

# **THE MAKING OF MODERN NEGERI SEMBILAN 1874-1898**



**SHERIFA KHAN**

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**SHERIFA KHAN**

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# CONTENTS

<b>IX</b>	<b>PREFACE</b>	
<b>I</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>II</b>	<b>THE SRI MENANTI CONFEDERATION 1875-1877</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>III</b>	<b>REMBAU 1877-1883</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>IV</b>	<b>JELEBU AND THE SRI MENANTI CONFEDERATION 1880-1887</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>V</b>	<b>THE CONFEDERATION OF NEGRI SEMBILAN 1889-1898</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>VI</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>78</b>
	<b>APPENDIX A</b>	<b>84</b>
	<b>APPENDIX B</b>	<b>86</b>
	<b>APPENDIX C</b>	<b>88</b>
	<b>APPENDIX D</b>	<b>90</b>
	<b>APPENDIX E</b>	<b>91</b>
	<b>APPENDIX F</b>	<b>92</b>
	<b>APPENDIX G</b>	<b>94</b>
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>95</b>



## PREFACE

It has been remarked that owing "to its spectacular character", the socio-political system of Negri Sembilan has been better studied than that of the other Malay states. Some of the better known works include:

1. P.E. de Josselin de Jong, *Minangkabau and Negeri Sembilan: Socio-political Structure in Indonesia*, Leiden, 1952.
2. G.A. de C. de Moubray, *Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1931.
3. M.G. Swift, *Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu*, London, 1965.
4. Diane Lewis, "Inas: A Study of Local History" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malayan Branch (JMBRAS)*, vol. 33, pt. 1, 1960.
5. E.W. Taylor, "Customary Law of Rembau" *JMBRAS*, vol. 7, pt. 1, 1929.

There also exist a number of writings in Malay such as Abdul Rahman bin Haji Mohammad's *Dasar-dasar Adat Perpatih* and *Dongeng-dongeng Negeri Sembilan* as well as Abdul Ghani bin Shamaruddin's "Undang Luak Jelebu Adat Pertabalan" in *Bahasa*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1959.

The larger proportion of the works are indeed concerned with the working of the *adat perpatih* in an ideal situation. *Adat perpatih* refers to the matrilineal system in vogue in Negri Sembilan society. It is practised among only the Minangkabau population. In comparison, writings on Negri Sembilan history are clearly fewer in number. Among the more useful works are:

1. P.J. Begbie, *The Malayan Peninsula*, Madras, 1834, pp. 133—260.
2. T.J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, London, 1839, vol. 1, pp. 190—266, vol. 2, pp. 74—175, 439—460.
3. J.H. Moor (ed.), *Notices of the Indian Archipelago and the Adjacent Countries*, Singapore, 1837 (see articles by T.J. Newbold).
4. L.A. Mills, "British Malaya 1824—1867" *JMBRAS*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1925, pp. 115—128, 172—175 & Appendix entitled "Malay Documents relating to the Nanning War".
5. R.J. Wilkinson, "Sungai Ujong" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Straits Branch (JSBRAS)*, No. 83, 1921.

6. J.M. Gullick, "Sungai Ujong" *JMBRAS*, vol. 22, pt. 2, 1949.
7. D.F.A. Hervey, "Rembau" *JSBRAS*, no. 13, 1884.
8. R.O. Winstedt, "Negri Sembilan, The History, Polity and Beliefs of Nine States" (abbreviated "History of Negri Sembilan") *JMBRAS*, vol. 12, pt. 3, 1934.

No less useful is Samad Idris' *Negeri Sembilan and Sejarah-nya* (Kuala Lumpur, 1968). The author was once the *Menteri Besar* of Negeri Sembilan and also held ministerial posts subsequently.

The present work by Sherifa Khan was originally an M.A. thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Malaya, in 1966. It has been revised for publication. I have written a new introduction which summarises the early history of Negri Sembilan, also the beginning of British administration in Sungai Ujong. Although in the original work, Sherifa Khan dealt extensively with British intervention in Sungai Ujong, that portion of her work has been deleted because the subject has been meticulously discussed in C.D. Cowan's *Nineteenth-Century Malaya* (London, 1961) and C.N. Parkinson's *British Intervention In Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur, 1964). Sherifa Khan's work is particularly interesting for its contribution to our knowledge of the role played by the British in the re-unification of Negri Sembilan after its dismemberment in 1869.

Like many of the Malay states, the history of Negri Sembilan has not been carefully studied, in particular the period which saw significant social change taking place, namely, the late 19th century. Sherifa Khan's work provides the foundation which is so necessary for a proper understanding of a very unique society. Her meticulous study is still primarily concerned with political developments but this does not detract from the fact that it provides an invaluable perspective for a socio-economic study which, it is hoped, will soon be attempted for such a study is long overdue.

K.K.K.

# I

## INTRODUCTION

by  
*Khoo Kay Kim*

### Early History

The history of Negri Sembilan prior to 1800 is still vaguely known.<sup>1</sup> It is not even certain when the term 'Negri Sembilan' was first used. It is possible that there are untapped Portuguese and Dutch<sup>2</sup> sources which will help to throw light on the subject; meanwhile oral traditions have proved useful for those who have tried to piece together the sequence of events between the early 15th century, or possibly earlier, when, it is believed, the first wave of immigrants from Minangkabau, Sumatra, settled here, and the subsequent years when socio-political organization of a comparatively elaborate type began to take shape. But oral traditions inevitably contain discrepancies and contradictions which cannot be easily unravelled.<sup>3</sup> It is equally futile to try to determine what *negeri* (territories) originally constituted the state of Negri Sembilan.<sup>4</sup> It is relevant, however, to mention that for a long time T.J. Newbold's version<sup>5</sup> was generally accepted but despite existing disagreement, it is pertinent to point out that Newbold's list should

1 For a brief discussion of the early history of Negri Sembilan, see R.O. Winstedt, "History of Negri Sembilan" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malayan Branch (JMBRAS)*, Vol. XII, 1934, Part I, pp. 41-46.

2 Some references to Negri Sembilan are found in Leonard Y. Andaya's *The Kingdom of Johor 1641—1728 Economic and Political Developments*, Kuala Lumpur, 1975. This work makes extensive use of Dutch sources. Contemporary Dutch records are manifestly more accurate than oral traditions which are based on human memory.

3 One of the problems which stem from the need to rely on oral sources and traditions is the election of chieftains in Negri Sembilan. Succession disputes are as common today as they were in the past.

4 For useful discussions on the subject, see especially J.E. Nathan & R.O. Winstedt, op. cit., pp. 1—2; p. 5 de J. de Jong, *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan*, pp. 148—150. For a discussion of some other related problems see, Diane Lewis, op. cit.

5 The nine states listed by T.J. Newbold are: Segamat, Johor, Naning, Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Rembau, Klang, Ulu Pahang (including Serting and Jempul) and Jelai (Pahang). See *Political and Statistical Account &c.*, Vol. II, pp. 78-79. It may be mentioned too that the interior of Muar (Ulu Muar) was generally termed Segamat then. (T.J. Newbold, "Sketch of the State of Muar" in J.H. Moor, op. cit., p. 73).

not be easily dismissed if only because the names were derived largely from a collection of treaties, both friendly and commercial, which the Dutch concluded in the East between 1646 and 1759.<sup>6</sup> Critics of Newbold will therefore have to produce more authoritative evidence from 17th and 18th century records. Early 19th century records are more easily available but they are less comprehensive than we would like them to be. Moreover, the observations made at that time were not necessarily applicable to earlier eras and it is one of the arguments submitted here that by the 1820's (when we have more concrete records) significant changes had taken place in the territorial composition of Negri Sembilan.<sup>7</sup>

It is, however, generally accepted that those several peninsular *negeri* which had no sultanate of their own were, at one time, dependencies of Melaka and, after 1511, of Johor. They were more than dependencies in a general sense for each was ruled by an *orang besar* (chieftain) appointed directly by the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Johor. Control from Johor, however, became less and less effective when the kingdom began to decline particularly after the coming of the Bugis in the early 18th century. Internal strife in Johor eventually enabled first the Minangkabau (led by Raja Kechil) and then the Bugis to take over virtual control of the kingdom. Bugis power became entrenched by the 1720s and the Malay ruler, Sultan Sulaiman, could not subjugate the Bugis.<sup>8</sup> Seeing the weakness of the central government, the petty states (later known as Negri Sembilan) which were inhabited by Minangkabau immigrants decided to form a political unit of their own. It was decided to invite a prince from Minangkabau, Sumatra, to head the new kingdom which would subscribe to *adat perpatih* tradition.<sup>9</sup>

But the attempt to secure a member of the royal family from Pagar Ruyong Minangkabau, to rule over the peninsular Minangkabau *negeri* territories was probably more eventful than has been recorded in local tradition. According to Newbold, a division immediately took place in which Sungai Ujong, Rembau, Johor and Sri Menanti were opposed by Segamat, Klang, Ulu Pahang, Jelebu and Jelai which preferred to continue to remain subordinate to Johor.<sup>10</sup> The approach was nevertheless made and according to Negri Sembilan tradition, there were further difficulties. The first four princes to come over proved unsuitable. Eventually, Raja Melewar was selected. A certain Raja Khatib was then sent ahead to make preparations for the arrival of Raja Melewar. But Raja Khatib betrayed the trust placed upon him by marrying the daughter, Warna Mas, of Na'am, Penghulu of Hulu Muar and allowing himself to be proclaimed ruler of Negri Sembilan. Raja Melewar set off for Negri Sembilan by way of Siak and Melaka where he was obliged to produce his credentials (called *Teromba*).<sup>11</sup> From Melaka, he proceeded to Naning and then Rembau. A war ensued in which Raja Khatib and Penghulu Na'am were both defeated and the latter was beheaded. With

6 T.J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account &c.*, Vol. II, pp. 78-79.

7 See Andaya, *op. cit.*, Chaps. VIII, IX and X.

8 T. Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report on the Proceedings of Government relating to the Native States in the Malayan Peninsula" 1874 in *GPMP*.

