Asia. Whereas at the beginning of the century Western influence was confined to parts of the archipelago, the Philippines, and a few ports on the mainland, by the end of the century the whole of South-East Asia had been brought into the economic sphere of the West, and of all the independent states which existed at the start of the period only one remained at the end. Except for the kingdom of Thailand, all South-East Asia had become part of the empire of a European state or of the United States of America.

This radical change in the situation, whereby the peoples of the region, but for the Thai, lost their independence, was the outcome of the economic development which is generally called the Industrial Revolution. The rapid growth of industry in Western countries necessitated the import of raw materials, such as tin, bauxite and later rubber, which South-East Asia could supply; and the growth of industry also necessitated the opening up of new markets where the commodities manufactured in the West could be sold. In addition, the growth of population in Western lands and the higher standards of living which were achieved in the industrialized countries increased the demand for consumer goods which were available in South-East Asia. Formerly the West had purchased costly commodities such as spices, but in the nineteenth century there was a rapidly growing demand for coffee, tea, and sugar, which were relatively cheap and which could be bought by large numbers of people in the West.

Most of the peoples of South-East Asia, however, were not greatly interested in developing economic links with outside countries. They preferred to go on in their accustomed ways, in their villages, growing enough food for themselves and making in their own homes such necessities as textiles and tools. Their rulers, too, for the most part preferred to keep foreigners at a distance rather than allow them to enter and introduce new and upsetting ideas. The West, therefore, could not acquire the commodities which it wanted or open new markets unless it gained political control. The Dutch had found this out in Java and the Moluccas in the

seventeenth century, and now it was apparent to Western peoples generally. The West, therefore, began to seek empires in South-East Asia.

The attitude of the West towards China was much the same. China's products, such as tea, were wanted, and access was sought to the vast market which China provided. So pressure was brought to bear on the Chinese government to open the country to Western trade; and South-East Asia became increasingly important, since it was on the road from the West to China.

Other motives were involved. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth there was a great increase in Christian missionary activity among both Europeans and Americans. The Christian missionary societies wanted to send their representatives to Asian lands; but sometimes the missionaries were not welcomed and sometimes converts to their faith were persecuted. The missionary societies therefore pressed the Governments of their countries to intervene to protect the missionaries, and their converts; but protection could be ensured only by imposing Western control.

Many Europeans who were not missionaries thought that Asia would benefit from Western ideas. The rapid growth of Europe in prosperity and power in the nineteenth century produced the belief that Western ways of life and government were the ideal and that all the world would benefit by adopting them. This idea encouraged Europeans and Americans to take an interest in South-East Asia and, since their ways of life and government could not be introduced by any other means, they wanted to bring the region under their political control.

The result of this combination of material and idealistic motives was the conquest of South-East Asia by the West—by Dutch, French, British, and Americans; and sometimes serious disputes arose among these Western peoples because of their conflicting interests.

Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century the Dutch extended their control over the greater part of the archipelago. Whereas at the opening of the period they held Java, the Moluccas, and a few ports elsewhere, by the end of the century they had imposed their government over most of it, though the Portuguese still held part of Timor and part of Borneo came under British influence. The century also saw a rapid development of the economy of the archipelago: at the beginning, Dutch interest was concentrated on Java, but as the century went on, attention turned increasingly to what the Dutch called the Outer Islands.

The Dutch at the Opening of the Century

When the century began, the Dutch position in the archipelago seemed to be collapsing. During the eighteenth century, corruption had crept into the administration of the Dutch East India Company. Servants of the company made vast fortunes by illicit means. Large sums were stolen from the funds. When profits were low, money was borrowed by the company so that dividends might be paid. Perhaps still more serious, in 1780 the Netherlands became involved in war with Great Britain, and British naval power temporarily destroyed the Dutch overseas trade. At the end of the war in 1784, too, the Dutch had to promise not to obstruct British shipping in eastern seas, and so their monopoly of trade was undermined.

In 1783 the company finally ceased to pay dividends. It borrowed money from the Netherlands government and the debt steadily increased. The involvement of the Netherlands in the French wars with Great Britain which broke out in 1793 struck a further blow at trade. So, on 31 December 1799, the company was dissolved and its property was taken over by the Netherlands government.

By this time the French had expelled the head of the Netherlands state, William V, and established a republic. William V took refuge in England and, by documents called from his place of residence the 'Kew Letters', he ordered Dutch officials in the archipelago to put the company's territories under British protection. The British then occupied most of the Dutch

positions outside Java. Malacca and Padang were occupied in 1795; Amboyna and Banda in 1796; Ternate in 1799. When peace in Europe was temporarily arranged by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, these places were given up to the Dutch Republic; but war began again in 1803 and the British resumed their occupation. Java remained in Dutch hands and under the governorship of Daendels from 1808 onwards its defences were much strengthened against a possible British attack. The British had stopped Java's overseas trade, however, and to pay for his defence works Daendels sold large areas of land to Chinese settlers. He also collected forced loans, ordered all rice to be sold to the government which resold it at a profit, and took other unpopular measures to raise money. His need for labour on his defence works led to serious trouble with the Javanese princes. When the sultan of Bantam's request for a relaxation of the demand for labour was refused, the Dutch guards in Bantam were murdered; Daendels then quelled the revolt by force and annexed the coastal districts of that state. He intervened in a quarrel between Jogjakarta and Surakarta and deposed the sultan of Jogjakarta. His arbitrary methods offended the Dutch in Java also, and they were aggrieved by his strong measures against corruption. Owing to their complaints, he was recalled in 1811.

The British Occupation

Shortly after the departure of Daendels, the British in 1811 invaded Java. Though the Dutch forces were more numerous than the British they were speedily overcome.

Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java and its dependencies on behalf of the English East India Company. Raffles, who had served the company in Penang, was a keen student of Malay language and affairs, and his writings on the peoples and lands of the archipelago are still a valuable source of historical information. He quickly secured control over Java, though he had some difficulty with the princes. They no doubt hoped to regain their independence when the Dutch were overthrown. The sultan of Jogjakarta whom Daendels had deposed promptly resumed his former powers but he was not willing to submit to British authority and was again deposed and this time was banished. In Surakarta too Raffles had to threaten the use of force. Both Jogjakarta and Surakarta were deprived of part of their territory, and the authority of their rulers over the remainder was reduced to a mere shadow. In Bantam dynastic rivalries produced much disorder, and in 1813 the sultan was persuaded to surrender his territory in return for a pension: this was the end of the kingdom of Bantam.

Raffles reformed the administration in Java. He paid less attention to the rest of the territories under his control, though he prohibited the slave trade and tried to repress piracy, and he put the tin mines of Bangka on a business-like footing. It was in Java that his main work was done. There he introduced sweeping changes. He regarded the welfare of the people as his major duty, and he believed that their welfare could best be achieved by establishing equality before the law and by encouraging private enterprise. He therefore abolished the Dutch system of having different courts of law for different races of people; he abolished the use of torture by the courts; he prohibited slavery; he introduced the system of administration used in British India, so that the country was divided into residencies, districts, divisions, and villages, and hereditary chiefs became appointed officials who were strictly supervised by European officers.

He wanted also to abolish the Dutch system of compulsory cultivation: he preferred the cultivator to grow whatever crops he wished, and to pay taxes instead of delivering produce at the direction of the government. For this purpose he levied what was called rent but was in fact a land-tax, assessed according to the productivity of the soil. Raffles thus gave the cultivators a degree of freedom which they had not enjoyed in the days when the authorities ordered them to produce such crops as the Dutch could conveniently export. The need for money, however, prevented Raffles from applying freedom of cultivation in the Preanger, where the revenue derived from compulsory coffee-planting was valuable.

Raffles also abolished the system of farming out the customs and salt revenues to the Chinese; he reduced the tolls and other local taxes which hampered trade within Java. His interest in the people of Java led him to encourage the study of their history and he himself wrote a *History of Java*, published in 1817; he endeavoured to preserve the ancient buildings of Java, and caused a survey to be made of the great temple of Borobodur. Raffles's time in Java was, however, short. He left in 1816. He had hoped that the British would retain Java permanently and his reforms were based on that idea. But before the country had settled down to the new ways which he introduced, it was given back to the Dutch. Thus his reforms were not entirely successful.

The Return of the Dutch

When the wars in Europe ended, the Dutch territories were given back. British policy aimed at creating a strong kingdom of the Netherlands in Europe as a barrier against the French, and Dutch prosperity was clearly de-

pendent on the eastern trade. In any case, expenditure in the archipelago under the British had, as in the later years of the Dutch company, exceeded revenue, and the English East India Company disliked this burden. So by the Convention of London, of August 1814, the British agreed to reinstate the Dutch. Java was handed over in 1816 and other possessions somewhat later; the last, Padang, in Sumatra, was given up in May 1819; but the British still held their old post, Fort Marlborough, on Sumatra's west coast.

The authority of the Dutch had been seriously weakened by what had occurred. They had surrendered their territories to the British with hardly any resistance; and they had regained their territories not through their own efforts but only because the British did not want to keep them. Many of the rulers and people of the archipelago thought therefore that they would be able to throw off Dutch control and regain their independence. Thus the Dutch were able to reimpose their authority in some areas only by the use of force.

Extension of Dutch Power

Even after the Dutch regained control over the territories which they had held prior to the British occupation, the need for military action continued. As the nineteenth century drew on, other Western peoples became increasingly interested in the archipelago and neighbouring lands. The British established themselves in Singapore and later in Borneo and in the Malay peninsula; the French gained Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; the Germans acquired part of New Guinea; and the Americans replaced the Spaniards in the Philippines. The Dutch became nervous lest these powers should try to extend their hold by seizing parts of the archipelago which in the past the Dutch had left very much alone. Outside Java and the Moluccas, the Dutch had been content to occupy a few ports, make treaties with ruling princes so as to ensure a commercial monopoly, and otherwise to leave the islands to themselves. In the second half of the century, however, for fear of the intervention of other powers, they took steps to bring all the Outer Islands under control; and this could be achieved only by military means. The nineteenth century was therefore a period of war in the archipelago.

The Java War

In Jogjakarta war was precipitated partly by a dynastic dispute and partly by Dutch agrarian policy. Amangku Buwana III, whom Raffles installed as ruler, died in 1814; his son, Amangku Buwana IV, died in 1822, and the Dutch recognized as his successor his infant son. This aggrieved the new

sultan's uncle, Dipo Negoro. Many of the most influential people in Jogjakarta also had a grievance: landowners had become accustomed to lease their land to Europeans and Chinese, who then enjoyed all the lord's rights over the people living on it; but some of the tenants oppressed the people by exacting compulsory labour. In 1822, therefore, the Dutch authorities forbade such leases for the future and declared all existing leases cancelled and ordered the money paid for the concessions to be refunded. As the chiefs had spent the money, they had difficulty in obeying the order, and as they could obtain the necessary sums only by making their people work harder, people as well as chiefs were annoyed. Finally, by proposing to build a road over an area where there was a sacred tomb, the Dutch outraged the religious feelings of Dipo Negoro, who was a devout Muslim. So in 1825 Dipo Negoro led what was partly a holy war against the Dutch. The susuhunan of Surakarta, who also resented Dutch methods, thought it wiser to give some aid to the Dutch; even so, it was not till 1829 that serious guerrilla warfare in Jogjakarta ended. Dipo Negoro tried to continue the struggle but in 1830 he was treacherously arrested by the Dutch while engaged in negotiations with them; he was sent to Celebes where he died in 1855. During this Java War nearly 15,000 Dutch government troops were killed or died of sickness, and it has been estimated that the number of Javanese who died in battle or through indirect results of the war such as sickness and famine was no less than 200,000.

When the war ended, the Dutch deprived Jogjakarta of part of its territory and, pursuing the policy of weakening the princely states, also took territory from Surakarta in spite of the support which the susuhunan had given them. The susuhunan seemed likely to begin another war because of this treatment, but he was banished to Amboyna.

Moluccas

The return of the Dutch to the Moluccas in 1817 was followed by a rebellion of the people of Saparua island and of Amboyna, who feared a revival of the old system whereby production of spices was restricted. It was some months before order was restored. The Dutch authorities then abolished the practice of restricting the number of spice-trees and promised the cultivators a fair price for their products.

Celebes

The Dutch had still greater difficulty in re-establishing themselves in Celebes.

In the south, the ruler of Boni resisted, and not till 1825 were the Dutch able by means of a military expedition to gain any hold. Even so, Boni remained almost completely independent. In 1858-59 there was more warfare with the Bugis. Dutch authority was not effective in south Celebes until, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Dutch troops occupied the Boni sultanate. In Menado, in the north-east of Celebes, where the people were mostly Christians, the return of the Dutch was welcomed.

Borneo

In 1817-18, the Dutch took steps to re-establish their position in Borneo. The rulers of Bandjermasin, Sambas and Pontianak welcomed the return of the Dutch, for they needed support against Chinese miners who worked gold in the interior of their states and who were virtually independent, and against Bugis pirates. They welcomed the arrival of Dutch officials and troops, and they recognized Dutch sovereignty over their dominions. In 1825, however, the Java War broke out and the troops were recalled to take part in the military operations; and when the Java War was over, the Dutch concentrated their attention on Java and Borneo was neglected. They held ports on the south and south-west coasts, but had little authority inland, and they paid almost no attention to the east coast. When, however, British influence was established in Sarawak by Raja Brooke, the Dutch feared that they might lose their position in Borneo entirely and they therefore took steps to strengthen their authority. Moreover, as a result of the development of steamships, coal was in demand, and coal-mines had been opened in Bandjermasin and in Kutei on the east coast; the mines could be worked profitably only if orderly government were established, but the Chinese coal-miners were as troublesome as the Chinese gold-miners and maintained practical independence. The Bugis pirates, too, who had settled in some of the river estuaries were still a menace. In 1850 troops were sent to repress the miners, though not till 1854 did they finally submit. Then the Dutch became involved in a dispute about the succession to the throne of Bandjermasin; they put an unpopular prince on the throne, and so a rebellion broke out in 1859. In 1860 they abolished the sultanate of Bandjermasin and brought the territory under direct rule, but the Bandjermasin War went on till 1867. Even after that, much of Borneo remained unexplored and unadministered till in 1905 the Dutch sent a military expedition which established their power in the interior.

The Sunda Islands

In Bali and the neighbouring island of Lombok the ruling chiefs asserted their independence when the British withdrew. The Dutch were for some time too busy elsewhere to try to establish their authority in these islands, but in 1846 and again in 1849 they attempted to conquer Bali. They gained control over part of the island, and the chiefs in the remaining parts made a nominal recognition of Dutch superiority; but in practice the chiefs remained independent, and slave trading and piracy continued. Towards the end of the century, the Dutch intervened to protect the Muslims of Lombok against Hindu raiders from Bali, and Lombok was brought under direct Dutch rule in 1894. The next step was the occupation of Bali, but not till 1914 was Bali sufficiently under control for the Dutch troops to withdraw and for normal civil administration to function.

In the neighbouring islands of Flores, Solor and Timor, the Dutch in 1850 purchased Portuguese rights over Larantuka, at the eastern tip of Flores, and over Solor; and in 1902 the boundary between Dutch Timor and Portuguese Timor was finally settled.

New Guinea

The Dutch had made no settlements at all in New Guinea before the nineteenth century. In earlier days supremacy over the coastland of West New Guinea had been claimed by several rulers in the Moluccas, but gradually the influence of the sultan of Tidore prevailed against his rivals; and when in the seventeenth century Tidore submitted to the Dutch, the latter supported the sultan's claims to tribute from New Guinea. The Dutch did no more till, in 1828, fears of British and French expansion led them to proclaim their occupation of West New Guinea without prejudice to the rights of the sultan of Tidore over certain areas; and they then set up a station on Triton Bay. The unhealthy character of the area and the danger of attack by pirates led to the abandonment of this settlement in 1836. In 1848 the Dutch issued a decree defining the boundaries of Tidore's territories, and for some time after this Tidore sent expeditions to exact tribute by force. In 1860, a new agreement between the Dutch and Tidore provided that the former could take over the administration whenever they wished to do so; but nothing more was done till in 1884 the British established a protectorate in south-east New Guinea and the Germans occupied north-east New Guinea. The Dutch then made arrangements to administer the western part of the island. The southern area of West New Guinea was declared to be separate from

Tidore, and though the northern part was still nominally under the sultan, the Dutch administered it. In 1902, the whole area was divided into three administrative districts under the Dutch Resident in the Moluccas. The boundary between Dutch and British New Guinea was settled by treaty in 1895.

Sumatra

Sumatra caused the Dutch more trouble than any other part of the archipelago. On the west coast, the British held Fort Marlborough, where Raffles was in charge from 1818 to 1824. Raffles resented the surrender of Java to the Dutch under the 1814 convention, and he took every opportunity for harassing them in Sumatra. He tried to intervene in a dispute for the succession to the throne of Palembang and not till 1821 did the Dutch succeed in gaining control of that state; in 1823 the sultan surrendered his rights of rulership to the Dutch in return for a monetary payment. On the west coast the Dutch were troubled by a rising of a religious sect called the Padri. This sect was led by men who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca from the port of Pedir, and so were called 'men of Pedir', but the Dutch connected the name with the term 'Padre', meaning in Portuguese a priest, and so they referred to them as 'the Padris'. Raffles intervened in this trouble also, by trying to protect the people of Samawang and of Padang against the Padris, but Dutch protests caused the government of India to order him to withdraw. The governor of Penang, too, entered into treaties of friendship with the east coast states of Siak, in 1818, Deli, in 1823, and Langkat, also in 1823. The abandonment of Fort Marlborough by the British in 1824 relieved the Dutch of their dangerous rival, but the Padri war went on till the sect was finally defeated in 1837.

As the century went on, the Dutch became more nervous about their position in Sumatra. The British were well established in Singapore, near by; and the activities of Raja Brooke in Borneo made the Dutch think that other Englishmen might attempt to gain kingdoms for themselves elsewhere. They were much concerned when in 1856-57 a man named Wilson took control of the state of Siak on the east coast of Sumatra. In 1858 the Dutch forces occupied Siak and its dependencies of Deli, Serdang, Langkat and Asahan.

Atjeh

After this, the only area of importance in Sumatra outside Dutch control was Atjeh, in the north of the island. This formerly great kingdom was nominally

ruled by the sultan from his capital at the port of Kutaraja, but in reality the local chiefs were independent. The sultan regarded the extension of Dutch power over the area north of Siak as an encroachment on his rights, and he repulsed Dutch attempts to gain his friendship. On their part the Dutch complained that the lack of good government in Atjeh encouraged piracy which, under an agreement with the British in 1824, they had a duty to prevent. The rapid increase in trade and shipping in the Indian Ocean and eastern seas generally made this a serious problem; moreover, the Sultan Mansur Shah tried to obtain the alliance of the governments of Turkey, of Italy, and of the United States. So far Atjeh had been protected from attack: in 1819 Raffles had entered into a treaty of friendship with the sultan and in 1824 the Dutch had promised not to attack the state. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the further increase in shipping which ensued brought the situation to a head; it was essential to repress piracy, and so in 1871 a new Anglo-Dutch agreement was made which gave the Netherlands a free hand in Atjeh.

So in 1873 began the Atjeh war which was to last for many years. Kutaraja was captured by the Dutch in 1874, but a general rising of the population ensued and a long guerrilla struggle began. For a time the Dutch had the aid of a chief named Tuku Uma who was given arms and allowed to conquer and manage a number of inland areas; but in 1896 he deserted the Dutch and took the lead in resisting them. Uma carried on resistance till he was killed in 1899. His death disheartened the resistance movement, and gradually other leaders surrendered, though it was not till 1903 that the sultan himself acknowledged Dutch sovereignty. Even so, sporadic resistance continued, and when in 1904-05 the Japanese revealed their power by defeating the Russians, the sultan and the religious leaders tried to gain Japan's help. Military operations against guerrillas continued till 1915; and not till 1918 was Atjeh peaceful enough for normal civil administration to be established.

By 1918, therefore, the archipelago had been united under Dutch rule except for the British areas of Borneo and the Portuguese part of Timor. After a struggle lasting for just on a hundred years, the Dutch had brought the whole of what is now Indonesia under their government.

Islam in Indonesia in the Nineteenth Century

The destruction of the last vestiges of independence in the Outer Islands, and in particular the Atjeh War, gave renewed strength to Islam in Indonesia, for the bringing of Muslim states under direct rule by non-Muslims was

much resented. Religious fervour was also increased by the strengthening of links with the Middle East in this period. Connexions with Mecca had, indeed, been maintained consistently ever since Islam first came to the archipelago, and the pilgrimage to Mecca had been made by those who could do so. For a long time, however, the Dutch tried to discourage the pilgrimage because returning *hadjis* were often inspired by dislike of Christian rule and were liable to incite resistance against the infidel. In the eighteenth century pilgrims were not allowed to travel on the Dutch East India Company's ships and had to find other means of transport. In 1825 pilgrims were required to obtain Dutch passports, and a tax on pilgrims was imposed, the proceeds from the tax being used for the maintenance of mosques. In 1852, however, the courts declared the pilgrim tax to be illegal and the number of pilgrims then began to increase. In 1852 only 413 pilgrims left Indonesia, but in 1858 there were 3,862. The numbers steadily increased, until the maximum was reached in 1926-27, when Indonesia sent no less than 52,412 pilgrims to Mecca. In 1872 the Dutch established a consulate at Jiddah for the protection of pilgrims and in the following years the consul was much occupied in trying to combat the ill feeling which the Atjeh war engendered among Muslims generally in Mecca. In 1885 it was found that a large number of Indonesians who went on pilgrimage stayed in Mecca to study religious subjects and to learn the Arabic language; some studied in Egypt also. Thus the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a distinct revival of Islam among Indonesians; and this was to a large extent the foundation of the rise of Indonesian nationalism in the twentieth century.

Dutch Economic Policy

When the Dutch returned to Java in 1816, it was impossible for them to undo all the reforms made by Raffles. They therefore continued his system of collecting taxes instead of compelling the cultivator to grow certain crops. They maintained his prohibition of slavery and of forced labour. They kept his organization of Java into residencies, districts, divisions, and villages. Some things they altered however: they revived the system of separate law courts for Europeans and for Javanese, and they allowed more authority to the Javanese officials.

The Dutch soon found that without compulsory cultivation the government lacked sufficient revenue to meet expenses. They also found that trade had passed largely into British hands. To try to resist British competition, the Dutch in 1825 established the Netherlands Trading Company and in 1828 the Java Bank, and these quickly became prosperous. The government

itself, however, fell increasingly into debt, partly owing to the cost of the Java War, and therefore in 1830 a new economic policy was adopted on the lines proposed by Johannes van den Bosch, who was governor-general from 1830 to 1833.

The Culture System

The new policy, known as the Culture System, was basically a return to the old practice of compulsory cultivation. Instead of paying taxes in money as Raffles had arranged, cultivators were required to devote one-fifth of their land to producing crops suitable for the government to export to the European market. At first indigo and sugar were cultivated under this system; later coffee, tea, tobacco, cotton and other commodities. Cultivation of export crops soon increased, and financially the Culture System was a great success. The value of exports rose from 12.9 million guilders in 1830 to 74.2 million in 1840. The government made a large profit every year by exporting and selling the produce, and the profits were used to pay off the Netherlands national debt, to construct the Dutch State railways, and in general to help the taxpayer in the Netherlands by meeting the expenses of his government.

For the cultivator in Java, however, the system was not very different from the old system of compulsory cultivation. The officials, Dutch and Javanese alike, were paid according to the quantities produced by the people under their charge, and some of them forced the cultivator to use more than the legal one-fifth of land for growing export crops; they made him grow the export crops before he could begin growing crops for himself; and they insisted that the best land be used for the compulsory cultivation. The whole administration became a commercial machine, trying to exact as much profit as possible from the land. Owing to the diversion of the cultivators' labour to export crops, insufficient food was grown, and in central Java there was famine for several years during the 1840s.

The Liberal Policy

The sufferings of the cultivators at last aroused severe criticism in the Netherlands, and in 1848 constitutional changes in the Netherlands gave the critics the opportunity to effect reforms. In that year the Constitution of the Netherlands was altered so as to take the colonies away from the personal control of the king and put them under the States-General or Parliament. The practice of compulsory cultivation in Java was gradually abandoned,

from 1863 onwards, though the Dutch gave the system up first in the crops which were the least profitable. In 1890, however, it was abandoned for all crops except coffee; in the case of coffee, the system lasted till 1919. With the withdrawal of compulsory cultivation, it was left to private enterprise to develop commerce and industry; in 1870 the government began to grant long-term leases of land to private persons and companies, and many plantations were then developed. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 coincided with the establishment of the Liberal Policy, as the new method was called; and thereafter exports grew apace. Thus sugar exports, which were 152,595 tons in 1870, rose to 380,346 tons in 1885. The total value of all exports rose from 108 million guilders in 1870 to 258 million in 1900. On the other hand, the formation of large European-owned plantations deprived the Javanese cultivators of land, and many had to become paid employees.

In the closing decades of the century the Dutch, who had so far concentrated their interest on Java, began to pay more attention to the other islands of the archipelago. In Sumatra railways were built in the 1880s; in the same period a beginning was made in the development of the petroleum resources of Sumatra and Borneo; the coalfields of Borneo and Sumatra were developed; and in general a beginning was made in the utilization of the vast natural resources of the Outer Islands.

The Ethical Policy

As the twentieth century opened, a further change in Dutch policy appeared. The new approach was called the Ethical Policy. It began to be thought in the Netherlands that the Liberal System, though less harmful than the Culture System, had nevertheless failed to raise the standard of living of the Indonesian people. The new Ethical Policy was designed to benefit the people by providing economic and welfare services. During the ensuing years much was done to develop education, promote public health, improve agriculture, and expand the system of communications by land and sea. There was talk about a decentralization of authority so that Indonesians might play a larger part in the affairs of their own country through local councils, but very little was done in this direction. In practice, though much beneficial work was carried out in the sphere of welfare, it was done by Dutch officials: the Indonesians suffered in consequence much interference in village affairs which formerly they had managed themselves, and so far from being more contented, they were irritated; and the educated class which the new policy produced was frustrated by not being allowed any share in the government of the country. The Ethical Policy thus in some ways promoted the rise of Indonesian nationalism.

