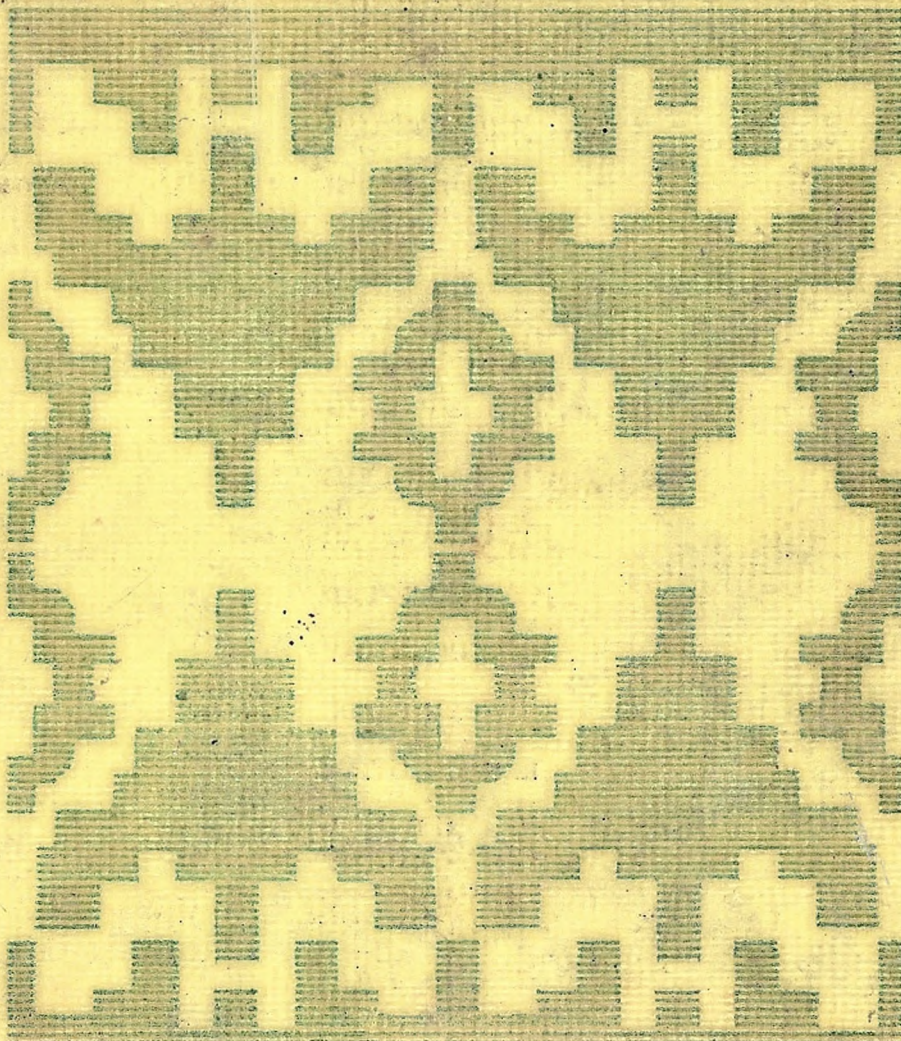


Edited by R.J. Wilkinson

# PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS

Selected and Introduced by P. L. Burns



It is now more than sixty years since the last of *the Papers on Malay Subjects* was published, but they continue to be of interest to scholars, partly because they mark the first attempt to write a systematic account of the Malays of the Malay Peninsula, of their society, cultural traditions and history, and partly because they contain much valuable material which is no longer available. Some of the 'parts' have been superseded by later scholarship, and still others reprinted; nevertheless they remain a valuable source of material on Malaysia's social and political history.