9 Samad Idris, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

10 See *Political and Statistical Account &c.*, Vol. II, pp. 151-152.

11 Samuel Garling, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

that, Raja Melewar was installed as Yang di Pertuan Besar at Penajis, Rembau, by, as far as is clearly known, the Penghulu of Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Johol.<sup>12</sup> It has been speculated that there was probably a fourth Penghulu involved but which particular one is not clear.<sup>13</sup> It is, however, possible to hazard a guess on the basis of the special names associated with four of the *negeri*. The first was Rembau which was called *Tanah Kerajaan* because the installation of Raja Melewar took place there. After the installation, Raja Melewar proceeded to Sri Menanti, his place of residence and so the *negeri* was called *Tanah Mengandong*: the place that bore or supported the Yang di-Pertuan Besar. There were also two *balai* built for the Yang di-Pertuan's visits — they were constructed of a peculiar form and could not be altered. One was located in Sungai Ujong; it was called *Balai Melintang*, figuratively speaking because the Penghulu was said to be in a position to oppose any innovations by the Yamtuan Besar. The other was in Johol called *Balai Bertingkat* being, as it were, a third storey on Sungai Ujong and Rembau and, being next door to Sri Menanti, would bring their representations right up to the *Istana*.<sup>14</sup> From this it would appear that the fourth Penghulu was that of Sri Menanti. This was not necessarily the case because Sri Menanti then was located partly in Johol and partly in Ulu Muar. It is important to note that two of the four persons appointed *Orang Empat Istana* were cousins of the daughter of Penghulu Na'am and derived from Sri Menanti. It is reasonable, therefore, to speculate that the fourth Penghulu was that of Ulu Muar by the name of Mindek, successor to Penghulu Na'am, since Sri Menanti was then subordinate to both Johol and Ulu Muar.<sup>15</sup>

At this juncture, it is appropriate that the authority of the Yamtuan Besar under the *adat perpatih* should be examined. The Negri Sembilan tradition is that:

Alam nan beraja,  
Luak nan berpenghulu,  
Suku bertua.  
Anak buah berbuapak.<sup>16</sup>

It was also laid down that:

12 For a traditional account of the coming of Raja Melewar see Samad Idris, *op. cit.*, pp. 181—183; Abdul Rahman bin Hj. Mohammad, *Dongeng-dongeng Negeri Sembilan*, pp. 59-70. It is interesting to note that Raja Melewar subsequently married Che Sani, daughter of Penghulu Na'am and four of her relatives, among them her brothers, were appointed Orang Empat Istana with the titles of Seri Amar Diraja, Raja Dewangsa, Penghulu Dagang and Akhir Zaman. The descendants of these, matrilineally, came to be known as *Suku Air Kaki*. (See Abdul Rahman bin Haji Mohammad, *Dongeng-dongeng Negeri Sembilan*, pp. 80-81; R.J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, London, 1959, Pt. I, p. 496).

13 Among the various Penghulu named were Penghulu Jelebu, Penghulu Kelang, Penghulu Ulu Muar and Penghulu Naning. (Samad Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 183).

14 Hervey, "Rembau", p. 246.

15 Samad Idris, *op. cit.*, pp. 236—44, 245. Hervey ("Rembau" p. 246) unhesitatingly named the Penghulu of Ulu Muar as the fourth person.

16 The Kingdom is under the Raja, the district under the Penghulu, the *suku* under the elder and the *anak buah* (dependents) under the *buapak* (lit. mother and father).

Adapun Raja itu tiada mempunyai negeri dan tiada boleh mencukai kharajat, melainkan berkeadilan sahaja serta permakannya duit sa-suku, berasa dua gantang, nyior satali.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, according to Newbold:

The Penghulu bound themselves to furnish a certain complement of men, arms, ammunition, and provisions, in case of a war; also on occasions of deaths, marriages, circumcision, &c., in the royal family, to send, each of the, three heads of buffaloes, and to distribute a certain sum in sadkeh (alms). The instalment of the Eang-depbeurtan Besar devolved upon the four Panghulus, hence entitled Panghulus Delantye [Di-lantik].

To them also on the decease of their sovereign, fell the duty of transmitting the news of the event by letter to the Rajah of Menangkabowe, who on its receipt deputed one of the princes of his house, with pompous credentials [Teromba Minangkabau] via Siac, Malacca, and Naning to Rumbow, where he was met and crowned in state....<sup>18</sup>

This war, however, the ideal arrangement.

It may be added that at the time when Raja Melewar was installed, Jelebu, Segamat, Klang, Ulu Pahang and Jelai (Pahang) continued under Johor<sup>19</sup> and, except Jelebu, the territories never joined the Minangkabau federation. Jelebu's return to the fold is not surprising since, culturally, it had much in common with the other Minangkabau *negeri*, unlike Kelang, Segamat, Ulu Pahang and Jelai. It's opposition to Raja Melewar in the first place might have been caused by the fact that it had, earlier, arrived at an arrangement with Johor whereby the Penghulu of Jelebu bore the title of 'Sultan'. When Jelebu was re-united with the Minangkabau territories, the Penghulu's title was altered to *Dato' Mendika Menteri Akhir Zaman*. When precisely this happened is not known but, in the late 1820s, it appears that Jelebu was still not a part of Negri Sembilan.<sup>20</sup>

For a long time it has been accepted that Negri Sembilan, as a political entity, with Raja Melewar at the helm, emerged in 1773. There is evidence now to show that Raja Melewar was already in Rembau in 1727. The Raja Melewar-Raja Khatib struggle for power, according to contemporary Dutch sources, occurred that year. Indeed, Raja Khatib was not sent ahead to make preparations for the arrival of Raja Melewar; he was sent by Raja Kechil of Siak to try to unite the Minangkabau in an attempt to oust the Bugis from Riau.<sup>21</sup> It is, therefore, unlikely that Raja Melewar was still alive in 1773. In treaties signed between the Dutch and the Minangkabau *negeri*, beginning from the 1750s, Raja Melewar's name seems conspicuously absent.

### Emergence of a Class of Local Princes

Raja Melewar is believed to have married a daughter of Penghulu

17 The Raja does not own the country, nor can he levy taxes on its produce but with him lies the final award of justice only and he obtains a maintenance of a *suku* (12 cents), two *gantang* of rice and a string (two) of coconuts (from every householder). (See Herey, "Rembau", p. 248).

18 *Political and Statistical Account &c.*, Vol. II, o.81.

19 C.O. 273/119, Weld to Derby 23 Feb. 1883, Encl. D.F.A. Hervey to Col. Sec., 25 Jan. 1883, Appendix: "History of Rembau as one of the 'Negri Sembilan'".

20 Vide Samad Idris, op. cit., p. 92. For a more colourful version, see Abdul Rahman bin Haji Mohamad, *Dongeng-dongeng Negeri Sembilan*, pp. 82-91. See also Samuel Garling, op. cit., p. 222.

21 See Leonard Y. Andaya, op. cit., pp. 310-311.

Na'am. It is claimed that he had a daughter called Tengku Aishah.<sup>22</sup> But, apart from this, little is known of his descendants. The reign of Raja Adil, Raja Melewar's successor, was more eventful in the sense that, beginning from that time, there emerged in Negri Sembilan a distinct class of local princes who, in later years, played prominent roles in Negri Sembilan politics.

It is important, firstly, to ascertain the relationship among the princes themselves before examining some aspects of the dynamics of the Negri Sembilan political system. Those interested in Negri Sembilan are perhaps aware that its genealogical history is by no means clear. The genealogy given here, however, is not based on any published source.<sup>23</sup>

Raja Adil married first a daughter of the Penghulu of Jelebu<sup>24</sup> and then the daughter of an Inche of Tampin — both women belonged to the suku of Tiga Batu.<sup>25</sup> By his Jelebu wife, he had two sons, Raja Singkul and Raja Sabun (also known as Tengku Ahmad Shah).<sup>26</sup> By his Tampin wife, he had a daughter, Raja Sulong, and two sons — Raja Asil and Raja Kadim. Raja Sulong married Raja Hitam, Raja Adil's successor, and had a daughter Tengku Puteh who married outside the state — her husband was a Bugis, Raja Aman, son of Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor (c. 1782—1826). Raja Aman and Tengku Puteh had a son, Raja Ali. Raja Asil had four sons and two daughters none of whom achieved any distinction in Negri Sembilan history.

The other Yamtuan Besar from Sumatra to leave behind a number of princes was Raja Lenggang Laut (c. 1809-1824). He had two sons — Raja Radin and Raja Ujong *alias* Raja Imam (also referred to as Tuanku Janggut).<sup>27</sup> Raja Radin married Intan, daughter of the Penghulu of Sri Menanti, as well as the daughter of Raja Muda of Jelebu.<sup>28</sup> By his Sri Menanti wife, he had a son Raja Antah; and by his Jelebu wife, a son, Raja

22 Samad Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

23 Hitherto, the accepted genealogy of Negri Sembilan is based primarily on the writings of Begbie and Newbold. There have been other versions given by British administrators based on oral traditions. But it is important to note that as early as 1874, T. Braddell, on a mission to Negri Sembilan, interviewed one of the *orang besar* of Rembau whom he described as "a very intelligent man", a rare compliment in those days, and from him received information significantly different from the genealogy given by Newbold. Braddell's account ("Second Continuation of Report &c.", *op. cit.*) also does not agree with any of the published ones. In 1883, D.F.A. Hervey, also on a mission to Rembau, interviewed, among many others, the Maharaja Menteri, the headman of Tampin Tengah. The information obtained by Hervey, except for minor variations, tallies with that obtained by Braddell. (See Hervey to Col. Sec., *op. cit.*, Appendix M). The genealogy given here also differs from that in Samad Idris, *op. cit.*

24 The Penghulu then, as stated earlier, was styled Dato' Manduteka Menteri Akhir Zaman Sultan Jelebu.

25 There were in all twelve *suku* in Negri Sembilan. The saying goes:

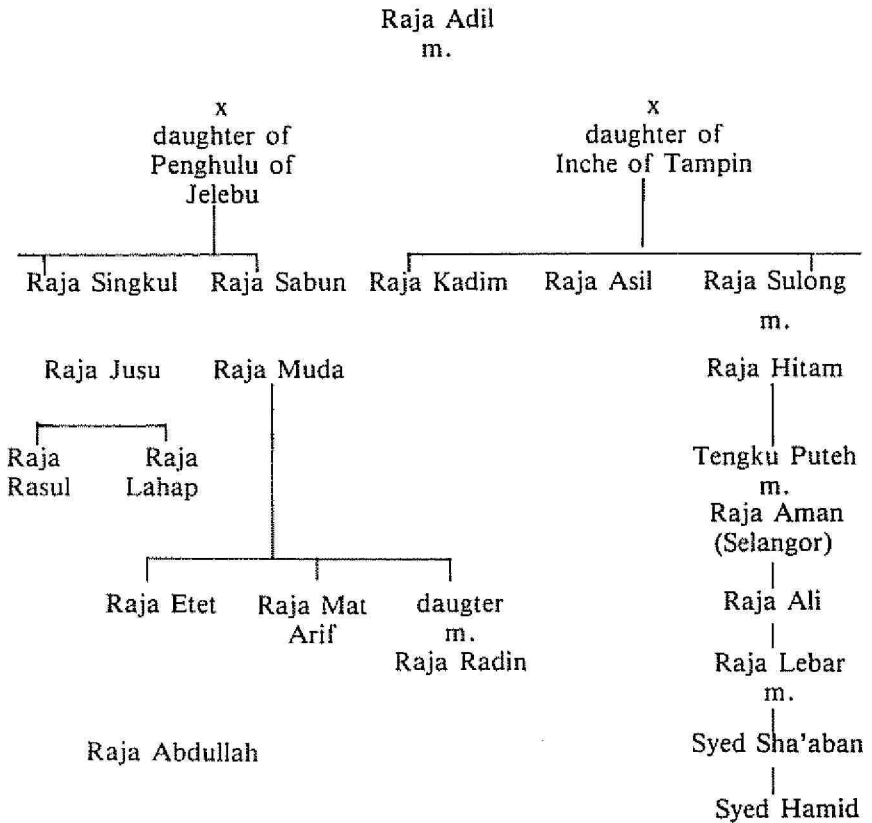
Raja berafam,  
Pengkulu berluak,  
Lembaga berlingkongan,  
Buapak beranak-buah  
Anak-buah dudok bersuku-suku,  
Berapa Suku-nya?  
Dua belas!

