

MALAYA *in History*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE MALAYAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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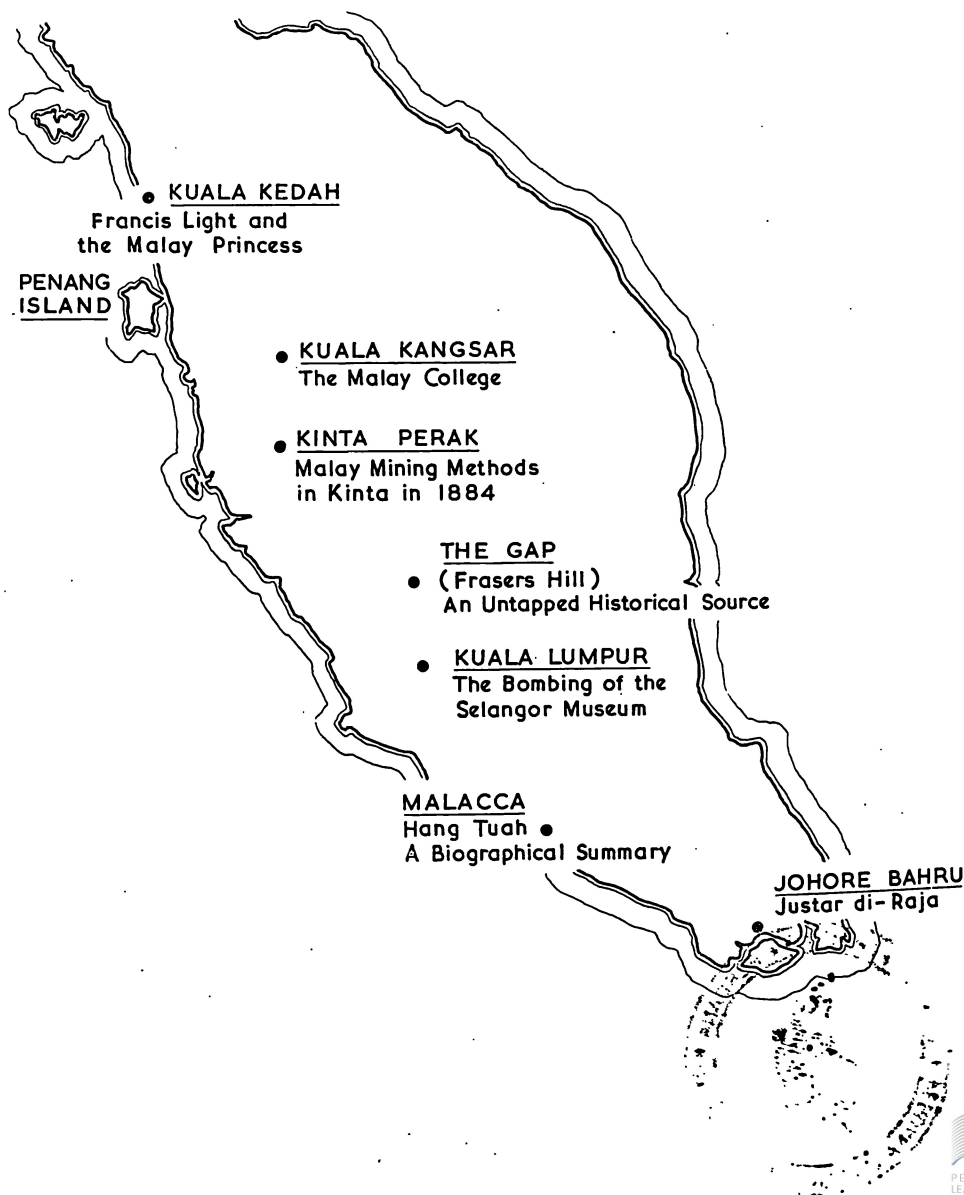
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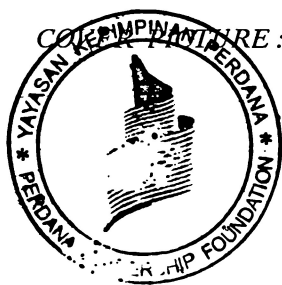
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VOLUME VIII : NUMBER 2 : APRIL 1964

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COVER PICTURE: Hang Tuah —
Eas-Relief in the National Museum Kuala Lumpur
by Mrs. Waveney Jenkins.

PUSTAKA PERDANA



1012252

A
SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE
PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND,

OR
PULO PEENANG,

IN THE
EAST-INDIES;

GIVEN TO
**CAPT. LIGHT, BY THE KING OF
QUEDA H.**

Ornamented with an elegant Engraving, representing
"A View of the North Point of the PRINCE OF
"WALES'S ISLAND, and the ceremony of christen-
"ing it."

TAKEN ON THE SPOT,
BY ELISHA TRAPAUD, Esq.
CAPTAIN IN THE ENGINEER CORPS ON THE MADRAS
ESTABLISHMENT.

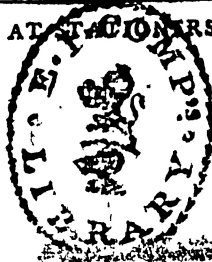
ALSO A CHART, INCLUDING THE PLAN OF THE
ISLAND.

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS HALL.]