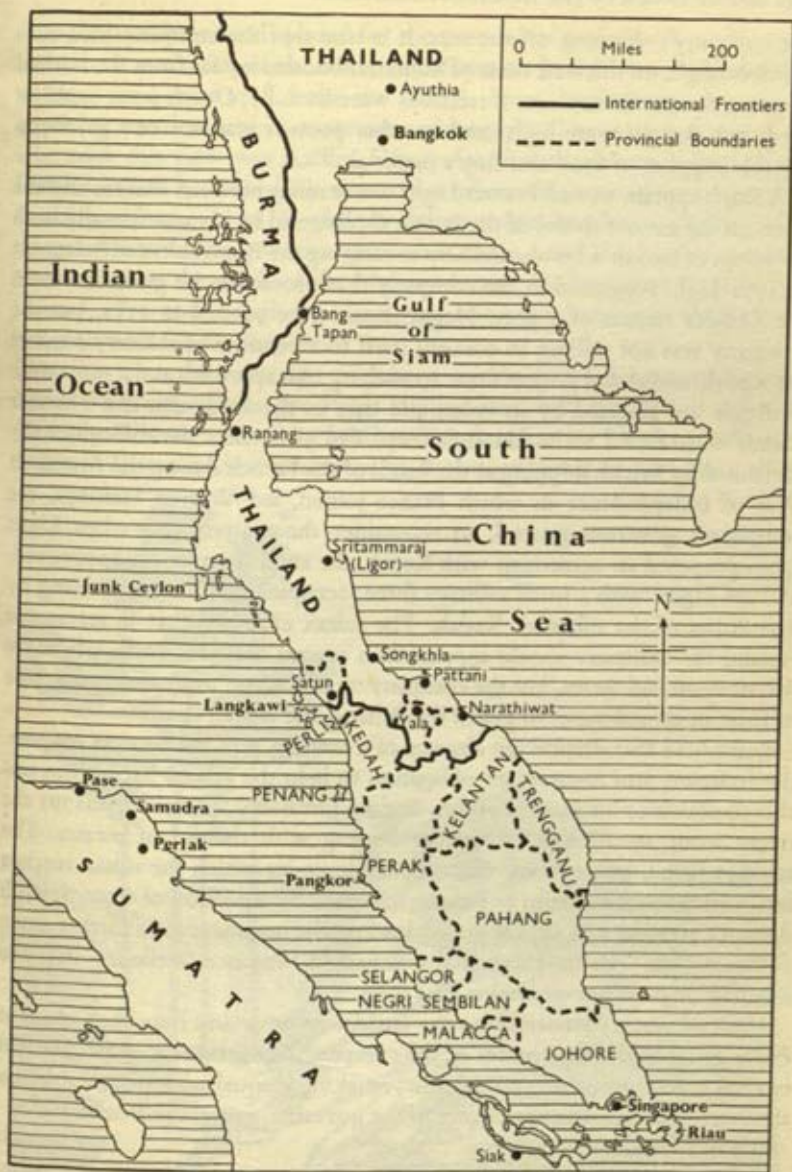
The Malay Lands in the Nineteenth Century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Malayan peninsula was divided among a number of states, those in the south being much under Dutch influence and those in the north under Thai influence; on the west coast the Dutch held the port of Malacca and a small area of land around it. During the nineteenth century most of the peninsula came under British influence.

Penang

The English East India Company had from its earliest foundation wanted to establish a settlement in South-East Asia; and even after Dutch opposition drove the company from the Spice Islands and Java, the company from time to time made attempts to secure a port which might both break the Dutch monopoly in the archipelago and serve as a port of call for ships trading between India and China. A port of call was needed for the repair of ships and the supply of food for their crews in those days when voyages were long and ships, being propelled by the wind, often suffered damage from storm or were much delayed on their voyage. Hence the company made attempts to occupy Pulo Condore in 1702-05 and Balambangan, off the north of Borneo, in 1773-75.

Strategic considerations also were involved. The eighteenth century was a period of Anglo-French wars, and if control over the Indian Ocean was to be secured against French rivalry, a naval base in the east of that ocean was essential. The company's ports on India's east coast were not safe in the north-east monsoon, and those on the west coast to which ships had to withdraw during the north-easters were far away from the east of the ocean and the route to China. The French, on the other hand, held the island of Mauritius and from there they could reach the Bay of Bengal under the south-west monsoon more quickly than the British ships could return from India's western ports. In consequence, the French were at times able almost to drive



The Malay Peninsula

the company's shipping off the seas. It is true that the company held Fort Marlborough, on the west coast of Sumatra, but this lay far from the normal shipping routes. Sometimes, if relations were friendly, Dutch ports could be used, but charges were high; and in other ports it was not easy to obtain suitable supplies of food and ship's materials.

A ship's captain named Francis Light was trading between Madras and the ports on the eastern shores of the Indian Ocean, and he became friendly with the sultan of Kedah who wanted help in resisting the Bugis sultan of Selangor. In 1771 Light suggested to the company that protection be given in return for Kedah's cession of a port. Negotiations were opened in 1772, but the company was not willing to commit itself to a promise of military support for Kedah, and so the project came to nothing. An approach at the same time to Atjeh was rejected by its ruler, and sites in the Andaman and Nicobar islands were found to be unsatisfactory. Ten years later the difficulties experienced by British shipping at the hands of the French during the American War of Independence in which France joined, led Warren Hastings, the company's governor-general, to reconsider the matter; and when Light again proposed an agreement with Kedah, the authorities in India approved. In 1786 Light, with a small military force, occupied the island of Penang by permission of the sultan of Kedah. The sultan expected that in return for Penang the company would support him against the Thai, with whom he was now on bad terms, but the company would do no more than undertake to keep an armed vessel to guard the Penang and Kedah coasts.

Light held that despite the absence of a written promise to give support, the company had incurred an obligation to help the sultan, but he was unable to convince his masters of this. Feeling justifiably aggrieved, in 1791 the sultan made an attempt to capture Penang with the aid of pirates. The attempt failed, and a treaty was then made under which the sultan made a final surrender of all claim to Penang in return for a pension of 6,000 Spanish dollars a year; and in 1802 he ceded land on the mainland for a further 4,000 dollars a year. The land so ceded was named Province Wellesley after the company's governor-general at that time.

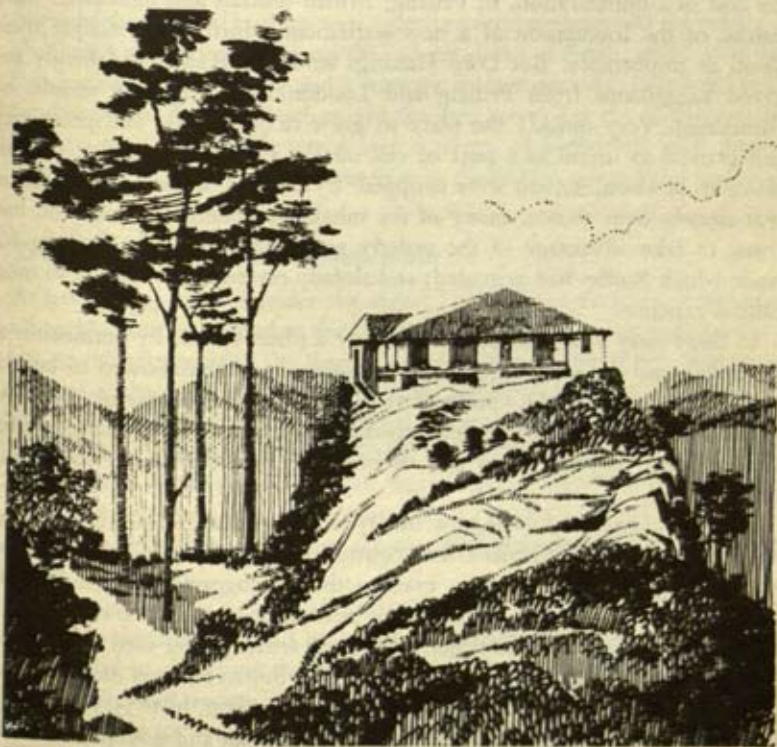
Under Light's administration the settlement grew and flourished. At first Penang was under the control of the company's government in Bengal, but in 1805 it was turned into a Presidency, making it equal with Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and directly subject to the governor-general in British India.

Singapore

Though Penang proved a useful base in the wars in which the British were

engaged, it was not well placed for the purpose of trade in the archipelago and when, as a result of the wars, British power had grown so strong that nothing need be feared from the Dutch, some Englishmen thought of acquiring a settlement in a more convenient place. The most active of those who took this view was Raffles. Disappointed at the return of Java to the Dutch in 1816, he looked for some other place which could be a centre for British commerce. In 1818, while in charge at Fort Marlborough, he gained the permission of the governor-general in India, Lord Hastings, to establish a settlement to the south of the Malacca Straits. He landed in Singapore in January, 1819, and though the island was almost uninhabited he decided that it was suitable for his purpose.

At this time the sovereign of Johore, within which Singapore lay, was Abdur-Rahman, whom the Bugis deputy king had installed as sultan in 1810 in preference to an elder brother, Tengku Hussein. The actual administration in Singapore was conducted by the temenggong or hereditary chief.



Penang

Raffles gained the temenggong's permission to establish a settlement on the island, but to make the position sure, it was desirable to have the sanction of the sultan. Abdur-Rahman, who lived at Riau, was in the hands of the Dutch, who would certainly not allow him to consent to the British occupation of Singapore. Raffles therefore invited Tengku Hussein to come to Singapore and when he arrived he recognized him as lawful sultan of Johore. A treaty was then made on 6 February 1819, whereby the sultan was to receive a payment of 5,000 Spanish dollars a year and the temenggong 3,000 dollars a year, while the company received permission to set up establishments in the sultan's dominions.

Raffles's action aroused much anger in several quarters. The Dutch protested strongly since they regarded themselves as overlords of Johore; they took the matter up in London with the British government. The East India Company was not pleased at having to protect more and distant territories which, so far as was known, would not produce enough revenue to cover the cost of administration. In Penang, British officials and merchants were jealous of the foundation of a new settlement which might eclipse their island in importance. But Lord Hastings stood by Raffles and firmly rejected suggestions from Penang and London that Singapore should be abandoned. Very quickly the place so grew in population and prosperity and proved so useful as a port of call on the India-China route, that all thoughts of abandonment were dropped. By the end of 1823 its population was already over 10,000, many of the inhabitants being Chinese who had come to take advantage of the orderly government and the facilities for trade which Raffles had provided; and already revenue was enough to meet official expenses.

In these early years Singapore was only a place where, by permission of the sultan and the temenggong, the company had been allowed to build a port. From the company's point of view this was not a satisfactory position, and in 1824 the island was ceded permanently to the company in return for the payment of lump sums and of increased pensions to the sultan and temenggong.

The old empire of Johore now finally ceased to exist. In Riau, the Sultan Abdur-Rahman ruled under Dutch control; in the peninsula, Sultan Hussein was nominal sovereign, but in practice the temenggong ruled the Johore area while in Pahang the bendahara became an independent sovereign. The sultan had no authority in either. When the temenggong died in 1825, his son Ibrahim took charge of Johore; and when Sultan Hussein died ten years later, the British did not recognize his son Ali as sultan. In 1855, however, it was arranged that Ali should have the title of sultan and govern an area of

land between the Muar and Kesang rivers, and receive a pension paid by the temenggong. When Ali died in 1877, the Muar area was merged into Johore and the title of sultan became extinct.

The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London, 1824

The foundation of Singapore was detrimental to the British policy of maintaining good relations with the Netherlands in Europe; and so as to remove all causes of friction the British Government made a treaty with the Netherlands in 1824. Under this treaty, the Dutch gave up to the British all territory on the mainland of Asia: this included Malacca and a number of settlements in India. They also promised not to interfere in the Malay peninsula. The British ceded Fort Marlborough to the Dutch and undertook not to interfere in Sumatra. They also promised not to form any settlement or enter into any treaty with any rulers in any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore. The Dutch promised not to maintain any monopoly of trade except in the Moluccas; and both powers agreed to repress piracy. At the same time, the Dutch undertook to respect the independence of Atjeh; trade with Atjeh was important for Penang and a strategic interest was also involved, since a foreign power holding Atjeh might threaten control of the Malacca Straits; Raffles, moreover, had entered into a treaty of friendship with Atjeh in 1819. The effect of the treaty was to give the British a free hand in Malaya.

The Formation of the Straits Settlements

At first Singapore was under the control of the presidency of Penang, and when Malacca was added to the company's territories it also became part of the presidency. In 1826 the three became known as the Straits Settlements, because of their position in relation to the Straits of Malacca. But the cost of the large number of officials involved in a presidency was high, and therefore in 1830, so as to save expenditure, the Straits Settlements were reduced to the status of a residency under the company's government in Bengal, instead of being equal in rank to Bengal. In 1832 Penang had become so far eclipsed by its younger rival that the centre of administration was transferred to Singapore.

Singapore was by now a busy and prosperous town. Raffles had laid down the principle that it should be a free port, where customs duties were not levied, and so it became the centre of trade for South-East Asia as a whole and for Western trade with China. Goods were brought from the surrounding countries for trans-shipment to Europe and goods from Europe came

there to be trans-shipped to other Asian ports. When in 1833 the East India Company ceased to be a trading concern and the trade with China was thrown open to all British subjects, trade in general flourished. A further impetus was given to trade when in 1842 Hong Kong became a British colony and six ports in China were opened to international trade. Though Hong Kong and later Shanghai became the chief centres for the China trade, Singapore also benefited from its position as a port of call on the route to the China coast. With the development of commerce in South-East Asia and China, Singapore's exports and imports combined expanded from nothing in 1819 to over £13 million in 1860; Penang also prospered, though to a less degree, and her combined exports and imports increased from just over £1 million in 1819 to over £4 million in 1860. But in Malacca, where the port was silting up, trade showed little increase, and at no time in this period did it reach £1 million a year.

The population of the Straits Settlements grew along with the trade. Singapore's population increased from almost nothing in 1819 to nearly 82,000 in 1860. Penang also grew: in 1820 its population, including that of Province Wellesley, was 41,000, and in 1860 was nearly 125,000. Malacca's population increased much less: in 1817 it stood at under 20,000 and in 1860 was 67,000.

Many of the inhabitants were immigrants from China. In Singapore, in 1860, of 82,000 people the Chinese numbered over 50,000. In the same year Penang counted more than 36,000 Chinese among its 125,000 people, and Malacca had 10,000 Chinese in its total of 67,000. The Chinese cultivated crops such as pepper and sugar; they worked as traders and craftsmen; they dominated the economic life of the Straits Settlements.

Separation from India

The connexion between the Straits Settlements and India gave satisfaction to neither. The authorities in India lost interest when the company's trade with China ceased in 1833. The problems presented by the Straits Settlements, too, were different from those with which the officials were accustomed to deal. The revenue of the Settlements did not cover expenditure, and so the officials in India thought them a useless burden. In Singapore and Penang, on the other hand, officials and merchants thought that the government of India neglected their interests. They wanted a more active policy in the region. The Dutch were spreading their authority over the archipelago and the French were interfering in Vietnam, so that British trade

in those areas weakened and an alternative field of trade in the Malay peninsula seemed very necessary. But the government of India firmly refused to take on additional burdens by interfering in the Malay States. It was a grievance, too, that India used the Settlements as a penal centre, where long-term convicts were sent. The English merchants, as well, wanted a voice in the government of the Settlements and therefore demanded the creation of a legislative council. Irritation grew serious when in 1855 the government of India proposed to introduce the rupee as the local currency in place of the Spanish dollar so far used and also wanted, so as to gain revenue, to abandon the free-port principle which had prevailed since the days of Raffles. When in 1858 the East India Company was abolished and its authority passed to the British crown, a suitable opportunity for a complete change in the status of the Settlements seemed to have arrived; and finally, in 1867, the Straits Settlements were transferred to the care of the Colonial Office in London.

Intervention in the States

The adoption of the new status of the Straits Settlements was followed after a few years by a change in policy towards the Malay states. So far the Indian Government had tried to avoid any interference in the territories outside the Settlements, though sometimes its own officials had not followed the policy of non-intervention. Indeed, it was not possible merely to disregard the states. Thus the Dutch in Malacca had claimed the near-by state of Naning as one of their dependencies and after 1824 the British authorities in the Settlements tried to enforce the right to tribute which of late years the Dutch had not troubled about. This led to a conflict in 1831 in which the British forces were defeated; in the following year British forces successfully occupied the Naning area and it was brought under direct rule as a district of Malacca. The government of India was far from pleased at the trouble and expense so incurred.

Moreover, merchants and officials were necessarily interested in the states because the Straits Settlements depended on them to some extent for supplies of food and still more because they offered an opening for a profitable trade and for the development of gainful industries if only better government could be provided.

Dislike of Thai influence in the peninsula was another reason for wanting to intervene in the states. British enterprise was not likely to flourish in the states if the Thai were in power to the degree that it would if British influence prevailed. The government of India, on the other hand, wanted to maintain

good relations with Thailand, hoping to secure the opening of that country to trade.

In 1821 the Thai expelled the sultan of Kedah from his dominions, to the alarm of Penang which drew food supplies from that state. Negotiations about this and other matters were then begun by the government of India with the Thai government, and these led to the treaty concluded in 1826 by Captain Burney, under which Thai rights over Kedah were recognized, though the Thai recognized the independence of Perak and Selangor. The officials in Penang, who hoped that Kedah would come under British influence, were displeased with this treaty; and in the same year, when it became obvious that the Thai were not going to respect the undertaking about Perak, they sent a small military and naval force to give the Perak sultan encouragement. They also made a treaty with him, promising aid in maintaining his independence. In return, the sultan ceded the Dindings area, though in fact the British did not at that time occupy it. Again the government of India was annoyed.

After the severe censure passed by the government of India on Captain James Low, who had made the treaty with Perak, the officials in the Settlements were more cautious. When in 1831, 1836 and 1838, the Malays used Province Wellesley as a base from which to try to regain Kedah, the British authorities co-operated with the Thai. Finally in 1842 the Thai government, with some persuasion from the officials of the Settlements, agreed to end the long struggle by reinstating the Kedah sultan.

Yet in 1862 the governor of the Settlements caused a warship to bombard the fort at Trengganu when the sultan of that state refused to expel a claimant to the throne of Pahang whom the Thai were encouraging. He also tried to intervene in trouble among the Chinese miners in Perak. Once more the displeasure of the government of India was expressed.

So far British interference in the Malay states had resulted from the initiative of officials in the Settlements, encouraged by the persuasions of the British mercantile community and contrary to the wishes of the authorities in India. But some years after the Settlements had been separated from India and had come under the Colonial Office, a new policy was introduced. The effects were first seen in the state of Perak.

The Pangkor Engagement

With the decline of Johore and the incursions of the Bugis in the eighteenth century, there had ceased to be any one great power in the peninsula. The former empire of Johore had dissolved into a number of states, frequently

quarrelling with one another, and often troubled by disputed claims to the throne and by civil war. Lawlessness and disorder were widespread. On the rivers, which were the only means of communications and along which most of the people lived, minor chiefs levied tolls on trade, regardless of the wishes of the sultans. They engaged in violent struggles with one another for more extensive control of the rivers. Another factor creating lawlessness was the presence of Chinese miners. Tin had been mined in Malaya for many centuries, but only on a small scale; with the big demand for tin created by the industrialization of Europe, mining increased greatly, especially after about 1850, and many Chinese came from the Straits Settlements to work as miners. The Malay rulers found it impossible to control the Chinese miners, who brought their secret societies with them and engaged in fierce fights between rival societies; these fights extended to their friends and relations in Singapore and Penang. They also interfered in the disputes for the succession to some of the Malay sultanates. Some of them abandoned mining and took to piracy. Wide areas of the peninsula fell into confusion, and the merchants, Chinese as well as European, in the Straits Settlements complained that their trade was being ruined. In addition, the attempts made by Atjeh to gain support from Italy, the United States and Turkey aroused concern lest foreign powers should begin to play a part in the affairs of the lands round the Malacca Straits and it seemed desirable to establish British influence so as to keep out other foreign influence. In 1873, therefore, the Colonial Office directed the governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Andrew Clarke, to enquire and report whether anything could be done to restore peace and whether British officers should be appointed as residents in the states.

In 1874 Sir Andrew Clarke went accordingly to Perak. Here since the death of the last sultan in 1871, civil war over the succession had prevailed, with the Chinese societies taking part in the struggle. Clarke met the principal claimants and chiefs at Pangkor and arrived at an agreement about the succession to the throne. In return the new sultan agreed to accept a British resident whose advice should be taken in all matters except Malay religion and custom; it was agreed in particular that the resident's advice would be accepted in matters of revenue and administration. The Chinese leaders were at the same time warned to keep the peace. The Dindings, originally granted by Perak to the British in 1826, were now taken over.

Clarke then went to Selangor where, though no agreement so binding as the Pangkor Engagement was made, the sultan agreed to accept a British adviser. In the group of nine states known as Negri Sembilan the residency system was accepted in the same year.

The position of resident was not established without difficulty. In Perak the first resident was murdered in 1875, and in Negri Sembilan a British military force had to be sent to enforce order. In Pahang, too, where the first resident was not appointed till 1888, there was resistance to the new system and a minor civil war occurred in 1891. After these initial troubles, however, the system began to work smoothly. The residents, mainly by persuasion, re-established law and order, and took most of the administration of these states on to their own shoulders. The states began to prosper. Mining flourished, and the primitive methods used by the Chinese began to give way to the use of machinery. The growing of rubber began to develop towards the end of the century. The construction of roads and railways was started. Greater efficiency was introduced in government when in 1896 the rulers of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang entered into an agreement to form the Federated Malay States so that their resources could be pooled, and a measure of common policy could be followed instead of the system so far prevailing, whereby each resident had followed his own policy subject to the general control of the governor of the Straits Settlements.

Johore

Johore remained outside the residential system. The state flourished during the nineteenth century, especially under Abu Bakar, grandson of the temenggong who had granted Singapore to Raffles in 1819. He succeeded to the rulership in 1862 and ruled till his death in 1895, having taken the title of Maharaja in 1868 and that of Sultan in 1885. He maintained close relations with Singapore, developed the agriculture and industry of his state, encouraged Chinese and Javanese to settle in Johore as cultivators, and established new cultures such as coffee and tea. In 1895 he adopted a written constitution for his state. In 1885 he agreed that his external relations should be placed under British control, but not till 1914, nineteen years after his death, was a British adviser accepted.

The Northern States

The four states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu had been earlier recognized as linked with Thailand, though their inhabitants were Malay. In 1909 Thailand abandoned all claim to suzerainty over them and recognized them as being under British influence, in return for a loan for railway construction and other concessions. These states then accepted British

advisers. As was also the case in Johore, the adviser exercised less authority than did a resident, and played a smaller part in the administration. These four states did not enter the Federation. Their transfer to British dependency marked the completion of Malaya as it stands today.

The British in Borneo

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the west and north-west of Borneo formed the dominions of the sultan of Brunei. Brunei had once been a powerful state and its name was applied by Europeans to the whole island, in the form 'Borneo'. It first became important in the fifteenth century, when the ruling dynasty was founded by a sultan who took the name of Mohammed on his conversion to Islam. The third sultan was an Arab, a descendant of the Prophet, who married a niece of the first sultan. Brunei grew in wealth when, after 1511, many Muslim traders fled there from Malacca, and the Portuguese who came there some years later were greatly impressed by its magnificence. Brunei maintained relations with China and in this period sent embassies to Peking; it claimed the whole of Borneo as its territory. By the early nineteenth century, however, Brunei had lost its greatness. The lesser states in the south and east of Borneo had become quite independent. The north of Borneo was claimed by the sultan of Sulu, in the southern Philippines, on the ground that it had been granted to Sulu in the early eighteenth century in return for help in coping with a rebellion. Much of the remaining territory of Brunei was the scene of disorder, with local chiefs defying the authority of the sultan. The coastlands suffered seriously from piracy, in which some of the chiefs had a hand. The chiefs were mostly Malays, living on the coast where Malays were numerous; they claimed to have come there from Sumatra. The original inhabitants were usually known as Dayaks, the largest and most warlike group being the Sea Dayaks.

The English East India Company became interested in Borneo. A settlement there might enable the company to break the Dutch monopoly in the archipelago, and would also be valuable for the China trade. At that time foreign merchants were allowed to use only one Chinese port, Canton, and there they were compelled to deal with only a small group of Chinese traders known as the *Cohong*. A trading centre in Borneo might attract Chinese merchants from other ports besides Canton and also some from Canton who were not members of the *Cohong*. In 1761 an agent of the company from Madras made a treaty with the sultan of Sulu, gaining permission to establish a trading post in his territory in return for a promise of aid against the sultan's enemies; and in 1762 the Sulu sultan granted for this

purpose the island of Balambangan, off north Borneo. At that time there was a dispute about the throne of Sulu, and a defeated contestant for the sultanate was found in Manila when the British occupied that town in 1762; in 1763 another treaty was made with him, so as to ensure the company's position.

The company, however, wanted a site further west and did nothing for some years to take advantage of these agreements. They instead preferred to seek a site in Atjeh or Kedah or elsewhere on the eastern shores of the Indian Ocean; only when these projects failed did they decide to occupy Balambangan, and this was done in 1773. In 1775, however, a dispute arose between the company's representatives and the local chief, and the settlement was attacked and destroyed. The survivors escaped to the island of Labuan, off the west of Brunei, and tried to establish themselves there; but the company, which had lost £170,000 by the Balambangan venture, was disheartened, and the position in Labuan was given up within a few months.

Thirty years later the company again occupied Balambangan. Under the terms of the peace of 1802, the Dutch territories in the archipelago were returned to the control of the Netherlands; so, wishing to maintain a position in the islands, Lord Wellesley, governor-general of India, decided to make use of Balambangan, and in 1803 a party occupied it. The renewal of war in Europe, and the consequent reoccupation of the Dutch territories in South-East Asia, then absorbed all the ships and men that the company could spare, and in 1805 the island of Balambangan was once more abandoned.

As the nineteenth century drew on, the situation in Brunei became intolerable to peaceful traders: the Sea Dayaks' piracy interfered seriously with trade from Singapore, which was growing fast, but the East India Company did little to improve the situation; in 1833 it ceased to be a trading concern and became entirely an administrative organization, and it saw no reason to spend money on policing distant seas. In the later 1830s, however, the British Navy took action and did much to repress the pirates.

At this point James Brooke arrived in Brunei. Brooke, formerly an officer in the East India Company's forces, had visited South-East Asia and China in 1830-31, and had gone to China again in 1834; later he bought a vessel and sailed to the archipelago for purposes of exploration and trade. He reached the port of Kuching, in the district of Sarawak, in 1839, and found that the whole area was in disorder with which the sultan's uncle, Raja Muda Hashim, who was in charge, was unable to cope. When Brooke came to Sarawak again in 1840, Hashim offered him the governorship of Sarawak in return for help in restoring order. Brooke speedily checked piracy, and in September 1841 he was formally installed as Raja of Sarawak; in 1842 the Sultan of Brunei confirmed the appointment.

Brooke took energetic measures to safeguard the inhabitants of Sarawak from oppression; he lessened the burden of taxation by collecting fixed taxes in kind, in place of the system under which chiefs had taken what they liked; he introduced a good administration of justice; and he put a stop to banditry and piracy. To deal with the latter he had the aid of the British Navy, which co-operated with him in several successive years.

