

The Political and Judicial Construction of Modernity

Prior to British intervention in the Malay States, Malaya or “Mysterious Malaya” as Swettenham puts it “was *terra incognita* to official and trader alike.... An impression, however, prevailed that some kind of internal struggle for power, for place or for the sheer pleasure of fighting, was constantly going on” (Swettenham, 1899: 7). From the British point of view, such internal conflicts have hindered the Malays from making progress in their lives and put them “a few hundred years behind the age” (Swettenham, 1895: 146) or to be more precise, as Clifford puts it, “six centuries” (Clifford, 1897a: 3) behind Western civilization. His description that “miscarriages of justice... are not unknown, and in semi-barbarous countries they are, of course, all in the day’s march” (ibid., 162), suggest that crimes without punishment, despite the awareness of its people, happen all the time in the Malay states.

Moreover, in the preceding chapter, albeit its concentration was on the Malays’ social cultural and economic activities, we have also learned that the British were aware that the Malays, who venerate their ancient customs and traditions, fear their Rajas. The ordinary natives cannot do anything to effect change for the King has too much control, “technically, the whole country was his property, and all its inhabitants his slaves” (ibid., 4). Taking this into account, the Malays are property-

less just as what aptly fits Marx's description of Indians as being without "private property in land" (Avineri, 1969: 7). As such, the Malays are restricted from creating the economic infrastructure that would allow for the free development of every member according to his capacities for they fear that their hard work would be easily seized by their Rajas.

However, the British saw this 'fear' from a different perspective and took advantage of this 'fear' situation in their dealings with and in their policies towards the Malays, especially when the British were dealing with these aspects of change in the Malay society. They immediately saw that the best way to effect change and modernize the Malays was from the same platform—by influencing the Malay Rulers. In fact, if change was going to take place at all, it had to start with this group of influential people. Therefore, the initial part of modernization was to influence the minds of the Malay rulers.

Nevertheless, as the Malays in general possess both positive and negative characteristics, the Malay upper class is not spared from having them. Since the British dealt more often with the Malay upper class in the running of the states (even though we could argue that it was the British who had the upper hand in all other matters except that of religion), we find that of the many areas discussed in the two colonial authors' works, no other area is more examined than matters related to the political and judicial structures of the Malay upper class, primarily the negative aspects of their so-called primitive government. Therefore, in this chapter, we will

observe, first, the authors' attempts to project the negative characteristics of the Malay Rulers and the state of lawlessness of the Malay States, and second, the ineffectiveness of the traditional Malay jurisprudence as highlighted by the two colonial authors. While the authors continue to be ambivalent about their love of the Malays and their tasks as colonial officers, they see no reason why the Malay Rulers should revert to their traditional roles; instead, asking them to change and adopt the modern values and way of life. The effort to modernize the Malays, as briefly mentioned above, has to start from the top as the two colonial authors saw fit. Since "Malays are extremely particular about questions of rank and birth..." (Swettenham, 1895: 8) the tendencies for them to follow their traditional rulers have always been there. Given this, we will also observe in this chapter, the attempts to modernize the upper class by teaching them "the mysteries of sound administration" (Swettenham, 1899: 11) and their views on the kind of suitable approaches that will determine and shape the kind of policies to be exercised on the public. Following this is the long discussion on Clifford's *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* at the end of this chapter.

First of all, the two authors emphasize the state of unrest from the civil wars that have always taken place in the Malay States due to minor misunderstandings or greed on the part of the Malay Rulers. Such emphasis on the civil unrest seems to suggest that the two authors (from 1895, the two authors are already familiar with the Malay States) are providing a close up view of an earlier impression of the country discussed above. In Swettenham's "The Passing of Penglina Perang Semaun," for example, Swettenham narrates the story of Meriam, the wife of Megat Raja, who had

an affair with a boy named Che Nuh while her husband was away in Penang. Upon his unexpected return, Meriam's husband discovered his wife's wrongdoing and he came face to face with his wife's lover. Megat Raja, however, decided not to kill his wife's lover, Che Nuh, since he comes from a good family. He decides to divorce his wife instead. The whole affair agitates the state of peace in the country since Meriam's relative, Panglima Perang Semaun, is not satisfied with Megat Raja's decision to divorce his relative. This results in war. The war between the Panglima and Megat Raja involves many other Malay chiefs and causes many deaths—all originating from one incident—the separation of Meriam and Megat Raja.