Francis Light and the Malay Princess

by

JOHN BASTIN

On 11 August 1786 Captain Francis Light, acting on instructions from the Governor-General of India, raised the British flag on the island of Penang. Among those present at the flag-raising ceremony was Elisha Trapaud, who was at that time a Captain in the Madras Engineer Corps. Two years later, Trapaud published in London a curious little book entitled *A Short Account of the Prince of Wales's Island*, which was really the first book in English concerned solely with Malaya.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Trapaud's book is his account of Malay marriage customs and, connected with it, his story that Francis Light, in return for assistance rendered to the Sultan of Kedah in quelling some troubles in his territories, "bestowed on him a princess of his blood in marriage, together with this island [of Penang] as her dowry". Light then "chose to marry the princess according to the fashions of her own country". After discussing these marriage customs, Trapaud concluded:

'Whether these were precisely the ceremonies that took place on the marriage of Capt. Light with the Malay Princess, we will not pretend to determine; this, however, is certain, that the island of Pulo Peenang, which was given with her in dowry, he, as a subject of Great-Britain, took possession of in the name of his Britannick Majesty, for the use of the English East-India Company. This was about three or four years ago [1784?]. The island, however, continued without a name, to mark it as an appendage to the British empire, until August 11,

1786, which being the eve of the Prince of Wales's birth-day, the island was then named after His Royal Highness, by Capt. Light the governor'

This statement of Trapaud would not in itself merit much consideration were it not for the fact that he was present at the formal cession of Penang to the British and was obviously on fairly intimate terms with Light himself. Unless Trapaud simply invented the story he must have heard it either from Light or from someone closely connected with him, such as Captain James Scott.

The story was carried a stage further in the third edition of William Marsden's *History of Sumatra* (London, 1811) where it is stated: "Having proposed some queries upon this subject [the origin of the Malays] to the late Mr. Francis Light, who first settled the island of *Pinang*, or Prince of Wales island, in the Straits of Malacca, granted to him by the king of *Kedah* as the marriage portion of his daughter, he furnished me, in answer, with the following notices. . . ." [Here follows Light's own account of the origin of the Malays.] Marsden was an exceedingly careful historian, and he would not have referred to the story unless he had good authority for it. Whether or not he regarded Trapaud's statement as sufficient authority, or actually heard the story from Light himself in reply to a specific query, we shall probably never know. What is interesting is that two contemporary writers, who in one way or another were in communication with Light, accepted without question the story of his

marriage to a Malay princess. Nowadays, however, the story is generally discounted because it is known that the woman with whom Light cohabited from the year 1772 was a Eurasian named Martina Rozells who is unlikely to have had any connection with the Kedah royal house.

* * *

One of the first writers effectively to scotch the story was John Crawford, who had himself served on the Penang establishment as Assistant-Surgeon following its elevation to Presidency status in 1805. In his *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856) Crawford wrote:

'A romantic story had long obtained currency that Mr. Light had married the daughter of the king of Queda, and received with her as a dowry the island of Penang, which he sold to the East India Company. There was no foundation of truth in this tale. The wife of the enterprising adventurer was neither a princess nor a Malay, but a mestizo Portuguese of Siam, and the raja of Queda did not give his desert island to any one, but sold it to the British government for the payment of a quit-rent of 10,000 hard Spanish dollars a year, which sum is at the present day paid to his descendant.'

A little earlier, a contributor to J. R. Logan's *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* wrote:

'It has been long and confidently believed that this Captain Light, having married the daughter of the king (or Rajah) of Quedah, (Keddah) obtained possession of the island of Pinang as his wife's dowry, and that he subsequently sold it to the East India Company for a sum of ready money and the appointment of chief of the settlement. This story, though widely circulated and fondly cherished by the descendants of that gentleman,

has unfortunately no foundation in truth.'

This has been the line generally followed by historians of Malaya since that time. In 1895 in an article entitled "Memoir of Captain Francis Light, who founded Penang", A. M. Skinner wrote:

'The statement about 'the marriage portion' is of course unfounded. It has been repeated from old gossip on this subject in a way that is as discreditable as the other obvious errors in the dates, &c. Captain Light certainly allied himself in 1772 with Martina Rozells, but she was neither a Malay nor a Princess, but was apparently a Portuguese Christian of the Roman Catholic Mission at Kedah or Junk Ceylon. The old Junk Ceylon Mission removed about that time to Kedah, and in 1786 to Pulau Tikus village at Penang. She lived with him to his death, and inherited his house 'Suffolk' and other property. She bore him five children, one of whom at least he took care to bring up in England—Colonel William Light, born in 1784, died 1839. This son followed in his father's steps; for it was his pride to be the 'Founder of Adelaide'.'

Writing ten years after the publication of Skinner's article, and drawing extensively from it, Colonel G. E. Gerini in his monograph, "Historical Retrospect of Junkceylon Island", wrote:

'*A-propos* of insular beauties, it is not unlikely that Martinha Rozells, Captain Light's *Nonyah* that played so important a rôle in local political intrigues and negotiations of the period, was a Junkceylonese. She is vaguely described as being from Siam ... but was, in A. M. S.' [Skinner] opinion, 'apparently a Portuguese Christian of the Roman Catholic Mission at Kedah or Junkceylon'.... The old story that used to be so much

circulated about her being a Malay, a Princess of Kedah, and what not, is now generally discredited as rank gossip. Captain Light allied himself (as his will in 1794 shows) with her in 1772; and she survived him until about 1822. Considering the dangers that are said to beset the unwary youth putting his foot on Junkceylon Island from the irresistible local beauties . . . , it is not unlikely that it was here that Captain Light was ensnared, and that the *Nonyah* belonged to that community of bewitching creatures. His frequent and protracted visits to the island, as well as the extensive relations he had there, tend to further strengthen that conjecture.'

