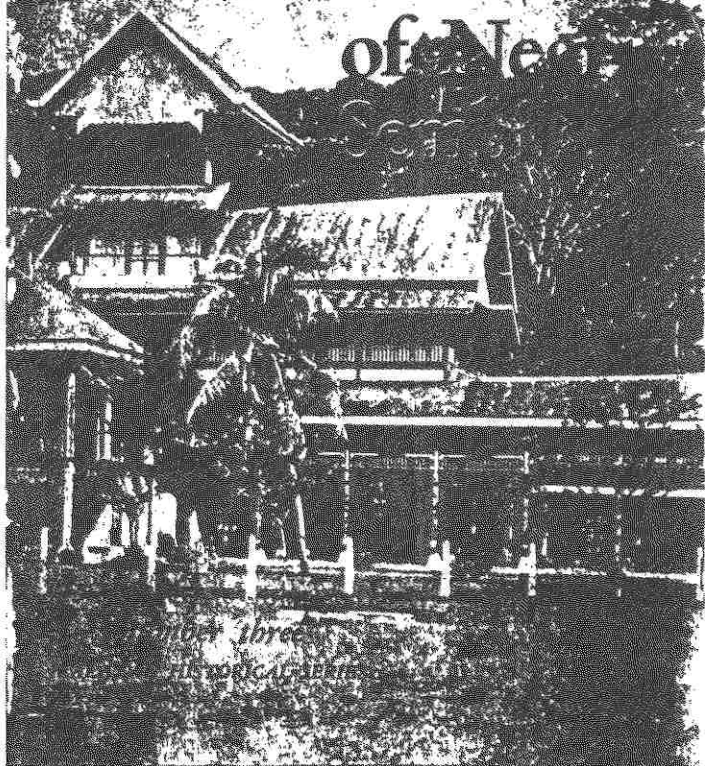


MUBIN SHEPPARD

A short history of Nepal

Series 3



Number three
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MALAYAN HISTORICAL SERIES

Editor: Leon Comber

A SHORT HISTORY OF
NEGRI SEMBILAN



Yam Tuan Muhammad
the architect of modern Negri Sembilan

MUBIN SHEPPARD

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PREFACE

AN amateur historian who embarks on the writing of a short history of Negri Sembilan is confronted with certain difficulties.

Firstly, although the history of some Malay States is partly recorded in well-known Malay manuscripts such as *Misa Melayu* for Perak, *Tubfat-al-Nafis* for Johore and Trengganu, and the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* for Kedah, there is no such background material relating to Negri Sembilan.

Secondly, some of the most valuable English sources, which were printed long ago in *Papers on Malay Subjects*, are long out of print and are almost unobtainable.

Thirdly, this is not the history of a united territory ruled by members of a single dynasty but, in addition to the varied fortunes of the Yang di-Pertuan Besar, the historian must follow the activities of four powerful Ruling Chiefs and many lesser Customary Officers in a territory which, though it has less than the nine divisions which its name implies, was nevertheless a Confederation.

And fourthly he is subject to the pressure of present-day official duties which were, in my case, those of the head of two separate institutions—the Museum Department and the Public Record Office.

As a result, work on this short history has extended over a period of more than three years.

Winstedt's "History of Negri Sembilan" (*Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xii, pt. 3) which ends in 1887, and Wilkinson's "Notes on the Negri Sembilan" and "Sri Menanti" (*Papers on Malay Subjects* 1911 and 1914) have provided much of the material for the first four chapters and I gratefully acknowledge these invaluable sources. I am also indebted to Martin Lister's *The Negri Sembilan and Malay Law in Negri Sembilan* (1889), A. Caldecott's "Jelebu", Nathan and Winstedt's "Johol" (*Papers on Malay Subjects*, 1912 and 1920), and J. M. Gullick's "Sungei Ujong" and his "War with Yam Tuan Antah" (*JMBRAS* vol. xxii, pt. 2 and vol. xxvii, pt. 1).

Prior to his death in 1961, the late Tengku Besar Burhanuddin ibni Yam Tuan Antah of Sri Menanti supplied many historical details about Sri Menanti from his book of personal notes which he had maintained for fifty years. Y.T.M. Dato Haji Ipap, Undang Rembau, kindly provided the list of Undang of Rembau (Appendix E). I have also had access to the Dispatches written to the Colonial Office by the High Commissioners for the Malay States between 1874 and 1898, to printed annual reports from 1894 to 1940 and to pre-war State

Secretariat files kindly made available by the State Secretary, Negri Sembilan, who also supplied Maps 1 and 2.

The words of the State Anthem were supplied by Lady Caldecott (widow of the late Sir Andrew Caldecott) from his private papers, and his authorship has been confirmed from other reliable sources. A number of other details which were not available in Malaya have been provided by Hugh Bryson, who served for many years in Negri Sembilan, and whose wide contacts as Secretary of the British Association of Malaya have proved of great assistance.

Most of the photographs which have been used, and three of the maps, are from the National Archives.

November 1962 HAJI ABDUL MUBIN SHEPPARD

CHAPTER ONE

THE NINE STATES

It is a strange anomaly that the only State in the Federation of Malaya which has a name which can be readily translated into English poses a question to which few know the answer. "Where are the Nine States" you may ask, "and what are their names?"

The map of Negri Sembilan shows five administrative districts, and it is common knowledge that there are four Ruling Chiefs, called *Undang*, each of whom have authority over a part of the State which is called *luak*, namely Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Johol and Rembau; there is also the Tengku Besar Tampin and the Dato Muda Linggi, but even they do not add up to nine.

The short answer is that when the name Negri Sembilan was first adopted in about 1773 there were nine Malay Chiefs or Headmen of varying

importance, each the head of a district or scattered settlement, who may have been loosely linked together by common problems or a common enemy and may have received recognition from, and owed loyalty to, the remote and crumbling Sultanate of Johore. Most of these Chiefs were of Minangkabau origin. But the territories over which these Chiefs had influence were different from present-day Negri Sembilan and included areas which are now part of Johore, Malacca, Selangor and Pahang.

The names of these nine areas have long been a subject of controversy, but the following are generally accepted:

- Sungei Ujong (in modern Negri Sembilan)
- Naning (now part of Alor Gajah district in Malacca)
- Rembau (in modern Negri Sembilan)
- Klang (in Selangor)
- Jelebu (in modern Negri Sembilan)
- Segamat (in Johore)
- Ulu Pahang (in Pahang: the region between Ulu Serting and Temerloh)
- Jelai (in Pahang)
- Johol (in modern Negri Sembilan, north of Tampin).

In some lists Pasir Besar is substituted for Johol.

Of these, Naning was always subject to the rulers of Malacca, whether Malay or foreign conquerors. Klang and Sungei Ujong were originally subject to the Sultans of Malacca and later, Johore, but came under Bugis influence after 1720.

No single ruler other than the ancient Sultans of Johore ever exercised suzerainty over these nine scattered areas, and any common ties that existed between these states were broken when the young Tengku Abdul Jalil, Sultan designate of Johore, died suddenly in January 1761 and Johore became a Bugis preserve. It would be gratifying to be able to state that a confederation of nine states under a single Raja came into existence in April 1898 when His late Highness Yang di-Pertuan Besar Muhammad of Sri Menanti was acknowledged by the four Undang as Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan. This brought together Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Johol, Rembau, Tampin, Muar, Jempul, Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Inas. But alas, this adds up to ten.

Who were the people who occupied the nine areas before 1760? Tradition describes the original population of present-day Negri Sembilan as aborigines of the Biduanda tribe, who are also known as Blandas or Mantra, living at first in the hills and later coming down to the plains, but there is a unique group of elaborately carved monoliths near the mouth of the Linggi River, which

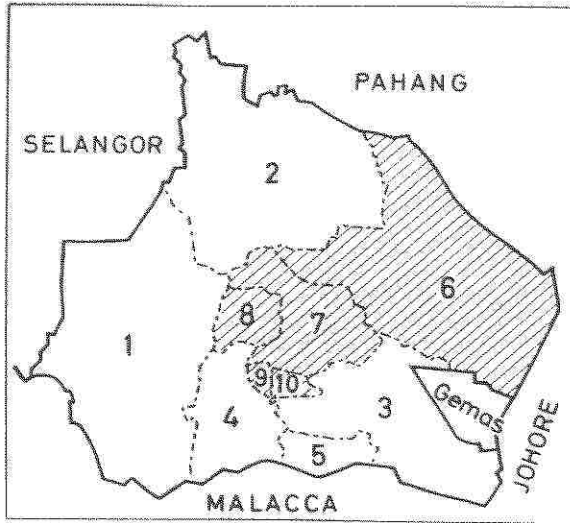
probably commemorates the presence, in at least the coastal areas, of people of a much more advanced standard of civilization. These stones, which stand near the small village of Pengkalan Kempas, have been provisionally attributed to the Dong Son cultural era by Dr. Soekmono, the head of the Archaeological Service of Indonesia, and may, in his opinion, date back to the seventh century A.D. or even earlier. The men who carved these monoliths may have been of the same stock as those who set up the numerous megalithic alinements which can be seen in the Terachi area of Kuala Pilah district, near the upper reaches of the Muar River. The region which we call Negri Sembilan may therefore have sheltered a people who followed a megalithic culture, possibly related to that of which traces have survived in western Sumatra, but a people of whom all trace — apart from these megaliths — has since disappeared.

Close to the carved megaliths of Pengkalan Kempas lies the tomb of an early Muslim leader — Sheikh Ahmad — whose death in A.D. 1467 is recorded in an inscription on four sides of a nearby stone pillar. It is probable that both Sheikh Ahmad and the stone pillar originated from north Sumatra and that he took up the cause of the up-river aborigines when they wished to represent their grievances to the Bendahara of Malacca who was joint overlord of the area with Sri Nara Di-Raja. A brief reference

to this episode appears in the *Malay Annals*. It appears that the action of the aborigines was either misunderstood or resented by the Penghulu of Klang, Tun Tukul, who reported to Malacca that they were in rebellion, and Tun Perak, the Bendahara, sent an expedition which treated them with great severity and there were few survivors. Sheikh Ahmad was among those who were killed. When the facts came to the knowledge of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca he ordered Tun Tukul to be executed and he deprived Tun Perak of his share of the overlordship of "Sening Ujong". But it was too late to restore confidence among the aborigines and it was probably many decades before they ventured once more to come and trade in the coastal area.

In the middle of the fifteenth century immigrants from Minangkabau in east Sumatra began to settle in appreciable numbers on the landward side of Malacca and near the mouth and along the banks of the Linggi River to the north. An inscribed stone pillar dated A.D. 1467 near Pengkalan Kempas, close to the mouth of the Linggi River, (known locally as Keramat Sungai Udang), is evidence that these early immigrants sometimes antagonised the Malacca authorities and that swift retribution followed.

The number of immigrants increased steadily in



MAP I. Map of Negri Sembilan showing areas of the territory controlled, according to custom, by the four Ruling Chiefs (*Undang Luak*), by the Tengku Besar Tampin, and five Territorial Chiefs (*Penghulu Luak*).

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. UNDANG LUAK SUNGAI UJONG
DATO MUDA LINGGI | 3. TENGU BESAR TAMPIN |
| 2. UNDANG LUAK JELEBU | 6. PENGHULU LUAK JEMPUL |
| 3. UNDANG LUAK JOHOI | 7. PENGHULU LUAK MUAR |
| 4. UNDANG LUAK REMBAU
Penghulu Luak Gemenchob
Penghulu Pesaka Ayer Kuning | 8. PENGHULU LUAK TE-
RACHI |
| | 9. PENGHULU LUAK GU-
NONG PASIR |
| | 10. PENGHULU LUAK INAY |

the sixteenth century. At first they were on good terms with the Portuguese, but relations became strained in 1586 when they assisted the Sultan of Johore in an attack on the fortress, and cut off food supplies by laying waste the surrounding country. The Minangkabaus are said to have numbered two thousand and the Portuguese retaliated for the attack by burning their villages and marching as far north as Rembau which had been fortified by Johore Malays though it was occupied by Minangkabau settlers.

This flow of immigrants continued and Eredia writing in 1613 and Barrato de Resende in 1634 referred to a large Minangkabau population in Naning and Rembau, but the wave of immigration had then only begun to spread farther inland and the remaining seven of the nine states took shape only gradually.

The siege and capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1640-41 marks a new phase. The Sultan of Johore—Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah II—sent fighting men to take part in the siege and they came in close contact with the Minangkabau Chiefs as brothers-in-arms.

Johore thus became aware of the extent of the settled Minangkabau communities, and of the existence of influential leaders who were anxious to obtain official recognition.

The first Minangkabau chief to achieve such status was the chief of Naning. He was recognised by the Dutch in 1643 with the title of Dato Sri Lela Merah. Johore did not confer any hereditary rights for another half century, but in the interval, high Officers of State visited the area and maintained the tradition of its vassalage to Johore. Best known of these high-ranking visitors was Dato Sekudai, a member of the Johore Bendahara family, about whom many conflicting legends have survived. We know that he was a Chief of importance who was alive, and a grandfather, in 1636 and this date helps to determine the date of Minangkabau expansion. Dato Sekudai is believed to have visited Naning, Rembau and Sungei Ujong, and it is probable that his mission was to remind the Minangkabau Headman of Rembau that whatever recognition the Dutch might give to the neighbouring Chief of Naning, Rembau was still a vassal of Johore and a fief of the Bendahara, to whose family he belonged.

In 1673, the ruler of Jambi, a powerful trade rival on the east coast of Sumatra, drove the Johore Sultan first to Pahang and then to Riau. Three years later, the Minangkabau Chiefs in Rembau, Sungei Ujong and Klang ceased to render any form of vassalage to Johore and began to discuss the possi-

bility of seeking a prince of their own from their homeland.

Johore did not recognise this one-sided action, but when Bendahara Abdul Jalil succeeded as Sultan in 1699, he began to give away powers which were the perquisite of the Bendahara family and we find him and later his son and grandson granting seals of office and titles to Minangkabau headmen.

No Negri Sembilan seal has yet been traced with a date earlier than that of the change of dynasty in Johore in 1699. We can therefore tentatively set a date-line before which none of the nine states could have been recognised as independent territories.

In the Civil War which followed the murder of Bendahara (Sultan) Abdul Jalil of Johore in 1719, the Minangkabau settlers in the nine states not unnaturally took the side of the Sumatran interloper Raja Kechil of Siak, against Abdul Jalil's son, Tengku Sulaiman, and his Bugis supporters, and when the Bugis had defeated Raja Kechil, and had established other strongholds at Linggi and Klang, the Minangkabau Chiefs were threatened with retaliation.

The Sumatran settlers were leaderless; their traditional overlord was now their enemy; but none of their chiefs was acceptable or powerful enough to fill the vacuum. The idea of inviting a prince from Sumatra, which had been discussed more than

forty years earlier, was revived and given wide-spread support. A delegation of four men went to Pagar Ruyong to ask for a champion who would protect the interests of the settlers against the hated Bugis.

Pagar Ruyong was the traditional seat of Minangkabau royalty, and though the Kingdom had declined in size and authority since it was included in a list of Majapahit conquests in A.D. 1365, and its Sultan had been deposed by a democratic revolution stemming from the Padang highlands, the royal family survived and the magic of its ancestry ensured an unquestioning welcome for any scion of the blood royal.

The first prince to be chosen was named Raja Kasah. He travelled by way of Siak, a Malay Kingdom in Sumatra, once subject to Malacca and later to Johore, but which had developed close ties with Minangkabau in the eighteenth century. The Dutch mentioned the presence of Rajah Kasah in Rembau in 1732, preparing to lead the local people against the Bugis. But the Bugis warrior princes, headed by Daeng Kemboja, proved themselves invincible and Raja Kasah appears to have given up the unequal struggle and returned to Sumatra. He was replaced by a Raja Adil who, though a Minangkabau prince, had married the daughter of a Bugis Chief and had obtained a seal of authority from the

their apparent of Johore, possibly through the influence of the Bugis Under-King (Yam Tuan Muda) at his court in Riau. As might be expected, his attempts at a peaceful compromise were not welcomed by the Minangkabau Chiefs, the more so when he claimed the Bugis title of Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau, and he was rejected. Raja Adil remained in Rembau and his son Raja Asil received the title of Yam Tuan Muda which Raja Adil had claimed and exercised but had never held.

