[No. 6.]

JOURNAL

OF THE

STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

DECEMBER, 1880.

PUBLISHED HALF-YEARLY.

SINGAPORE:

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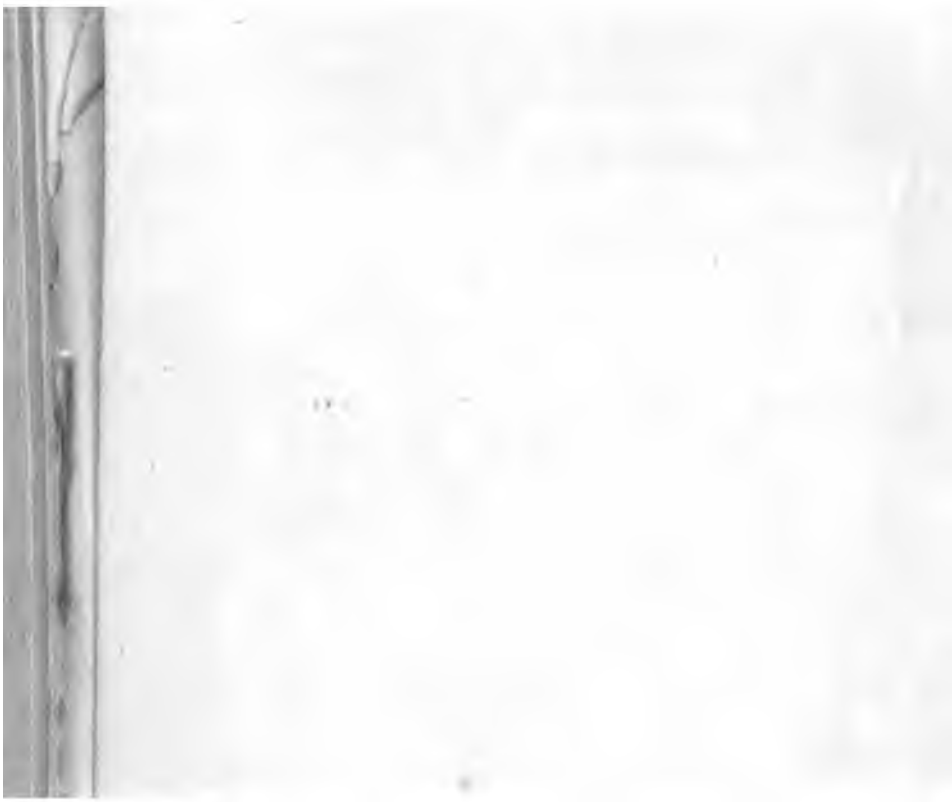

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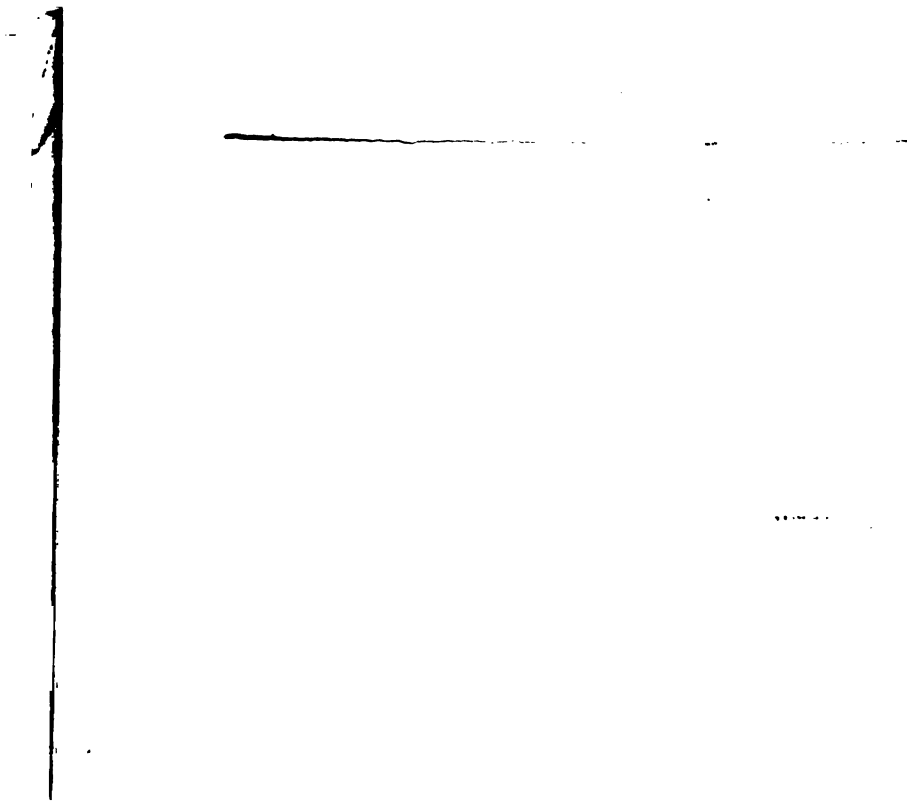

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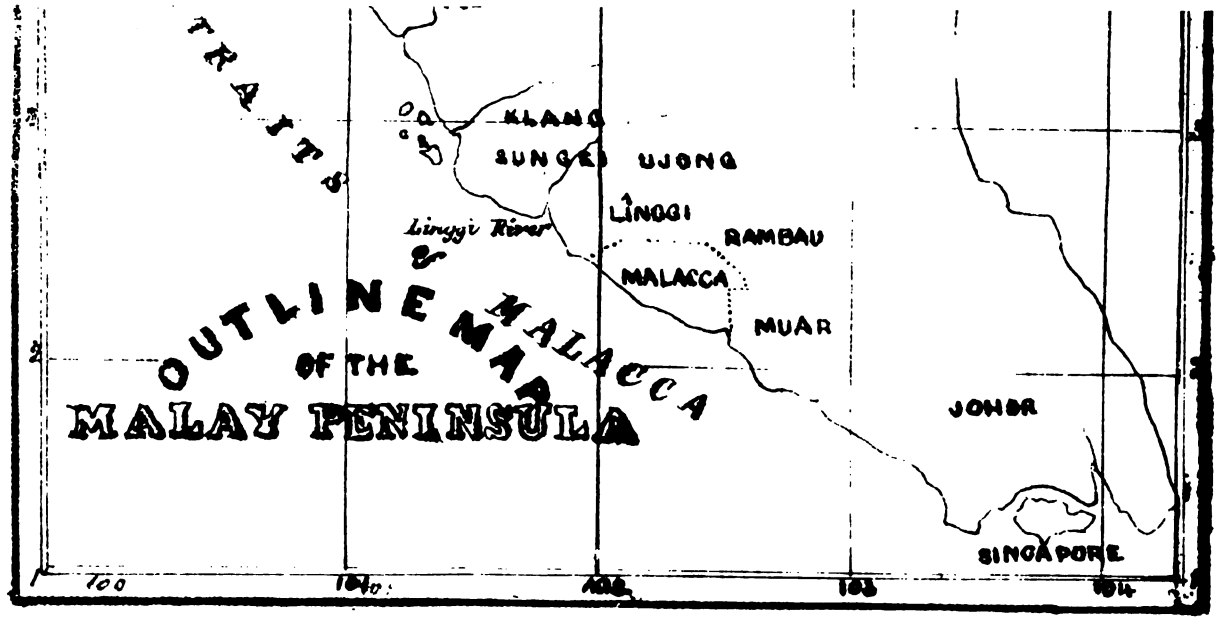
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SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

INDEPENDENT NATIVE STATES

OF THE

MALAY PENINSULA,

ESPECIALLY OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE MORE INTIMATE RELATIONS RECENTLY ADOPTED TOWARDS SOME OF THEM BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.—A RECORD OF EVENTS PRIOR TO 1ST JUNE, 1875.
PART II.—THE NATIVE STATES SINCE 1ST JUNE, 1875.

PART I.

To understand the circumstances which led to the more intimate relations between this Government and the Native States of the Malayan Peninsula, it will be necessary to glance at the accompanying sketch of the Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca, and see the position of the Straits Settlements, *i. e.*, Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, with Province Wellesley and the Islands of Pengkor, with regard to those States, which were not, in 1874, under the Protectorate of Siam, and towards the most of which the British Government has assumed a policy of active advice, assistance and control, hitherto avoided.

From this sketch it will be seen that between Penang and Malacca, a distance of some 260 miles, lie the two large Native States of Pêrak and Sĕlângor, the former with a coast line of about 80 miles, and the latter of about 140 miles, and the smaller inland State of Sungei Ujong; whilst joining on to Malacca and to each other are the small States of Rembau, Johôl, Muar, Sri Menanti, Jelabu, Jempôl, and Jelai.

Then between Malacca and Singapore and going up the East coast for a considerable distance (about 120 miles) beyond Singapore is Johor, and East of that again Pahang. These are the independent States; whilst Siam exercises a protectorate over Kedah on the West coast to the North of Penang, and on the East coast Petâni and to some extent Trenggânu and Kelantan.

With these last we are not at present concerned, but of the former we may well begin with the largest, the most populous and most important, and that is Pêrak.

Pêrak, though having but a short coast line, is drained by one of the largest rivers in the Peninsula, navigable for boats for nearly 200 miles, and, situated as it is at the widest part of the Peninsula, stretches further back than any other State on the West coast, marching in the interior with Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang and Sĕlângor.

Sĕlângor again, from its interior boundary, where it joins Pêrak, Pahang, Jelabu and Sungei Ujong, to the coast, preserves a tolerably uniform depth of 50 to 60 miles. The "Nĕgri Seblah Darat," or Inland States round Malacca, are very small, having formerly comprised but one Government, whilst Johor and Pahang cover very considerable areas.

Before and up to the year 1874 all these countries, with the exception of the two last named, had been in a very unhappy state. Pêrak, torn by intestine struggles and harrassed by the party fights of rival factions of Chinese, who had completely desolated the largest and richest of its Provinces—Larut—from which the chief native authorities had been for months expelled,

was rapidly sinking into a stronghold of pirates, the scene of daily robbery and bloodshed; and these struggles, which in Larut had died down to the embers and could only smoulder there, threatened to seek new fuel and blaze out afresh in our Settlement of Penang, from which place the leaders in the strife directed and encouraged their fighting men in Larut, sending to them orders and supplies, whilst they were themselves in comparative safety.

And though the principals in this Larut "War of Extermination" were on both sides apparently Chinese, still from the fact of the succession of Pêrak being then disputed, the parties to this latter dispute had, for their own ends, adopted the cause of one or other faction of Chinese.

Sultan ALI, Sultan of Pêrak (of which, as has been stated, Larut was a Province) had died in 1871, and Raja Muda ABDULLAH, son of Sultan JAFFAR, the last Sultan but one, and thus by Pêrak customs the rightful heir to the throne, in spite of his claim, was not selected, but Raja ISMAIL, a foreigner, a native of Sumatra, and late Bĕndahâra of Pêrak, was raised to the vacant Sultanship.

To understand this thoroughly some little explanation is necessary.

The custom in Pêrak, and one which has held through at least seventeen generations of Sultans, is this: There are three chief posts in the State held by Princes of blood royal, *i. e.* :—

The Sultan,

The Raja Muda,

The Raja Bĕndahâra,

and they are held in rotation; if the Sultan dies the Raja Muda becomes Sultan, the Raja Bĕndahâra Raja Muda, and a new Bĕndahâra is appointed. Properly speaking the eldest son of the late Sultan fills this last post, and thus, though he does not immediately succeed to his father's honours, he must eventually become Sultan if he outlive the then Sultan and Raja Muda.

Thus suppose *A*, a son of the last Sultan but two, to be Sultan of Pêrak; *B*, Raja Muda, son of the last Sultan but one; *C*, the Bĕndahâra, son of the last Sultan; and *D*, a Prince, the eldest son of *A*; now suppose *A* dies, then—

B becomes Sultan

C „ Raja Muda

D „ Raja Bĕndahâra, and so on, and thus the Sultan is always a man of considerable age and experience; and yet always the eldest son of a Sultan.

In the particular case in point, this rule had been departed from, and not only in ABDULLAH's case, but previous to that, when in the reign of Sultan JAFFAR, Raja ISMAIL, a foreigner of Sumatra, in high favour with Sultan JAFFAR, had been appointed Raja Bĕndahâra instead of Raja JUSOF, the eldest son of Sultan ABDULLAH MAHOMED SHAH, the late Sultan.

This is explained by the fact that when Sultan ABDULLAH MAHOMED SHAH died, he and his son were in open warfare with by far the greater part of the Chiefs of Pêrak, and when the time came to elect a Bĕndahâra, JUSOF's claims by birth were outbalanced by his unpopularity, and a stranger was elected to his place, thus cutting JUSOF out of the line of succession.

When Sultan JAFFAR died and was succeeded by Sultan ALI, ISMAIL, then Bĕndahâra, did not (probably owing to his foreign extraction) become Raja Muda, but remained as Bĕndahâra, ABDULLAH being elected at once to the Raja Mudaship, and JUSOF being again passed over.

This was the state of affairs when Sultan ALI died. ABDULLAH to all intents and purposes having the best claim, JUSOF without a friend in Pêrak, not on speaking terms with ISMAIL or any of the other Chiefs, and ISMAIL, a foreigner, having filled the Bĕndahâraship during the reigns of two Sultans.

ABDULLAH at this time was unpopular, an opium smoker, and otherwise of indifferent character, and great insult was just then put on him by a Raja DAUD of Sĕlângor, who eloped with his wife,

and ABDULLAH had not sufficient courage to revenge the outrage, though the opportunity was offered him. ISMAIL, on the other hand, was an old and inoffensive man, and willing to let the Chiefs have their own way, provided he was not directly injured.

Sultan ALI died and was buried, and ISMAIL was elected Sultan by an influential body of the Chiefs.

It has been stated that the reason for this election was that ABDULLAH would not come to the Sultan's funeral, but neither Sultan JAFFAR nor Sultan ALI were present at the funeral of that Sultan whose death gave them the supreme power, and in Sultan ALI's case it was four months before he, then in Larut, came into Pêrak proper after Sultan JAFFAR's death.

This excuse is not, therefore, worth a moment's consideration, and it may be added that it is *not* the custom in Pêrak that the successor should be present at the late Sultan's funeral, or rather custom it may be, but it is not an "adat nĕgri," a custom which should not be broken through.

There were two circumstances which did, no doubt, account for the election; one, that as Bĕndahâra ISMAIL was in possession of the Regalia with the keeping of which he was charged; and 2ndly, that he was put forward and almost made Sultan by the Mĕntri, an officer of high rank then entrusted with the Government of Larut, and the wealthiest man in Pêrak.

There were several reasons why the Mĕntri wished ABDULLAH not to be elected, and several why he should, in default of ABDULLAH, prefer the choice to fall on ISMAIL.

The Mĕntri was an enemy of ABDULLAH's and always had been. ABDULLAH, as a Prince of the blood royal of Pêrak, had demanded money from the Mĕntri, and been refused, and he had partly by threats and partly by deceit, got the Mĕntri to assist him in farming the revenues of Krîan, a Province claimed by the Mĕntri, to one party, when the Mĕntri had already given it to another, and we shall see how ABDULLAH afterwards adopted the cause of that faction of Chinese in Larut which the Mĕntri had declared to be his enemies.

The Mĕntri I have stated to be rich, he was not only rich, but so much wealthier than any other Pêrak Chief, that he appears at this time to have plainly contemplated his eventual succession to the throne of Pêrak, and to gain this end his best plan was to obtain a precedent for breaking the line of succession, hitherto carried uninterruptedly through the royal blood of Pêrak.

The Mĕntri was not of royal blood, he was not even barely of Pêrak, but if ISMAIL, a Sumatra man, and only the Bĕndahâra, could be raised to the Sultanship, then why not he himself, the richest and consequently most powerful man in Pêrak and a Chief of almost as high rank as the Bĕndahâra himself?

Another reason why the Mĕntri was anxious for the appointment of the Bĕndahâra was that he had a very great influence over him, so great that he is even reported to have been sometimes in possession of the Bĕndahâra's chop, or seal, and written any letters or documents he liked in his name.

Thus ISMAIL, an old man (his age being another good reason for his election), being once Sultan, the Mĕntri could well prepare his own way to that high office, and might easily prevail on ISMAIL either to retire in his favour when his (the Mĕntri's) plans were matured, or at his death to enjoin the other Chiefs to elect the Mĕntri as his successor.

ISMAIL was elected Sultan, and yet even amongst the Chiefs who thrust this honour upon him, for he personally never wished to be Sultan, several declared that ISMAIL'S appointment was merely a temporary one, and made more to bring ABDULLAH to reason than for any other purpose.

ABDULLAH was indignant in the extreme when he heard of this, and communicated his feelings and his claims to the Government of the Straits Settlements.

Some attempts were made to bring ISMAIL and ABDULLAH together to effect a reconciliation, but these having failed, and ABDULLAH, finding that the Straits Government would do nothing towards assisting him to make good his claim, whilst the Mĕntri,

having at one time pretended to be very much his friend, had turned completely against him, espoused the cause of that party of Chinese (the Si Kuans) which was now the declared enemy of the Mĕntri, and gave them active assistance with arms and men, besides supporting and justifying their actions in Larut with his authority as Sultan of Pĕrak; and it was at this time (about September, 1873,) that we find Raja JUSOF reconciled to ABDULLAH, in Larut by ABDULLAH'S orders, and holding the rank and chop of Raja Muda of Pĕrak conferred on him by ABDULLAH acting under the title of Sultan.

Thus in January, 1874, Larut was practically in the hands of two small parties of Chinese, the Si Kuans with a force of under 1,000 men, and the Go Kuans with about double that number. With the Si Kuans there was also a very small party of Malays, sent by ABDULLAH'S orders to support their cause; whilst the Mĕntri had an additional force chiefly composed of Indians under Captain SPEEDY.

Captain SPEEDY, at that time holding an appointment under the Straits Government, had been induced by the Mĕntri to leave that service and proceed to India to recruit Natives of India to fight for the Mĕntri in support of his then friends, the Go Kuans.

The Mĕntri appears to have prevailed on Captain SPEEDY to join him by liberal offers for his immediate services, both to recruit the Indians, and, when recruited, to lead them against the Si Kuans, and by the promise of very favourable terms in the future (I heard one-fourth of the whole revenues of Larut) should Captain SPEEDY succeed in permanently driving out the Si Kuans from Larut.