The selection of *Papers* reprinted in this volume deal with history: they are the five parts of the 'History' section of the First Series and numbers one, two and four of the Second Series. Wilkinson's 'History of the Peninsula Malays' published in 1923, was his third revision, with the addition of chapters describing events that led to British intervention in Perak and Selangor. The minutes of the Perak State Council for 1877-82, the only extant record of this institution, illustrate the role played by the State Council in the development of modern government in Perak. The rest of the papers in this volume-on Negri Sembilan-remain a valuable source of information on history and political institutions of this State.

The background to the publication of the two series of *Papers on Malay Subjects* is outlined by Dr. Peter Burns in his Introduction, in which he has also described the Papers as a whole.

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PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS



EDITED BY  
R. J. WILKINSON  
1907-1916

PAPERS ON  
MALAY  
SUBJECTS

SELECTED AND  
INTRODUCED BY  
P. L. BURNS

OXFORD  
IN ASIA  
Historical  
Reprints

KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON NEW YORK  
1971

PUSTAKA PERDANA



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PERDANA  
LEADERSHIP  
FOUNDATION  
YAYASAN  
KEPIMPINAN  
PERDANA

*Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1*  
GLASGOW NEW TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON  
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY IBADAN NAIROBI LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA  
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA  
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPURA HONG KONG TOKYO  
*Bangunan Loke Yew, Kuala Lumpur*  
This edition ©Oxford University Press 1971

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*Printed by Charles Grenier Sdn Bhd, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia*



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## INTRODUCTION

RICHARD James Wilkinson was the first to put forward the idea of publishing a collection of studies on the Malays.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, he began a series in 1906 with the publication of *The Peninsular Malays: I Malay Beliefs* which he hoped to follow with other pamphlets on 'Malay Literature, Malay Life and Customs, Malay Government and Law, Malay History and Malay Industries'.<sup>2</sup> Nothing else appeared under this title, however, but in the following year the first of the *Papers on Malay Subjects* was published and this series, which Wilkinson edited, carried forward the scheme he had outlined in *The Peninsular Malays* for the publication of such short works on Malay topics. Although these pamphlets were intended to help the young British cadet in Malay to prepare for the Malay examination, it would be wrong to think that *Malay Beliefs* and *Papers on Malay Subjects* were written simply to fulfil the government's need for instruction manuals.<sup>3</sup> Their publication should rather be seen as part of a wider activity by a small group of British officials who shared a common concern for the Malays. Through such information about the Malays, their cultural traditions and their history, it was hoped that the British officer would not only be better informed about the Malays but would also take a greater

<sup>1</sup> R. J. Wilkinson was born in 1867, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and joined the Straits Settlements as a cadet in 1889. He qualified in Malay (1891) and Hokkien (1895) and in 1903, due to his contribution to education in the Colony, was made Inspector of Schools for the Federated Malay States. From 1906 he acted as Secretary to Resident, Perak, a post he was confirmed in three years later. In 1910 he went to Negri Sembilan as Resident and in the following year became Colonial Secretary in the Straits Settlements. He became Governor of Sierra Leone in 1916 and remained there until he retired in 1922. He died at Smyrna in December 1941.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Luzac & Co. (London) and E. J. Brill (Leiden) and printed in The Netherlands, 1906. 'Malay Beliefs' was reprinted in *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, XXX, iv (Nov. 1957), pp. 1-41; (hereafter referred to as the *JMBRAS*, or in the case of its predecessor, the Straits Branch, is referred to as *JSBRAS*.)

<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson relates how the High Standard Examination in Malay had to be abandoned in 1905 because the literature in the subjects to be examined was 'inadequate and somewhat unsuitable' and 'no satisfactory results could be obtained until proper textbooks were prepared and provided'. (R. J. Wilkinson, 'Romance, History and Poetry', *Papers on Malay Subjects*, (hereafter *PMS*) Malay Literature, Pt. 1, p. iii.)

interest in their welfare under the rapidly changing conditions of the Malay States.