In the same year that Gerini published his monograph, E. G. Cullin and W. F. Zehnder in *The Early History of Penang, 1592-1827* wrote: "In 1772, at Junk Ceylon, [Light] is said to have married Martina Rozells, a lady whose parentage has been the subject of much controversy, but owing to her Portuguese name she is generally considered to have been a Eurasian of Siamese-Portuguese or Malay-Portuguese descent." In 1906 Sir Frank Swettenham in his book *British Malaya* dismissed the story as "a tradition, cherished by lovers of romance", possessing "no foundation", and two years later Arnold Wright described it in *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* as "a romantic but quite apocryphal story". In 1912 he wrote in his book *The Malay Peninsula* :

'A romantic story which long had currency represented Mrs. Light to be a daughter of the Sultan of Kedah, and to lend an air of verisimilitude to the narrative it was averred that the island of Penang had been given to Light as a dower with his bride. But . . . it is scarcely necessary to say that the story is quite apocryphal. Mrs. Light may have had Malayan



Statue of Francis Light at Penang.

blood in her veins, but it was probably mingled with that of a Portuguese ancestor. In all likelihood she came of a family not at all of an exalted station in life.'

Finally, in 1935 Sir Richard Winstedt in "A History of Malaya" stated that Light married in 1772 "not, as gossip said, a Kedah princess but a Portuguese Eurasian, Martina Rozells, who bore him five children, of whom one became Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington and afterwards Founder of Adelaide".

* * *

Despite the almost unanimous criticism of the Trapaud account, with trimmings unwittingly added by the critics, the romantic story prevailed. In an early twentieth century catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery, London, Colonel William Light was described as "Son of a commander in the Indian navy and a Malayan princess", and in 1905 A. Francis Steuart, a descendant of Francis Light, published a long article in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, entitled "The Foundation of Penang—Captain Light and the Nonyah", in which he argued

that there was “nothing the least impossible” in Trapaud’s account: “it is borne out by the belief of all Captain Light’s immediate descendants; and we know, moreover, that Malay Princes frequently made grants of their lands to foreigners”. Stuart cited in this context the granting of Sarawak to Sir James Brooke in 1841 by the Sultan of Brunei, and the offer of Singapore to Captain Alexander Hamilton by the Sultan of Johore in 1703, and suggested that along with her Portuguese name, Martina Rozells may also have borne the “Malay style of the Nonyah or lady”. He admitted that it was difficult to explain why she should have received this Malay appellation “unless as Trapaud says; and the late Mr. Skinner . . . believed she was, though nominally (at least after 1788) a Christian, yet in some way a ‘Princess of the blood’ of the Kedah royal family”. After tracing “Martinha” in the Penang census list of 1788, where she is described as coming from Siam, and citing the will of Francis Light in which various property, including the Suffolk estate, was bequeathed to her, Stuart adduces John Leyden’s poem “Christmas in Penang” as evidence of the fact that she was known under her Malay title of “Nona”.

Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far

To seek us near the Eastern star,
But wears not in this Orient clime
Her wintry wreaths and ancient
thyme.

What flowerets must we strew to thee

For glossy bay or rosemary?

Champaca flowers for thee we
strew
To drink the merry Christmas
dew.
Though hailed in such Malayan
grove
The saffron-tinted flower of love
Its tulip buds adorn the hair
Of none more loved amid the
fair.

Banana leaves their ample screen
Shall spread to match the holly
green;
Well may their glossy softness
please,
Sweet emblem of the soul at
ease,
The heart extending frank and
free

Like the still green banana-tree.
Nona, may all the woodland
powers
That stud Malaya’s clime with
flowers,
Or on the breeze their fragrance
fling,
Around thee form a fairy ring
To guard thee, ever gay and free,
Beneath thy green banana-tree.

Stuart concluded his article by ingeniously connecting Martina, who lived in Penang until 1822, and the “Nonyahh Yeen, a daughter of the King of Quedah” who was visited by Francis Light’s son-in-law, James Welsh, in 1818 and described in his book *Military Reminiscences* (London, 1830): “From the [Chinese corn] mills we proceeded to the garden of Nonyah Yeen, a daughter of the King of Quedah, where we were desired to help ourselves to whatever we should fancy . . .” Stuart concluded: “Was this not the garden of Martinha, who appears in the old Light papers as ‘Martina, Princess of Quedah’?”



A view of the North Point of Prince of Wales's Island and of the ceremony of naming it.

Whether or not Steuart was correct in attempting to connect Nonyah Yeen with Martina Rozells will probably never be determined; it strikes one as rather extraordinary, however, that Welsh should have referred to his mother-in-law in this fashion, especially as he stated that he had excluded all personal matters from his book. In any event he was certainly wrong in contending that Leyden's poem "Christmas in Penang" was addressed to Martina on the grounds that it "was assuredly not dedicated to a European". In point of fact, Leyden wrote the poem for Olivia, the first wife of Thomas Stamford Raffles, in whose house in Penang he spent part of 1805 recovering his health. Leyden addressed Olivia as "Nona" either because, as Lord Minto believed, she was one of the beauties to whom Thomas Moore addressed his "Nona" love poems, or because Leyden chose the "Nona" theme by analogy. In

the National Library of Scotland there is an undated letter of his addressed to Olivia which reads:

'You are wrong for once Mrs. Olivia for as much as you are accustomed to be in the right. The Verses in spite of a little incorrectness especially in the second Stanza, are an exceeding good imitation of Moore's manner, and I thank you for them heartily Mrs. Olivia for to tell you a secret I don't like *Nona* at all. Indeed I am not perfectly certain that I am not a little jealous or so of Moore and his everlasting *Nona*. Certain it is at all events that you shall never be benonaed by me—The last Stanza has all the enthusiasm of real feeling but why don't you say 'Informed by genius all divine'. I would ask a dozen of pardons for taking the liberty of suggesting it, only I never ask pardon unless when I mean an *insult* aye an iron insult.