In the 2nd week in January, 1874, I went to Larut to invite the Mĕntri and Captain SPEEDY to the projected meeting at Pulo Pengkor. I found the forts on the upper part of the Larut river, (that is at Tĕlok Kertang and Matang) and the main road as far as Simpang, where it forks, (the right hand leading to Bukit Gantang and Pĕrak) occupied by Si Kuans. They had numerous stockades at intervals on the road, and the country then seemed to contain none but fighting men. They were in distress for

provisions, subsisting on the produce of orchards from which the owners had been driven, and on such booty as their fast boats could procure by piracy on the high seas and in the rivers and creeks which seam the coast of Larut.

At Simpang was the largest Si Kuan stockade, an ingeniously constructed and considerable work, and about 300 or 400 yards distant from it, right across the Bukit Gantang road, was a stockade erected under Captain SPEEDY's direction and filled with Go Kuans and some 200 Indians, who had only been allowed to leave India after considerable opposition from the authorities.

Captain SPEEDY had dislodged the Si Kuans from the immediate neighbourhood of Kota, the then largest town of Larut, and the Go Kuans occupied that place; but the Si Kuans still held, as I have said, the river and the main road, not only up to Simpang, but to a bridge across the Larut river, some two miles higher up the road in the direction of Kota, and there they had another stockake called "Ah Oh." I should mention that in this part of Larut the roads only were worth defending or fighting for, as the country on either side was impassable swamp or jungle. The Mĕntri and Captain SPEEDY occupied, besides Kota and the mines, the branch road from Simpang to Bukit Gantang, the Mĕntri's own residence, as also the stockade near the mouth of the Larut river from which Captain WOOLLCOMBE, R.N., had driven the Si Kuans.

As far as I could see the Si Kuans were still a long way from being driven out of Larut, for though pressed for money, they had the best position, whilst all the stores for the Mĕntri's friends, which of course were supplied from Penang, had either to go overland from Province Wellesley, a long journey through the jungle, or up the Limau, a branch of the Larut river, and thence through the jungle by elephants to Bukit Gantang, Simpang, or Kota.

With all the Mĕntri's superior artillery (he had 4 Krupp guns of considerable calibre), his Indian contingent, and the advantage of an English leader, he had not been able to strike any really effectual blow at his enemies, and at this time affairs in Larut were perhaps in a more deplorable state than they had ever been.

ISMAIL, though he had urged to be excused accepting the Sultanship, now that he was elected determined to maintain his position, but living a most retired life far away in the interior of Pêrak, never seemed to trouble himself with the affairs of State, or take any measures to prevent the ruin and desolation of Larut, or the disgrace which had been put on one of his highest officers, the Mĕntri.

Larut, from a populous and thriving country with some 20 to 30,000 inhabitants and a revenue of about $200,000 per annum, with hundreds of good houses and acres of cultivated lands, had been reduced to a wilderness, inhabited, with the exception of Captain SPEEDY and his men, by pirates, robbers and murderers.

It is useless to go into a detail of the atrocities committed on all sides in Larut, but at the beginning of this disturbance 3,000 men are said to have been killed in a day, every house in the country, except those at Bukit Gantang and the Mĕntri's house at Matang, had been burnt down, and Larut was filled with nothing but stockades, whose occupants, at least those of the Si Kuan faction, eked out a precarious livelihood by a system of wholesale piracy and murder, not only in Larut and Pêrak waters, but on the high seas, going so far as to make more than one attack on our Settlement of Pengkor, and finally severely wounding two officers of H. M.'s Navy in an attack on a boat of H. M. S. "*Midge*."

After this last act Captain WOOLLCOMBE, R.N., Senior Naval Officer in these waters, destroyed the two principal stockades of these pirates on the Larut river, and the Mĕntri was thus able to gain possession of the mouth of his river, a result he would probably never have accomplished alone.

Previous to this a steamer flying the English flag had been fired on, and there had been a considerable naval engagement, in which a large number of Chinese junks took part, between the vessels of the rival factions off Larut, where the Go Kuan party had been completely defeated and two of their vessels sunk.

To such an extent had party feeling risen, that having expelled the Mĕntri from Larut, a desperate attempt was made to murder

him by blowing up his house in Penang, an attempt which must have cost him his life had he been in the house as was supposed.

When it is added that several of H. M.'s Gun-vessels had for months been endeavouring to put down this piracy between Penang and Pulo Pengkor without securing a single pirate,* whilst the atrocities seemed on the increase, some idea may be obtained of the state of Larut and Pêrak in January, 1874.

For Pêrak, though by no means in the condition of Larut, was hardly to be looked upon as happy and prosperous. Cursed by the possession of two Sultans, (for even one, reigning in undisputed and therefore good tempered sway, is hardly a blessing in a country when acting by the light of Malay justice) each supported by a number of influential Chiefs, each levying taxes as though he alone were Sultan, and each endeavouring as best he might to injure the adherents of the other, whilst independent bands of robbers under the leadership of Chiefs who called themselves Rajas marauded undisturbed in the interior, Pêrak, the most populous and most beautiful of Malay States, was rendered almost intolerable even to a people whose perceptions have been dulled by the oppression of generations, and many of whom are slaves and the offspring of slaves.

Let us now turn to Sĕlângor—Sĕlângor which can boast a longer catalogue of crimes, whose name, even amongst the Malay States themselves, has ever been a bye-word for piracy and intestine strife. But though it is necessary, for a comprehension of the future events in Pêrak, to have a knowledge of what were the positions of the various actors there, and what circumstances brought them into those positions, it will not be necessary to describe so fully the previous doings of the Sĕlângor Rajas.

To fix the date when disturbances first began in Sĕlângor would be difficult, as internal quarrels and strife seem to have been its normal condition, and that not affording a sufficient field for

* I call these men "pirates" because though originally, and to the end mainly, this was a party fight, one faction at least was driven to such extremes that they attacked indiscriminately all boats they could find passing the coasts of Perak and Larut, murdered their crews and carried off the cargoes.

the warlike tendencies of the Sĕlângor Rajas, their surplus energy was directed, and with considerable success, to a system of piracies on the coast and in the neighbourhood of Sĕlângor.

A more particular struggle had, however, been going on in Sĕlângor, with more or less vigour since 1867, in which year, Tunku DIA UDIN, a brother of the Sultan of Kedah, and, like all of that family, a man of more than ordinarily enlightened views, went to Sĕlângor, married a daughter of the Sultan of that country, and was appointed by him to be his Viceroy.

Under the general name of Sĕlângor are included five large districts, each on a considerable river of its own, named respectively Bernam, Sĕlângor, Klang, Langat, and Lukut.* Bernam being the most northerly and the others joining on in succession.

The Sultan, who by the way is supreme, and, unlike the custom in Pĕrak, has no very high officers under him, was then and is now residing at Langat, and had three grown up sons—Rajas MUSAH, KAHAR and YAKUB. Of these sons Raja MUSAH, the eldest, was by his father's consent then (in 1867) living at Sĕlângor in complete control of that river.

A Raja ITAM held Bernam, Raja BŌT, Lukut, and Raja MAHDI, a grandson of the late Sultan, having driven out Raja DOLAH, formerly in Klang, was holding that place and enjoying its revenues as his own.

About this time Raja DOLAH died in Malacca, to which place he had retired to organize an expedition against MAHDI to recover Klang, and at his death he enjoined his sons to carry out this expedition.

This was done, and Tunku DIA UDIN, finding Raja DOLAH'S sons at the mouth of the Klang river and already engaged in a struggle with MAHDI, in his capacity of Viceroy to the Sultan, ordered both parties to desist and stated that he would settle their

* Lukut has lately, by a mutual rectification of boundaries, passed to Sungei Ujong. (1880.)

difference. Raja MAHDI, however, refused to acknowledge Tunku DIA UDIN'S right to interfere, and thus Tunku DIA UDIN determined to bring him to reason, and invited the sons of Raja DOLAH to assist, which they did, and MAHDI was driven from Klang, which was taken and has ever since been occupied by Tunku DIA UDIN.*

But the war, if so it may be called, was carried into Sĕlângor and Bernam, Raja MAHDI obtaining at different times the assistance of Raja ITAM of Bernam, SYED MASHOR, a Sĕlangor man of Arab extraction, Raja ASUL, a Mandêling of Sumatra and a renegade to Tunku DIA UDIN,—and chiefest of all Raja MAHMUD, a son of one Raja BERKAT, a man who ranked second in Sĕlângor; whilst the sons of the Sultan, though they appear to have taken no active part against Tunku DIA UDIN, are believed to have sympathised with, if not assisted, MAHDI and his party.

It may be wondered how it was that during all these years, from 1867 to 1873, the Sultan did nothing personally to put an end to these disturbances which were depopulating his country and driving out all honest men, indeed that he rather seemed to encourage the strife.

To those intimately acquainted with the Sultan and with these turbulent Rajas there seems to be an easy explanation of his conduct. In the first place his character is eminently of the *laissez faire* type; he had sympathies on both sides, on one his son-in-law and his cousin's son, and on the other several men distantly related to him, and, perhaps in a degree, his own sons. But the real reason of his apparent indifference was his fear of MAHDI, and the equally desperate characters associated with him, should he by violent measures (and none other would have availed) attempt to punish their contempt for the authority of, and personal hatred to, his Viceroy.

And those best acquainted with the facts aver that he had cause for fear, that it was even at one time proposed to murder the Sultan, get rid of his Viceroy, and parcel out the country amongst these rebellious Rajas.

* Tunku DIA UDIN has now returned to Kedah, where he is joint-Regent with his brother Tunku YAKUB. (1880.)

What remonstrance could do the Sultan did, not once but repeatedly, seeing, however, to how little purpose he at length gave it up; but to take a firm stand by one party and condemn *in toto* the actions of the other: for this the Sultan had not sufficient strength of purpose.

And indeed he might have been very much more cordial in his relations with his Viceroy (against whom, however, he has never made complaint) had it not been that there were interested people ever ready to abuse the Viceroy to the Sultan and to repeat his reputed speeches in disparagement of his father-in-law, whilst these people, in the same way, were continually declaring to Tunku DIA UDIN that the Sultan was aiding his enemies to the utmost.

The struggle was carried on with varying success, until in 1872-73 the Bĕndahâra of Pahang, at the instance of this Government, sent Tunku DIA UDIN very considerable assistance in men and money.

By their means Tunku DIA UDIN succeeded in retaking the whole of the districts of Klang and Sĕlângor, and driving MAHDI and MAHMUD to Langat, and SYED MASHOR and Raja ASUL to Pêrak; with Raja ITAM, Tunku DIA UDIN had already made friends.

It is, however, but natural to conclude that this cessation of hostilities would only have lasted long enough to allow MAHDI and his allies to get ready a new expedition, and that, as had occurred before, so would it be again—war, pillage and piracy until the principals on one side were either killed or completely driven from this part of the Peninsula.

When Tunku DIA UDIN retook Sĕlângor in November, 1873, what had once been a populous and thriving place was almost uninhabited, such few hovels as still remained being in ruins, the plantations overgrown with jungle, the owners fled to another country, whilst the mines in the interior were totally deserted, the machinery burnt or broken and the roads infested by starving bands of robbers, who would hesitate at committing no crime either to obtain plunder or revenge themselves on their enemies.

And lastly, these prolonged disturbances were rapidly overwhelming Pêrak and Sĕlângor with debt, the Mĕntri in Larut and Tunku Dia Udin in Sĕlângor being respectively indebted to the extent of $300,000 or $400,000, with no prospect of paying off this money, except from a flourishing revenue after years of peace and prosperity, an eventuality then apparently verging on the impossible.

Sungei Ujong which, as has been stated, marches with the South-Eastern boundary of Sĕlângor, had, as might be expected, become mixed up in the Sĕlângor disturbances, and the Chiefs of Sungei Ujong, not content with their own troubles and disputes with their neighbour and old enemy Rambau, taking opposite sympathies, had all but involved their little State in just such an internal struggle as had devastated Sĕlângor.

The small inland States of Sungei Ujong, Rambau, Jôhol, &c., had originally been under the Sultan of Johor, but about 1773, Johor, no longer able or anxious to be responsible for the government of these, no doubt even then, troublesome districts, obtained for them a Prince of true Mĕnangkâbau descent, who, under the title of Yang di Pertuan Bĕsar, ruled over these States, then federated into one.

Each separate State, however, still had its own immediate Chiefs, who, under the title of Pĕngûlu or Datu, virtually controlled their own district, with an occasional reference to the Yang di Pertuan Bĕsar.

This arrrangement lasted till about the year 1800, when the then Yang di Pertuan Bĕsar induced some of the Pĕngûlus to consent to the additional appointment of a Deputy under the title of Yang di Pertuan Muda.

From this time till 1874, that is to say during the whole of the present century, the Inland States have been the scene of almost continuous disturbances.

First quarrelling amongst themselves (notably in the cases of Raja Ali and Syed Saban about 1883), and then making British

subjects the innocent sufferers by their party warfare, they rendered these States, and more especially the Linggi river, all but impassable.

The Linggi river which in its lower part forms the boundary between Sĕlângor and Malacca,* in its upper part forks, the right branch becoming, for some distance, the boundary between Sungei Ujong and Rambau, and the left branch, for a short way, the boundary between Rambau and Malacca.

It may be imagined what effect the positions of Sungei Ujong and Rambau with regard to each other, and to the Linggi river which ran between them, would have on any one so unfortunate as to be obliged to make use of that river as a thoroughfare.

During at least the last forty years, the condition of these States may be briefly described as one of complete disorganization and consequent oppression and poverty.

Sungei Ujong and Rambau, to each other the bitterest foes, when not in actual and declared warfare kept their feud alive by cattle-lifting, river piracy, and highway robbery, whilst each constantly induced one or other of the remaining States to adopt her cause, never failing to make the Linggi river the chief scene of operations. Both legitimate parties would there erect stockades and levy taxes on the traders (usually British subjects of Malacca), whilst independent bands of marauders, with a true spirit of privateering, raised their stockades and demanded of every passer-by an exorbitant blackmail, and should this be refused they seldom failed to punish such temerity by murder and robbery.

Add to this that in each of these small States there is at least one Pĕngûlu, at whose death there is usually an armed struggle for the vacant office, and a fair idea may be obtained of the "peace and prosperity" of the independent States bordering on Malacca.

Such a struggle as has just been spoken of as possible had but now (in January, 1874,) ended in Rambau, and was about to begin in Sungei Ujong.

* Now Sungei Ujong and Malacca. (1880.)

In order that there may be no difficulty in understanding the circumstances which led to the direct intervention of Government in Sungei Ujong, it will be well to at once describe the interior economy of that State.

The chief authority in Sungei Ujong, and the one with whom this Government has always corresponded and treated in conducting relations with that State, is a Pĕngûlu with the title of Klana Putra, a title which by right descends from uncle to nephew, that nephew being the eldest son of the Klana's eldest sister, in default the next son or a son of another sister.

But in Sungei Ujong there was another authority, with the title of Datu Bandar, an office which ought, like the first, to descend from uncle to nephew, and for which its last holder claimed an almost, if not quite equal, position, authority, and consideration with that of the Klana.

There were reasons which might give rise to this feeling, principal amongst them that the Datu Bandar was a man of at least seventy-five years of age, and had held his office for some twenty years, whilst the Klana was a comparatively young man and had just been appointed.

The Bandar, an extremely parsimonious man, had, during his twenty years of office, accumulated a large sum of money, and this consequently gave him considerable influence in the country, whilst he was possessed of such a reputation for determination, impatience of the least contradiction, and the prompt execution of desperate deeds, that many of those who would not have been his followers through love, were so by fear.

The Bandar had also made use of his long tenure of power to get the greater part of the revenues into his own hands, and the Klana, having been installed, soon found that he must either content himself with what the Bandar allowed him to have or assert his rights by force.

One thing, however, is certain in regard to the apparently anomalous positions of these "Two Kings of Brentford," and that

is, that it was a custom in Sungei Ujong that when one of these two offices became vacant, it could only be refilled by the consent of the Chief who then held the other, and though it has been stated that the present Klana* is not the legitimate occupant, yet he was appointed in the regular way by the late Bandar, whose own succession, though he enjoyed his post for so many years, will hardly bear the light of severe scrutiny.

There had never been cordial relations between the Klana and the Bandar of Sungei Ujong, and an estrangement once formed the breach between them became daily wider, more especially when the Klana adopted the cause of Tunku DIA UDIN and promised to give none of his enemies harbour in Sungei Ujong, whilst it was well known that the Bandar was on the best terms with Rajas MAHDI and MAHMUD, and had, on several occasions, given them, besides shelter in his house, material assistance for the prosecution of their raids.

As for the other small States, besides their frequently taking part in the Rambau-Sungei Ujong conflicts, they were themselves, and more especially Ulu Muar, Jelabu and Sri Menanti, the scenes of petty struggles, whilst they all, without exception, gave refuge to the criminals who fled from justice in the Straits Settlements.

Johor and Pahang were the only exceptions to this disgraceful state of affairs, and there has been for years so little good feeling between even these two countries, and such jealousy with regard to their boundary, that it is believed that were it not for their position, so close to Singapore, and the great interest this Government has always taken in Johor, they would long ere this have been involved in a war as bitter, and on a larger scale, than any that has been described, indeed it is more than probable that this most anxiously to be avoided catastrophe has only been averted by the constant mediation of this Government between those States.

* SYED ABDULRAHMAN; he died returning from Mecca at the end of 1879.

Besides the internal struggles in Pĕrak, Sĕlângor, Sungei Ujong, Rambau, &c., there was an outstanding question of boundaries—first between Pĕrak and Sĕlângor, then between Sĕlângor and Sungei Ujong, and again between Sungei Ujong and Rambau—which threatened to, at any time, involve the whole of this part of the Peninsula in war.

Any number of instances might be given to shew the kind of rule under which the Malays have hitherto lived, one or two will, however, be sufficient.

In the reign of Sultan JAFFAR there was in Pĕrak a Trĕnggânu man, who had such a sweet voice, that when he read the Kŏrân all who heard him were charmed with it. On one occasion he was reading in the presence of the Sultan, and one of the women of the harim was so struck that she, contrary to custom, came out to listen. Some of the woman's relations chose to feel aggrieved by this, and when the man went out, they lay in wait to kill him, but knowing he was armed with a very famous kriss they feared to molest him. They then complained to the Sultan, and asked what was to be done; his reply was "You are fools, first take his kriss and then kill him." Accordingly, acting on this advice, one of them made an excuse to borrow the weapon, and when the Trĕnggânu man went out to look for him, the others stabbed him until their krisses met in his body.