The rivalry among the Malay upper class, which originates in the personal relationship between two individuals ends in violence for an entire community. This is a clear manifestation of the Malays' underdevelopment on the one hand, and of their love to fight on the other. Either way, the Malays demonstrate to the British the lack of rational thought in their action for the problem of personal marriage is proven to be an insufficient reason for a war that claimed many innocent lives. However, contrary to other wars, which claimed some territorial gains, the action of the Panglima Prang Semaun to defend his female relative, according to Swettenham, amounts to the "first appearance as the champion of a lady in distress" (1895: 146), exemplifies modern act of seeking gender equality. Traditionally, the Malays view the two sexes as having different roles in society. In this regard, the Malay lady is "taught to help in the house and kitchen, to sew, to read and write, perhaps to work in the *padi* field" (ibid., 7) whereas the Malay boy is "treated with elaborate respect,

sleeps when he wishes, and sits up till any hour of the night if he so desires, eats when he is hungry, had no toys, is never whipped, and hardly ever cries" (ibid., 5-6). In other words, the Malay lads exercised more freedom than the Malay ladies, but after marriage, "a woman gets a considerable amount of freedom which she naturally values" (ibid., 7). Marriage raised the women to a status almost equal to men, therefore, Panglima Perang Semaun's action above is justifiable in that Meriam's rights need to be properly protected. The only exception to this is that the Panglima dragged the whole community into war.

To that end, Clifford compares the spirit of bravery of the Eastern upper class Malay lady with the Woman's Right Movement in the West in "The Battle of the Women." In the story, the dancing girls, who belong to Tengku Aminah's mother, elope with Tengku Indut, Aminah's half-brother, while the King is away. Aminah, who is outraged by the action of her half brother, takes the matter into her hands by attacking Indut's palace. The attempt is not successful as the palace is strongly defended but Aminah's threat is enough to cause havoc and breaks the peace of 'sinful' moment "to enjoy the goods [the four dancing girls] the gods had sent him [Indut]" (1897a: 40). While her glorious attempt gives Tengku Aminah a good reputation, her truculent character results in her "remain[ing] unwedded" (ibid., 39) for her action scares away many possible suitors. To relate this brave act of Tengku Aminah with that of women in the West, Clifford satirically writes the following statement: "One has heard of the Women's Rights Meeting in Boston, ... broken up

in confusion by the untimely appearance of three little mice” (ibid., 44), to suggest the bravery of the Eastern women and cowardly side of the Western ones.

However, I feel that Clifford is exercising the spirit of superiority of being a man by ridiculing both eastern and western women here. To the west, the satirical statement above shows the disparity between being brave enough to pursue their rights (which in essence suggests their efforts to free themselves from men’s power and domination). They are even afraid of three little mice which offer no possible direct threat to their very lives. On the contrary, the eastern one who is expected to be mild and innocent as her culture has taught her, is being too brave, hence, putting off men from marrying her. In short, Clifford is chauvinistic (and to a certain extent, conservative) in dealing with the issue of the power of women as do his other male imperialist counterparts. Colonialism and imperialism are men’s games and women, just like any traditional institutions, are merely playing the supporting roles, consigned to being the victims of men’s hegemony.

I have briefly mentioned above that territorial gains were among the reasons for the many civil wars that took place in the native Malay States. In short story “Days When the Land was Free,” Clifford narrates one of domestic fights among the Chiefs headed by Wan Lingga. Pahang, being the largest state in the Peninsula was never at peace before the coming of the British. The state had so many districts and each district was controlled by its own Chief. As the rule goes, the more Chiefs, the more domestic rivalries among these native Chiefs would take place as they

constantly try to overrun the smaller districts of the state. While the story highlights the moral lesson that Wan Lingga who overambitiously wanted more control over the districts in the state of Pahang, (one may recall Macbeth who wants to have more control over Scotland, died at last, in disgrace), Clifford also reveals that the King seems to be in support of the internal fights since in most cases, whoever wins should be unquestionably supportive of the King.