Two princes from Pagar Ruyong competed for the position left vacant by Raja Adil. One was called Raja Khatib, the other Raja "Melewar" (the "Wandering" Prince), who may have been a relative of Raja Adil. In their first encounter at Kampong Bukit, Raja Khatib was victorious, but Raja Melewar detached Penghulu Na'am of Ulu Muar from Raja Khatib's forces and then defeated him decisively. Raja Khatib in his turn began to intrigue with Penghulu Na'am, but Raja Melewar beheaded the Penghulu and drove Raja Khatib out of the country. The defeat of Raja Khatib probably took place between 1758 and 1760 for Raja Melewar (whose proper name was Raja Mahmud) was granted recognition as "Sultan Mahmud" by Tengku Abdul Jalil, Raja di-Baroh of Johore, during the period of his Regency before the death of his senile father, Sultan Sulaiman. This was one of a number

of examples of initiative and independent action shown by the young Malay Prince, in which he appears to have attempted to create or strengthen a third force outside Johore as a potential ally against the Bugis. When the old Sultan died late in 1760, Tengku Abdul Jalil was in Selangor with Daeng Kemboja, and his sudden death, probably from poison, before he could return to Riau to be installed, was widely attributed to Daeng Kemboja the Bugis Under-King. His infant son succeeded him.

The title conferred on Raja Melewar probably lapsed with the death of the donor, and it was thirteen years before he acquired another.

CHAPTER TWO

THE YANG DI-PERTUAN BESAR AT SRI MENANTI

ACCORDING to Negri Sembilan tradition, the Four Ruling Chiefs (Undang) of Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Johol and Rembau installed Raja Melewar as the first Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan at Penajis near Rembau in 1773.

The date is probably correct, but there is considerable doubt as to which Chiefs took part in the ceremony. The Ruling Chief of Rembau must have been the principal figure. In Sungei Ujong however, the Bugis were probably in control of all the sources of tin including the district Rasah, and the change of title of the Chief of Sungei Ujong from Penghulu Menteri to Dato Klana in about 1760 suggests that the holder may even have been a Bugis. If this had been the case he was most unlikely to have given his support to a protagonist of Minangkabau

claims. The Chief of Jelebu had accepted the title of Dato Mandulika from Raja di-Baroh of Johore fifteen years earlier and was probably installed by Raja Adil, the rejected candidate for Raja Melewar's position. He therefore may not have seen any advantage in acknowledging another overlord. Furthermore he was still occupied with the task of consolidating his authority against the rivalry of the more ancient dignitaries of Dato Mantri and Dato Umbi. Johol still consisted of a number of small divisions and no individual Ruling Chief had yet been accepted.

But there were lesser Chiefs, mainly resident in the area between Sungei Ujong and Jelebu, which we now know as the district of Kuala Pilah, and they probably lent the weight of numbers to this historic occasion. Dato Mandika, Chief of Pantai in Sungei Ujong, who retired with his followers to Rembau when the Bugis occupied his village in about 1760, may also have been present. The principal factor which had generated the original invitation—the imminent threat of Bugis conquest—had already ceased to cause anxiety by 1773; Daeng Kemboja, the Bugis master-mind, had left Selangor for Riau where he remained till his death in 1777, and his warrior nephew Raja Haji was occupied in wars against the Dutch. When Raja Haji was killed in action at Telok Ketapang near Malacca in 1784, the

Dutch gained the upper hand and the Bugis were never again able to seize complete control of Riau-Johore or her former dependencies.

Raja Melewar's rise to a position of influence was probably a gradual process, and may have been partly due to local disputes and rivalries. As soon as the danger of Bugis control had faded, quarrels and disturbances broke out, partly as a result of rival claims to the profits derived from tin mining. In Rembau there were five Ruling Chiefs between 1770 and 1795, and in other areas minor Chiefs and their supporters probably found it to their advantage to link themselves to the warrior prince, who had in the course of his wanderings (*melewar*) won their confidence, and who could settle their disputes without interfering with local autonomy. They therefore joined in an agreement to create the new title of Yang di-Pertuan Besar—not Sultan, which Raja di-Baroh of Johore had granted—and they accepted a new name for the territory over which the overlord was to exercise limited authority. It was to be called *Negri Sembilan*.

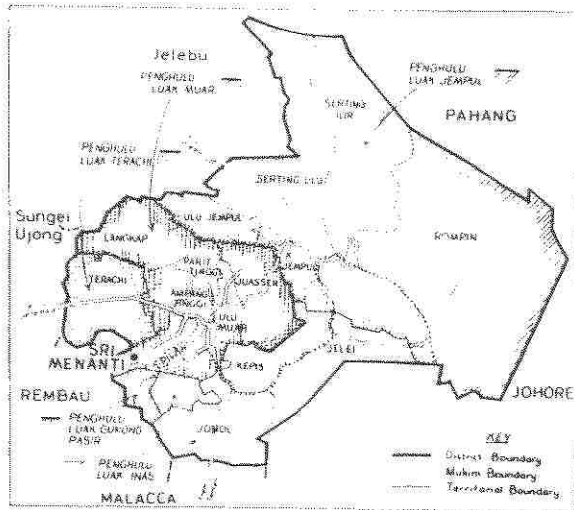
The origin of this name has not survived, but it may have been conceived by Raja Melewar, who was probably in Rembau in November 1759 when the Dutch drew up a treaty which was signed by the Ruling Chief and the eight lesser chiefs of Rembau. It is not known whether he had nine Chiefs

or Headmen as his supporters at the time of his installation in 1773. But we know at least that he had no active enemies.

From the period of his first arrival, Raja Melewar prudently avoided the tin fields of Sungei Ujong and Jelebu, nor did he ever come into direct conflict with the Bugis. He took care not to set himself up in rivalry with any established ruler or major Chief.

His choice of headquarters at Sri Menanti is another example of his discretion. Separated from Rembau by a range of hills two thousand and eight hundred feet high, it was sited in a remote but fertile valley at the extreme south-west corner of Ulu Muar, the territory controlled by the Penghulu who had helped him to defeat Raja Khatib and whose daughter he had married. His presence gave the locality a new prestige and Minangkabau settlers in Pahang, as far afield as Jelai and Mengkarak, came to swell the number of his followers. The increase in population led in turn to an increase in the number of minor Chiefs and of the territorial divisions round Sri Menanti, which were later called the "Motherland of Royalty"—*Tanah Mengandong*.

The Constitution which Raja Melewar may have drafted and which derived its authority from the installation at Penajis in 1773, gave him no land outside the narrow limits of Sri Menanti, no right



MAP 2. Map of the *Tanah Mergandung* the territorial division round SRI MENANTI controlled by Territorial Chiefs (*Penghulu Luak*).

to tax, and only very few perquisites, but he was the titular Head of State, entitled to use the Royal Yellow, the Royal Regalia, (most important of which were the seals of State) and the Royal Idiom, which not even the Undang could aspire to. He was the Head of the Muslim religion in the State, the final court of appeal in cases under customary laws and he could behead while the Undang could only execute with the *keris*.

The success and smooth working of the Constitution depended greatly on the character and good sense of the Head of State. Raja Melewar was a man of exceptional intelligence and for twenty-two years we hear of no discord or criticism.

At Sri Menanti he appointed four Minangkabau men of local birth as his four major court officials—the *Orang Empat Istana*. Two of these were his wife's brothers (sons of the beheaded Penghulu), the other two were descendants of the Makhdum, one of the four great Chiefs of Minangkabau who was responsible for its colonies in the Malay Peninsula and who may have been responsible for choosing and sending one or more of the candidate princes to Negri Sembilan. His two brothers-in-law of the Batu Hampar tribe, he entitled Dato Seri Amar di-Raja and Dato Raja di-Wangsa, and to the other two, of the Tanah Datar tribe, he gave the titles of Dato Dagang and Dato Akhirzaman. These

titles continue to this day and the holders, who are always chosen personally by the Yam Tuan from these two tribes, still take a leading part in Court ceremonies, notably the installation.

When Raja Melewar first made these appointments, Sri Menanti tradition relates how he turned to the two brothers and said, "It is my wish that your sister should be my Treasure Chest (*Peti Benian*)—the mother of my heirs—and that you should be the guardians of its Key." In later times the two Batu Hampar Court Chamberlains became the custodians of the Royal Treasure Chest, which contained articles only known to the ruler and his closest relatives; they were also in charge of the Yam Tuan's regalia.

The Constitution was summarised in words which are familiar to every Malay in Negri Sembilan:

Alam Ber-Raja—(The world, i.e. Negri Sembilan, has a King)

Luak Ber-Penghulu—(The State has a Chief)

Suku Ber-Tua—(The Tribe has a Headman)

Anak Buah Ber-Ibu Bapa—(The people have heads of families).

Footnote:

Raja Melewar made two seals, one designed after the pattern of a seal of a Minangkabau Sultan, the other copied from that of the Sultan of Johore. Both seals were in use until the Civil War between Tengku Antah and Tengku Ahmad Tunggal.

The heads of families elected the Tribal Headmen, the Tribal Headmen elected the Ruling Chiefs and the Ruling Chiefs elected the Head of State. The position of the Negri Sembilan Head of State was described even more succinctly:

Beraja ka-Johor—Subject of the Sultan of Johore

Bertali ka-Siak—Linked with Siak

Bertuan ka-Minangkabau—Looking to Minangkabau for our King.

In the twenty years after his installation, Raja Melewar watched five small areas grow in population and importance, each linked to Sri Menanti. They were Ulu Muar, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Jempul and Inas. The Chief of Johol, a little to the east, sharing a common boundary with Muar and Inas, received a seal from Raja Melewar in 1778, and he in turn appointed a Headman of Jempul. It was not until the death of Raja Melewar in 1795 that the problems inevitable in an elected system began to be recognised.

CHAPTER THREE

DISPUTED SUCCESSION

RAJA MELEWAR'S constitution made it perfectly clear that the position of Yam Tuan was an elected one, but he must have hoped and perhaps expected that the goodwill which surrounded him in his lifetime would continue during the election which must immediately follow his decease and that his eldest son, named Raja Totok, would be the popular choice.

This was not to be. For reasons which can only be surmised, the Chiefs who assembled for the election decided to pass over Raja Melewar's son and to send to Sumatra for another "delegated prince" who, perhaps they reasoned, was more likely to be tractable than a man of thirty, born in Sri Menanti and all too familiar with their limitations. Raja Hitam was duly delegated and married a daughter of Raja Melewar soon after his arrival. This did not mollify

the aggrieved Raja Totok, who tried to rally support for his cause, but only his family shared his dissatisfaction and his revolt was stillborn.

Raja Hitam died in 1808, after an uneventful reign, and again the electors decided to seek another prince from Sumatra. Raja Lenggang, the Third Yam Tuan, reigned for sixteen years, but some time before he died he tried to secure the succession for his son Raja Radin (short for Raja Nasaruddin), by an agreement with the Dato Penghulu Muar, the minor Chief traditionally most closely connected with Sri Menanti and the royal family. He also created the title of Tengku Besar Sri Menanti and conferred it on his son.

All might have been well if he had lived till Raja Radin was of full age, but he died unexpectedly in 1824, and when Dato Bongkok Abdul Malek, the Dato Muar, reported the death of the Yam Tuan to the Four Ruling Chiefs (Undang) and invited them to instal Raja Radin, a boy of about thirteen, Dato Klana Kawal of Sungei Ujong vetoed the proposal.

The procedure on the death of a Yam Tuan had now been established. The Dato Klana was recognised as the senior of the four Undang and it was his responsibility to nominate the Yam Tuan's successor. Ignoring the wishes of the Chief of Johol and his Penghulus he entered Sri Menanti with a strong force, drove out Dato Bongkok and Raja

Radin and placed Raja Kerjan, a soldier of fortune and one not of the blood royal, in charge of Sri Menanti, to hold it until the arrival of another princely nominee from Sumatra.

It was nearly two years before Raja Laboh, also known as Yam Tuan Sati, arrived and was installed by the Dato Klana. His two predecessors, Raja Hitam and Raja Lenggang, had married a daughter or granddaughter of Raja Melewar soon after their arrival and had thus secured a measure of local support and co-operation, but Raja Laboh brought a wife with him, the daughter of Raja Asil, who had been deposed from the rank of Yam Tuan Muda Rembau by his nephew Raja Ali. Perhaps because of his feeling of isolation, Raja Laboh kept the disreputable Raja Kerjan at Sri Menanti, although the latter had antagonised everyone by his misconduct and self-conceit. Raja Ali, the Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau, viewed the new Yam Tuan with open hostility, which was shared by the Yam Tuan Muda of Jelebu, while close at hand in Johol, the whole population sided with Raja Radin who had taken refuge in Ulu Muar with Dato Bongkok.

Four years passed without any improvement in Raja Laboh's popularity, but so long as he had the backing of the redoubtable Dato Klana Kawal, no one dared to revolt. In about 1830 however, Dato Klana came to Sri Menanti to attend a cock-fight

at which he won a considerable sum of money. Sitting on the wide verandah of the wooden Minangkabau-style palace, with his bags of copper coins beside him, he was astonished to receive a demand for two and a half per cent. of his winnings as commission due to the Yam Tuan. The Tengku Kechil Muda, Raja Laut, a young prince who had accompanied Raja Laboh from Sumatra, delivered the message probably with little appreciation of the repercussions which were to follow. Plunging his hands into the bags of coin the outraged Undang said to Raja Laut, "It is to us, the heirs of the soil, that all commissions belong. I claim the commission, let the Yam Tuan have the rest of the money." Raja Laut ignored the fury in the Klana's eyes and carried away ninety-seven and a half per cent. of the winnings, scarcely believing his ears. Once his temper had cooled, the Dato Klana realised his mistake, but as he reflected on the ingratitude of the Yam Tuan who owed everything to him, he rose and calling his personal attendants went down the steps of the palace muttering scraps of Minangkabau customary law. He travelled straight to Terachi, where he sent for the Penghulu of Ulu Muar and told him that if the Yam Tuan was attacked he would not intervene. On his way he had stopped to lay his handful of coins at the foot of a tree, saying, "If the law is to be broken I too will break

the law. I will have no more of these ties with Siak and these princes from Minangkabau."

Dato Bongkok quickly gathered a body of fighting men and drove Raja Laboh and Raja Kerjan from Sri Menanti and restored Raja Radin, now a youth of eighteen, to his father's home.

The Klana's gambling quarrel had resulted in a complete change of constitutional policy. In future, the position of Yam Tuan could be filled by a prince born in Negri Sembilan, and it was no longer obligatory to send to Sumatra for a successor.

This did not mean that Raja Radin was the unanimous choice. Four other candidates contested this policy. The deposed Raja Laboh and the adventurer Raja Kerjan both aspired to the vacant throne; Raja Ali, the ambitious Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau, proposed to extend his authority over the whole of Negri Sembilan; and a Sumatran Raja known as Yam Tuan Bringin, a first cousin of Yam Tuan Lenggang, who had come to live at Kampong Tengah, two miles from Sri Menanti after the death of the Third Yam Tuan, also put forward his claim. Before a decision was reached, events just across the Negri Sembilan border in the small Minangkabau State of Naning absorbed the attention and sympathies of the chiefs and people, and Raja Radin was allowed to remain in his father's palace, under the self-appointed guardianship of Yam Tuan Bringin.

For more than a year there was no Yam Tuan of Negri Sembilan.