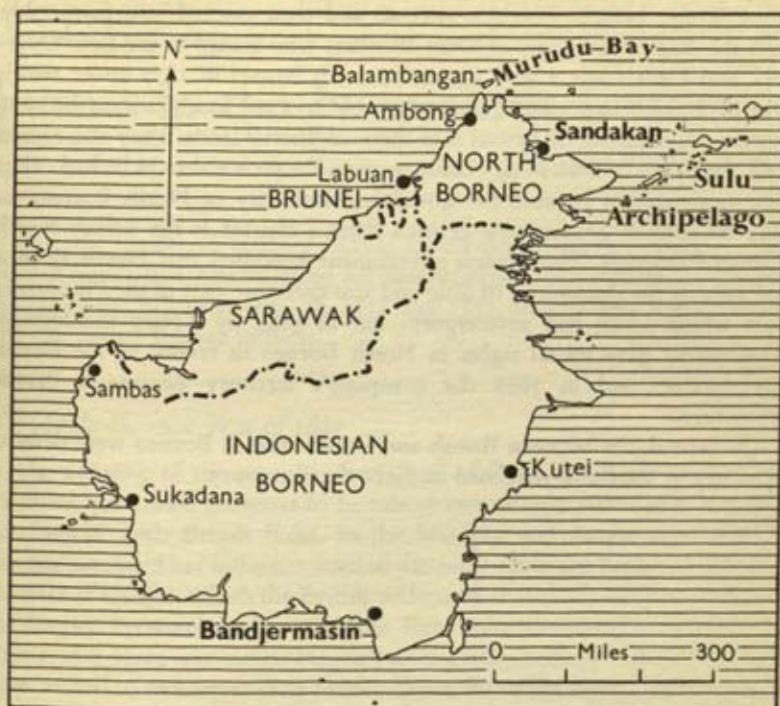
The Navy was interested because, apart from the duty to police the seas, it needed coal. Seams of coal existed in both Brunei and Labuan, and the use of these would enable stocks to be built up for both naval and mercantile shipping: as the steamship was now competing with the sailing vessel, it was convenient to be able to obtain coal on the long voyage between Singapore and the China coast. In 1846, some of the Brunei chiefs, who were angered by the repression of piracy, carried out a revolution; but Brooke with naval support occupied the town of Brunei and restored the sultan's authority. An agreement was then made with the sultan under which Labuan island became a British colony and the sultan promised to repress piracy and slavery.

The measures taken to defeat the pirates aroused criticism in England, where it was alleged that excessive force had been used and that the pirates were harmless and peaceful. The idea thus spread in Sarawak that Brooke had lost the favour of the British government; also there was at this time war between Great Britain and China. These circumstances produced a rebellion among the numerous Chinese in Sarawak in 1857, in which Brooke nearly lost his life; but the Dayaks and Malays supported the Raja and the rising was soon crushed.

In 1888 an agreement was signed by the Raja and the British government giving Sarawak protection and transferring its foreign relations to Great Britain. Under these conditions the dynasty founded by Raja Brooke remained on the throne of Sarawak till 1946.

The establishment of Brooke in Sarawak and of the British on Labuan angered the Dutch. They complained that these measures were a breach of the treaty of 1824. Under the treaty the British had promised not to establish themselves on any island south of the Straits of Singapore, and the Dutch case was that if any part of an island, whether near Singapore or not, lay south of that latitude, the British had no right to occupy any part of it even north of that latitude. The British government refused to accept this argument. Instead, British influence was extended. In 1888 Brunei became a British protected state, and in 1906 the actual administration was entrusted to a resident.

The north of Borneo also came under direct British rule. In 1849 Raja Brooke, on behalf of the British government, negotiated a treaty with the



Modern Borneo

sultan of Sulu, who undertook not to transfer any of his territory to another government without British consent. The Spaniards, however, held that under a treaty made by them with Sulu in 1836, Sulu was part of the Philippines and that its sultan had no authority to make treaties with other powers. They took steps to strengthen their position and in 1850 and 1851 they made further treaties with Sulu under which the sultan recognized Spanish sovereignty over his territories.

The sultan of Brunei also claimed that north Borneo was his; and in 1865 he granted wide areas there to an American named Moses in return for annual payments. Moses transferred his rights to a company of which the head was another American, J. W. Torrey, trading in Hong Kong; and in the same year, 1865, the Brunei sultan appointed Torrey to be Raja of Ambong and Murudu. The company established a settlement in north Borneo but it did not prosper.

In 1875 a German named Overbeck, who was Austrian consul-general in

Hong Kong, bought Torrey's interests and then entered into partnership with the English company of Dent Brothers who traded to the East. Overbeck and Dent made a new agreement with Brunei in 1877 under which Overbeck and his associates became Raja of Gaya and Sandakan; on the same day the temenggong of Brunei sold them additional lands. They also agreed with the sultan of Sulu to pay compensation for such claims as he had. Thus their organization became the governing authority in North Borneo. In 1881 the British government granted them a charter as the British North Borneo Company. The Spanish government protested that North Borneo was part of the dominions of Sulu and was therefore part of the Philippines over which Spain had sovereignty; but in 1885 by Treaty the Spanish government gave up all rights in North Borneo in favour of the British government; and in 1888 the company's territory became a British protectorate.

The boundaries between British and Dutch areas in Borneo were defined by treaty in 1891 and redefined in more detail in 1915.

Burma in the Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century Burma shared the experience of most other parts of South-East Asia in losing her independence. In three stages, through wars with the British in 1824-26, 1852, and 1885, her territory was absorbed into the British Empire in India.

The Anglo-Burmese War of 1824

At the opening of the century, the failure of Burmese efforts to conquer Thailand had caused attention to be turned increasingly westwards, towards the frontier with British India. In the Manipur and Assam area, Burma steadily extended her influence until in the early 1820s she began to threaten the state of Cachar, which the British undertook to defend. Farther south, on the border between Arakan and the East India Company's territory in Chittagong, there was constant trouble arising from raids by exiled Arakanese who wished to reconquer their former home. From the early 1790s onwards the East India Company, which was busily engaged in a series of wars against Mysore and against the Marathas, as well as having to combat the French in the Indian Ocean and the Dutch in the archipelago, made several attempts to resolve the difficulties on the frontier by friendly means; but though envoys were sent to negotiate, the Burmans preferred to keep foreigners at a distance and rarely welcomed these approaches.

In the time of King Bagyidaw (1819-37), the Burmese government decided that the constant troubles on the frontier must be ended by military action. Not realizing the power of the East India Company, they thought that Assam and even Bengal could soon be conquered. When early in 1824 they assembled a large army on the Arakan-Chittagong frontier and also invaded Cachar, the company's government, now at peace elsewhere, likewise determined to put an end to the troubles, and so on 5 March the governor-general declared war.

The first advantage lay with the Burmese forces, which in May entered the Chittagong area and defeated the company's troops at Ramu; but at this point an army sent from India crossed the Bay of Bengal and occupied

Rangoon, the chief port of Burma. The news of this calamity caused the recall of the Burmese forces from the Chittagong front, and during the ensuing twelve months all Arakan fell to the company's arms.

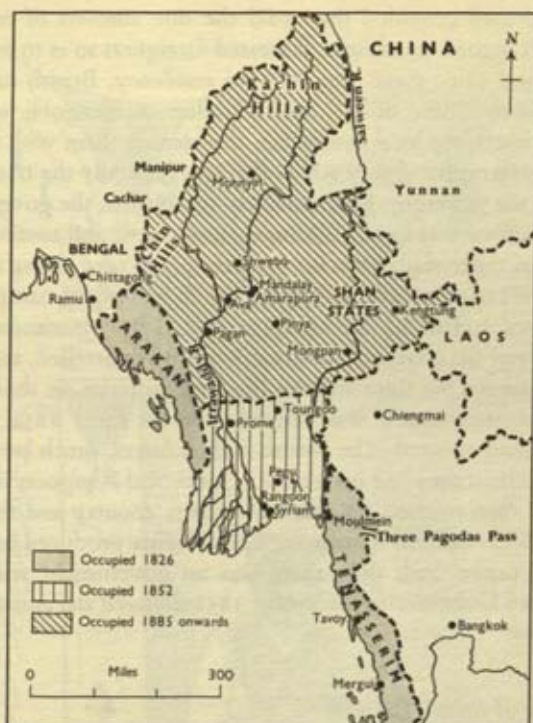
The company's forces in Rangoon, however, were unable to make any advance during the rainy season which began at the end of May. Though they managed to occupy the ports of Tavoy and Mergui in the Tenasserim coast, they made no progress in the main theatre of war and, on the contrary, suffered heavy losses through sickness. In December 1824, when the rains had ended, they began an advance north and by the end of the dry season had occupied the town of Prome, on the Irrawaddy, half-way to the capital. There was again a pause while the rains of 1825 lasted, and then the advance was resumed. On 24 February 1826, when the advance had come almost to the capital, a treaty of peace was signed.

Under the treaty signed at Yandabo, Burma abandoned all claim to Assam and Manipur, agreed to pay an indemnity of about £1 million, and ceded to the company the seaboard provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim. Thus part of Burma was lost.

The end of the war was followed by a rebellion of the Mons, some of whom had supported the British and hoped now to regain their independence. The rebellion was suppressed and many Mons fled to the protection of the British in Tenasserim.

Anglo-Burmese Relations 1826-52

A major consequence of the war was an increase of ill-feeling in Burma towards the British. Burmese sentiment was especially hurt by the cession of territory to the company, and the desire to regain the lost lands dominated the thoughts of king and ministers. King Bagyidaw, however, perceived that he could not benefit by further war, and so during the rest of his reign relations with the British were fairly good. Under the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo, the company was authorized to send a resident, or in modern terms an ambassador, to Burma; and after some hesitation on grounds of expense a resident was sent in 1830. The successive residents gained the good will of the king and did useful service in resolving problems arising from the uncertain boundary between Burma and Manipur; but friendly relations did not enable the king to regain his lost territories as he hoped. The company at first was willing to consider giving up Tenasserim, for though Arakan quickly developed as an important producer of rice, Tenasserim proved unprofitable. After a few years, however, the new port of Moulmein began



British occupation of Burma

to grow and to replace Rangoon as the main centre of Burma's foreign trade, and thoughts of giving up the territory were dropped.

In 1837 there was a revolution in Burma and King Bagyidaw was replaced by his brother, the Tharrawaddy Prince. Tharrawaddy (1837-46) had fought in the war of 1824-26 and had never forgiven the company for the Treaty of Yandabo. He strongly resented the loss of Arakan and Tenasserim, and he regarded the presence of the residency as an insult to his sovereignty. The residency was unable to arrive at friendly terms with him, and so in 1840 it was closed by the Government of India. After this there was no channel through which a friendly solution of any difficulty could be attained.

The War of 1852

On Tharrawaddy's death in 1846, he was succeeded by his son, the Prince of Pagan. Pagan was not an efficient ruler, and local officials were allowed to

do as they pleased provided they paid the due amount of revenue. The governor of Rangoon sometimes ill-treated foreigners so as to extort money from them, and since there was now no residency, British subjects could obtain no redress. Some of the British traders in Rangoon, too, behaved arrogantly towards the local authorities, threatening them with the might of the British Government if they were offended; naturally the traders got into trouble with the governor. Unfortunately for Burma, the governor-general of India at this time was Lord Dalhousie, an energetic and somewhat ruthless ruler, who was more ready than his predecessors to take strong action. Early in 1852 he sent a naval squadron to Rangoon to investigate complaints which he had received and to ask for compensation. The commanding officer of the squadron and the governor, both tactless men, quarrelled, and shots were exchanged between the ships and the Burmese batteries on shore. A further demand for compensation was refused, and in April 1852 independent Burma was again invaded. The British-Indian forces, much better equipped and organized than they had been in 1824, occupied Rangoon without great difficulty and then overran the Irrawaddy delta country and the land to its north beyond Prome and Toungoo. These events produced another revolution at the capital and, since there was no government with whom to negotiate, Lord Dalhousie in December 1852 declared the annexation of the occupied areas.

The Province of British Burma

The newly annexed lands, called the province of Pegu, were put under the control of a commissioner, parallel to the commissioners in Arakan and Tenasserim, till in 1862 the three were joined together as the province of British Burma, under a chief commissioner. The province soon grew in prosperity. The Irrawaddy delta was well suited for the cultivation of rice, and though, owing to the depopulation in earlier centuries and the exodus in 1826-27, its population was small, the number of inhabitants soon increased and the area became one of the principal rice-producing areas of the world. In 1856 the total population of the three British provinces was estimated at 1,381,000, and by 1865 it stood at 2,210,000; by 1872 it was, 2,590,000 and by 1881 it was 3,567,211. This increase was due partly to immigration from India but mainly to the entry of people from the northern part of Burma, which was still independent. There was plenty of good land in the delta which could be readily obtained from the British authorities and, especially after the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, the growth of the rice trade with Europe made cultivation profitable, while towards the end of the century the



King Mindon of Burma

increase of India's population created a still greater demand for rice. The area under rice in British Burma was in 1855 only 993,000 acres, and by 1885 it had swollen to 3,700,000 acres. There was also a growth in the extraction and export of timber, especially teak. Some of the timber was brought down the Salween river to Moulmein from Thailand, but most came to Rangoon from either British Burma or independent Burma. Total exports of teak in the later 1850s were about 68,000 tons a year; by 1880 exports stood at 146,000 tons; and before the end of the century more than 200,000 tons a year were being exported, through Rangoon or Moulmein. In the 1850s roads were built from Rangoon to Prome and to Pegu; the use of steam-driven craft on the Irrawaddy river was encouraged. Later on, railways were built, the Rangoon-Prome line being completed in 1877 and the Rangoon-Toungoo route in 1884.

King Mindon

In independent Burma the disaster of 1852 led to the deposition of King Pagan and his replacement by his brother, Mindon (1853-78). Mindon was a humane and able ruler. He disliked bloodshed and, instead of following the normal practice of killing his defeated rival, he allowed Pagan to live in honourable captivity. A devout Buddhist, he sought to extend the influence of religion. In 1871 he convened the Fifth Buddhist Council, an international gathering of monks, the Fourth Council having been held in Ceylon no less than nineteen centuries earlier. The Council met at the new capital, Mandalay, which had been founded in 1857 because the disasters which had befallen the kingdom indicated that the old capitals, Ava and Amarapura, were unlucky. At the Council, the Buddhist scriptures were recited and were inscribed on 729 marble slabs.

Mindon realized that there must be changes in Burma. Peace must be maintained with neighbouring countries; law and order and good administration must be provided at home; trade must be encouraged. By such means the Europeans would be deprived of any excuse for interfering again. He therefore took steps to modernize the kingdom. He introduced the electric telegraph, with a system of signalling in Burmese morse. He established a system of coinage to replace the traditional method of trade by barter. He put the system of taxation on a sounder and simpler basis. He even thought of establishing railways. He ruled justly and the country prospered. He did not, however, cope with one major problem: he had appointed one of his brothers as heir apparent, in gratitude for assistance in the revolution

of 1852-53, but in 1866 two of his own sons tried to seize the throne and in the struggle the prince was killed. Mindon refused to appoint a new heir apparent, saying that to select any prince as heir would be equivalent to a signal for his murder by other princes, and so the way was left open for another struggle for the throne on Mindon's death.

The king maintained friendly relations with China and sent missions, bearing presents, to Peking. Missions from China visited Burma. Troubles with Thailand were avoided. Relations with the British were good. At the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, some of the ministers wanted to take the opportunity provided by the war in India to attempt to reconquer the ceded provinces, but Mindon refused to take advantage of a friend's difficulties. He hoped that the British would voluntarily give back the lost lands, though in this he was disappointed. Despite his cordial attitude, Mindon was naturally somewhat uneasy about the British, fearing that one day independent Burma would suffer the fate of Lower Burma. His kingdom was cut off from the sea by British territory and had access to other countries only through areas under British control or by difficult routes overland to China and Thailand. Burma's position was thus weaker than that of, for example, Thailand. To strengthen his position, Mindon sought the good will of other Western states and so he entered into treaties of friendship with France and Italy, and employed Frenchmen and Italians to train his army.

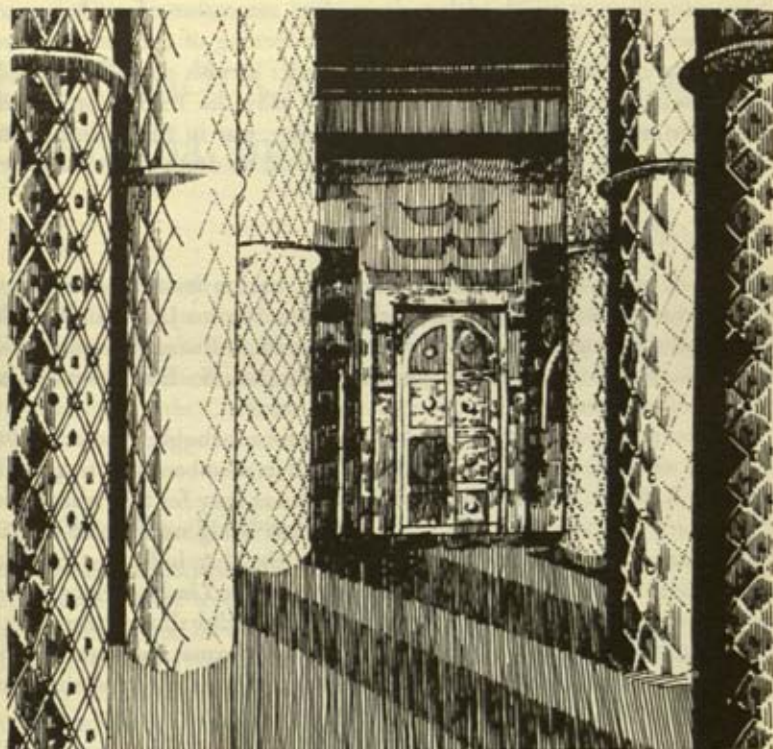
Mindon was particularly concerned by the ambition of the British to open up trade through Burma with China. Many projects were put forward for building railways into China, and a number of exploratory parties were sent to examine the possible trade routes, though the outbreak of the Panthay or Muslim rebellion in Yunnan in 1855 and the disorder which continued even after the repression of the rebellion in 1873 rendered these projects abortive. Mindon, who was himself the principal trader of his kingdom, did not want rivals, and also he feared that if foreigners obtained a grip on his kingdom's economy, political independence would soon be lost. He entered into commercial treaties with the British in 1862 and 1867, which were designed to facilitate the overland trade to China and to restrict the royal monopolies of some forms of commerce; but British merchants in Rangoon complained that these undertakings were not properly carried out. One result was the growth of a demand among the merchants for annexation. Nevertheless, as between the Government of Burma and the Government of India, relations were good. The treaty of 1867 provided for the re-establishment of the residency and for the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction by the resident over British subjects; and the presence of a series of able residents helped to keep relations friendly.

King Thibaw

When King Mindon died in 1878, there was no recognized successor, and a palace intrigue put on the throne a junior son, Thibaw. His position was not strong, since there were many senior princes who were regarded as having a better claim. So, to prevent opposition, nearly all the members of the royal family were imprisoned and early in 1879 some eighty of them were executed. In previous ages the removal in this way of dangerous members of the royal family could be effected without serious repercussions, but in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the news became known to the rest of the world and aroused much feeling against the government of Burma. The British merchants in Rangoon who wanted the annexation of independent Burma could now argue, as they could not in the time of Mindon, that the Government of Burma was unfit to rule. Moreover, after Mindon's death there was a growth of disorder. Armed robbery increased greatly, some of the Shan rulers in the eastern hills tried to establish their independence, there was rebellion among the Kachins in the far north, and so British trade with independent Burma suffered. In this way there appeared the conditions which Mindon had avoided as most likely to lead to foreign interference—lawlessness, breakdown of trade, and reversion to ways of government which in the closing decades of the nineteenth century seemed outmoded.

At this time the British were involved in unprofitable wars against the Afghans on the north-west frontier of India and against the Zulus in South Africa, while in Europe relations with Russia were very difficult indeed. It appeared to some of the Burmese Ministers that under these circumstances the British could be defied. In consequence, British subjects in independent Burma were in some cases ill-treated; the resident was regarded with contempt; and when the British resident in Afghanistan was murdered, it was feared in India that a similar disaster might occur in Mandalay. In October 1879, therefore, the residency was withdrawn. Thus, as had happened forty years earlier, there was no longer a channel through which difficulties could be solved in a diplomatic way.

A further massacre of people suspected of opposing the government took place in 1883 and this increased the demand in Rangoon for intervention. The Government of India and the British officials in Rangoon were opposed to any such action, but in 1885 it was learnt that the Burmese Government were trying to obtain French protection. At this time the French were establishing control over North Vietnam and the British suspected that their ambitions extended to Burma. In 1885 a French consul-general was posted to Mandalay and it became known that a Franco-Burmese commercial



Palace at Mandalay

treaty had been signed, but the French government gave an assurance that the treaty was of no real importance. In July 1885, however, information was received that the treaty would enable the French to build a railway from Mandalay to Toungoo, to open a bank in Mandalay, and in general to dominate the economy of independent Burma. In addition, the French promised to allow the import of arms through North Vietnam.

It seemed to the British government that independent Burma was likely to become a French protectorate; and if French and British were to share Burma between them with only a line of latitude as their frontier, constant friction would ensue, leading very likely to war. At this point the Government of Burma, with French encouragement, imposed a heavy fine on a British timber firm for alleged breach of contract. The British government

took the opportunity to settle its differences with independent Burma. An ultimatum was sent to Mandalay, demanding suspension of action against the timber firm pending investigation, the reopening of the residency, and the placing of Burma's foreign relations under British control. The ultimatum was rejected, and on 11 November 1885 the British forces were ordered to attack. Fifteen days later Mandalay was in their hands. King Thibaw was taken to India where he remained till his death thirty years later.

Annexation of Upper Burma

As a result of the killing of the princes, there was no member of the royal family who could suitably be put on the throne. So on 1 January 1886 independent Burma was annexed to the British Crown, and was then united with Lower Burma as a province of the Indian Empire. So Burma lost its last vestiges of independence.

The Burmese people did not submit without a struggle. The army had scattered when the British forces advanced, and its members took to guerrilla warfare. A British Indian army of 30,000 men was busy for five years before the country was brought under control, the task being made more difficult by the spread of disorder to Lower Burma. In the Shan hills, too, the chiefs tried to form an independent confederacy under the Limbin prince, son of the heir apparent killed in 1866, and not till 1890 did all the rulers accept British authority. In the Chin hills, on the west of Burma, there was likewise resistance to the imposition of British control, and the situation there was not stabilized till 1895.

The French Occupation of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos

In the mid-nineteenth century, France was ruled by the Emperor Napoleon III. He wished to create a French Empire in emulation of the achievements of his famous uncle, the first Napoleon; also he needed to gain the support of the Roman Catholic interests so as to strengthen his position in France itself. The sufferings of the Christian missionaries in Vietnam gave him an opportunity to attain both these aims.

French Occupation of Cochin-China

The Vietnamese Emperor Tu Duc (1848-83) showed at the beginning of his reign a rather more tolerant attitude than had his predecessors, but he soon came to believe that his brother was trying to gain European support in a bid for the throne. His consequent mistrust of any of his subjects who adhered to European missionaries, combined with the anti-Christian views of his mother and some of his ministers, led him in 1851 to order the suppression of all Christian groups. A severe persecution began. It was at this point that Napoleon III seized power in France, and he promptly sent a strong protest to the court at Hue. The protest was rejected, whereupon the harbour forts at the port of Tourane were bombarded by French warships. The only result was that the persecution became more severe; and in 1857 a Spanish missionary who was Bishop of Tongking was put to death, so that Spain as well as France decided to interfere.

In 1857 the French Government determined to occupy three towns in Vietnam and to impose French protection over the country as a whole. At this time there was a strong French naval force at hand, for since 1856 the French had been at war with China, where also missionaries had been persecuted. The Spaniards had a naval force based on the Philippine Islands. When, therefore, the war with China ceased in 1858, the French forces were available for use against Vietnam and the Spanish forces were ready to co-operate with them. A French demand for religious liberty for Christians and

for permission to send commercial and consular officials to Vietnam was rejected, and the combined French and Spanish forces occupied Tourane in September 1858.

The invaders received less support from the Vietnamese Christians than had been hoped for and the Vietnamese government showed no readiness to make peace. Early in 1859, therefore, the French and Spaniards left Tourane and went to southern Vietnam, where they occupied Saigon. The Tongking area, having a larger population than the Red River delta could easily sustain, normally imported rice from the Mekong delta, and it was thought that if this trade were interrupted by the occupation of Saigon, the principal port of the Mekong basin, the Vietnamese government would have to come to terms. A renewal of war in China then occurred and most of the French forces were withdrawn from Vietnam in consequence, while the remainder with the Spaniards were besieged in Saigon. Early in 1861, when the China war was finally over, the French were able to relieve Saigon, and in the next twelve months they occupied the three eastern provinces of the delta. The Emperor Tu Duc then agreed to a treaty in June 1862, ceding to France these three provinces, including Saigon, permitting freedom of worship in his kingdom, and opening three ports to trade, as well as undertaking to pay a large indemnity. The Spaniards were content with the promise of freedom of worship.

The inhabitants of southern Vietnam continued to resist the French, and those operating in the ceded provinces were aided by those living in the neighbouring areas still under Vietnamese government. In 1867, therefore, the French occupied the western provinces of the delta and annexed them. The provinces gained in 1862 and 1867 were called by the French the colony of Cochin-China.

Cambodia

Cambodia had maintained a precarious independence by paying tribute to both Vietnam and Thailand, but the French attacks weakened the position of the Vietnamese and enabled the Thai to dominate the country. On the death of King Ang Duong (1841-60), his successor King Norodom (1860-1904) was challenged by his younger brother, Prince Si Vatha, and only by the aid of Thai troops was Norodom able to secure his crown. The Thai position in Cambodia was thus very strong. The French, however, argued that as the rulers of Cochin-China they had succeeded to Vietnamese rights in Cambodia, and they decided to enforce their claims there and to exclude Thai claims. In 1863 they persuaded King Norodom to sign a treaty putting

his kingdom under French protection. The Thai government objected that, as a vassal state, Cambodia was not entitled to make such a treaty. Their resident in Cambodia induced the king to sign another document in which he admitted that he was only viceroy of Cambodia under the king of Thailand; the king also agreed to go to Bangkok for his coronation. The French then threatened to use force against Cambodia, and so the king did not go to Bangkok; a French force entered the capital, and in 1864 King Norodom ratified the treaty signed a year before. The Thai government were not powerful enough to go to war with the French and they abandoned their demand for Norodom to be crowned in Bangkok. After further negotiations, a Franco-Thai treaty was signed in 1867: Thailand renounced all claims to authority over Cambodia, and France confirmed Thai occupation of the provinces of Battambang, Sisophon and Siem Reap, which had been in Thai hands since the end of the eighteenth century.