Dying in disgrace is common for those Chiefs who fought the wars and lost them. A good example is given by Clifford in "The Vaulting Ambition." Out of his ambition to conquer the whole of Pahang, Wan Bong combines his forces with Che' Jahya and Panglima Raja Sebidi to fight with the two brothers, Che Wan Ahmad and Che Wan Da. Wan Bong and his troops defeat many of their rivals' armies, hence, the state comes close to being ruled by Wan Bong. However, Che Wan Ahmad and Che Wan Da, do not panic. They decide to change their strategy by persuading Panglima Raja Sebidi to be their ally. The latter agrees. Therefore, the one who is left is Che' Jahya, a loyal companion of Wan Bong. Being a nice man whose future as the Assistant to Bendahara is guaranteed by Wan Bong, Che Jahya accepts with utmost hospitality the Sumatran gang, headed by Sutan Baginda, who comes under the pretext of helping him run the state, with a good dinner. Later, Che Jahya is murdered and beheaded. The head is carried back to the state capital and handed over to the present ruler as a gift. Wan Bong, having realized that he has no more support, flees to the jungle but is at last found and murdered. His head is also duly presented to the rulers, as that of Che' Jahya. The story clearly notes the Malay's form of war

trickery, especially of Pahang people who “think chiefly of deeds of arms” (ibid., 17) as Clifford describes in “The People of the East Coast.” Again, the brutalities which occur in the story only emphasize the barbarity of the Malay rulers.

Another aim of the two authors’ stories is to demonstrate the extent of the lawlessness and injustices in Malay society as a way of justifying British presence in the Malay States and to install law, justice and order. In “The Murder of The Hawker,” Swettenham tells of Ngah Prang, the real instigator of the murder, in an effort to save himself from being convicted, persuades one of the eyewitnesses not to implicate him to the murder. Further investigation by the British police force is carried out and Ngah Prang, despite his false report, is found guilty. Swettenham emphasizes in the story that he has “told the story of this crime, which is devoid of sensational incident, because it will give some idea of the state of feeling in a real Malay *kampong* of poor labouring people far from any outside influence” (1895: 29). Being poor and far away from the white man’s civilization, they treat the death of the hawker as “the insignificant sacrifice of [the hawker’s] life” (ibid., 29). The British, however, want to extend their justice system so that even *kampong* folks should get the benefit from it.

A similar theme of white men’s justice appears in “The Story of Mat Aris,” where the criminal is put, at last, to trial even though the crime is already eight years old. It is out of the blind desire to possess Salamah, the wife of Sahit, that drives Mat Aris to kill the latter in a thick Malay jungle. Upon his arrest at Kota Tampan, Mat

Aris and Salamah are transported to the Headquarters in Kuala Kangsar, thirty miles down river. Being a Malay whose life is surrounded by water, he manages to get away from his Indian escorts with his lover, Salamah. The two then marry and live in a far away land, beyond the white man's jurisdiction.

Eight years is a long period of time, the Malay would have forgotten about the crime, but the officer-in-charge of the crime is bent on pursuing the legal proceedings against Mat Aris, until one day, Mat Aris comes to town and is captured. It is during the trial that two Sakai who witnessed the crime spoke up.

The two stories above raise one important aspect of justice in relation to its implementation in the Malay States. Being poor kampong folk, the witnesses toil day and night for food and care less about what is really going on around them as long as their lives are not affected. In Swettenham's own words, "The witnesses of this tragedy appear then to have returned to their home and *slept peacefully*" (ibid., 28)(my emphasis). The fact that they 'sleep peacefully' does not mean that they do not have any conscience about what happens; they are afraid of the threat from Ngah Prang. This makes them easily manipulated as in the case of Ngah Prang, who threatens the witnesses not to tell the truth to the police. However, after few arrests have been made and the assurance given to them to tell the truth to the British agents, Ngah Prang is captured and duly executed. The lives of many poor kampong people are always under the shadows of a few powerful Malay chiefs and their followers, which make the implementation of justice hard at times. In the case of Salamah, it is

even worse. As a witness to the crime, she just keeps quiet and submits to being the wife of a person who murdered her own husband. Some crimes simply remain unsolved due to these factors. The Malays are afraid to seek justice for they know that laws do not support them.

Even though the two colonial authors' choose to narrate the stories about the lawlessness of the Malay upper class that could be interpreted as proof of their submission to the colonial mentality, the fact that most of the stories end with the ability of the British to install law and order especially by bringing justice to the oppressed villagers or *ra'ayat* (Clifford uses this Malay term to describe the ordinary people), the change of the attitude on the side of the *ra'ayat* towards the British's sense of justice is more important. It is becoming obvious that Malays are beginning to accept British laws and justice systems. When the oppressed Malays have no support from their own Malay Rulers, they turn to seek justice from the British. After all, the British colonial officers are the group of people who have the advantage of being close to the Malay Rulers.