In Naning the Chief, Dato Abdul Said, had rejected the claim of the British administration in Malacca (recent successors to the Dutch), to a tithe on the rice harvest, which had been agreed to in a treaty with the Dutch in 1643 and subsequently commuted to the nominal figure of 200 gantangs a year. Acting under pressure from the British East India Company in Bengal to increase revenue, Ibbotson, the Governor, ordered the reluctant Resident Councillor, Garling, to send part of his garrison to invade Naning and to enforce the collection of the tithe in mid-1831. Ibbotson and his predecessor, Governor Fullerton, had been wrongly informed and badly advised on the situation by the Collector, Lewis, whose Dutch wife may have deliberately tried to embarrass the British administration.

The British troops brought two field guns with them and were in many ways unfitted to come to grips with the Naning guerrillas. Eventually after several humiliating days of inept leadership the garrison, abandoning their unmanageable field guns, withdrew to Malacca without a single casualty. The Naning Chief had been encouraged in his defiance by Syed Shaaban, an ambitious Malacca-born Arab, son-in-law of Raja Ali, the Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau. But while a second British

expedition was being equipped to redeem the ignominy of the first, a "treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Supreme Government of British India and Raja Ali, the Penghulu and Ampat Sukus, governing the country of Rembau and its dependencies" was prepared and signed on 30 November 1831 bearing the seal of Syed Shaaban as well as the mark of Raja Ali who was described as "Ruler of Rembau".

The second expeditionary force, felling a wide road at the rate of three miles a month, eventually reached Taboh, Abdul Said's stronghold, and took it by a surprise attack on 15 June 1832. The Nanning Chief escaped, but eventually surrendered and was given a house and a pension of \$100 a month on the condition that he lived in Malacca. Credit for the British success was given by the Malacca authorities to Raja Ali of Rembau and his son-in-law Syed Shaaban whose spies had given the information which led to the final assault. Immediately after the end of the Nanning campaign Raja Ali, emboldened by his treaty with the British, which he considered gave him a status above even the Dato Klana, declared himself Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan and his son-in-law, Syed Shaaban, Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau.

For a time the other Chiefs reluctantly acquiesced and not even the bellicose Dato Klana Kawal

intervened. Early in 1833 however, a personal quarrel between the Dato Muda Linggi, Dato Muda Katas, and Syed Shaaban precipitated a chain of events which finally drove both father and son-in-law into exile.

Syed Shaaban, already a personal enemy of Dato Muda Katas, received a gift of a gold-sheathed *keris* and a gold waist-buckle as an inducement to join in an attack on the Dato Muda. The attack was unsuccessful and Dato Muda Katas retaliated with a raid into Rembau territory. Syed Shaaban called on the Ruling Chief of Rembau, Dato Nganit, for assistance, but the Dato, probably sympathising with the Dato Muda Linggi, remained aloof. Syed Shaaban, with staggering folly, then sent a small body of his fighting men with orders to surprise and kill the Dato Rembau. Dato Nganit's house was plundered and burnt, but he escaped with his life and vowed to expel Raja Ali and Syed Shaaban from the State, which vow received the support of Dato Klana Kawal as well as all Rembau. In the civil war which followed, Raja Ali withdrew to Keru near Tampin where he died in 1850 and Raja Radin, heir of Raja Lenggang, and now twenty-one, was proclaimed Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan.

Raja Radin married Tengku Intan, daughter of Tengku Alang Hussain and grand-daughter of Yam Tuan Hitam the second Yam Tuan. She bore him

several sons, but remembering his own bitter experiences he preferred to appoint his brother, Tengku Ulin, as Tengku Besar, and therefore his heir. He himself lived on good terms with the Ruling Chiefs and exercised considerable influence in Sungei Ujong as a mediator between the wealthy Dato Shahbandar and the Dato Klana. Dato Klana Kawal had died and was succeeded by Dato Klana Sending. The Dato Bandar Tunggal reaped a rich income from the increased output of tin from Rasah which was carried down the Linggi River, but gave none of it to the Dato Klana. The two Chiefs were at war in 1849 and Yam Tuan Radin arranged a settlement by which the Dato Klana received a fixed share of the tin revenues collected on the Linggi, while the Dato Bandar received recognition as his political equal.

In Rembau, distracted by a lengthy civil war which ended in the division of territory leaving Tampin, the eastern portion, independent under a separate Tengku Besar, the Yam Tuan also played the part of peacemaker. When he died in 1861 his brother, Tengku Ulin, to whom he had given the title of Tengku Besar, was elected Yam Tuan, although Tengku Antah, youthful son of Yam Tuan Radin attempted to claim the throne. Yam Tuan Ulin was a pious man of middle-age and was also known as Yam Tuan Imam. He gave the title of

Tengku Besar to Tengku Daud, another son of Yam Tuan Radin, who unfortunately died soon afterwards. Yam Tuan Ulin next conferred the title on Tengku Lintau, yet another son of Raja Radin, but when Yam Tuan Ulin died in 1869 and the name of Tengku Lintau was put forward for Yam Tuan, the Tengku declined the honour and asked that it be conferred on his younger brother, Tengku Antah, who had been given the title of Tengku Laksamana while still a boy, before his father's death. Yam Tuan Ulin left a son, Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, who also laid claim to the succession. He would not listen to Tengku Besar Lintau when the latter explained that according to Negri Sembilan royal custom only princes who bore titles (such as Tengku Besar or Tengku Laksamana) could be considered as eligible for election, and went to Sungei Ujong to seek the support of the senior Undang. Dato Klana Syed Abdul Rahman was a mild individual, the son of an Arab who had married a sister of Dato Klana Bahi (predecessor of Dato Kawal), and though he agreed to support the claim of Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, he had no intention of taking up arms to enforce it. The Undang of Rembau claimed to be independent and the Undang of Jelebu was absorbed in quarrels with his Yam Tuan Muda and both declined to intervene as Tengku Antah was in the strong position of holding Sri Menanti and had

the support of the Undang of Johol and all the local chiefs. Events in Selangor and in Sungei Ujong itself monopolised the attention of the Daro Klana and for five years no decision was taken.

CHAPTER FOUR

JELEBU, REMBAU AND SUNGEI UJONG PRIOR TO 1874

THE rulers and people of Negri Sembilan had remained aloof from their neighbours for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Minangkabau settlements in other States were either too small or too remote to take a prominent part in any disputes and had therefore no reason to turn to Negri Sembilan for assistance. But in spite of this tradition of isolation the country was still far from being united or at peace.

Jelevu

In the territory of Jelevu, with its borders touching Pahang and Selangor, the first individual to obtain recognition, a title and a seal as the Penghulu of the whole area, was To' Moyang Salleh, a Minangkabau Malay of the Waris Ulu Jelevu. He probably went to Johore in about 1757 and received the title

of Dato Mandulika from Tengku Abdul Jalil, Raja di-Baroh and Regent of Johore.

There were eight other territorial chiefs in the area now known as Jelebu, though they were of varying importance, but they resented the attempt of To' Moyang Salleh to arrogate to himself special powers and privileges, and a prolonged dispute followed. It was eventually agreed that the title of Penghulu Jelebu—which was preferred by the other Chiefs to that of Dato Mandulika—should rotate between three families, and that each new holder should receive the approval of the two senior Jelebu Chiefs, Dato Menteri and Dato Umbi, whose respective territories extended over all the tin-bearing valleys and hills of North Jelebu.

Soon after he had received his Johore title and seal, To' Moyang Salleh may have been installed by Raja Adil, the rejected but irrepressible candidate for the Sri Menanti throne and for the title of Yam Tuan of Rembau.

The name Jelebu is taken from a small river in the extreme south of the territory and is an indication of the relatively minor influence of this Chief when he was first appointed. By contrast, Dato Menteri was head of a group to whom belonged the tin rivers of Lemi and Kenaboi and the hills of Bukit Kundek, Bukit Buhai and Permatang Gelanga, and to Dato Umbi's group belonged the rivers

Glani and Tinggi and the other main hills in North Jelebu.

In about 1820 the Penghulu Jelebu was Durrongga, a man reputed to have been mad, and possibly on that account the headmen agreed to accept and appoint Tengku Sabun, a grandson of Raja Adil, as Prince or Yam Tuan Muda of Jelebu (a Bugis title). It is probable that earlier members of this princely family had lived in Pita Serambai which became the seat of the Jelebu royalty but Tengku Sabun (also called Tengku Ahmad Shah) was the first to be accepted. There was constant friction between the holders of the two Senior offices—Yam Tuan Muda and Dato Mandulika—and the succession to each was at times disputed. As a result Jelebu played little or no part in the affairs of Negri Sembilan throughout the nineteenth century.

Rembau

Rembau, the scene of the historic installation in 1773, was in no better state, although it was the first of the Minangkabau settlements in Negri Sembilan to acquire a Ruling Chief and had the longest recorded history. The early waves of Minangkabau immigration spread outwards from Malacca territory to Rembau, and there was a Minangkabau settlement of importance at a place called Rembau, fortified by Johore Malays in 1586.

Traders in tin and jungle produce came there from Malacca to obtain supplies from aborigines who lived farther inland. Eredia, the Portuguese, mentioned in his account of Malacca in 1613 that "Rombo" was peopled by Minangkabau and in 1641 Schouten in his survey of the neighbourhood of Malacca, written soon after the Dutch had captured the town, recorded that Rembau was ruled by a Minangkabau, styled Lela Maharaja, a title still in use two centuries later. Schouten added that the headman was subject to Johore and that the Bendahara of Johore enjoyed a revenue from Rembau.

In about 1644 Dato Sekudai, a member of the Johore Bendahara family, visited Rembau and is believed to have appointed a distant relative of his own named Sri Rama as the first Ruling Chief. The title of Dato Lela Maharaja was retained.

Rembau history was closely connected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with that of Nanning, the small but belligerent Minangkabau State, their neighbour in the northern part of Malacca territory, and both names appear frequently and in unfavourable terms in Dutch records. Only once did Rembau take part in a treaty of friendship with the Dutch, and this they did under pressure from the Bugis Daeng Kemboja who had dominated Rembau policy for more than a decade previously from his base at Linggi. The Treaty was dated

11 November 1759 and is of special interest because it was signed by the nine Headmen of Rembau—the Ruling Chief and the heads of the eight tribes or *suku*. It gave the Dutch a monopoly of all tin exported from Rembau and promised eternal friendship. The Bugis had an ambitious ally in Raja Adil, who had come to Rembau from Sumatra in about 1750 as the second candidate for the position of Yang di-Pertuan Besar. He had taken the precaution of marrying the daughter of a Bugis Chief and when he was rejected by the Minangkabau elders, who wanted a champion and not a quisling, he made Rembau his headquarters and co-operated with the Bugis. He also obtained a title and seal from Tengku Abdul Jalil, heir apparent to the Sultan of Johore, which gave him authority to rule Rembau, without reference to the local chiefs. According to Rembau tradition To' Uban, the Ruling Chief of Rembau, fell into disfavour with either the Johore Sultan or his son, and the Chief's brother was executed in Johore. Such a situation suited Raja Adil's ambitions admirably.

But while Bugis foreign policy was reluctantly accepted, Minangkabau chiefs, probably led by Dato Rembau, continued to send envoys to Sumatra in search of a rival champion, and Rembau was the place of reception for successive candidates. Two of these—Raja Melewar and Raja Khatib—fought

twice in Rembau territory and Raja Melewar was ultimately installed at Penajis, a village situated on the river of that name, a tributary of the Linggi, which was at that time the main thoroughfare into, and out of, Rembau.

Raja Adil probably watched with jealous eyes the steady increase in Yam Tuan Melewar's status in Sri Menanti. Hoping for Bugis support, he sent Rembau fighting men to assist Raja Haji, the Bugis warrior, in his unsuccessful attack on the Dutch in Malacca in 1784. But though the operation was a failure and the Bugis were never again strong enough to interfere in Rembau, Raja Adil retained his influence and when he died in 1798 his son Raja Asil assumed the title of Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau, three years after Raja Melewar's death.

For the next century Rembau history was bedevilled by the ambitions and disputes of these self-appointed Yam Tuan Muda and in 1833 the last holder of the title, Syed Shaaban, a Malacca-born Arab married to the daughter of Raja Ali, nephew and supplanter of Raja Asil, fought with the Dato Muda Linggi and attempted to murder the Rembau Ruling Chief, Dato Nganit. A ruinous civil war followed: as a result Rembau was partitioned, the larger western portion remaining under the Undang, but Tampin Tengah, Keru, Repah and Tebong were surrendered to Syed Shaaban who took the lesser

title of Tengku Besar Tampin. This eastern area had been settled by headmen who had received their authority from the Yam Tuan Mudas of Rembau and the inhabitants supported Syed Shaaban in the war and accepted him as their Chief when the boundary was settled late in 1833. Syed Shaaban continued to put forward his claim to the rank of Yam Tuan Muda and to intrigue against the Ruling Chief for the next thirty years and peace was only assured when he died in 1872.

Sungei Ujong

The difficulties and rivalries which beset Sungei Ujong through its history were different from those of Jelebu and Rembau, but were no less an obstacle to unity. Sungei Ujong, or Sening Hujung as it was named in the *Malay Annals*, stretches along the coast of Negri Sembilan and was a fief of the Bendahara of Malacca before the arrival of settlers from Minangkabau. It was ruled by Malay chiefs with the title of Penghulu Menteri assisted by a Dato Shahbandar both of whom were originally appointed from Malacca. In the fifteenth and succeeding centuries it owed its importance to the tin fields which were easily accessible up the Linggi River and attracted in turn the Portuguese, Dutch, Bugis and Chinese. The fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 left the Malays in Sungei Ujong isolated, as

their contacts with Johore were tenuous and irregular.

At the end of the sixteenth century Minangkabau settlers, who were already established in Naning and Rembau, began to spread along the coast and up the rivers, living in separate groups from the other Malays but without friction. Dato Sekudai of Johore visited Sungei Ujong in 1644, after leaving Rembau, and confirmed two local Malays in the positions of Penghulu Menteri and Shahbandar on the Linggi River. These individuals were not Minangkabau and followed the Johore custom of inheritance from father to son, in contrast to the matrilineal custom of the Minangkabau.

By the end of the seventeenth century the immigrant population from Sumatra had greatly increased and they supported the Siak interloper Raja Kechil in his temporary seizure of the Johore throne. In doing so they earned the enmity of the Bugis whose base was nearby at Klang, and who had been called in by Tengku Sulaiman of Johore to drive out Raja Kechil.

After Tengku Sulaiman had been installed as Sultan in Johore, the Bugis led by Daeng Kemboja seized the mouth of the Linggi River, the main waterway into Sungei Ujong, and dominated the territory. The name of the Ruling Chief was changed from Penghulu Menteri to Dato Klana Putra—a Bugis

title—and it is possible that the Malay holder of the position was driven out and replaced by a relation of Daeng Kemboja. The change of title took place in about 1760 when Dato Klana Bador succeeded his father Penghulu Chantek, but a Bugis may have held the post under its old name a decade or two earlier, and may have married into the old Malay ruling family. Bugis interference was most unpopular and the Headman of Pantai, Dato Mandika, withdrew to Rembau with all the local Malays, and another hereditary Malay Chief, Dato Shahbandar took on a new status. The Dato's territory covered the middle section of the Linggi River where his traditional prerogative to collect a levy on all tin passing downstream from Rasah gave him an increasingly large income. He was in a position to ignore the Bugis-dominated Ruling Chief, and he claimed to hold an independent position and equal rank.