O'er Nona's grave to Nona's
shade

Tom Moore funeral rites has paid
But I beneath Malayan skies
Shall bid her like the phoenix rise
In grace and sweetness all the
same

But let *Olivia* be her name
Let *Greek Anacreon* claim the
West

Here *Persian Hafez* reigns confest'

Leyden's "Nona" had certainly
nothing to do with Light's "Nonia".

* * *

Apart from the statements of Trapaud and Marsden, the only contemporary source that connects Francis Light with a "Nonia" is a letter which Light himself wrote to Warren Hastings on 17 June 1772 after the failure of the Monckton mission to obtain territorial and trading concessions in Kedah earlier that year. In this letter Light explained the circumstances in which he had been offered certain trading rights by Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Abidin Mu'azzam Shah when he arrived in Kedah in 1771, and he outlined for Hastings' information the "purport" of the the contact:

In the year one thousand and eighty-five named Ze, in the ninth day [of] the moon, Moharram, [24 April 1771] the Nonia brought here Francis Light, who said he lived with Mr. Harrop in Acheen, Joint Agent for Mr. Francis Jourdain, Merchant, at Madras. The Nonia presented herself to the King, and told him that she went to Acheen, and with his licence she had asked assistance, and promised in his name and licence to trade in Queda, for which they promised and sent two vessels with guns, powder, arms and Sepoys with Captain Light; and if the King granted their master licence to trade and keep a house in Quedah, they would furnish him with one hundred Sepoys to keep out any enemy whatever.

Here, as H. P. Clodd in his book, *Malaya's First British Pioneer*, observes, is "irrefutable evidence that petticoat, or, to use the Malay equivalent, *sarong* influence played a part in the preliminary steps leading up to the Sultan's invitation to Light in 1771 to settle in Keddah..." Whether or not the *Nyonya* and Martina Rozells were in some way related, thereby providing substance for Trapaud's story, is a question to which no satisfactory answer is ever likely to be given.

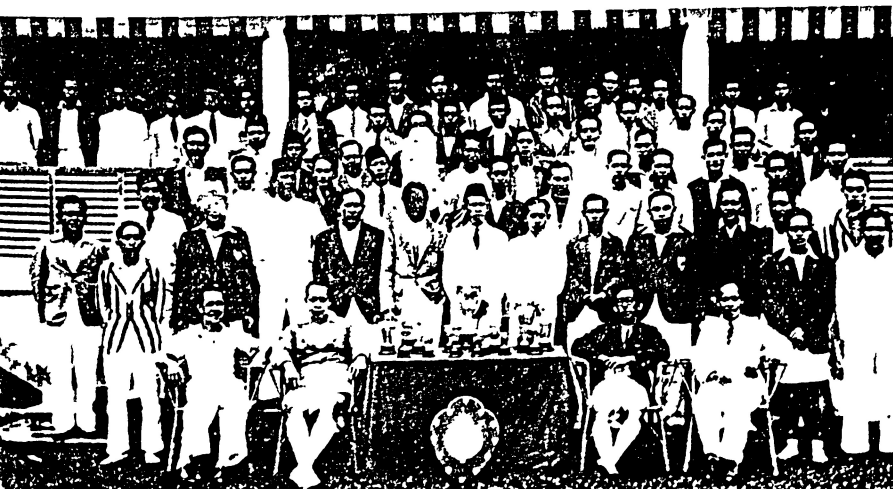


THEIR HIGHNESSES THE RULERS AND MENTERI² BESAR, AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE FEDERATION AGREEMENT 21.1.1948.
(L. to R. Standing) — Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, Haji Mohd. Sharif, Dato Hamzah, Dato Mahmud, Dato Onn, Tunku Nasir, Dato Panglima Bukit Gantang, Raja Haji Ahmad, Tunku Mohamed.
(L. to R. Sitting) — Sultan Ibrahim, Kelantan, Sultan Badlishah, Kedah, Sultan Hisamuddin Alam Shah, Selangor, Sultan Abu Bakar, Pahang, Sultan Ibrahim, Johore, Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Negri Sembilan, Sultan Abdul Aziz Perak, Tuanku Syed Putra, Raja of Perlis, Sultan Ismail, Trengganu.

Historic Photographs.

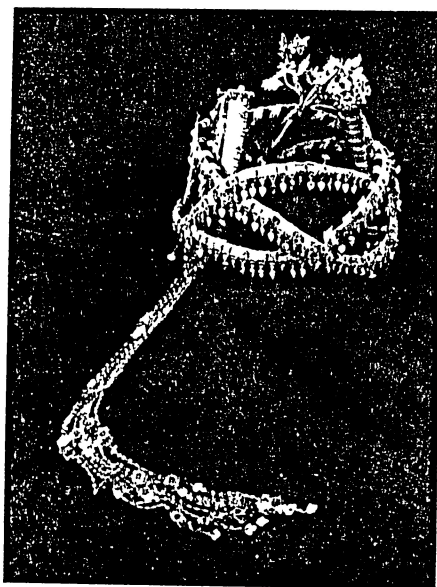
ALL MALAYA MALAYS TENNIS TOURNAMENT AT THE SULTAN SULAIMAN CLUB, KUALA LUMPUR, 1934.

(Standing first row) — Pateh Akhir (Selangor), Haji Mohd. Eusoff (Perak), S. Abu Bakar, Capt. Mohd. Ali (Pahang), Syed Ahmad, Dato Hussain (Pahang), Tunku Mohamed, (Pahang), Ma'arof, Jalaluddin.
(Seated L. to R.) — Raja Musa bin Raja Bot, Sultan Abu Bakar, Pahang, Raja Abdul Aziz, Raja Muda of Perak, Mohamed Yusoff bin Ahmad, Negri Sembilan.