After this the French gradually increased their hold on Cambodia till in 1884, by threat of force, they made the king agree to give up all control of public revenues, customs dues, and public works, to confine himself for all practical purposes to ceremonial duties, and to transfer the real powers of government to the French Chief Resident, who was to post a resident to each province. This event led to a popular revolt under Prince Si Vaththa, secretly encouraged by King Norodom, and resistance went on till Si Vaththa was forced to surrender in 1892. But though the actual power thus passed to French hands, the king was still regarded by the Cambodian people as their rightful ruler; and though he had little secular power, he was still the protector of the Buddhist religion and so had the loyalty of the *sangha* (order of monks) whose influence over the people was powerful.

The Exploration of the Mekong

The occupation of Cochin-China inspired the French to examine the possibility of opening a profitable trade with China through the Mekong valley. In 1866 an expedition led by Doudart de Lagrée and Francis Garnier left Saigon, passed through Cambodia, Vientiane and Luang Prabang, and reached Yunnan; they hoped to find the source of the Mekong, but the Chinese authorities would not allow them to continue their journey northwards and, Lagrée having died of exhaustion, Garnier went through China to the coast. The expedition had found that long stretches of the Mekong were not navigable and that the river could not serve as a large-scale trade route; but Garnier's enquiries led to the view that the Red River route, through Tongking, was feasible. French attention therefore turned to Tongking.

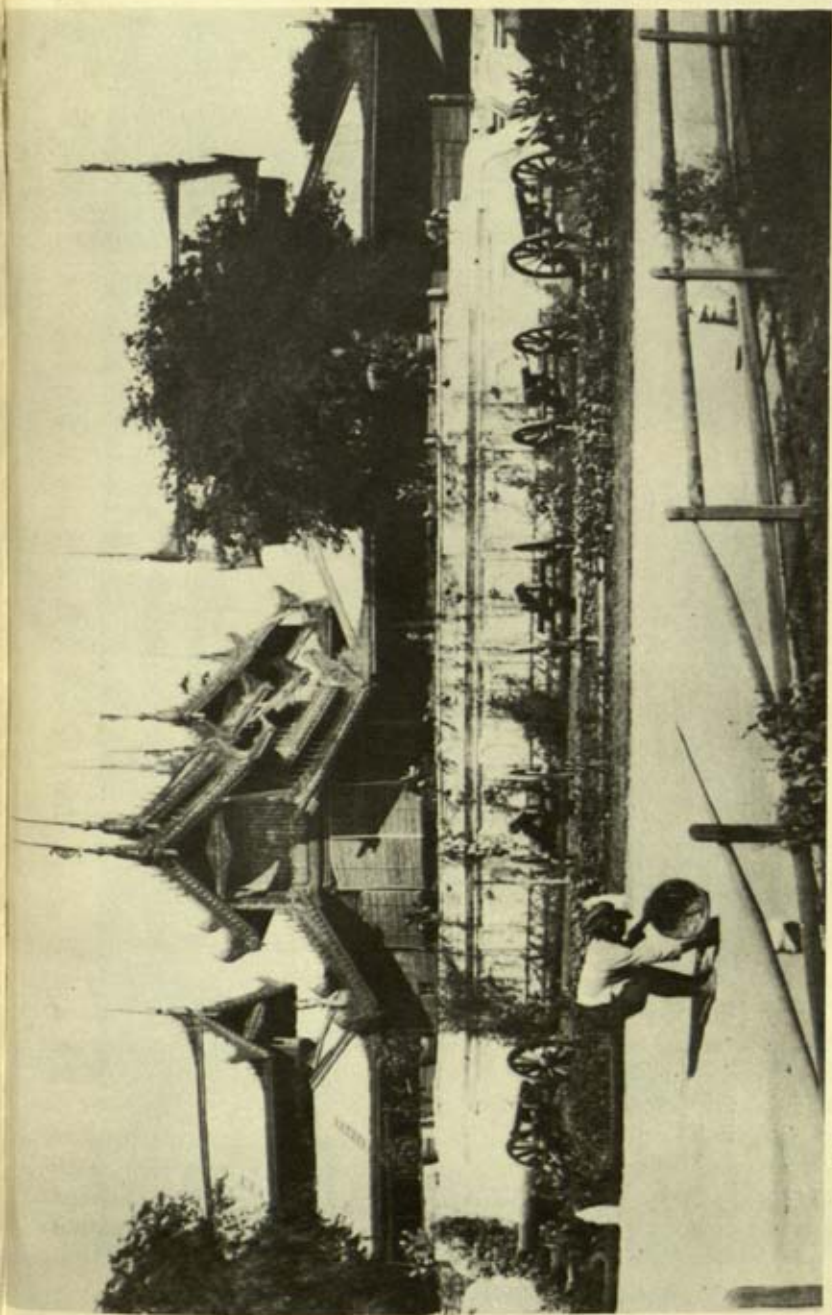
The Franco-Vietnamese Treaty of 1873

A French merchant tried to carry on a trade in arms through Tongking with Yunnan, but Tongking had fallen into a state of disorder. Refugees from the Taiping rebellion in China (1850-64) had crossed the border and taken to brigandage; the Panthay rebellion in Yunnan (1854-73) produced a similar effect. The Emperor Tu Duc sought aid from his overlord, the Emperor of China, in coping with this situation, but the Chinese troops sent to Tongking also took to brigandage. The general dislocation of trade in Tongking and complaints from Dupuis, the arms merchant, that the Vietnamese officials were obstructing his enterprise, caused the Governor of Cochin-China in 1873 to send Garnier, with a small escort, to negotiate an agreement about the Red River route. Garnier and the Vietnamese officials could not agree and, fearing that he would be attacked, Garnier stormed the citadel at Hanoi and despite the smallness of his force then captured a number of other towns. Garnier was killed in the course of these operations and the French government, which had not recovered from its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71, was not willing to undertake more hostilities. The Emperor Tu Duc on his part was alarmed by the speed of Garnier's victories and was ready for peace. In 1874 a treaty was concluded, by which Vietnam recognized French sovereignty over all Cochin-China, agreed to open certain ports to trade, opened the Red River route, promised liberty of conscience to Christians, and undertook that the Emperor of Vietnam would 'conform his foreign policy to that of France'; a French resident was to be admitted to Vietnam; and France undertook to protect the emperor against other parties.

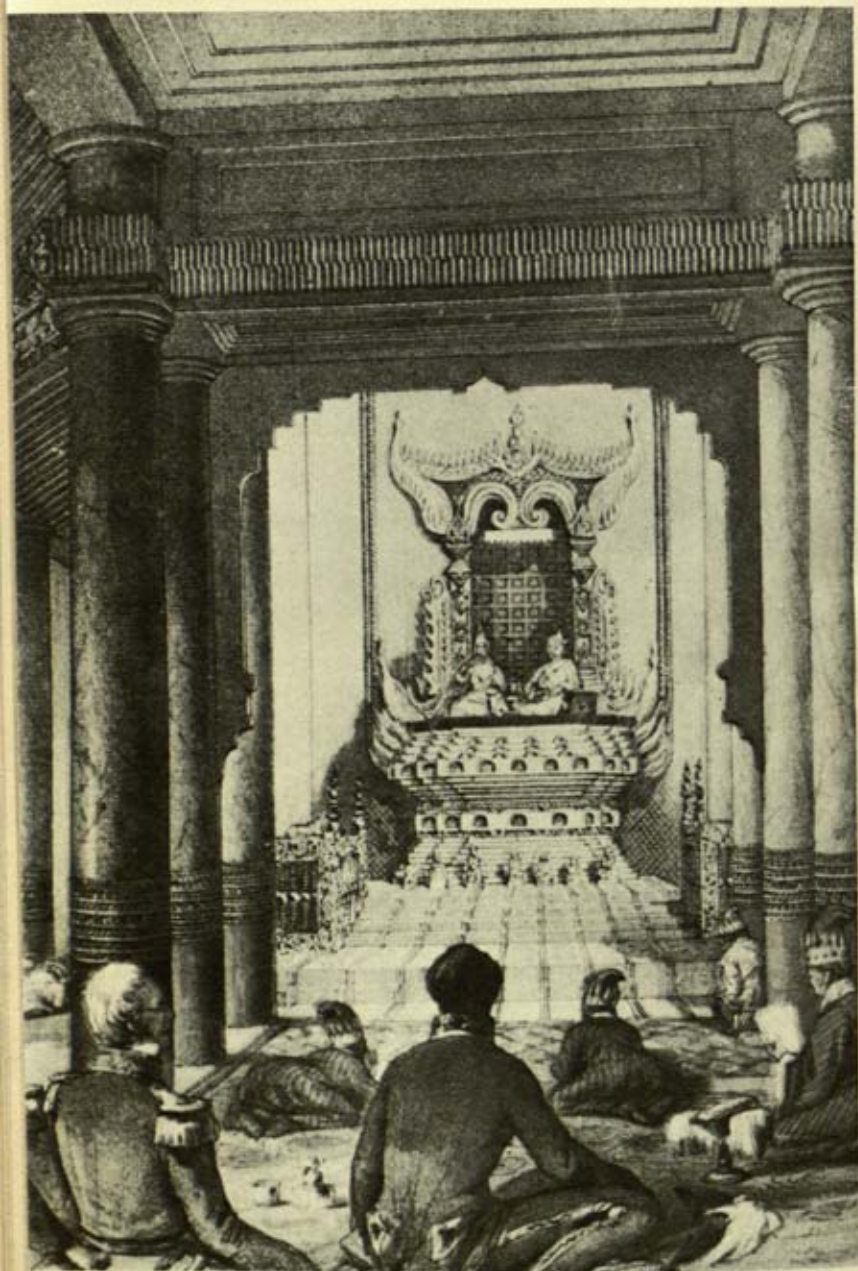
The results of this treaty did not satisfy the French. On paper it gave them control over Vietnam's foreign relations, but in practice Vietnam remained a vassal of China; the widespread disorder in Tongking made the provisions about trade useless; and persecution of Christians continued.

The End of Vietnam's Independence

The end of the Panthay revolt in Yunnan in 1873 increased the number of refugees who entered Tongking and again Tu Duc sought aid from China. More Chinese troops were sent. By the early 1880s, however, France was governed by a ministry which saw in overseas expansion a way of compensating for the defeat in Europe by the Prussians in 1871. They therefore determined to replace Chinese influence in Vietnam by French influence. In 1882 a French force was sent to Vietnam to protect the French resident and to extend French influence. The commander promptly occupied Hanoi and



Palace at Mandalay



Reception of the British envoy by King Mindon, 1855

began a military conquest of the Red River delta. Hue was attacked in August 1883, and the Vietnamese emperor had no choice but to surrender. Tu Duc had just died and, as a dynastic dispute ensued on his death, Vietnam was in a very weak position. Under the terms of peace made at this time, Vietnam became a French protectorate, with France controlling her foreign relations.

Warfare continued against the Chinese brigands and against regular Chinese forces, for China still claimed to be Vietnam's overlord and refused to recognize the French protectorate. In 1884, however, by the Convention of Tientsin, the Chinese government agreed to withdraw all troops from Tongking and to recognize the French position. Nevertheless, a dispute arose about the date by which the Chinese forces should withdraw, and fighting was resumed till the Convention of Tientsin was confirmed by a treaty in 1885.

Dynastic Conflicts

The situation in Vietnam made it easy for the French to consolidate their position. On Tu Duc's death in 1883, the government came under two regents who thought that the new Emperor, Duc Duc, was not likely to submit to their control; after three days they deposed him and locked him up to die of hunger and thirst. They put on the throne another prince, Hiep Hoa, who accepted the 1883 agreement with France and was therefore murdered. The regents then enthroned Kien Phuc, a boy of fourteen years, whom they got rid of, probably by poison, in 1884. The next emperor was Kien Phuc's brother, Ham Nghi.

During this period of chaos, the French in June 1884 entered into a new treaty with Vietnam, under which the emperor was still to exercise authority in home affairs in central Vietnam, often called Annam, while the north—i.e. Tongking—was to be administered by French residents. The two regents were not willing to accept the situation and in July 1885 they tried to attack the French garrison in the capital, Hue. The attack failed and the regents, with the Emperor Ham Nghi, fled to the hills, where they continued resistance till 1888. The French meanwhile declared Ham Nghi deposed and put on the throne his brother, Dong Khanh, in 1886. He died in 1889 and was succeeded by Thanh Thai, son of the unfortunate Duc Duc who had reigned for three days in 1883. Thanh Thai reigned till 1907, when his misconduct caused the French to replace him by one of his sons, Duy Tan.

Laos

After the fall of Vientiane in 1828, the Thai had effective control of the territories of that state except for the Khammouane and Kamkeut areas, near the Annamite Chain, which passed under Vietnamese influence. The Thai also dominated the kingdom of Luang Prabang and the principality of Champassac. They did not interfere a great deal in these areas, however, but left them very much to themselves.

In and after the 1860s, the territories east of the Mekong suffered from inroads by Chinese bandits, displaced by the Taiping and Panthay rebellions in China. In 1871 these 'Ho' or 'Haw', as they were locally called, were active in the state of Xieng Khouang. Luang Prabang and Vietnam, which both claimed tribute from Xieng Khouang, combined against the Ho but suffered defeat. Vietnam was at this time distracted by the French aggression and so could do no more: Luang Prabang could do little single-handed; but the Thai were glad to take action. They had become concerned by the French



The development of French Indo-China

exploration of the Mekong valley and the French interference in Vietnam; they welcomed the opportunity to strengthen their position east of the Mekong so as to forestall any French interference there.

In the course of combating the Ho, the Thai imposed their authority over all the rulers east of the Mekong and claimed to have subdued the Sipsong Chu Thai, or Twelve Thai States, in the Black River basin in what is now North Vietnam. Their operations against the Ho were not very successful, however, and they could not prevent the bandits from creating general disorder over much of the Mekong area. They failed to induce Cam Sinh, the principal chief in the Sipsong Chu Thai, to recognize their king as his overlord, and they enraged him by carrying off some of his sons as hostages. In revenge, in 1887 Cam Sinh's eldest son, Cam Oun—known to the Vietnamese as Deo Van Tri—co-operated with the Ho and with them sacked the city of Luang Prabang. King Oun Kham of Luang Prabang (1872–94) was saved by the aid of the French consul, Auguste Pavie, and from then onwards he looked to the French as his protectors and friends.

The prevailing disorder in the Mekong lands gave the French an excuse for interfering so as to restore peace. Also, in 1884 the Emperor of Vietnam delegated to the French all his rights in territories not actually under his administration, and the French argued on this ground that all states which had at any time paid tribute to Vietnam should now come under their government. In 1888, therefore, they annexed the Sipsong Chu Thai and the Thai government had no option but to accept the situation.

The French then began to intervene actively in Kamkeut and Khammouane and, despite Thai offers of arbitration, in 1893 they invaded Stung Treng, which the Thai had held since 1814, and they also advanced across the mountains from the region of Hue. Finally, under threat of open war, the Thai in 1893 accepted a treaty whereby they gave up all claim to any territory east of the Mekong. Later, by agreements of 1902, 1904 and 1907, the Thai also gave up part of Champassac on the west of the river and part of Luang Prabang which also lay on the right bank. The parts of Champassac which remained under Thai control were merged into Thailand as normal provinces of that kingdom; and in the parts that lay east of the river the French recognized the ruler as only governor on their behalf. Thus the state of Champassac ceased to have any legal existence.

The French organized the Mekong lands into a single territory under a Chief Resident, and gave the name 'Laos' to it. Laos did not include the Sipsong Chu Thai, for these were transferred to Tongking in 1895; and Stung Treng was transferred to Cambodia in 1904. Luang Prabang retained its separate existence and was treated as a protected state where the king and

his ministers had some degree of authority. Elsewhere the territory was split up into provinces ruled by residents. These provinces were legally French territory and not protected states. Thus of all the states that had once existed in the middle Mekong valley, only Luang Prabang survived.

The Indo-Chinese Union

The French held Cochin-China as a colony, Annam, Tongking and Cambodia as protectorates, Luang Prabang as a protectorate, and the rest of Laos as a French colony. It was inconvenient to administer each of these separately, and so in 1898 they were formed into the Indo-Chinese Union. At the head was a governor-general, with responsibility for finance, justice, law and order, defence, and external relations, subject to the orders of the French Government in Paris. For these purposes all the territories were treated as a unit. This greatly benefited the poorer territories, especially Laos, which lacked the revenue to maintain efficient government in modern form, though it was harder for the wealthier areas such as Cochin-China which were taxed to pay for the poorer areas. In other matters of government, each territory was administered individually.

Thailand in the Nineteenth Century

Of all the countries of South-East Asia, only Thailand maintained its independence against the pressure of the European Powers in the nineteenth century. The country was ruled by a succession of able monarchs who perceived that the isolation which had continued since 1688 must be sacrificed, that the country must be opened to foreign trade, that its ways of government must be modernized, and that a policy of co-operation with the Europeans must be pursued. Only by such means could Thailand avoid giving any excuse for foreign conquest. The kings also realized that Thailand could not resist the foreigners by force and that at times concessions must be made to them. As a result, though Thailand lost territory to both French and British, what was lost consisted of dependencies and provinces on the fringe of the country: the heart of Thailand, the home of the Thai people in the Menam Chao Phya basin, remained intact.

Relations with Malaya

With the gradual termination of the wars with Burma, the Thai kings were able to revive claims to suzerainty over minor states in the Mekong valley and in the Malay peninsula. In the former they secured domination over Luang Prabang and they annexed Vientiane; they also after a long struggle agreed on a compromise with Vietnam by which suzerainty over Cambodia was shared. The case of the Malay States proved more difficult.

During the Burmese wars, Thailand had been unable to enforce its claims to tribute from the Malay States, and some of these had established friendly relations with Burma; but when the Burmans had been repelled by Paya Taksin, Thai claims for tribute in Malaya were resumed, and this was one of the reasons why Kedah sought an alliance with the East India Company in 1786. For some time, however, the continuance of the Burmese wars kept the Thai busy, and only when Burmese attention turned westwards towards Assam and Chittagong could Thailand reassert its old rights. The task of reviving Thai authority in the peninsula was carried out mainly by the Chao Phya (governor) of Ligor. It proved fairly easy to regain control over the

state of Pattani, which lay immediately south of Ligor, though in 1830-31 its Muslim ruler rebelled and it was broken up into seven tiny states, each too small to be troublesome. Kedah, more remote from the centre of Thailand, proved more difficult. The sultan maintained a connexion with both Burma and the British, and this added to the Thai desire to bring him under control. In 1818 he obeyed an order from Thailand to invade the neighbouring state of Perak and compel it to pay tribute to the king, but this obedience did not save him from a Thai invasion in 1821 after he refused to obey a command to come to Bangkok. The sultan fled to Penang, and for years afterwards his people made attempts, sometimes using Penang and Province Wellesley as a base, to drive the Thai out. Finally, in 1842, when the energetic Chao Phya of Ligor was dead, the Thai government became tired of the unending warfare and, with some encouragement from the government of the Straits Settlements, reinstated the sultan. Kedah was, however, deprived of part of its territory: the areas of Setul and Perlis were taken away and made into separate states under Thai control.

Burney's Mission

The Thai attack on Kedah caused concern in Penang, which drew food supplies from that state and which feared Thai interference with its trade with the Malay States. A British emissary, John Crawfurd, was sent to Bangkok in 1822 to try to secure the restoration of the sultan of Kedah and to gain an agreement on trade; but he achieved little. Then the Chao Phya of Ligor contemplated an attack on Perak, which had regained its independence after the invasion of 1818, and on Selangor which had aided Perak; but the governor of Penang sent a small force to watch the situation and the attack did not take place. The Government of India became uneasy at the situation. War with Burma broke out in 1824 and the India government did not want trouble with Thailand as well; on the contrary, Thai aid against Burma would have been welcome. It was therefore decided to send a mission to Bangkok to negotiate an agreement on the status of the Malay States and other points of difficulty. The envoy chosen was Captain Burney, who was later resident in Burma.

Burney's mission resulted in a commercial treaty, which did little more than define the conditions under which British shipping might use the port of Bangkok, and a treaty of friendship, both signed in 1826. Under the latter, British subjects were to be allowed to trade in Thailand, and an agreement about the Malay States was arrived at. The company recognized that Kedah was a dependency of Thailand and promised not to let the exiled sultan

attack either Kedah or any other Thai territory; the company also undertook not to let the sultan live in Penang. Both the company and Thailand undertook not to attack Perak, and the ruler of Perak was left free to decide for himself whether or not to send tribute to Bangkok. The Thai government promised to leave Selangor alone. Thailand also agreed not to interfere with British trade in Trengganu and Kelantan and the company promised not to attack those states, but nothing was said about Thai rights generally in those two territories.

Despite the treaty, later in 1826 the Chao Phya of Ligor seemed likely to attack Perak, and the governor of Penang therefore sent a small military force there and also made a treaty with the sultan, undertaking to aid him in maintaining his independence.

The Thai government thereafter gave up its attempts to interfere in the west coast states of Perak and Selangor, and instead turned its attention to the east coast states of Trengganu and Kelantan. Burney's treaty was silent about Thai rights in these states, and efforts were made to extend Thailand's influence over them and to compel their rulers to send tribute. In Pahang, too, a dynastic dispute in 1858 gave a good opportunity for interfering. The Thai encouraged a claimant to the Pahang throne to go to Trengganu, which he might use as a base for an attack on Pahang; but in 1862 a British warship shelled Trengganu town so as to make its sultan expel this claimant, and after that the Thai were for a time more cautious in their attempts to gain influence on the east coast of the peninsula.

King Mongkut

The Burney agreement did little to alter Thailand's isolation. Trade with the Straits Settlements increased, but not to the extent that had been expected by the British, and merchants in Singapore complained that the most valuable articles of export were monopolized by the king. In 1850 Raja Brooke was sent to negotiate a new treaty, but he was unable to arrive at any agreement; and an American attempt to improve a treaty which the United States had made with Thailand in 1833 also failed. The situation altered, however, when in 1851 King Mongkut (Rama IV) succeeded to the throne.

King Mongkut (1851-68) had passed much of his life as a Buddhist monk; he was a learned man, who studied foreign languages and foreign science, and corresponded with scholars in other countries. He thus had a knowledge of affairs outside his own country and outside South-East Asia, and so was able to cope with the problems arising from the pressure of the West.

In 1855, realizing that isolation must cease, he entered into a new treaty with the British, negotiated with Sir John Bowring. This agreement restricted the rate of customs duty on British imports and provided that export duties should be clearly defined. British subjects were allowed to acquire houses and land in the neighbourhood of Bangkok. A British consul was to be stationed in Bangkok with power to try by British law any British subjects accused of offences and also to decide cases involving both British and Thai subjects, though in these cases he was to consult with the Thai authorities. The effect was to open Thailand to British trade and to give British traders and others exemption from Thai law and courts. In the next few years similar treaties were made by Thailand with most Western countries. Thus the country was thrown open to foreign enterprise.

Trade then grew rapidly. In 1850, the country exported principally sugar, hides, raw cotton, tin and timber, but not rice; and the total value of exports was 5,590,000 *baht* or about £1,200,000; imports were valued at 4,330,000 *baht* or about £930,000. By 1870 exports had risen to a value of over 11 million *baht* and imports to almost 8 million. At the end of the century, exports valued 52 million *baht* which, at the rate of exchange then current, came to about £3 million, and imports had risen to over 43 million *baht* or about £2½ million. Rice accounted for much of the increase in exports: exports of this commodity increased in value from nothing in 1850 to about 70 per cent of total exports at the end of the century.

Singapore was the chief gainer by the expansion of trade after Bowring's treaty. Its trade with Thailand grew rapidly, and British firms began to develop the economy of the country, in particular the extraction and export of timber.

King Mongkut, besides encouraging foreign economic enterprise, introduced the policy of using foreign assistance in the government of the country. He employed experts from abroad to reform the administration and to re-organize the army. He encouraged princes and high officials to study foreign history and languages. He introduced a system of coinage. He developed canals and roads.

It was during his reign that Thailand began to experience French pressure on the eastern boundaries. King Mongkut knew that he could not resist the French by force, and so he had to give up his claims to suzerainty over Cambodia.

King Chulalongkorn

King Mongkut was succeeded by his son, Chulalongkorn (Rama V), who

reigned from 1868 to 1910. During his long reign he carried on the policy begun by his father. He too encouraged education, especially among the nobility. He abolished slavery, and prohibited compulsory labour for the government. To prevent corruption and to put the country's finances on a sound footing, he employed British experts as financial advisers. The administration of justice was reformed by Belgian lawyers, and a number of Europeans were brought in to serve as judges. The police force was organized by a British officer from Burma. The construction of railways was begun.

To strengthen the government's control over the country, the system of local administration was remodelled during the 1890s. Till then, much authority had rested with hereditary governors of provinces, but these were now replaced by appointed officials, and at the same time the system of farming the taxes was replaced by direct collection by the government's own officers.

Relations with France

During King Chulalongkorn's reign, Thailand experienced further pressure from the French on the east, while in the same period the British were extending their influence on the west. Chulalongkorn, like his father, tried to maintain friendly relations with the Western governments, but their gains of territory at Thailand's expense not only aggrieved the Thai but also aroused fears that the ultimate result would be the complete extinction of Thailand's independence, so that the country would suffer the fate of Vietnam and Burma. Thailand lacked the military force wherewith to fight for independence; the only course was to make the minimum concessions possible, and when concessions were unavoidable to make them with good grace. Fortunately for Thailand, neither France nor Great Britain was willing to let the other absorb all or much of Thailand. When the French occupied Laos and so became neighbours of the British who had lately occupied Upper Burma, the problem of agreeing on a frontier was so difficult that relations between France and Britain became seriously strained in the years 1893-95. Then, owing to the fact that neither country wanted war, an agreement was made. In January 1896, Great Britain conceded to France the area of Muong Sing, a small state on the upper Mekong to which Burma, Luang Prabang, China and Thailand all had claims; and Great Britain and France agreed that neither would attack the Menam Chao Phya basin or seek any special privilege or advantage in it. Thus the independence of most of Thailand was assured.

Nevertheless, the Thai lost yet more territory to the French by later

agreements, of which the last was made in 1907. They thus lost the provinces of Melouprey, Tonle Repou, Battambang and Siem Reap, which were transferred to Cambodia, so that Cambodia regained the old city of Angkor. To the north of Cambodia, an area which had once been part of Champassac west of the Mekong was also obtained by the French, and was merged into Laos; and still farther north the province of Sayaboury, also west of the Mekong, was incorporated into Laos. The heart of Thailand, however, in the Menam Chao Phya basin, remained intact.

Relations with the Malay States

While the French were advancing on the east, the situation on the south of Thailand caused equal uneasiness. By the early 1890s, the British had established the residential system in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, and Johore was in close alliance with the Straits Settlements. British commercial concerns in the Straits Settlements hoped to extend British influence over the other Malay states to the north also; but the Thai naturally wanted to preserve their influence in the peninsula and to extend it so as to compensate for losses to the French on the east.