When Yam Tuan Melewar died in 1795, the Dato Klana, who is unlikely to have had any share in the Rembau installation, probably saw an opportunity of exerting influence in a Minangkabau province and therefore strongly opposed the election of Raja Melewar's son. His successor in office, Dato Klana Bahi, adopted the same policy in 1808 on the death of Raja Hitam, and secured for himself recognition as the senior elector. Dato

Klana Kawal succeeded in about 1822. Lieutenant T. J. Newbold of the 23rd Regiment of Madras Light Infantry, writing in 1833, gives us an interesting and contemporary pen-picture of this chief. "His features are regular and pleasing. His dress shows a taste for finery consisting of a red baju or surcoat, flowered with yellow, a broad crimson sash encircling his waist, in which was inserted several weapons of Malayan fashion, a Battick handkerchief, with the bicornute tie, and a plaid silk sarong descending to the knees; underneath the plaid he wore short embroidered trousers. In the left hand slash of his close vest of purple broadcloth, lined with light green silk and adorned with silk lace and small round buttons of gold filigree, was a watch of antique shape, to which were appended a gold chain and seals. He wore his hair long." Dato Klana Kawal made and then disowned a third Sumatran prince, Yam Tuan Sati (Raja Laboh) and later installed Raja Radin, son of Yam Tuan Lenggang, thereby introducing an important change into the Constitution which has been followed ever since.

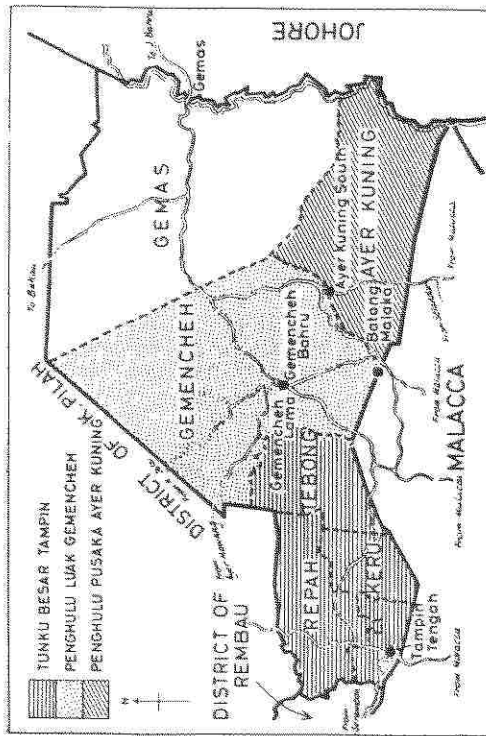
Although today Sungei Ujong stretches from the River Sepang, now the Selangor boundary, to the Linggi, it was not always so. One result of the installation of a Bugis as Sultan of Selangor in about 1742, and the strong Bugis influence in eighteenth-century Sungei Ujong, was that the control of

the coastal belt north of Linggi was given to Selangor. Lukut was for some decades a semi-independent territory, under Raja Juma'at, a Selangor Raja, whose administration was warmly praised by Captain MacPherson, Resident Councillor of Malacca, when he visited Lukut in 1860. The tin mines from which he and his son, Raja Bot, obtained their wealth have long since ceased production, but the ruin of his fort is still visible at Lukut. The present boundary was settled in 1878.

Chinese miners had been encouraged to come and work in the tin fields of Rasah as early as 1825, and in 1828 they numbered nearly a thousand. By 1874 there were 15,000 Chinese working in Sungai Ujong.

After the death of Dato Klana Kawal in about 1848, a bitter rivalry developed between Dato Klana Sending and the Dato Shahbandar—Dato Bandar Tunggal—which led to a protracted civil war. Yam Tuan Radin mediated between them with temporary success but peace was the exception rather than the rule between 1850 and 1874.

Syed Abdul Rahman succeeded Dato Klana Sending in 1872. His mother was a sister of Dato Klana Bahi but his father was an Arab from Aceh. His election was an unpopular one and public sympathy rested heavily on the side of old Dato Bandar



MAP 4. Map of District of Tampin

Tunggal in the Sungei Ujong War which broke out in 1874.

On 21 April 1874 Syed Abdul Rahman and the Dato Muda Linggi signed an agreement at Government House, Singapore, placing themselves under British protection, and thereafter the Klana relied mainly on foreign mercenaries and British troops to defeat his rival. In August the Klana asked for a Resident to be appointed and in October the Union Jack was hoisted on a flagstaff beside his house with a salute of twenty-one guns. In November, one hundred and fifty British armed personnel arrived, including twenty artillerymen, and a month later the Dato Bandar surrendered.

When Tengku Antah demanded his father's title of Yang di-Pertuan Besar Negri Sembilan, internal disturbances and disputes absorbed the attention of the Ruling Chief of Sungei Ujong, no less than that of his peers in Jelebu and Rembau and they gave the matter little if any attention. The title seemed to have no meaning when even the component territories were so disunited.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROAD TO UNITY AND THE AGREEMENT OF 1898

FOR five years Tengku Antah kept his impetuous nature under control and waited for the installation which he considered his birthright, but to which the Ruling Chiefs of Sungei Ujong, Jelebu and Rembau were either too preoccupied or unwilling to agree. His mother, Tengku Puan Intan, widow of Yam Tuan Radin, acted as unofficial Regent from 1869 until 1872 and collected rents and other income due to the Yam Tuan as far afield as Linggi, without opposition. But in April 1874 and in the months that followed, events in Sungei Ujong, where his rival, Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, continued to receive hospitality, roused resentment and opposition wherever stout-hearted Malays gathered to exchange hearsay and gossip. "The Arab [it was unnecessary to define the Undang of Sungei Ujong more precisely] had made a Treaty with the Gover-

nor of Singapore. He had accepted a garrison of foreign soldiers, being unable to rely on the loyalty of his own men. He had a Union Jack flying from a flagstaff near his house at Ampangan. He had attacked the brave, eighty-year-old Dato Bandar, who would not agree to the Treaty, using British artillery. He had burnt Rahang and had forced the Dato Bandar to go to Singapore to surrender to the Governor." It was a monstrous succession of atrocities. No wonder Tengku Antah spoke of "treason". The Dato of Ulu Muar and other chief round Sri Menanti fanned Tengku Antah's resentment against Syed Abdul Rahman and his policy. When therefore a party which included the Assistant Resident of Sungei Ujong, Commander P. J. Murray R.N., an Australian Surveyor, D. D. Daly, Lieutenant Hinxman, twenty soldiers and thirty police, appeared in Terachi without prior notice on 27 November 1875, he did not wait to enquire about their intentions but ordered his men to attack them.

Terachi lies on the Sri Menanti side of the range of hills which separates it from Sungei Ujong and had been part of the area over which the Yam Tuan had long held undisputed control through a local chief. Murray had been misled by Syed Abdul Rahman into believing that the Undang of Sungei Ujong had authority to appoint the Terachi headman and he (Murray) had come to investigate the

report that Yam Tuan Antah had deposed the Sungei Ujong nominee.

The small British force was unprepared for hostilities and withdrew over the Bukit Putus pass, after an exchange of rifle fire in which there were no casualties. Encouraged by the rapid retreat of the Resident's party, and anxious to demonstrate to Syed Abdul Rahman that he could not take liberties in Sri Menanti territory, Tengku Antah led a force of about eight hundred men over the pass to within seven miles of Seremban, the headquarters of the Dato Klana Syed Abdul Rahman and of the Assistant Resident.

Tengku Antah sent a Malay letter to Murray with an official translation which began: "What is passed, let it be passed. But do not let it happen again. We should be a little polite, because a good man is always polite and a bad man without manners. Politeness should be our garment." The rest of the letter contained a warning to Murray not to interfere in Terachi.

A detachment of Tengku Antah's force—estimated at two hundred—took the Paroi police post on the night of 2 December and on 4 December occupied Ampangan on the east bank of the Linggi River dangerously close to the Dato Klana's house. They were dislodged from there by a rapid counter-attack and the accurate gunnery of the Assistant

Resident using a brass field gun which belonged to the Dato Klana, and they fell back again on Paroi the following day.

By now reinforcements for Dato Klana consisting of eighty-five Arabs had arrived from Malacca and the Malay positions at Paroi were attacked on 7 December. Once again the brass muzzle-loaded field gun played an important part and though Tengku Antah's men inflicted heavy casualties on the small attacking force—eleven killed and thirty-one wounded—they were unaccustomed to artillery fire and withdrew to well-chosen positions at the top of Bukit Putus Pass.

While Syed Abdul Rahman remained at Rasah, Colonel Anson, the Lieutenant-Governor, who had arrived from Penang on 12 December, organised a two-pronged attack on Tengku Antah's position using the 358 officers and men of the 1st Gurkhas who had been sent from Singapore. The attack consisted of a frontal assault up the valley to Bukit Putus Pass and an outflanking column, which moved via Langkap, accompanied by the Assistant Resident, to take Tengku Antah in the rear. While the main body was held up by felled trees blocking the steep approach, Captain Channer with twenty-five Gurkhas led a reconnaissance patrol which surprised and captured the principal Malay stockades on Monday.

20 December. For this Captain Channer was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Having lost the key position on the pass, Tengku Antah's force withdrew towards Sri Menanti. They might have occupied other defensive positions but the outflanking column reached Terachi on 22 December and over five hundred Gurkha and British troops assembled there.

Against such an overwhelming force Tengku Antah and his principal supporters had no alternative but to scatter and retreat into hiding. Colonel Anson and Dato Klana Syed Abdul Rahman moved up to Terachi on 22 December and sent a column to Sri Menanti which, though it met no opposition, burnt Yam Tuan Radin's handsome palace, a senseless piece of vandalism. This column also occupied and burnt Dato Jempul's village. Tengku Antah and his family, the Dato Muar and other Johol headmen became fugitives and for many months their whereabouts were unknown.

It may now be opportune to review the situation in Sungei Ujong, where Syed Abdul Rahman had succeeded the old and ineffective Dato Klana Sending in 1872. His position as Dato Klana was precarious so long as the elderly but uncompromising Dato Bandar Tunggal, who lived at Rasah, only a couple of miles away, claimed equal rank and

exercised autocratic control of the Rasah tin mines and their rising revenue.

The new Dato Klana had no influential friends in Negri Sembilan and he turned in his extremity to the British in Singapore. On 21 April 1874 Syed Abdul Rahman and the Dato Muda Linggi signed an agreement at Government House, Singapore, placing themselves under British protection. His action aggravated the situation and increased local opposition. Syed Abdul Rahman, in his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor at Malacca dated 24 September 1874 complained that "When the 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 and hoist the flag, then came Dato Bandar and prevented its being raised up so as to fly our friend's flag. If we raise the flag, perhaps the Dato Bandar will attack our place. And further we would like very much to have our country populous and a good straight road for traders to come and go on. And further we would very much like an officer from the Governor who can give good advice so that we may do what is right under that protection. Now Dato Bandar wants to fight us. It will hurt our country; this is what we complain and ask our friend's help. When we went to Sepang the Dato Bandar told the Chinese in our territory to create a disturbance."

The Dato Bandar made no secret of the fact that he was violently opposed to the Dato Klana's agreement with the British, and the proposal to admit a British official to assist in the administration of Sungei Ujong. In this he had the support of a substantial section of the Malay population and of the recently defeated Raja Mahmud of Selangor, a warrior of such fiery reputation that his arrival at Rasah was enough to cause Syed Abdul Rahman's Malay supporters to disappear overnight. It was also rumoured that the Dato Bandar would call on the Chinese miners of Rasah, who numbered ten thousand, to join him in driving out the Dato Klana, following the example of the rival Malay leaders, Raja Mahdi and Tengku Kudin, in the Selangor Civil War which had only recently ended in the defeat of Raja Mahdi and his close friend Raja Mahmud.

Syed Abdul Rahman relied mainly on Arab mercenaries recruited from Singapore and these were clearly inadequate, if the Dato Bandar attacked him.

The Governor sent Mr. W. A. Pickering on 4 October 1874 to assist the Dato Klana with advice, to use his influence to keep the large Chinese population from taking part in the Malay quarrels, and to try to persuade the Dato Bandar to submit his grievances to arbitration by the Governor. Picker-

ing spoke fluent Chinese, and had already played a prominent part in restoring peace to the warring Chinese clans in Larut, Perak. He obtained an undertaking from the miners and with the assistance of Mr. F. Swettenham, who was then stationed at Langat and who spoke Malay more fluently than Pickering, he secured a provisional agreement from the Dato Bandar to refrain from further hostilities. Pickering then returned to Singapore but he came back to Sungei Ujong early in November with the Governor's instructions to try to persuade the Dato Bandar to come to Singapore for a discussion.

In the meantime the Dato Bandar's opposition to the Dato Klana had stiffened. He had fortified positions at Rasah, Rahang and Kepayang and had appointed Raja Mahmud as his *Panglima Perang* (War Chief). Pickering called on the Dato Bandar but found that he was only playing with me". The Dato Klana's position was precarious. Nearly all his Malay followers had deserted him and he wrote to the Lieutenant Governor asking for reinforcements.

In a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Malacca dated 20 November, Dato Klana wrote, "We inform our friend that on the 7th day of Shawal (17 November) fighting was begun between us and the Dato Bandar until the 8th day of Shawal. Now we and the Dato Bandar are enemies and can never

be friends again. We inform our friend that our friend must pity us and help us." On the same day he wrote to the Colonial Secretary: "We have concluded that all our men in our country have proved to be utterly untrustworthy with the exception of those that are in our district only, but we cannot put too much reliance even upon them."

Pickering writing to Singapore from Ampangan on 19 November complained that "I am now sure that if left to himself Mahmud and Dato Bandar will clear him [Syed Abdul Rahman] out. Besides ourselves and the Arabs there is not a man to depend on in the country: all are terrified at the name of Mahmud. No news is brought in that can be relied on till some disaster occurs."

Assistance arrived on 25 November under Captain S. Dunlop, R.A., the acting Inspector-General of Police of the Straits Settlements, supported by artillery. When Captain Dunlop's troops advanced, Raja Mahmud and the Dato Bandar were waiting in strongly protected positions at Kepayang but they withdrew unexpectedly after a token resistance and no further fighting took place. It was the end of the war. Rasah and Rahang had both been badly damaged by the Bandar's men and the mines were at a standstill.

By mid-December the Dato Bandar and Raja Mahmud had signed agreements promising to refrain

from further disturbances of the peace; the mines had started work; and the Dato Klana's position was stable for the first time since his election. Captain Dunlop and Mr. Pickering sailed for Singapore on 15 December leaving Captain Walter J. J. Tatham, R.A., who had come up with Dunlop from Singapore in November, as Acting Commissioner for Sungei Ujong, a post which was renamed "Assistant Resident" shortly afterwards.

For a time Syed Abdul Rahman's authority was undisputed. The old Dato Bandar resigned and a new Dato Bandar, Ahmad bin Mohd. Ali, was nominated by Syed Abdul Rahman. In April 1875, Captain Tatham went to England on sick leave and Sir Andrew Clark recommended that the "Retired Commander Patrick J. Murray, R.N.R. be appointed Acting Assistant Resident Sungei Ujong". Murray had distinguished himself in command of H.M.S. *Wizard* in operations off the coast of Turkey and Crete; he had also served on the China Coast and had come to the notice of the Governor while on naval duty in Singapore. He was reported to have acquired "a fair knowledge of Malay" and to have "energy coupled with tact and discrimination".

Murray built himself a wooden house on a ridge which separated the Dato Klana at Ampangan from the Dato Bandar at Rasah, above what is now Chaner Road, Seremban. He had sixty-eight Police

(fifty of whom were armed with rifles) and forty-five men of the British 10th Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant H. C. Hinxman, to secure his position and that of the Dato Klana, against whom opposition was again growing.

Rasah was still the trading and tin mining centre of Sungei Ujong, and had been the site of a permanent market for generations. The town of Seremban was as yet unborn and the only access from the outer world for troops and traders was the Linggi River.

Syed Abdul Rahman's agreement with the British and the appointment of an Assistant Resident drew most of the Malay Chiefs in Negri Sembilan together in opposition. They feared that British officials would deprive them of many of their traditional privileges and powers, and Tengku Antah found himself temporarily elevated to the role of a second Raja Melwar, as leader of the opposition to a foreign power.