The twelve *suku* were: Biduanda or Waris, Batu Hampa, Paya Kumbuh Mungkal, Tiga Nenek, Seri Melenggang, Seri Lemak, Batu Belang, Tanah Datar, Anak Acheh, Anak Melaka, and Tiga Batu. (Abdul Rahman bin Haji Mohammad, *Dasar-dasar Adat perpatih*, p. 28).

26 Samad Idris, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

27 See *Sejarah dan Adat Negeri Sembilan 1773—1961*, p. 24 (typescript). This is a collection of copies of miscellaneous notes, records correspondence from the personal note book of the late Yang Teramat Mulia Tunku Besar Burhanuddin ibni Yamuan Besar Antah. It is available Arkib Negara Malaysia, Petaling Jaya.

## Genealogy L

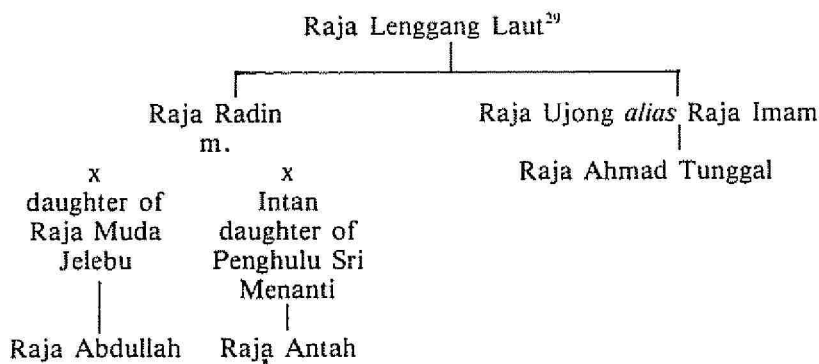


Abdullah. Raja Ujong also had a son, Raja Ahmad Tunggal, who resided at Sri Menanti.

In the early decades of the 19th century, there was continual political upheaval in Negri Sembilan. Although there were other strong divisive elements in the Negri Sembilan political system, one of the major causes of conflict at this time was the power struggle among the princes which unavoidably involved the Penghulu and *waris*. The local princes, as a distinct class, had been well established by the early 19th century and it became important for the Negri Sembilan political system to make adjustments to accommodate them by way of creating new offices which would be in keeping with their social status. The process of adjustment took place but slowly largely because the Penghulu, *waris* and *suku* were not prepared to allow the princes to wield too much political power. In the earlier phase, however, modifications were made to the existing *aturan* (arrangement) without undue stress and strain.



## Genealogy II



Raja Asil was the first to bid successfully for a new office. In 1798, he was given the title of Yang di-Pertuan Muda. This was achieved partly through the influence of his brother-in-law, Yang di-Pertuan Besar Hitam, and partly because the Penghulu, *waris* and *suku* of Rembau willingly gave their consent. This was, in turn, made possible by the fact that Raja Asil's mother was a Tampin woman, Tampin being then a *jajahan* (dependency) of Rembau and had been made an appanage of the Yamtuan Besar. To provide for the Yamtuan Muda's maintenance, Tampin was given over to his control as result of which it came to be known as *asam garam Istana Bandar*. Bandar, in Hilir Rembau, was made the residence of the Yamtuan Muda. Raja Asil had, in addition, assigned to him as a subsistence, two-sixths of the duty levied on the tin passing down Sungai Linggi from Sungai Ujong (the duty being then 2 dollars per *bahara*) as well as the revenue of Keru, also a dependency of Rembau.<sup>30</sup>

Within a decade, Raja Asil found himself opposed by his nephew, Raja Ali, who was said "to have concerted with a piratical chief" against his grand-uncle. His first attempt did not bear fruit and Raja Ali retired to Sungai Nipah but opportunity soon offered itself again when Raja Haji, a son of Raja Asil, fell in love with the daughter of a well known Haji who was related to Renneh or Nganit, a *waris* of Rembau. In the words of Samuel Garling:

28 See genealogical chart above.

29 The genealogy of Raja Lenggang Laut is also available:

Tuanku Maharaja Lenggang bin

Tuanku Maharaja Sakti bin

Tuanku Maharaja Indera Lela bin

Tuanku Sulong Sakti bin

Tuanku Seri maharaja Alif Penghulu segala Raja-raja bin Sultan Khalifatul-lah yang memerintah di atas Kerajaan Minangkabau bersemayam di atas Singgahsana Pagar Ruyong

Tuanku Seri Sulaiman Alam Shah bin

Al-mukaram Al-Muadzam Almarhom Sultan Seri Maharaja Di-Raja junjungan alam jagat Minangkabau takluk rakyat Lembaga Menteri Hulubalang Jajahan Sungai Teluk Rantau kepadanya.

(See *Sejarah dan Adat Negeri Sembilan 1773-1961*, op. cit.)

30 Hervey to Col. Sec., op. cit., App. D - statement by Syed Hamid; *Political and Statistical Account &c.*, Vol. II, pp. 119-120.

The Hadjee refused to give up his daughter, and Rajah Hadjee succeeded in carrying her off to the Istana.... [in Bandar]. Kassip [Kusil], the Pungulu of Rumbow, complained to Raja Asil, who either could not or would not satisfy him. A rupture ensued. The Pungulus and Sookoos sided with Renneh. I am told that in the interior it is *not considered correct to dethrone or fight against a chief, unless a chief of similar or equal rank leads the party*. In the present instance, a deputation was sent to Rajah Ali. He consented to be their leader. By negotiation, Rajah Ali prevailed upon Rajah Asil to vacate the government, and to retire to Naning.<sup>31</sup> [my italics]

It was believed that Raja Ali had promised to re-instate his grand-uncle once matters had settled down but upon being elected Yamtuan Muda by the Penghulu, *waris* and *suku*, he neglected Raja Asil. This was in 1812. Thrown upon his own resources, Raja Asil died in Naning two or three years later.<sup>22</sup>

Raja Sabun was the next prince to succeed in acquiring a new office — that of Yang di-Pertuan Muda. Not enough is known about this event. It probably took place in the first decade of the 19th century. It appears that even after Raja Sabun had been appointed Yamtuan Muda, Jelebu continued to isolate itself from the other *negeri*. Although the appointment was made smoothly, later generations of Jelebu people were inclined to regret that such a move was made. It is said, for example, that Raja Sabun was probably appointed at the time when Dato' Durongga, who was mentally unsound, was the Penghulu.<sup>33</sup>

Of Raja Sabun, Jelebu tradition speaks fondly:

He cared for his subjects and ruled wisely.<sup>34</sup>

But, it is interesting to note that in Jelebu, the Yamtuan was likened to a big snake (*ular besar*) or an isolated and therefore aggressive elephant (*gajah tungga*) which had to be fed by the Undang (Pengkulu).<sup>35</sup>

The 1820's proved especially eventful. Raja Lenggang Laut died in 1824 and for the next ten years there was fierce competition for the title of Yang di-Pertuan Besar. In this period of intrigues, counter-intrigues and wars, Raja Ali was the protagonist but he found strong support from his son-in-law, Syed Sha'aban.<sup>36</sup> With the death of Raja Lenggang Laut, Raja Ali took steps to prevent the continuation of the practice of inviting the succeeding ruler from Pagar Ruyong. He had earlier further strengthened his position by interfering in the political organisation of Rembau. Until 1819, Rembau had but one Penghulu and four *lembaga*. The Penghulu was elected by the *lembaga* and confirmed by the Yang di-Pertuan Besar. A rotation system was adopted whereby the *lembaga* would elect alternately between candidates from *Waris Biduanda Jakun* and *Waris Biduanda Jawa*. When Penghulu

31 Op. cit., p. 230.

32 Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account &c.*, pp. 119-120.

33 Samad Idris, op. cit., p. 108.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 107.

36 Syed Sha'aban was the son of Syed Ibrahim Al-Kadri, an Arab. His mother was "Sri Kami, a slave girl, a *Khana-zada* of Zainuddin, formerly Capital Melayu in Malacca". (T.J. Newbold, "Account of Rumbow, one of the States in the Interior of Malacca" in J.H. Moor, op. cit., p. 66). See also Khoo Kay Kim, "Syed Sha'aban bin Syed Ibrahim Alkadri" *Peninjau Sejarah*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1967.

Bogok died in 1819, the *lembaga* elected his nephew Renneh (Nganit) as successor with the title of Lela Maharaja, an indication that he was from Biduanda Jakun. But, as Renneh was from Ulu Rembau and Raja Ali's influence was stronger at Hilir Rembau, he brought about a split between Ulu and Hilir Rembau. Another nephew of To' Bogok, Pakat, who stayed near Bandar, was proclaimed Penghulu of Hilir Rembau with the title of Sedia Maharaja (Biduanda Jawa). As a further consequence of this, both Ulu and Hilir Rembau came to have four *lembaga* each.<sup>37</sup>

Despite his influence, Raja Ali failed to prevent the arrival of a new prince from Pagar Ruyong although there was a delay of about two years. In 1826, Raja Labu appeared in Negri Sembilan where he immediately sought to consolidate his position by marrying Tengku Hitam, daughter of Raja Asil. But Raja Labu was preceded by a favourite retainer, Raja Kerjan who "by his licentious proceedings" soon raised considerable opposition to Raja Labu. At this juncture, Raja Radin prevailed upon the Penghulu of Sri Menanti to proclaim him as Yamtuan Besar. But the Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong supported Raja Labu and both of them remonstrated. The Penghulu of Sri Menanti then withdrew support for Raja Radin. Raja Labu took the opportunity to seize two *lela* and other articles, altogether valued at about \$200, from Raja Radin under the pretext that they were regalia. Raja Radin was compelled to appeal to Raja Ali who willingly gave his support. Choosing a time when Raja Labu was absent, Raja Ali and Raja Radin entered Sri Menanti and recovered the property. Although the opposition had reached such a pitch that, by 1830, Raja Labu was obliged to leave Sri Menanti, he still enjoyed the support of the Penghulu of Sungai Ujong, Johol and Sri Menanti who had not recognised the appointment of Raja Ali as Yamtuan Muda. At one stage, Raja Ali was besieged at Bandar (Rembau) and peace was restored for a time by negotiation. By 1832, however, Raja Labu found that he had but one ardent supporter left — Pakat, Penghulu of Hilir Rembau who had broken away from Raja Ali — and as the result of a concerted attack by Raja Ali, Syed Sha'aban and Raja Radin, Raja Labu was forced to return to Minangkabau in Sumatra.<sup>38</sup> Thus the Pagar Ruyong regime came to an end in Negri Sembilan.

But it failed to solve the problems of the local *anak raja*. Raja Ali and Raja Radin now vied for the title of Yamtuan Besar. According to Braddell:

On Raja Labu's retirement in 1832, the field was left open to Rajah Alli, who, in September of that year, was declared by the Punghulu [Renneh] and Sukus of Lower Rumbowe, to be Eam Tuan Besar; and, at the same time, his son-in-law, Syed Sabban, was appointed Eam Tuan Muda.<sup>39</sup>

But with such limited support, his position was insecure especially since his son-in-law was unpopular. Tension continued to mount<sup>40</sup> and reached a climax in 1836 when Dato' Klana Kawal, Dato' Muda Katas of Linggi, Raja

37 Samuel Garling, *op. cit.*, p 229; Begbie, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

38 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c.", Begbie, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

39 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."