The combined activities of this small group of officials marked the beginning of what one young enthusiastic British official in 1907 called the 'pro-Malay campaign'.<sup>4</sup> In the past there had been administrators who took care to promote what they believed to be the best interest of the Malays and some, such as Martin Lister, Sir Frank Swettenham and Sir William Maxwell, had written about the Malays and the history of their country.<sup>5</sup> But those who were involved in the pro-Malay campaign were younger officers, most of whom had arrived in the Malay States after British control had been secured. Unlike the preceding generation who were concerned with the problems of establishing and sustaining British authority, this group—the second generation of British officers—could afford to look critically at the consequences of twenty-five years of British rule and raise questions about the future development of the Malay States and especially about British policy towards the Malays.

The changes which had taken place since British intervention had been dramatic, especially in Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan. Although the formal structure of the sultanates had been retained, the old ruling hierarchy lost its power and in its place there had grown up a modern bureaucratic form of government under a British Resident. After 1895, when these states and Pahang were drawn together in a federation, the system of administration was compounded by the creation of a federal government with a Resident-General at its head, subordinate only to the High Commissioner. Only the offices of *penghulu* and *kathi* found a place in the new administrative system, while a few Malay chiefs served as 'Malay Magistrates' or as members of the State Councils. The old Malay centres also had been eclipsed by the rise of new towns which had sprung up in the interior, close to the tin mines. These became the administrative centres of Resident rule and the commercial and industrial centres of an expanding economy based on the tin, and later planting, industries. They also formed the principal junctions in a system of roads and railways, which in time linked the Federated Malay States to Penang in the north and Singapore in the south. Moreover, the composition of society was soon altered by the demands of government and industry for labour of a specialized kind which the Malays were either unable or unwilling to supply. As a result Chinese, and to a lesser extent Indians, were brought in as labourers for the mining and planting industries and to work on the construction of public works. Chinese, Indians, Ceylonese and Eurasians, but seldom Malays, with the appropriate training filled the demand for English-educated clerical staff in government services and the few European commercial enterprises. By

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Harrison to E. W. Birch, 3 May 1907, Papers of Sir Ernest Birch (hereafter referred to as the Birch Papers). I am grateful to Miss Hilda and Miss Elsie Birch for giving me access to their father's papers.

<sup>5</sup> Most of their articles appeared in the *JSBRAS*.

the first decade of the twentieth century, therefore, the Malays appeared to be playing only a small part in the expanding sectors of the economy and public service.

Although the 'Malay question' had been discussed as early as the 1890s<sup>6</sup> it was not until 1904 that the government of the Federated Malay States was persuaded to consider ways of more vigorously promoting Malay interests.<sup>7</sup> It was argued that the delay in bringing the Malays into these developments was unavoidable; as one senior official explained, 'Work had to be carried on; we could not wait until the Malay had been educated to take his share in it;' but now in 1904 the same writer maintained that the government had 'in a measure caught up with its work' and the time had come 'to consider the true position of affairs'.<sup>8</sup> It was argued by the pro-Malay group that British policy was too narrowly based, resting as it did on the rapid expansion of the mining and planting industries with little regard to the social consequences. A policy of 'mere exploitation', R. J. Wilkinson wrote later, was inadequate if Malay institutions and customs were to be protected and he went on to advocate a policy based on 'conservation combined with development'.<sup>9</sup> Actually no comprehensive policy was worked out in 1904; but the creation of a separate English school for Malays marked the beginning of a ten-year period when this and other proposals successfully urged upon the Resident-General and the High Commissioner, laid the foundations for what came to be called the pro-Malay policy. On one level these proposals sought to conserve the agricultural basis of Malay society by extending and diversifying the crops cultivated. The evidence for this may be seen in the schemes for irrigation and the protection of Malay-held land from the encroachments of the planting and mining industries. At another, the establishment of the Malay Residential School of Kuala Kangsar in 1905 eventually made it possible for English-educated Malays to enter the Malay Administrative Service which was founded in 1910.<sup>10</sup>

The centre of the pro-Malay campaign was in Perak. In its most active years it was led by E.W. (later Sir Ernest) Birch who was Resident to Perak in 1904-11 and R. J. Wilkinson who held the post of Secretary to

<sup>6</sup> For example, see *Malay Mail*, 6 December 1897.