Of course, getting to know the Malay Rulers personally is something else—it gives the two colonial officers the opportunity to say more about the characteristics of the native rulers. As it is, the Malay King is projected as recalcitrant, deceitful and revengeful. In “The King’s Way” Swettenham emphasizes these traits. In the story, the priest, in the King’s absence invites the merchant who sells a music box and tricycle to the palace with the intention of buying them for the King. Upon his return,

the King refuses to buy the merchandise and the merchant reports the case to the colonial authority. The trial is duly held and the priest, against his will, has to pay. The action of the priest, exemplifies both his fears of the Raja as well as loyalty for “loyalty to their rajas is an article of faith” (ibid., 164). No matter how angry the priest is with his King, he cannot show his anger for “The person of a raja is sacred to a Malay” (ibid., 173). The King simply gets his way by saying “He [the King] knew nothing of any musical-box, did not like the musical-box, had no ear for music, and did not understand the discordant noises made by these inventions of the white man . . . As for the tricycle, how in the name of misfortune could a tricycle concern him?” (ibid., 166)

There are a few messages Swettenham wishes to highlight here. First, the King’s refusal to pay the merchant shows that he is a hardheaded type who chooses not to listen to any explanation given. Secondly, his refusal shows that he has a “masterful and overbearing disposition” (ibid., 162), being a person who is not necessarily inclined to receive orders. He is not afraid of the merchant’s threat to report the matter to the colonial authorities. Thirdly, his hatred towards Englishmen is made obvious in his reasoning during the trial that the musical box is the invention of the white man and he hates it. Lastly, he cares less about the priest whose intention is good—to please his master but is held responsible for paying the debt. The priest can aptly agree with the epigraph Swettenham uses at the beginning of the story written by Rudyard Kipling, which runs as follows:

We know what Heaven or Hell my
Bring
But no man knoweth the mind of
The King.

Thus, after the death of the King, Swettenham satirically writes, “the dead man [the King] is given a new name, by which he is ever afterwards knownThe name conferred upon him was Merhum Rafir-Allah, and the meaning is ‘*May God pardon him*’ ” (ibid., 176)(my emphasis).

Swettenham’s aim here is to project a clear image and personality of the sort of Malay Sultan the colonial officers like to deal with in their everyday duties to advise the Sultan on the sound method of British administration. In his narration here, Swettenham accomplishes two agendas at the same time. First, he has been able to portray the negative image of the Sultan and second, he has been able to make the home readers visualize the hardships of the colonial officers’ duties and gain sympathy on top of that. Both the priest and the colonial officers face exactly the same dilemma in performing their duties at the court of the Malay raja for they do not have any idea on what is in the mind of his King.

In the early part of the short story entitled “Piloting Princes,” Clifford describes the attitude of the Malay King in the old regime, which might intensify Swettenham’s description above. First, it is typical of them not “to appreciate the advantages of punctuality. In common with all Malays of his generation, he held time to be valueless, and regarded an hour or two either way as a thing of no

account” (1929: 172) as I have briefly mentioned earlier. There is one occasion when Clifford has to apologize to the commanding officer of a parade for the King is one hour late in officiating the ceremony and leaves the British troops “standing in the sun-glare” (ibid.). On another occasion, Clifford is escorting the old King to the waterfall in Penang; the latter decides to take a bath in the reservoir to cool down his body. This act is illegal and Clifford has advised him not to take the bath, but the King “was a man of strong character, not easily to be moved from any purpose upon which his will was set” (ibid., 174), another typical attitude of the Malay rulers. The King who is supposed to be the ruler of man “had defiled the drinking-water of the community” (ibid., 175). However, Clifford mentions that “I [Clifford] learned from him [the old King] much concerning the management of his people which has since stood me in good stead; I was often forced to admire the hard-bit, strong-willed, shameless, but fearless old curmudgeon” (ibid., 177).