In Larut, the Chinese, believing a man guilty of too great familiarity with another man's wife, took both the suspected parties, man and woman, put them in wicker baskets, and threw them into an abandoned tin mine, which had become filled with water. It is also stated that a similarly suspected couple were bound, nude, and partially buried in the middle of a road, where every passer-by thrust into their bodies a piece of stick sharpened at one end and lighted at the other.

In Pĕrak, too, when a man wished to revenge himself on another for a real or fancied wrong, the ordinary course was to plan and carry out a midnight "amok," which consists in a number of men, armed to the teeth, making a rush on a house, murdering every one they meet, and then burning the place.

In Sĕlângor it is hardly an exaggeration to say that every man over twenty years of age, whom you met on the road, had killed at least one man. Indeed it was considered rather a a reproach on any one who had not done so, and even now (1875) those Rajas are looked on with the greatest respect who can boast the longest list of victims. One Sĕlângor Raja was reputed, and indeed acknowledged it himself, to have killed ninety-nine men, another forty, and several over twenty each; whilst even the women were not unaccustomed to the use of deadly weapons against each other.

It is stated that a man was leaving Langat to go up the river, some year or two ago, when, as he left, a friend on the bank said "You had better take care, there are said to be forts on the river." The next morning, a Raja, having been told of the remark, met this friend, and striking him in the mouth with his kriss, killed him, with the simple remark "Mulutnia terlampau jahat"—*i. e.*, "He had a very wicked mouth."

Not long ago, another Raja at Langat punished two of his father's female debt slaves, who had attempted to escape from bondage, by having their heads held under water in the river till they were dead.

These cases were quoted to me by the actors or lookers on in the scenes, and I could multiply them *ad nauseam*. A Chinese, some years resident in Langat, speaking of the frequent use of deadly weapons in that place but a year or two ago, said "Every one in Langat carried weapons, and used them without let, hindrance, or hesitation, even cowards became brave after a short residence in Bandar Termâsa (Langat)." Murders for a hasty word, or a debt of a few dollars, or perhaps cents, were of weekly occurrence.

Countries where such cases as these were too common to afford remark for more than a day, were not likely to offer much inducement to foreigners to invest their capital, or trust their lives in; and Sĕlângor, except in Klang and Lukut, is almost an unknown country.

Lukut, close to the Cape Rachado Lighthouse, and only 40 miles from Malacca, was, under its last Raja, the most thriving place in Sĕlângor with a revenue of nearly $200,000 a year; but on his death, partly from the failure of some sources of revenue, and partly from inefficiency in the administration by his sons who had taken charge of the Government, the revenues of Lukut at once fell, and do not now amount to $5,000 per annum.

In Sungei Ujong, affairs were only better in so far that the Bandar did what he liked, but did not let any one else do so. The following may be taken as an instance of one of the ways in which he raised money.

A certain Haji came to Sungei Ujong and treated the Bandar with such deference that his heart warmed towards him, and he determined to make him a present of money. Accordingly, he sent round to the Chinese miners and traders, ordering each to give a sum of money for this purpose--one $30, another $20, and so on. By this means he collected $500, $100 of which he gave to the Haji, and the other $400 he kept himself.

Such was the state of the Peninsula in 1874, and enough has been told to shew that there was ample reason to justify Governor Sir ANDREW CLARKE in taking some effectual step to put a stop to those crimes, which had hitherto been frequently perpetrated on British subjects, and, if possible, to reconcile the opposing parties in these struggles, more especially in the case of Larut, which so nearly affected the peace and safety of our own Settlement of Penang.

To obtain this end, negotiations were opened with the Chinese of the contending factions, and this mediation brought about very satisfactory results.

Sir ANDREW CLARKE met the principal Chinese of both parties at our Island of Pengkor, in January, 1874, and, by treating both factions equally, he effected a reconciliation, which stopped at once all piracy at sea, all fighting on shore, and which in one year had such an influence on Larut, that that district was, in January, 1875, producing a revenue of $30,000 a month, with an estimated population of some thirty-five thousand Chinese and Malays.

Judging that the settlement of the Pêrak succession was a matter of almost equal urgency with the pacification of Larut, and would, in the future, be of greater importance, whilst no lasting good could come by arranging the one without the other, letters and messengers were sent to summon ISMAIL, ABDULLAH, and the principal Chiefs of Pêrak.

ISMAIL did not attend. Being a long way in the interior of Pêrak, and having hitherto had no dealings with Europeans, he was probably, like all natives, suspicious of the reception he might meet with. ABDULLAH, however, came, and he was accompanied by most of the principal Pêrak Chiefs,* except Raja JUSOF, who was then looked upon as Raja Muda, and from whom no complaints had ever been received that he had been unjustly deprived of the supreme power.

The main point, necessarily, had been to put a stop to those disgraceful occurrences which were rapidly recalling to mind the ill-fame borne by the Straits of Malacca for acts of piracy and cruelty when European shipping first used them as a highway to the East. But having secured this end for the moment, with guarantees for the future good conduct of the Chinese, it was necessary to consider by what means this present necessary result might be continued.

One solution likely to suggest itself was, no doubt, annexation, but considering the reluctance with which the Home Government had hitherto sanctioned even the slightest interference in the Malay States, that course was little considered. The only other alternative, which recommended itself as having a prospect of success, was to give the Native Chiefs an opportunity of governing their countries under the advice and assistance of British Officers, and see whether, under these circumstances, they were capable of being entrusted with such responsibility. Should they,

* The Chiefs who actually attended were:—ABDULLAH, the Raja Bendahara USMAN (Prime Minister), the Mentri, the Datu Temenggong, the Datu Laxamana, the Datu Shabandar and the Datu Sagor.

after trial, prove themselves unable or unwilling to maintain order in their own countries, and amicable relations with our possessions, then the other alternative would still remain.

The question of the succession was fully discussed, and all the Chiefs at Pengkor expressed their desire to appoint ABDULLAH Sultan, and Sir ANDREW CLARKE, agreeing to their unanimous election of him, an Engagement was drawn up setting forth this new creation, acknowledged by Her Majesty's representative, and conferring on ISMAIL the title of Ex-Sultan: consenting, at the request of the Sultan and his Chiefs, to send a British Officer to be Resident in Pêrak, to collect the revenue and advise the Sultan, and also containing clauses which rectified the boundary between Province Wellesley and that part of Pêrak called Krîan; whilst the old and much discussed Treaty of 1825 was declared to be interpreted in the sense in which it had, no doubt, been made, *i. e.*, that the Dindings, a strip of the mainland, as well as the Islands of Pengkor, should be British territory.

The principal results of this action are, that since that Engagement was made, there has been no case of piracy in Pêrak waters. Larut has been re-peopled, and its revenues have doubled in amount what was received in its most prosperous days under the unaided administration of its Native ruler; whilst the proportion of crime to the population of Pêrak has not been greater than that in the Straits Settlements. At the same time, in Larut, all arms have been removed and stockades destroyed, whilst towns have been built, mines opened, and roads made, the necessary accompaniments of an increased population and an increased revenue.

The proposal to send Resident British Officers to advise and assist the Native rulers and afford protection to British subjects originated with the Malay Rajas themselves, Raja ABDULLAH having in 1872, begged Governor Sir HARRY ORD to assist him to obtain his rights as Sultan and to lend him an Officer to teach him how to govern his country, saying that he would give that Officer for a time the whole revenues of his country, except sufficient to provide himself with food and clothing.

More recently Tunku DIA UDIN and the Klana of Sungei Ujong have asked for and obtained British Residents, expressing in each case their desire to defray the expenses of these Officers.

There is now a Resident in Pêrak, and an Assistant Resident in Larut.

Nothing has occurred in Larut of any importance since January, 1874, but the country has been carefully worked up to its present state, its revenue guarded, and justice administered under the immediate supervision of the Assistant Resident (Capt. SPEEDY), whilst, besides roads for the benefit of the miners and traders in Larut, a road, which may in time connect Province Wellesley with Johor, has been begun, both in our newly acquired territory in Krîan and also in Larut, to give a direct road communication between those districts and our own Settlements, whilst another road to join Larut with Pêrak proper is also in course of making; and this also would form a joint in a great highway through the Peninsula from Penang to Singapore.

The Larut debts, already spoken of, incurred by the Mĕntri in his vain attempts to put down the party fights of the Chinese in Larut, are in the hands of a Committee of Enquiry.

In Pêrak, which has a resident population of about 30,000 Malays, with numbers of Rajas and Chiefs, as was to be expected there are those who prefer the law of "might being right" to any modification of that original principle, and these have taken up a policy of grumbling discontent, with Rajas ISMAIL and JUSOF for leaders.

ISMAIL, though in conversation and correspondence he professes it to be his only desire to follow the advice of the English Government, has nevertheless practically assumed a position of passive disregard of the new state of affairs, and, amongst Malays, of being the aggrieved victim of ill-treatment at the hands of those Chiefs who, having elected him Sultan, afterwards discarded him. And in this course he is supported and advised, if not instigated, by the Mĕntri and one or two lesser Chiefs, who, whilst they were the followers of "ISMAIL the Sultan," did many things

which they now hesitate to attempt as the followers of the "Ex-Sultan."

JUSOF, however, has no feeling of this kind, and, holding the appointment of Raja Muda, he would have the present control of Pêrak affairs with a by no means improbable possibility of becoming Sultan hereafter, but though he knows that he is utterly unsupported, and that should the supreme authority become vacant to-morrow perhaps not one Chief in Pêrak would approve of his becoming Sultan, and though he formerly willingly accepted the Raja Mudaship under ABDULLAH, yet he is now so occupied by the thought that he is the rightful Sultan and being unjustly deprived of his true position, that he is ready to ally himself with any one who will in any way oppose the present arrangements.

Some further steps will probably be necessary before these Rajas will be induced to give up their present attitude, for though that is not at present a threatening one, still it does much to prevent the complete and speedy settlement of Pêrak affairs.

Another point provided for in the Pengkor Engagement was the arrangement of a Civil List, and the fact of this being as yet unsettled, has no doubt contributed, in some degree, to the discontent of ISMAIL's party. This can hardly be decided except at a full assembly of the Chiefs and in the presence of some one whose advice has sufficient weight with them to carry conviction. Could such an assembly be arranged, in such a presence, it is possible that both questions might be settled at one and the same time.

Neither Ex-Sultan ISMAIL nor Raja JUSOF would probably have ever taken up the attitudes they have had it not been that certain designing persons, British subjects, with the sole desire of making money, represented that if their services were employed at a sufficiently high figure anything might be done, even to the annulling of the Pengkor Engagement and the constituting of JUSOF Sultan of Pêrak. Indeed some of the Chiefs are still of opinion that this Engagement might, by the influence of their advisers in the Straits, be rendered worthless.

The Mĕntri of Larut also, by his intrigues and professions of friendship, now to ABDULLAH now to ISMAIL, has in no small degree helped to keep alive the discontent which exists.

When the Resident first took up his duties, the collection of revenue and the preservation of the peace seemed to demand such immediate arrangement and control, that there was not opportunity to devote himself entirely to the Chiefs, but now that these two important questions are put on more satisfactory footing, it seems necessary to take up the final settlement of any difficulty which still remains about ABDULLAH's acknowledgment, the arrangement of a Civil List, and the particular duties of particular Chiefs.

ABDULLAH himself has, however, been the greatest obstacle to his own complete recognition as Sultan. Since January, 1874, instead of exerting himself to a just fulfilment of the duties which then devolved upon him, he has devoted himself to opium-smoking, cock-fighting and other vices, and by his overbearing manner and absurd pride of position, he has, instead of conciliating, rather estranged those who only wanted forbearance to make them his supporters.

Thus, although ABDULLAH has amongst those attached to his cause some of the most enlightened of Pĕrak Chiefs, still the party in opposition, with ISMAIL and JUSOF at their head, are so strong and influential with the Natives of the interior as to necessitate an amicable arrangement with them before the affairs of Pĕrak can be said to be finally settled.

The immediate cause of this Government's recent and more intimate relations in Sĕlângor arose from an atrocious piracy being committed in November, 1873, just off the Jugra river, some few miles from the Sultan of Sĕlângor's residence. One man alone escaped with his life from the pirated boat, jumping overboard and holding to the rudder for hours. He swam ashore, escaped to Malacca, and there meeting the pirates he laid an information and they were arrested.

In December, 1873, Tunku DIA UDIN, having just previously reported the above case to this Government, begged that an Officer might be sent to him to assist him in governing Sĕlângor.

On the 11th January, 1874, an attack was also made on our lighthouse at Cape Rachado by Malays believed to have come from Langat.

Returned from Pĕrak, Sir ANDREW CLARKE, having obtained the co-operation of Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES SHADWELL, then at Penang with a portion of H. M.'s China Fleet, proceeded at once to Langat, where he interviewed the Sultan and his sons, and induced His Highness to appoint a Court of Native authorities to sit in trial on the pirates, Tunku DIA UDIN being nominated President of this Court by the Sultan.

Three of H. M.'s Vessels were left at the Jugra river with two Government Commissioners to watch the trial.

After a careful examination, the prisoners were found guilty and all but one were executed. The ships-of-war then shewed themselves along the coast, and for the time everything seemed quiet again.

It was in July, however, that Sir ANDREW CLARKE, calling at Klang on his way from Penang to Singapore, was informed by Tunku DIA UDIN of another piracy, at a place called Kwala Labu on the Langat river, about twenty-five miles above the town of Langat.

It was stated that this river-piracy (in which a boat was plundered and two Bugis men lost their lives) had been designed and executed under the orders of Raja MAHMUD, and the Bandar of Sungei Ujong's eldest son; and it was added that Raja MAHDI was then at Langat, planning another expedition against Klang and Selângor, and that he had three large boats there ready to convey his men and arms.

Sir ANDREW CLARKE went at once to Langat, taking Tunku DIA UDIN with him, and at an interview with the Sultan of Sĕlângor, His Highness expressed his desire to put a stop to such disgraceful

occurrences, and promised to hand over Raja MAHDI's boat to Tunku DIA UDIN, to assist his Viceroy to organise an expedition in search of the pirates, and, if possible, to secure Rajas MAHDI, MAHMUD and BERKAT (the Tunku Panglima Raja), who had already been declared outlaws by the Sultan.

One of Raja MAHDI's boats was then handed over to Tunku DIA UDIN and taken to Klang, and, in order to, if possible, put down piracy and prevent the recurrence of these outrages Sir ANDREW CLARKE, arrived at Singapore, requested the Navy to give what assistance they could to the Sultan and Tunku DIA UDIN in their search, by keeping a look-out on the coast of Sĕlângor, whilst the Governor at the same time sent an Officer of the Government to remain with the Sultan, should His Highness desire it, and by his presence and advice, give him confidence and assistance to carry out the promises he had made. This Officer was cordially welcomed by the Sultan, and continues with him.

The expedition had no visible result in the way of the capture of either Rajas MAHDI or MAHMUD, or the discovery of any of the pirates, but it was of no slight use in thoroughly examining the villages and rivers on the coast, in frightening both Raja MAHDI and Raja MAHMUD out of Sĕlângor, and in capturing Raja MAHDI's third boat, which he had removed from Langat, the second having, at the Sultan's request, been towed to Klang by H.M.S. *Hart*.

From this date there has been no case of piracy on the coast or in the rivers of Sĕlângor, and the Sultan has, by his unhesitating trust in the advice of the Government and adoption of every thing suggested to him for the improvement of his country, proved the truth and sincerity of his former professions of friendship, and in October, 1874, he begged the Governor to undertake the Government of Sĕlângor by his Officers and the collection of all the revenues there.

When in August, 1874, MAHDI, after vowing vengeance on all who assisted in the removal of his boats, was compelled to leave Langat, he went overland to Sungei Ujong, and thence, still across country, through Sri Menanti and Rambau to Johor, to which

place he had been summoned by letter in the hope that as he had by birth some claim on Sĕlângor an amicable arrangement might be made with him.

Raja MAHDI took with him Raja MAHMUD, the son of the late Sultan MAHOMED of Sĕlângor, and they have been in Johor ever since.

Raja MAHMUD, the son of the Tunku Panglima Raja,* also left Langat in August last and went to Sungei Ujong, where he was received and supported by the Bandar of that place until the Klana of Sungei Ujong, endeavouring to bring the Bandar to reason by force of arms, the Bandar called on Raja MAHMUD to assist him, and this he did with great effect, his notorious name striking such terror into the Klana's followers (500 in all) that at the first sound of it they fled out of Sungei Ujong.

On the arrival of our troops MAHMUD fled to Langat by the sea coast, and being there offered an ultimatum of complete submission, or to leave the country in twenty-four hours, he chose the former, and went to Singapore, where he bound himself to live for a year without meddling in the slightest degree in Sĕlângor affairs.

This promise he has hitherto faithfully kept, and there is no reason to believe he will attempt to break it; indeed he is not likely to give any further trouble, as he says he has no claim on Sĕlângor and has fought hitherto for no political reason, merely for friendship's sake and because he liked it.

This is the case, he is a "free lance," and has been ever Raja MAHDI's best fighting man; now however he appears to have severed his connection with him and is not likely to resume it, but tired of his hunted life in the jungle, he is anxious to live for the future in peace and by honest means.

Raja MAHMUD, the son of the late Sultan, supported by Raja MAHDI at one time claimed to be the legitimate heir to the throne of Sĕlângor, but he appears to have given that idea up now and is living quietly in Johor with an allowance from the Sĕlângor Government.

Alias Raja BERKAT.

On what grounds he made his claim it is hard to say, for he has an elder brother, Raja LAUT, living in Pêrak, and he is not, as was stated, of "Raja" blood on his mother's side, neither is his brother.

Raja ITAM,* as already mentioned, made friends with Tunku DIA UDIN, and has for some time been living at Bernam in charge of that district under the supervision of the Resident of Sĕlângor, the Sultan of Pêrak having given to Raja ITAM temporary control over the Pêrak bank, *i.e.*, the right bank of the river Bernam also.

Raja ASAL,† once in Tunku DIA UDIN's service, but who afterwards went over to his enemies, driven from Sĕlângor, fled to Pêrak, and is now engaged in tin-mining at Slim in the interior of Pêrak.

The only other man of any note concerned in the Sĕlângor disturbances is SYED MASHOR,† who, compelled to fly Sĕlângor, took refuge in Pêrak, where he is living on charity, having no followers and no money. He has seen the Resident of Pêrak and declared his desire to mix no more in the quarrels of the Native Rajas, but to live peaceably.

Of the Sultan's sons, the eldest, Raja MUSAH, is just going back to Sĕlângor, where he will live under the eye of the Resident, for though no complaint of oppression or cruelty has ever been brought against him, his character is essentially weak, and it is necessary to protect him from bad advisers and designing men, who would rob him of his money, and, under cover of his name, commit acts that he would never dream of nor consent to.