A meeting of the major Chiefs was convened, which Syed Abdul Rahman declined to attend, and it was agreed to recognise Tengku Antah as Yam Tuan. Tengku Antah now retaliated by refusing to recognise Syed Abdul Rahman and by supporting another claimant to the office who had agreed to join in electing Tengku Antah as Yam Tuan. It is against this background that Tengku Antah's

attack on Syed Abdul Rahman and Murray in December 1875 should be seen.

It was, in the eyes of most Malay Chiefs, a gallant adventure, in the best traditions of the royal family of Sri Menanti. The centuries-old British policy of non-intervention in the Malay States had been reversed by Lord Kimberley early in 1874 acting through Sir Andrew Clark, the Governor, and the Agreement with Sungei Ujong followed by more than six months the appointment of British Residents in Perak and Selangor. A proposal from Singapore to send another British official to Sri Menanti as British Agent, and to appoint Tengku Ahmad Tunggal as Malay Captain of Sri Menanti, Ulu Muar and Jempul was rejected by the Secretary of State, who wished to have further experience of the working of the residential system before making any additional appointments.

Commander Murray's appointment as Assistant Resident of Sungei Ujong was at first a temporary one. Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, informed the Admiralty in June 1875 that Murray had been temporarily selected and asked that he should be allowed to continue to hold the post of Assistant Resident "until a permanent appointment is made to it, which will not be until Sir W. Jervois, the new Governor, has had time to consider in what

manner this and other Residencies in the Malay States shall be filled".

Evidently Governor Jervois approved of Murray's conduct of affairs in Sungei Ujong, for he remained as Assistant Resident until his sudden death, possibly from heat-stroke, in 1881.

A visitor to Seremban in January 1880, Mrs. Bishop, described Murray and his surroundings in some detail in a book called *The Golden Chersonese*—"He is a man of about thirty-eight, under the middle height, bronzed, disconnected in his conversation from the habit of living without anyone in or out of the house to speak to; very blunt, very undignified, thoroughly well disposed to the Malays and Chinese. He lives alone, unguarded: trusts himself by night and day without any escort among the people, keeps up no ceremony at all and is approachable at all hours.

"Like most travellers, he has some practical knowledge of medicine, and he gives advice and medicines generously, allowing himself to be interrupted at all hours. There is no doctor nearer than Malacca. He has been so successful that people came from the neighbouring states for advice. Children are subject to a loathsome malady called 'puru'. The body and head are covered with pustules containing matter looking very much like smallpox. Local people believe that it must run its course for

a year. Captain Murray cures it in a few days with iodide of potassium and iodine." Mrs. Bishop refers to Murray's unorthodox conduct of court cases, when he sat as Magistrate, sometimes accompanied by the Dato Klana, and assisted by Malay and Chinese interpreters. Prisoners were employed on making roads and by 1880 it was possible to drive by pony carriage from Nyato on the Linggi to Seremban. Other earth roads laid out by Murray were under construction. Mrs. Bishop paid a visit to the Dato Bandar's house at Mambau (Dato Klana was away in Malacca).

"The house with three others, a godown on very high pillars, with many coconut trees were surrounded by a high fence. The Dato Bandar led us up a steep ladder by which his house is entered. We stepped from the ladder into a long corridor, well matted, which led to a doorway with a gold-embroidered silk curtain. This was the entrance to a small room, very well proportioned. The room was cool and wainscoted entirely with dark red wood.

"The furniture consisted of three handsome cabinets with hangings of gold and crimson embroidery, a divan, several ebony chairs, a round table covered with a cool yellow cloth and a table against the wall draped with crimson silk flowered with gold. The floor was covered with fine matting. The Dato Bandar's brother came in, a very hand-

some Haji. He has lived in Mecca for eight years studying the Koran, and in quest of Muslim learning has spent several thousand dollars. A good many pretty, quiet children stood about whom the Dato gave us to understand were the off-spring of three mothers."

Mrs. Bishop mentioned that the different Chinese clans lived in different parts of Seremban (which she spelt Serambang), and had separate markets and gaming houses. All the Chinese at the time of her visit had their heads shaved with the exception of a single long strand of hair often five feet long, which was wound round the crown of the head by tin mining labourers when working but at other times hung down behind them.

The rich Chinese wore a "white shirt-like garment of embroidered silk crepe over their trousers and petticoat". She visited the houses of two Captains (Chinese Clan Headmen) where she was offered champagne but asked for and was given tea. "The houses are very rude," she observed, "considering their ample means, and have earthen floors. They have comfortable carriages and their gentle sweet-mannered children were loaded with gold and diamonds" (the visit was during Chinese New Year).

Meanwhile in June 1876 Tengku Antah went to Johore Bahru and placed himself in the hands of Maharaja Abu Bakar who brought him to see

the Governor. Tengku Antah was described as "proud and truculent looking", but he promised to bring the Chiefs of Johol, Ulu Muar, Terachi and Gunong Pasir to Singapore, and in November, "still determined in appearance, but courteous and dignified", he brought all the Chiefs who supported him to Government House and an agreement was signed recognising Tengku Antah as Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Inas, with the title of Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sri Menanti. This agreement, which was dated 23 November 1876 included an undertaking to refer any disputes to the Maharaja of Johore and bears the seals of Tengku Antah, the Dato Johol, and the Dato Muar; the mark of Dato Jempul and Dato Terachi; and the mark of the representative of Dato Gunong Pasir and Dato Inas. Tengku Antah returned to Sri Menanti having accepted the title of "Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sri Menanti" early in 1877 and a Johore official named Che' Andak was sent from Muar (Johore) by the Maharaja to live at Sri Menanti. Murray described Tengku Antah's return: "On arriving within a quarter of a mile of the Astana, Tengku Antah got off his pony and together with his wife, mother and children were carried on men's shoulders, accompanied by Tengku Ahmad, to the graves of their ancestors, where they devoted half an hour to prayer." Two years later

in 1879 Yam Tuan Antah's old enemy, Syed Abdul Rahman, died in Mecca and his successor, Dato Klana Mohd. Yusof initiated a new period of passive recognition.

In March and April 1877 respectively, the Undang of Rembau and the Yam Tuan Muda of Jelebu signed agreements with the Governor promising to refer disputes to the Maharaja of Johore and agreeing to allow all races to trade freely in their territory. For a time it seemed possible that Johore would resume its traditional role of overlord of Negri Sembilan. But the 1877 agreements met with opposition both in Rembau and Jelebu and they were denounced as invalid, for neither the Undang nor the Yam Tuan Muda had authority to sign such documents alone. In Rembau, for example, any treaty or agreement required the signatures of at least the majority of the eight headmen of the *suku* (tribes) before it could be regarded as valid.

In Sri Menanti also, it was not long before the concept of a federation with Johore lost its original attraction, as the benefits of efficient administration in Sungei Ujong and the neighbouring State of Selangor became better known. The new town of Seremban was growing, roads were being built to augment the Linggi River route and by 1887 a start had been made in laying the Sungei Ujong Railway from Seremban to Arang-Arang (renamed Port

Dickson in 1889 after Sir Frederick Dickson, the Colonial Secretary).

Early in 1886 the Governor, Sir Frederick Weld, who took a keen interest in Negri Sembilan affairs, visited Sri Menanti. He had earlier made loans to Yam Tuan Antah for the purpose of constructing bridle paths connecting the small States of Sri Menanti and it was hoped that these would lead to increased trade with Malacca and increased revenue and stability for Tengku Antah. His revenue in 1886 amounted to only \$2,600, drawn mainly from import duties on opium and spirits which were farmed out to Chinese tax collectors, payments for gambling booths and pawn shops, and a ten per cent. export duty on tin.

Yam Tuan Antah agreed to the appointment of a British Officer to be stationed in Kuala Pilah to assist in revenue collection, and R. N. Bland, a cadet, was sent there with the title of Superintendent, in June. At the end of 1886, the more experienced Martin Lister replaced Bland and remained there till 1895. The Hon. Martin Lister had come to Selangor as a planter in about 1883 and entered Government service in 1884. He served first in the Resident's Office in Perak, under Sir Hugh Low, having Hugh Clifford as his fellow cadet, and was then posted to Ulu Selangor as District Officer, where he became a close

friend of Frank Swettenham. Yam Tuan Antah's revenue increased to over \$8,000 in 1887 and in June of that year he signed a fresh treaty placing the Sri Menanti States under British protection.

Since Murray's untimely death in 1881, W. F. B. Paul had held the appointment of Assistant Resident Sungei Ujong, with responsibility for Jelebu in addition, and he continued to serve in Seremban until 1893.

In July 1889 Rembau and Tampin, represented by Dato Sedia Raja Siron and Tengku Syed Hamid, formed a confederacy with Sri Menanti, which was described as "Old Negri Sembilan", and Martin Lister's responsibilities were extended to cover all three areas.

Yam Tuan Antah did not live to see this.

In 1887, a severe epidemic of smallpox ravaged Negri Sembilan. Tengku Antah was attacked by the disease and died on 22 October 1887. Owing to the terror caused by the deadly infection, it was impossible to conduct the funeral with traditional ceremony or to elect his successor, and it was not until 8 December that Tengku Besar Muhammad, eldest son of Yam Tuan Antah, was proclaimed Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sri Menanti by Martin Lister. Tengku Muhammad was then twenty-two years old.

The Undang of Rembau, Dato Haji Sahil, who had signed the 1877 agreement with Johore had been

deposed in 1883, and a fresh agreement, made in March of that year, by which all disputes were to be referred to the Governor in Singapore, was signed by the new Undang, the eight minor Chiefs and a galaxy of other notables including the Dato Klana Sungei Ujong, the Dato Bandar, the Tengku Besar Tampin, Yam Tuan Antah and representatives of the Sultans of Perak and Selangor. In August of the same year, a similar but more far-reaching treaty was made with Jelebu. The Yam Tuan Muda, Tengku Abdullah, was relieved of his appointment in return for a life pension of \$1,200 a year, disputes were to be referred to the Governor, and a Collector was to be appointed to assist in the administration of an area which had been subjected to raids from Pahang as well as intermittent civil war for many years. Although there were three rival claimants, the post of Yam Tuan Muda Jelebu was abolished when Tengku Abdullah died in December 1884 and the first "Collector" arrived to take up an appointment in Jelebu in June 1885.

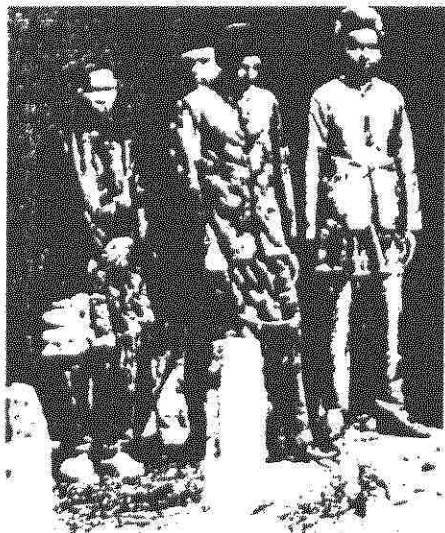
The administrative partition of Negri Sembilan between Sungei Ujong on the one hand and "Old Negri Sembilan" on the other continued until June 1895 when Yam Tuan Muhammad and the four Undang formed a confederation of six States, placed them under British protection and asked for a British Resident. In view of the long duel for power



1. Three carved megalithic stone parts of Keramat Sungai Udang Pengkalalan Kempas: (Left to right) "the Rudder", "the Spoon" and "the Sword".

11. The north side of a stone pillar, dated s.a. 1467 and part of the Keramat Sungai Udang, Pengkalalan Kempas. The inscription was deciphered and translated by Professor F. V. van Steen Callenfels in 1924/25. It reads as follows: "at that time Ahmad Marjan came down stream to play a trick. He died the Ahmad. The army of the children and Sadangs of Ahmad Marjan died a low death. All live."





III. Yam Tuan Anrah of Seri Menanti (right) and his followers, 1887.



IV. Dato Klana Petry Syed Abdul Rahman of Sungai Ujong, c. 1879.



V. Yam Tuan Muhammad as a young man, with two followers, at the second Federated Malay States Durbar, Kuala Lumpur, 1905.



VI. Hon Martin Lister, first British Resident of Negri Sembilan, 1893-1897.



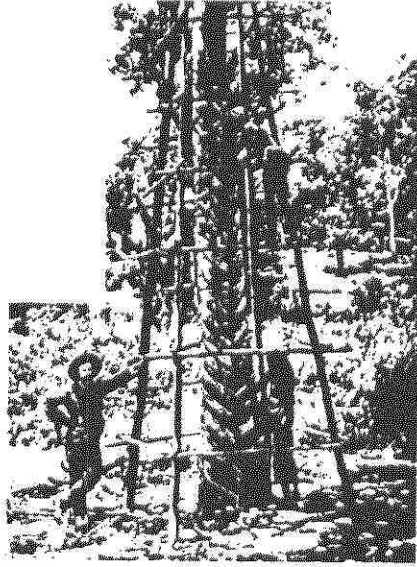
VII. Group of Sungai Ujong Chiefs (1900)
with Dato Kiana Ma'amar as a youth, and Dato Bandar Hazi Ahmad on his left.



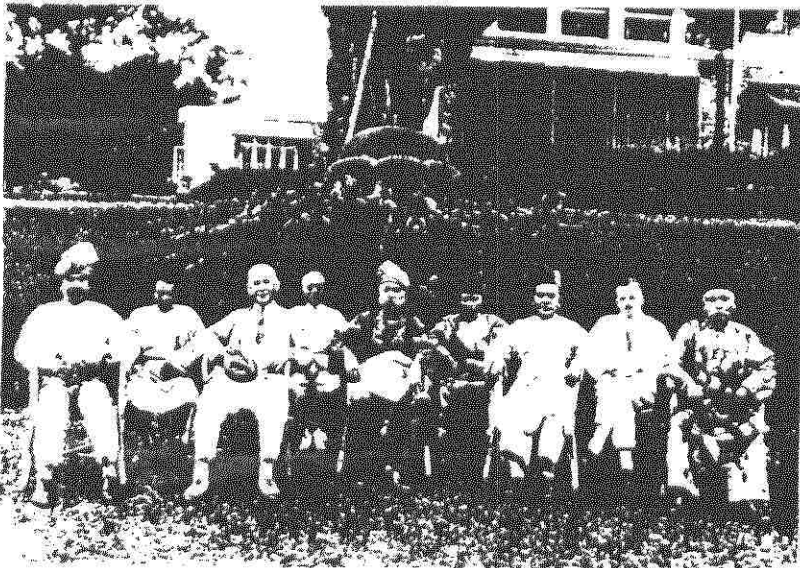
VIII. Group at Sei Montani during the triennial Masyhahah in 1926,
with Sir Lawrence Guillemard, the High Commissioner, and
Yuan Tuan Mubiyana



IX. Capitan Lee Sam, last Capitan China of Seremban and a wealthy tin miner.

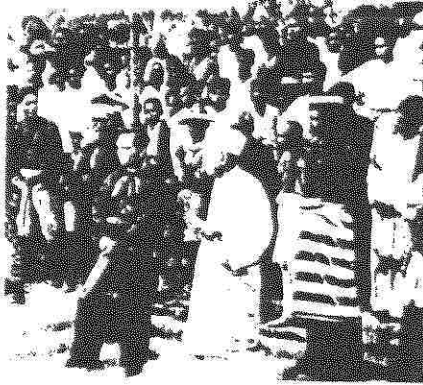


X. One of the first rubber trees on a plantation in Malaya, Linsum Estate, Negri Sembilan, being tapped in 1901. It was then twenty-three years old.

