Sarjana
Vol. 29, Bilangan 1, Jun 2014, pp. 19-30.

THE MALAY SOCIETY DURING THE TRANSITION OF THE SELANGOR ADMINISTRATION IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract

This paper re-examines the transition of Malay society in Selangor during the beginning of British rule, focusing on interactions between the British and the natives around colonial administration in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Establishing the rural colonial administration involved interactions between the government and the natives, including immigrants. These interactions took the form of exchange of letters written in *Jawi* between both parties. When the British introduced uniform administration, they had to incorporate pre-colonial headmen of such native communities into their system. During this process, the British reformed *kuasa*, letters of authorisation from the Sultan, to make their rule known to natives. On the other hand, the natives sent *Jawi* petitions to the government to obtain official recognition for their headmen. The immigrant communities were especially eager to establish relations with the colonial authority to secure their positions within society. These interactions were important in maintaining Selangor's social order. The Selangor regime, whether under the Sultanate or the British, had to authorise immigrant headmen to keep the immigrant groups settled within this fluid society. In Selangor, the Malay community evolved along these interactions. The case of Selangor shows how natives in sparsely populated areas reacted to rigid territorial colonial rule.

Keywords: Malay Society, Selangor Administration, Immigrants, Sultanate, British

Introduction

This paper re-examines the transition of Malay society in Selangor at the beginning of British rule, focusing on interactions between the British and natives around colonial administration in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The paper focuses on the following two points: First, the local response to colonization. While the process of construction of the colonial administration in Malay States has attracted much academic attention,[2] the native perspective needs further exploration. We must examine how Malays took part in the colonial regime. Second, the role of immigrants in the local society. It is often pointed out that Malay society was preserved by British colonial policy.[3] According to this perspective, during colonial rule, Malay society was static and confined in subsistence villages. However, the pre-colonial Malay Peninsula is part of the maritime Malay World (*Dunia Melayu*), which is characterised as having demographical fluidity.[4] Therefore, how the migratory Malay population changed and responded to territorial colonial rule must be questioned.[5]

Analysis of the Selangor rural administration can address these two issues. *Penghulus*, native officers in rural administration, mediated between the government and the native inhabitants. Although studies on *Penghulu* have mainly examined its institutionalization,[6] Selangor Secretariat Files reveal that local inhabitants sent many petitions to the government, and these have not yet been fully examined.[7] In addition, focus on Selangor could reveal the role of immigrants in the Malay community, for the Malay population in the state of Selangor was quite heterogeneous due to an influx of immigrants. Rural administration in Selangor gives us a clear view of interaction between the British and natives, as well as of the dynamics of Malay society during the late 19th century.

From the aforementioned two perspectives, this paper describes exchanges of letters between the British and natives in the Selangor rural administration. While the first section deals with the role of *kuasa*, letters of authorisation from the Sultanates, the second section introduces letters from immigrant Malays to the British during the early stages of colonial rule. The third section describes transitions of *kuasa* during the construction of the rural administration. The fourth section addresses how natives reacted to the British through their petitions in the 1880s and 1890s. Finally, both changes to and the continuity of Malay society are discussed.

Role of *Kuasa* in Selangor During British Colonization

This section explains how the heterogeneous Malay society was governed during the early stage of colonial rule in Selangor. Selangor became a British Protectorate in 1874, when Sultan Abdul Samad accepted a British Resident.[8] The British adopted indirect rule in the Malay States, for the Resident executed their administration through the sovereignty of Sultan. While British administrative institutions were constructed under the Resident, the regime of Malay Sultanate was maintained.

A prominent feature of the pre-colonial regime of Selangor Sultanate was its heterogeneity. Its population was sparse and migratory because of the lack of large rivers. Selangor attracted immigrants from various regions. The society's shape emerged through the process of immigrants settling there. The founder of the Selangor Sultanate had Bugis origins from Riau.[9] The tin rush in the second half of the 19th century brought a further flow of immigration into Selangor: Chinese and Sumatran Malays came into the interior where tin mines were located. When Selangor became a British Protectorate in 1874, the society was already heterogeneous, both ethnically and geographically.