Raja KAHAR, the second son, is settled in the interior of Langat, and doing very well there, whilst YAKUB, the third son, lives with his father, and is directly under the supervision of the Assistant Resident‡ at Langat.

* Raja ITAM is now (1880) in receipt of a fixed allowance, whilst the Bernam District is administered under the advice of the Resident of Perak.

† After the murder of Mr. BIRCH, Raja ASAL and SYED MASHOR (also Rajas MAHMUD, INDUT and UTIH) offered their services to the British Commissioners in Perak, and gave to the troops a very considerable amount of assistance. These five Rajas were recommended to Government for some mark of distinction in recognition of their services, and in consequence the Secretary of State sent out five swords to be presented to them, but they have never been given. Raja ASAL died some time ago. (1880.)

‡ There is no Assistant Resident in Selangor now. (1880.)

Thus there is reason to believe, that all these former enemies of Sĕlângor are satisfactorily provided for, and that they will, or at least some of them, in future contribute to the prosperity of that country, instead of employing their energies in endeavouring to accomplish its ruin.

Raja MAHDI alone remains intractable. Imbued with an idea that Klang is his very own to do what he likes with, he has hitherto resisted all attempts at any arrangement which has not for its first proviso his own return to that district as its Governor.

He claims Klang as a right and an inheritance, and has hitherto stated that he will endeavour to recover it by any means, declaring at the same time his firm belief that if the Straits Government will assist him to obtain Klang, and will give him a Resident to advise him, that "he will shew quicker and better results there than "Tunku DIA UDIN has ever done."

Unfortunately his past conduct hardly justifies him in this confident opinion, and even supposing it were possible to value Raja MAHDI at his own estimate of himself, and he could be allowed to return to Klang, the present inhabitants of Sĕlângor have such slight confidence in him, that they (or rather a great part of them) have declared it their intention to leave the country as he enters it.

The Sultan also, having enjoyed for some months now the blessings of being freed from the intimidations of these hitherto turbulent spirits, is much averse to the return of Raja MAHDI, whom he doubtless considers their instigator and chief.

Indeed MAHDI'S* return to Sĕlângor, for sometime at least, would appear to be out of the question, and yet if his determination and energy could only be directed into some lawful channel, he might do almost as much good as he has hitherto done harm. It is hoped that an arrangement may yet be made with him which will gain this end, and whilst giving him some worthy employment in another country will divert his thoughts from Sĕlângor.

* Raja MAHDI has abandoned his pretensions, and quite recently the Selangor Government has agreed to let him return to Klang as a private individual. Unfortunately Raja MAHDI'S state of health is giving his friends great cause for anxiety on his behalf. (1880.)

Meanwhile Sĕlângor is slowly, but steadily, recovering itself; miners and traders are returning, and as they find a hitherto unknown safety to life and property, and an absence of those intestine struggles from which the country has till recently been hardly ever free, they will gain confidence, and besides bringing in their own capital and labour, may induce others to do so; looking at the richness of the soil, both for cultivation and in minerals, there is reason to hope that Sĕlângor will eventually become one of the wealthiest States in the Peninsula.

Already the revenues of Klang are averaging over $11,000 a month, whilst a new impulse has been given to the hitherto neglected districts of Bernam, Sĕlângor, and Langat.

In Lukut too there is a prospect of better days, and though it may not for years, perhaps never, reach its former prosperity, the work of improvement has begun, and it only wants time, and the absence of internal dissension to regain much of its old wealth and importance, and this seems the more likely as it is proposed to make a road* from Sungei Ujong to Lukut, along which the whole traffic of the former place would be carried, and thus Lukut, in addition to her own resources, would become the port of Sungei Ujong.

At Sungei Raya between Cape Rachado and the Linggi river there are large pepper and gambier plantations owned by Malacca Chinese, and these will doubtless be greatly increased when other Chinese in Malacca see that the present peace appears likely to be a lasting one.†

In answer to Tunku Dia Udin's request, a Resident British Officer was sent to him by the Straits Government in January of this year, and it is hoped such a country as Sĕlângor, drained by

*This proposal was abandoned in 1875, and a road commenced, which is now open, to connect Sungei Ujong with Permâtang Pasir on the Linggi river. The Sungei Ujong Government preferred this route, as passing wholly through Sungei Ujong territory. (1880.)

†A Singapore Chinaman has since opened considerable pepper and gambier plantations at Sungei Raya, and they appear likely to prove a success.

such rivers as the Bernam, Klang, Sĕlângor, and Langat, under its new administration, may grow into a state worthy of its great natural resources.

As already stated, the constant border fights between Sungei Ujong and Rambau, which in 1873 and 1874 rather increased than diminished, had rendered the Linggi river (the highway to Sungei Ujong and parts of Rambau) all but impassable, until, after repeated complaints from British subjects of the blackmailing and robbery which was going on in that river, the Rambau people erected stockades at a place called Bukit Tiga, about ten miles from the mouth of the Linggi, and literally put a stop to all traffic.

This occurred in April, 1874, and Governor Sir ANDREW CLARKE, finding remonstrance of no avail, went in person to Sempang on the Linggi river where he met the Datu Klana of Sungei Ujong, and after a conference with him the stockades at Bukit Tiga were destroyed by the Klana's people with the assistance of several boats' crews from H.M.S. *Charybdis* and *Avon*. The Linggi river was thus re-opened for trade, and before Sir ANDREW CLARKE left it boats containing $5,000 worth of tin went down it from Sungei Ujong, having been unable until then to get past the stockades.

SYED AHMAN, the Klana of Sungei Ujong, had immediately before this action on the Linggi assured the Government of his desire to protect legitimate trade, to put down freebooting and river piracy, and to harbour no criminals or enemies of those in alliance with the British Government. To this effect also he had signed (in April, 1874) an Agreement, and as there appeared to be no reason to doubt his sincerity a quantity of arms ordered by him from England, and which, owing to the disturbed state of Sungei Ujong and Rambau, had hitherto been detained, were now handed over to him.

After this affair at Bukit Tiga nothing of any importance occurred in Sungei Ujong till August, 1874, when the Klana, acting in concert with the Sultan of Sĕlângor and his Viceroy Tunku

DIA UDIN, assisted in the search for the Labu pirates and the outlawed Rajas MAHDI and MAHMUD. This expedition, as has been shewn, proved unsuccessful as far as securing any of the pirates went, but on its return the Klana, in reporting to the Government the steps he had taken, complained that the Bandar of Sungei Ujong would not assist him nor obey him, and that it was even stated in Sungei Ujong that he, the Bandar, was sheltering Raja MAHMUD. The Klana asked at the same time that his boundaries with Sĕlângor and Rambau might be settled, and that a British Officer might be sent to Sungei Ujong as Resident and offered to pay all his expenses.

Between August and October the Klana wrote several letters complaining of the Bandar, that he had refused to sign the Agreement made at Singapore in April, that he constantly threatened to attack and murder him, that he would not recognise the Klana's authority, and that, in spite of denials, he felt convinced the Bandar was harbouring Raja MAHMUD.

In reply to one of these letters, which stated that disturbances were imminent in Sungei Ujong, an Officer of Government and a guard of Police were sent to re-assure the Klana and the traders, and to prevent by their presence any disturbance, and a letter was also sent to the Bandar inviting him to Singapore, in the hope of making an arrangement between him and the Klana.

The Bandar, though several times invited to meet both Sir ANDREW CLARKE and previous Governors, had hitherto invariably avoided doing so under some pretence or other, nor did this occasion prove an exception to the rule.

He pleaded illness, the approaching "Bulan Puasa" or "Fasting Month," and above all that he did not wish to go to Singapore, had nothing to do there, and did not see what was to be gained by going, whilst he at the same time denied flatly that he was harbouring Raja MAHMUD, or even knew of his whereabouts, and accused the Klana of acting very improperly, alleging that they, the Klana and Bandar, were of equal power, and that the Klana was assuming a position which did not belong to him.

The Bandar, however, whilst he denied most emphatically that he had the slightest intention of attacking the Klana, agreed to write a letter to the Government promising that he would take no offensive step until he had received further letters from Singapore. Before this letter was furnished, however, the Klana marched a party of men down to a village of the Bandar's, and took it. No lives were lost, and no property destroyed on this occasion. The Bandar then hastened to give the required letter to the Government Officer who took it at once to Singapore, the Klana's people returning at the same time from the Bandar's village.

Before an answer could be sent the Klana wrote to Malacca that the Bandar in breach of faith was making preparation for an attack upon him, erecting stockades, getting gunpowder, &c., from Malacca, and that he heard MAHMUD was with him. Accordingly a letter was sent by the same Officer to the Bandar, calling upon him to give up MAHMUD, to sign the Agreement, and charging him with trifling with the Government, and also with breaking faith.

To this the Bandar had no satisfactory reply to give, he still denied all knowledge of Raja MAHMUD, but still refused to do anything to bring about an understanding between himself and the Klana, and gave out generally that he could not understand by what right the British Government interfered in the affairs of his country, that for his part he was very well contented with things as they were, and he did not intend to alter them.

The Klana now lost patience, and looking on the Bandar in the light of a rebellious subject and thinking he had sufficient force to bring him to reason, he determined to do so.

The result proved how greatly he had miscalculated his strength.

The Klana attacked and took Rasa, the Bandar's principal village, but advancing on Kapayang the Bandar's own place he was met by a force of the Bandar's people under Raja MAHMUD, and his mere name caused such a panic, that the Klana and his five hundred followers fled like one man, leaving a small party of Straits

Police with their European Corporal and the Officer who had come as the messenger of Government to stand a severe fire for nearly two hours. The Klana's five hundred followers did not return, and Raja MAHMUD taking the offensive, retook Rasa and advanced on the Klana's own place, Ampangan.

The safety of their Officer being now threatened, the Straits Government sent a small body of troops to Sungei Ujong to protect him and assist the Klana. These troops were in turn fired on by the Bandar's people under Raja MAHMUD, who after half-an-hour's engagement deserted their position and fled in great disorder. After the arrival of the troops in Sungei Ujong, at the request of Agents from the Bandar, negotiations were twice opened to settle the matter without fighting, but the first time they failed through misrepresentations on the part of the Agent, and the second time it was too late.

The Bandar and Raja MAHMUD fled from Sungei Ujong with all their people, the Bandar to the Labu river, a small stream in the heart of a dense jungle, whilst MAHMUD following the sea coast took refuge with his father at Sungei Jelutong, a plantation also in the midst of jungle near Bukit Jugra and most difficult of access.

I was then at Langat, and had been instructed to, if possible, secure the Bandar and MAHMUD, should they make towards Langat, provided they would give themselves up on the sole condition that their lives were not threatened. After some negociation, both the Bandar and Raja MAHMUD accepted these terms, and, as has been already related, were taken to Singapore, where they agreed to remain for at least a year.

Considering the disturbed state of Sungei Ujong and the large number of Chinese miners there, it was thought advisable to have a small party of European troops there with an English Resident.

There can now be no fear of any one, either from Sungei Ujong or Rambau, attempting to stop the trade on the Linggi river, and the Chinese, who in Sungei Ujong as in Larut are the real sinews and wealth-producing power of the country, are as

pleased as they are amazed at finding disputes between them and Malays settled with impartiality, whilst their lives and property are comparatively safe, and they are not even subjected to the well-known extortion called "squeezing."

Thus there is reason to believe that the coast from Penang to Malacca, and the rivers which drain this side of the Peninsula are at last tolerably safe and free from robbers; and though it may be expected that there will still be occasional attempts at piracy on the coast and in these rivers, and highway robberies on land, yet it is far from probable that any combined or successful attempt can be made either on land or water such as reduced this portion of the Peninsula to the lamentable state it was in before and up to 1874, and which caused the loss of so many lives and so much property to British subjects who were unfortunate or ill-advised enough to venture within reach of the lawless desperadoes who then made piracy and murder their pastime.

Rambau, now no longer able to prosecute its old feud with Sungei Ujong, or to levy blackmail on the Linggi river, has subsided into a state of peaceful inaction; but though the present Datu of Rambau, HAJI SAHIL, appears anxious to preserve good relations with the Straits Government and to divert the energies of his people from their old pursuits into legitimate and profitable channels, yet he finds he has set himself a sufficiently hard task.

Rambau is one of the most populous of the Western States, as far as Malays are concerned, being said to contain 10,000 inhabitants, all Malays; but the country, strange to say, is one of the poorest in the Peninsula, rice and fruit being its only products. Tin there is in Rambau, but there is no navigable stream near it, and the cost of carriage almost precludes the working of it. The Rambaunese say they have tried to grow pepper, coffee, and tobacco, but without success. The only revenue the Datu receives is from fines; this might be increased by a percentage on rice and by a poll-tax, but Rambau will in all probability never be a rich country.

And this is one difficulty the Datu has to contend against, namely, that though he may be anxious to improve his country by

public works, roads, bridges, &c., he has no means at his disposal for doing so, whilst a greater difficulty still is found in the population which contains many disorderly elements.

Escaped criminals from the Straits, aspiring but disappointed Rajas and Chiefs from neighbouring States, malcontents, and runaway slaves, these have for years found a refuge in Rambau.

For a Malay, whose very name might imply indolence, it is not easy, even though he personally may desire to do what is right, to impress such subjects as these with the advantage and advisability of following his lead in a course so much at variance with all their own lives.

And the case of Rambau is also in a minor degree that of the other small States around Malacca.

In Johôl the Datu is a man who does almost anything any one advises him, is reputed to sell his chop (seal) for a dollar, and is such a confirmed opium-smoker that he has little thought or care of his duties as a ruler.

Jelabu is hardly in a flourishing or satisfactory state. Only two or three months ago four Sumatra Malays, having been invited to trade in Jelabu were there attacked and three of them murdered by highwaymen. No enquiry being made, or steps taken to arrest the murderers, ten fellow-countrymen of the murdered men went to Jelabu to ask what was the custom in such cases there. They were told there was no custom, and were threatened with detention, hearing which nearly a thousand Sumatra men from Ulu Langat, Sungei Ujong and other States went to Jelabu to demand satisfaction, and with this show of force they managed to obtain redress.

Sri Menanti is at present without a Chief, as amongst numerous claimants those whose privilege it is to make a selection cannot make up their minds who has the best title. Sri Menanti has thus been without a recognised head for years.

As was stated before, these small States were once under Johor, and a proposition has now been made to unite them and put them again under Sultan ALI ISKANDER SHAH, the direct

descendant of the Sultans of Johor. It is said Sultan ALI is willing to accept this trust, but the Chiefs of the States, as was to be expected, shew considerable difference of opinion as to whom they would prefer for their Sultan, whilst there are two claimants for this post, one Tunku ANTAH, son of Raja RADIN, and the other Tunku AHMED TUNGGAL, son of Tunku IMAM, both descended from the Menangkâbau Rajas, who once were Sultans of these States. Of these two, Tunku ANTAH is the favourite, being of Royal blood both on his father's and mother's side.

No doubt it would be a very good thing to unite these countries in one, under one responsible head—a good thing for the States, as it would put an end to their jealousies of and strifes with each other, and a good thing for the Straits Government, as there would then be but one Chief to refer to, who could be made responsible for his people.

The States too look upon this proposal with favour as a return to their old customs, and the only thing is to see that the best man is elected to be their Sultan.

It is possible that the States would accept the candidate who was recommended by this Government, provided an Officer were sent to canvass them, and in that case it only remains for the Government to consider whether Sultan ALI or Tunku ANTAH has the best claim, and which is the most capable of worthily filling this position should it devolve upon him.

A most important part of this proposal is that a Resident British Officer should be appointed to advise and assist the Sultan in carrying out the scheme. In this case the expenses of the Resident and his establishment would probably fall on the Straits Government as the only one of these districts which possesses a large revenue—Sungei Ujong—has in a manner been separated from the rest and has interests and a Resident of its own.

We now come to Johor, about which there is little to be said, except in praise of the enlightened administration of its present ruler, for though Johor has not yet been found to possess those rich

mineral resources which nature has conferred so lavishly on other States, still by the Maharaja's exertions, his just rule, and his careful preservation of life and property, his country has attained a foremost position amongst the Native States of the Peninsula.

In settling the Native States near Malacca, a considerable benefit would be conferred on Johor, which, like Malacca, has been subject to constant raids from lawless bands who invariably found a safe refuge from pursuit in one or other of these Provinces.

Of Pahang we know little, but since the accession of the present Bĕndahâra, there have been no disturbances there of any importance. In spite, however, of Pahang's rich deposits of gold and tin, its large population (about 60,000) and its almost total freedom from taxation, it does not advance in prosperity or importance, nor do many Chinese appear to have been induced to settle there. Much might be done in Pahang, if there were there an energetic Chief, or an able adviser who held his confidence.

Pahang is not dependent on foreign imports, for, besides the richness of its mineral deposits, it produces enough rice to feed the whole population, whilst it has skilled weavers who make quantities of the silk "sârongs" which often form the only dress of the Malays.

Between Pahang and Johor, however, there is anything but good feeling, and until their boundary is clearly defined this does not appear likely to be altered.

In 1855 the Bĕndahâra of Pahang was KUN ALI SEWARAJA, and he had two sons—CHE WAN INDUT and CHE WAN AHMED,—the former of whom succeeded his father. CHE WAN INDUT had a son named CHE WAN LONG, and the father during his lifetime appears to have abdicated in favour of the son. WAN AHMED claimed certain territories in Pahang, as left to him by his father for his inheritance as the younger son, but his elder brother denied the claim, and this gave rise to a struggle between CHE WAN INDUT and CHE WAN LONG on the one side, and CHE WAN AHMED on the other; CHE WAN LONG'S sister having been married to ABUBAKER,

(the then Temĕnggong of Johor's son, the present Maharaja of Johor) his sympathies and those of the late Temĕnggong were with the father and son.

In the midst of the struggle, which lasted long and created considerable feeling in the Straits Settlements, CHE WAN INDUT and CHE WAN LONG died, and CHE WAN AHMED became Bĕndahâra, and continues to hold that office now.

The boundary question had been for some years a subject of quarrel between Johor and Pahang, but during the reigns of CHE WAN INDUT and his son they had come to an Agreement (in 1860 and again in 1862) with Johor on this point. On the accession of CHE WAN AHMED he refused to abide by this Agreement, and the dispute being referred to the arbitration of the Governor of the Straits Settlements, was then, in 1867, by him fixed as the Indau river, the right bank to Johor, the left to Pahang, and seawards, from the centre of the river Indau to the southern extreme of Pulau Raban, and thence due East along the North parallel of latitude 2° 39′ 20″, to Pahang the islands lying to the North, to Johor those lying to the southward of that line.