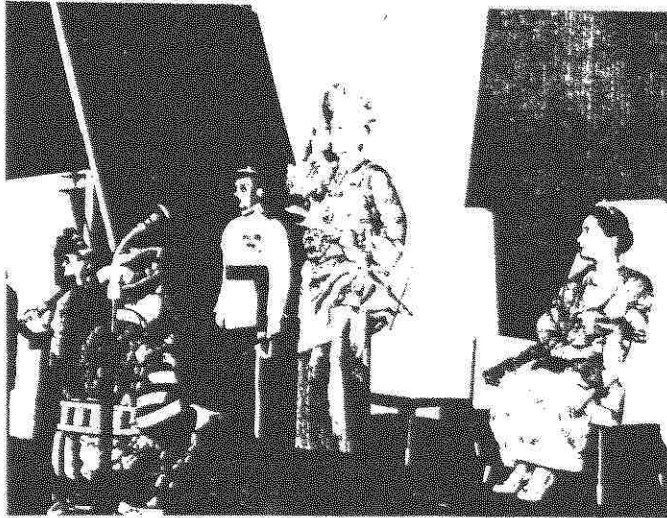


XI. Haji Yam Tuan Muhammad and his Council (Upper House) outside the Residency, Seremban, 1931.

XII. *Right*
Yam Tuan Abdul Rahman
(left) at the funeral of
his father, Yam Tuan
Muhammad (1933).



XIII. *Below*
H. H. Tuanku Abdul Ra-
hman being installed as the
first Yang di-Pertuan Agong
September 1917.



between the Dato Klana and Dato Bandar of Sungei Ujong, it is of note that this historic Treaty was signed twice by Dato Bandar Ahmad, once as acting Dato Klana (on behalf of Dato Ma'amor who was a minor) and once in his own capacity using the seal of the Dato Bandar. The Hon. Martin Lister, who had served in Negri Sembilan since 1886, was the first holder of the unified appointment. He died of blood poisoning, contracted while walking through the jungle, early in 1897. A handsome archway erected to his memory in Kuala Pilah and a fountain of drinking-water in Seremban were expressions of the widespread sorrow felt by all communities and all levels of society.

Tengku Muhammad, Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, proved to be a prince of exceptional talents and virtues. He was tall, handsome, and a first-class athlete, he had progressive ideas about administration and female education, he moved easily with rich and poor alike and he was on good terms with the Ruling Chiefs, none of whom were at that time long established. He was already the senior member of a confederation which included nearly two-thirds of Negri Sembilan, omitting only Jelebu and Sungei Ujong, and the 1895 Treaty which united the territory under one Resident pointed the way to the acceptance of a single ruler.

Mr. Ernest Birch, who replaced Martin Lister,

had the privilege of concluding the negotiations which restored the position of Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan. The four Undang and the Dato Bandar Sungei Ujong agreed on 29 April 1898 to acknowledge Yam Tuan Muhammad of Sri Menanti as Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan. They further agreed that though the office was to remain elective, each succeeding Yam Tuan should be chosen from the princes of the Sri Menanti royal family.

The installation of Yam Tuan Muhammad took place on 7 May 1898 with elaborate ceremony.

The event achieved in full measure the dream of unity and harmony which Raja Melewar conceived over a century earlier and his Constitution, promulgated at Penajis, was freely accepted and implemented, probably for the first time, by all contracting parties.

CHAPTER SIX

TWENTIETH CENTURY CHANGES IN NEGRI SEMBILAN

TUANKU MUHAMMAD reigned as Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan for thirty-five years. It was a period of tremendous changes, spectacular development and unparalleled prestige for the Yam Tuan. A brief survey of the situation shortly before his installation in 1898 will provide a background against which to view subsequent changes.

A "Federal Council of Negri Sembilan" had been established and held session in October 1895, soon after the treaty which united Negri Sembilan into an administrative confederation. Tuanku Muhammad, who at that time was still Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, presided, and the other members were Dato Bandar Ahmad, acting as Undang of Sungei Ujong, Dato Syed Ali of Jelebu, Dato Siron of Rembau, Dato Wan Omar of Johol, the Hon. Martin

Lister, British Resident of Negri Sembilan, Tengku Muda Chik of Sri Menanti (uncle of the Yam Tuan), Tengku Dewa of Tampin, Dato Mohd. Bastan of Linggi, Capitan Chin Woh and Capitan Lee Sam.

Prior to this, the two areas—Sungei Ujong including Jelebu on the one hand, and Kuala Pilah, Rembau and Tampin (Old Negri Sembilan) on the other—had been administered separately, each with its own Police Force, its own government departments and its own revenue and expenditure, and in Sungei Ujong there was a "State Council" which included the Undang of Jelebu, over which the Undang of Sungei Ujong had presided.

Martin Lister, whose tact and personality had helped greatly in the forging of the 1895 Confederation, described the difficulties preceding it and the unprecedented cordiality which prevailed at the first meeting of the Council.

"In arranging for the signing of the Treaty [of June 1895] the acting Dato Klana [the Dato Bandar] of Sungei Ujong soon agreed, although he was more or less kept back by the Dato Penghulu of Jelebu. However in the end the Dato Penghulu agreed to sign the Treaty after representations had been made continually by Mr. Arthur Keyser, the Collector and Magistrate of Jelebu, not only to the Dato Penghulu, but to the other Chiefs of Jelebu.

The Dato Penghulu's only objection was that he might find himself later under the Rajaship of Sri Menanti. He had got rid of the Raja family in Jelebu and consequently feared the ascendancy of the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti. Repeated explanations of the Treaty at last made him understand that his present position would be exactly the same as heretofore in so far as the State of Jelebu was concerned, and this being finally understood, he, together with the [acting] Dato Klana of Sungei Ujong, preferred allying themselves directly to the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti and the other Chiefs of Negri Sembilan, than to the Yam Tuan of Selangor." Lister continued:

"At the first meeting of the new [combined] State Council, the Chiefs met on the very best of terms and I was glad to see the Dato Penghulu of Jelebu taking his place next to the Yam Tuan. The Chiefs before and after Council conversed together in the most friendly way, and the former somewhat strained relations between the Dato Penghulu Jelebu and Tengku Muda Chik appeared to have vanished entirely. The acting Dato Klana is most friendly with His Highness the Yam Tuan and visited him in Kuala Pilah."

The Legislation passed at this first meeting consisted of the Labour Code, the Mining Code, the Postal Code, the Pensions Regulation, a Regulation

relating to Railways, a Regulation for the more effectual Prevention of Crime, the application of the Penal Code throughout the whole State, and an order for the periodic revision of Land Rents.

"The Chiefs also agreed upon a Flag for the Federated States of Negri Sembilan."

Very soon after the Confederation of Negri Sembilan had been finalised, the British Resident of Perak, Frank Swettenham, visited the Yam Tuan and the Ruling Chiefs in July 1895 to seek their agreement to the Treaty of Federation of the four Malay States. Swettenham's comments on the poor standard of communications which he found, and Martin Lister's reply, help us to visualise the changes which have since taken place.

In Lister's annual report for 1895 he wrote: "In Mr. F. A. Swettenham's itinerary when visiting the various chiefs, he says he drove over Bukit Tangga (1,000 feet) by probably the worst main road of the Federated States, to Jelebu." Lister then explained that by the end of the year 1895 this road had been metalled and added that "probably no mountain road in the peninsula has such heavy traffic as the Jelebu road. Jelebu can now be reached from Seremban, driving, in three and a half hours and the distance is about 24 miles. This includes stopping for changing horses." Lister also reported that the Bukit Putus section of what he called "the

TWENTIETH CENTURY CHANGES

cart road" to Kuala Pilah had been metalled in 1895, and stated that Kuala Pilah could easily be reached in "from three and a half to four hours driving", the distance being twenty-five miles. Road work in Kuala Pilah was carried out mainly by local Malays who were paid between twenty cents and thirty cents a day, but in the coastal districts Malays do not appear to have been available and a rapid increase in the opening of coffee estates was reported to have resulted in a scarcity of Indian labour. Rubber is not mentioned in Lister's 1895 report, but Liberian coffee, gambier, pepper and tapioca were all being planted on blocks of land, newly alienated to British and Chinese pioneers.

Tin mining was a major industry in the Jelevu and Seremban districts and the tin revenue in 1895 was \$65,841 from Jelevu and \$91,606 from Seremban. Two gold mining syndicates were formed in Kuala Pilah in the same year.

The population of Negri Sembilan in 1895 is not recorded, but we know that in the 1891 Census it was 65,219 of whom 48,480 were Malays and that in 1901 when the next Census was taken, the total had risen to 96,028. This large increase was mainly due to Chinese immigration, and Lister reported that new towns and villages had been laid out in various places to accommodate the immigrants. One of those mentioned was Broga which sprang into

MAP 6. Seremban, 1893 — 1896

1. Residency. Hon. Martin Lister, B.R.
2. Superintendent of Works and Surveys, Sungai Ujong. Lince State Engineer, N.S., Mr. Harvey Caldicott.
3. Mr. H. Bathurst, D.O., C.L.R., Magistrate, etc.
4. Dr. Braddon, Medical Officer.
5. Inspector of Police, Mr. Conway.
6. Old Court House.
7. Two Police Barracks.
8. Police Parade Ground.
9. 9a. Sungai Ujong Club.
10. P.W.D. Office.
11. Gaol.
12. Bungalows occupied by Clerks, Warders, Postmaster, etc.
13. Reading Room, Eurasian Club. The surrounding area was a five hole golf course used by the S.U. Club.
14. Post Office from which a flag was waved to signal the 6 p.m. gun.
15. St Mark's Church.
16. Seremban terminus station, S. Ujong Railway (to Port Dickson), and goods yard.
17. Station Master and Railway Foreman.
18. Hospital.
19. Halop Hill, Manager, B. Nanas Coffee Estate.
20. Hindu Temple.
21. Padang with tennis court and small pavilion.
22. Straits Trading Co., Manager.
23. The Town, a single street of shops, both sides.

prosperous existence owing to the opening of tin mines in the neighbourhood.

The Sungei Ujong Railway, which connected Port Dickson with Seremban long before there was rail communication from Seremban to Kuala Lumpur or the south, continued to be operated as a limited company. It played an important part in encouraging and facilitating the introduction of capital into the State and the opening up of lands and mines at a time when other means of communication were still inadequate.

Lack of communications was also blamed in part for irregular attendance at Malay vernacular schools in 1895. There were only eighteen of these in the whole State, nine in Seremban district, one in Rembau, two in the coastal district, four in Jelebu and two in Kuala Pilah.

Lister observed that the average total attendance of pupils at the nine schools in Seremban district was only 217 as compared with an enrolment of 358. He mentioned that the Yam Tuan was arranging for a school-house to be built near his Istana at Tanjong Beringin, and that the attendance at the school at Kuala Pilah had increased from 27 to 114 per day.

He added that provision was being made in 1896 for a school in Seremban for the sons of Chiefs and others, at which English would be taught.

The conditions and lack of communications prevailing in 1895 in Negri Sembilan were similar to those in most parts of Selangor and better than those in Pahang. It was thus a major undertaking for the whole of the Negri Sembilan State Council to travel to Perak to attend the first Durbar of Malay Rulers and Chiefs which was opened by Sir Charles Mitchell, the High Commissioner, at the *Istana Negara*, Kuala Kangsar on 14 July 1897. The Chief Architect of the Federation of the four Malay States, Sir Frank Swettenham, now Resident General, presided over the three day conference, which was conducted in Malay. Though he was the youngest ruler present and very much junior to Sultan Idris of Perak and Sultan Ahmad of Pahang, Yam Tuan Muhammad took an active part in the discussions, and it was at his suggestion that it was decided that the Council should not be held twice in succession in the same State. He raised four subjects for consideration, one of which was the need for a law to enforce the payment of the Muslim religious tithe *zakat*. Although during the debate there was opposition to his proposal, he eventually obtained a unanimous vote in favour of making the payment of *zakat* compulsory for Muslims. Another subject initiated by Yam Tuan Muhammad was the appointment, terms of service, and letters of authority of Penghulus and the provision of

balai (small court-houses) for them, which was discussed at considerable length. None of the Ruling Chiefs of Negri Sembilan appear to have made any contribution to these discussions, but the opportunities to meet and talk informally with other rulers and chiefs may have had the effect of considerably broadening their outlook.

After their return to Negri Sembilan the question of restoring the position of Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan was discussed, and eventually agreed by the four Ruling Chiefs in the following year and incorporated in an agreement dated 29 April 1898.

When we recall the fact that Tuanku Muhammad had not even been formally installed as Yam Tuan Sri Menanti by the Ruling Chiefs, and if we remember the reluctance with which the Jelebu Chief signed the 1895 Confederation Agreement, we are likely to attribute the 1898 agreement largely to the wisdom, tact and personality of Tuanku Muhammad himself. At the same time it may be presumed that the British used their considerable influence to establish and perpetuate a single "Ruler" in Negri Sembilan with whom they could conduct official communications, as in the three other Federated Malay States. This was obviously a much simpler and more convenient arrangement than one which required regular consultations with at least

four Ruling Chiefs.

Among the many changes which took place in the State in the next fifteen years none played such an important part as the planting of Para rubber. By 1898 the coffee crop was steadily deteriorating through disease, the wasteful effect of tapioca on land had been recognised and British companies with available capital were looking for an alternative. In 1902 there were 3,000 acres planted with rubber in Negri Sembilan and in that year 133 lb. of cultivated rubber were exported from the State for the first time. The value of this infant export was recorded as slightly over \$2,000. In the following year the official report to the High Commissioner speaks of a "boom in rubber", and 20,000 acres were applied for, mostly in the Seremban district. His Highness himself planted some of his land in Kuala Pilah with this new crop.

In 1904, the demand for Indian labour on rubber estates was so great that the Government provided free passages for labourers from Negapatam to Penang and by 1907 the export of rubber from the State was 808,000 lb. The demand for rubber land increased and in 1909 applications for 38,000 acres of land for rubber were received in Seremban district alone.

In the following year the export of rubber from Negri Sembilan rose to 2,581,000 lb., and the plant-

ing of Malay smallholdings with rubber was reported as extensive for the first time. Three years earlier, in 1907, the Ruling Chief of Johol, near Kuala Pilah, had initiated a scheme to assist villagers to plant one acre of rubber each, but though at first it met with little success, 18,000 acres of smallholdings in Kuala Pilah district had been planted with rubber by 1910. In 1913 the area under rubber in Negri Sembilan had further increased to 100,000 acres and in spite of the fall in the rubber price from four shillings and eight pence a pound in January to two shillings and three pence at the end of the year, the acreage under rubber continued to grow larger and rubber exports from the State were given as 3,995,000 lb., a figure which did not include rubber exported via Port Swettenham.

The rapid rise in revenue which resulted from rubber planting and from the great increase in tin production in the State is reflected in many of the other changes which took place throughout the State, though they were less spectacular.

While rubber trees sprouted over an ever wider area of the State, tin production soared to heights undreamed of. In 1898 the output of tin was 6,140 piculs, valued at \$42.71 a picul, but in 1904 the output had increased to 84,849 piculs. This was the peak figure and was never again equalled, but in spite of a gradual decline, the annual total stood at

31,658 piculs in 1912 at an average price of \$99.57 a picul.

The results of economic development could soon be seen in the State's financial returns. In 1898 Negri Sembilan had a public debt of \$495,000, a revenue of \$701,324.00 and an expenditure of \$730,859.00. In 1907 the revenue had jumped to \$2,265,604.00 and the expenditure was \$2,089,504.00 and in 1913 the State revenue was \$3,071,799.00 and its expenditure \$2,681,529.00. The public debt had been paid off.

The population which was estimated at 96,000 in the 1901 Census, was given as 130,199 in 1911.

The division by races in 1891, 1901 and 1911 throws light on the change in the racial composition of the population. It is summarised below:

	1891	1901	1911
Malays	48,480	56,935	69,745
Chinese	15,391	32,931	40,843
Tamils & other			
Indians	1,117	5,526	18,248
Europeans	61	142	960

Yam Tuan Muhammad took a particular interest in education and this is reflected in the rapid growth of schools in the State. In 1898 there were twenty-five Malay schools in the State with a total enrolment of 1,271 boys and the only English school had been closed. In June of the following year St.