During this time, immigrants constituted a majority of the Malay population in inland districts. Malay immigrants formed communities based on their origins. While people from the neighbouring states of Pahang and Sungai Ujong (Negeri Sembilan)[10] formed their respective communities, immigrants from Sumatra also came from various groups, such as the Minangkabau, Mandailing, Rawa, Kerinchi, Batu Bahra.[11] The immigrants' place of origin was important for them to identify themselves in public.[12]

To administer these immigrant communities, the Selangor Sultanate had to authorise foreign headmen, who had special titles, such as *Datoh Dagang*. Their *kuasa* – letters of authorisation – from the Sultan were prepared in *Jawi* (Malay in Arabic script).[13] These letters stipulated the recipient's power as approved by the Sultan.[14] In other words, headmen with foreign origins formed a part of the ruling class in Selangor in the late 19th century.

These local foreign headmen continued to play an important role in Selangor. In many cases, the British government acknowledged their status and the validity of *kuasa* issued before colonization. For example, when troubles arose about *Datoh Dagang* Nakhoda Alang's debts in 1876, a British administrator reported that he would try to 'to obtain from the *Datoh Dagang* a copy of any *Quasas* [sic] or letters that he may have of his appointment to the office he now holds'.[15]

Moreover, *kuasa* had been issued even after the British assumed power. In 1876, a *kuasa* from the Sultan and the Resident was issued for inhabitants of Tambah (Tumbuh) River near the state's Southern coast.

> This is a letter of notification from Sultan Abdul Samad and Resident of Selangor for all the inhabitants of east and west bank of Tambah River. If there are any disputes or problems, inhabitants, whether they are Malay or Chinese, should report their cases to police there. Police would make every effort to help them.[16]

The Resident regarded *kuasa* as an important means of making British rule known to natives. In the same year, another *kuasa* was issued for Bernam, a northern district. In that *kuasa,* the government authorised native headmen to trade in tin to pay off their debts.[17]

Another example of *kuasa* was issued in 1880, from Raja Kahar, son of Sultan Abdul Samad, to *Tauke* Ah Siew[18]. This *kuasa* consisted of eight clauses setting forth conditions and rights for Chinese tin mining and taxation at Sungai Naga, in southern Selangor. The *kuasa* prohibited anyone from opening tin mines at Sungai Naga without the permission of *Tauke* Ah Siew; however, he had to pay ten percent tax on the products.[19] This example shows broad acceptance of authority of *kuasa* in local society, even among Chinese.

Kuasa revealed various activities of native headmen authorized by the State. As the Malay society consisted of various immigrant communities, the Selangor Sultanate controlled these communities by giving *kuasa* to headmen. As written agreements about headmen's authority, *kuasa* connected rulers and headmen in the migratory society. The British also had to establish relationships with inhabitants by accepting the validity of *kuasa* and issuing them for their rule.

Immigrant Headmen in the Early Stage of the Colonial Rule

This section analyses local responses to the British government in the early stage of colonial rule. The British came in contact with inland Malay immigrant communities immediately after the intervention, because the immigrants frequently interacted with the government.

Immigrants often sent *Jawi* letters to convey requests to the authorities. They frequently requested authorisation of their headmen, but sometimes complained about taxation by their headmen. In 1877, for example, thirteen merchants sent a letter to the government complaining about the taxation of Nakhoda Alang, the *Datoh Dagang* mentioned above.[20] Because the merchants specified their origins, such as Aceh, Pahang, Minangkabau in their signatures, they were identified as immigrant Malays.

In fact, the British distinguished immigrant communities from local Malays by calling them 'foreign Malays'. British administrators paid considerable attention to this population because they were well aware of their predominance in Selangor.[21] About

the 1877 letter mentioned above, the British Resident in State Council[22] stated that 'each *Bangsa* should have its own *Orang Tuah*' instead of a *Datoh Dagang*. In this context, *Bangsa* meant immigrant community,[23] and the Resident continued that 'Mendaling, Minangkabau, Kampar and Batu Bara men might appoint their own headmen'.[24] Obviously, the government was prepared to recognise the immigrant headmen's authority.