This settlement did not entirely put an end to all differences, and there is reason to believe that these neighbours regard each other with the same bitterness now that they did formerly, whilst they both profess to think themselves wronged by the settlement of the Indau boundary.

Though there has been no open rupture between them, probably as has been said, owing to the close connection of the Maharaja with the Straits Government, there have been constant alarms and small reprisals on the Indau river, not unfrequently resulting in the death of one or more of the inhabitants of either bank.

For the sake of both Johor and Pahang, and to prevent the possibility of their mutual dislike finding vent in a war which would be disastrous not only to them but to numbers of British subjects, and perhaps in a small measure, to the trade of Singapore, it is very advisable that something should be done to bring

about a satisfactory arrangement between the Bĕndahâra and the Maharaja, and this can only be done by the British Government, from whom alone they would brook interference.

It is said that the Bĕndahâra, whilst unwilling to yield a yard of territory to Johor, is anxious to make over his claim (a considerable disputed district) to the Straits Settlements, hoping thereby to have the British Government for a neighbour with whom his people would not attempt to quarrel. However this may be, it would seem a question of no small importance to settle, as at present, absurd as it may seem, the Bĕndahâra is not confident in his own mind that if he went to Singapore the grievances of Johor might not be vented on his own person.

Apart from the boundary question between Johor and Pahang, it appears very advisable that the Straits Government should cultivate more intimate relations with Pahang, owing to the fact that Jelabu, almost the whole of the Ulu Sĕlângor, and a considerable portion of Pêrak, march with that State on their inland boundaries.

If the Bĕndahâra of Pahang, either from pique or interested motives, should be induced to give refuge to any discontented Chiefs and allow them to make Ulu Pahang a base of operations, they could commit endless depredations in Sĕlângor and Pêrak, and retire again into Pahang with but the smallest chance of being taken.

From the foregoing memoranda some idea may be gained of the effects thus far of the policy instituted at Pulo Pengkor by Sir ANDREW CLARKE in January, 1874.

It is possible that it must shortly become a matter for the serious consideration of Government, how long this policy can be carried on, at least in Pêrak, without some advance upon it.

ABDULLAH'S impracticability and proved incapacity, his return with easy circumstances to his former evil habits and his consequent increasing unpopularity with both Rajas and Ryots, combined with the continued opposition of the Ulu Chiefs, and the difficulty of satisfactorily arranging the Larut debts, the enquiry into which has shewn how utterly unfit the Mĕntri is to hold his high position in that country, all force upon the Government the

careful re-consideration of Pêrak affairs, with a view not so much to the settlement of any momentary or passing difficulty, as to the future satisfactory administration of Pêrak, and the permanent well-being of its people, not forgetting the position of the other States of the Peninsula, nor how they may be ultimately affected by the carrying out of a more advanced policy in one of the largest and oldest of the States.

One other point may be noticed; in thus altering the character of our relations with the Western States of the Peninsula, it would be well not to lose sight of the Eastern States.

Though nominally under the protection of Siam, we have hitherto preserved a connection of friendly interest in Trĕnggânu, Kelantan and Petâni, and now that Straits enterprise has reached the furthest of these States, there are many reasons for at least keeping up that interchange of civilities which it would be unwise to neglect.

Except for a visit to Pahang last year, no Officer of Government has been to the East Coast since July, 1872, and if only to give these Rajas a knowledge of the more intimate relations and deeper interest of the British Government in their Western neighbours it would seem judicious to revive and foster our friendship with the Eastern States.

FRANK A. SWETTENHAM.

1st June, 1875.

THE RUINS OF BORO BUDUR IN JAVA

BY

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HOSE.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society held on the 14th September, 1880.)

The following letter was received by the Honorary Secretary of the Society in May, 1880:—

"LA HAYE, *le 3 Avril, 1880.*

"Il y a quelques années le Gouvernement Neêrlandais entreprit la publication de dessins et d'un texte descriptif des ruines dites 'Bôrô-Boudour' dans l'ile de Java.

"Désirant faire connaître cet ouvrage aux sociétés scientifiques étrangères, le Gouvernement du Roi se plait à en offrir un exemplaire à la Société Asiatique.

"Il est persuadé que de cette façon le but scientifique qu'on s'était proposé par la publication, sera atteint.

"Le Ministre des Colonies,

"W. VAN GOLTSTEIN.

"*À la Société Asiatique (Straits Branch)*
à Singapore."

The letter was accompanied by the very valuable gift mentioned in it, viz., a set of three hundred and ninety-three designs illustrating the ruins of the temple of Boro Budur in Java, with a descriptive text in Dutch by Dr. C. LEEMANS, Director of the Museum of Public Antiquities at Leyden, and a translation of this

work into French by M. A. G. VAN HAMEL. The designs were produced at the expense of the Dutch Government, and under the direction of M. F. C. WILSEN. Dr. LEEMANS' description is founded chiefly on the MSS. and printed works of M. WILSEN and M. J. F. G. BRUMUND. It has seemed right to the Council that this generous gift should be introduced to the Society with some account of the great work which the Netherlands-India Government has undertaken in the interests of science and art, and of the noble relic of antiquity, upon the description of which so much learning and labour and money has been expended.

It is a most interesting fact for a Society established in Singapore and meeting in a building which bears the name of the illustrious founder of this Settlement that the remains of the noble building which is described in these plates were first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES. The discovery is thus described by Dr. LEEMANS, the author, or perhaps we should rather say the editor, of the descriptive text which accompanies the plates:—

"When Lieutenant-Governor Sir S. RAFFLES was at Samarang in January, 1814, he learned that in Kedu, in the immediate neighbourhood of the hamlet of Bumi Segoro, there were on a hill, or partly hidden by a hill, the extensive ruins of a very ancient Hindu temple. Sir STAMFORD was deeply impressed with the idea that an examination and an accurate study of these ruins would be of very great scientific interest. Possibly he flattered himself with the hope of discovering in this place objects of art not less precious than those which, nine years before, had been found in the neighbouring territory of Prambanan, and of which the Dutch Government had procured a description and some drawings. Whatever were his expectations, the fact is that Sir STAMFORD directed Mr. CORNELIUS, a Lieutenant of Engineers, to carefully examine these ruins, which the natives called Boro Budur, to measure their dimensions, to make plans and exact drawings of them, and to write a clear and detailed description of the whole."

It was no easy task that Mr. CORNELIUS had to undertake. So utterly had the ancient shrine been neglected, that it was covered with a dense jungle. More than two hundred workmen were employed for forty-five days in cutting down the trees, burning the

underwood and carrying away the earth under which the ruins were buried. When this preliminary operation was completed, a spectacle appeared which must have seemed to the Lieutenant of Engineers a reward worth all his labour.

This is Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES' description of what came to light. ("History of Java," Vol. II, 31, Ed. 1830.)

"In the district of Boro in the province of Kedu and near to the confluence of the rivers Elo and Praga, crowning a small hill stands the temple of Boro Bodo, supposed by some to have been built in the sixth, and by others in the tenth century of the Javan era. It is a square stone building, consisting of seven ranges of walls, each range decreasing as you ascend, till the building terminates in a kind of dome. It occupies the whole of the upper part of a conical hill, which appears to have been cut away so as to receive the walls, and to accommodate itself to the figure of the whole structure. At the centre, resting on the very apex of the hill, is the dome before mentioned, of about fifty feet diameter, and in its present ruinous state, the upper part having fallen in, only about twenty feet high. This is surrounded by a triple circle of towers, in number seventy-two, each occupied by an image looking outwards, and all connected by a stone casing of the hill which externally has the appearance of a roof. Descending from thence, you pass on each side of the building by steps through five handsome gateways, conducting to five successive terraces, which surround the hill on every side. The walls which support these terraces are covered with the richest sculpture on both sides, but more particularly on the side which forms an interior wall to the terrace below, and are raised so as to form a parapet on the other side. In the exterior of these parapets, at equal distances, are niches, each containing a naked figure sitting cross-legged, and considerably larger than life; the total number of which is not far short of four hundred. Above each niche is a little spire, another above each of the sides of the niche, and another upon the parapet between the sides of the neighbouring niches. The design is regular; the architectural and sculptural ornaments are profuse. The bas-reliefs represent a variety of scenes, apparently mythological, and are executed with considerable taste and skill. The whole area occupied by this noble building is

about six hundred and twenty feet either way. The exterior line of the ground plan, though apparently a perfect square when viewed at a distance, is not exactly of that form, as the centre of each face, to a considerable extent, projects many feet, and so as to cover as much ground as the conical shape of the hill will admit: the same form is observed in each of the terraces. The whole has the appearance of one solid building, and is about a hundred feet high, independently of the central spire of about twenty feet which has fallen in. The interior consists almost entirely of the hill itself."

The more careful examination of the building, which has been made since Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES wrote this, shews that his description is not absolutely correct in all points, but it is sufficiently so to give a good idea of the whole.

It was, as we have seen, part of Raffles' original purpose to cause plans and drawings of the building to be made, and he says in a note to the passage just quoted:—"Drawings of the present and former state of this edifice and illustrative of the sculptural ornaments by which it is distinguished have been made and have been long in the hands of the engraver."

But not many of these seem to have appeared. Dr. LEEMANS suggests that possibly they may have remained amongst papers that Sir STAMFORD left behind him at his death. A few were printed, and reproduced in various publications; Possibly the frontispiece to the second volume of CRAWFURD's "History of the Indian Archipelago" comes from this source. Afterwards, from time to time, drawings of various parts of the building and of objects in the building appeared. But after Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES left Java in 1815, until the year 1844, no serious attempt was made to produce a complete series of drawings.

There had, meanwhile, been many proposals, some of them countenanced by the Netherlands-India Government, to have Boro Budur thoroughly measured, described and illustrated. But the difficulties in the way of accomplishing the task seemed again and again insurmountable.

At last, in 1844 the idea was entertained of making use of photography to obtain correct views of the building, and in July, 1845, a German artist named SHAEFER, who was employed by the

Government, actually took fifty-eight views on glass plates, which were eventually sent to Holland. But it was found that, while the cost of this method would be enormous, the results would be unsatisfactory, and the scheme was abandoned.

It was under the auspices of M. ROCHUSSEN, Governor-General of the Netherlands-India, that the long meditated design of making accurate plans and drawings was at length undertaken. On the 16th November, 1847, the Secretary-General wrote to the *Directeur du Genie* requesting him to instruct one of the draughtsmen of his corps, by way of experiment, to make sketches of some of the bas-reliefs of Boro Budur. The person selected for this duty was M. F. C. WILSEN, at that time third draughtsman of Engineers. The choice was evidently a singularly happy one. M. WILSEN was rather an artist than a draughtsman, and, besides this essential qualification, was an orientalist of no small calibre. M. SCHONBERG MULDER a young officer of the corps of Engineers, was associated with him in the work, but his share in it was a subordinate one and receives less praise from Dr. LEEMANS than that of his distinguished fellow-labourer. Five years were occupied in making the drawings and plans, which were finished in 1853.

It was at first proposed that the designs should be lithographed in Java by the department of Engineering under the direction of the Batavian Society, and some plates were executed in this manner. But it was found necessary at last to have the designs sent to Holland to be lithographed there. They were put into the hands of M. MIELING, of the Hague, in 1856, and the Royal Netherlands Institute for promoting the knowledge of the Languages, Countries, and Peoples of India was invited to superintend the work. The Institute accepted the invitation, and as it was desirable that one of the members should be intrusted with the business, Dr. LEEMANS, who had made antiquities his special study, was selected, and it was thus that his connection with this important business began.

Dr. LEEMANS relates at great length the difficulties he had to encounter, caused chiefly by the mistakes and the dilatoriness of M. MIELING, the lithographer. His trials in this matter were so great that in 1867 he asked and obtained permission to put the designs which were not yet lithographed into the hands of another publisher, M. E. J. BRILL, of Leyden, who successfully completed

the whole series of 393 plates in 1871, just 18 years after M. WILSEN's drawings had been begun, and more than half a century after the idea had first occurred to Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES.

While the work of preparing these plates for publication was going on, the question of producing an explanatory text was under the careful consideration, both of the Dutch Government and of the Institute, whose advice on this subject had been solicited. There was a considerable amount of material for such a text already existing. M. WILSEN himself had contributed a very valuable paper entitled "Boro Budur explained in relation to Brahmanism and Buddhism," which he had placed at the disposal of the Dutch Government for this purpose; and M. J. F. G. BRUMUND, a member of the Committee of the Batavian Society, had made himself a reputation by writing on the same subject. There were also other papers published in various scientific periodicals, and notices in larger works such as those of RAFFLES and CRAWFURD. The Dutch Government held the opinion, with which the Institute agreed, that it was of importance that all these materials should be compared and used by one Editor in the preparation of a text descriptive of the plates, and wished Dr. LEEMANS to undertake this as well as superintending the issue of the plates themselves. Some difficulty was raised by Mr. BRUMUND, who thought, and apparently with some reason, that he had been distinctly commissioned by Government to perform this part of the whole scheme. His objections were overruled, and the book was finally written by Dr. LEEMANS, who, however, incorporated into his work the previous production of M.M. WILSEN and BRUMUND with such modifications as seemed necessary. The text thus composed was published in Dutch, with a French translation, in 1874. It consists of five parts. 1st—A general description of Boro Budur. 2nd—A description of the bas-reliefs in the different galleries. 3rd—An essay on the character and purpose of Boro Budur founded on a comparison between this building and other sacred edifices on the continent of Asia and in Java. 4th—A discussion upon the date, and the circumstances of the foundation and the decay of Boro Budur in relation to the ancient history of Java; and 5th—An essay upon Boro Budur from the artistic point of view. The whole forms a very learned and yet a very readable book, and gives

an exhaustive account of all that can be known with certainty of the extinct civilization of pre-Mohammedan Java.

There has been a great difference of opinion, among those who have investigated the subject, as to both the date of the sacred edifice of Boro Budur and its religious character. CRAWFURD was disposed to fix its date as late as 1344 A.D., while Dr. LEEMANS considers that the 9th or even the 8th century of our era is more probable. The religious character of the building, and indeed the whole question of the nature of the religion professed by the Javanese before their conversion to Mahommedanism, has been much disputed. CRAWFURD originally considered that the religion of Java was a Sivaistic form of Brahmanism much modified by a reforming Buddhism. (See "History of the Indian Archipelago," Book VI., Chap. I.) But in his "Dictionary of the Indian Islands," which was published thirty years after the History, and contained his more matured opinions, he says that he had then come to the conclusion that the ancient religion of the country was really the worship of Jain, and that his friend Colonel COLIN MACKENZIE, who was well acquainted with the temples of Jain in southern India, had held the same opinion so long ago as 1811.

The Javanese themselves, though the name of Buddha does not appear in any of their writings, say that their religion before their conversion was "Agama Buddha" or Buda. But the local traditions seem to be singularly worthless. As an instance of this, I may quote a story which M. BRUMUND tells. The modern Javanese who live in the neighbourhood of Boro Budur when questioned as to their knowledge of the origin and purpose of the temple relate the following tradition:—

"A certain prince, of the name of DEWA KASUMA, son of a priest of importance, and a person of some considerable power among the princes of Java, had given grave offence to one of the members of his court. This latter being of an unforgiving disposition, and devoured by rancour, thought of nothing else but how he might revenge himself and inflict upon the prince the most cruel blow he could imagine. The prince had an only child, a little daughter of two years old, the joy and happiness of his life. The disaffected courtier resolved to kidnap this child, and succeeded in executing his dastardly purpose. One day the little girl dis-

appeared leaving not the least trace behind. The prince was utterly inconsolable, and wandered over the country for several years seeking his lost child everywhere, but in vain. Twelve years had passed since the fatal day, and the prince was still mourning his little girl, when one day he met a young woman of singular beauty. It was his daughter, but failing to recognise her, he asked her in marriage, was wedded to her, and a child was born of this unnatural union.

"The offended courtier had now at last reached the moment at which he could satiate his vengeance. He hastened to seek an interview with DEWA KASUMA, recalled himself to the prince's recollection, and revealed to him the horrible secret. DEWA KASUMA was in despair, he felt himself guilty before the gods, and the priests declared that there was no pardon for such a crime, even though committed in ignorance. To expiate his offence he must allow himself to be shut up within four walls with the mother and child, and end his days in penitence and prayer.

"There remained, however, one alternative. The penalty would be remitted if in ten days he could construct *a Boro Budur*. The undertaking was immense, but he had numerous and powerful resources at his disposal. Hope revived in his heart, and he set to work without delay, employing all the artists and all the mechanics in his kingdom. The ten days came to an end, and Boro Budur was finished with all its images. But, alas, they counted the images (people count them still); one of the whole number which had been declared indispensable was wanting, and the building could not, therefore, be accounted finished. It was then impossible for the unhappy man to escape the doom that menaced him. In vain he poured out his soul in supplications; the gods were inexorable; their decree must be executed; the prince and his wife and child were turned into stone; and it is thus that posterity found them in the three images of Chandi Mĕndut in the neighbourhood."

It is said that this and similar stories which are to be met with are not even very ancient, but that traces of their comparatively recent date are easily discovered in the stories themselves. The savants who have made the most careful inquiry are convinced that there are no remains of any historical remembrance whatever among the Javanese of the origin and purpose of Boro Budur.

The written traditions, *Babads*, or genealogical chronicles, which exist, are of little more value. Mr. BRUMUND says of them "the Javanese like the other nations of India offer us fictions for history and the efforts of their ill-regulated imagination for facts." There is, in truth, an almost total absence of trustworthy information upon the subject. And it is to internal evidence we must go, to the testimony of the building itself, its form and its decoration, in order to obtain the light we need respecting the religion of which it was the expression, and the purpose it was intended to serve.

The original germinal idea of a Buddhist temple was a mound to contain a precious casket in which some relic of the Buddha was enclosed. After SAKYA-MOUNI was dead his body was burned, and the ashes of the Master were divided into eight parts, which were distributed among an equal number of the towns or persons who could make good their claim to possess such an inestimable treasure. But 150 years later ASOKA, King of the powerful Buddhist kingdom of Maghadu, caused seven of the eight receptacles to be opened and made a new division. The sacred relics were then deposited in 8,400 caskets, and each casket was buried in a species of mound called a Stupa or Tupa. The Tupa then became, in every place to which one of the caskets found its way, the nucleus of the Buddhist temple. Dr. LEEMANS shews that in every country in which the sacred edifices of the Buddhists are found this may be seen to be the case. The Tupa was much modified, and in many different ways, among the various nations who learned to venerate the Buddha and erect buildings to his honour, but the simple original idea is found everywhere in some form or another. The mound has been built of stone or brick, it has become in one case a pyramid, in another a cupola; the cupola has been exalted on a cylindrical base, it has been divided into terraces and variously decorated, but the mound which contains, or is supposed to contain, the reliquary is always represented.