Commercial adventurers, American and German as well as British, sought concessions in the northern states and from both the British and the Thai points of view there was a danger that the establishment of foreign commercial interests would lead to political intervention. French and Russians, too, displayed an interest in a project for cutting a canal across the Kra isthmus, to the north of the peninsula, which would bypass Singapore and damage its trade; and the Germans had tried to purchase from Thailand the Langkawi islands, off the west coast of the peninsula, as a coaling-station.

To eliminate any risk of foreign intervention, an Anglo-Thai convention of 1897 provided that Thailand would not cede any rights south of the eleventh parallel of latitude to any other Power or grant any special privileges there, while the British government promised to support Thailand in resisting any foreign attempt to establish influence in that area.

The Thai government then tried to strengthen its hold over the Malay States still outside the British sphere. In 1902 the ruler of Pattani was deposed when he tried to defy the authority of the commissioner appointed to govern the southern provinces. Attempts were made to reduce the authority of the rulers of Kelantan and Trengganu; but they were more powerful than the ruler of Pattani and, whereas Pattani had long been subject to Thailand, Kelantan and Trengganu had enjoyed a greater degree of independence. So as to ensure that these two states should not fall under outside influence, in

1902 the Thai and British governments agreed that the foreign relations of Kelantan and Trengganu should be controlled by Thailand and that Thailand should appoint advisers to help the rulers, but that the British government was to have a voice in the selection of these advisers. An adviser was sent to Kelantan, but Trengganu refused to accept one. An adviser was also appointed to Kedah in 1905.

The situation was again altered by the Anglo-Thai agreement of 1909. The 1902 agreement had not proved satisfactory. It had not ensured the security of Trengganu from outside influence, and the sharing between the Thai and British governments of authority to appoint the advisers in Kelantan and Kedah was inconvenient. By the 1909 agreement, Thailand transferred to the British Government all rights in Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis; in return, a loan was given to Thailand for the construction of a railway through the south of the country, the restriction on Thailand's freedom of action south of the eleventh parallel of latitude laid down in the convention of 1897 was annulled, and the jurisdiction of the British consuls in Thailand was replaced by a system of international courts in which authority was shared between Thai and British officials.

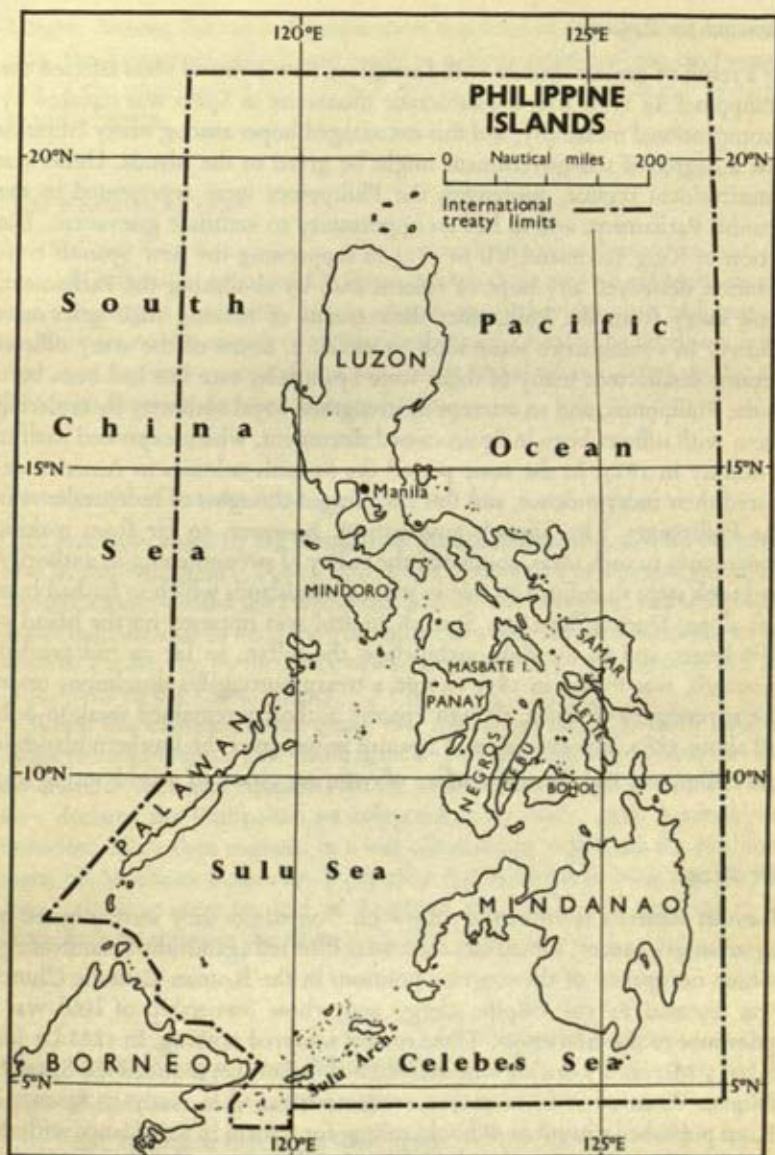
Though the agreement of 1909 was negotiated in a friendly manner, its effect was to deprive Thailand of any rights in territories which had long been claimed as subordinate to the king, and this remained a source of grievance in the minds of many Thai.

The Philippines in the Nineteenth Century

Spanish Rule

The nineteenth century saw the decline and final extinction of Spanish power in the Philippines. Revolts against Spanish rule had not been infrequent in previous centuries. The land system pressed hard on the cultivators: Spanish officials and churchmen were from an early date given large tracts of land which the people had to cultivate by a form of compulsory labour. The Spanish government in Madrid often issued orders for the remedying of this and other abuses, but these orders were disobeyed by the officials on the spot. Trade did not develop as it might have. Spain maintained a monopoly of trade and foreigners were excluded. Trade with Europe, moreover, had to be conducted through Mexico, and this obstructed development. None of the other Spanish colonies in America were allowed to take part in the trade; and in Spain itself merchants used their influence so as to reduce what trade the Philippines had, on the ground that Chinese goods thus brought to Spain competed with Spanish industries.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, conditions altered. In 1762, when Spain was engaged in the Seven Years' War in Europe, a British expedition occupied Manila, and though under the terms of peace it was given back in 1764, a serious blow had been struck at Spanish authority. After this, the restrictions on trade were partially relaxed, and commerce with other Asian countries besides China was allowed, though there was still difficulty about the entry of foreign ships into Manila and other Philippines ports. Attempts to foster direct trade with Spain were made, in place of the policy of channelling trade through Mexico, and in 1785 the Royal Company of the Philippines was formed in Spain and given a monopoly of this direct trade, which it continued to enjoy till 1830. Gradually the trade of the islands was opened to foreigners of all races, a process completed in 1837.



The Philippine Islands

Demand for Reforms

As a result of greater contact with foreigners, new political ideas affected the Philippines. In 1812, too, the autocratic monarchy in Spain was replaced by a constitutional monarchy, and this encouraged hopes among many Filipinos that a degree of self-government might be given to the islands. Under the constitutional regime, moreover, the Philippines were represented in the Spanish Parliament, and so had an opportunity to ventilate grievances. The action of King Ferdinand VII in 1814 in suppressing the new Spanish constitution destroyed any hope of reform and, by abolishing the Parliament, took away from the Philippines their means of making their grievances known. In consequence some took to violence. Some of the army officers became disaffected: many of them were Spanish by race but had been born in the Philippines, and an attempt to strengthen royal authority by replacing them with officers born in Spain caused discontent, which expressed itself in a mutiny in 1823. In the same period the Spanish colonies in America declared their independence, and this encouraged thoughts of independence in the Philippines. The Spanish government, however, so far from making concessions to such ideas, continued the policy of strengthening its authority, and took steps to enforce its rule in parts of the islands which so far had been left alone. During the 1840s Spanish control was imposed on the island of Mindanao, and in the Sulu archipelago the sultan, so far an independent monarch, was forced in 1851 to sign a treaty putting his dominions under the sovereignty of Spain, though Spanish authority remained weak in Sulu till about 1880. The extension of Spanish power over the southern islands of the Philippines had the useful effect of reducing piracy in neighbouring seas.

Dr Rizal

Revolts recurred as the century drew on. Sometimes they were inspired by agrarian grievances; sometimes they were directed against the Spanish clergy whose occupancy of the superior positions in the Roman Catholic Church was resented by the Filipino clergy and whose ownership of land was a grievance to the cultivators. These revolts achieved nothing. In 1888 Dr José Rizal y Mercado, a doctor who had studied in Europe, founded the Spanish-Filipino Association from among students engaged in study in Spain. Dr Rizal published a number of books calling for reform in accordance with the views of the association; his agitation led to his arrest when he returned to Manila in 1892 and he was deported to Mindanao. Dr Rizal's movement flourished among the educated class, among whom he organized the Filipino

League. Among the mass of people there appeared in 1892 another organization, the Katipunan, which was ready to achieve reform of the land system and of the government by violence, whereas the Filipino League preferred peaceful means.

The Rebellion of 1896

In 1896 the Katipunan rose in rebellion under Emilio Aguinaldo, and the Spanish authorities executed Dr Rizal though there was no evidence that he had encouraged the rising. His execution aroused widespread indignation, and he became the martyr of the nationalist movement. The rebellion, however, was not very successful and had almost ended when in 1898 the United States of America declared war on Spain.

The Spanish-American War

This war was caused by the situation in the Caribbean area, not by the situation in the Philippines; but so as to cause a diversion of Spanish forces the United States attacked the Philippines. Manila was occupied, and the United States then decided to keep the Philippines as a base for their influence in the western Pacific. So, by the Peace of Paris in December 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States.

While this campaign was going on, Aguinaldo returned from exile in Singapore and began a new rising against the Spaniards. The nationalists had no desire to exchange Spanish rule for American rule, and in January 1899 they declared the Philippines an independent Republic, with Aguinaldo as President. They then engaged in a war of resistance to prevent the establishment of American authority. Even after Aguinaldo had been captured in 1901, resistance went on, and an American army of 70,000 men had to be brought in to suppress the rising.

Time Chart

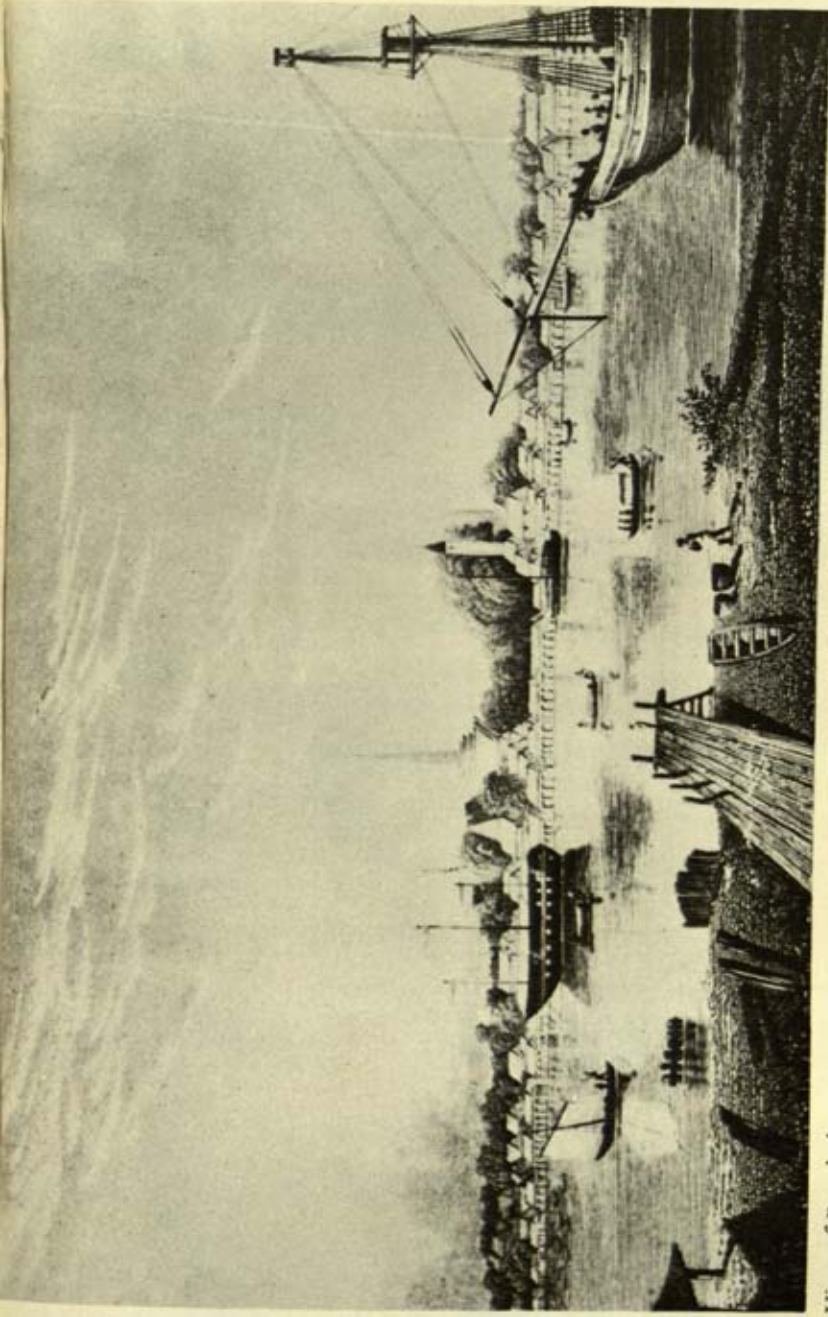
- 1773 British occupation of Balambangan
- 1786 British occupation of Penang
- 1799 End of Dutch East India Company
- 1803 British re-occupation of Balambangan
- 1816 Java returned to Dutch rule

THE PHILIPPINES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1819 Foundation of Singapore
- 1824 Anglo-Dutch Treaty
First Anglo-Burmese War
- 1825 Java War
- 1826 End of First Anglo-Burmese War
Burney's Treaty with Thailand
- 1830 Introduction of Culture System in Java
- 1841 Brooke appointed Raja of Sarawak
- 1852 Second Anglo-Burmese War
- 1860 Introduction of Liberal Policy in Java
- 1862 French occupation of Cochin-China
- 1867 Thai recognition of French occupation of Cambodia
- 1874 Pangkor Engagement
- 1881 British North Borneo Company chartered
- 1883 French protectorate over Vietnam
- 1885 Third Anglo-Burmese War
- 1893 French occupation of Laos
- 1896 Federated Malay States formed
- 1896 Revolt in Philippines
- 1898 Spanish-American War
- 1900 Ethical Policy in Indonesia
- 1909 Anglo-Thai Treaty

EXERCISES

1. For what reasons did Western peoples establish their power in South-East Asia in the nineteenth century?
2. Give an account of the work of T. S. Raffles in Java.
3. What were the causes and results of the Java War, 1825-30?
4. Write an account of Dutch activities in Borneo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
5. Outline the history of Atjeh in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
6. Describe the Culture System in Indonesia and contrast it with the Liberal Policy.



View of Bangkok



Banda

King Mongkut



7. Write an account of the foundation of Singapore and its history up to 1824.
8. Why was the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 signed and what were its principal terms?
9. State the reasons for the separation of the Straits Settlements from India in 1867.
10. Describe the growth of the Residency system in Malaya up to 1896.
11. Write an account of the activities of the English East India Company in Borneo.
12. Describe the growth of British influence in Borneo in the nineteenth century.
13. Explain the causes and results of the three Anglo-Burmese Wars.
14. Give an account of the growth of French influence in Cambodia in the nineteenth century.
15. Describe how Vietnam fell under French control.
16. Describe how the Thai lost territory to the French in the Mekong basin in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
17. Write a short account of Thai relations with the Malay States in the first half of the nineteenth century.
18. Compare the policies of King Mindon of Burma and King Mongkut of Thailand.
19. State the reasons for the Anglo-Thai Treaty of 1909 and give its principal terms.
20. Describe the growth of nationalism in the Philippines in the nineteenth century.

The Nationalist Era

The Rise of Nationalism

The bringing of South-East Asia under Western influence—a process not completed till the early years of the twentieth century—produced great changes in the life of the people. In earlier ages, politics had been the concern of rulers and their ministers and the mass of people had no voice in them. Politics at home had been largely a matter of struggles for the throne, and abroad they had been a matter of struggles for territory and for the personal aggrandizement of rulers. The life of the ordinary man was, of course, often affected by these struggles; wars were frequent, bringing loss and death to many; yet basically conditions changed little. Most people went on living in the accustomed way, in self-sufficing villages, with little contact outside the village and little knowledge of what went on in the rest of the world. The imposition of Western influence altered all this.

Western influence changed the economy of South-East Asia. The later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a great increase in production of materials which had formerly been produced only on a scale sufficient for local use. Cultivators were encouraged to increase production so that crops could become available on a large scale for export. Thus Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia became producers of rice on an enormous scale for export: whereas prior to the period of Western influence rice had rarely been exported, in the 1930s Burma was exporting over 3 million tons a year, Thailand $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons, and Vietnam and Cambodia together over 1 million. This could be achieved only by greatly increasing the area of land under cultivation. In Malaya and Indonesia, the Europeans introduced the cultivation of rubber at the end of the nineteenth century, and by 1938 Malaya was producing 350,000 tons a year while Indonesia produced over 300,000 tons: between them they produced 90 per cent of the world total. In Malaya, Burma, Vietnam and Indonesia, production of such minerals as tin, bauxite and lead was developed: thus Malaya became the world's largest producer of tin, producing nearly 30 per cent of the world's total; and Burma became one of the principal producers of tungsten, essential for hardening steel; and in Burma, too, the largest silver-lead mine in the world was developed.

The vast increase in production was effected by the introduction of Western capital and Western techniques; but the labour employed was Asian. So in most countries of South-East Asia there appeared a class of wage-earners, depending for their living on pay received for their labour in mines, factories and plantations, and not on the results of cultivating their own land as in former days. Moreover, though most men were still cultivators and not industrial workers, the ordinary cultivator was also faced with new conditions. The influx of Western goods, notably textiles, which were good and cheap, destroyed the old system of village industries, so that people became dependent on cultivation alone. The practice of bartering surplus produce for other goods was abandoned: surplus crops were sold for money, and since the price depended on the state of crops in the world at large, the cultivator's prosperity depended on circumstances which he did not control and often did not understand. The increase in production, too, was often achieved by borrowing money with which to buy tools and seed and to support the family till the new land showed a profit; and so the cultivator became involved in debt to the money-lenders. The whole traditional way of life was thus upset.

Often the cultivator lost his land. He was now growing crops for sale abroad, and if the price of commodities fell in the world generally, he received a poor return; he could no longer pay the interest on his debts, much less repay the sum borrowed, and so the money-lenders foreclosed. This was particularly a trouble in Burma and Vietnam, but it occurred elsewhere as well. The formerly independent cultivator thus became a tenant, paying rent for land that had once been his own, or even a landless labourer, working for such wages as he could obtain on someone else's land. In bad times the worker in mines, factories and plantations was also adversely affected; he might find himself receiving poorer pay or even be out of work. The years of economic depression in the 1930s were a particularly bad period, when both cultivators and industrial workers suffered. Naturally discontent arose, and men wanted a change in the conditions under which they lived.

The introduction of Western ways of government and business led to new developments in education. Men who knew the Western languages and understood Western ways were needed. So the traditional systems of education, in monastic or mosque schools, tended to be replaced in part by an alien system based on Western models. Traditional habits of thought were in consequence weakened: respect for ecclesiastics and, often, for parents who knew only the old ways diminished, and so the community became less stable. Education also opened the minds of South-East Asian peoples to the political ideas of the West, and thoughts of self-government after the Western

manner entered men's minds. The struggles for self-government which had taken place earlier in England, in France, in the United States, became known; men read the writings of the French philosophers of the revolutionary period and the English liberals of the nineteenth century; and what was right for the West seemed equally right for Asia. Men began to demand the same rights of self-government as were enjoyed in Europe and America.

In most parts of South-East Asia, too, Western influence and government were new. Still in the 1920s and 1930s people were alive who remembered the days when their countries had been independent; they looked back with regret to those days and wondered whether independence could not be attained once more; and these thoughts were communicated to their children.

The desire for freedom from alien control was encouraged by what went on elsewhere in Asia. The Boxer rising in China in 1899 against the West and the Chinese revolution of 1911 against autocratic government inspired in other countries a desire for national freedom and for liberal government. The rise of Japanese power, culminating in the defeat of the Russian Empire by Japan in 1905, showed too that the Europeans were not invincible. The West had imposed its will on Asia not by force of numbers but by use of superior techniques—by industrial techniques which gave wealth and also provided armaments, and by the techniques of organization and discipline. The Japanese showed by their industrial development from the year of the Meiji Restoration in 1869 and by their military achievements in 1904–05 that Asians could acquire those techniques as readily as could Europeans. There was thus no reason to submit for ever to European domination.

The demand for national independence was also encouraged by the presence in South-East Asia countries of immigrants from other parts of Asia. The new economic conditions which had arisen called for more labour than was easily available in South-East Asia: the gap was filled by immigration, chiefly from China. For many centuries Chinese had come to South-East Asia, but only in small numbers: those who came were for the most part traders, who settled in the ports. As a rule, too, Chinese governments discouraged emigration. During the nineteenth century all this changed. From about 1870 onwards the Chinese government permitted emigration, and many thousands of Chinese were then able to take advantage of the opportunities for employment which South-East Asia provided. Chinese continued to play a large part in commerce, but most found employment as artisans, as miners, as market-gardeners supplying the new towns that sprang up. Hard-working and frugal, many of them became more prosperous than the people among whom they settled; they monopolized some forms of

employment, such as carpentry; the Chinese shopkeeper and money-lender were to be seen in many towns and villages. As their numbers grew, they tended more and more to live separately from the other inhabitants of the country where they settled, and to form distinct communities, pursuing a Chinese way of life.

By the 1930s, there were in Thailand over a million Chinese, forming over 7 per cent of the total population; in Vietnam some 220,000 (2 per cent); in Cambodia 106,000 ($3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent); in the Straits Settlements 659,000 (60 per cent); in Malaya 1,048,000 (33 per cent); in Indonesia 1,233,000 (2 per cent); in Sarawak 124,000 (25 per cent); in North Borneo 48,000 (18 per cent), and in Brunei 30,000 (9 per cent).

In Burma the situation was different. Because Burma was a province of British India, Indians came in large numbers and played the part played elsewhere in South-East Asia by the Chinese. By the 1930s there were more than 1 million Indians (over 6 per cent) in Burma. Elsewhere in South-East Asia the numbers of Indians were small, except in Malaya and the Straits Settlements where in 1931 there were 624,000 or 14 per cent of the total population.

The considerable numbers of the immigrant communities and the important part which they played in the economic life of South-East Asian countries aroused alarm and resentment among the local people and helped to encourage the thought that a national government was needed to keep immigration within limits, since the Western governments in control failed to check the influx.

The result of the Western impact on South-East Asia was thus a general disruption of the old ways of life and the rise of a demand for self-government whereby the local people would be enabled to remedy the troubles which the Western impact had brought. Yet the effects of the Western impact were by no means all bad. On the contrary, a great deal of good resulted. Roads and railways were built, so that people could travel more easily; modern medical methods and hospitals were introduced, so that health improved; law and order benefited, so that men could live in greater peace and security; though the Western peoples conquered the South-East Asian lands, they at least stopped the wars which had so often occurred between, for example, Burmans and Thai or Vietnamese and Khmer. In general, their introduction of new ideas and skills laid the foundation on which greater prosperity for the mass of people might one day be built.

The Development of Self-Government

Burma

Burma, as a province of British India, shared the political fortunes of India. Till 1897, the province was administered by a chief commissioner subject to the control of the Government of India. In 1897, however, the first step towards self-government was taken, though in a very tentative manner: the chief commissioner became a lieutenant-governor, and a legislative council for Burma was established. The legislative council was a nominated body, not elected, and it had little real power; in particular, control of finance remained with the Government of India. In 1909 the council was reformed so that it had a non-official majority, but the members were still nominated. Most of them were Europeans, and the powers of the council were so limited that it was little more than an advisory body, helping the lieutenant-governor.

In 1919 extensive reforms were made in the system of government in India, and at first these reforms were not applied to Burma where, the Government of India thought, there was as yet no real desire for a change. This mistaken opinion aroused much resentment. Political parties had in fact been slowly developing for some years. The first attempt was the formation in 1908 of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, an organization for social service on the lines of the Young Men's Christian Association. This organization developed political aims, and from it there stemmed a number of political parties which all demanded the extension to Burma of the Indian reforms of 1919. This demand was acceded to, and in 1923 the system of dyarchy was introduced. Under this system, the Government of India still controlled defence, external affairs, communications, and one or two other functions, and kept the principal sources of revenue, notably income tax and customs dues. The remaining matters of government were divided between reserved subjects and transferred subjects. Reserved subjects, controlled by the Governor of Burma and two nominated councillors, included finance, irrigation, and law and order; transferred subjects, including education, public works, agriculture, forests, and local government, were under the

administration of two ministers, answerable to the legislative council, most of whose members were now to be elected.

This partial degree of self-government could not satisfy the national demand for freedom; the continuing control of important matters by India was especially disliked. So in 1937 Burma was completely separated from India and at the same time the degree of self-government was much enlarged. A house of representatives was established, all its members being elected on a wide franchise which gave the vote to practically every taxpayer. A Senate was formed as the upper house of the legislature, half its members being chosen by the house of representatives and half by the governor. A prime minister and cabinet were instituted, responsible to the house of representatives, and cabinet and house were given complete control over the internal government of those parts of the country inhabited by Burmans. The governor kept control of defence, external affairs, and the areas such as the Shan states and the Kachin and Chin Hills, where non-Burmans were in the majority: in those areas the accustomed system of rule by chiefs and headmen subject to a loose supervision by the governor was retained.

So after 1937 Burma had a wide measure of self-government but not complete self-government; and some nationalists, especially among the younger generation, demanded more. They wanted the transfer of all the governor's powers to the cabinet and legislature and the inclusion of the minority areas with the rest of the country in a united Burma.

Indonesia

The demand for self-government arose in Indonesia, especially in Java, at the same time as it did in Burma. In 1908 a group of nationalists formed the *Budi Utomo* or 'Glorious Endeavour' organization, which aimed primarily at encouraging education and an interest in national culture. This was followed in 1911 by *Sarikat Islam*, which was inspired partly by a desire to strengthen Islam against the efforts of Christian missionaries and partly by anti-Chinese feeling. *Sarikat Islam* grew rapidly and within five years had 800,000 members.

In the same period the European and Eurasian population of Indonesia was affected by left-wing ideas and in 1914 the Social Democratic Union of the Indies was formed, which after the revolution in Russia in 1917 developed revolutionary Communist tendencies. This Union attracted some of the Indonesians from the *Sarikat Islam*.