Among these immigrants, Minangkabaus, the most prominent Sumatran community in Kuala Lumpur, were particularly active. Two petitions from the Minangkabau community around Kuala Lumpur in 1876 and 1880, requested the government to appoint '*Penghulu Dagang*'. In the 1876 petition, the petitioners, who were probably merchants, recommended a man named Chenaga, who seemed to have a strong influence over the merchants. They stated that 'When Chenaga was serving in Selangor, there had been many merchants and Malacca traders at Selangor', but 'when he was … traders coming to Selangor'.[25] In the 1880 petition, the petitioners were eighty-five settlers in a suburb of Kuala Lumpur. They called themselves '*rakyat Melayu bangsa* Minangkabau (Minangkabau community, Malay people)', and described themselves as making their living 'planting, rice cultivation, mining and shop keeping'. They applied for authorisation of a new headman for '*bangsa* Minangkabau' because the previous headman had died.

> Mr. Sheikh Mohamed Ali had always conveyed to us the meaning of every direction and rule given by the Resident of Selangor….Since the death of Mr. Sheikh Mohamed Ali in 1296 A.H. (1878/79 A.D.), we petitioners have had a lot of troubles, as we have not had any person to rely on any more…All of us ask if you could kindly appoint a headman for bangsa Minangkabau.[26]

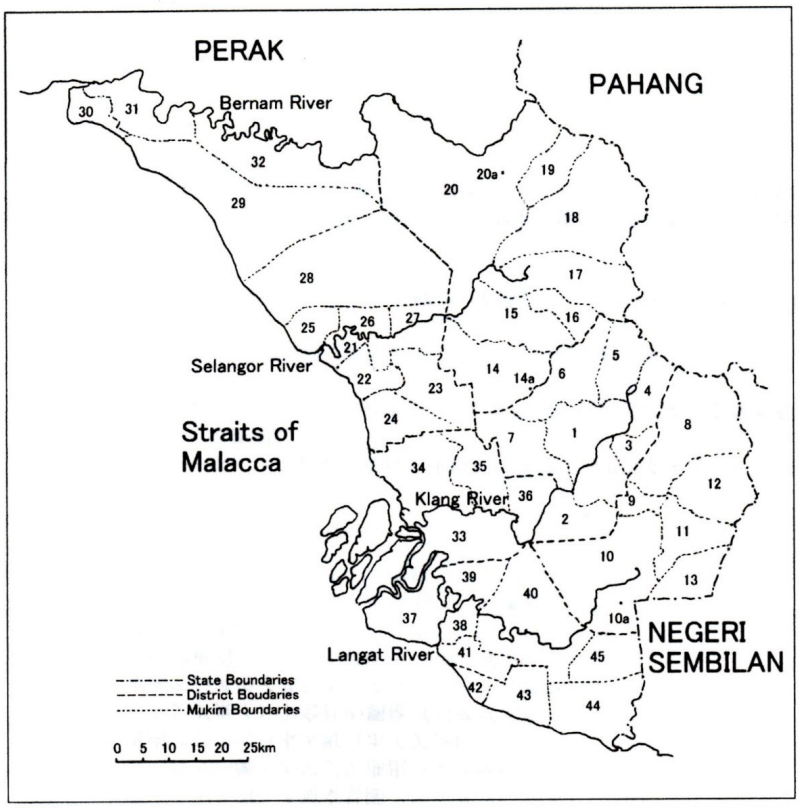
According to the petition, the pre-colonial Sultanate of Selangor had adopted a form of indirect rule through immigrant headmen. Immigrants regarded their headmen as representative of their *bangsa*.[27]

Post colonization, the Britishers' first contact was with foreign Malay communities and their headmen. The fact that immigrants sent petitions to the government immediately after the colonization indicated that it was already customary for Selangor native communities to present their opinions to the authority through their headmen. In that sense, this study found some continuity in regime structures: In Selangor, the pre-colonial Sultanate and the British colonial government functioned through *bangsa* headmen and *kuasa* or petitions.