Paul's (English) School was established in Seremban and was opened by Sir Charles Mitchell. The State Government made a grant-in-aid of half the cost of maintenance and by the end of the year there was an enrolment of thirty-five boys. Until the establishment of a Government English school first in Seremban and then in Kuala Pilah some years later, the State Government gave numerous scholarships to St. Paul's School which were awarded to the most promising boys in Malay elementary schools all over the State.

The Yam Tuan was strongly in favour of providing education for girls and in 1904 a Convent School for girls was opened in Seremban and received a Government grant. In the face of strong opposition from the more conservative members of the Malay community a girls' school for Malays was opened in Sri Menanti and by 1910 there were four girls' schools in the State with an enrolment of 177 pupils, as compared with a total enrolment of 72 girls in the whole of Selangor and none at all in Pahang.

A large programme of Public Works which included the Residency (1907), the Seremban Land Office (1910), the State Secretariat (1912), police stations, hospitals, water supplies, roads and bridges kept pace with other developments. A new *Istana* for the Yam Tuan in traditional Malay style was

completed at Sri Menanti towards the end of 1906.

But the sweeping changes which have been chronicled above brought relatively little benefit to the majority of the local Malays. The Customary Land Enactment, which made it illegal, in areas where the Minangkabau matrilineal custom was observed, to dispose of land owned by Malays to non-Malays or to Malays not subject to Customary Law, was strictly applied and was later in 1913, reinforced by the Malay Reservations Enactment. Yam Tuan Muhammad was the driving influence in providing and expanding these reserved areas.

Had it not been for the safeguards of the Customary Tenure Enactment and the provision of Malay Reservations, the offer of cash by immigrant speculators might well have tempted a majority of Malay villagers to exchange their luxuriant acres of fruit trees and house sites for the shadowy value of a bag of easily dissipated dollars.

The average Malay in Negri Sembilan, protected by custom and administrative safeguards from the effects of the booms and blizzards of the next two decades, devoted his attention to agriculture and to the absorbing hobby of partisanship in local rivalries for customary titles and offices.

The first fourteen years of the twentieth century saw the Yam Tuan consolidate his position in Negri Sembilan and greatly enhance his reputation in the

Federal Capital.

In 1901 the first of a series of triennial *mengbadap* ceremonies was inaugurated at Sri Menanti at which the four Ruling Chiefs, the Dato Shahbandar and the seven Penghulus—Dato Ulu Muar, Dato Jempul, Dato Terachi, Dato Gunong Pasir, Dato Inas, Dato Gemencheh and Dato Ayer Kuning—paid homage in the Palace, watched by government officials and members of the royal family. Each Chief advanced individually towards the dais on which the Yam Tuan sat, and ascended the carpeted steps one at a time, raising his hands in homage at each step, when he reached the top he kissed the hand of the Yam Tuan three times, each kiss being succeeded by a gesture of homage.

The introduction of this unequivocal acknowledgement of sovereignty may have been facilitated by the minority of the Dato Klana of Sungei Ujong, but it has been observed ever since. The position of Dato Klana had been neutralised and later virtually usurped by Dato Shahbandar Ahmad, who dominated Sungei Ujong affairs for more than thirty years. This remarkable but unprincipled adventurer first comes to our notice when he held the rank and title of *Panglima Perang* (Commander-in-Chief) next in authority to the old warrior Dato Bandar Tunggal. He had earned a reputation as a fearless warrior and he harboured boundless ambition. He

is reliably reported to have come to terms with Dato Klana Syed Abdul Rahman in November 1874 and to have deserted Dato Bandar Tunggal at Kepayang, in order to secure the post of Dato Bandar for himself, with a guarantee of Syed Abdul Rahman's support. It was his house which Mrs. Bishop visited in 1880.

Not content with this success, he plotted to remove Syed Abdul Rahman. The latter decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1879. None of the members of his family accompanied him and it has been suggested that Dato Bandar Ahmad played an important part in persuading him to go. A wealthy Arab merchant living in Sungei Ujong made all the arrangements for the Dato Klana's journey and for his stay in Mecca. Syed Abdul Rahman was in good health when he left Sungei Ujong and he was by no means an old man. It was therefore with great surprise that news was received from returning pilgrims some months later that the Dato Klana had died unexpectedly. The Arab merchant also confirmed the news on his return and claimed a large sum for funeral expenses. After the first shock of surprise, strong suspicion was expressed in Sungei Ujong that Syed Abdul Rahman had been a victim of foul play, which had been carefully planned by the Dato Bandar, but nothing could be proved.

Dato Bandar Ahmad did not achieve his object of controlling Sungei Ujong immediately. He had observed that there had been a heavy mortality among eligible adults and that the choice of the next Dato Klana was likely to rest between a number of minors, but a candidate from Mantin (Waris Setul) named Mohamed Yusof was unexpectedly elected. The new Undang's term of office was cut short however, when he was removed by the British in 1891 for misconduct. The influence of the Dato Bandar may once again be suspected.

This time there was no adult successor and a boy of twelve—Ma'amor bin Kassim—was elected Dato Klana. For the next seven years, Dato Bandar Haji Ahmad exercised the authority of the Undang of Sungei Ujong signing the agreement with the British in 1895 in that capacity, and continued to serve on the State Council and, as father-in-law of Dato Klana Ma'amor, to exercise considerable influence in Sungei Ujong affairs, until his death in 1928 at the age of ninety-nine.

The institution of a Federal Council in 1909, of which the Yam Tuan and the three Sultans of Perak, Selangor and Pahang and ten other persons were members, removed much of the authority of the State Councils, particularly in the sphere of legislation. It also brought Yam Tuan Muhammad in closer touch with Malayan affairs, and when

World War I broke out in 1914 the Yam Tuan, speaking at a meeting of the Federal Council at Kuala Kangsar in November 1914, proposed that a Malay Army should be created. "I think it is not difficult to enlist 20,000 young men for the army," he said. "It may be well to train men of seventeen years old for a term of not less than one year; then if they desire to serve in the army they may be accepted and given proper pay. Such soldiers, in my opinion, would be useful in these States, which are their home, and in case of internal disturbance in this country they could be sent to places where they are needed." This far-sighted proposal was not put into effect until nearly twenty years later, but when the first experimental company of the Malay Regiment was formed in 1933 shortly before his death, the site chosen for its headquarters was Port Dickson in Negri Sembilan, and this has been the home of the Regimental Depot ever since.

In May 1914 Yam Tuan Muhammad suffered a grievous personal loss. His eldest son, Tengku Abdul Aziz, who had been sent to the Land Office, Pekan, as a probationer-in-training a few months earlier, died of typhoid, at the age of nineteen. He was described as a young man of "winning disposition and much promise" and his premature death left his younger half-brother, Tengku Abdul Rahman, the heir apparent.

Yam Tuan Muhammad had married two wives in an attempt to placate rival groups in Sri Menanti; first Tengku Chik binti Tengku Ngah, a member of a Siak royal family, whom the *Orang Empat Istana* (the Four Palace Chiefs) claimed was the late Yam Tuan Antah's choice, and secondly Tengku Halijah, daughter of Tengku Muda Chik. Tengku Abdul Rahman was the only son of Tengku Chik. Tengku Abdul Aziz was a son of Tengku Halijah, who became the favourite wife of the Yam Tuan and received the title of Tengku Puan Halijah.

The First World War made but a minor impact on the modest progress and prosperity of Negri Sembilan. The prices of rubber and tin were high and the State Revenue which had totalled \$2,066,000 from all sources in 1910 rose to \$7,182,000 in 1917. But peace was followed by a world-wide economic depression. In Negri Sembilan there were 260,000 acres under rubber but many areas ceased to be tapped until the first Rubber Restriction Scheme was introduced in November 1922. This stabilised the price at about 50 cents a pound.

In 1925 the Yam Tuan paid his first visit to England and received the insignia of the K.C.V.O. at Buckingham Palace. He also visited the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley where there were many Negri Sembilan Malays assisting a former District Officer Port Dickson, Mr. (later Sir) David

Gammans, in the Malayan Pavilion.

A policy of decentralisation of authority was introduced by the Federal Government in 1927, and in Negri Sembilan the State Council, over which the Yam Tuan had presided for over thirty years, was dissolved and in its place two bodies were set up: a Council of the Yam Tuan and Undang, which functioned as an Upper Chamber, and a State Council, of which the British Resident was president, with eight official and seven unofficial members, as a Lower Chamber.

A new treaty had been signed by the Rulers including the four Undang, in April 1927, under which the Rulers withdrew from the Federal Council. State Councils were given wider powers and considered and approved their own State Budgets for the first time since 1909.

The Negri Sembilan State Revenue in 1927 reached \$13,397,000, the highest figure in State history, and one which was not equalled again before the Second World War. One item which contributed to this remarkable total was the receipt of \$710,000 for land sales and the area of land under rubber reached a new record total of 331,000 acres. Seremban town, which had been provided with electric lighting in 1916 now began to receive the attention of a newly-appointed Town Planner and its population totalled 20,000 inhabitants. Tin pro-

duction had again begun to increase, and it rose from 13,000 piculs in 1927 to 43,000 piculs in 1929.

This phase in the economic expansion of the State was reflected in the 1931 census figures which revealed that the Chinese population in the State outnumbered the Malays by over ten thousand (92,371 Chinese, 80,109 Malays), and that there were 50,000 Indians in Negri Sembilan, the majority of whom were employed on rubber estates.

But another economic depression now began to creep over the country, and by 1932 the State Revenue had shrunk to \$6,000,000. Many rubber holdings again ceased tapping and drastic retrenchment was undertaken by the Government. Indian labourers were repatriated, the price of *kampong* produce dropped and many shops in Seremban stood empty.

At this time of widespread distress, the health of the Yam Tuan, which had been uniformly good for so long, deteriorated gravely. He suffered a serious attack of malaria in December 1931 and this recurred in the following year.

His Highness had moved into a new and modern palace in 1931 and there he received the insignia of the G.C.M.G. in August, just before the Durbar of Rulers which was held at Sri Menanti. He attended another Durbar of Rulers at Pekan in April 1932 and on his return held his last triennial *mengbadap* ceremony at Sri Menanti. He again attended a

Durbar, this time at Kuala Kangsar, on 24 July 1935, but he became critically ill on his return and died on 1 August. He was sixty-eight years old.

His long reign had been notable for his statesmanship and progressive outlook. Genuinely and widely beloved by members of all communities, his genial personality and love of sport won him widespread popularity which extended far beyond the boundaries of his State.

Tengku Abdul Rahman, eldest surviving son of Yam Tuan Muhammad, was proclaimed Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan on 3 August 1935, the day of his father's funeral. He had qualified as a barrister in London, and was a member of the Malayan Civil Service, filling the appointment of District Officer, Batang Padang, Perak, at the time of his father's last illness.

The installation of Tuanku Abdul Rahman as Yam Tuan was followed by a period of fluctuating conditions, in which a second Rubber Restriction Scheme helped to restore economic stability.

The Ruling Chiefs who had elected the new Yam Tuan were all his seniors in age but the jealousies of former generations were forgotten.

In Sungei Ujong, Dato Klana Ma'amor had held office for thirty-five years; in Jelebu, Dato Abdullah who resided at Dusun Umbut far up the Kenaboi Valley, was another veteran of thirty-one years' ex-

perience. In Rembau, Dato Abdullah of Rembau had been elected in 1922 and had played a distinguished part as an unofficial member of the revised Federal Council, and the election of Dato Kamat of Johol dated from 1918. Dato Bandar Abdul Kadir, though he only replaced the old Dato Bandar Haji Ahmad in 1928, was an elderly man.

Yam Tuan Abdul Rahman held his first *mengbadap* ceremony in April 1937 shortly before he sailed for England to attend the coronation of King George VI. During his four months' absence, his uncle, Tengku Besar Burhanuddin, acted as Yam Tuan. In the same year Dato Abdullah of Rembau became mentally unsound and Dato Bandar Abdul Kadir of Sungei Ujong died. His death led to a situation which made amends for some at least of the tyrannies of the old Dato Ahmad. A deadlock occurred among the electors of a successor and the matter was eventually referred to Dato Klana Ma'amor, who nominated his son-in-law, Abu Bakar bin Haji Othman as the new Dato Bandar.

The general impression which an observant visitor to the State would have formed in 1939 was one of communal harmony, stable economy and well-ordered progress. Almost 400,000 acres were planted with rubber, and in spite of the low price (49 cents a pound at the end of the year) new land was being developed. Rice, the second largest agri-

cultural product, occupied 34,000 acres. There were 570 miles of road in the State, and the main-line railway passed through Seremban, Rembau and Tampin. The railway line to Port Dickson which had played an historic part in economic development fifty years earlier, had been closed in 1930.

A feature of recent years here, as elsewhere in Malaya, was the great increase in the number of Chinese women and the consequent increase in the birth-rate. This was also reflected in the educational pattern. In 1939 there were ninety-three Chinese vernacular schools with an enrolment of 6,025, including 1,619 girls, although none of these schools were built or staffed by the Government. In the rural areas there were ninety-one Malay vernacular boys' schools. Here again there was a new female influx and side by side with 8,390 boys there were 3,027 Malay girls attending boys' schools. Girls also attended the four Government Secondary Schools in which the teaching medium was English.

The threatening situation in Europe, following Hitler's insatiable thirst for power, led to the preparation of Civil Defence schemes in each State, and when war was declared in September 1939, food and price control, a food production drive, plans for the grouping of rubber estates, a mobile information and news service, temporary mobilisation training for members of the Volunteer Force, expansion of the

St. John Ambulance Brigade and the launching of a Malayan Patriotic Fund were among the activities in which all communities joined.

The Malay Regiment, which had begun jungle training at Port Dickson, was mobilised at Pasir Panjang, Singapore, as soon as war was declared, but the war was far away and it is probable that no one foresaw the hardships and changes which were to follow.

A Durbar of Rulers of the Federated Malay States was held in Sri Menanti on 25 November 1939, the first and the last in the reign of Tuanku Abdul Rahman, and in this and other ways a sense of security, unreal but widely accepted, was perpetuated, so that in November 1941, a month before the invasion of Malaya, the majority of the population were totally unprepared and largely unconcerned at the threatening situation in the Far East.

The speed of the Japanese advance, once they had landed in Kelantan, gave no time for belated psychological warfare, and the bulk of the civilian population were understandably apathetic. Seremban was occupied by the Japanese on 11 January 1942 and remained in their hands until the Japanese surrender late in August 1945 when Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Fenner of Force 136 (later Commissioner of the Royal Federation Police) emerged from the jungle near Langkap to take over temporary

control from Colonel Habu. British troops landed at Sepang and Port Dickson early in September and reoccupied the State.

Negri Sembilan and Malacca were combined under one senior Civil Affairs Officer during the British Military Administration, but when this was brought to an end on 1 April 1946, and replaced by the Malayan Union, a Resident Commissioner was appointed in charge of Negri Sembilan.

With the creation of the Federation of Malaya on 1 February 1948, new State Agreements between the Rulers of the Malay States and the United Kingdom were brought into effect, and a Malay Menteri Besar was appointed as the Chief Executive Officer of the State, assisted by a Malay State Secretary and a British Adviser. A State Executive Council, over which His Highness the Yam Tuan presided, and a Council of State, the President of which was the Menteri Besar, were inaugurated.

In June 1948 Communist plans to gain control of Malaya entered a new phase of violence. In 1945 the Communist organisation in the Malayan jungle, whose leaders were foreign born, had planned unsuccessfully to take over the administration of the country when the Japanese were defeated. For the next two years they tried to gain control of the Labour and Trade Union Movement and to create such economic chaos through strikes and labour unrest that the

Government would collapse. When new legislation to restrict office bearers of Trade Unions to bona fide members of the industry concerned, was introduced on 31 May 1948, the Communist leaders went underground and a State of Emergency was declared on 16 June. Negri Sembilan was from the outset a major Communist objective, with Communist strongholds in Jelebu and Bahau. The large number of rubber estates all over the State were the main targets of the terrorists, and the number of civilians in Negri Sembilan killed and wounded by these murderers totalled sixty-one in the first eighteen months of the Emergency.