So far the affairs of Indonesia had been closely controlled from the Netherlands but it was clear that changes must come, and in 1916 the Dutch government decided to set up a Volksraad or People's Council. Half the members of the Volksraad were to be elected by local councils and half nominated by the governor-general. It first met in 1918, but since most of its members were Dutch and since its powers were little more than advisory, the Indonesian members were from the first dissatisfied. In 1925 the Volksraad was reformed, so that the majority of members were elected; but most of the members were still Dutch and the Indonesian members were only a minority; and its powers remained small. The governor-general could legislate even against the wishes of the members, and though the Volksraad passed a budget every year, this required the approval of the States-General—i.e. the parliament—in the Netherlands. Its principal power was the right to criticize the government.

Many Indonesians demanded more than this. In 1919 a Communist Party was formed from the Social Democratic Union, and in late 1926 and early 1927 Communist insurrections broke out in Java and Sumatra, though they were easily suppressed. After this, more moderate leaders came to the fore, and in 1927 the Indonesian Nationalist Party was formed, in which Sukarno and Mohd Hatta were prominent. In 1929, however, the Dutch arrested some of the leaders, and others were later banished. After that, political activity diminished. By 1941 the situation in Indonesia was quiet, but the demand for self-government was strong under the surface.

Vietnam

The demand for national independence and for self-government appeared in Vietnam also, but the French were slower than the British or Dutch to make any concessions. In Cochin-China a Colonial Council was set up as early as 1880, and after it was reformed in 1929 twenty of its twenty-four members were elected. However, of these twenty, half were chosen by French citizens living in the colony, and the half chosen by the Vietnamese were elected on a very narrow franchise which practically restricted voting to those who had acquired a Western education. In addition, the colonial council had no real power and could do no more than advise the governor, who was himself under the authority of the governor-general of the Indo-Chinese Union. In Annam the real centre of power was not the emperor but the French chief resident. Though the emperor still had his ministers, they could do nothing without the approval of the chief resident. Similarly in the provinces of

Annam, there were Vietnamese officials but the French residents had the real control. In Tongking, too, the French were all-powerful.

In 1913 a group of Vietnamese who had gone to live in China formed the Association for the Restoration of Vietnam, which instigated a number of disturbances against the French in Tongking and Cochinchina. Some of the Vietnamese officials sympathized with them, and so did the Emperor Duy Tan (1907-16). In 1916 a rising was attempted. This was swiftly suppressed by the French, and Duy Tan, with his father, the former Emperor Thanh Thai, was sent into exile. He was replaced by Prince Buu Dao, son of the Emperor Dong Khanh who had died in 1889; Buu Dao reigned as the Emperor Khai Dinh till 1925.

The demand for reforms grew after 1918, with the return of many Vietnamese who had served in Europe during the war of 1914-18 and so had seen something of the world outside Vietnam. Some minor concessions were made by the French. Consultative assemblies were set up in Annam and Tongking, but very few people had the right to vote and the assemblies had little real authority. Since the French would not give any real measure of self-government, some of the Vietnamese again resorted to force. The National Party of Vietnam, formed in 1927 on the model of the *Kuomintang* in China, engaged in terrorism against officials, and in 1930 it inspired a rising, combined with a mutiny of Vietnamese troops at Yen Bay, in Tongking. Again the French crushed the revolt, and its leaders fled to China.

One result of this defeat and of the flight of the leaders was that the anti-French movement passed into the hands of the Communists in Vietnam. In 1930 they combined to form the Vietnam Communist Party, soon renamed the Communist Party of Indo-China, which also fomented unrest. Again the French put a stop to the disorder, many Communists being arrested. The French also firmly discouraged the young Emperor Bao Dai (1925-45) when in the early 1930s, with the aid of some of the officials such as Ngo Dinh Diem, governor of Phan Thiet province, he tried to establish a less autocratic regime in Annam. This failure to gain reforms by peaceful means was a further incentive to the belief that only by Communist methods could changes be made.

Thus by 1940 there was much unrest in Vietnam, and the French had met the danger by the use of force, not by the use of concessions, with the result that the extremists had been able to take the lead.

Cambodia and Laos were little affected at this time by similar agitations. Not till the downfall of French authority in 1945 were these territories seriously troubled by political excitement.

Thailand

Since Thailand, unlike the rest of South-East Asia, had remained politically independent, the nationalist movement there took a different course from that seen elsewhere. It was not directed against foreign control but against the autocratic system of government. In Thailand, all authority was in the hands of the king, who might or might not seek advice from his ministers or anyone else. The development of education in the nineteenth century carried on with vigour in the twentieth, when many young Thai were sent to Europe for study, introduced into the country the idea of constitutional monarchy. The development of the country on modern lines, moreover, necessitated the recruitment of a large number of officials and the creation of new professions such as those of lawyers and doctors. So there appeared a new class of educated men, not members of the royal family or the old nobility, who found that they had no real power and also found that they had no prospects of much advancement since the highest positions were confined to the aristocracy. This was so with the army as well.

The economic depression after 1929 necessitated strict economy in government spending, and King Prajadhipok (1925-35) ordered a reduction in the number of officials and a cut in pay. Some of the educated civilians combined with some of the military officers in 1932 to resist these measures, and they organized a peaceful revolution. The king, since the army did not support him, was helpless. He agreed to the introduction of the principle of constitutional monarchy, to the exclusion of members of the royal family from important public appointments, and to the formation of a legislature, of which half the members were elected and half nominated by the government. After ten years, the whole assembly was to be elected.

The most active leaders of the revolution of 1932 were a lawyer, Luang Pradit Manudharm, later known as Nai Pridi Phanomyon, and a soldier, Colonel Pibul Songgram. For a time, the power was shared between the civilian and military groups whom they represented; but gradually the power of the military officers eclipsed that of the civilians. In 1933 a member of the royal family, Prince Boveradej, tried to overthrow the new constitution by force, and the success of the army in quickly defeating him increased the influence of the military officers. Nai Pridi, too, was accused of being a Communist and so lost influence. The abdication of the king in 1935, when he found the situation unendurable, and the accession of his young nephew, Ananda (1935-46), who was too young to rule and was sent to Switzerland for his education, removed any chance of opposition to the new system of government. Power came increasingly into the hands of General Pibul, who in 1938 became prime minister.

The Thai government after 1932 pursued a nationalist policy in the sense that it tried to reduce foreign influence in the economic sphere. This policy was pursued particularly after General Pibul became prime minister. Chinese immigration was restricted, many occupations formerly engaged in by Chinese were reserved for Thai, Chinese schools were closed. New companies, financed by the government, were set up to engage in industries which had formerly been controlled by Europeans. Nationalism also encouraged some Thai to think of regaining the territories which had been lost in earlier years to the British and the French. Some suggested that all lands occupied by Tai—i.e. the Shan and Lao areas—ought to be brought into the kingdom of Thailand even if they had never been part of that kingdom. Nationalism also expressed itself in the disuse of the names 'Siam' and 'Siamese', applied to the country and its people by Europeans, and the adoption of 'Thailand' and 'Thai' instead.

Thus by 1940 Thailand, under the influence of the new nationalist movement, was no longer prepared to maintain friendly terms with the French and British and, on the contrary, was turning against them.

The Straits Settlements and Malaya

In the Straits Settlements and Malaya the political situation was complicated by the presence of a large immigrant community. In 1931 in the Straits Settlements there were over 659,000 Chinese in a total population of 1,109,000; in the States there were over a million Chinese in a total population of less than 3½ million. Any move towards self-government must take account of the Chinese, many of whom had been born in the Settlements or the States. In addition, the constitutional position was complex. The Straits Settlements were a British colony; the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated States were protected territory. In the Straits Settlements the governor ruled; in the Federated States the sultans still had some power but most authority rested with a Federal Council and the residents, subject to the high commissioner who was also Governor of the Straits Settlements. In the Unfederated States, the rulers had a good deal more power than had those in the Federated States, though some authority was exercised by the advisers who were answerable to the high commissioner.

In the Straits Settlements there was a legislative council, but this was not elected. All the members were nominated by the governor and half of them were officials; the unofficial members did, nevertheless, exercise a good deal of influence through their right to criticize the annual budget. The federal council in the Federated States also contained a majority of officials. The

Unfederated States had their own councils, likewise consisting mainly of officials.

Complex though the system of administration was, it does not seem to have dissatisfied the Malays. It was among the Chinese that opposition to the government arose. In China under the Manchu dynasty, opposition to the emperor and his government was liable to incur severe punishment: opposition therefore tended to take underground and illegal forms, and often the centre of opposition lay outside China. Singapore became an important centre of Chinese revolutionary organizations, and Dr Sun Yat-sen, the inspirer of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, spent more than one period in the Straits Settlements during the early years of the twentieth century. When, after the revolution, the *Kuomintang* or National People's Party was founded in China by Sun Yat-sen, a branch was formed by his adherents in Singapore.

The *Kuomintang* had many supporters among the Chinese in Malaya, who welcomed the revolution which Sun Yat-sen had created. The *Kuomintang* was in general anti-British. It objected to the privileged position which the British, like other foreigners, enjoyed in the major ports of China, where their extra-territorial rights exempted them from the authority of the Chinese government. In the 1920s there were riots and boycotts in Shanghai and other parts of China against the foreigners, and the agitation affected some of the Chinese in Malaya. The authorities in the Straits Settlements took action against the *Kuomintang* and for some years after 1925 it was treated as an illegal organization.

Communism as well appeared among the Chinese community. A South Seas Communist Party was set up in Singapore in 1928, but was not very successful. In 1930 the Malayan Communist Party was formed, and this, despite its name, was really a Chinese movement. It inspired strikes and discontent among the Chinese labourers.

So in Malaya political agitation took a peculiar form. It was largely limited to the non-Malay population, and in both its *Kuomintang* and its Communist forms it was directed from outside Malaya. The Straits Settlements and the States thus did not experience a nationalist agitation like that seen in the same period in other parts of South-East Asia.

The Philippines

While the Filipino nationalists were resisting the United States occupation, a military system of government was maintained by the Americans. In 1901 a civil government was established, but all authority rested with the United States. The Americans realized, however, that the Filipinos wanted self-

government, and in 1907 an Assembly was set up, elected on a narrow franchise which was applied only to those owning property and knowing either the English or the Spanish language. There was also an upper house of the legislature, but this consisted entirely of American officials; and as all legislation needed the assent of both houses, the authority of the elected body was small. In 1913, however, a Filipino majority was established in the upper house, and in 1916 the upper house was replaced by an elected Senate. In the same year the vote was given to all literate males.

The governor-general could still veto acts of the legislature, and acts affecting important matters such as public land, mining, immigration, and tariffs, required the assent of the President of the United States. But though the power of self-government was limited, much public interest in governmental affairs was displayed, and political parties appeared. The most important was the Nacionalista Party, formed in 1907 and led by Sergio Osmena. The objective of the Nacionalista Party was independence.

During the first thirty years of American rule, much was done to improve social conditions. Education and health were promoted. Attempts were made to reform the system of land ownership: in 1904 large areas owned by the Roman Catholic Church were bought by the government and redistributed, and attempts were made to limit the amount of land which might be in any one man's hands. Efforts were also made to rescue the cultivators from the hands of the money-lenders. These measures were not very effective, however. Most cultivators were still tenants or labourers, often oppressed by their landlords or employers, and peasant revolts therefore occurred in the 1920s and 1930s.

The natural resources of the Philippines were developed, mainly by American companies, and coal, iron and cement production as well as the production of sugar, coconut oil and hemp made great strides. Philippines products were allowed tax-free entry into the United States, and this encouraged production, though one result was to make the Philippines mainly a producer of raw materials for sale to the American market and to tie the economy of the islands to that of the United States.

In 1934 the United States Congress passed a law, known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which provided that the islands should have a wide measure of self-government for ten years and after that should be independent. Self-government during the ten years' period was, however, limited by the retention of control over foreign affairs and defence by the President of the United States, and the President also had a veto on legislation altering the constitution of the Philippines or affecting imports and exports. American naval bases were to remain. It was also provided that the United States would

gradually impose import dues on Philippines produce. A constitutional convention then met and drew up a new constitution on American lines, and in November 1935 the Commonwealth of the Philippines came into being, with Manuel Quezon, of the Nacionalista Party, as president. The Philippines could then look forward to complete independence in 1945, though in the event this was slightly delayed by the Japanese war.

The Japanese War

During the 1930s, Japan was busily engaged in trying to conquer China, and by the middle of 1939 the Japanese forces had occupied almost the whole of the China coast. The Japanese wished to prevent the Chinese from obtaining any help from other countries, but supplies still entered China by the Red River route through Vietnam and by the new Burma Road which, opened in January 1939, ran from Rangoon to Kunming in Yunnan. To win the war in China, the Japanese must close these routes. The Japanese also needed the valuable minerals and other commodities which South-East Asia produced.

Effects of the War in Europe

In September 1939 war began in Europe between the Germans on the one side and the British, French and Poles on the other. In 1940 the Germans overran much of France and in June the French gave up the struggle; the Germans also conquered the neutral country of the Netherlands. The Japanese government promptly demanded the closing of the Red River route and also demanded the use of airfields and ports in Tongking for their military forces. The French in Vietnam, having no hope of aid from their defeated government at home, had to agree. The Japanese also demanded the closing of the Burma Road, but the British closed it for only three months and then reopened it. In July 1941, the French allowed the Japanese the use of ports and airfields in all parts of Indo-China and undertook to place the entire resources of the Indo-Chinese Union at Japan's disposal. The Japanese made similar demands on Indonesia, but the Dutch refused.

Franco-Thai Conflict

The weakness of the French encouraged the Thai Government to try to regain lost territories in the Mekong valley, and by the end of 1940 fighting had broken out on the frontier. The Japanese then intervened, and on 9 May 1941, arranged a treaty at Tokyo under which Thailand received the Cambodian provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap and the territory of Laos west of the Mekong.

The Japanese Conquest of South-East Asia

In December 1941 the Japanese launched a surprise attack on the United States bases in the Pacific Ocean and at the same time commenced an attack on the British position in South-East Asia, and soon afterwards they attacked the Dutch also.

The British were occupied by war in Europe and the Middle East and North Africa; they were ill-prepared for the sudden attack. The Japanese landed in the north of the Malay peninsula on 8 December, and also moved into and through Thailand. The Thai could not resist; Marshal Pibul instead allied himself with the Japanese and in January 1942 declared war on Great Britain and the United States. Japanese forces moved down the Malay peninsula and on 15 February the surrender of Singapore marked their complete victory in Malaya. On 19 January they entered Burma in force, and by mid-May the British had been driven from almost the whole of that country. They also attacked Indonesia in January and within five months had occupied the whole archipelago. In the Philippines, too, where the invasion began in December 1941, American resistance ended at the beginning of May 1942. British Borneo fell also. Thus the whole of South-East Asia passed under Japanese control.

The Japanese Defeat

Gradually the British and Americans began to regain the initiative. The war in the West absorbed most of their energies and it took time to build up powerful forces in Asia. Nevertheless, as early as June 1942 the American navy won a sea battle off Midway Island, and from that time onwards the United States gradually gained the upper hand in the Pacific. Much fighting went on between Japanese and British forces on the borders of Burma and India, and by the beginning of 1945 the British forces were re-entering the Irrawaddy valley and advancing on Mandalay. Rangoon was reoccupied at the beginning of May. The Americans landed in the Philippines in October 1944, and in February 1945 reoccupied Manila. When in May 1945 the Germans surrendered in Europe, it was evident that soon overwhelming forces would be brought against the Japanese; and when in August atom bombs were dropped on Japanese soil, Japan promptly surrendered.

Japanese Policy

During their occupation of South-East Asia, the Japanese talked of organizing a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, in which all the peoples of the

region would co-operate for their common economic advantage; but in practice there was no prosperity. South-East Asia depended on the export of rice, timber, minerals and other products, but the war completely disrupted this trade. The usual markets in India and the West were no longer accessible, and the Japanese lacked the shipping to carry goods to their own country. In consequence, products could not be sold and so production greatly declined. The Japanese, too, could not provide the textiles and other goods which South-East Asia had for many years imported. The Japanese occupation was thus a time of poverty and suffering.

In the endeavour to gain support, the Japanese encouraged the nationalist movements. The peoples of South-East Asia did not like the Japanese. Some co-operated with them in 1942 in the hope of speedily attaining national independence; others co-operated later because they dared not do otherwise. But the brutality of the Japanese even towards the peoples whom they professed to regard as their allies and friends alienated everyone. Yet if, despite this, the Japanese were willing to give national independence, it would be foolish to refuse it.

Establishment of Independent Governments

In Burma, a declaration of independence was issued on 1 August 1943, and a Burmese government was installed; but this government had no real power and in 1945 the Burma National Army which the Japanese had organized transferred its support to the British. The British, moreover, had at all times had active support from some groups in Burma, especially among the minorities in the hills. In the Philippines, too, independence was declared in September 1943.

In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and in Indonesia, the Japanese were slower to take similar action. In March 1945, however, they turned against the French and suddenly attacked the French garrisons and arrested the French administrators. They then encouraged the Emperor Bao Dai to declare the independence of Vietnam. At the same time the King of Cambodia was persuaded to declare his kingdom independent, and under considerable Japanese pressure the King of Luang Prabang took corresponding action in respect of his state. During the next few months, however, before the Japanese surrender in August 1945, resistance was carried on in Vietnam by the League for the Independence of Vietnam, commonly called the Viet Minh, which had been formed in 1941 as a coalition of nationalist groups but which was dominated by the Communists led by Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Communist Party.

In Indonesia the Japanese sought the collaboration of the nationalist leaders and in September 1943 formed a Central Advisory Committee of which Sukarno, the leader of the Indonesian Nationalist Party, was chairman. They also tried to gain Muslim support by merging all the Islamic groups into one organization, the *Masjumi*. Finally, at the very moment of their surrender, an Independence Preparatory Committee was set up and on 17 August an independent Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed by this committee.

Despite these measures, the Japanese did not gain the good will of the peoples of South-East Asia. This was so even in Thailand, where the government had made an alliance with Japan and in return had been given the Burma Shan states of Kengtung and Mongpan and the Malay states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis. When in 1944 it became evident that the Japanese were certain to lose the war, Marshal Pibul had to resign office and the real authority then rested with Nai Pridi, who had already organized an anti-Japanese Free Thai movement in collaboration with the British and Americans.

The Aftermath

Though the Japanese were in the end utterly defeated, they had struck a mortal blow at the position of the colonial powers in South-East Asia. They had shown that the power of the West was very far from being invincible. It was clear that the Western powers—American, British, Dutch and French—could not necessarily protect their territories in Asia from invasion and conquest: the safety of the peoples of Asia must therefore depend on their own efforts. Also, although conditions under the Japanese had been very difficult, yet life had gone on without the European or American officials and businessmen who had been so important before the war; and therefore there was no reason why life should not go on in the future without them. In some countries, too, national independence had been proclaimed, and though the nominally independent governments had little real power, yet most people felt a sense of pride at being once more citizens of an independent state.

For all these reasons, the peoples of South-East Asia would not again submit to foreign government.

The Triumph of Nationalism

Burma

The leaders of the National Army had fought against the Japanese in the last stages of the war, but they were determined to gain their country's independence from the British. The British government, on the other hand, thought that a period of British control was needed. Burma had suffered more than any other part of South-East Asia from the war. Roads had not been maintained, bridges had been destroyed, the railway system had ceased to work; owing to the impossibility of exporting produce during the Japanese occupation, production had declined and the country was impoverished. It was thought that only a period of direct rule would enable the country to regain its pre-war condition. After some years, the pre-war constitution could be revived and the country would then have self-government within the British Commonwealth. The leaders of the National Army and their supporters, however, wanted complete independence immediately. They were combined in the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, or AFPFL, led by Aung San, commander of the National Army.

It soon became clear that a refusal to follow the course demanded by the nationalists would lead to civil war. So in October 1946 Aung San and his associates were appointed members of the Council of Ministers and from that time onwards they really governed the country. In January 1947 they made an agreement with the British government under which a Constituent Assembly was to be elected and was to decide the country's future. The elections were held in April 1947 and the AFPFL won nearly all the seats.

Unfortunately, in July of the same year Aung San and most of the Ministers were assassinated at the instance of U Saw who had once been chief minister and hoped now to regain his power; he was later condemned and executed. Aung San was succeeded as leader by U Nu, a devout Buddhist and an honest man who nevertheless lacked the authority and support which Aung San had had. However, under his leadership a final agreement was made with the British government in October, and on 4 January 1948 Burma became an independent republic outside the British Commonwealth. U Nu was prime minister and a Shan chief, Sao Shwe Thaik, was first president of the new republic.

The country was still suffering severely from the economic consequences of the war. Also there was a Communist movement which wanted to establish a Communist state. Moreover, some of the minority peoples living in the hills disliked the thought of being ruled by Burmans. The new republic thus faced great difficulties. In March 1948 the Communists rose in rebellion, and in January 1949 the Karens, one of the minority races, also rebelled. For the next two years the rebels held much of the country. After that, they were gradually worn down by the Burma army and the government gained control; but small numbers of rebels remain in the field still.

Despite these obstacles the government did much to restore Burma's prosperity. In 1945 rice exports, on which the country chiefly depends for its prosperity, were only 100,000 tons: in 1960 they amounted to 1,722,000 tons. To a great extent, the British and other foreign business concerns which had for years been so important were bought out: some were nationalized and in other cases the government went into partnership with them. Thus the economy of the country came once more into Burmese hands.

In many ways the government thus achieved results pleasing to most people. This work was done by the leaders of the AFPFL who dominated the government for ten years. In 1958 disputes amongst the leaders led to a split in the party. The authority of the government was thus weakened and the country became restless. U Nu therefore resigned the office of premier and was replaced by General Ne Win, chief of staff, who gave the country an efficient administration. When the situation was quiet, he resigned office and U Nu became prime minister once more, in 1960. In 1962 it seemed to the Burma army that the administration had again become feeble, and in March of that year the army displaced the government. Burma then passed into the hands of a revolutionary council, composed chiefly of military officers and led by General Ne Win.

Indonesia

In Indonesia, the leaders of the republic which was proclaimed on 17 August 1945 were determined not to submit again to foreign rule. The Dutch were in a weak position. Their own country had been occupied for five years, from 1940 to 1945, by the Germans, and so they could not easily organize a military force to send to Indonesia. The task of disarming the Japanese troops and protecting prisoners of war was therefore left to the British. It was, however, six weeks after the proclamation of the republic when the first British forces arrived, and meanwhile the new republic led by President Sukarno had gained control of much of the country.

The British encouraged the Dutch and the republicans to negotiate about the country's future, and in November 1946 an agreement was signed at the town of Linggadjati, in Java. The Dutch recognized the republic as the governing authority in Java, Madura and Sumatra. A federation was to be formed, to be called the United States of Indonesia. The republic would be one member of this federation; Borneo and the islands of the eastern archipelago would also be members. The federation and the Netherlands would together become a Netherlands-Indonesian Union under the Dutch Crown.

Dutch and republicans disagreed, however, about the meaning of this settlement and armed conflicts occurred. With United Nations encouragement, a further agreement was signed in January 1948 on board the United States ship *Renville*. But disagreements continued: the republicans held that Java, Madura and Sumatra should be one unit in the federation, whereas the Dutch wanted Java and Sumatra to be divided into a number of small units. The position of the republic, too, was weakened by a Communist rebellion in August 1948, though this was soon repressed.

In December 1948 the Dutch arrested the leading republicans, such as President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta, and fighting began once more. The United Nations intervened again, and a Round Table Conference of Dutch and Indonesians then met at The Hague. Under the agreement there arrived at, the Netherlands transferred sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia on 27 December 1949. It was agreed that the U.S.I. should be a federal State, forming part of a Netherlands-Indonesian Union, as had been already agreed at Linggadjati in 1946.

Very quickly, however, the republican leaders abolished the federal system and on 17 August 1950 they declared Indonesia to be a unitary state. Later, in 1956, Indonesia brought the union with the Netherlands to an end.

After independence had been attained in 1949, Indonesia was troubled by disorder. The Communists had been crushed in 1948; but the extreme Muslims wanted to set up an Islamic state and so the Darul Islam rebellion began in Java, north Sumatra and Celebes. In the South Moluccas a movement for independence from Java was strong, and a rebellion broke out there in 1950. In some of the other islands, too, people thought that the Javanese had too much voice in their affairs, and in 1958 a revolutionary government was set up in Sumatra, aiming at greater self-government for the islands outside Java. However, the Indonesian army supported President Sukarno, and by the middle of 1961 most of the rebels had been defeated and had surrendered.

One of Indonesia's chief problems was her relations with the Netherlands. At the Round Table Conference in 1949, agreement had not been reached

about West New Guinea, known to Indonesians as West Irian. The Dutch wanted to keep this territory. In the end, it was decided that further discussions should take place during the following year and that meanwhile the Dutch should administer the area. The discussions led to no agreement, however. The Indonesians then claimed that since West Irian had been part of the Dutch East Indies, it ought now to become part of independent Indonesia. The dispute went on for years, with increasing irritation on both sides; it was the chief reason for the dissolution of the Netherlands-Indonesia Union in 1956. By early 1962, the Indonesian government, having dealt with its rebels, was ready to use force in West Irian; and in the next few months Indonesian troops were infiltrated into West Irian by sea and by air. Rather than engage in open war, the Dutch agreed to negotiate, and in August 1962 a settlement was reached. Under this agreement, the United Nations took charge of the territory on 1st October; the Dutch officials and forces were to withdraw; and Indonesia was to take over the territory from the United Nations on 1 May 1963. The inhabitants of the territory were, however, to be allowed at a later date to decide for themselves whether they wished to stay in Indonesia.

In this way Dutch rule in the archipelago came finally to an end.

Vietnam

When the Japanese capitulated in August 1945, the Emperor Bao Dai was nominally ruling Vietnam. At once, however, the Viet Minh seized control of much of the country. Bao Dai abdicated and later went abroad. On 2 September the Viet Minh under Ho Chi Minh's leadership proclaimed the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The victorious powers had decided that the south of the country should be occupied by British forces and the north by Chinese, until the French could send their own men to take charge; the Democratic Republic of course would not agree to the return of the French.

By early 1946, sufficient French forces had reached the south and the British left. After some fighting with the Viet Minh, the French gained control of a good deal of the south. In the north, they had difficulty in persuading the Chinese to leave, and while this argument went on the Viet Minh were able to strengthen their hold. However, the Chinese left early in March. An agreement was made with the Viet Minh. The French recognized the Democratic Republic as a free state, to be part of the Indo-China Federation and to be part of the French empire; but it was still not decided whether the colony of Cochinchina was to be included in the republic. Further

negotiations about this and other matters went on during 1946; relations became strained, and armed conflicts occurred between French and Viet Minh forces. In December 1946 a civil war began.