Transition of *Kuasa* in the Process of Institutionalization of *Penghulus*

This section describes how the British reformed *kuasa* during construction of their colonial bureaucracy. In the 1880s, the British government began extending their rule to rural areas in order to establish a uniform administrative system. The state was divided into six districts, administered by British District Officers (See Figure 1).[28] As for rural administration, the government let natives govern themselves as much as possible. The government then incorporated *Penghulus*, known as 'native headmen' under these District Officers. While *Penghulu* was a general term in Malay for headmen, the British

institutionalised *Penghulus* as government officials, who were expected to mediate between the British and 'natives'.[29]



Mukims

Kuala Lumpur District
1.Kuala Lumpur
2.Petaling
3.Ampang
4.Ulu Klang
5.Setapak
6.Batu
7.Sungai Buloh

Ulu Langat District
8.Ulu Langat
9.Cheras
10.Kajang
10a.Jenderam
11.Semenyih
12.Ulu Semenyih
13.Beranang

Ulu Selangor District
14.Rawang
14a.Kuang
15.Serendah
16.Ulu Yam
17.Batang Kali
18.Kuala Kubu
19.Kerling
20.Ulu Bernam
20a.Kalumpang

Kuala Selangor District
21.Kuala Selangor
22.Api-api
23.Ijok
24.Jeram
25.Ujong Permatang
26.Pasangan
27.Batang Berjuntai
28.Tanjong Karang
29.Panchong Pedina
30.Bagan Nakhoda Omar
31.Sabak Bernam
32.Sungai Panjang

Klang District
33.Klang
34.Kapar
35.Damansara
36.Bukit Raja

Kuala Langat District
37.Jugra
38.Bandar
39.Teluk Panglima Garang
41.Klanang
42.Morib
43.Batu Laut
44.Sepang
45.Labu

*10a, 14a, 20a: stationed by Assistant Penghulu

Figure 1: Map of Selangor

In 1883, the Resident in the Selangor State Council explained that 'difficulties have arisen due to the uncertainty of the duty and jurisdiction of the various *Penghulus*'. After regulations for *Penghulus* were discussed, twenty-four *Penghulus* were officially authorised,[30] resulting in institutionalization of *Penghulu* as an office. Moreover, to establish colonial rule, District Officers often visited certain localities to appoint *Penghulus*. As a result, a certain number of *Penghulus* were appointed to every district, along with the extension of British rule to frontier districts in the 1880s and 90s. At the

same time, *Penghulus* had become officers responsible for a particular administrative unit, known as a *Mukim*.[31] By the end of the century, the whole territory of Selangor had been demarcated according to *Mukim*, and the number of *Penghulu* in Selangor had reached as many as forty.[32] The complete administrative system, by the end of the 19th century, consisted of states, districts and *Mukims* from top to bottom, which were governed by British Resident, District Officers and native *Penghulus*, respectively.

At the State Council mentioned above, the Resident 'has therefore drafted [a] letter of authority in Malay which when revised can be given to *Penghulus* may be confirmed or appointed by the Council'.[33] This meant that the government reformed *kuasa* for their institutionalization of the office of *Penghulu*; a *kuasa* was dispatched as a letter of appointment setting forth the duties of each *Penghulu*. The beginning of a *kuasa* stated that Sultan, with the advice of the Resident, appointed said person as *Penghulu*. Subsequently, *kuasa* delineated the wide range of administrative duties to be upheld within a *Mukim*.

Kuasa had been revised several times. The process indicated how *Penghulu* had been institutionalised, and characterised the government expectations for *Penghulus*. In the first version in 1883, *kuasa* contained sixteen clauses,[34] which included clauses designed to compensate local headmen for their former sources of income by authorising them to collect taxes (second clause) and take commissions from export duties for tin and forest products (third clause). In addition, the fourteenth clause stated that if anyone claimed to be a *Penghulu* without the permission of the Resident, he would be fined or punished. This clause indicated that influential men in the local society might arbitrarily claim to be *Penghulu*. These clauses showed that the transition of *Penghulus* from pre-colonial headmen to modern administrators still continued in 1883.