<sup>7</sup> The second Durbar (1903) gave impetus to this activity, but the first concrete schemes discussed were for the English education of Malays and their employment in the government service. (High Commissioner's Files: RG 422/1904.)

<sup>8</sup> W. D. Barnes, acting President, Pahang, quoted in a letter by R. J. Wilkinson to Resident-General, 24 February 1904, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> 'Statement' in memorandum by E. W. Birch, 'The Malay Race in the FMS', 28 May 1906 (Birch Papers), p. 9. Although it is unsigned, evidence in Birch's memorandum indicates that the Statement was written by Wilkinson. It is cited also in the preface to R. J. Wilkinson, 'Romance, History and Poetry', pp. iii-iv.

<sup>10</sup> The Krian irrigation scheme and the Malay Reservation Enactment, 1913, are examples of the agricultural aspect of this policy. For an account of the history of Malay education and the establishment of the Malay Administrative Service, see W. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven, 1967), pp. 100-13.

Resident in Perak between 1906-10. Ernest Birch was the son of J. W. W. Birch, the first Resident to Perak, who was assassinated in 1875. By the time Ernest Birch came to Perak as Resident in 1904 he had gained wide administrative experience in the Straits Settlements and British North Borneo, as well as the Malay States, and had a reputation as an authority on land administration. A man of great energy and an attractive personality, he earned from Wilkinson the high compliment of being described as 'the last real representative of the Residents of the school of Sir Hugh Low'.<sup>11</sup> As Resident he proved a vigorous opponent of encroachments by the Federal government in state matters and became the natural leader and spokesman of the Pro-Malay element in the service.<sup>12</sup> In this he was ably assisted by R. J. Wilkinson whom Birch succeeded in having appointed as Secretary to Resident.<sup>13</sup> His long and continuous interest in Malay matters, both as a scholar and as an administrator, brought him to the forefront of the Pro-Malay campaign. Indeed, he was the architect of some of the most important proposals concerning the Malays. His most significant contribution was to Malay education, especially his scheme for the creation of the Malay Residential School. That Birch and Wilkinson conducted their campaign from Perak was important, for there they received support from one of Perak's most able rulers, Sultan Idris Murshid al'azzam Shah who reigned from 1887 to 1916. His approval and encouragement of their proposals always made it more difficult for the Resident-General and High Commissioner to reject them, since they had the support of the ruler of the senior state in the Federation.

And it was seldom easy to gain approval from the federal authorities. Many British officers, understandably, believed that they had discovered the formula for governing a prosperous Federation and were reluctant to introduce changes which might undermine that prosperity. To some, the proposals which were put forward by Birch and Wilkinson appeared to threaten the idea that the Malay was not yet ready to share in the government of his own country, an idea frequently advanced in defence of British rule in the Malay States. And from this idea there developed another, which regarded the Malay was 'devoid of usefulness'. This attitude was evidently widespread, for as Birch pointed out in 1906, there was 'a considerable body of opinion, however ill-informed, behind it'. He strongly

<sup>11</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary* (Mytilene, 1932), p.iii.

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Woodford Birch joined the Straits Settlements service in 1876 but served in the Colonial Office until July 1878 when he took up his post in the Colony. After holding several posts in Singapore in 1888 he went to Malacca for four years to introduce W. E. Maxwell's new land code. In 1892 he acted as Resident in Selangor and in 1893 went to Perak as Secretary to Government. He then served as Resident to Negri Sembilan, 1897-1900, and became Governor to British North Borneo in 1900. His appointment to Perak as Resident was his last before he retired in 1911. In the same year he was made a K.C.M.G.