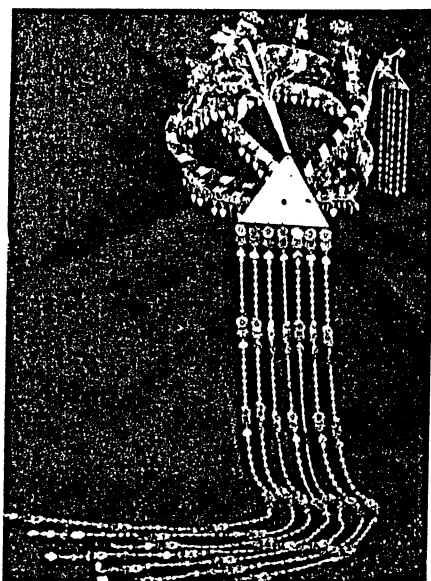




*His Highness Tunku Ismail,
when Tunku Makhota of Johore.*



Justar di-Raja (front view).



Justar di-Raja (back view).

Justar di-Raja

A Royal Bridegroom's Headdress from Johore

A Note prepared from information supplied by Datin Selamah binti Ambak, widow of Dato Ja'afar, first Mentri Besar of Johore, with the assistance of Dato Haji Abdul Rahman bin Mohd. Yassin, Speaker of the Senate of Malaysia.

The source of traditional Malay Wedding Costumes differs widely from one State to another in the Peninsula.

Traces of the ancient Malay kingdom of Patani may still be recognised at a Kelantan royal wedding; in Negri Sembilan the Minangkabau influence may still be seen; in Malacca there was until recently a mingling of the costumes of Baba Chinese and Muslim Indian at a Malay Wedding, and in Johore evidence of the historic union with Lingga and the Riau islands was still visible in a bridegroom's costume 40 years ago.

The recently created barrier between the two parts of the once unified territory of Riau-Johore, and the absence in this country of cultural records or relics of that imperial interlude in Malay history, emphasises the importance of a unique survival, which was until recently preserved behind steel bars in the picturesque '*Istana Besar*'—the Great Palace—in Johore Bahru.

The subject of this note is the Golden Headdress, called '*Justar di-Raja*', which was worn by His Highness Sultan Ismail of Johore when he married Ungku Tun Aminah in 1920. His Highness was then Crown Prince, —*Tunku Makhota*. His headdress was specially made for the occasion by Malay craftsmen, but it was copied from a much earlier model of Riau origin, and his grandfather, Sultan Abu Bakar, the founder of modern Johore, is believed to have worn one of similar design more than a century ago.

All Malay bridegrooms are, by accepted tradition, '*Raja sa-Hari*'—'King for a day', but in Riau the bridegroom actually wore a 'crown' at his Wedding, if he was a member of

the royal family or a son of one of the major chiefs.

As will be seen, the Justar di-Raja which is illustrated on this page resembles a crown in its structure, and its long golden filigree chain, which winds round and round the rattan frame, can challenge the talent and skill of any other palace craftsman in its refined delicacy. The decorative detail of this headdress varied according to the rank of the wearer; the style of the Johore heir apparent was known by the picturesque name of '*Singa Menoleh*'—'the Lion turns to look'. It has two horns ('*tandok*' in Malay) with flat decorated ends, one on either side, and a sprig of golden flowers and leaves stands up exactly in the centre at the back. These flowers are usually known by Malays as '*Tajok*' and as in this case their stem is inserted at the junction of two strands of rattan, behind a delicate triangular gold ornament called '*Ge-dabah*', the flowers are referred to as '*Tajok Kedabah*'. There are, in fact, two of these golden triangles, one considerably larger than the other. The smaller triangle hangs from the head of a smaller sprig of flowers which projects over the right ear. Golden chains of fairy-like calibre, but varying in gauge and length, are suspended from the base of the two triangular ornaments: seven from the larger triangle and five from the smaller. The tiny lozenge-shaped pendants which hang as a fringe round the bands of rattan are referred to in Malay as '*Kida-Kida*'—'Aiglets'.

This lone survival of the wardrobe of a vanished empire is now on loan to the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur by gracious permission of His Highness Sultan Ismail of Johore.

A.M.S.

Malay Mining Methods in Kinta in 1884

by

JAMES C. JACKSON

(Department of Geography, University of Malaya).

Small numbers of both Chinese and Malays were mining tin in the Kinta valley in the eighteenth century, and the numerous small pits scattered around many parts of the valley, which are referred to as "ancient workings" by several late nineteenth century European observers and "lombong siam" locally, provide visible evidence of their activities. In 1885 the Inspector of Mines in Kinta, Mr. A. Hale, noted that "there is evidence that very extensive work has been done here by somebody at a time when the method was different from that which is commonly adopted by the Kinta Malays at the present day. There are at least fifty deep well-like pits on the Lahat hill, averaging about eight feet in diameter and perhaps twenty feet deep". He observed that as the jungle was cleared extensive old workings were continually brought to light, and "these appear to have been left undisturbed for at least a hundred years"⁽¹⁾.