However, the British vision of a unified administrative system was unfamiliar to the local society, although the terms *Penghulu* and *Mukim* seemed to indicate ongoing tradition. In some cases, local headmen did not understand that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the *Penghulu*, often located away from them. In 1883, the *Penghulu* of Semenyih, Ulu Langat District (Figure 1, no. 11), reported that a local headman had refused to accept him as *Penghulu*, claiming Sungai Rinching in the *Mukim* to be his territory. The Superintendent of Police sent a letter to the headman, stating that he should obey his *Penghulu* as long as he was in the *Mukim*.[35] At that time, therefore, *Penghulus* were widely considered pre-colonial headmen and not recognised as administrative officers with fixed administrative boundaries and exclusive jurisdiction.

Compared to the 1883 version, changes in *kuasa* became obvious in the 1899 version, which consisted of twenty-six clauses. The first clause described the boundaries of *Mukim,* where the *Penghulu* administered. The second clause stated that the *Penghulu* had jurisdiction over Malays (*bangsa Melayu*) within his *Mukim*. After the third clause, the *kuasa* stipulated duties of *Penghulu* in five sections.[36] While clauses about their daily duties became more numerous, clauses about taxation and commissions had been deleted. The clause that prohibited self-assumption of the *Penghulu* title had also disappeared. These changes indicate the established status of *Penghulus* and tighter government control over *Penghulu*.

Nevertheless, an example of misunderstanding around the authority of *kuasa* occurred even in the 1890s. In 1895, Awang, headman—not *Penghulu*—in Batu near Kuala Lumpur (Figure 1, no. 6), claimed with a personal letter from a British official that he had *kuasa* for collecting taxes. The letter was written in English, *Jawi* and Chinese,

stating that Awang had 'all rights to collect rents due on his lands in the *Mukim* of Batu on behalf of the Government'.[37] In other words, personal letters from British administrators were recognised as *kuasa*.

While establishing colonial rule in rural districts, the British government incorporated local headmen into their administrative institutions by issuing *kuasa*. The revision of contents of *kuasa* reveals how the government attempted to institutionalise *Penghulus* as a uniform system, although the system's uniformity was not fully understood from the local perspective.

Representation of Immigrant Communities: *Jawi* Petitions During the 1880s and 90s

Although the British government attempted to incorporate native headmen into its administrative framework, local inhabitants continued to interact with the government in their own way. This section deals with petitions from immigrant communities in the 1880s and 1890s. Not only Sumatran communities stuck to requesting authorisation of their headman, but also new immigrants similarly petitioned the government.

1) Survival of Datoh Dagang

Foreign Malay communities requested the government to authorise their headmen to secure their positions even after the *Penghulu* system had been established. In 1883, when F. Weld, Governor of Straits Settlements, visited Kuala Lumpur, he wrote that 'here a large number of immigrants from Sumatra waited on me, they assured me that they were delighted with the country and their prospects, and only asked that a headman should be appointed as their medium of communication with Government'.[38]

In 1888, 150 immigrants in Kuala Langat District sent a petition to authorise their headman as *Datoh Dagang* because they trusted the British more than the Malay Rajas.

> We, 150 foreigners (orang dagang) request for appointment of Datoh Dagang at Jugra [Figure 1, no. 40]. As you know, now a lot of immigrants such as Javanese have settled, appointment of headman would give convenience not only for ourselves, but also for officials. At that moment, we could rely only on officials, as Rajas show no interests in us.[39]

The District Officer of Kuala Langat, together with Raja Muda (Viceroy) held a meeting with these *orang dagang*. A vote for *Datoh Dagang* took place, and since Haji Mohamed Tahir received the majority, the District Officer suggested appointing him *Datoh Dagang* so that he could promote Javanese immigration.[40] Through this process, Haji Mohamed Tahir was authorised as *Datoh Dagang* in Kuala Langat District.