40 The growth of trade and tin mining was also a contributory cause — this will be discussed subsequently.

Radin and Penghulu Renneh, by now resentful of the ways of Syed Sha'aban, formed a formidable alliance to force Raja Ali and Syed Sha'aban out of Rembau. They eventually took refuge in Keru and Tampin respectively.<sup>41</sup>

Raja Ali never recovered his influence and died in Keru in 1856 but Syed Sha'aban was still able to find supporters for his cause. At any rate, between 1837 and 1842, he had moved from Tampin to Melaka where he stayed "inoffensively if not contentedly". He fell back on the British for financial assistance by virtue of the fact that he had rendered important services during the Naning War. He was accordingly given a pension, a house and a piece of land. But by 1842, he had been involved in intrigues with Raja Kerjan, Raja Labu's retainer,<sup>42</sup> and the mother of Raja Ja'afar<sup>43</sup> against a certain Unku Busu of Gemencheh. Towards the end of 1842, in the name of Raja Ja'afar, Syed Sha'aban and Raja Kerjan drove Unku Busu from Gemencheh. Raja Ja'afar, described as "a fine open-hearted youth", allowed himself to be used because he was persuaded by Syed Sha'aban that he had a right to exact a portion of the gold mines at Gemencheh. It was through British assistance that Unku Busu recaptured Gemencheh. In the operation, Raja Kerjan was killed.<sup>44</sup>

As soon as the Gemencheh affair had been settled, Syed Sha'abad got himself involved in Rembau politics once more. In 1843, the Penghulu of Rembau died and Syed Sha'aban at once manoeuvred to be elected to the title. In this he was unsuccessful but he was able to gain the influence of the new Penghulu who was prepared to allow him to reclaim his former title of Yang di-Pertuan Muda of Rembau. But British interference frustrated his plan.<sup>45</sup> For the next twelve years, Syed Sha'aban remained quiet but his interest in Negeri Sembilan did not fade.

In Jelebu, too, political dispute erupted after the death of Raja Muda, the second Yamtuan Muda.<sup>46</sup> His son Tengku Etet and his grandson, Tengku Abdullah, fought for the vacant title. Tengku Abdullah was defeated and took refuge in Sungai Ujong staying at Paroi. Tengku Etet's success was due largely to the support of Dato' Menteri, who was the Dato' Lembaga of Waris Menteri.<sup>47</sup> Tengku Etet established his capital at Kenaboi. Although it is certain that the title of Yamtuan Muda was given to him, it is doubtful whether he went through the official ceremony of *pertabalan* (installation). Tengku Etet reigned for only three or four years.<sup>48</sup> On his death, his nephew, Tengku Abdullah was accepted as his successor. But his position

41 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."; Abdullah Sultan, 'Relations between Malacca and the Malay States 1832-1867' (B.A. Hons. Dissertation, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1957) pp. 11.

42 After Raja Labu's defeat, Raja Kerjan fled to Pahang from where he moved to Johor.

43 He was a younger son of Sultan Hussain of Johor.

44 SSR, R11, Governor to Bengal, 30 Aug. 1844.

45 SSR, *ibid.*, R15, Governor to Bengal, 14 Sept. 1847.

46 In *Negeri Sembilan dan Sejarah-nya*, his name is given as Tengku Jaya. It is said that he died at the house of Dato' Klana at Pantai while watching cock-fighting and his body was brought back to Pita Serambai, Jelebu, to be buried by To' Amar Montek. (p. 110).

47 The Penghulu of Jelebu was not elected from the Waris Menteri. There were three Waris recognised as Waris Berundang, namely, Waris Ulu Jelebu, Waris Sarin and Waris Kemin. (*Ibid.*, p. 94).

48 No reliable date is available for a more precise account of the history of Jelebu during this period. But considering that Tengku Etet was the contemporary of Raja Ali and Syed Sha'aban (see genealogical chart of Raja Adil above) — Raja Ali died in 1856 and Syed Sha'aban in 1871 — he must have succeeded Raja Muda or Tengku Jaya late in life, possibly in the late 1860s or early 1870s.

was never comfortable. In 1880, he was obliged to leave Jelebu after incurring the displeasure of the Penghulu and *waris*. He resided at Sri Menanti for a while but was later allowed to stay at Kelawang near Jelebu. He died on 13 Dec. 1884<sup>49</sup> and thereafter, no Yamtuan Muda was appointed in Jelebu.

A survey has been made of political developments in Negri Sembilan at the elite level. It has been shown that the attempt by the Minangkabau *negeri* to seek a closer identity and a greater sense of unity met with no great success. The system of inviting a foreign prince to act as judge and arbiter worked satisfactorily so long as the interests of local parties were not directly involved. But with the emergence of local family interests, resulting from marriages between members of royalty and female members of local *suku*, competition became the rule rather than the exception. The *adat perpateh* might have a strengthening effect on kinship ties at the lower level — from the *suku* downwards, but at the higher level, the sanction of *adat* was certainly less forceful primarily because members of the upper social strata, being regarded as the guardians and interpreters of *adat* could, at the same time, more easily evade its control. Despite the original arrangement which allowed the *anak raja* but limited authority, in practice, the *anak raja* soon wielded considerable influence, if not actual power because even in the *adat perpateh* society, horizontal division was not less pronounced. This is best illustrated by the fact that the *waris* and *suku* would hesitate to oppose directly a *raja* without the leadership of someone of equal status. The situation was, in fact, little different from that which obtained in the other peninsular states.

It is pertinent to point out too that both Raja Ali and Syed Sha'aban succeeded in achieving the highest status in Negri Sembilan despite having non-Minangkabau fathers. It is true that they did not obtain unanimous support but this may be put to their ambitious, aggressive personality which tended to alienate some of the Penghulu, *waris* and *suku*. In later years, Syed Hamid, son of Syed Sha'aban, enjoyed the support of Dato' Muar, Dato' Baginda Mas (Johol), and the Penghulu of Gunong Pasir, Terachi and Jempul including many of the chieftains of Rembau — the same which was accorded to Tengku Antah.<sup>50</sup>

In general, what is particularly evident from the preceding narrative is that the presence of the *anak raja* was more a disintegrative rather than a cohesive factor in Negri Sembilan politics.<sup>51</sup>

The survey has so far concentrated largely on the eventful 1820s and 1830s. Subsequent to the expulsion of Raja Ali and Syed Sha'aban, Raja Radin had no difficulty in obtaining recognition as the Yamtuan Besar and Negri Sembilan today chooses to forget the four years when Raja Ali used the same title. Though, for more than two decades thereafter, Raja Radin's position remained unchallenged, the political situation in Negri Sembilan remained turbulent for, beginning from the 1830s, there was a rapid increase in

49 O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

50 Hervey to Col. Sec., *op. cit.*, App. E — statement of Syed Hamid.

51 More illustrations will be given again later.

economic activities and this phenomenon had a significant impact on political relationships within and among the *negeri*.

### Growth of Mining and Trading Activities

At the beginning of the 19th century, Sungai Ujong was one of the leading tin-producing territories in the Malay Peninsula. John Anderson was obviously referring to it when he spoke of the village located about twenty miles up the Sungai Linggi where, according to him,

There are many Chinese..., and a large quantity of Tin annually obtained, which is all sent to Malacca, some of the Residents of that place being concerned in the Mines, and making large advances<sup>52</sup>

In 1828, there were about 600 Chinese miners in Sungai Ujong divided into ten *kongsi*. But, in consequence of their misconduct towards a woman at Terachi, Sino-Malay clashes followed and the Chinese miners were expelled.<sup>53</sup> But they were soon back. In the early 1830s, the mines in Sungai Ujong were located at "Sala, Sa Maraboh, Battu Lobong, Kayu and Timiong",<sup>54</sup>

Apart from tin, gold was also mined in Gemencheh. The mining labourers comprised Malays and Chinese. According to Samuel Garling:

For each person working at the Gominche gold mines, the Punghulu receives a mayam (or 3-320th of a catty of gold). That chief visits the mines once or twice a year, and on such occasions he receives a small present from each. The Punghulu of Johol, who is the superior of the local chief, does not derive any settled revenue from the mines. He sends annually 2 or 3 buffaloes to the mines as a present and they return to him a tabil of gold for each.<sup>55</sup>

Sungai Linggi was then the principal and only economical route of communication between the interior and Melaka and since three of the important districts, namely, Sungai Ujong, Linggi and Rembau were located along the Sungai Linggi, competition among them for the revenue from the tin trade was frequent and fierce. One of the principal reasons which stirred Klana Kawal and Dato' Muda Katas against Syed Sha'aban was that the last-mentioned attempted to levy a duty on the tin going from Sungai Ujong to Melaka upon his assumption of the title of Yamtuan Muda in 1832. As the Melaka traders were also affected by Syed Sha'aban's action, they instigated Dato' Katas to oppose Syed Sha'aban who had been levying a duty on the tin traffic at Permatang Pasir but neglected to share it with Dato' Katas.<sup>56</sup>

Competition increased in intensity after about 1840 because of a change in the system of financial arrangements relating to the mining enterprise

52 *Political and Commercial Considerations Relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Prince of Wales Island, 1824*, p. 203.

53 Samuel Garling, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

54 Newbold, "Account of Sungai Ujong, one of the States in the Interior of Malacca" in J.H. Moor, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

55 *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

56 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report."

in Sungai Ujong. Until then, it was more usual for the Malay territorial rulers to receive cash, opium, and rice from the Melaka merchants which they, in turn, advanced to the miners at high prices. The miners, on the other hand, were obliged to sell their tin to the rulers at an agreed price and from the rulers the Melaka merchants received the tin as payment for the advances. Therefore, the onus of paying interests and exorbitant prices for cash advances and supplies respectively fell on the miners. In addition, they suffered the disadvantage of having to sell their tin at a price fixed by the purchasers. But when the Malay rulers themselves were directly involved in the tin trade, there was much less revenue to be obtained from the Sungai Linggi. After the change had taken place, increasingly more Melaka merchants began to make advances directly to the miners. No longer needed as middlemen, the Malay rulers became more dependent on the duties levied on tin for their income. And as the tin trade increased in volume, the influential headmen along Sungai Linggi availed themselves of every opportunity to acquire a share of the revenue.

For the Melaka merchants, while the change offered better opportunities to expand their mining interests, there was also the problem of security and competition. To secure maximum advantage for themselves, they felt it necessary to try to acquire personal influence over the Malay rulers. But their action adversely affected political relationship among the Malay rulers. One incident which occurred in 1844 clearly illustrates the situation under discussion.