However, for a long period the rich deposits of tin here failed to attract much attention, chiefly because of the inaccessibility of the area at a time when there were neither railways nor roads, and as late as 1874 there were only about 4,000 Chinese miners, with probably not as many Malays, in the whole valley. It was not until the late 1870s and early 1880s that Chinese miners began to enter the valley in significant numbers, (particularly after the mines at Taiping began to show signs of exhaustion), but once the pioneering was begun thousands poured in to join their countrymen, and the number of Chinese in the area rose from over

5,000 in 1884 to 44,700 in 1889. Large parts of the valley—particularly towards the hillsides, as the central part of the valley was swampy and unsuited to the early Chinese methods of mining—were cleared and worked by the in-coming Chinese miners. Within a very short space of time the Kinta valley became the most important tin-mining area in Malaya and an area of overwhelmingly Chinese settlement. This spectacular expansion of Chinese mining activities has completely overshadowed the fact that Malays continued to mine tin in several parts of the valley, although their share of the total amount of tin produced remained very small⁽²⁾. It is therefore fortunate that a Frenchman who visited Kinta in 1884 was not only well-qualified to comment upon both the Chinese and Malay mining techniques which he saw employed there, but studied them in detail and published his observations on his return home.

The Frenchman concerned, Monsieur Jacques de Morgan, a civil mining engineer and a member of the geographical, geological and zoological societies of France, was in Malaya for several months in 1884, much of his time being spent in Perak. The purpose of his visit was to discover.

- (1) A Hale, "On Mines and Miners in Kinta", *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 16. 1885, 303-4.
- (2) In 1885 there were about 350 private Malay mines in the Kinta valley these being "mines, claimed by Malays, which have been worked by them and their ancestors for an indefinite period". There were also a number of "new mines" owned by Malays. (Hale, *op. cit.*, 303).

in a general way, the watershed between the rivers of Perak in the west, and Patani, Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang in the east. He also proposed to cross the central mountain range and to descend the Kelantan river to the China Sea, returning thence to Singapore. During his travels de Morgan observed and recorded a great deal of very valuable information, and on his return wrote a considerable number of articles in various French learned journals dealing with many aspects of the Malay Peninsula. These articles include detailed linguistic and ethnological studies of aborigines and informed considerations of the geology and mining industry of the Kinta valley. The following description of Malay mining methods, which he studied during his stay in Kinta in May, June and July, 1884, occurs in an article entitled "Note sur la Géologie et sur l'Industrie Minière du Royaume de Pérak et des pays voisins", which originally appeared in the *Annales des Mines*, (March–April, 1886), and was republished in 1886 in Paris as part of a collection of articles, (all except one by de Morgan), dealing with the Malay Peninsula, to which he gave the title "*Exploration dans la Presqu'île Malaise (Royaumes de Pérak et de Patani)*".⁽³⁾

De Morgan's Description of Malay Mining Methods in Kinta.

"According to the position of the rich beds, the Malays employ two different methods.

"If the beds are on a hillside, the miner is content to dig a large trench in the mass and to reject into the valley the waste which encumbers him. The lowest level of exploitation is then determined by the maximum height of the water in the valley; a terrace is allowed to develop about a foot above this limit. Nevertheless,

seepage occurs in the worked layers which tends to interrupt the work; the Malays also excavate a series of parallel ditches at the front of the trench in order to drain the terrace. It is easy to understand that such a method of working has been applied, from most ancient times, to beds on the sides of all the small valleys. I have also unceasingly encountered in the jungle the remains of workings of this nature, which the Malays attribute to their ancient masters, the Siamese,⁽⁴⁾.

"On the other hand, when the workable beds are found at the bottom of a valley, the Malays dig small pits which they work with buckets. Figure 1, (Fig. 17, Pl. X in de Morgan's book), gives the plan of the Tronong mine⁽⁵⁾ in the state in which it was when I studied it in June, 1884. At O are the ancient workings on the hillside attributed to the Siamese. At T are two pits in which they were working at the time of my visit. These pits, of which a cross-section is represented by Figure 2, (Figure 16, Pl. X in de Morgan), are cut with a pick-axe in the alluvium; on three sides the Malays prop the earth up with the bark of trees held in place by vertical posts; on the fourth face, the alluvium is allowed to fall away, but in the majority of localities holds long enough to enable them to work it in steps.

- (3) The description of Malay mining methods occurs on pages 45 to 51 of the article.
- (4) Although these pits are known as "lombong siam", (i.e. Siamese mine), in many parts of Malaya, it is extremely unlikely that they were, in fact, worked by Siamese, (see Ooi Jin-Bee, "Mining Landscapes of Kinta", *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 4, 1955, 6.
- (5) The Tronong mine lay on the banks between Lahat and Papan. of a small stream on the hillside

“Depending on the abundance of water, draining takes place every morning before work, or several times a day and even sometimes throughout the duration of the work. It is performed with the aid of buckets S suspended from long levers P loaded with counterbalances C at their ends, (see Fig. 2). Because of the great simplicity of this apparatus drainage is much less laborious when it is done directly in the buckets. However, I know some mines where the method of levers is not used, but in these mines the rich beds are nearly at the surface of the soil. The considerable labour required for drainage forces the workers at the bottom to work with very great speed and those at the surface to throw the spoil as near as possible in order not to waste time. The result is that the spoil St always piles up near the working pit, which compels them to move the extracted earth again in order to change their position when wishing to extend the works.

“*Washing the ore* — The Malays establish sluices in the drainage ditches when seepage is insufficient to allow them to wash the ore with the aid of the water in the mine at only a few metres from the place of extraction.⁽⁶⁾”

- (6) “The method most commonly used by Malays was sluicing, or *lampanning* as it was usually called. The ground around the mine was cleared and a ditch cut from the nearest stream. Water was led along this channel to the mine, and the earth containing *karang* was thrown into it. The mixture was stirred so as to break up the lumps of clay and liberate the ore from the other waste material. The larger stones were lifted out in a basket, and the rest of the mixture driven downstream with a large wooden spade called a *pengayuh*. Small dams were placed in the ditch at intervals to retain the heavier tin-sand, which was then scooped out with a small wooden tray and deposited in a *palong*, or sluice-box, for partial concentration”, (Ooi Jin-Bee, *op. cit.*, 7).