Kuasa for *Datoh Dagang* were also prepared, like *Penghulu*. For example, *kuasa* for *Datoh Dagang* issued in 1896, in Ulu Langat District contained eight clauses.[41] The first clause stated that the *Datoh Dagang* should induce immigrants to settle and plant paddies. The seventh clause stated that he should encourage inhabitants to plant permanent crops and that he should visit the inhabitants to supervise situating the settlements and paddy fields. These functions were similar to those of *Penghulus*, but *Datoh Dagangs* were to introduce Malay immigrants and act as their protector in the District.[42]

The British found foreign Malay headmen helpful because the increasing native population was a matter of first priority in the sparsely populated Selangor. Thus *Datoh Dagang* survived in the Selangor colonial regime alongside the *Penghulu* system. *Datoh Dagangs* were often substituted for *Penghulus* in districts where foreign Malays outnumbered them. For example, the District Officer of Ulu Langat requested to appoint *Penghulu* for Kajang in 1884 (Figure 1, no. 10), but the government declined his proposal on the ground that *Datoh Dagang* were already there and replying, '*kuasa* given to the *Datoh Dagang* for the district between Cheras and Kajang will be of assistance to you in the matter'.[43] Besides the official *Datoh Dagangs*, there seemed to be many unofficial *Datoh Dagangs*,[44] makeshift components of the rural administration in its formative stage.

Meanwhile, *Datoh Dagang* could also obstruct establishment of uniform rural administrations, as relationships between *Penghulus* and *Datoh Dagangs* were sometimes unclear. In Ulu Semenyih (Figure 1, no. 12), Ulu Langat District, the *Penghulu* arrested *Datoh Dagang*'s followers in 1887, because they had entered into that *Mukim* without the *Penghulu*'s permission. On the other hand, the *Datoh Dagang* claimed that he had received an order from a British officer to develop lands. Finally, the government mediated between the two parties, instructing the *Penghulu* to find suitable lands for the *Datoh Dagang*.[45]

Immigrant communities in inland districts actively demanded authorisation of their headmen, and the British could not ignore their requests. As a result, there were *Datoh Dagangs* of various origins outside the *Penghulu* system in Selangor. This situation indicates how the British depended on immigrant Malays and their headmen to control local society.

2) Jawi petitions from new immigrants

Petitions were also written by immigrants who had come to Selangor after colonization. Although local Malays predominated in coastal districts during the pre-colonial period, Javanese came to these districts as new settlers by the end of the 19th century.[46] Although they were officially considered natives, they distinguished themselves from the local Malay community. Malay *Penghulus* and the Javanese community were not always on good terms.[47] In 1889, the Javanese community submitted a petition to appoint Javanese headmen.

> We, your humble servants living in Negeri Selangor, would like to request you to appoint a headman for Javanese (orang Jawa), for there is none from the state of Selangor. In the case that someone causes trouble within the same bangsa or another, the police would face great difficulty, as we have no headmen. If someone causes any problems, the headman would be able to easily identify that person.[48]

Although they were not native Malay speakers, the Javanese wrote the petition in *Jawi*. In addition, they claimed to be a separate *bangsa* so that they could have their own headman. This petition shows that the Javanese shared local customs in requesting the government to authorise their headmen in Selangor.[49]

Moreover, even the Chinese adopted the same approach, often joining petitions about *Penghulus* made by Malays, by placing their sign or *chop* on them.[50] In addition, the Chinese sent petitions in *Jawi* to convey their request about Captain China (*Kapitan Cina*).[51] In 1889, Yap Kwan Seng was appointed the new Captain China because of a petition sent to the government recommending him for the post.[52]

Although the Chinese did not belong to the Malays' framework in any sense, they also admitted that sending petitions in *Jawi* was an effective means of expressing their opinions to the government. *Jawi* was a semi-official language in the Selangor rural administration since official documents were often duplicated in *Jawi* as well as in English. In that sense, *Jawi* played an important role in linking communities in Selangor public administration.

The strategy of Sumatran immigrants to contact the government through *Jawi* petitions for the authorisation of headmen was also adopted by newly settling non-Malay immigrants after colonization, for instance, the Javanese and even the Chinese, in some cases, that is, *Jawi* petitions were a means for immigrants to take part in Selangor's social order.

Conclusion

This paper examined interactions in rural administration between the British government and natives. Tentative conclusions are as follows:

First, natives played an important role in rural administration. The process of establishing this administration was not a one-sided imposition by the British, but the result of interactions between the government and natives. These interactions took the form of *Jawi* letters between the two parties. Although the British tried to systematize a uniform administration, frequent local petitions obliged them to keep exceptional headmen, or *Datoh Dagang*, in the *Penghulu* system.