The outward form then of Boro Budur, as described in the passage of Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES which I have read, and as depicted in the Plate No. I., * is entirely in accord with this ruling

* A photograph of this engraving is inserted at the beginning of this paper. I take this opportunity of stating that this and the other photographs of these engravings have been executed by the Government Photographer at Singapore under the direction of the Hon'ble Major MCNAIR, R.A., C.M.G., Colonial Engineer, Straits Settlements.

idea of Buddhist sacred architecture. The ornaments and images point to the same conclusion. There are no images of the Hindu deities throughout the building; or, if there are any of the figures in the bas-reliefs which must be considered as representing personages of Brahman mythology, they are merely taking a part in the action described by the sculpture and are never in any case receiving worship. On the other hand, the images of the Buddha are to be reckoned by hundreds—in the niches of the walls, at the salient points of the architecture, and in the latticed cupolas on the upper terraces. These images agree, to a remarkable extent, with those which are to be found in Buddhist temples elsewhere, and especially in those of Nepaul. The attitudes are the same, the expression is the same, the insignia of sainthood are the same.

In the difference that is found among the statues, and the figures of the Buddha in the bas-reliefs, the places that they occupy and the attributes that distinguish them M.M. WILSEN and BRUMUND have both found an allegorical signification. They see in them the symbols of the progressive ascent through the different degrees of saintliness to the state of supreme perfection—*Nirvâna*. It is impossible to enter upon the discussion of this question, which occupies many pages of Dr. LEEMANS' book. Plate No. VIII. represents the various forms and attitudes of the statues. M. BRUMUND thinks he has reason to believe that the manner in which the hands are held is confirmatory of the opinion, and brings much learning to bear upon this part of the subject.

There is another much vexed question. The latticed cupolas or Dagobs on the upper terraces have each its image, representing, as is supposed, the Buddha withdrawn from all contact with earthly things. But the grand cupola—the central Dagob—which crowns the whole building is empty. Is this by design? or is it simply that the work was not finished? M. WILSEN thinks it was by design, that the empty shrine signifies the Buddha become invisible, having lost his outward form—the Buddha in *Nirvâna*.

I have reserved till the last the argument in favour of the Buddhist theory of this edifice, which is at once the most telling and the most interesting. I mean the argument derived from the subjects of the bas-reliefs. We have already seen in the description of the whole building which I found it convenient to quote

from Sir S. RAFFLES' "History of Java," that the five lower terraces or galleries of the edifice have an inner wall towards the hill, and an outer wall towards the plain; and that the surfaces of these walls are throughout sculptured in bas-relief. Each wall has two series of these sculptures—an upper and a lower. All that remain sufficiently well-preserved have been copied, and they are the subjects of 376 out of the 393 plates of the whole collection. They are all described, in less or greater detail, according to their importance, by Dr. LEEMANS, or rather by M. WILSEN edited by Dr. LEEMANS. I propose to draw attention now to one series only, and indeed to a very small selection from the subjects in that series. It is the upper line of sculptures on the inner wall of the second gallery. In this set of sculptures, M. WILSEN has found, or believes himself to have found, a pictorial representation of the life and deeds, partly historical and partly legendary, of SAKYA-MOUNI, the Buddha.

In order to do justice to M. WILSEN's discovery, or supposed discovery, it will be necessary, in the briefest possible manner, to recall to your recollection the main facts in the history of SAKYA-MOUNI as they have come down to us. The plates to which I shall make reference now have to do with his early years only, before *the great renunciation*, and a very few words will suffice to recall to mind those facts or legends which seem to be illustrated by the sculpture. I shall be guided partly by Dr. LEEMANS, who follows M. BARTHÉLEMY ST. HILAIRE, and partly by Mr. RHYS DAVIDS, formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service, who has published a very useful little book upon the subject, called "Buddhism, being a sketch of the life and teachings of Gautama the Buddha." It contains the substance—is in some respects indeed an expansion of his article on the same subject in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

The founder of Buddhism was born in the beginning of the 5th century before Christ. His father, SUDDHODANA, was Raja of the tribe of Sakyas, living at his capital Kapila-vastu, on the banks of the Rohini, about 100 miles N. E. of Benares. SUDDHODANA was childless and seemed likely to continue so, when, to his great joy, his favourite wife MAYA gave him hopes of having a child to succeed him.

I am for the moment confining myself to the region of history, and shall leave the mythological accretions which gathered round the simple facts in later times to be mentioned afterwards.

In due time MAYA was going to her parents' house to be confined, but on the way, under some trees in the pleasant garden of Lumbini, her son, the future Buddha, was unexpectedly born. The mother and child were carried back to SUDDHODANA's palace, and there seven days afterwards MAYA died. The child received the name of SIDDHARTHA. This name became lost afterwards among the many titles of respect that were applied to him, but I follow the example of Dr. LEEMANS in using it of the child while still he remained in his father's house.

One story is told of his youth. When he had arrived at an age to be married, his father proposed to him as a bride his cousin GOPA or YASODHARA, but a complaint was made by the relations that the young man had entirely devoted himself to home pleasures, to the neglect of learning and of the manly exercises which were so necessary for the leader of his people. Piqued at this complaint, SIDDHARTHA is said to have challenged 500 of the young men of the Sakyas to contend with him in intellectual and athletic exercises, and that he easily proved his superiority in both.

In his twenty-ninth year a circumstance happened which took such a powerful effect upon a mind which was probably already keenly alive to the mysteries of sorrow and death that the current of his life was changed by it. Going out with numerous attendants to take the air in the garden of Lumbini he met a man broken down by age, and was so forcibly impressed with the thought that the pleasure and pride of youth are but a stage on the way to feebleness and decay that he returned to the house reflecting deeply upon what he had seen, and unable to prosecute his scheme of pleasure. On three successive days a similar encounter produced similar results. On the first he met a man in extreme sickness; on the second a corpse; and on the third a dignified hermit. The vanity of life troubled him so deeply, that a longing to leave his home and its short-lived comforts and to devote himself to meditation and self-denial took possession of him. He communicated his resolution to his father, who used every effort to dissuade him from such a step, and surrounded the house with guards to pre-

vent his escape. But one night the young man, with the help of his charioteer CHANNA, managed to elude the guards, and leaving his home, his power, his wife, and his only child behind him, rode away to become a penniless and despised student, and a homeless wanderer.

SIDDHARTHA rode a long distance that night till he reached the bank of the Anoma river. Then taking off his ornaments, he gave them to CHANNA to take back to Kapila-vastu. CHANNA asked to be allowed to stay with his Master, but SIDDHARTHA would not suffer him, and the faithful charioteer returned, while his Master cut off his long hair and exchanging clothes with a poor passer-by began his new life as an ascetic mendicant. This is a bare outline of the facts concerning the early life of the Buddha, which are probably historical.

The simple history in the course of years became encrusted with a mass of fable. It was said that the historical Buddha, SIDDHARTHA or SAKYA-MOUNI, had taught that he was only one of a series of five Buddhas who appear at intervals in the world and all teach the same truth. That of these five, three had already appeared, that he himself was the fourth, and that another would appear after him. It was taught that SAKYA-MOUNI was omniscient and sinless, that he descended of his own accord from the throne of the Buddhas in heaven into his mother's womb. After seven days of fasting, the holy MAYA dreamed that the future Buddha entered her side in the form of a superb white elephant. The wise men of the Sakyas interpreted the dream to mean that her child would be a Buddha, who would remove the veils of ignorance and sin, and make all the world glad by a sweet taste of the Ambrosia of Nirvâna. When the child was born, it took seven steps forward and exclaimed with a lion's voice "I am the Lord of the world"

I have taken these legends that grew up round the early history of the Buddha chiefly from the work of Mr. RHYS DAVIDS. They are among the subjects which M. WILSEN believes to be disclosed in the bas-reliefs, and that this is the case with some of them I think there is no doubt. We are now in a position to examine the plates.

Plate XVI. 1 represents, according to M. WILSEN, King

SUDDHODANA honoured as the future father of the Buddha by celestial beings in the air and various ranks and degrees of men on earth. There is possibly some connection between the two lions couchant on the capitals of the pilasters of the palace, and one of the names borne by the Buddha, *i.e.*, *Sakyasinga*—the lion of the tribe of Sakyas.

Plate XVII. 3. SUDDHODANA communicating the blessing that is about to be bestowed upon him, and which has been predicted in diverse manners to an assembly of persons, probably of the Shatriya caste.

Plate XIX. 7. The four Buddhas who have already appeared. The fifth (named MAITREYA), who is yet to come and restore the Buddhist doctrine, being unrepresented. The fourth, who was to become incarnate in the person of SAKYA-MOUNI or SIDDHARTHA, is leaving his celestial seat to descend to earth. Who the person who is floating in the air on the left and apparently bringing some intelligence may be is not clear.

Plate XXVII. 23. A symbolical picture. The Buddha, whom we saw quitting his throne in XIX. 7, is being brought to earth in a magnificent palace covered with all the insignia of earthly royalty, and supported, surrounded and followed by a host of heavenly beings.

Plate XXVIII. 25. The dream of MAYA. The elephant of which she dreamed is in the left hand corner. The Queen herself is sleeping, while her women are tending her gently, rubbing her arms and her eye and keeping the air stirring with a fan. (See photograph No. 4.)

Plate XXX. 29. MAYA returning from a visit to the temple and receiving the humble congratulations of her friends on the honour that is coming to her.

Plate XLI. 51. MAYA, no longer in a condition to receive the visitors who come to her with good wishes and gifts, is in a building by herself in the back of the palace, while a figure, which has become quite defaced, but probably representing SUDDHODANA, receives the visitors and their offerings in or on behalf of the Queen in a building in front of the one occupied by her.

Plate XLII. 53. MAYA, being near her time, is on her way to her parents' house, and is arriving in a chariot at the garden of

Lumbini, surrounded by guards and attendants.

Plate XLIII. 55. The Buddha is born. His mother, recovered from her pains, is exalted on a pedestal, resting her left hand on the arm of one of her women, and holding a flower in her right hand. The new-born child, shewing his divinity by his exemption from the weakness of infancy, is standing up, receiving the homage of those about him, while a shower of celestial flowers descends upon him. Possibly the picture is intended to represent him taking the seven steps of the legend. (See Photograph No. 5.)

Plate XLV. 59. The widowed SUDDHODANA sitting with SIDDHARTHA upon his knee, and attended by the women of the palace.

Plate XLIX. 67. This plate is interesting, because it represents one of the bas-reliefs which CRAWFURD has given in the "History of the Indian Archipelago," and he interprets it in a different manner from M. WILSEN. CRAWFURD sees in it SIVA in his car, and recognises in the projections from the head of the central figure (which in WILSEN's plate is almost obliterated) the crescent of SIVA. WILSEN considers that the sculpture represents the young SIDDHARTHA in a chariot with his father and others, and sees in the projections from the head, the ends of the peculiar head-dress which is worn by the child in some others of the sculptures.

Plate L. 69. The young SIDDHARTHA astonishing his royal father, a learned Brahmin and others (possibly the students in a school) by his early-developed intelligence.

Plate LIX. 87. The assembly of the young Sakyas challenged by the prince to a contest in scholarship and athletics. SIDDHARTHA illustrating the triumph of intellectual over moral force by taming an elephant.

Plate LXXI. 111. SIDDHARTHA seated in his chariot meeting the poor old man. The child with the aged pauper probably signifies that he is blind.

Plate LXXII. 113. SIDDHARTHA the next day meeting the sick man at the point of death.

Plate LXXIII. 115. SIDDHARTHA meeting with the dead man.

Plate LXXIV. 117. The fourth encounter. The hermit is in the attitude of a man who is demonstrating some problem. The charioteer CHANNA, whose memory is so carfully preserved in the

legend, is talking with his Master.

Plate LXXVI. 121. SIDDHARTHA endeavouring to obtain his father's consent to his new scheme of life.

Plate LXXVIII. 125. Of this plate (of which a photograph is published with this paper) Dr. LEEMANS, or M. WILSEN, says: "SIDDHARTHA continues faithful to the resolution he has taken, and is insensible to the graces of the beautiful women of his household, the number of whom has been largely increased. It is probable that the artist wished to represent, in this instance also, an hour in the night, for some of the women are asleep, leaning one against another, or resting on pillows. The artist has known no better way of depicting the firmness of the resolution the prince has taken, and the steadiness with which he continues to resist all temptations, than by placing his hero on a raised throne, having the aureole behind his head, and in the peculiar attitude of a Buddha."

Here a reference to Bishop BIGANDET'S "Legend of the Burmese Buddha" probably throws some additional light upon the artist's intention. I should explain that, in the Burmese version of the story, SIDDHARTHA goes by the name of Phralaong.*

"Phralaong had scarcely begun to recline on his couch when a crowd of young damsels, whose beauty equalled that of the daughters of the NATS, executed all sorts of dances to the sound of the most ravishing symphony, and displayed in all their movements the graceful forms of their elegant and well-shaped persons in order to make some impression upon his heart. But all was in vain, they were foiled in their repeated attempts. Phralaong fell into a deep sleep. The damsels, perceiving their disappointment, ceased their dances, laid aside their musical instruments, and soon following the example of Phralaong abandoned themselves to sleep.

"Phralaong awoke a little before midnight, and sat in a cross-legged position on his couch. Looking all around him, he saw the varied attitudes and uninviting appearance of the sleeping damsels. Some were snoring; others gnashing their teeth; others with opened mouths; others tossed heavily from side to side; some stretched one arm upwards and the other downwards; some, seized as it were with a frantic pang, suddenly coiled up their legs for a while, and

* *Vide* Journal of the Indian Archipelago, Vol. VI., page 509. I have somewhat abridged the passage.

with the same violent action pushed them down again. This unexpected exhibition made a strong impression upon Phralaong; his heart was set, if possible, freer from the ties of concupiscence, or rather was confirmed in his contempt for all worldly pleasures. It appeared to him that his magnificent apartment was filled with loathsome carcases. The seats of passions—those of Rupa, and those of Arupa, that is to say, of the whole world—seemed to his eyes like a house that is a prey to the devouring flames. At the same time his ardent desires for the profession of Rahan" (an ascetic life) "were increasing with an uncontrollable energy. 'On this day, at this very moment,' said he with unshaken firmness, 'I will retire into a solitary place.'"

I think everybody who examines the engraving carefully will admit that it is this particular incident in the history of the young prince which the artist intended to pourtray.

Plate LXXIX. SIDDHARTHA still in the palace, but about to escape on the horse that is standing ready, and resisting the entreaties of CHANNA, his charioteer, who tries to persuade him to change his resolution.

Plate LXXX. 129. The escape.

Plate LXXXI. 131. The end of the night-ride.

Plate LXXXII. 133. SIDDHARTHA taking off his ornaments and giving them to CHANNA to carry back to Kapila-vastu and cutting off his long hair with his sword. (See photograph.)

If we accept M. WILSEN'S theory, we shall have to get over some difficulties. The selected plates may be fairly interpreted in the way suggested. But they are only a few among the great many to which the legend, as it is known, supplies no interpretation; and one cannot help being surprised to find that the lower line of sculptures has no relation, so far as has been ascertained, to the upper line. As they are represented in the plates they appear to be parts of the same work, but no connecting thread between the two series has yet been discovered.

However, much might probably yet be learned by careful study, both of the plates and of the various forms of the Buddhistic legend. And I think it most likely that such study will tend to support M. WILSEN'S opinion. Certainly one rises, from a first perusal of the book, convinced that Boro Budur is what

Dr. LEEMANS and those whose works he has utilised believe it to be—a monument of the religion of Buddha, and one of the most remarkable monuments of that religion that exist in the world.

M. BRUMUND, who has exhausted all the sources of information, is of the opinion that the Buddhist religion and indeed a great Buddhist empire was established in the centre of Java and that its golden age may be placed in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era. It was no doubt surrounded by other States professing Sivaistic Brahmanism; and there is evidence that the Sivaism of the coast borrowed something from Buddhism, and that, on the other hand, the Buddhism of the centre had some Sivaistic elements mixed with it. But of the existence of a very pure Buddhism in the neighbourhood of Boro Budur, he considers there is no room for doubt. He conjectures that it was introduced into Java at a very early period, possibly soon after the third great Buddhist council which took place under Azoha B.C. 264—at which it was resolved that the doctrine of the Buddha should be propagated in foreign parts.

It is true that the Chinese traveller FA HIAN tells us that in the beginning of the fifth century after Christ there were many Brahmins in Java, but that the law of Buddha had no adherents there. But some doubt is thrown upon his evidence by the fact that his informants were Brahmins who were possibly anxious to conceal the truth, and who shewed their hostility to the religion of the Buddha by requesting the Captain of the ship in which they sailed to abandon FA HIAN, during a storm, upon the inhabited coast of an island which they sighted, as the probable cause of their danger, he being a heretic Buddhist.

There is reason to believe that Buddhism was decaying during the period of the last great Hindu Empire in Java—that of Majapahit—and it disappeared finally when Islam triumphed over that last refuge of Hinduism in A.D. 1400. M. WILSEN indeed attributes the ruinous condition into which Boro Budur had fallen to injuries received by the building during the wars of religion between the supporters of the old and the new faith. He supposes the Buddhists driven by the victorious Moslems within the sanctuary of Boro Budur and pursued from gallery to gallery, not knowing how else to defend themselves, to have used as projec-

tiles the architectural ornaments which they could easily remove or break off; and he thus accounts for the fact that an immense number of these ornaments, which are wanting in their proper places, are found strewing the ground all around the building. "The Buddhists," says M. WILSEN, "overpowered and driven back, saw themselves surrounded and threatened with destruction in the neighbourhood of Boro Budur. The monument is transformed into a fortress. But nothing stays the Moslems—neither the sanctity of the place nor the despair of its defenders. The air resounds with their fanatical war-cry of "Allah," and the turbaned zealots advance to the assault of Boro Budur. The Buddhists at bay lay their hands upon the antefixes on the cornices, the bells, and other ornaments; they tear them down and hurl them upon the assailants. But it is in vain; the Moslems mount one gallery after another. The dead bodies of the Buddhists lie on one another in heaps, the last of the defenders fall on the circular terraces, and the crescent planted on the summit of Boro Budur looks down in triumph upon all the country round, and seems to utter a sarcastic defiance of the Buddhas."