Clifford further suggests that the upbringing of the young Malay rajas leads them to behave in such a disobedient and recalcitrant manner—that the young rajas have been left to do what they wish to do. (We will see later in this chapter how Clifford describes Saleh in *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* where Saleh as a young protagonist receives unlimited freedom in his upbringing. He is taught in the manner, what the native proverb describes as “there is no need to teach a young tiger whelp how to prey” (1926a: 16). In “The Cock-Pit and Bull-Ring,” Clifford narrates the story of the native ruler and his son, a young Malay raja in the making, victimizing their subject, a Malay boy. The short story evolves around the sport, which Islam, the

religion of the Malays, holds to be sinful. The game proves fatal not only to the birds and the buffalos, but to the human which is what happens to the boy in the story. He is in charge of a cock which belongs to the young Raja. One day he accidentally pulls some feathers off the bird's tail and this act infuriates his Raja. The Raja then strikes the boy on his head and this causes his death. When the matter is reported to the Raja's father, the ruler's reply is as follows: "he [the young Raja] should slay one or two with his own hand, else how should men learn to fear him?" (Clifford, 1897a: 52), suggesting that his son should kill again so to create fear from the *ra'ayat*—common people. Clifford remarks that with that answer by the father, "the matter ended there" (ibid.). The brutality is never seen as part of the young Raja's wrongdoing rather it serves as a deterrent for the *ra'ayat* to respect their native ruler and possible successor to the throne. The young Raja will grow up with the attitude that the commoners must oblige him at all times and is expected to teach his successor the same way his father has taught him. The brutality continues until the white man comes to teach them the sound British administration and justice.

British intervention in the Malay States requires their officers to deal with the native ruler or the King, who, as we have learned above is similar to the rulers of Medieval Europe, getting to throne by winning war and exercising unlimited power over their kingdoms. He "ruled by ... a complete Feudal System, ...[exercising]... the paramount authority, and all power emanated from him" (ibid., 3-4). This would certainly require the British officers to possess a number of well-trained escorts to protect them from any unbecoming danger from the local rulers; but most important

of all, is the officials' ability to understand, communicate and listen to the local people. It is certain that such an officer is putting himself in danger for his willingness to listen to the complaints of the commoner which is not within his official duties as Resident.

In "His Heart's Desire" Clifford highlights the heroic image of the British in the Empire they serve. Awang Itam and Tuan Bangau are victims of the power the King ruthlessly exercises in ruling his kingdom. Clifford, as the Resident, tends to be a dependable person to resort to in times of trouble, since their King is more of an abuser rather than the protector. One day, he receives an invitation to meet in a secret place a person "he did not know precisely whom he was to meet" (ibid., 183). The Malay followers who "feared a trap" advised him against going. Nevertheless, Clifford, by this time is "anxious for the adventure, and could not afford to let his people think that he was afraid" (ibid.). As an Englishman, he must act confidently as Jawarharlal Nehru, in his autobiography has stated, always showing "the calm assurance of always being in the right" (Thornton, 1966b: 72). After all, as K.M. Pannikar writes in his book, *Asia and Western Dominance*, that nothing the British desire can be wrong (1953: 97). Clifford proceeds with his secret meeting with Awang Itam, despite the warning by his escorts.

Awang Itam has for several years, serves as a 'Budak Raja,' or the King's servant, when one day, being a normal human being, he falls in love with Iang Munah, a woman from the palace. His immediate chief is not the King, but a young

Tuan Bangau, who is also frequent visitor to the palace and who also meets in secrecy, Tungku Uteh, the King's daughter. Therefore, the couple, a servant, Iang Munah, a young master and Tungku Uteh, frequently meet in the palace for a secret rendezvous. One fateful night, their activity is suspected by the King. Exterminating Tuan Bangau is improper since he belongs to the Sayyid family, a descendent of the Prophet, hence, Awang Itam is an easier prey. After all, he is present at the scene of the 'crime.' He receives "on the night that followed his arrest... the ghastly tortures and mutilations which had wrecked his manhood, and left him the pitiable ruin he then was, the White Man [Clifford] writhed in sympathy, and was filled with a horror that made him sick" (Clifford, 1897a: 194). Clifford, after listening to the story told by the wretched Awang Itam, decides to mingle more with the common people and be their protector from here on. He should lower himself to enable him to be in a position to "doctor their pains, heal their sick, protect them from oppression, stand as friend in time of need, do a thousand kindness, and help their dying through the strait and awful pass of death" (ibid., 253). Clifford becomes the knight in shining armor to the common Malays.