Second, immigrant Malays also played an important role in such interactions. They were eager to establish relations with the authority to obtain official recognition of their headmen. Since the Malay society in Selangor consisted of several immigrant communities before the colonization, these communities had attempted to send their representatives as government mediators. Indeed, they secured their positions within society through official authorisation. During colonization, immigrants from the outside Malay world, such as Javanese, arrived and adopted the same strategy.

Third, the continuous exchange of *Jawi* letters between the government and immigrant communities demonstrates how Selangor's social order was constructed, incorporating the continuous influx of immigrants. The Selangor regime, whether under the Sultanate or the British, had to control immigrant communities through their headmen because that system served to settle the immigrants and stabilise society.

Examination of the Selangor rural administration shed light on the transition of Malay society. At the same time, it revealed the construction of the Malay community there. Selangor's history reveals how natives in sparsely populated areas reacted to rigid territorial colonial rule.

Notes

This work is supported by JSPS Kakenhi Grant Number 24720334. The author would like to thank Enago (www.enago.jp) for the English language review.

[1] Tsuboi Yuji is currently attached to Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library), Japan, as a research fellow. He received his Ph.D (letters) degree from the University of Tokyo. He specializes in history of British Malaya.

[2] Sadka traced administrative developments in the Malay States from the British perspective in the last quarter of the 19th century (Sadka 1968).

[3] Gullick emphasized that 'Malay society had preserved its essential character and institutions' during the early colonial period (Gullick 1987, p.363).

[4] Malay (*Melayu*) originally means people and language along the Straits of Malacca, Malay Peninsula and East coast of Sumatra. After the Sultanate of Malacca expanded its influence, coastal areas of insular Southeast Asia shared Islam and Malay language as means of communication. These areas were named as 'Malay World'.

[5] The development of Malay nationalism appears to be the process of homogenization among heterogeneous community, as non-Malay elements had been gradually excluded (Roff 1994, Milner 1995). Meanwhile, heterogeneous 'Malayness' could be found even after the colonial period (Barnard(ed) 2004).

[6] Kratoska described transition of functions of *Penghulus* and their influence in Perak and Selangor since the colonization up to the independence period (Kratoska 1984).

[7] Other sources and its abbreviation used in this paper are shown at the end of the article. All of them had been referred to in Arkib Negara Malaysia.

[8] A British Resident was an 'advisor' who was consulted by the Sultans on general affairs, with the exception of issues concerning their customs and religion (Sadka 1968, p.47–48).

[9] When Raja Lumu, Bugis chief, was installed as the first Sultan of Selangor in 1766, he visited Perak Sultan to be authorised as Malay Sultanate (Gullick 1998, p.4).

[10] Sungai Ujong was Northwestern part of Negeri Sembilan adjoining Selangor. As Sungai Ujong was one of the principal mining areas, there were a large amount of intercourses between Sungai Ujong and Selangor at that time (Gullick 1998, p.35).

[11] Minangkabau were from West Sumatra, while Mandailing, Rawa, Kerinchi and Batu Bahra were from North Sumatra.

[12] Person's place of origin was sometimes clarified in public documents. For example, see the letter of complaint against *Datoh Dagang* in the following section two.

[13] *Dagang* means not only commerce, but also foreign in this context. *Datoh Dagangs* controlled trade and were influential among merchants, who were also mainly foreigners. Gullick mentioned three *Datoh Dagangs* in the late 19th century (Gullick 1993, p.126).

[14] Bailey stressed on importance of Sultan's letter of appointment (*surat tauliah*) as source of authority in Malay society of Kedah (Bailey 1976, p.11-12).

[15] SSF 87/76.

[16] SSF 32/76.

[17] In that *kuasa*, the Resident authorised three Malay headmen to purchase tin in Ulu Bernam on behalf of Sultan. They had to pay the Government one-tenth duties as custom and a further ten percent would be extracted for debtors in Bernam (SSF 69/76).

[18] *Tauke* was a general title for Chinese at that time.

[19] SSF 128/80.