<sup>13</sup> Although the appointment was made in 1906, he was not confirmed in the post until 1909.

condemned this view as one which, 'if not actually an active hindrance to development, is a most mischievous idea conceived of ignorance'.<sup>14</sup>

Birch made this point in a memorandum which he addressed to the Resident-General (and asked to be forwarded to the High Commissioner) in 1906 entitled 'The Malay Race in the FMS'.<sup>15</sup> Although written in reply to a circular in 1905 requesting advice and information about the most suitable works for cadets preparing for the examination in Malay, Birch seized the opportunity to develop a wider attack on the government's policy towards the Malays.<sup>16</sup> Taking up the notion of the Malay being 'devoid of usefulness' he declared it to be an 'undesirable tendency' which had to be 'combated'. He recognized that this attitude in part grew out of the circumstances of British intervention in the Malay States, but he believed that it was also a product of what he called the 'laissez-faire attitude' of the government, which merely allowed 'the Malays to scramble for the good things of the country in common with races alien to the land'. He argued that 'neglect' and 'indifference' had to give way to a more positive approach on the Malays' role in the development of the country. To this end he believed it was necessary 'to preserve for the Malays the Administration's real interest in their past history' and their 'present state of, perhaps transformation, and future development'.<sup>17</sup> Birch also enclosed a statement written by Wilkinson who took the question further in urging the preservation of Malay social institutions through the recognition and enforcement of *adat*. Wilkinson also proposed a memorandum which would be in a 'sense declaratory of the government policy'. In this way he and Birch hoped to give direction to British officers dealing with Malay questions for, as Wilkinson observed, the government could no longer 'afford to encourage in our officers ignorance of matters Malayan by failing to provide them with the opportunities for obtaining knowledge'.<sup>18</sup>

When the proposal for a statement of policy towards the Malays was raised at a Conference of Residents in December 1906 it was rejected on the grounds that the difficulties in preparing such a comprehensive statement seemed insurmountable. Nevertheless, prompted by Birch's reference in his memorandum to Wilkinson's *Malay Beliefs* and the other papers promised in the series, the Conference chose instead to recommend the publication of such a series under the direction of the Federated Malay States government. It was not to be based on original research as suggested by Birch, but on materials already available in the government records, or on special contributions made voluntarily by the government officers.<sup>19</sup> The preparation and direction of the work was given to a 'General Editor'

<sup>14</sup> Birch, 'The Malay Race in the FMS', p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> See note 9.

<sup>16</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, 'Romance, History and Poetry', p. ii.

<sup>17</sup> Birch, 'The Malay Race in the FMS', pp. 2-3.

<sup>18</sup> Wilkinson's 'Statement' in *Ibid*, pp. 6 and 9.

<sup>19</sup> A sum of one thousand dollars was allocated for the purchase of manuscripts and contributions from Malays and others. (Negri Sembilan State Secretariat Files: 77/1907.)

who, in contrast to Birch's original suggestion, would not be specially seconded for the task.<sup>20</sup> This arrangement was at best a compromise between the proposal of Birch and Wilkinson for a statement of policy on Malay matters and the government's evident desire for information on the Malays which would be suitable for officers sitting for the examination in Malay.<sup>21</sup>

Wilkinson was made the General Editor for the series which was published under the title of *Papers on Malay Subjects*. He was well suited for the task for at the time he was one of the best Malay scholars in the government service. His interest in Malay had been recognized early by E.W. (later Sir William) Maxwell who encouraged him in his pursuits and drew him into the circle of active members of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for which he became Honorary Secretary in 1894. At about the same time he undertook, at the suggestion of W. W. Skeat, with whom he had been at Cambridge, the preparation of his first Malay dictionary which was published at Singapore in 1901.<sup>22</sup> Thereafter his main scholarly interest remained lexicography, and culminated in the publication of his important two-volume *A Malay-English Dictionary* in 1932. But while Malay remained central to his scholarship, he did not hesitate to write on other subjects, especially history, as his contributions to the journals of the Straits and Malayan branches of the Royal Asiatic Society and to the *Papers on Malay Subjects* reveal.