Dato' Katas, for many years the principal trader in tin to Melaka had been sending all the produce of his mines to Messrs. Neubronner & Co., in Melaka. In February 1844, a new firm under the name of Westerhout & Co. entered into competition. It was chiefly composed of Chinese merchants with whom was associated J.E. Westerhout, son of J.B. Westerhout, the Assistant Resident of Melaka. The Assistant Resident used his influence with Dato' Katas to assist his son's firm. But the advantage was soon lost when Thomas Lewis, brother-in-law of the Neubronners, was appointed Acting Resident Councillor of Melaka. When the Neubronners recovered their initial advantage the Chinese were greatly frustrated. Hence, in August 1844, about 37 of them petitioned the Governor. All parties were strongly admonished by the Government and J.B. Westerhout had to withdraw his son from the firm. At this stage, the Chinese changed tactics. Chee Yam Chuan, who had influence in Sungai Ujong and Linggi exploited the already strained relationship between Klana Kawal and Dato' Katas. The Neubronners continued to support Dato' Katas. The intrigues reached such a pitch that the two chieftains were on the brink of war. Arms were supplied to both parties and it was only through British intervention that the conflict did not precipitate into open war.<sup>57</sup>

But this was only the beginning of a period of prolonged disturbances for at this time several persons were beginning to station themselves along the

<sup>57</sup> SSR, U10, Gov. to Asst. Resident, Prince of Wales Island, 6 June 1884; R11, Gov. to Bengal, 28 Aug. 1844; U10 Gov. to Acting Resident Councillor, Melaka, 16 Aug. 1844; 65, Gov. to Dato' Katas, 20 Aug. 1844; U11, Gov. to Resident Councillor, Melaka, 4 Aug. 1845; G5, Gov. to Dato' Katas, 4 Aug. 1845.



Sungai Linggi levying dues on the passing traffic. Among the first to do so was a certain Lebai Kulop, the brother-in-law of Haji Mohammad Salleh, one of the Waris Bandar at Sungai Ujong. He had several grievances which the Dato' Klana failed to redress and so he established himself at Pengkalan Kempas where he levied duties on the Sungai Ujong trade in order to repay himself tenfold for losses which he had suffered. Until his death in 1859, he defied all attempts by Klana Sending (who succeeded Klana Kawal in 1849) to crush him.<sup>58</sup> His activities caused alarm among the Melaka merchants. In 1853, an attempt was made to establish an arrangement satisfactory to all parties interested in the tin trade:

It was proposed to fix a uniform rate of ten per cent duty on tin alone, everything else, coming up and going down, to be free of duty, and to farm out the right of collection to a Malacca Chinese.<sup>59</sup>

But Lebai Kulop refused to be a party to the proposed arrangement. Owing to his known bold character and the backing he enjoyed from Rembau, it was impossible to induce any solvent Melaka Chinese to come forward to purchase the farm.<sup>60</sup>

In early 1855, apart from Lebai Kulop, there were three other persons established along Sungai Linggi — Dato' Kanda, son of Dato' Bandar Haji Mohammed Salleh (who died in 1845 or 1846), Haji Mohammed Salleh (not the Dato' Bandar), the brother-in-law of Lebai Kulop, and Syed Abdul Rahman, nephew of Syed Sha'aban. Klana Sending, unable to pit his strength against these three persons, all of whom were supported by Rembau, and troubled by the powerful Dato' Bandar (Kulop Tunggal)<sup>61</sup> continually turned to the British for assistance. The activities of these persons adversely affected the interests of Melaka merchants. The magnitude of the tin trade may be gauged from a petition which the merchants sent to the Straits Government. It was said that the stockades at Sungai Linggi

... have impeded the navigation of the river so effectually that during the last eight months [in 1855] not a slab of tin has dropped down that River to this market, and there is now upwards of 2,100 piculs of the metal of the value of \$50,000 for which advances of cash and merchandise have been made by us, detained at the Lingey village.

It was also added, significantly, that "This trade has existed from time immemorial and it is the principal one by which thousands of British subjects at Malacca are engaged in".<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile, Klana Sending had made a determined effort in August 1855

58 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Kulop Tunggal was the brother of Dato' Bandar Haji Mohamed Salleh whom he succeeded in 1845 or 1846. He was considered able and was certainly very wealthy. While he had money invested in about twenty mines, Klana Sending's interests were confined to only three or four. His relationship with Melaka merchants was particularly good and they looked to him more confidently for protection. Conflict between him and the Klana was carried right into the 1870's when the British intervened to establish Klana Syed Abdul Rahman as the sole authority in Sungai Ujong. (Ibid.).

62 SSR, W21, Melaka Petition to Gov. Blundell, 2 Oct. 1855.



to remove the toll collectors. Taking advantage of Lebai Kulop's absence from Simpang, he engaged an English schooner, with a European crew and attacked the stockade there. He followed up by forcing Dato' Kanda at Pengkalan Kempas to surrender but his victory was in no way conclusive for by 1856, levies were reimposed along Sungai Linggi.<sup>63</sup>

The rapid rise of influence of Dato' Bandar Kulop Tunggal soon brought a change to the political situation. In 1860, a Melaka petition to the Straits Government said that:

Till lately, any stoppage or interruption of the trade has very seldom taken place, owing to the influence of the Dato Bandar or head of the trade at Sungie Oojong, who, had invariably maintained order amongst the Chinese miners.... and kept the communication down the river to Quallah Linggi open, and prevented any black mail, or other than the regular and customary dues being exacted on the amount of the Tin exported.

Your petitioners have therefore traded largely, in perfect confidence, with the Mining Districts beyond the British frontier....<sup>64</sup>

The occasion of the petition was the outbreak of Sino-Malay hostility in Sungai Ujong in 1860. The Dato' Bandar was, at that time, through intrigues, arrested in Melaka for debt and detained there for several months "on a civil process in a suit pending in the Court of Judicature".<sup>65</sup> This was largely an attempt by Klana Sending to destroy him. But in the absence of the Dato' Bandar, Klana Sending bungled his administration of the Chinese. In the words of the petitioners:

... since the arrest of the Dattoo Bandar, now about six months ago.... considerable loss and damage to our trade has taken place by the river being closed and the communication stopped by the Datto Klana and other Chiefs of Sungie Dojong, who, taking advantage of the absence of the Dattoo Bandar, began to levy very high and oppressive imposts on all that went up and down the river, and ended by stopping the communication altogether, thereby raising immensely the price of Tin at this Settlement and also the price of Rice and other goods at the Mining districts, where, now, we understand, Rice is almost at a famine price.<sup>66</sup>

Within the few years that the Dato' Bandar held away in Sungai Ujong and along Sungai Linggi, trade had indeed flourished:

The imports of Tin into the Settlement from Sungei Oojong) average 20,000 ... piculs per Annum, all of which are exported to Singapore at an average value of 600,000 .... Spanish Dollars, a full Fifth of which Sum... is now out in the Mining Districts having been advanced for the above purpose.<sup>67</sup>

Again, through British intervention, the miners soon returned to Sungai Ujong which was also greatly desired by Klana Sending. But realising his

63 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."

64 Petition of Melaka traders to Gov. Cavenagh, Aug. 1860 cited in T. Chelliah, War in Negri Sembilan (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1955), Appendix B (2).

65 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."

66 Petition of Melaka traders, Aug. 1860, op. cit.

67 Ibid.

own lack of power, he offered to enter into a commercial treaty with the British by which the British were to undertake to guard the river on condition of being allowed to levy a tax of 10 per cent on all tin brought down from the mines. The proposal, however, did not materialize.<sup>68</sup>

Klana Sending's apprehension that he might face further opposition proved well founded for, in 1865, when he went to Linggi to try to arrange for a fixed duty on the river, a fresh eruption of the traditional Sungai Ujong-Rembau conflict followed. The Penghulu of Rembau opposed the Dato' Klana because he had not been consulted. Klana Sending, on the other hand, replied that the tax to be levied was confined to tin, the produce of Sungai Ujong and therefore Rembau had no right to interfere. But he was prepared to give the Penghulu of Rembau a share of the tax. The latter, however, would have none of this patronising attitude. Since, it had traditionally been understood that "Rumbowe is the mother and Sungie Ujong the father of Lingie",<sup>69</sup> Rembau had an obvious right to a portion of the duty. There was, however, no unity among the Rembau leaders so that Klana Sending was able to win the support of the *lembaga* of Rembau to counteract the aggressive claims of the Penghulu.<sup>70</sup>

Sungai Ujong and Sungai Linggi were not the only areas where the growth of economic activities led to strained political relationships. It was no accident that, at this juncture, the one other place where the growth of economic activities resulted in violence was Johol where gold and tin mines were located. In the early 1860s, there was a change of Penghulu in Johol — the ruling Penghulu relinquished his office in favour of another. As it happened at that time, the new Penghulu took the first opportunity to visit Melaka, in the company of Klana Sending, to settle with the Melaka government the question of the future government of his country. The new Penghulu was particularly anxious to develop his territory as a result of which he entered into an agreement with two Melaka merchants, See Boon Tiong and Towkay Cham "in the way of working Tin Mines". As the mining was to be carried out in the territory of Gemencheh, Penghulu Ja'afar of Gemencheh also came down to Melaka for the purpose of signing the agreement. See Boon Tiong and Towkay Cham followed up by building bungalows and spending large sums of money for the development of Gemencheh. But the Penghulu of Gemencheh subsequently felt aggrieved, for reasons not revealed,<sup>71</sup> and proceeded to ruin "that property newly erected by setting

68 SSR, R38, Gov. to Bengal, 6 Oct. 1860 & al Nov., 1860.

69 This was based on the fact that Linggi, a dependency of Sungai Ujong, was opened up by settlers from Rembau with the blessing of both the Dato' Klana and Penghulu Rembau. It should be noted that the 'Linggi' mentioned here is a different settlement from the 'Linggi' frequently referred to in accounts of the Bugis presence in the Malay Peninsula in the 18th century. The latter settlement subsequently came to be known as Kuala Linggi.

71 There is a reference to a civil war between Johol and Gemencheh in *Negri Sembilan and Sejarah-nya* (pp. 161-162) but whether it is the same incident is not known. No date is given in this work except that it took place during the time when Saeto was Penghulu of Johol, 1840-1901 (*Ibid.*, p. 134). It is related that the cause of the war was connected with the mining enterprise in Gemencheh — at that time, the gold mines produced about 20 katties and the tin mines 300 piculs annually. Saeto wanted full control of the revenue but the people of Gemencheh refused and war broke out. Johol was led by Dato' Muda Pileh and Gemencheh, a certain Raja Hussin. Fighting took place at Bukit Talang (now Kampong Gemencheh) and many lives were lost on both sides. But Johol was victorious. Gemencheh, however, soon made preparations to avenge their defeat. Once more war broke out. The

fire to the Bungalow and plundering all the property therein contained". See Boon Tiong and Towkay Cham at once complained to the Penghulu of Johol (probably Saeto) who immediately set out to investigate. As the night was dark, he was surprised by Penghulu Ja'afar "who fired at us and killed our men". A war ensued which lasted for three days. The Penghulu Tua and Penghulu Muda, Johol, both sons-in-law of Penghulu Ja'afar, combined against their father-in-law, who, by November 1865, was forced to surrender Gemencheh to them. Still anxious to make Gemencheh "as productive and populated as possible" they offered to make over the territory to the British who, however, did not respond.<sup>72</sup> What happened to the investments of See Boon Tiong and Towkay Cham is not known.