M. BRUMUND, on the contrary, thinks there is no sufficient historical support of the truth of this picture. He doubts whether there were wars of religion of this violent character in Java, and considers that there would be more evident marks of them in the defacement of the statues if this had been the case. He attributes the destruction of the temple or monument of Boro Budur to the natural results of the neglect into which it fell after the triumph of Islam, and to the powers of nature—the earthquakes, the luxuriant growth of tropical vegetation, and the influence of the droughts and the rains in their turn.

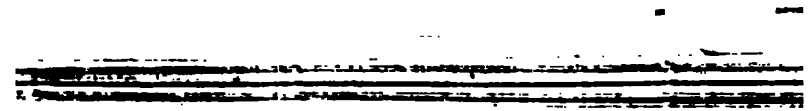
Since the building has been discovered and cleared of the jungle and the earth in which it had been buried, the work of destruction has been continued by fresh agents. The natives have carried off some of the stones to build their own houses. Boys tending their buffaloes and sitting down under the shadow of the walls have amused themselves with chopping the sculptures with their knives, and—worst of all—civilised Europeans have carried off the statues, or, if these were too heavy, have taken the heads of the Buddhas from the outside walls and the niches to place them in

their collections. It is even said that a troop of Hussars, who were encamped in these parts during the Javanese war, used to try the edge and the temper of their sabres upon the statues, and that they cut off the heads of more than one of them.

I will conclude this paper, which has already exceeded the limits I originally proposed to myself, by quoting from M. WILSEN the following account of a most curious and interesting fact, viz., that the statues of Boro Budur are to this day objects of reverence to the Javanese. He says: "Persons come every day from long distances bringing offerings of flowers and incense to one or other of the statues of the Buddha upon the higher terraces. These pious pilgrims place their flowers on a banana leaf before one of the two Buddhas of the first circular terrace to the right of the eastern entrance, or by the side of the huge statue of the great Dagob in the middle, and burn incense before the statues. They often bring with them some of the yellow powder called '*bore bore*' to cover the statue of the Buddha with, just as newly married people cover their bodies with the same powder. They pay this offering of devotion in cases of sickness, after a marriage, after an easy and fortunate childbirth, and on occasion of many other of the events of daily life. It is also said that women who aspire to the honours of maternity try to pass their fingers through the openings in the latticed cupolas, in order to touch the Buddha concealed within; and that they sometimes pass a whole night in one of the galleries or on one of the higher terraces. The Chinese too imitate the Javanese in some of these acts of devotion, and assemble once a year on new year's day at the ruins of Boro Budur. The ancient shrine then becomes the object of a general pilgrimage, the scene of joyous merry-making, accompanied by many sacrifices, by fireworks, and public amusements of all kinds. We dare not assert positively that the ancient purpose of Boro Budur is the reason why these strangers from the celestial empire (so far as they profess the doctrine of *Fo* or *Buddha*) attribute to it still a sacred character. The thing, however, is not improbable; and the very nature of the homage that is now offered, might thus have put us in the way of understanding the end which the founders of the sanctuary proposed to themselves, even if we had not the advantage of being better informed on the subject by the character of the

edifice itself and its bas-reliefs. But we have before us an example of the religious sentiment. After so many centuries, after all remembrance of the origin of this remarkable edifice has been lost, and while tradition is silent, the sentiment of the Chinese Buddhist is sufficient to make him say; 'This country, this hill covered with venerable buildings, images, statues, sculptures, was consecrated to the great Master. Here the ashes of the Buddha have rested, here the relics of the Buddha have been preserved.' "

G. F. HOSE.



A CONTRIBUTION

TO

MALAYAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PART II.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—Thanks to the kindness of correspondents—notably of Dr. BIEBER, H. I. G. M.'s Consul, Mr. F. A. SWETTENHAM, Mr. E. KOEK, and Mr. N. DENISON of Krîan,—I have been enabled to add about 280 titles to my previous Catalogue, which, with the present instalment, shews a total of about 1,100 titles. In one sense this result is disheartening, as tending to shew how very far from complete even the present article is likely to make the list.

The catalogue is probably still lamentably deficient in Dutch and other Continental titles. But on the principle that "half a loaf is better than no bread," this further instalment may be useful to members of the Society.

Of the portion relating to native works, original and translated, nothing more can be said than that it is as complete as the information at my disposal enables me to make it, and that it has been submitted to members of the Council of the Society, who have suggested all the additions within their power. Further titles will no doubt come to hand when members generally have had an opportunity of noting the shortcomings of the present list.

N. B. DENNYS.]

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REPORT

ON THE

EXPLORATION OF THE CAVES OF BORNEO*

BY

A. HART EVERETT;

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY

JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D.;

AND

NOTES ON BONES COLLECTED

BY

G. BUSK, V.P.R.S.

In the year 1878 the Council of the Royal Society made a grant of £50, from the Donation Fund, towards the expenses of carrying on an investigation of the Caves of Borneo, which it was thought possible might prove to contain remains both of palæontological and anthropological interest. A similar grant was made by the British Association, and a Committee appointed; and by the aid of private subscriptions a sufficient sum was raised to secure the services of Mr. HART EVERETT, whose report upon his investigations, extending over a period of nearly nine months, is now enclosed.

A preliminary report from the Committee, together with one of Mr. EVERETT'S reports, has already been submitted to the British Association at its meeting in Sheffield, and has appeared in print. It was then pointed out that although the examination of these caves had not, as was hoped, thrown any light upon the early history of man in that part of the world, yet that the evidence obtained, though negative in character, was not without value, inasmuch as the true nature of the Borneo cave deposits had now been carefully ascertained by Mr. EVERETT. His final report con-

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firms the opinion already expressed. It only remains to be added that, with the exception of the bones mentioned in the enclosed note by Mr. G. Busk, F.R.S., which have been placed in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, the whole of the objects sent to England by Mr. Everett have been made over to the British Museum. Accompanying this is Mr. Everett's first quarterly report, together with his map and plans, so that they may, if thought fit, be deposited in the archives of the Society, so as to be available, if necessary, for future reference.

REPORT ON THE EXPLORATION OF THE BORNEAN CAVES IN 1878-9.

1. The Limestone Formation.
2. The Caves and their Deposits.
3. The Human Remains.
4. Concluding Remarks.

1. Limestone Formation.

The caves of Sarawak are situated in a limestone formation substantially identical with that of the Malay Peninsula, and occupying a considerable area of the north-west and north-east parts of the Island of Borneo. Its westernmost extension seems to be represented by the Ahup Hill on the frontier between Sambas and Sarawak, whence it runs nearly uninterruptedly to the upper waters of the Sadong River at Semabang. It reappears in the Tatau River near Bintulu, and again comes to the surface in the Niah, Baram, and Limbang rivers, in Brunei territory, and it is known to be largely developed in northern Borneo.

Where the original structure of the rock has not been obliterated by metamorphic action, it is found to be crowded with organic remains (encrinites, &c.), but as these have never been examined by palæontologists, it is impossible to fix with any approach to exactitude the age of the formation. Its position relative to the other rocks of the island is also not well determined. It appears, however, always to underlie the great sandstone-conglomerate formation which constitutes the major part of the highlands of north-west Borneo.

The limestone hills nowhere attain to a greater elevation than 1,800 feet above the sea-level, at any rate in Sarawak, and they more commonly vary from 300 feet to 800 feet in height. In the Baram district, the Molu Mountain is said to be limestone and to rise to a height of 9,000 feet, but I am not aware that it has ever been visited by a European observer. The hills invariably spring up steeply from the low country, and the majority of them present lines of old sea-cliffs which generally face to N. and N.W., *i.e.*, towards the quarter still occupied by the waters of the sea. The rock itself is much fissured and jointed, and the hills, in many instances, are absolutely honeycombed with caverns.

As is usual in limestone districts, the drainage of the country is largely subterranean. Owing to this fact, coupled with the heavy rainfall (the mean for the last three years was 165 inches at Kuching), the land at the base of the hills is subject to frequent flooding during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon, when the underground watercourses are of insufficient capacity to carry off the water as fast as it reaches them. As an instance of the extent to which subterraneous drainage with its consequent subterranean denudation has gone on in Sarawak, I may cite the Siniawan river, which passes beneath four distinct hills in its short course, and one of these hills—the Jambusan Hill—is pierced besides by at least three ancient river-tunnels of large size at varying levels.

2. The Caves and their Deposits.

The total number of the caves examined by me has been thirty-two, of which two were situated in Mount Sobis, up the Niah river, and the remainder in Upper Sarawak Proper. They comprised examples of tunnel, fissure, and ordinary ramifying caverns. Partial excavations were carried on in twelve of these caves. The deposits contained in them varied. A few afforded nothing but thick accumulations of bats' or bird-guano still in process of deposition. This deposit was examined in three instances, and proved to be perfectly barren, with the exception of a few of the bones of the bats and swifts, to which it owed its production. The commonest deposit in the caves of Upper Sarawak was found to be an exceedingly tenacious, dark yellow, homogeneous clay, which is sometimes crusted over with as much as a

foot of dry mortar-like stalagmite, and sometimes is itself concreted into a kind of stony, pseudo-stalagmitic mass; but more generally it occurs in the form of simple wet clay lying immediately on the limestone floors of the caves and without any other deposit above it. It occurs both at the water-level and in caves 150 feet or more above it. Occasionally, as in some of the Bidi caves, it is mixed with sand and fine water-worn gravel. It is evidently derived from the waste of the clay shales and soft felsitic porphyries which now make up the lowlands in the vicinity of the limestone hills—worn fragments of these rocks occurring in it. I have very seldom met with organic remains in this clay, notwithstanding that, in addition to my own excavations, I have always been careful to search for bones in the *débris* left by streams running through the caves and carrying away the softer parts of the deposit. Such few remains as have presented themselves indicate that the clay is of fluviatile origin. They comprise bones and teeth of pig and porcupine, a large part of the skeleton of a Chelonian reptile, and numerous land and fresh-water shells. A prolonged search would doubtless reveal remains from time to time, but certainly not in sufficient abundance or of interest to warrant the cost of exploration.

In addition to the guano and clay, there was found in four instances a regular series of deposits (in caves Nos. V., XIII., XXI., and XXXII.), of which the following note represents the section, as generalised from the excavations in caves Nos. V. and XIII.

(1.) A surface layer of disturbed earth composed largely of charcoal, rotten wood, bamboos, &c., with fragments of modern pottery, glass beads, recent bones, quantities of fresh-water shells (chiefly the common *potamides*), and other *débris*—being the relics left by the Dyaks, who camp temporarily in the caves when they are employed in gathering the harvests of the edible birds' nests, which is done three times annually. This layer is, in some cases, a mere film, but about the entrance hall of No. XIII. it was as much as a foot in thickness.

(2.) A talus of loam or clay mixed with earthly carbonate of lime, which locally forms a hard concrete, and is crowded with the tests of many species of recent land shells, together with the bones, generally fragmentary, of various small mammals belonging chiefly

to the order Rodentia. This talus is composed, in great measure, of large angular and subangular blocks of limestone. In cave No. V. its summit is nearly 50 feet above the floor of the cave.

(3.) A stratum of river mud mingled with bat-guano, and with rounded masses of limestone and creamy crystalline stalagmite interspersed. The maximum thickness observed in the excavations was 3 feet. This stratum is crowded with the remains of bats, and also with those of larger mammals—all (as I am led to understand) of genera now extant in Borneo. The bones are almost invariably in a very broken condition, and so rounded and water-worn as to be past identification. As a sample of these bones has been examined in England, it is not necessary to speak more particularly of them here. In addition to the mammalian remains, the mud exhibits a miscellaneous assemblage of the remains of small reptiles (chiefly Chelonian), fish bones and scales, chelæ of crustaceans, land and fresh-water shells, leaves, &c., &c. In the upper level of this river mud traces of the presence of man are abundant.

(4.) The yellow clay, more or less concreted into hard pseudostalagmite, and containing casts of land shells, and bones and teeth of pig. In No. XIII. a narrow band of nearly pure stalagmite (about 4 inches thick) intervenes between the river mud and the yellow clay. The latter deposit rests immediately on the limestone floor of the cave. It contains a few water-worn pebbles and fine gravel, and it has been extensively denuded, prior to the introduction of the river mud above it.

The foregoing series of deposits is found, with wonderfully slight variation, at points so distant from each other as Jambusan and Niah. At both places the floors of the caves which present it are at a level of some 40 feet above the flat land at the bases of the hills. All four caves open on the face of a perpendicular cliff, so that their height above the present valleys affords a gauge of the denudation of the soft rocks in the vicinity of these hills since the introduction of the river mud.

The above are the principal kinds of deposits that are met with. Apart from the evidence as to their slight antiquity afforded by the mammalian remains, and by the fact of the presence of man in a fairly advanced stage of civilisation in the particular instances examined, it seems highly probable that the contents of all the

Sarawak caves, at least to a height of many hundred feet, will prove equally recent, and for the following reason: The contents of the Sarawak caves must have been accumulated since the date of the last submergence of north-west Borneo, unless the subsidence of the land was very trifling indeed. But the submergence actually went on to a depth of 500 feet, and probably much more, as is abundantly evidenced by the indications of purely marine denudation on the inland hills; and that it was very recent in a geological sense, may with fairness be deduced, I think, from the slight amount of differentiation which the present Fauna of the island has undergone since its last connection with continental Asia, coupled with the rapid rate at which the Sarawak coast is even now advancing seaward, which argues that the tract of land now intervening between the sea and the limestone hills cannot be of much antiquity. The absence of any heavy floors of crystalline stalagmite in the caves seems to add confirmatory testimony in this direction, as does, perhaps, the absence of the large mammals of Borneo (elephant, rhinoceros, tapir, and wild ox), from the north-west districts. It may be worth remarking, that all the tribes of Land Dyaks have most circumstantial traditions current among them on the subject of a great subsidence of the land.

With regard to the rate of accumulation of the cave-deposits in Sarawak, it seems probable that it would be in excess of that generally observable in the case of other countries, for the rocks are of an extremely decomposable class, and, as I have noted above, the rainfall is prodigious.

With respect to the possible future discovery of ossiferous deposits other than those mentioned above, I think it probable that such will be found. They cannot, however, be very numerous in proportion to the number of caves. The natives have been in the habit for many years past of excavating the contents of the caves and fissures for the purpose of washing out the alluvial gold they afford. The caves examined in this way are situated at all elevations up to 100 feet. Both Malays and Chinese set a value on fossil teeth, which they preserve as charms or use for medicinal purposes; nevertheless, they have never met with a regular ossiferous deposit in the course of their explorations. Had they done so, it would have been certain to attract their attention. Bones

and teeth have, however, been found from time to time, and of these I forwarded a sample to Mr. EVANS, but many of them were evidently quite recent.

In the event of other bone-beds being ultimately discovered in any part of Borneo, they will doubtless resemble generally the accumulation of fluviatile *débris* described in caves V. and XIII. At present no animals habitually use caves in this island in the same way as the caves of Europe were used by the large feline carnivora as retreats to which to carry their prey, so that the rich assemblage of mammalian remains which characterises the old hyæna dens of England cannot be looked for in Borneo. On the other hand, the fissures which abound like natual pitfalls over the limestone country, and which in Europe have furnished deposits of bones, are in Borneo barren or nearly so, so far as my experience has gone. The reason is to be found, I suspect, in the remarkably rugged and precipitous nature of the limestone hills, which makes them practically inaccessible to the larger mammals, and in their dense coating of jungle, the matted roots of which bridge over all the fissures to a greater or less degree, and afford a safe passage to the smaller animals.

3. The Human Remains.

Many of the caves present traces of the presence of man. Eleven of the caves examined by me exhibited such traces, and I had information of five others. The cave exploration has, indeed, yielded traces of man or his handiwork under three distinct sets of conditions, viz., (1) in river gravel; (2) in the river mud of the Jambusan cave, as mentioned in the preceding section; and (3) in the surface layers of various caverns in Upper Sarawak and at Niah.

(1.) During my first exploration I discovered, imbedded at the bottom of a bed of river gravel exposed in a section on the left bank of the Siniawan river, a single stone celt. It was forwarded to the late Sir C. LYELL with a note of the circumstances of its occurrence, and was pronounced by him to be of Neolithic type. It is the only existing evidence, to my knowledge, of the use of stone by man for the manufacture of industrial implements yet discovered in Borneo. At present iron seems to be universally employed even by the rudest tribes.

(2.) In cave No. XIII., scattered abundantly throughout the

upper 8 inches of the river mud, there occurred water-worn fragments of a rather coarse but fairly well made pottery. It was so fragmentary and water-worn that it was impossible to distinguish of what kind of untensils it had formed a part. Associated with it were a few marine shells (*Cardium*, *Cypræa*, and others), a single fragment of stone apparently bearing marks of human workmanship, pieces of burnt bone, fresh-water shells (*Neritina* and *Potamides*) also bearing the marks of fire, the tooth of a tiger cat, with a hole bored through the base, a rude bone bead, and a few clean chips of quartz. No stone implements properly so called were observed, though carefully looked for. These remains indicate the presence of a settlement of people at some distance without the cave on the banks of the stream, which formed the river mud deposit. The quality of the pottery shows that this people had attained a fair degree of civilisation. The presence of the marine shells seems to imply that the sea coast was within easy reach of the vicinity of the Jambusan Hill. The remains generally, although of slight interest except to the local archæologist, belong to a ruder stage of art than the following.

(3.) The traces of man in the remainder of the eleven caves above referred to consist of human bones, associated, in some instances, with works of art. These remains occur always either just within or but a few yards removed from the entrances of the caves. The caves in which they lie commonly open on the faces of steep mural precipices. That at Ahup, where the largest accumulation exists, is at an elevation of not less than 100 feet above the valley. The bones have belonged to individuals of various ages, they are mostly fragmentary, and they lie scattered on the surface, or but lightly imbedded in the earth without reference to their proper anatomical relations. Their condition will be better judged from the sample sent than from any description that I could give. Occasionally fragments occur bearing the marks of fire. The works of art associated with them include broken jars, cups, cooking pots, and other utensils of earthenware. The pottery is of excellent make, and often glazed and painted. Besides the pottery, beads and armlets of a very hard dark-blue glass, pieces of iron, manufactured gold, and fragments of charcoal have been met with. Similar beads are in the possession of the Land Dyaks at

this day, but they can give no account of their origin.