In the preparation of the *Papers on Malay Subjects* Wilkinson retained the framework for the series of pamphlets which he had first set out in the preface to *Malay Beliefs*,<sup>23</sup> Within the limits imposed on him, he intended to produce a 'text-book for the examination of cadets' and at the same time 'meet the needs of outstation officers'; in short the *Papers on Malay Subjects* were to be 'for beginners, but supplemented by concise notes and appendices suitable for the more advanced students...'.<sup>24</sup> Thus the papers entitled the 'Introductory Sketch' on law and the 'Notes on the Negri Sembilan' were designed as general introductions which were followed later by more detailed studies. In what came to be called the 'First Series' seventeen papers were published between 1907 and 1911: nine written by Wilkinson, four by R.O. (later Sir Richard) Winstedt, and one each by C. W. Harrison, G. E. Shaw and J. Rigby. In 1911 when

<sup>20</sup> Birch had intended R. O. Winstedt, who was then acting second assistant district officer, Batang Padang, to spend at least two years travelling throughout the states collecting materials for this project. His research was then to be edited by Wilkinson, with the advice of other officials he might choose, and published. (Wilkinson's 'Statement' in Birch, 'The Malay Race in the FMS', p. 3.)

<sup>21</sup> R.J. Wilkinson, 'Romance, History and Poetry', p.v, and 'Conference of Residents', 3-7 December 1906.

<sup>22</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, (Mytilene, 1932) p. 1. For an appreciation of Wilkinson's work in Malaya see Roff, *Ibid.*, pp. 130-133 and R. O. Winstedt, 'Obituary', *JMBRAS*, XX, i (June, 1947) pp. 143-4.

<sup>23</sup> The arrangement was suggested to him by W. D. Barnes when he first undertook *The Peninsular Malays*, (R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, preface.)

<sup>24</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, 'Romance, History and Poetry', p. vi.

Wilkinson became Resident in Negri Sembilan he successfully persuaded the government to form a Committee of Malay studies under his Chairmanship which among other matters continued the publication of the *Papers on Malay Subjects*. Known as the 'Second Series', the items which Wilkinson planned for publication under the Committee's supervision were to be more detailed studies than the pamphlets which appeared in the First Series.<sup>25</sup> However, only seven appeared between 1912 and 1927: two each written by Wilkinson and C. D. Brown and one by A. (later Sir Andrew) Caldecott and one by J. E. Nathan and R. O. Winstedt. One other paper by the Dutch scholar G. A. Wilken appeared in an English translation by G. Hunt. As intended by Wilkinson's programme, the Committee also reprinted several of the *Papers*: at least fourteen papers drawn from both series were reprinted, some with revisions, before World War II.

It is now more than sixty years since the first of the *Papers on Malay Subjects* was published, but they continue to be of interest to scholars, partly because they mark the first attempt to write a systematic account of the Malays of the Malay Peninsula, of their society, cultural traditions and history, and partly because they contain much valuable material no longer available. Some of the 'parts' have been superseded by later scholarship, especially in 'Literature' and still others have been reprinted.<sup>26</sup> The selection of *Papers* printed in this volume are drawn from both sections and deal with history: they are the five parts of the 'History' section of the First Series and numbers one, two and four of the Second Series. 'A History of the Peninsular Malays, with chapters on Perak and Selangor', published in 1923, was Wilkinson's third revision of the first two parts of his section on 'History' which appeared in 1908: Part I 'Events Prior to British Ascendancy' and Part II 'Notes on Perak History'. In the latter he stopped short of discussing British intervention in Perak for as he wrote in the preface to that edition it 'has been the subject of bitter controversy' and he feared that to do so might 'arouse further bitterness'.<sup>27</sup> However in his revised editions of 1920 and 1923 he added chapters on the circumstances that led to British intervention in Perak and Selangor. It is the 1923 edition which is reprinted here along with the interesting section on 'The Chiefs of Perak' and the Appendices to the first edition.<sup>28</sup>

Part III and Part IV of the 'History' portion of the First Series were an attempt to suggest how modern government developed in Perak and the role the State Council played. These minutes of the Perak State Council for 1877-82, edited by C. W. Harrison and Wilkinson, are the only extant record of the proceedings of this important institution.