[20] Petitioners claimed that *Datoh Dagang*'s behaviour towards them was like 'tiger to the lamb' (SSF 143/77).

[21] The government estimated that two-thirds of the Malay population of Selangor was Netherlands Indians. This could be an over-estimation, but it showed that British administrators recognized the presence of Malay immigrants (SSF 2629/86).

[22] The Selangor State Council was an advisory body that dealt with general administrative affairs of the state. When the State Council was set up in 1877, it consisted of seven members, two British officials, four Malay Rajas and one Chinese headman (E. Sadka 1962, p.95).

[23] *Bangsa* originally meant royal lineage, but in the context of Selangor it meant the framework of community (Tsuboi 2011, p.78).

[24] SSCM 16 Dec 1877.
[25] The text is English translation in the original document (SSF 236/77).
[26] SSF 183/80, (Tsuboi 2011, p.78).
[27] The petitioners wrote that there had been two consecutive headmen in the past ten years (SSF 183/80).
[28] At the beginning, British rural administrators were called 'Collector and Magistrate'. They were termed 'District Officers' since demarcation of administrative units was made around 1890 onwards.
[29] The term 'natives' included immigrants from the Malay Archipelago as well as Peninsular Malays. When the British officially defined ethnicity in the 1891 census, Malays, Javanese and other communities from the Archipelago were categorized into 'Malays and other natives of the Archipelago' (Hirshman 1987, p.562). As a result, foreign Malays could become *Penghulu* representing the natives in the local society. In Selangor, there were 30 foreign Malays appointed as *Penghulu,* during the 1880s and 1890s (Tsuboi 2011, p.83).
[30] SSCM 2 Sep 1883
[31] While the original meaning of *Mukim* was jurisdiction of masjid, it became smallest administrative units in the British period.
[32] SSF 3736/96.
[33] SSCM 2 Sep 1883.
[34] SSF 2224/88.
[35] The headman of Sungai Rinching was from Negeri Sembilan and there were some troubles between his group and their *Penghulu* as reported by the District Officer (SSF 545/83).
[36] Five sections are i) maintaining law and order in his *Mukim*, ii) exercising judicial authority, iii) carrying out regulations for collecting tropical products, tin mining and land administration, iv) maintaining public health and v) other duties such as pertaining to religious matters, encouraging children's education (SSF 4128/97).
[37] Awang was a son of *Penghulu* of Batu. However, the District Officer reported that he had never seen that document before (SSF 4017/95).
[38] Weld to Earl of Derby, 5 Sep 1883, BPP C.4192, p.11.
[39] SSF 3707/88.
[40] He stressed on the importance of immigrants reporting stating that 'I learnt that it is utterly hopeless to expect anything would be done in the district if left it to the *anak negeri* [local people] alone' (SSF 3707/88).
[41] SSF 1952/96.
[42] *Datoh Dagang* was headman not only for a particular community but also for the entire immigrant Malays. For example, Haji Mohamed Tahir, *Datoh Dagang* mentioned above, was Sumatran, but he had a large coffee estate employing Javanese labourers in Klang (SGG 1894, p.368).
[43] SSF 1157/84.
[44] Five *Datoh Dagangs* were mentioned for developing the area in the Annual Report of Ulu Langat District, in 1886 (SSF 334/87).
[45] SSF 1114/87.
[46] For the process of Javanese immigration into Selangor since the late 19th century, see (Khazin 1984)
[47] District Officer of Kuala Langat stated 'they [Javanese] are not altogether amenable to the rule of Malay headmen, who often are too political in their judgment to do anything much to encourage Javanese' (SSF 7016/02).
[48] SSF 1134/89, (Tsuboi 2011, p.81).
[49] Though this request was not accepted, two Javanese *Penghulu* were appointed in coastal districts in the 1890s (Tsuboi 2011, p.81).
[50] For example, both Malays and Chinese put their signatures together in a petition requesting to appoint a *Penghulu* in 1890 (SSF 3084/90).

[51] As the colonial rule in Malaya administration was divided into ethnic lines, Chinese community had their own headman called Captain China.
[52] The Chinese petitioners used the same logic as Malays, stating that Yap Kwang Seng had always given them advice (SSF 64/90).

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