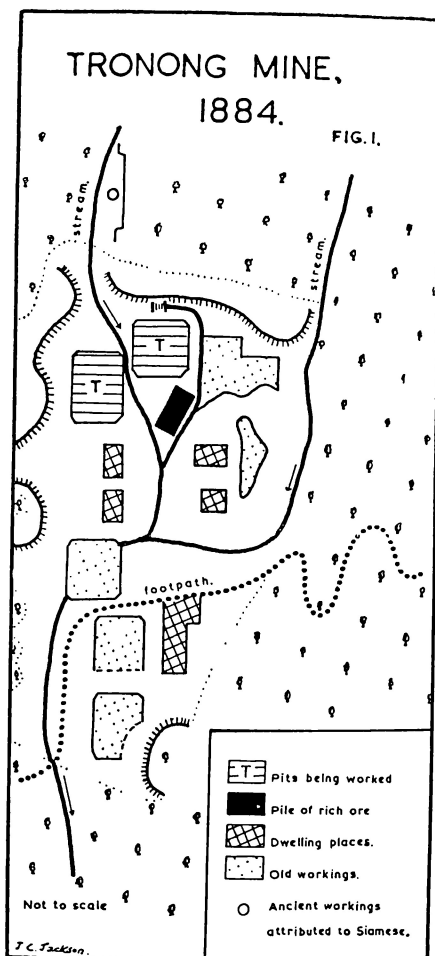
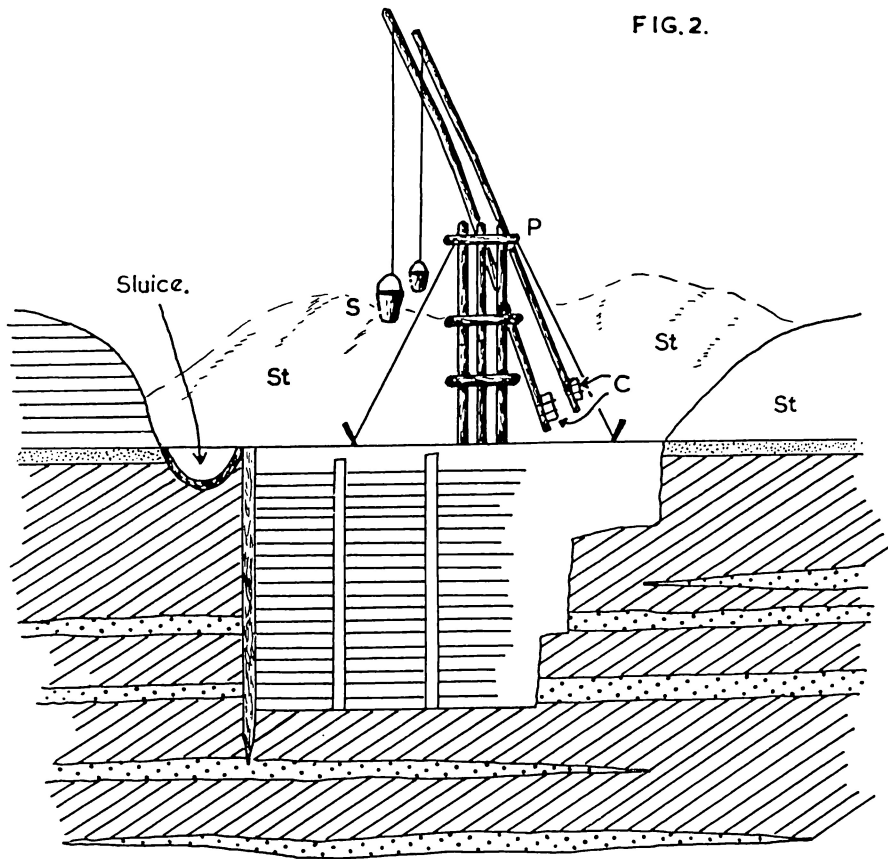


Figure 1.





- “When the worked beds contain little water, they establish their sluices in the closest stream, and carry the rich tin-bearing earth there. But this laborious work is the reason why much ore of average richness is abandoned as not being worth the transport. I have seen frequent examples of this system between Ipoh and Lahat, and at Campong Monilé⁽⁷⁾.”
- (7) This kampong was located roughly half-way between Lahat and Papan. Its name is preserved on the 1892 map of Perak in the name of the stream “S. Menalai” a tributary of the S. Johan.

CROSS-SECTION OF MALAY MINING PIT.

FIG. 2.



P = Levers.
S = Buckets
C = Counterbalances
St = Spoil.

 Pile of rich ore.
 Humus.
 Alluvium.
 Beds of tin ore.

J. L. Jackson.

Figure. 2.

WOODEN AQUEDUCT CARRYING WATER TO KLIAN MONILÉ.

FIG. 3

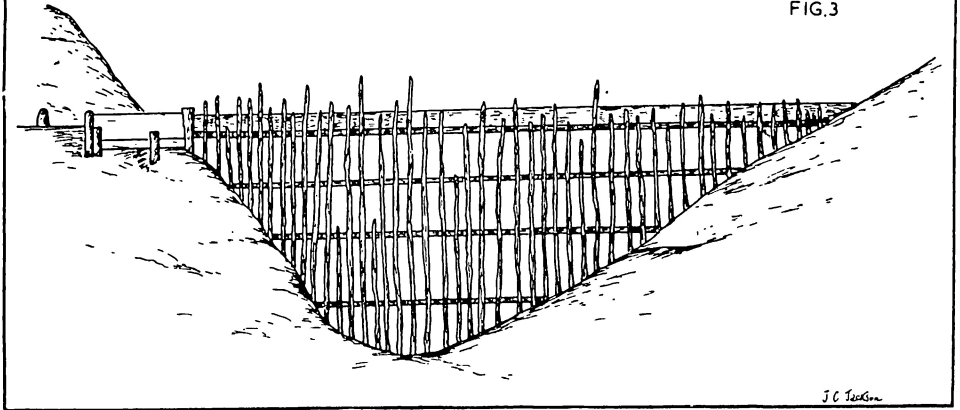


Figure 3.