In the 1860s, the political situation in the mining areas in Negri Sembilan was as turbulent as that in the mining territories of Perak and Selangor. As the narrative has shown, political relationship was strained not only within the *negeri* but also among those territories located along the Sungai Linggi, in particular, Sungai Ujong and Linggi, on the one side, and Rembau on the other. The split between these Minangkabau territories was, in fact, more serious than has been related here for in the 1860s, some of the territorial rulers of Selangor, anxious to secure a footing along Sungai Linggi participated in the Sungai Ujong-Rembau power struggle by assisting, though unsuccessfully, Rembau to subdue Sungai Ujong which was the principal barrier to Selangor's control of the western bank of Sungai Linggi.<sup>73</sup> The growth of mining and trading activities, therefore, added to the already strong centrifugal forces in Negri Sembilan politics<sup>74</sup> for it brought about an irreconcilable division between the two territories — Sungai Ujong and Rembau — which had played a leading role in the search for political unity.

### Dismemberment of Negri Sembilan

In dealing with the formation of Negri Sembilan, it has been shown that only three *negeri* played a clearly active part in trying to bring about a unity of the Minangkabau territories. These were Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Johol. But these three which unhesitatingly ceased their allegiance to Johor controlled then a number of dependencies some of which eventually came into existence as separate *negeri*. Samuel Garling, in the late 1820s, gave a useful account of the territorial composition of Negri Sembilan. Apart from the three major *negeri*, more commonly known as *luak*, he referred also to the territories of Tampin and Keru which were subordinate to Rembau but each already had a Penghulu and four *lembaga* of its own. Terachi then was located partly in Sri Menanti and partly in Sungai Ujong:

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Gemencheh men set forth from a place until now still known as Asahan with swords, spears and other weapons passing through a place called Anak Air Tangis. It was at this place that the wives, parents and women gave blessing to their husbands, children and lovers. Because there was much crying, the place was named Anak Air Tangis. The source does not tell us what happened at the second battle. From the names of the personalities involved (except Dato' Saeto), it does not appear that this was the same affair reported to the Straits authority or, if it was, it has been highly dramatised.

72 SSR, F7, Puhghooloo Johol to Gov., 12 April 1865, 27 Nov. 1865, Datu Puhghooloo Tua and Datu Puhghooloo Muda, Johol, to Gov. 20 Sept. 1866.

73 For more details of Selangor's involvement in Negri Sembilan politics see, Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."

74 See also Gullick, *Indigenous Political Systems*, op. cit., p. 74.

There are therefore two bands of *empat sookooos*... one presiding in each division. The *Punghulu* resides on the Sri Menantie side.<sup>75</sup>

But Sri Menanti, in turn, was located partly in Ulu Muar and partly in Johol. But, at that time, Sri Menanti was considered a dependency of Johol together with Pondong Pasir (subsequently known as Gunong Pasir), Jempul and Gemenchah. Although Garling made no mention of Ulu Muar, it has been speculated earlier on, that this territory was originally a part of the Minangkabau federation.

Newbold writing in the 1830s also emphasised the divisiveness of these Minangkabau *negeri*. Of Rembau, he wrote:

[It] was formerly under the immediate sway of its *Panghulu* and *Ampat Suku*; but of latter days, the *Yang de pertuan Muda* claims equal, if not superior power to the *Panghulu*.

As regards Rembau's council of *suku*, "it consists now of eight, or the *suku iang delapan*". About some of the other *negeri*, he said:

*Sriminanti* and *Jompole*, were formerly considered dependencies of Johole, but now assert their independence, as also does *Gominchi*. The *Panghulu*, Lessye, of the latter place, died lately, and his brother Mahammad Kari succeeded him. *Pondok Pasir* [Gunong Pasir] a small state under the influence of *Sriminanti*, was also a dependency of Johole, and is ruled by a petty *Panghulu* of its own.

Referring to Jempul again he said that it was "anciently a dependency of *Johole*" but was then (in the 1830s) nominally governed by Raja Alang, a son of the third Minangkabau ruler of Negri Sembilan, Raja Hitam. The *Penghulu* and *empat suku* "exercised almost independent sway".<sup>76</sup>

Hence, the cultural bond which would seem to be able to tie these *negeri* together easily and naturally proved ineffective in the long run and despite the addition of the political bond, historical records show that there was only nominal and limited participation in matters affecting the federation as a whole. The power struggle among the princes and the growth of mining and trading activities were two factors which served to emphasise further the divisive tendencies of these Minangkabau *negeri*.

A broad survey has been made of political developments up to 1860. In early 1861, Raja Radin, who had held the title of Yamtuan Besar since the expulsion of Raja Ali, died. Although he faced no opposition, his rule was primarily effective in only Sri Menanti itself. Hence, the Straits Governor remarked in May 1861:

Although the Rulers of the different States still occasionally meet for discussion of any matter affecting their common interests, for some time past the Confederacy may be said to have ceased to exist and the late *Eang de per tuan* [Raja Radin] who was also the *Punghooloo* of Sre Menante, exercised but little influence over the other Chiefs....<sup>77</sup>

75 Op. cit., p. 222.

76 See "Account of Rumbow", op. cit., p. 63; "Johole and its former Dependencies of Jompole and Gominchi" in J.H. Moor, op. cit., pp. 67-69.

77 SSR, R40, Gov. to Sec. to Govt. of India, 16 May 1861.

The Governor might have overstated the case when he said that the federation had ceased to exist for the practice of appointing a Yamtuan Besar continued after the death of Raja Radin. It is important, nevertheless, to note the various *negeri* mentioned by the Governor as comprising Negri Sembilan. Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Johol were again mentioned as those *negeri* which were firmly committed to the federation; Tampin and Keru were then ruled by Syed Sha'aban; Gemencheh remained a dependency of Johol. Sri Menanti was clearly a separate *negeri*, no longer subordinate to Johol. Jempul's position was still vague for, according to the Governor, in company with Jelebu, Ulu Pahang and Jelai, their allegiance to Johor "seems never to have been formally renounced by their Punghooloos" although Johor itself exercised no control over them. Segamat or Muar, as the Governor put it, was clearly beginning to come under the sway of the Johor government, although it had once belonged to the federation.

It should be noticed that except for Sungai Ujong, Rembau, Johol and Sri Menanti, it has always been difficult to ascertain what particular territories composed Negri Sembilan in the early phase of its history. The subject need not detain us here; suffice it to say that the very difficulty of identifying these *negeri* is ample proof of the intangible nature of the political state.

If the situation was shaky in 1861, the subsequent years were even worse. In 1861, there were three claimants to the title of Yamtuan Besar — Raja Ujong, brother of Raja Radin, Raja Beringan, a Minangkabau prince and last, but not least, the resourceful Syed Sha'aban. Syed Sha'aban enjoyed the support of the Straits Governor who felt that "the influence which he even now exercises over the Chiefs and people would, it is reasonable to suppose, be materially increased and considering how much the prosperity of our Settlements may be advanced by the maintenance of peace throughout the Peninsula" the election of Syed Sha'aban could only be beneficial to the British.<sup>78</sup> But, unfortunately for Syed Sha'aban, the electors were unanimous in their support for Raja Ujong who was, accordingly, installed without difficulty.<sup>79</sup>

Raja Ujong's rule was, however, brief. Upon his death in 1869, succession dispute once more followed. This time the claimants were Tuanku Antah ibni Almarhom Tuanku Radin and Tuanku Ahmad Tunggal ibni Almarhom Tuanku Ujong. This was the most serious of the succession quarrels; unfortunately, little information is available. It is known, however, that the Minangkabau *negeri* themselves failed to resolve the issue and the whole political state was split asunder.<sup>80</sup>

### The British In Sungai Ujong

The dismemberment of Negeri Sembilan notwithstanding, Sungai Ujong, in the early 1870s, continued to be an important mining centre; levies on trade along the Sungai Linggi proved highly lucrative which led to constant struggle, among the local chieftains, for control of the river.

78 SSR, R39, Gov. to Bengal, 7 Sept. 1861.

79 Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report &c."

80 *Sejarah dan Adat Negeri Sembilan*, op. cit.

The situation was aggravated by developments in Selangor. The Linggi river was a back-door into Selangor by way of Labu or the headwaters of the Langat river. By this route Tengku Zia-'u'd-din's<sup>81</sup> enemies could slip into the state. The Tengku had been involved in the Klang War since 1868. Until 1872, he failed to gain the upper hand. It was therefore in his interest to exert control over the Linggi river. This was necessary mainly because he had a deep distrust of the Klana, suspecting him of helping his adversaries. Acting through his ally, the Dato' Perba of Rembau, he erected stockade at Pengkalan Kempas to blockade the river. The immediate effect was to prevent the Sungai Ujong people from getting in their supplies or getting out their tin.

Syed Ahman,<sup>82</sup> acting as the representative of the elderly Dato' Klana Sending,<sup>83</sup> took a prominent and energetic part in trying to enlist British support against the Selangor-Rembau combination. But Tengku Kudin had already secured British assistance. The odds were stacked against Dato' Klana Sending.

However, since this struggle threatened to close the river to free trade, Sir Harry Ord<sup>84</sup> offered to arbitrate in the matter, and managed to arrange a meeting on 29th October 1872 between the Klana, the Penghulu of Rembau and Zia 'u'd-din at Simpang. But the Penghulu of Rembau made a mistake about the appointed time and place;<sup>85</sup> the Dato' Klana appears to have succeeded in satisfying Tengku Kudin that he would assist to prevent supplies being sent up the river to the latter's enemies, and so Tengku Kudin dropped the idea of occupying Simpang.<sup>86</sup>

Soon afterwards, the Dato' Klana and the Penghulu of Rembau both died,<sup>87</sup> and a disputed succession in Rembau once more aggravated the whole situation. The two claimants, Haji Sahil, known as the Dato' Perba, and Haji Mustapha, contended for the office; each claimed to have been properly elected by their own supporters. In Sungai Ujong, Syed Ahman had been chosen as the Dato' Klana.<sup>88</sup> The new Dato' Klana's sympathies were for Haji Mustapha, who, he knew, if successful, would not push his claim to Linggi, which Dato' Perba was prepared to. Tengku Kudin, however, continued to support the Dato' Perba.

Fighting broke out between the Rembau contenders. The aggressive

81 Tengku Zia-'u'd-din, more popularly known as Tengku Kudin, was the brother of the Sultan of Kedah and became involved in Selangor politics after his marriage to the daughter of Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor. The British subsequently compelled the ruler to appoint the Tengku as the 'Wakil Yamtuan' or Viceroy.

82 Ahman is abbreviation for Abdul Rahman. He was the son of Syed Ahmat al Kadri, an Arab from Aceh and according to T. Braddell, a brother of Syed Sha'aban. His mother was a sister of Dato' Klana Bahi (1800-1830). He was the Tengku Laksamana Raja Laut at this time, and only succeeded as Klana in 1872.

83 Dato' Klana Sending (c. 1850-1872) was very old and infirm, and was unable to cope with the complicated affairs at this time.

84 Major-General Sir Harry St. George Ord was the first Governor of the Straits Settlements, 1867-1873.

85 Ord to Kimberley, 6th November, 1872, in co 273/61. Also Ord to Kimberley, 10th July 1873, in C. 1111.

86 T. Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report".

87 Both the Penghulu of Rembau and the Dato' Klana were very old; the former died a few days later after he had tried to meet the Governor. Dato' Klana Sending died on 3rd December, 1872. T. Braddell, in c. 1320, p. 29.