<sup>25</sup> 'Proceedings of Conference of Residents', 10 July 1911 and Wilkinson's preface to G. E. Shaw, 'Rice Planting', *PMS, Malay Industries*, Pt. III.

<sup>26</sup> See the Appendix for a full list of the *Papers on Malay Subjects*.

<sup>27</sup> R. J. Wilkinson, *PMS, History*, Pt. I and II, 'Events Prior to British Ascendancy' and 'Notes on Perak History' (1908), preface.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 73-89 and 101-7 respectively.

The remaining *Papers* are about Negri Sembilan. Although in some respects superseded by later work, these remain a valuable source of information on Negri Sembilan history and political institutions. They are drawn from both series. Initially, Wilkinson had hoped to publish a series of studies on Negri Sembilan, but instead chose in the First Series to publish two 'less technical essays', Part I being about 'Negri Sembilan History' and Part II about 'The Constitution' of the confederation.<sup>29</sup> The other *Papers* originally appeared in the Second Series and conform more nearly to the monographs he wished for: A. Caldecott's 'Jelebu, its History and Constitution' was written at Wilkinson's suggestion and under his supervision when Caldecott was serving as the District Officer of Jelebu, and Wilkinson wrote the next paper on 'Sri Menanti'.<sup>30</sup> Wilkinson had hoped to follow these with the publication of studies on Sungai Ujong, Rembau, Johol and Tampin, but only one other paper appeared on Negri Sembilan.<sup>31</sup> This was contributed by J. E. Nathan and R. O. Winstedt and was entitled 'Johol, Inas, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Gunong Pasir and Terachi, their History and Constitution'. Published in 1920, six years after 'Sri Menanti', the authors, who had served as successive District Officers at Kuala Pilah, attempted to construct on the basis of extensive research a new theory about the origin of the nine states. Although Winstedt later modified his conclusions on this question, this study, which is the most substantial in terms of technique, has stood up well to subsequent research.<sup>32</sup> And herein is the value of this reprint of *Papers on Malay Subjects*: these papers remain a valuable source of material on Malaysia's social and political history.

Department of History  
University of Adelaide  
February 1970

P. L. BURNS

<sup>29</sup> 'Notes on Negri Sembilan', *PMS*, History, Pt. V, preface.

<sup>30</sup> Winstedt, who played such a large part in the publication of this series of papers, contributed the appendices to the study of 'Sri Menanti'.

<sup>31</sup> A study by C.W.C. Parr on Rembau was originally included in Wilkinson's list of papers to appear in the First Series. (Negri Sembilan Records 77/1907). However, Parr later felt this work, which was being prepared with W. H. Mackay, was too 'specialized' and should be published separately by the Negri Sembilan Government. (Negri Sembilan State Secretariat Files: 1838/1908). This proposal was evidently not supported by the British Resident as the study entitled 'Rembau, one of the nine states: its History, Constitution and Customs' was published in *JSBRAS*, No. 56 (Dec. 1910). Wilkinson himself later wrote on Sungai Ujong; see *JSBRAS*, 83 (1921) pp. 23-41.

<sup>32</sup> See R. O. Winstedt, 'Negri Sembilan, The History, Policy and Beliefs of Nine States', *JMBRAS*, XII, iii (Oct. 1934) pp. 35-111. Writing many years later Winstedt remarked that he and Nathan had erred in placing Jelai in Negri Sembilan instead of Pahang, (R. O. Winstedt, 'My Books', *Malaya*, I, iv (Apr. 1952), pp. 25-6) but for another view of the location of Jelai see Diane Lewis, 'Inas: A Study of Local History', *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, i (May 1960), pp. 64-94.