No tradition is extant among the natives with regard to these relics. No tribes in Borneo make habitual use of caves either as domiciles, or as places of sepulture, or for any other purpose. The character of the earthenware, however, and the use of iron and gold point to a very modern date indeed for the people who left these signs of their presence and hence the subject, though curious to a local geologist, does not call for any detailed remarks here. It is very possible that the remains date no farther back than the Hindu-Javanese occupation of Borneo, when this part of the island with Pontianak and Banjar were tributary to Majapahit, or they may be of Chinese origin—in either case quite recent.

4. Concluding Remarks.

The general result of the exploration may be summed up as follows:—

The existence of ossiferous caves in Borneo has been proved, and at the same time the existence of man in the island with the Fauna, whose remains are entombed in these caves. But, both from the recent nature of this Fauna, and from the fact that the race of men whose remains are associated with it had already reached an advanced stage of civilisation, the discovery has in no way aided the solution of those problems for the unravelling of which it was orginally promoted. No light has been thrown on the orgin of the human race—the history of the development of the Fauna characterising the Indo-Malayan subregion has not been advanced—nor, virtually, has any evidence been obtained towards showing what races of men inhabited Borneo previously to the immigration of the various tribes of Malayan stock which now people the island. Furthermore, the presumption that the north-west portion of Borneo has too recently emerged above the waters of the sea to render it probable that future discoveries will be made of cave deposits of greatly higher antiquity than those already examined, has been strengthened. Under these circumstances it seems advisable that cavern research in north-west Borneo should now be left to private enterprise, and that no further expense should be hazarded, at any rate, until the higher parts of the island in the north-east may be conveniently examined.

NOTES ON THE FOREGOING REPORT.

Page 278.—"*Submerged to a depth of* 500 *feet.*"—I infer that the last subsidence of north-west Borneo reached a depth of not less than 500 feet from the fact that the limestone hills between the upper part of the Sarawak River and the Samarahan exhibit traces of marine denudation equally with the hills situated nearer to the coast, although their bases are probably not less than 400 feet higher above the sea-level. Pebbles of cinnabar ore have been met with on the summit of the Busan Hills. The nearest deposit of cinnabar is that at Tagora, a peak rising nearly 800 feet above the sea-level at the base of the Boñgoh Mountain, about eight miles to the southward. It can hardly admit of doubt that these pebbles were carried to the spot in which they occurred when the Busan Hills were submerged beneath the sea, and, as the hills vary in height from 400 to 500 feet, we have, in this instance, almost demonstrative evidence of subsidence to the depth which I have indicated as a probable minimum.

Page 278.—"*Indications of purely marine denudation.*"—Every limestone hill is surrounded by a great assemblage of reefs, rocks, and sea-stacks, which often extend from side to side of the smaller valleys. Where the superficial alluvium has been removed, it is seen that these rocks are, almost invariably, integral portions of a smoothly-worn and hollowed floor of limestone. They decrease in number as the distance from the hill is increased; but, in the immediate vicinity, if the jungle be cleared, the land may be observed to be literally studded with masses of limestone, all fantastically worn, and varying from the size of small boulders to that of craggy stacks, 30 or even 50 feet high. Sometimes two reefs will run out parallel from the hill, and form a miniature cove, with a small cave at its inland extremity. The most striking form presented by the rocks are those of the "tabular" and "mushroom" types. Their bases being protected from the honey-

combing action of the rain, still present surfaces smoothly polished by the even wash of sea-waves. The exact counterpart of these rocks and of these inland cliffs may be seen in the Philippine Archipelago on the present shores of the islands lying to the northward of Surigao. Such peculiar assemblages of rocks cannot be referred to the action of streams varying their course, for the rocks surround every hill, large and small, and besides, the action of the streams in the limestone district of Sarawak is rather in the direction of cutting one definite channel in the solid rock and keeping to it. Still less could the heavy tropical rains produce such results by their long-continued operation over a rock-surface of unequal hardness. Were there no other argument against such a supposition, the presence of the "mushroom" rocks would be fatal to it.

Page 278.—"*Sarawak Coast ..... advancing seaward.*"—The shore line of north-west Borneo (Sarawak) appears to be gaining on the sea steadily as a whole. Whether the land is stationary and the gain is due solely to the amount of sediment poured into the sea by an extensive river system, draining a country composed of rocks peculiarly liable to rapid degradation by denudational agencies and exposed, at the same time, to a rainfall equalled by that of few countries on the face of the globe, or whether, in addition to the shoaling of the sea by the introduction of fluviatile *débris*, the land is at present undergoing a slow elevatory movement, I do not feel prepared to decide. Of the mere fact of the recent increase of the land there is abundant evidence. The coast between Lundu and Samarahan, and again, between Kalakah and Igan, is a flat belt of alluvial soil, but just raised above the level of the highest tides, and traversed in every direction by broad tidal channels. The belt extends inland from ten to thirty miles. Cape Sirik is its most prominent point, and, although it is composed of soft alluvium, and is exposed to the fury of the north-east monsoon, blowing down the whole expanse of the China Sea, this cape extends itself so rapidly seawards that the subject is one of common remark among the natives in its vicinity. The Paloh Malanaus have farmed close up to the point for many years past, and they state the addition to the land annually to average three fathoms. One of the elder men pointed out a distance of nearly two miles, as

showing the increase within his memory. Numerous facts could be adduced pointing in the same direction.

Page 279.—"*No animals habitually use caves.*"—Wild pigs are said by the natives to retire into caves to die. This may explain why their remains are not uncommon in such situations. I have seen traces of a bear in a cave, but as a rule none of the larger animals enter the caverns. The latter, however, are not without a varied Fauna of their own. Besides the infinite hosts of swifts (*Collocalia*) and bats of many species which throng their recesses, owls, and occasionally hawks, are met with. Several kinds of snakes, lizards (*Varanidæ* and *Geckotidæ*), fish, and Crustacea also occur, as well as spiders, crickets, and myriapoda (*Julida. Geophilus? Polydesmus?*). The recent guano often swarms with a slender yellow *Bulimus*.

Page 281.—"*No tradition is extant.*"—It has been suggested that these superficial human remains are the remains of the Chinese who perished in the insurrection in Sarawak (1857). Apart from the decayed condition of the bones, this idea is inadmissible for many reasons. It is sufficient to mention the general identity of the remains at Niah in Brunei territory (where there is no reason to suppose any Chinese were ever located) with those of Ahup in Sarawak.

Page 281.—"*No tribe makes habitual use of caves.*"—A very wild tribe of Punans, called by the natives Rock Punans, who inhabit the great Tibang Mountain at the source of the Rejang River, are popularly reported to live in caves, being so uncivilised as not yet to have learnt to construct artificial shelters. The head of the Rejang has never been visited by a European, so that this report is probably incorrect. Mr. Hugh B. Low, whose knowledge of the tribes of north-west Borneo is unequalled, writes in answer to my inquiries as follows:—"I do not know of any tribe that buries its dead in caves. Tama Nipa, of Tatau, was buried in a cave, but this was to secure him from his Dyak neighbours. The Orang Kaya Sahgieng expressed a dying wish that he might be buried in Lubang Danau in Ba Koiat, but it was only in order that he might gain an additional claim to the cave in question, the ownership of which was disputed. The 'tailed men' between Mandai and Melawi are *said* to live in caves."

NOTES

ON THE

COLLECTION OF BONES FROM CAVES IN BORNEO

REFERRED TO IN MR. EVERETT'S REPORT

ON THE

EXPLORATION

OF THE

BORNEAN CAVES IN 1878–9.

BY GEORGE BUSK, F. R. S., V. P. ANTH. INST.

With the exception of portions of the lower jaw of a small pig, and two or three detached teeth of the same animal, and some fragments of pottery, the collection is composed entirely of human remains.

The bones are all more or less fragmentary and vary very much in condition, some appearing as if they had lain on the surface of the ground, exposed to the weather, whilst others are partially encrusted with a friable, argillaceo-calcareous stalagmitic deposit, admitting of very easy removal. None of the bones, though some are dry and fragile, appear to be of any antiquity, and none adhere to the tongue.

The remains are those of at least five individuals, differing a good deal in age and probably of both sexes, but this is not certain. They include :—

1. Eleven or twelve portions of the skull, amongst which are four more or less perfect temporals, of which three belong to the right side. These bones are all distinguished by the large size of the mastoid process ; in one only does any portion of the zygoma remain, which is of slender conformation. The only other specimens belonging to the cranium are :—1. The face, with a large

part of the forehead and the orbits complete. This fragment is remarkable for the great comparative width across the malar region, which amounts to about 5 inches, whilst the vertical length of the face from the fronto-nasal suture to the alveolar border is scarcely $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The orbits have a transverse diameter of 1″.5, and a vertical of 1″.25, giving an orbital index of .83. The nose measures 1″.8 × 1″.1, affording a nasal index of .61. The frontal overhangs the nasals very much, and the frontal sinuses are well developed, but the orbital border is not thickened. The alveolar arch is almost perfectly semicircular and very wide. The bone is further remarkable for the great apparent depth of the sphenoidal part of the temporal fossa, owing to the sudden bulging of the squamosal. The specimen on the whole presents an exaggerated Malay aspect.

2. Another and the most considerable of the cranial specimens consists of the greater portion of a calvaria. The entire face is wanting below the frontal border of the orbits; as is also nearly the whole of the right side of the skull. The calvaria is well formed and evenly arched; the forehead upright and rounded. In the vertical view (*norma verticalis*) the outline forms a regular broad oval. The sutures are all open and for the most part deeply serrated. The chief points to be noticed besides the above are: (*a*) the enormous size of the mastoid process, in a skull otherwise it may be said of delicate conformation; and (*b*) the extraordinary condition of the foramen magnum, the border of which is so much thickened and elevated, as at first sight to convey the impression that the atlas was anchylosed to the occipital.

The bone in the surrounding part of the face is extremely thin and apparently atrophied, but there is otherwise no sign of disease.

From its imperfect condition this calvaria affords no distinctive characteristics, but in one respect it agrees with the facial specimen above described, viz., in the remarkable bulging of the anterior part of the squamosal where it joins the alar sphenoid.

The longitudinal diameter of this calvaria is 7″—its width 5.25, and height 5.7, the circumference being 20 inches.

The other bones of the skeleton are represented by a clavicle of small size and delicate make, probably that of a female.

2. Two or three fragments of the humerus, in one of which the medullary cavity is filled with root fibres. And in its posterior aspect near the lower end there are three or four transverse cuts of slight depth, and done, as it would seem from the chipped appearance, by chopping. There is also a deeper incision on the external condyloid ridge immediately above the condyle.

3. An entire sacrum and a portion of the left os innominatum, probably of the same individual.

4. A fragment of the right os innominatum belonging to another individual. Of bones belonging to the lower extremity, the collection includes portions of four thigh bones, one with the lower epiphysis naturally detached. The tibia is represented by three specimens, none of which present anything worthy of remark. The only bone belonging to the foot is a first metatarsal of small size.

From the above it will be seen that these bones present nothing of especial interest; and with respect to the race to which they may have belonged, the information they afford is very meagre. On this point all that can be said is that they may well have belonged to the Malay type, but there is also no apparent reason why they should not have been of Chinese origin. What tends to afford some support to this supposition is the marked fulness or bulging of the squamosal in the sphenoidal fossa, to which I have called attention, and which, upon examination of the collection of crania in the Royal College of Surgeons, I find is presented by several among the Chinese crania in a more marked degree than in the other races to which my attention was directed.

A SEA-DYAK TRADITION OF THE DELUGE AND CONSEQUENT EVENTS.

By the Revd. J. Perham.

Once upon a time some Dyak women went to gather young bamboo shoots to eat. Having got the shoots, they went along the jungle, and came upon what they took to be a large tree fallen to the ground; upon this they sat, and began to pare the bamboo shoots, when, to their utter amazement, the tree began to bleed. At this point some men came upon the scene, and at once saw that what the women were sitting upon was not a tree, but a huge boa-constrictor in a state of stupor. The men killed the beast, cut it up, and took the flesh home to eat. As they were frying the pieces of snake, strange noises came from the pan, and, at the same time, it began to rain furiously. The rain continued until all hills, except the highest, were covered, and the world was drowned because the men killed and fried the snake. All mankind perished, except one woman, who fled to a very high mountain. There she found a dog lying at the foot of a jungle creeper, and feeling the root of the creeper to be warm she thought perhaps fire might be got out of it, so she took two pieces of its wood and rubbed them together and obtained fire; and thus arose the fire-drill, and the first production of fire after the great flood.

This woman and the fire-drill, to which they attribute the qualities of a living being, gave birth to Simpang-impang; who, as the name implies, had only half a body, one eye, one ear, half a nose, one cheek, one arm, one leg. It appears that many of the animal creation found refuge in the highest mountains during the flood. A certain rat, more thoughtful than the rest of his friends, had contrived to preserve a handful of padi, but by some means not told, Simpang got knowledge of this, and stole it from the rat;

and thus man got padi after the flood. Simpang spread his handful of padi upon a leaf and set it upon a tree-stump to dry, but a puff of wind came and away went padi, leaf and all. Simpang was enraged at this, and set off to inflict a fine upon the Spirit of the Winds, and to demand the restoration of the padi. Going through the upper regions, he passed the houses of Puntang Raga and Ensang Pengaia, who asked Simpang to inquire of the Wind Spirit the reason why one plantain or sugar-cane planted in the ground only grew up one single plant, never producing any further increase. After this Simpang came to a lake who told him to ask the Wind Spirit why it was it had no mouth and could not empty itself. Then he came to a very high tree whereon all kinds of birds were gathered together and would not fly away. They had taken refuge there at the deluge. The tree sends a message to the Wind Spirit, "Tell the Spirit to blow me down; how can I live with all these birds on my top baulking every effort to put forth a leaf or branch in any direction?" On goes Simpang until he arrives at the house of the Spirit; he goes up the ladder and sits on the verandah. "Well," says the Spirit, "and what do you want?" "I am come to demand payment for the padi which you blew away from the stump on which I had set it to dry." "I refuse," replies the Spirit, "however let us try the matter by diving." So they went to the water, the Spirit and his friends, and Simpang and his friends. Simpang's friends were certain beasts, birds, and fishes which he had induced to follow him on the way. Simpang himself could not dive a bit; but it is allowable in such a case to get a substitute, and Simpang persuaded a fish to act for him, who dived, and beat the Wind Spirit. But the Spirit proposed another ordeal. "Let us jump over the house," says the Spirit. Simpang would have been vanquished here had not the swallow jumped for him, and of course cleared the Spirit's house. "Once more," says the Spirit, "Let us see who can get through the hole of a sumpitan." This time Simpang got the ant to act for him, and so held his own against the Spirit. But as each performed the ordeal required, the matter was not yet decided, and the Spirit declared he would not make any compensation. "Then," says Simpang in a rage, "I will burn your house down about your ears." "Burn it if you can," says the

Spirit. Now Simpang had brought the fire-drill with him, and he threw it on to the roof of the Spirit's house which flamed up into a blaze at once. The great Spirit fumed, and raged and stamped, and only added fury to fire. He soon bethought himself of submitting, and shouted out: "Oh, Simpang, call your fire-drill back, and I will pay for the padi." He recalled the fire-drill, and the flames ceased. Then there was a discussion, and the Spirit said: "I have no goods or money wherewith to pay you; but from this time forth you shall be a whole man, having two eyes, two ears, two cheeks, two arms, two legs." Simpang was quite satisfied with this, and said no more about the padi. Simpang then gave the messages with which he had been instructed on the way, and the Spirit made answer: "The reason why Puntang Raga and Ensang Pengaia are not successful with their sugar-canes and plantains is that they follow no proper customs. Tell them never to mention the names of their father-in-law, or mother-in-law, and never to walk before them; not to marry near relations, nor to have two wives, and the plantains and sugar-canes will produce the usual increase. The reason why the lake cannot empty itself is that there is gold where the mouth ought to be. Take that away and it will have an exit. The tree I will look after." The tree fell by the wind, the lake found an exit, and the world went on as before. But how padi was recovered does not appear; but completeness and consistency must never be expected in Dyak myths.

J. PERHAM.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

With reference to the Lists of Words used by Wild Tribes, published in the last number of the Journal, the attention of the Society has been drawn to certain inaccuracies in the list of Balau Dyak words, and the following corrections should be made :—

Nose—"Hidong." Should be "Idong." Sea Dyak is without an initial aspirate. No Dyak word begins with an "h."

Tooth—"Ngigi." This word is "Gigi." "Ngigi" would be a verb, supposing the word existed, which it does not. But the more common word for tooth is "Ngeli." This, I believe, to be the more ancient term, "Gigi" a later one, as applied to the human tooth. But the teeth of any manufactured article, *e. g.*, a saw, would be "Gigi." "Ngeli" ought at the very least to have been given as a comparison word.

Egg—"Tĕlĕh." "Telŭ" is the word, and the only one. Where the form Tĕlĕh comes from is a mystery to me—certainly not from Balau Dyak.

Elephant—"Gaja." Should be spelt "Gajah."

Flower—"Bungah." "Bunga" is a flower; "Bungah" is to make fun.

Cocoanut—"Unjor." This is a case of inaccurate spelling also. "Unjor" is to stretch forth the hands. "Njor" or "Ngiur" is cocoanut.

Tin—"Tima." "Timah" is the Malay word which Dyaks are getting to use. "Tima" is non-existent. "Besi puteh" (white iron) is the universal term for tin.

ARROW—"Sŭmpana." This word, or anything like it, has no right to be in the list at all, for the simple reason that the Dyaks never had the thing. Both the thing and word "Panah" are known, only as Malay, or at least as coming somewhere from the sea. Some ten years ago I taught a Dyak lad to make a bow and arrow, and I had to teach him the word for it. It may have been that some Dyak in ignorance trying to remember something he had seen, stumbled out "Sempanah;" but the whole thing is extra Dyak. The only arrow they have is that of the sumpitan, which is *not* "Damba," as given in the note, but "Dambak," or, in some dialects, "Laja."

PADDLE—"Snayong." Write "Sengaiyoh." A mistake in so common a word is strange.

SPEAR—"Sanko." Write "Sangkoh."

HOT—"Panas." "Panas" is the heat—hot objectively. The feeling of heat is "Angat." "A hot day" would be "Ari panas amai," but "I am hot" "Aku angat.". "Ai angat" however, is hot water.

NINE—"Sĕmbilang." Should be "Sambilan," as in Malay. "Sembilang" is a poisonous fish.

There are a few other inaccuracies; but they are evidently clerical errors: as "Mon" for "Moa" (face); "Filin" for "Lilin" (wax); "Apai-andar" for "Apai-andan" (star); "Chelun" for "Chelum" (black); "Aran," for "Aram" (come along).