“When the ore is very rich, but water is lacking, the miners divert small streams of water which they lead sometimes from far distant in the mountains so that they can work their mines. It is thus that at Klian Monilé⁽⁸⁾ there is a stream of which the waters, captured at a great distance from the mine, cross several valleys on wooden aqueducts, (see Figure 3, Figure 18, Pl. X in de Morgan); they follow the hillside for a distance of about 2 kilometres and come to supply the washers in the mine.

“In general, after leaving the mine, the rich tin-bearing earth is placed beside the stream of discharging water at the surface, or of that provided by drainage; in this way, the ores pass to the sluices the morning after their extraction and are washed by the workers whilst drainage is undertaken, before beginning work. As soon as the water level is sufficiently low, the Malays cease washing and continue extraction. As in this way it often happens that they are unable to wash in the morning all the ore-bearing material extracted the preceding day, it accumulutes in a pile which they

wash later, — when the rainy season prevents them from working below.

“In Malay mines, the washing is sometimes done in a single operation, but generally it consists of separation and washing properly speaking.

“The separation takes place in a ditch without facing; the ore-bearing material is agitated for some time in the water and the worker only stops this work when the stream has become perfectly clear. The man charged with separation pushes the ore with a shovel or with his feet towards the washing sluice which, generally consists of a tree trunk hollowed out with an axe or simply of bark held in place by small vertical posts. By this method, the ores attain a content which varies between 20 and 30 per cent. of metal.

“The washing in the sluice involves bringing the ore back to the upper part of the apparatus; the Malays stop this washing when the colour of the sand seems to them sufficiently dark; the ore then contains 55 to 65 per cent. metal, but rarely exceeds this figure.

(8) *Klian (galian)* = “digging, surface mine”.

“As regards the dimensions of the sluices, they are very variable and depend solely on the importance of the workings. I have seen them 2 metres, 50 in length, (i.e. about 8 ft. 2 ins.), and 0 metres, 40 to 0 metres 50 in width, (i.e. about 16 ins. to 20 ins.); but these large types are exceptional. The average sizes are

“*Cost price* (extraction, draining, washing)—The same workers do all the work; they do the most fatiguing jobs in shifts, so that it is very difficult to establish the cost price for each of the operations taken separately. The sole way of obtaining an approximate cost price is to consider output in terms of the total number of men employed in a mine.

“Below is a table of the monthly results of work in various mines in Kinta, calculated per worker working thirty days.

Mine	Tin Production in pikuls	Tin production in kilogrammes	Value of metal produced (francs)	Cost of production (francs)	Cost of smelting (francs)	Profits (francs)
Kl. Tronong	0.42	26.25	52.60	40	4.20	7.40
Kl. Monile	0.48	30.00	60.00	40	4.80	15.20
Kl. Tatsi ⁽⁹⁾	0.71	44.37	88.00	40	7.09	40.91
Kl. Djouang ⁽¹⁰⁾	0.62	38.75	77.00	40	6.17	30.83
Kl. Salai ⁽¹¹⁾	0.94	58.75	117.00	40	9.40	67.60
Kl. Lalang ⁽¹²⁾	1.00	62.50	125.00	40	10.00	75.00

“These evaluations were made during the months of May, June and July, 1884.

“In the preceding table I take the value of a ton of tin at 2,000 francs⁽¹³⁾, because it is necessary to take account of duties (about 250 to 280 francs); I take the cost of production at each mine as 40 francs per month per man; this outlay seems to be the average of those made by indigenous miners. Moreover, the Malays have told me very often that when a mine fails to yield \$8 to 10⁽¹⁴⁾ of tin per man per month, it is useless to work it.

“*Sale of ore* — The ore washed and brought to a content of about 65 per cent. is directly negotiable. Small workings, those which do not have a furnace specially constructed for the mine, send their ore to smelters who pay \$10 to 12 per pikul for it and deduct a fifth for the cost of metallurgical treatment. We will see later

length = 1m, 50, (i.e. almost 5 ft.) and width 0m, 30 to 0m, 35, (i.e. 12–14 ins.); the angle of slope is regulated by experience, depending on the size of the grains of cassiterite.

“In many mines washing is concluded by beating; the Malays employ large blades of wood for this purpose which they use with great skill.

what enormous profits the smelters can realise.

- (9) This name appears as “Tatsir” on de Morgan’s map. The mine was situated on the south side of the road, (in existence in 1884), from Batu Gajah to Papan, roughly in the vicinity of the present settlement of Pusing.
- (10) i.e. Juang, about 8 miles ESE of Ipoh on S. Anak Ayer China.
- (11) This mine is not named on de Morgan’s map and cannot be located. This is perhaps surprising in view of the fact that it is the second largest producer in the above table.
- (12) This mine was located about 1 mile to the NW of Gopeng in the vicinity of Kampong Lalang, roughly half-way along the road from Gopeng to New Kopisan.
- (13) “The actual price of tin (October, 1885) exceeded 2,300 francs per ton. but the Malays never obtain a level so remunerative for their product”. (footnote pp.49–50, de Morgan).
- (14) “The value of the dollar varies from 4f. 60 to 4f. 80 according to the rate of exchange”. (footnote p.50. de Morgan).

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