## APPENDIX

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS<sup>1</sup>*First Series*

Published under the direction of the Government of the Federated Malay States, under the general editorship of R. J. Wilkinson and printed at the Federated Malay States Government Press in Kuala Lumpur.

*Literature*

- Part I R. J. Wilkinson, 'Romance, History and Poetry' (1907).  
 II R. O. Winstedt, 'The Literature of Malay Folk-Lore, Beginnings, Fable, Farcical Tales. Romance' (1907), [1923].<sup>2</sup>  
 III R. J. Wilkinson, 'Malay Proverbs on Malay Character. Letter-Writing' [1907].

*Law*

- Part I R. J. Wilkinson, 'Introductory Sketch' (1908), [1922].  
 II J. Rigby (Editor and Translator), 'The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak' (1908), [1929],

*History*

- Part I R. J. Wilkinson, 'Events Prior to British Ascendancy' and Part II 'Notes on Perak History' (1908). These two were published as one pamphlet. In 1920 a revised second edition without the appendices was published under the title of 'A History of the Peninsular Malays, with chapters on Perak & Selangor'. Kelly and Walsh Ltd. (Singapore, 1920). A third corrected edition of the latter was published by Kelly and Walsh Ltd., Singapore, 1923.  
 III C. W. Harrison (Editor), 'Council Minutes, Perak, 1877-79' (1907), [1939],  
 IV R. J. Wilkinson (Editor), 'Council Minutes, Perak, 1880-82' (1909).  
 V R. J. Wilkinson, 'Notes on the Negri Sembilan' (1911), [1911].

*Life and Customs*

- Part I R. J. Wilkinson, 'The Incidents of Malay Life' (1908), [1920],<sup>3</sup>  
 II R. O. Winstedt, 'The Circumstances of Malay Life: The Kampong. The House. Furniture. Dress. Food' (1909), [1925],  
 III R. J. Wilkinson, 'Malay Amusements' (1910).

<sup>1</sup> For a full bibliographical comment see C. A. Gibson-Hill, 'Notes on the series "Papers on Malay Subjects"' *JMBRAS* XXV, i (1952) pp. 194—9.

<sup>2</sup> The dates in square brackets refer to subsequent editions or reprints.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *JMBRAS*, XXX, iv (Nov. 1957), pp. 41—87.

*Malay Industries*

- Part I R. O. Winstedt, 'Arts and Crafts' (1909), [1925].  
 II R. O. Winstedt, 'Fishing, Hunting and Trapping' (1911), [1929],  
 III G. E. Shaw, 'Rice Planting' (1911), [1926],

*Supplementary*

R. J. Wilkinson, 'The Aboriginal Tribes' (1910).

*Second Series*

These were published under the direction of the Committee for Malay Studies, Federated Malay States, which was formed in 1911 with R. J. Wilkinson as its chairman.

1. A. Caldecott, 'Jelebu, its History and Constitution', F.M.S. Government Press (Kuala Lumpur, 1912).
2. R. J. Wilkinson, 'Sri Menanti', F.M.S. Government Press (Kuala Lumpur, 1914).
3. R. J. Wilkinson, 'A Vocabulary of Central Sakai dialect of the aboriginal communities in the Gopeng Valley,' F.M.S. Government Press (Kuala Lumpur, 1915).
4. J. E. Nathan and R. O. Winstedt, 'Johol, Inas, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Gunong Pasir and Terachi, their History and Constitution.' (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1920), [1941].
5. G. A. Wilken, 'The Sociology of Malayan Peoples. Being Three Essays on Kinship, Marriage and Inheritance in Indonesia.' (Trans. G. Hunt) The Commercial Press (Kuala Lumpur, 1921).
6. C. C. Brown, 'Perak Malay.' Baptist Mission Press (Calcutta, 1921), [1941].
7. C. C. Brown, 'Kelantan Malay.' Government Printing Press (Singapore, 1927).

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