88 T. Braddell, "Second Continuation of Report".

followers of the Dato' Perba began to collect customs duties at a stockade at Bukit Tiga, and trade suffered badly. There was consternation among the Melaka merchants who, between March and August 1873, petitioned three times for British intervention.

Governor Ord endeavoured to coerce the Dato' Klana into supporting the Dato' Perba but failed to achieve a decisive hold on the Malay chieftain. The situation at Rembau, meanwhile, continued to be turbulent. It was not until February 1874 that Ord's successor, Sir Andrew Clarke,<sup>89</sup> who had arrived in late 1873, could turn his attention to Sungai Ujong. He invited the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar of Sungai Ujong, the Dato' Muda Linggi and the two Rembau chieftains, Dato' Perba and Haji Mustapha, to meet him in Singapore. The Rembau leaders and the Dato' Bandar merely sent their representatives.

While the Dato' Klana and the Dato' Muda Linggi were still in Singapore, news arrived that the Rembau men had again interfered with trade on the river at Bukit Tiga. Sir Andrew Clarke regarded this as a breach of faith on the part of the Dato' Perba whom he accused of recommencing disturbances in the middle of negotiations. From then on Sir Andrew Clarke regarded the Dato' Klana with more favour. And the Dato' Klana, to consolidate his position wrote on the 15th April 1874, asking for British intervention in settling the boundaries between Sungai Ujong and Rembau on the one side and Selangor on the other, and also requesting that the embargo on his arms which had arrived two years before, be lifted.

The Dato' Klana was very eager to obtain British support because although he had succeeded to the Klanaship in 1872, his position was rather precarious. He was troubled by a hostile rival (the Dato' Bandar) at home and a hostile neighbour in Rembau. He had no influential friends in Negri Sembilan and felt his inability to cope alone with the existing difficulties. He shrewdly decided to obtain British support and thought it highly politic to turn to them in Singapore. During his years of residence at Melaka,<sup>90</sup> he came to appreciate British power and realized that as a sea-power they controlled the coast, and that his country was extremely vulnerable to a naval blockade.

On his part, Sir Andrew Clarke regarded the Klana's invitation as a godsend opportunity to carry out his instructions. He realized that the Klana could be a useful agent through whom he could act. It appears that at this time Sir Andrew Clarke was not aware of the Dato' Bandar's peculiar position and he calculated that once the Dato' Klana depended on British power for his position, it would be possible to act through him and gain control of the Linggi. So here in Sungai Ujong, British policy was the same as in other Malay States — that of supporting what they regarded was the legitimate authority in the area.

Thus the Dato' Klana and Sir Andrew Clarke reached an agreement on 21st April 1874. By this engagement which was signed three months after

89 Lt.-General Sir Andrew Clarke, after a distinguished career in Australia and New Zealand, was appointed Governor of the Straits Settlements from November 1873. See R.H. Vech, *Life of Lieutenant-General Clarke*, New York, 1905.

90 T. Braddell said, "He was a habitual resident in Malacca, where he possessed considerable landed property." (see "Second Continuation of Report").



the Pangkor Treaty, the Dato' Klana appears to have obtained what he aimed at, viz.,

... the British Government is willing, at the request of the Chief of Sungai Ujong, and for the protection of the interests of its subjects, for the advancement of trade, and for the prosperity of the said territory to extend its guarantee to the Government of the said territory.<sup>91</sup>

This agreement, unlike the Pangkor Treaty, however, contained no provision for the appointment of a Resident "whose advice must be asked and acted upon all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom." Another striking feature is that there was no mention of the Dato' Bandar who, according to Sungai Ujong tradition, must also sign to make the agreement valid. Probably, the Governor was ignorant of the Dato' Bandar's position, thinking that he was one of the minor chiefs. The 80 year old Dato' Bandar soon came under the influence of Tengku Kudin's enemies who sought refuge in Sungai Ujong; they persuaded him to adopt a more aggressive attitude.<sup>92</sup>

The Dato' Klana, in turn, hastened to consolidate his position by asking for a British Resident, naming E.E. Isemonger (the Melaka magistrate) as the most suitable person for the appointment. The Governor hesitated but the Dato' Kelana proceeded to hoist the British flag in the hope that the Dato' Bandar's men would respect it. However, when the Dato' Klana's men "were going to raise the flagstaff" the Dato' Bandar appeared with his followers and stopped it.<sup>93</sup>

The Dato' Klana then called on the Straits Government to honour its promise in the agreement to protect him against attack. But, Sir Andrew Clarke did not want to involve the government in a war. W. Pickering, who had mediated so successfully in Larut, was sent to persuade the Chinese, who supported the Dato' Bandar, to stay clear of the dispute. But he could not stop the two Malay chieftains from coming to blows. It was not until 84 British soldiers of the 10th, 20 Artillerymen and 54 men of the *Charybdis* arrived that the Dato' Bandar was subdued. The Dato' Klana was left the undisputed ruler of Sungai Ujong. Capt. Tatham, R.A., remained with him as the unofficial Resident.<sup>94</sup>

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91 Ibid.

92 Ibid. See also R.O. Winstedt, "History of Negri Sembilan", p. 71.

93 Parkinson, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

94 C.D. Cowan, op. cit., pp. 207-210; C.N. Parkinson, op. cit., pp. 174-184; R.O. Winstedt, "History of Negri Sembilan", pp. 71-72.



**APPENDIX A**  
**THE DATU KLANA OF**  
**SUNGAI UJONG TO THE**  
**LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,**  
**MALACCA**  
**(Translation)**  
**(After compliments)**

September 24, 1874

We inform our friend so that he can convey to the Great Governor our complaint with clearness and with explanation to the Great Governor governing the three countries; it is regarding Raja Mahdi and Raja Mahmood, for whom we personally went in search of at Sepang; we did not get them, for they ran away, but we got their houses at that place and burnt them. Afterwards, when we returned from Sepang, Encik Karie, the Dato' Bandar's son, avowed to us that he did not mix up any further with them; and Dato' Bandar also warranted that he did not keep them any more in his district or in his house; and he gave us a seal as a proof that he will not keep Raja Mahdie and Raja Mahmood anymore. After that we returned to Sepang, and then the Dato' Bandar kept his Raja Mahdie in his house with his friends, about twenty men, and for two nights he kept Raja Mahdie in his house. And he let the Raja run away to Sri Menanti at 5 o'clock in the morning; people saw him when he passed by, and we were not aware of it at all. Our friend may believe us or not; and ten days afterwards we heard of it authentically that the Dato' Bandar had kept Raja Mahmood in his district with Raja Mahmood's friends, Imam Prang Katib, and Panglima Prang Sameh, and Encik Akil, people belonging to Batahara, and they told Encik Karie to come down to Malacca to look for some gunpowder. This we inform our friend.

Furthermore, with regard to what was done at Bukit Ebul to the peons who were conveying a letter to the Dato' Bandar, we have obtained proof that it was by the Dato' Bandar's orders that the attack was made on the peons; this we inform our friend; a man named Panglima Prang Jamhie, from Kampar, made the attack on the peons, and we gave orders for this man's arrest; and the Dato' Bandar told the man to run away, so that he was not caught. With regard to Raja Mahmood, many times we gave orders that he cannot remain in our country, and the Dato' Bandar would not obey our orders; this we inform our friend.

And with regard to our asking our friend for a flag, so as to be under the protection of the Great Governor and our friend, when teh mast was all ready,

we invited all our officers, and we killed a buffalo, and gave our men a feast; and when we were going to raise up the flagstaff, so as to hoist the flag, then came Dato' Bandar and prevented its being raised up, so as to fly our friend's flag. Then we asked our officers to speak to and arrange with the Dato' Bandar, and we saw that all the subjects of the Dato' Bandar wanted to create a disturbance and fight, and would not obey our orders. This we inform our friend, so that it may reach the Governor. Now we are looking for rice to store away for the food of our people, we want about ten coyans, for we want to raise the flag-staff, and to fly our friend's flag. This we inform our friend. If we raise the flag, perhaps the Dato' Bandar will attack our place; this we inform our friend. And further we would like very much to have our country populous, and a good straight road for traders to come and go in, so that the country may be populous, and doing good to all men. And further, we would like very much for an officer from the Great Governor, who can give good advice, so that we may do what is right under that protection. Now Dato' Bandar wants to fight us; and of our men two-thirds wish to follow us, but the remainder will not as yet follow us in the fight. It will hurt our country: this is what we complain, and ask our friend's help, which, together with the help of our men, we can destroy the Dato' Bandar's district, because he it is who sets up the wicked people, and will not obey our orders. When we went to Sepang the Dato' Bandar told the Chinese in our territory to create a disturbance. This is the reason we ask for our friend's help to arrange it all rightly, and we ask our friend to make it right for us, and our friend's name will become good. We have never once broken our Treaty, and have done all what our friend has told us, and we will not disobey it as we want peace, and our friend's help is sufficient and complete to make all right for us and our people. This we inform our friend. All the circumstances we represent to our friend, and there is a letter from us to the Great Governor governing the three Settlements, to the same purport as this is to our friend. We have nothing more to add except our many compliments to our friend.

[Source: C. 1320 of 1875, p. 40.]

**APPENDIX B**  
**HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR**  
**TO DATO' BANDAR**  
**(After the usual compliments)**

**October 3, 1874**

We have now to write to our friend on a serious subject; and in order that there may be no misunderstanding, we write ourselves to make known clearly the state of affairs in the district of Sungai Ujong.

For a long time past disturbances have existed in Sungai Ujong, and with much trouble we have settled these difficulties; and we are informed that now peace reigns and traders and miners are prospering in Sungai Ujong.

The only drawback to this happy state of affairs is said to be the position taken up by the Dato' Bandar, or perhaps by some unauthorised person making use of this name, for the Dato' Bandar is represented to us as an aged and wise man who we think ought to know better than to allow himself to be mixed up in dangerous causes, especially when it is considered that the Dato' Bandar is a Chief of Sungai Ujong under the orders of the Dato' Klana, whose position is, and must be, recognized, and himself protected by the Government as long as his conduct deserves protection.

It is said that the Dato' Bandar opposes the recent arrangements made for the pacification of Sungai Ujong and Rumbowe, and that the Dato' Bandar went up to Sungai Ujong and personally opposed the Dato' Klana when he wished to salute the flag of the great Queen; and that the Dato' Bandar has collected a number of broken Chiefs who have been driven out of their own country; and that the Dato' Bandar is now prepared to oppose the British Government and make war against his own Chief, the Dato' Klana, the friend of the British Government, which is, in truth, making war against the great Queen.

We have now to warn the Dato' Bandar against any such design, and to inform him that the SULTAN of Selangor with his Viceroy, Tunku Dia Oodin, on one side, and the Penghulu of Rembau, who has just been recognized by us as Penghulu, with the Dato Klana of Sungai Ujong, have entered into arrangement with us for protecting Sungai Ujong against any action of the enemies of the Dato' Klana; that on the first occasion of any improper conduct on the part of the Dato' Bandar tending to disturb the peace of Sungai Ujong, steps will be at once taken by the joint forces for protecting the peace of the country and punishing severely those who dare to disturb it.

This is what we make known to our friend; and we hope for our friend's sake soon to have a letter stating that our friends has given up all intention

of opposing Government in its policy, and that the reports brought to us are not true.