At the beginning of the civil war, the Viet Minh could only conduct a guerrilla war, but they had a good deal of success, because many of the Vietnamese people supported them. Though Ho Chi Minh and other Viet Minh leaders were Communists, they were fighting for the country's independence, and for that reason many nationalists aided them. To gain the support of the non-Communists, the French in 1949 brought back the ex-Emperor Bao Dai as head of the state, and they merged Cochin-China with Annam and Tongking, so forming the state of Vietnam. But much power remained in French hands, for it was the French army that was carrying on the war. For this reason, Bao Dai was unable to gain much support. Then, in October 1949, the Communist revolution triumphed in China; and so, from early 1950 onwards, the Chinese Communists were able to give aid to their fellow Communists across the border in Vietnam.

The Viet Minh now had modern arms and good training; they became a regular army, not merely a guerrilla force. After a time they were able to meet the French on equal terms, and early in 1954 they inflicted severe defeat on them at Dien Bien Phu, in the hills of Tongking.

The French were now weary of the struggle. An international conference met at Geneva, and in July 1954 an agreement was signed. The independence of Vietnam was recognized. For the time being, the country was to be divided, with the Democratic Republic governing the north. Within two years, general elections were to be held, and the country was to be reunited under the assembly so chosen. The French were, of course, to withdraw from Vietnam.

In the north, Ho Chi Minh remained in power, and he organized the country as a Communist State. In the south, Bao Dai was deposed in 1955 and a non-Communist republic was set up with Ngo Dinh Diem as president. The elections due under the Geneva settlement were, however, not held; and though Vietnam is free of the French, it remains divided between a Communist north and an anti-Communist south.

Cambodia

The French met little difficulty in regaining control of Cambodia. At the end of the Japanese war, the government was mainly in the hands of an ardent nationalist, Son Ngoc Thanh, but he was arrested and deported by the French. Some of his supporters took to the jungle and resisted the French,

calling themselves the Khmer Issarak or Free Cambodians. They co-operated with the Viet Minh across the border. In January 1946, the French made an agreement with King Norodom Sihanouk, giving Cambodia a wide degree of self-government; and the Cambodians were still more pleased when in December 1946 the Thai gave back the provinces which they had taken, with Japanese help, in 1941.

The rebels still troubled the country, and King Norodom Sihanouk realized that he could best defeat them by making himself the head of the nationalist movement and so gaining general support. To bring pressure to bear on the French, he left the country in 1953 and went to Thailand. After this, the French promised to transfer all powers of government to him. After this victory, King Norodom Sihanouk had to face very little opposition. His representatives took part in the Geneva Conference in 1954, and from that time onwards Cambodia became a completely independent State.

Laos

The Japanese surrender in 1945 was immediately followed in Laos by the seizure of power by an anti-French group known as the Lao Issara or Free Lao. On 1 September, the Free Lao leader, Prince Petsarath, declared the French power at an end, and soon afterwards he proclaimed that all the territories of Laos were united into one kingdom under the King of Luang Prabang. King Sisavang Vong opposed these actions, and was deposed. In the early months of 1946 the French returned and the Lao Issara leaders fled to Thailand. The French in August 1946 came to an agreement with King Sisavang Vong: all Laos was to be united under the royal house of Luang Prabang, and the new kingdom was to have a wide degree of self-government. At the end of the year, the territory ceded to Thailand in 1941 was regained. A further agreement with the French in 1949 gave a greater degree of independence, and, satisfied with this, most of the Lao Issara returned home. One of the leaders, Prince Souphannouvong, preferred to go to Vietnam and work with the Viet Minh. In Vietnam he founded the Pathet Lao or Lao national movement, opposed to any continued connexion with the French.

Twice in the succeeding years Laos was invaded by the Viet Minh, but by the Geneva Agreement in 1954 the Viet Minh forces were withdrawn. They had, however, been accompanied by Pathet Lao forces, and under the agreement these were allowed to concentrate in the provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua, adjoining Vietnam; later, the Pathet Lao forces were to be merged into the Royal Laotian Army. But the Pathet Lao set up a separate

administration in the two provinces and refused to allow the government any authority there. After long negotiations, the Pathet Lao in November 1957 agreed that these provinces should come under the government's control, and in return Prince Souphannouvong and one of his associates were given office in the cabinet. This agreement did not last, and from 1959 to 1962 disorder and civil war prevailed. During 1962, however, as a result of a further international conference at Geneva, another agreement was made and the Pathet Lao leaders agreed to serve in a ministry led by Prince Souvanna Phouma, in which all political parties were represented.

Thailand

The defeat of the Japanese discredited Marshal Pibul, who had allied Thailand with them, and increased the influence of Nai Pridi, who had opposed the Japanese. Even before the Japanese surrender, Marshal Pibul had been forced to resign the premiership, and from 1945 to 1947 Nai Pridi dominated affairs: sometimes he was himself prime minister, at other times one of his supporters held this office. Nai Pridi's position soon weakened. The government which he controlled was compelled by the victorious Powers to give up the parts of Cambodia and Laos taken in 1941, and the Malay and Shan states taken in 1942. This was resented by many Thai. Then, in June 1946, the young King Ananda died of a bullet-wound. How the wound was inflicted was not known, but many people whispered that Nai Pridi was responsible. He thus lost influence; and on 8 November 1947, Marshal Pibul was able to seize power with the aid of the army. Nai Pridi fled to Singapore and finally to China. In 1949 he made an attempt to overthrow Marshal Pibul by force, but the army quickly defeated him.

Marshal Pibul remained premier till 1957, when he was replaced by Marshal Sarit. So since November 1947, Thailand has been controlled by the army, under the constitutional monarchy.

Malaya and Singapore

The Japanese occupation had brought serious hardship to the people of Malaya and the Straits Settlements. The export trade had ceased, and imports of food had also ceased. The first task of the British when they returned was to remedy this situation. The rubber industry was quickly restored and by 1948 production had returned to its pre-war level; the production of tin regained its pre-war level by 1950. Measures were taken to import rice, to

restore the hospitals and schools, to put the railways and harbours into use once more.

The measures were successful, but the political situation caused difficulties. The British government wanted to combine all the Malay States, both Federated and Unfederated, with Malacca and Penang as one state, so that a simpler and more efficient system of government could be introduced. In the new Malayan Union, the sultans were to lose nearly all their power; at the head of the state there was to be a British governor; and it was to be made easier for non-Malays to obtain citizenship. These proposals aroused much resentment amongst the Malays and they had to be altered. On 1 February 1948, a Federation of Malaya was established, consisting of the States and Malacca and Penang. Instead of a governor, a British high commissioner was appointed. The individual states retained a considerable measure of authority; the position of the sultans was safeguarded and with the Governors of Penang and Malacca they were formed into a Conference of Rulers whose approval was necessary for any change in the constitution or in the immigration laws. It was made less easy for non-Malays to attain citizenship.

The new system of government had only just been introduced when a Communist rebellion began. During the Japanese occupation, a resistance movement had been formed, known as the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army. Its members were in many cases Chinese and Communists. They were generously paid off by the British in 1945, but they did not give up all their arms. In 1946 they tried to gain power by organizing strikes, without success. In 1948 they rose in arms, and a large force of troops and police had to be employed to deal with them.

This state of affairs delayed political development, but as order was gradually restored, progress towards self-government became possible. The principal Malay political party, the United Malay National Organization, led by Tunku Abdul Rahman, and the chief Chinese party, the Malayan Chinese Association, formed an alliance to work towards independence within the British Commonwealth, and negotiations began between the alliance and the British authorities. A new constitution was devised. Malaya was to remain a Federation; the head of state was to be elected by the conference of rulers from among its own members, except that the governors of Malacca and Penang were not to take part in the election; the head of state was to hold office as a constitutional monarch for five years. The conference of rulers was also to safeguard the interests of the rulers and to watch the interests of the Malay population. The federal legislature was to consist of a Senate and an elected House of Representatives. The executive government was to be controlled by a prime minister, responsible to the House. Each

individual state was to have its own government, under its ruler, with a state legislative council and state ministers, dealing with matters of Muslim law and custom, land and agriculture, forestry, local government, and certain other matters. This constitution was adopted, and on 31 August 1957 independence was proclaimed, and the new Federation came into being, with Tunku Abdul Rahman as the first prime minister of the new state.

In Singapore also changes were made. Singapore did not become part of the Malayan Federation, but in 1958 it gained full rights of self-government in domestic affairs, though the British government kept responsibility for defence and external affairs.

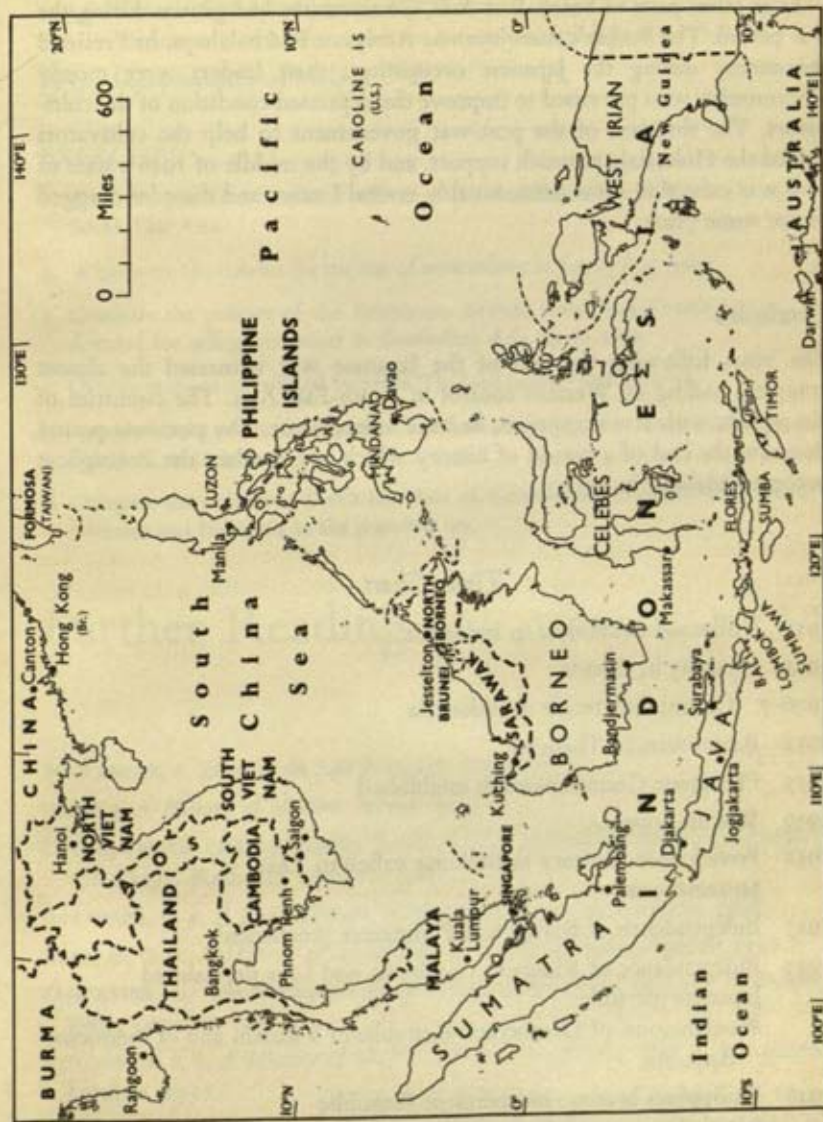
Borneo

The parts of Borneo under British influence had suffered badly during the Japanese conquest and subsequent military operations, and neither the British North Borneo Company nor the Government of Sarawak had the means to restore their territories to normal life. This task was undertaken by the British government. The company surrendered its powers to the British Crown and on 15 July 1946 North Borneo became a Crown colony. The island of Labuan was made part of the new Colony. In Sarawak, too, Raja Sir Charles Vyner Brooke ceded his rights to the Crown with effect from 1 July 1946 and Sarawak also became a Crown colony. Brunei was still protected territory.

Philippines

Under the Tydings-McDuffie Act, passed by the United States Congress in 1934, the Philippines should have become an independent state in 1945 but owing to the Japanese war a slight delay occurred. However, on 4 July 1946 the country became an independent Republic, with Manuel Roxas as president.

An agreement was at the same time made between the United States and the Philippines about their future relations. It was agreed that there should be free trade between the two till 1954, and that after that date customs duties would be imposed by the United States at a gradually increasing rate till in 1974 full rates would be charged. Also, as a condition of American aid in restoring the country to normal conditions after the war, citizens of the United States were given equal rights with Philippines citizens in the development of the country's natural resources. This was resented by many Filipinos. The United States further kept military bases in the Philippines.



Political map of South-East Asia

As in other parts of South-East Asia, Communism had grown during the war period. The People's Anti-Japanese Army, or Hukbalahaps, had resisted the enemy during the Japanese occupation; their leaders were mostly Communists who promised to improve the depressed condition of the cultivators. The slowness of the post-war government to help the cultivators gained the Hukbalahaps much support, and by the middle of 1946 a state of civil war existed in some parts, notably central Luzon, and disorder dragged on for some years.

Conclusion

The years following the end of the Japanese war witnessed the almost complete ending of Western control in South-East Asia. The countries of the region, with few exceptions, became independent. The post-war period thus saw the end of a period of history which began when the Portuguese occupied Malacca in 1511.

Time Chart

- 1918 Volksraad established in Indonesia
- 1923 Dyarchy in Burma
- 1926-7 Communist revolt in Indonesia
- 1932 Revolution in Thailand
- 1935 Philippine Commonwealth established
- 1939 War in Europe
- 1941 French cede territory in Mekong valley to Thai
Japanese war
- 1943 Independence of Burma and Philippines proclaimed
- 1945 Independence of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos proclaimed
Japanese surrender
Proclamation of Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of Indonesian Republic
- 1946 Philippines become independent Republic
North Borneo and Sarawak become Crown colonies
- 1948 Burma becomes independent Republic
- 1949 Indonesia becomes independent Republic

- 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China
 Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos become independent
- 1957 Independence of Malaya

EXERCISES

1. State the principal economic effects of the establishment of Western power in South-East Asia.
2. What were the reasons for the rise of nationalism in South-East Asia?
3. Compare the policies of the Americans, British, Dutch and French towards the demand for self-government in South-East Asia up to 1939.
4. Give an account of political events in Thailand in the years 1932-39.
5. Summarize the political and economic effects of the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia, 1941-45.
6. Compare the policies in South-East Asia of the colonial Governments in Burma, Vietnam and Indonesia in the post-war era.

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The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony. The second fact is that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third fact is that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men. The fourth fact is that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth fact is that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress. The sixth fact is that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The seventh fact is that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The eighth fact is that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The ninth fact is that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The tenth fact is that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity.

Further Reading

The following are some of the books which are recommended for further reading on the history of the United States. The first book is "The History of the United States" by John F. Kennedy. This book is a comprehensive history of the United States, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The second book is "The American Revolution" by David Mervin. This book is a history of the American Revolution, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The third book is "The American Civil War" by Bruce Catton. This book is a history of the American Civil War, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The fourth book is "The American West" by Howard Chandler Christy. This book is a history of the American West, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The fifth book is "The American South" by John H. Coatsworth. This book is a history of the American South, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The sixth book is "The American North" by John H. Coatsworth. This book is a history of the American North, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The seventh book is "The American East" by John H. Coatsworth. This book is a history of the American East, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The eighth book is "The American Midwest" by John H. Coatsworth. This book is a history of the American Midwest, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The ninth book is "The American Southwest" by John H. Coatsworth. This book is a history of the American Southwest, and it is written in a clear and concise style. The tenth book is "The American Northwest" by John H. Coatsworth. This book is a history of the American Northwest, and it is written in a clear and concise style.

Index

- Abdul Fatah, 84
 Abdul Kahar, 84
 Abdul Jalil, 91
 Abdul Jalil Ri'ayat Shah, 91
 Abdul Rahman, Tungku, 209, 210
 Abdur-Rahman, 93, 139, 140
 Abu Bakar, 146
 Aguinaldo, E., 181
 Agung, Sultan, 81
 Ahom, 45
 Airlangga, 26
 Ala 'ud-din, 89
 Ala 'ud-din Ri'ayat Shah, 35, 90
 Alaungpaya, 98, 99, 105
 Albuquerque, Afonso d', 68
 Amangkubuwana III, 127
 Amangkubuwana IV, 127
 Amangkurat I, 82
 Amangkurat III, 84, 85
 Amangkurat IV, 85
 Amarapura, 158
 Amboyna, 68, 71, 73-5, 78, 79, 86, 125, 128
 Americans, 123, 127, 173, 176, 181, 195-7, 199, 201, 210, 211
 Ananda, King, 193, 208
 Anauketun, 44, 62
 Anawrahta, 40, 41
 Ang Chan, 118
 Ang Duong, 118, 164
 Ang Em, 116
 Ang Eng, 117
 Angkor, 14-19, 41, 48, 115, 176
 Ang Mey, 118
 Ang Non, 116
 Ang Nong, 117
 Ang Sor, 116
 Ang Tong, 117
 Annam, 51, 54, 110, 112, 167, 170, 191, 192, 206
 Anou, Chao, 106
 Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, 202
 Arabs, 29
 Arakan, 58, 62, 76, 101, 153-6
 Asahan, 131
 Asoka, 40
 Assam, 45, 101, 153, 154
 Atjeh, 35, 58, 68, 89-91, 131-3, 138, 141, 145, 149
 Aung San, 202
 Ava, 43, 44, 59, 61, 62, 97, 98, 100, 158
 Ayuthia, 17, 18, 28, 32, 34, 44, 48, 49, 58-63, 69, 77-9, 97-100, 105, 108, 115, 116
 Baabullah, 70
 Bagyidaw, 101, 153-5
 Balambangan, 136, 149
 Balaputra, 23
 Bali, 27, 28, 36, 82, 130
 Banda, 27, 75, 78, 79, 86, 125
 Bandjermasin, 86-8, 129
 Bangkok, 77, 106, 173, 175
 Bantam, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79, 81-4, 86, 125
 Bao Dai, 192, 205, 206
 Barom Racha, 115
 Bataks, 5
 Batavia, 74
 Battambang, 117, 165, 176, 198
 Bayinnaung, 44, 59-61
 Ben, 117
 Benkulen, 79
 Bodawpaya, 100
 Boni, 87, 129

INDEX

- Borneo, 26-8, 35, 36, 69, 75, 78-80, 82,
86-8, 92, 124, 127, 129, 131, 132, 135,
136, 148-52, 188, 199, 210
- Borobodur, 22, 126
- Bosch, Jan van den, 134
- Bovaradej, 193
- Bowring, J, 125
- British North Borneo Company, 152,
210
- Brito, Philip de, 62
- Brooke, Raja James, 129, 131, 149, 150,
173
- Brooke, Raja C. V., 210
- Brunci, 86, 148-52, 188
- Budi Utomo, 190
- Buddhism, 10, 13, 14, 17, 22, 28, 35, 36,
39-41, 48, 158, 165
- Bugis, 76, 91-3, 129, 138, 139, 149
- Burma, Burmans, 27, 36, 39-46, 48, 50,
58-63, 76, 97-102, 105, 106, 115, 117,
153-62, 172, 175, 185, 188, 189, 190,
199, 200, 202, 203
- Burma Road, 198
- Burney, H., 144, 172
- Butung, 86
- Buu Dao, 192
- Cachar, 101, 153
- Cambay, 29
- Cambodia, 13-19, 27, 36, 47, 48, 58, 61,
62, 63, 69, 76, 97, 100, 101, 108, 110,
115-19, 127, 164, 165, 170, 175, 176,
185, 188, 192, 198, 200, 206, 207
- Cam Oun, 169
- Cam Sinh, 169
- Canh, 110
- Ceram, 87
- Celebes, 27, 36, 69, 75, 76, 80, 86, 87, 91,
129, 129, 204
- Chakri, General, 101, 117
- Cham, Champa, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 23,
27, 52-5, 58
- Champassac, 105, 106, 168, 170
- Chelak, Daeng, 92
- Cheng Cheng Hung, 72
- Cheng Ho, 33
- Chettha I, 118
- Chenla, 13, 14, 23
- Ch'ieng-lung, 100
- Chiengmai, 46, 48, 50, 58, 59, 60-3, 78,
98, 100-2, 115
- Chiengrai, 46
- Chiengsen, 46
- Chin Dynasty, 51
- China, Chinese, 9-11, 72, 84, 85, 97, 99,
105, 108, 116, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129,
136, 140, 142, 144, 145, 146, 148, 150,
159, 163, 164, 166-8, 175, 178, 187,
188, 190, 194, 195, 198, 206, 209
- Chin Hills, 162, 190
- Chittagong, 153
- Chola, 24
- Chom Pou, 105
- Christianity, 69, 73, 76, 77, 78, 87, 114,
123, 129, 133, 163, 164, 190, 196
- Chulalongkorn, King, 174, 175
- Clarke, A., 145
- Cochin-China, 51, 57, 78, 108, 111, 112,
114, 116, 117, 164, 170, 191, 206
- Coen, J. P., 74
- Communism, 190, 191, 192, 195, 200,
203-6, 209, 212
- Condore, Pulo, 80, 110, 136
- Crawfurd, J., 172
- Culture System, 134
- Dagon, 97
- Daendals, M. H. W., 125
- Dalhousie, Lord, 156
- Darul Islam, 204
- Dayaks, 5, 148, 149, 150
- Deli, 90, 131
- Demak, 81
- Dent Bros., 152

- Deo Van Tri, 169
 Dharmavamsa, 24
 Diem, Ngho Diem, 192, 206
 Dien Bien Phu, 206
 Dindings, 144, 145
 Dipo Negoro, 128
 Djakarta, 74, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85
 Djambi, 91, 92
 Dong Khanh, 167, 192
 Do Thanh Nhon, 110, 117
 Doudart de Lagree, 165
 Drake, F., 78
 Duc Duc, 167
 Dutch, 71, 73-80, 81-7, 90-3, 97, 122-36,
 140-2, 148-50, 152, 153, 190, 191, 198,
 199, 201, 203-5
 Duy Tan, 167, 192
 Dvaravati, 47, 48

 East India Company, Dutch, 73-85, 97,
 124
 East India Company, English, 74, 77-80,
 86, 97, 101, 102, 125, 126, 136, 140, 142,
 143, 148, 153, 171
 East India Company, French, 76-8, 97
 Ethnic Policy, 135

 Fa Ngoun, 48
 Federated Malay States, 146, 147, 194
 Ferdinand VII, 180
 Filipino League, 180, 181
 Flores, 71, 75, 130
 Formosa, 72
 French, 76-8, 80, 87, 97-9, 110, 111, 114,
 119, 123, 124, 127, 136, 138, 142, 159-
 61, 163, 170, 171, 175, 176, 191, 192,
 198, 200, 201, 205-7
 Funan, 11-14

 Gaja Mada, 27
 Garnier, F., 165, 166
 Geneva Conferences, 206, 207, 208

 Germans, 127, 130, 176, 198
 Gia-long, 112, 113, 117, 118
 Gujerat, 29, 30
 Gusti, 85

 Hairun, 70
 Haji, Raja, 92, 93
 Halmahera, 87
 Ham Nghi, 167
 Han Dynasty, 9, 11
 Hanoi, 52, 53, 54, 56, 112, 166
 Hasan Udin, 81
 Hastings, Lord, 139
 Hastings, W., 138
 Hatta, Mohd, 191, 204
 Haw, 168
 Hayum Warak, 27
 Hinduism, 10, 14, 17, 28, 34-6, 82
 Ho, 168, 169
 Ho Chi Minh, 205, 206
 Ho Qui Li, 54
 Hsinbyushin, 100, 106
 Hue, 56, 57, 107, 109, 110, 167, 169
 Hukbalahaps, 211
 Hussein, Tengku, 83, 139, 140

 Ibrahim, Sultan, 91, 92, 93
 I-ching, 9, 22
 Immigration, 156, 187, 188
 India, Government of, 142, 155
 Indian Culture, 10, 11, 51
 Indo-Chinese Union, 170, 191, 198
 Indonesia, Indonesians, 5, 124-35, 185,
 188, 190, 191, 198, 199, 201, 203-5
 Indonesia, United States of, 204
 Indonesian Nationalist Party, 191
 Indragiri, 91, 92
 Industrial Revolution, 122
 Inta Som, 104, 105
 Irian, 205
 Iskandar Shah, 90

INDEX

- Islam, 29, 30, 33, 34, 69, 73, 81, 82, 86, 87, 130, 132, 133, 201, 204
- Italy, 159
- Janggala, 26
- Japan, Japanese, 132, 187, 198-201
- Java, 14, 21-8, 35, 36, 69, 73, 74, 80-6, 122, 124-7, 131, 133, 136, 146, 204
- Java War, 128, 129, 134, 139
- Jayanagara, 27
- Japara, 81
- Jayavarman II, 14
- Jayavarman VII, 15-17
- Jayavarman VIII, 17
- Jiddah, 133
- Jogjakarta, 85, 125, 127, 128
- Johore, 35, 73, 89-93, 139-41, 144, 146, 147, 176
- Kachins, 160, 190
- Kamkeut, 168, 169
- Kampar, 91
- Kanngai, 41
- Karens, 203
- Kasim, 34
- Katipunan, 181
- Kaundinya, 12
- Kechil, Raja, 91
- Kedah, 24, 35, 90, 91, 136, 144, 146, 149, 171, 172, 173, 177, 201
- Kediri, 26
- Kelantan, 35, 146, 173, 176, 177, 201
- Kemboja, Daeng, 92
- Kengtung, 201
- Kertanagara, 26
- Kew Letters, 124
- Kha, 105
- Khai Dinh, 192
- Khammouane, 168, 169
- Khmer, 5, 12-17, 21, 40, 46, 48, 54, 115-19
- Khmer Issarak, 207
- Kien Phuc, 167
- Kitsarat, 102
- Korat, 118
- Koxinga, 72
- Kra Isthmus, 176
- Kuomintang, 192
- Kublai Khan, 17, 26, 41, 42, 52, 53
- Kutaraja, 132
- Kyanzitttha, 41
- Labuan, 149, 150, 210
- Lan Chang, 48, 55, 59-63, 102-7
- Langkasuka, 11
- Langkat, 131
- Langkawi Islands, 176
- Lao, Laos, 36, 48, 101, 107, 169, 170, 175, 176, 192, 194, 198, 200, 207, 208
- Lao Issara, 208
- Le Dynasty, 54, 56, 108
- Le Loi, 54
- Le Thanh Ton, 54, 55, 56, 58, 112
- Liang Dynasty Annals, 9
- Liberal Policy, 134, 135
- Light, F., 138
- Ligor, 11, 22, 24, 171, 172
- Lim Ah Hong, 72
- Limbin Prince, 162
- Lombok, 130
- London, Convention of, 127
- London, Treaty of, 141
- Lovek, 61, 80, 115
- Low, J., 144
- Luang Prabang, 47, 48, 55, 59, 61, 98, 100, 101, 103, 105-7, 165, 168-71, 175, 200, 208
- Lumu, Raja, 92, 93
- Mac, 56, 58
- Mac Cuu, 116, 117