The Communists may have hoped to sabotage the new State Government before it was well established, but they were totally unsuccessful. A State War Executive Committee was set up in 1950, under the Chairmanship of the Menteri Besar, with the British Adviser as Deputy Chairman, to co-ordinate Emergency operations and anti-Communist activity. At the same time large-scale resettlement of squatters on State land near the jungle fringes into New Villages was begun under the Briggs Plan, and home guards in villages reinforced special constables, mainly on estates and mines, as a third protective force in support of the army and the police.

The road from Sri Menanti to Seremban, traversing the Bukit Putus pass (once the site of

Yam Tuan Antah's outposts) was particularly easy to ambush and the Yam Tuan moved to Seremban to enable him to keep in close touch with the State administration and the Emergency situation.

Terrorist activities on rubber estates all over Negri Sembilan continued to affect morale adversely: the burning of estate buildings, the slashing of rubber trees, the burning of lorries and buses, and the murder of European planters and their Asian staff reached a new peak in 1951, and the death in ambush of Sir Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner, in October strengthened the widespread feeling that in spite of every effort, little progress had been made.

The arrival of General Sir Gerald Templer in Malaya in January 1952, to assume the dual position of High Commissioner and Director of Operations, rapidly changed the situation for the better. His dynamic personality was soon familiar to people all over Negri Sembilan, and his instinct for selecting administrative and operational priorities infused new confidence into the public and new energy into the staff who were responsible for the conduct of the anti-terrorist schemes and operations. When he relinquished his herculean task in May 1954, an immense improvement had been achieved. A year later, in July 1955, it was possible, without Communist interference, to hold the first Federal Elections

at which fifty-two unofficials were elected to form a majority of the ninety-eight members of the Federal Legislative Council, three of these being elected in Negri Sembilan. State elections were held in October of the same year and twelve unofficial members were elected to the Negri Sembilan Council of State over which a non-elected Civil Servant, the Menteri Besar, presided.

As a prelude to the inauguration of full independence within the Commonwealth on 31 August 1957, the Malay Rulers met earlier in the same month to elect one of their royal number to be the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Head of State, of the Federation. They chose Tuanku Abdul Rahman, the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan, and His Highness was installed with his Consort, Tengku Kursiah, in the grounds of the *Istana Negara* on 2 September.

In Negri Sembilan, Tengku Munawir (Tengku Laksamana), eldest son of Tuanku Abdul Rahman, was appointed Regent, not Yam Tuan, for under the Federal Constitution the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is elected for a period of five years, after which a fresh election takes place. But His Majesty Tuanku Abdul Rahman did not complete his royal term of office. Ill health, which had caused His Majesty to visit England in 1951 and 1958, cut short the reign of the first Yang di-Pertuan Agong and His Majesty

died at the *Istana Negara*, Kuala Lumpur on 1 April 1960. The funeral took place at Sri Menanti on 5 April and Tuanku Munawir was proclaimed Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan on the same day.

Yam Tuan Munawir had been duly elected by the four Undang, like his grandfather, Yam Tuan Muhammad sixty-two years earlier, but there the likeness ended.

The Negri Sembilan of 1960 had a population of over 365,000 of whom only approximately 152,000 were Malays. The State Revenue for the previous years exceeded \$15,000,000 dollars, and 448,000 acres of land were under rubber. There were 58,925 children of all races attending schools in the State and of these over 12,000 were studying in the English medium.

The Second Federal and State elections had been held in 1959 and the Chief Executive Officer in the State, Dr. Mohamed Said, was now an elected Menteri Besar.

Modern democracy was no innovation to the Malays of Negri Sembilan, where elections to every office from the highest to the lowest in the traditional Minangkabau hierarchy had been the custom for centuries. But the introduction of political parties weakened the unity of tribal groups and reduced the authority of customary headmen.

Negri Sembilan, which three centuries ago was only a loosely defined part of the Malay empire of Riau-Johore, owing allegiance to the Johore Sultan, has completed a cycle of change. Today, much of her Minangkabau individuality has been merged into a Malayan Federation, and her Yang di-Pertuan Besar, the Undang and people are united by a common Malayan loyalty and share the benefits of far-sighted Federal Policies.

Alam Ber-Raja—"the World has a King"—has taken on a wider interpretation undreamed of by Raja Melawar, but it is a more peaceful and prosperous world and one where the democratic principles of Minangkabau tradition have won universal acceptance.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
 GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE
 YANG DI-PERTUAN BESAR OF NEGRI SEMBILAN
 RAJA MELEWAR, first Yam Tuan Besar married Enche Seni
 (1773-1795)

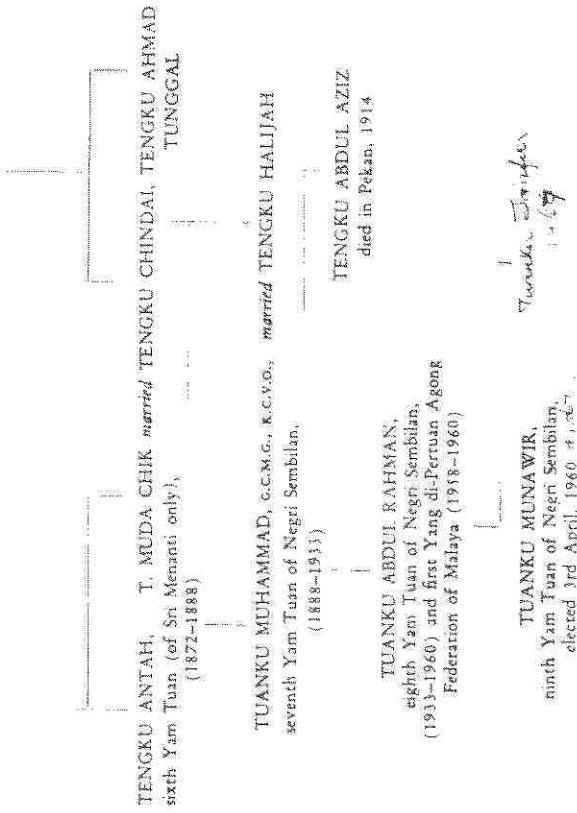
Raja Totok

daughter "Tengku Puan", married RAJA HITAM, the second
 Yam Tuan, (1795-1808)

daughter "Tengku Puan Ngah", married RAJA LENGANG, the third
 Yam Tuan, (1808-1824)

RAJA RADIN, fourth Yam Tuan,
 (1823-1861)

YAM TUAN LULIN,
 (also known as Marhom Janggut or Yam Tuan-ffin),
 fifth Yam Tuan, (1861-1869)



APPENDIX B

LIST OF DATO KLANA PETRA
SUNGEI UJONG

1. Dato Klana Bador (*floruit* c. 1760) Perut Hulu
2. Dato Klana Leha (*floruit* c. 1780) Perut Hulu
3. Dato Klana Bahi (*floruit* c. 1800) Perut Hilir
4. Dato Klana Kawal (*floruit* c. 1830) Perut Hulu
5. Dato Klana Sending (*floruit* c. 1850) Perut Hulu
6. Dato Klana Syed Abdul Rahman (from c. 1872-c. 1880)
Perut Hilir
7. Dato Klana Lela Setia Mohammed Yusof (1881-1889)
(deposed) Perut Hilir
8. Dato Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim, C.B.E. (1889-1945)
Perut Hulu
9. Dato Klana Mohamad Kassim bin Dato Andika Haji Abdul
Rashid (1946-) Perut Hilir

Note. Prior to Dato Klana Bador there were a number of Sungei Ujong Chiefs who held the title of Penghulu. The last of these was named Penghulu Chantek or Rumah Gadong and he was succeeded by Dato Klana Bador.

APPENDIX C
LIST OF UNDANG OF JELEBU

- | | | |
|---|----|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Dato Moyang Salleh | .. | Waris Ulu Jelebu
(Died July 1759) |
| 2. Dato Bukur | .. | Waris Ulu Jelebu |
| 3. Dato Bukul | .. | Waris Ulu Jelebu |
| 4. Dato Yunus | .. | Waris Ulu Jelebu |
| 5. Dato Lob | .. | Waris Sarin |
| 6. Dato Duraman | .. | Waris Kemin |
| 7. Dato Durangga atau
Dato Tua | .. | Ulu Jelebu |
| 8. Dato Pandak | .. | Waris Sarin |
| 9. Dato Mahmud | .. | Waris Kemin |
| 10. Dato Haji Derahim b.
Salleh | .. | Waris Kemin |
| 11. Dato Saiyid Ali ibni
Saiyid Zain | .. | Ulu Jelebu
(Died June 1902) |
| 12. Dato Abdullah b.
Panglima Muda Lok Mohd. | .. | Waris Sarin
(Died Sept. 1941) |
| 13. Dato Shamaruddin bin
Haji Abdul Rahman | .. | Waris Kemin
(Died Jan. 1963) |

APPENDIX D

LIST OF UNDANG OF JOHOL

1. Dato Perdana Menteri Setiawan
2. Dato Rambut Panjang
3. Dato Setiawan
4. Dato Rambutan Jantan, elected c. 1800
5. Dato Nuri
6. Dato Abu Bakar (Dato Gebah) from c. 1839-70
7. Dato Ato c. 1870-1900
8. Dato Wan Omar c. 1900-18
9. Dato Kamat c. 1918-47
10. Dato Abdul Manap 1947- '57³

Note. The title of the Undang of Johol is Dato Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan, Undang Luak Johol, Negeri Sembilan.

APPENDIX E.
LIST OF UNDANG OF REMBAU

1. Lela Maharaja Gelembong	Waris Jakun	Kampong Kota	1140-1155
2. Dato Amba	Waris Jawa	Kampong Kota	1155-1601
3. Dato Lenggang (Genggang)	Waris Jakun	Kampong Kota	1601-1620
4. Dato Pandak	Waris Jawa	Kampong Tengah	1620-1641
5. Dato Uban (Puteh Kepala)	Waris Jakun	Kampong Chengkau	1641-1660
6. Dato Sagah	Waris Jawa	—	} 1660-1750
7. Dato Kurap	Waris Jawa	—	
8. Dato Sabat (Subok)	Waris Jawa	—	
9. Dato Linsoh (Mampong)	Waris Jakun	Kampong Chengkau	1710-1790
10. Dato Pekak	Waris Jawa	Kampong Tengah	1790-1795
11. Dato Kosit (Kenir)	Waris Jakun	Kampong Tebat	1795-1812
12. Dato Bogok (Bahagu)	Waris Jawa	Kampong Bukit	1812-1819
13. Dato Ngonit	Waris Jakun	Kampong Chengkau	1819-1838
14. Dato Akhir	Waris Jawa	Kampong Polis	1838-1871
15. Dato Haji Sahil	Waris Jakun	Kampong Chengkau	1871-1883
16. Dato Serun b. Sudin	Waris Jawa	Kampong Tengah	1883-1905
17. Dato Haji Sulong b. Miah	Waris Jakun	Kampong Gadong	1905-1922
18. Dato Abdul'lah b. Haji Dahan	Waris Jawa	Kampong Tanjong	1922-1938
19. Dato Haji Ipap b. Haji Abdullah	Waris Jakun	Kampong Kota	1938-1962
20. Dato Adnan b. Miah	Waris Jawa	Kampong Bukit	1962-

Note. The Title of the Undang of Rembau is Dato Lela Maharaja,
Undang Luak Rembau.

APPENDIX F

NEGRI SEMBILAN, 1898

AGREEMENT BETWEEN
THE YANG DI-PERTUAN BESAR, SRI MENANTI,
AND THE FOUR LAWGIVERS

(Translation)

Now in all truth We, the Yang di-Pertuan, Muhammad, C.M.G., the son of the late Yang di-Pertuan Antah, have made an Agreement with the Four Lawgivers.

- I. The Dato Klana Petra and the Dato Bandar of Sungei Ujong.
- II. The Dato Mendika Mentri Akhir Zaman Sultan of Jelebu.
- III. The Dato Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan of Johol.
- IV. The Dato Sedia Raja of Rembau.

1. Whereas We and the Four Lawgivers and the British Resident have bound together the Constitution and Customs of the Country and the heritage of our ancestors of old time as is related hereunder:—

2. Now the Four Lawgivers return to elect Us to be Raja of the Negri Sembilan in accordance with our ancient constitution.

3. Now that We have been installed as Raja of the Negri Sembilan We, according to the old Constitution, cannot interfere in the Customs of the Country or in Muhammadan Law and every matter that arises in each State is to be settled in con-

sultation with the British Resident of the Negri Sembilan and is not to be subject to Our Commands.

4. If any difference of opinion arises between one Lawgiver and another as to the boundaries of their States and if either Lawgiver appeals to Us by presenting himself before Us then We are bound to interfere and to settle the matter with justice, but if the officers of the Four Lawgivers or their subjects come to present themselves before Us to make complaint or petition Us in writing We shall not in future entertain their complaints.

5. When the festivals of Hari Raya and Hari Raya Haji are celebrated according to ancient custom, the Four Lawgivers will not come to present themselves before Us at Our Istana at Sri Menanti, but will each celebrate his own festivals, according to ancient customs, in his own State — always provided that, on great occasions such as Ceremonies of Marriage or Circumcision, if We invite the Four Lawgivers they shall carry out Our wishes in their entirety.

6. In the event of the Death of the Yang di-Pertuan, the Four Lawgivers shall bring as an offering money in such amount as is befitting, such money being voted by the Government of the Negri Sembilan.

Moreover the Four Lawgivers in conjunction with each other and with their hereditary officers shall Elect one of the royal princes and instal him as Yang di-Pertuan in the same manner and in accordance with the Customs and Constitution under which the former Yang di-Pertuan was installed.

BE IT SO

Written on the 29th day of April, 1898
that is on the 8th day of Zil-hajjah, 1315.

APPENDIX G
NEGRI SEMBILAN STATE ANTHEM

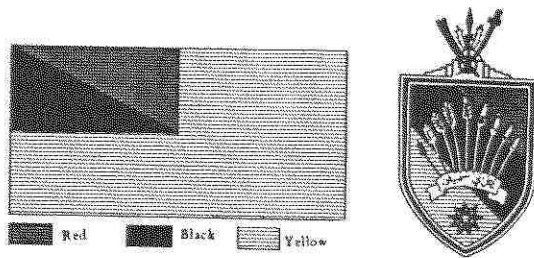
Malay Version

Berkat-lah Yang Di-Pertuan Besar Di-Negeri Sembilan,
Kurnia sehat dan ma'amor kasehi ra'ayat lanjutkan umor,
Akan berkati sakalian yang setia, musuh-nya habis binasa,
Berkat-lah Yang Di-Pertuan Besar Di-Negeri Sembilan.

English Version

God Save the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan,
Grant him in health and wealth,
Long to live and his people to cherish.
He who will befriend us blessed be,
He who shall oppose us perish!
God save the Yang Di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan.

Words and music written and composed by
Mr. (Later Sir) A. Caldecott, M.C.S. when District Officer,
Jelebu in 1911.



Flag and Crest of Negri Sembilan

THE FLAG

The yellow field represents His Highness the Ruler. The triangular red half of the canton represents the *ra'ayat*, while the triangular black half of the canton represents the Ruling Chiefs of the *Luaks* or districts into which the state is divided.

THE CREST

The nine *padi* stalks within the shield represent the nine states of the old Confederation of Negri Sembilan. The red in the shield denotes former ties with British. The black represents the *Undangs* (the Ruling Chiefs). The yellow represents the *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* (the Paramount Ruler).

The nine-pointed star also represents the nine states of the old Confederation. The sword and sheath above the shield stand for justice. In between the sword and sheath is the Malay equivalent of a trident, the *Changgai Putri*, which signifies the dignity of the Paramount Ruler.

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