(Signed) A. Clarke

[Source: C. 1320 of 1875, p. 42.]

**APPENDIX C**  
**FROM TUNKU ANTAH TO THE**  
**ASSISTANT RESIDENT OF**  
**SUNGAI UJONG**

**(Translation)**  
**(After compliments)**

**Date, Sunday, 1292**

This letter comes from us, the Sultan Antah, who is ruling over the nine countries, who is the great Sultan and possessed of many subjects, who is acute, artful, and wise, beg to deliver this letter to Captain Murray, who is in Samjong and in friendship with Klana.

We inform Captain Murray that we have become Sultan; we received a letter from Captain Murray intimating that he wishes to have friendly relations with us; what shall happen; we are sorry, for the expression is only made with the tongue and not from the heart, inasmuch as he wants to be friends with the tongue but not with the heart, because he had made use of a name which does not belong to us in his letter.

Moreover we do not know the name of the Captain's country and nation and his descendants; further, he is in our country but under our brother Syed Abdulrahman's Government.

According to the letters which came to us from Simjong, we recollect from former arrangements till now, Sumjong belonged to our brother, and now it appears there is another man; this is what makes us sorry, because our brother did not make us friends with the Captain, and our brother's signature (papers) is not with us. If there had been any document from our brother, Syed Abdulrahman, making plain that Captain Murray wanted to make friends with us once, we should like it twice as much, even until death.

Moreover, three messengers from Captain Murray came before, in the month of Ramzam (October) bringing three letters, two for us and one for the Dato' Muar. In these three letters no badness but only goodness was mentioned from the beginning to the end, and outside the letters also was good, as the peons who brought the letters said, and then the expressions were altered. This is why we sent this letter to the Captain to inquire into the causes and crimes of the Tirachee people towards the Captain.

They were beaten according to their crimes, and if there is any cause of offence, even small, you ought to inform us first, then we shall punish them according to their crimes, because the Tirachee men are our subjects and under our orders from former times till now.

Moreover, on Wednesday at 8 a.m. on the 27th Shawal (27th November) Captain accompanied by those people and came to attack Tirachee. Was

Captain with them or not? But we did not believe men's words; the reason we did not believe is because Captain Murray is not a common man and nation, in our opinion, therefore he will not fight and make war against the common men, because the enemy are not equal with him, as for example:- A King fighting with a slave is not killed or wounded, and if Captain has been wounded and his blood falls on the ground, his wounds will be as if a wild animal had bitten him. And if the Tirachee men get wounded by the Captain, he will not get any good name.

This is what we inform Captain Murray, what is passed let it be passed, but do not let it be happened again. We should be a little polite, because a good man is always polite, and a bad man (common) without manners. We are the children of good people and Captain also the same. Politeness should be our garment.

True translation, 6th December, 1875.

[Source — Enclosure in Captain Murray's report to the Colonial Secretary, dated 3rd December 1875, in C. 1505, pp. 218—219.]

**APPENDIX D**  
**TO CHIEF OF SREE MENANTEE**  
**(After compliments)**  
**Sungai Ujong, December 17, 1875.**

I inform Tuanku Antar that I have been sent to Sungai Ujong by the Great Governor of the three Settlements to inquire into the cause of the disturbances in the territory of the Dato' Klana, which have proceeded from the invasion of his territories by a number of bad characters from the neighbouring States who, having combined, have passed through the territory of Dato' Muar and taken up a threatening position in the country of the Dato' Klana, and have attacked and fired upon the troops of Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, who were sent to protect and assist him against them.

I am informed by the officer who, at the request and with the consent of the Dato' Klana, has been appointed by the British Government to reside in Sungai Ujong, that Tuanku Antar has joined and is assisting the bad characters who have conducted themselves in the manner I have just described, and has also written to H.B.M. Resident a very improper, threatening, and unneighbouring letter.

I wish to point out to the Tuanku Antar that the British Government cannot overlook the misconduct of these bad people, and that if he joins them or in any way directly or indirectly consists them, or allows the people of Sree Menantee to do so, he and his people must be prepared to meet the inconvenience and suffering that their foolish misconduct will inevitably entail upon them.

I advise the Tuanku Antar to consider well and to weigh in his mind what I have written, as well as the consequences of neglecting the warning I now give him.

(Signed) A.E.H. Anson.

[Source — Enclosure 8 in Jervois' despatch to Carnarvon, dated 30th December 1875, in C. 1505, pp. 259-260].

## APPENDIX E

Rajas, Datohs, and all here assembled, —

I meet you now to announce my decision upon the subjects which have been brought before me in regard to the troubles in Rembau.

I have been asked to take over Rembau and to place a Resident there, but that is not the wish of the whole people, and it is not my desire to come here to arrange difficulties at the request of many of the people of Rembau and then to take over the government of the country to myself. Later, when the minds of the people of Rembau are calmer, it will be time enough for them to express such wishes, and for the Governor to consider them.

I have been asked to give to Rembau a Raja, but this is not at present the desire of the whole people of Rembau, nor is it necessary for they have the Governor to appeal to if they wish; therefore, I have not thought that it is desirable to give them a Raja now.

But with regard to a Datoh Penghulu, it was necessary that action should be taken, to prevent discord and to secure better Government. It was impossible that Rembau should be allowed to remain without right or justice or observance of good rule, and it is an evil thing to see a country divided in itself, and a trouble to its neighbours, and its ruler gravely accused, and incapable of uniting his people and governing wisely.

For these reasons, I have agreed that Haji Sahil be deposed; nor should Haji Mustapha, his rival, succeed him, for trouble will ensue, and the people will be divided in either case.

But I willingly accept Serun bin Saidin, who has been elected by the free votes of the proper electors — the four Orang Besar, the eight Datohs Sukus, and the twelve Sukus of Rembau.

I warn him to respect the good customs of Rembau, and to consult his proper advisers and Datohs, and to do justice, and to remember that the Headman of Rembau are now united and have shaken hands. He is not to favour one party above another, but to show equal justice and friendship to all, and if he has difficulties he will ask advice from the Governor, and thus he will be helped and supported, and establish peace and prosperity in his country.

And I now thank the Rajas and Chiefs, who from Perak, Selangor, Sungai Ujong, Sri Menanti, and elsewhere have come to meet me, — and who will witness the arrangement that we now make in testimony of the desire of Malay States to help one another and repress evil under the shield of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress."

Weld's address to Rembau chiefs on 31st March, 1883.

[Source — Weld to Derby, dated 7th April 1883 in CO 273/120(1). The same is also given in Lady Alice Lovat, *The Life of Sir Frederick Weld, A Pioneer of Empire*, (London, 1924), pp. 361—362].



# APPENDIX F

## THE AGREEMENT OF 31ST MARCH 1883

1. Whereas difficulties have arisen in Rembau, and the people of Rembau have repeatedly complained to the Government of the Straits Settlements that their old customs were not being followed, that injustices were done, crimes committed without due punishment of the guilty, and generally that they were not satisfied with present arrangements — and all the Chiefs concerned having now assembled at Malacca on the date, and it having been made evident that the Penghulu of Rembau, Haji Sahil, disregards the established customs and laws of Rembau, and has committed many unjustifiable acts, and that many of his Headmen and Chiefs are determined no longer to follow his rule — they do now, with the consent of the Government, depose Haji Sahil, and he is no longer the Penghulu of Rembau.

2. The elective Chiefs and people of Rembau do now unanimously select Serun Bin Saidin to be the Penghulu of Rembau, and His Excellency the Governor, on behalf of the British Government, hereby acknowledge Serun bin Saidin to be the Penghulu of Rembau.

3. In all cases of difficulty of difference, the Signatories to this engagement agree to refer to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and to abide by his decision.

4. It is hereby agreed by all whose seals or signatures are affixed to this document, that they will abide by the terms of this engagement, and will mutually assist in maintaining its provisions and in punishing any one who contravenes any of the aforesaid articles.

I approve.

(Signed) Fred. A. Weld,  
Governor and Commander-in-Chief, S.S.

(Signed) D.F.A. Hervey,  
Resident Councillor of Malacca.

### Signatures or marks of the Datohs of Rembau

1. The Datoh Penghulu elect,  
Datoh Penghulu Sedia Raja,  
Serun Bin Syed.
2. The Datoh Gunpa Maharaja  
Amin.

### Signatures or marks of Rajas and others

1. The Yam Tuan of Sri  
Menanti, Tunku Antah.
2. Chief Justice of Perak, Dris.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 3. The Datoh Merbangsa, Salleh           | 3. Son of Sultan of Selangor, Kahar.    |
| 4. The Datoh Sangsura Pahlawan, Jait.    | 4. Son of late Sultan of Selangor.      |
| 5. The Datoh Bangsa Balang, Abdul Karim. | 5. Datoh Klana of Sungai Ujong, Dosoh.  |
| 6. The Datoh Sri Maharaja, Leman.        | 6. Datoh Bandar of Sungai Ujong, Ahmed. |
| 7. The Datoh Sinda Maharaja, Dollah.     | 7. Datoh Muda of Linggi.                |
| 8. The Datoh Andika, Shariff.            | 8. Syed Hamid Raja of Tampin will sign. |
| 9. The Datoh Mandalika, Baker (1).       |   |
| 10. The Datoh Mandalika, Sael (2).       |   |

The Sultan of Selangor and the Regent of Perak will confirm the note of their plenipotentiaries.

[Source — Weld to Derby, dated 7th April 1883 in CO 273/120(1). The same is also given in Lady Alice Lovat, *The Life of Sir Frederick Weld, A Pioneer of Empire*, (London, 1924), pp. 362-363. This version, presumably the earlier one, is different in wording from the text given in W.G. Maxwell and W.S. Gibson, *Treaties and Engagements affecting the Malay States and Borneo*, (London, 1824), pp. 50—51.]

# APPENDIX G

## THE DATO' OF JOHOL TO THE RESIDENT COUNCILLOR OF MALACCA

21st March 1884

On the above date we Dato' Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan have made this agreement honestly and willingly entrusting the Government of our country of Johol and all its provinces Gemencheh Pungger, Ayer Kuning and Batang Melaka to the Hon'ble Resident Councillor Governor of the British Settlements of Malacca to carry out decisions of Government with reference to arranging the affairs of our country in the best way according to his judgment to bring about peace and prosperity in our country and to make roads and police stations, etc. as an English Settlement and he also shall prepare and arrange means for exacting our revenue.

Now to any single matter which seems good to him we will give no opposition but absolutely promise to agree and to obey exactly. Moreover with respect to the above agreement it shall not be changed till the time of our posterity but shall remain as it is continually.

It is as a proof and a token of publicly ... of the above we offer our name at the end of this sheet.

Chop of Dato' of Johol.

(Signed) D.F.A. Hervey,  
Resident Councillor,  
Malacca.

[Source — Enclosure in Smith to Derby dated 1st April 1884 in CO. 273/127(1).]

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## Abbreviations:

CO 273	Public Record Office. Colonial Office Records. 1872—1898.
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies.
JIA	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia.
JHSUM	Journal, Historical Society, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.
JMBRAS	Journal, Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSBRAS	Journal, Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSEAH	Journal of South East Asian History.
PMS	Papers on Malay Subjects, ed. by R.J. Wilkinson, Kuala Lumpur, 1907-1911.

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