As the protector of innocent people, Clifford's own life could also be in danger. "At the Court of Pelesu" Clifford features an insight into a death-threatening story of Jack Norris, the British political agent at Court in a state of Pelesu, in his attempt to save Che' Ah Ku and his wife from a cruel King of Pelesu. Jack Norris, a protagonist of Clifford's disguise, is "a young officer possessed of a good knowledge of the natives and of the vernacular" (1899: 11) is set to face the greatest challenge

of his lifetime facing the hostile King of Pelesu, in the name of the Great Queen of England. The King who is fond of Che' Ah Ku's wife, Chik, tries hard to win the latter's heart by attempting to poison her husband. The King's attempt fails, but he resorts to stabbing Che' Ah Ku. It is hoped that with the death of her husband, Chik would agree to be one of the King's concubines. Che' Ah Ku, however, survives the attack. Jack helps nurse Che' Ah Ku. "He washed and dressed the wounds on Ah Ku's forehead and cheek, put a couple of silk stitches into the severed lip, and applied a compress to the injured chest" (ibid., 31), Clifford explains how Norris treated his British subject.

The fact that Che' Ah Ku is a British subject is not fully understood by the King of Pelesu. On the day before the removal of Che' Ah Ku's family, Jack Norris is summoned to the King's palace. He relates his disapproval of the removal of Che' Ah Ku's family as the latter is subject to his ruling. However, Jack vehemently argues that Che' Ah Ku's family is a British subject and that the family is beyond the King's jurisdiction. The King of Pelesu feels the utmost challenge from his white advisor, Jack Norris. It is useless to further argue with Jack Norris since "he is a Kafir, an Infidel, and all such know not the fear of death ..." (ibid., 56), as the King explains to his Chiefs after Jack leaves the palace. He then commands the Chiefs to exterminate Jack Norris and Che' Ah Ku's family while he goes hunting and "will be absent when the deed is done, and so he will know nought of what may befall" (ibid., 56-57), a typical excuse of the Malay monarch.

Jack, however, does fear the threat of death imposed to him by the King. The night before the unapproved removal of Che' Ah Ku and his family, we witness his inner struggle between sacrificing his own life or witnessing Chik falling into the cruel hands of the King of Pelesu. He begins to write this account of events which would lead to 'his own murder' in his attempt to bring Che' Ah Ku and Chik out of Pelesu. Clifford writes, "it was ten o'clock at night before Jack Norris sat down at his desk to write the dispatch which he believed was destined to be his last official paper. He knew after his death the good people of Pelesu would seek to justify the murder by the fabrication of some lying story..." (ibid., 57). Jack Norris, then, begins writing a letter to his mother, telling her how much he loves her. At the end of the letter, Jack writes a short note to his sister. Clifford writes that Jack "finished his letter with a sob, and from pure inability to go on with it. For the first time that night he felt heartily sorry for himself, and for the distant hearts that loved him" (ibid., 59). On that final night, Che' Ah Ku dies; therefore, the plan is called off.

The act of writing to his mother and sister will be more significant in the following chapter when we discuss Clifford's novel *Since the Beginning* (1898), especially when we consider that Jack Norris is Clifford in disguise. The agony of the final night shakes Clifford's outlook and opinion of the Malays especially that of the rulers. He is glad to learn that after his life-threatening incident, "the British Government would now have no alternative but to annex or 'protect' Pelesu" (1899: 61). He ends the story almost with a sigh when he says, "thus the British Government took charge of the destinies of the land of Pelesu" (ibid., 62).

Just as Clifford features his own experience being threatened to death by the Malay rulers in *In Court and Kampong* (1897a), Swettenham does the same in his first work of fiction. In fact, his story is more sensible for it discusses the death of Perak's first English resident, James Wheeler Woodford Birch, on the 2nd of November 1875. On a different note, I would also argue that this is a prime reason for the success of *Malay Sketches* (1895)—the telling of the tragic death of Birch, to whom Swettenham was deputy—the British public had been longing for such a publication. Swettenham's heroic image is very apparent here. Swettenham was 'on loan' from Selangor to help Birch put up a proclamation banning slavery in the northern part of Perak when the incident occurred. In fact, there are three separate chapters which revolve around this tragic incident, making the book more sensible. One of these includes a short story entitled "A Personal Incident" in what he believes to be a report on his own 'death' according to the Blue Book. Another short story entitled "Van Hagen and Cavaliero" depicts the danger colonial officers face in their line of duty in the Malay States. The two characters in the story were the victims of the fight over tin mining concessions controlled by Captain Yap Ah Loi, which takes place in Kuala Lumpur in 1872 (Swettenham, 1942: 19-21). To add to their tragic deaths, Swettenham informs the audiences that he meets the two victims "not many months after my first arrival in the East" (1895: 103) as a way of personalizing his narration and showing his sympathy for them. Concerning the bodies of the two victims, Swettenham says "the bones were larger, the figures taller, than those usually met with. They were the skeletons of two men face to face, and locked in