- Mac Dang Dung, 56
 Macao, 69, 71
 Madura, 27, 82, 85, 204
 Magarakertanagara, 27
 Magellan, 71
 Mahmud, Sultan, 35, 89, 93
 Majapahit, 27, 32, 35, 38, 58, 81, 82
 Makassar, 36, 75, 78-80, 86-8, 91
 Malacca, 21, 22, 28, 30-6, 50, 58, 59,
 67-70, 73, 74, 81, 89-92, 115, 125, 141,
 142, 143, 148, 209, 212
 Malayan Chinese Association, 209
 Malaya, Malays, 5, 32-6, 48, 68, 69, 86,
 89-93, 100, 101, 127, 136-48, 150,
 171-3, 185, 188, 194, 195, 199, 208-10
 Malayan Federation, 209
 Malayu, 22, 24, 26, 27
 Manchu Dynasty, 97, 98, 100, 116
 Mandalay, 43, 160, 161, 162, 199
 Mangkubumi, 85
 Manila, 72, 72, 149, 178, 180, 181, 199
 Manipur, 44, 98, 100, 101, 153, 154
 Mansur Shah, 35, 132
 Mantha Thourath, 107
 Marewah, Daeng, 92
 Marlborough, Fort, 79, 127, 138, 139, 141
 Mataram, 22-5, 74, 81-6, 91
 Mecca, 133
 Megat Iskandar Shah, 34
 Melouprey, 118, 176
 Menado, 179
 Mergui, 154
 Mexico, 62, 178
 Mindanao, 180
 Mindon, 158, 159, 160
 Ming Dynasty, 33, 34, 54, 116
 Minh Mang, 114, 118
 Mohnyin, 44
 Moluccas, 26, 28, 35, 68-75, 78, 81, 86-8,
 122, 124, 127, 128, 131, 136, 141, 204
 Mongkut, 173, 174
 Mongol Dynasty, 26, 29, 41, 42, 46, 47,
 52, 53
 Mongkol Borey, 118
 Mongpan, 201
 Mons, 5, 40-3, 48, 60-3, 98, 99, 154
 Monsoons, 10, 32
 Moros, 73
 Moses, C. L., 151
 Moulmein, 59, 154, 157
 Muong Sing, 175
 Muong Swa, 47, 48
 Muslims, 28-30
 Muzaffar Shah, 34
 Muzaffar, Sultan, 79

 Nam-Viet, 51, 52
 Nanchao, 40, 41, 45, 46, 52
 Nan, Chao, 106
 Nandabayin, 44, 61, 62
 Naning, 143
 Nan-Yueh, 51
 Narai, 77, 78
 Narapatisithu, 41
 Narathihapate, 41, 42
 Naresuen, 61, 62
 Narat, Pra, 61, 62, 115
 Naungdawgyi, 99
 Negri Sembilan, 145, 146, 176
 New Guinea, 127, 130, 131, 205
 Ne Win, 203
 Ngo, Chao, 106
 Ngo Quyen, 52
 Nguyen, 56-8, 108
 Nguyen Anh, 110-12, 116-17
 Nguyen Phuc Khoat, 108
 Nguyen Van Lu, 109-12
 Nguyen Van Nhac, 109-12
 Nguyen Van Hue, 109-12
 Noi, Chao, 106-7

INDEX

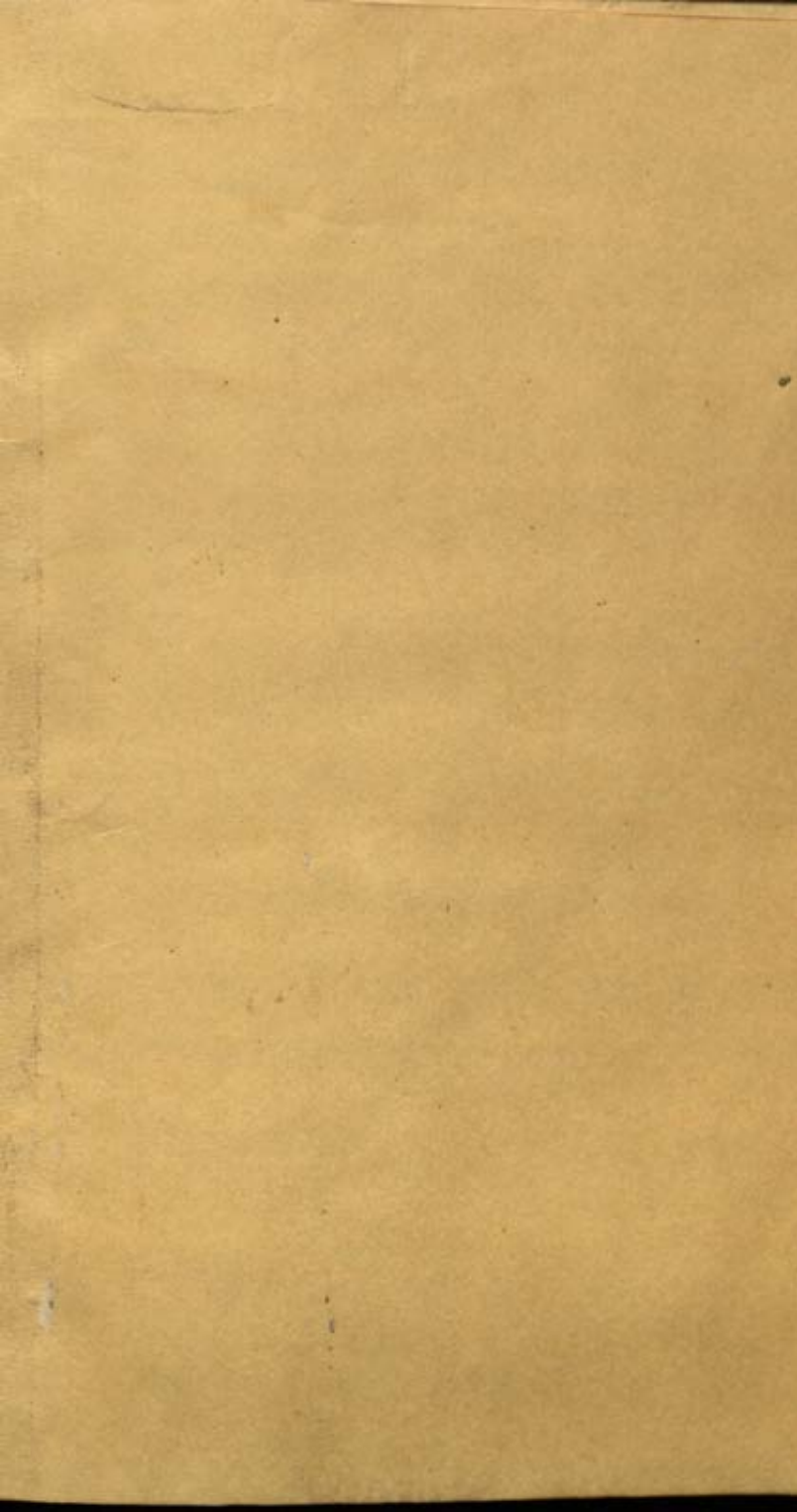
- Nokeo Koumane, 61-3, 103
 Norodom, 164, 165
 Nu, U, 202, 203
- Ong Boun, 106
 Ong Hue, Sai, 103, 104
 Ong Long, 105
 Osmena, S., 196
 Oun Kham, 169
 Overbeck, Baron, 151, 152
- Padang, 125, 127, 131
 Padri, 131
 Pagan, 40-2, 44, 47
 Pagan, King, 155, 156
 Pahang, 26, 35, 90, 140, 144, 146, 173, 176
 Pakubuwana II, 84, 85
 Pakubuwana III, 85
 Palembang, 32, 75, 131
 Pancapana, 22
 Pangkor, 144, 145
 Parameswara, 32-4, 89
 Panthay, 159, 166, 168
 Parani, Daeng, 91, 92
 Pase, 30, 68, 90
 Pathet Lao, 207, 208
 Pattani, 11, 35, 78, 172, 176
 Pavie, A., 169
 Payao, 46
 Pedir, 90, 131
 Pegu, 44, 60, 98, 99, 156, 157
 Penang, 131, 138, 140-4, 172, 173, 209
 Perak, 89-91, 144-6, 172, 173, 176
 Perlak, 30
 Perlis, 146, 172, 177, 201
 Persian Gulf, 30, 67
 Petsarath, 208
 Phaulkon, C., 77, 78
 Philippines, 71, 72, 80, 127, 148, 163, 178-81, 195-7, 199, 200, 210, 211
- Phnon Penh, 118
 Pho, Cahu, 107
 Pibul Songgram, 193, 194, 201, 208
 Pigneau de Behaine, 110, 111, 114
 Pindale, 98
 Pinya, 42
 Polo, Marco, 30, 41, 42, 67
 Pontianak, 129
 Ponha Yat, 19
 Portuguese, 58, 59, 62, 67-71, 73-5, 80, 86, 87, 89-91, 130, 132, 148, 212
 Prajadhipok, 193
 Prancapa, 27
 Preanger, 75, 126
 Pridi Phanomyon, 193, 201, 208
 Prome, 39, 61, 62, 98, 154, 156, 157
 Puger, 84
 Pye, 98
 Pyu, 5, 39, 40
- Quezon, M., 197
- Raffles, T. S., 125-7, 131-3, 139-41
 Rama I, 110, 117
 Rama II, 118
 Rama III, 118
 Rama IV, 173, 174
 Rama V, 174, 175
 Rama Khamhen, 48
 Rama Tibodi, 48
 Ramu, 153
 Rangoon, 98, 99, 154-6, 159, 160, 199
 Red River, 165-7, 198
 Rhodes, Alexandre de, 77
 Riau, 35, 93
 Rizal y Mercado, J., 180, 181
 Roman Empire, 10, 29
 Roxas, M., 210
 Russians, 176, 187, 190

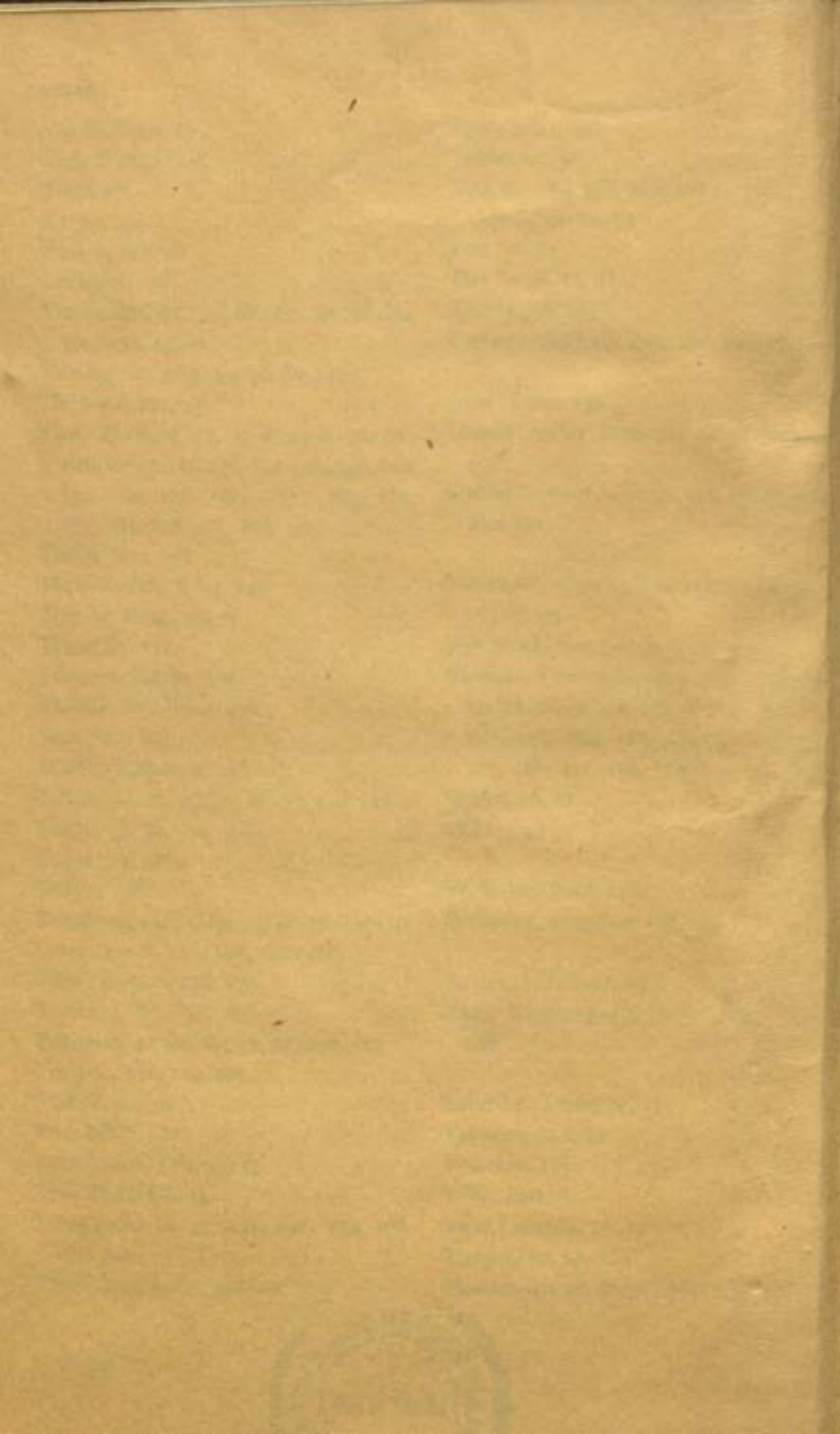
- Sagaing, 42
 Saigon, 109-11, 164, 165
 Sailendra, 14, 22, 32, 52
 Sakai, 5
 Samawang, 131
 Sambas, 86, 87, 128
 Samudra, 30
 Saparua, 128
 Saragosa, Treaty of, 68
 Sarawak, 129, 149, 188, 210
 Serikat Islam, 190
 Sirit, Marshal, 208
 Sulu, 41
 Siaboury, 176
 Selangor, 92, 93, 138, 144, 145, 172, 173, 176
 Semang, 5
 Semarang, 85
 Serdang, 131
 Setthathirat, 59
 Shans, 42-4, 46, 47, 59, 63, 100, 160, 162, 190, 194, 201
 Shih Fa-hsien, 9
 Shiva, 13, 17, 22, 23
 Shwebo, 98
 Siak, 90-2, 131, 132
 Siam, *see* Thailand
 Siem Reap, 165, 176, 190, 194, 195
 Sihanouk Norodom, 207
 Singapore, 24, 127, 138-42, 145, 149, 150, 173, 175, 194, 195, 199, 210
 Singosari, 26
 SipSong Chu Thai, 169
 Sisavang Vong, 207
 Sisophon, 118, 165
 Si Vatha, 164, 165
 Sogatu, 17, 53
 Soi Sisamout, 105
 Solor, 71, 130
 Som Pou, 103
 Songkhla, 77
 Son Ngoc, Thanh, 206
 Souligna Vongsa, 103
 Souphannouvong, 207, 208
 Souvanna Phouma, 208
 Spain, Spaniards, 68-73, 86, 127, 151, 152, 163, 164, 178-81
 Spanish-Filipino Association, 180
 Spice Islands, *see* Moluccas
 Sriksheetra, 39
 Sri Maharaja, 34
 Sri Parameswara Deva Shah, 34
 Sri Vijaya, 22-5
 Straits Settlements, 141-5, 173, 176, 194, 195, 208, 209
 Stung Treng, 118, 169
 Suez Canal, 132, 135, 156
 Sukadana, 78, 86, 87
 Sukarno, President, 191, 201, 203, 204
 Sukhotai, 46, 48
 Suleiman, Sultan, 91
 Sulu, 148, 149, 151, 152, 160
 Sumatra, 21, 22, 27, 28, 30, 35, 36, 68, 69, 75, 76, 79, 80, 89-93, 127, 131, 132, 135, 204
 Sunda, 21, 22, 26, 27, 73, 74
 Sunda Islands, 130
 Sung Dynasty, 26, 29, 52
 Sun Yat-sen, 195
 Surabaya, 81, 82
 Surakarta, 85, 125, 128
 Suta Vijaya, 81
 Syriam, 62, 79, 98, 99
 Tabinshwehti, 44, 58, 59
 Tai, 6, 17-19, 40, 45-8, 52, 59
 Taiping, 166, 168
 Taksin, Paya, 99, 100, 117, 171
 Talaing, 40

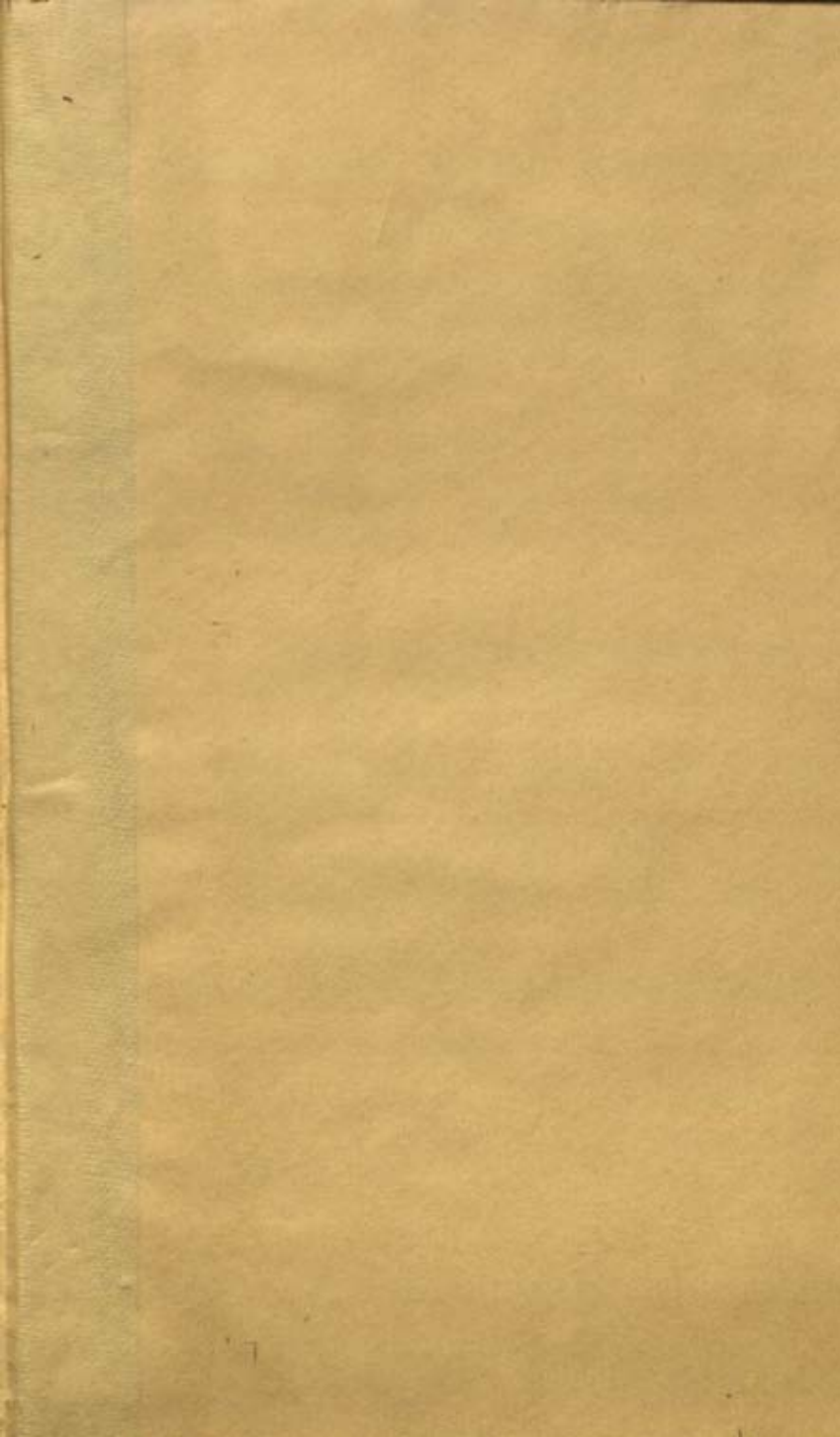
INDEX

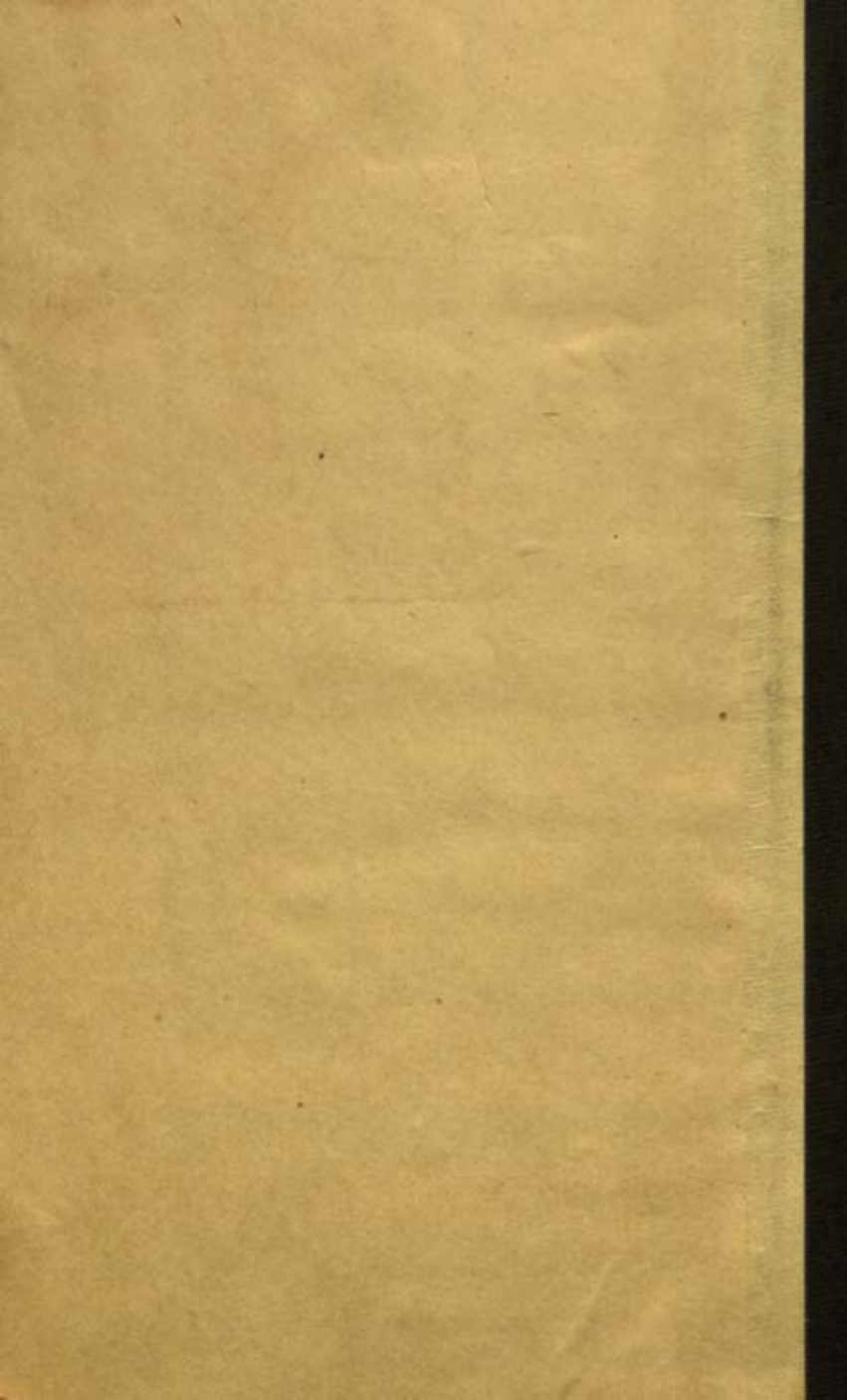
- Tambralinga, 11
 Tang Dynasty, 52
 Tatas, 87
 Tavoy, 154
 Tayson, 108-12
 Telingana, 40
 Tenasserim, 48, 59, 61, 62, 69, 78, 99,
 100, 102, 154-6
 Ternate, 68, 70-3, 75, 78, 86, 125
 Thadominbya, 43
 Thai, Thailand, 27, 33-6, 44-8, 76, 97-
 102, 105-7, 122, 136, 143, 144, 146, 153,
 157, 164, 168, 169, 171-7, 185, 188,
 193, 194, 198, 207, 208
 Thanh Thai, 192
 Tharrawaddy, King, 155
 Thibaw, King, 160-2
 Thieu Tri, 114
 Thommo Racha, 116
 Thwaik, Sao Shwe, 202
 Tian Tala, 103
 Tiantha Koumane, 107
 Tidore, 68, 72, 73, 75, 86, 87, 130, 131
 Timor, 71, 75, 124, 132
 Togan, 17, 53
 Tokyo, 198
 Tongking, 13, 14, 23, 51, 56, 79, 108-10,
 112, 165-7, 170, 192, 198, 206
 Tonle, Repou, 118, 176
 Torrey, J. W., 151, 152
 Toungoo, 42, 44, 61, 62, 98, 156, 157
 Tourane, 110, 114, 163
 Trailok, 49, 50
 Tran Ninh, 107
 Tran Thanh Ton, 52, 53
 Tran Thieu De, 54
 Trengganu, 30, 35, 144, 146, 173, 176,
 177, 201
 Trinh, 56, 57, 105, 108-10
 Tribhuvana, 27
 Tuban, 81, 82
 Tu Duc, 163, 164, 166, 167
 Tumasik, 24, 32, 33
 Tun Ali, 34
 Tun Perak, 34, 35
 Turkey, 90, 145
 Tydings-McDuffie Act, 196, 197, 210
 Uma, Tuku, 132
 United Malay National Organization,
 209
 United States of America, 145, 181, 195-8,
 210, 211
 Vientiane, 16, 59, 61, 100, 101, 103, 105-7,
 165-8, 171
 Viet Minh, 200, 205-8
 Vietnam, Vietnamese, 5, 27, 36, 51-8, 63,
 76, 77, 79, 80, 97, 103, 105-7, 115-19,
 127, 142, 160, 161, 163-7, 169, 175,
 185, 188, 191, 192, 198, 200, 205, 206
 Vijaya, 26, 27
 Vishnu, 39
 Wellesley, Lord, 138
 Wellesley, Province, 138, 142
 Xavier, St Francis, 69
 Xieng Khouang, 47, 55, 63, 103, 105-7,
 168
 Yandabo, Treaty of, 154
 Yasovarman I, 14
 Yen Bay, 192
 York, Fort, 79
 Yuan Dynasty, 26, 33
 Yung-li, 97, 98, 165
 Yunnan, 40, 45, 52, 97, 98, 159, 198











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