each other's arms" (ibid., 111). Van Hagen and Cavaliero died in a foreign land, away from their countries, the Netherlands and Italy respectively, and not having anyone to turn to, die in each other's arms. In both cases, Clifford's and Swettenham's eyewitness stories helped them get a positive reception of their works of fiction in Britain.

After relating the incident to the audience, Swettenham, being the 'man-on-the-scene' was in a position to give the following comments: "Mr. Birch, unfortunately, for all his long Eastern experience, knew very little of Malays and almost nothing of their language" (ibid., 229). Swettenham might have given this comment in his report to the British government after the tragic incident and I believe, the British government had acted accordingly in his suggestion that someone with a decent knowledge of the Malays and their language was needed to fill the post of English Resident in Perak. Perhaps, this was the reason for the Colonial Office to choose Sir Hugh Low to succeed Birch for Low "has had thirty years experience in the East, mainly among Malays, and has brought not only thoroughly idiomatic knowledge of the Malay language, but a sympathetic insight into Malay character" (Bird, 1883: 323). It should be no surprise that Swettenham himself, "whose interest in the race is strong enough, may not only win the confidence but the devotion" (1895: 3) we already know from the Malays, succeeded Low in the office of Resident of Perak after Low retired in 1884.

Clifford, while aiming to project the image of the native rulers, also tells of how their behaviour changes after the coming of the British. In “The Experiences of Raja Haji Hamid,” Raja Haji Hamid tells of his wrongdoings before the British ruled the Malay States. He is a local chief of Selangor, a state on the Western seaboard, where the British arrive by invitation, and ‘civilize’ the local people right after the Pangkor Engagement in 1874.

Raja Haji Hamid, “spoke lovingly of the old days at Selangor, before the coming of the white men” (1897a: 31), writes Clifford. Out of hunger, he robs money from the Chinese gaming house. Out of anger for losing four thousand dollars on the gaming table, he kills his Chinese opponent, and sets the body adrift down the river. He, at last, comes to repent his wrongdoings. “I am sorry for the Chinaman. ... we counted not their lives as being of any worth” (ibid., 36), he admits.

This sort of live testimony is what Clifford and other colonial writers are seeking in their writings. Written in a direct speech and in the vernacular language, what Clifford is doing here is almost like recording a live telecast interview with Raja Haji Hamid. Such a method is capable of achieving two things at once: (a) that the colonial subject i.e. Raja Haji Hamid has become mild after having contact with white man and is fully repentant of his wrongdoings, (b) that the British is able to make what Gayatri Spivak writes as “to make the *native* see himself as *other*” (Spivak, 1985a: 133)(italics in original). Raja Haji Hamid becomes a loyal follower of Clifford for a great numbers of years and helps Clifford fight the local rebellions.

This sort of experiences serve the purpose of justifying the intervention of the British in the Malay States that Clifford seems to suggest here, while at the same time admitting the beauty of British law and order, that even Raja Haji Hamid tends to agree.

In the course of his first six years in the East, other than learning the inner life of the Malay fighting wars with lawless Malay rulers, Swettenham cannot but devote his last chapters in telling of the devotion of the Malay to his master in “Nakodah Orlong.” Like Raja Haji Hamid in Clifford’s story above, Nakodah Orlong is an example of a Malay chief who willingly participated in white man’s civilizing mission to put down Malay rebels. It is in line with what he mentioned in his last chapter in *Malay Sketches* entitled “Evening” as the “acts of high courage and self-sacrifice” (1895: 281).

Nakodah Orlong volunteers to fight Maharaja Lela, the person responsible for the death of Mr. Birch. In the course of the war, Orlong dies, and with him is a boy named Alang who helps guard the body until the rescue team comes to retrieve the body. In the course of defending his master’s body, he stays with the body from morning till evening and receives a serious injury on his forehead. It is with the spirit of “without thought of gain or praise, only determined that none but loving hands should be laid upon the voiceless, pulseless clay he once called master” (ibid., 280), that Alang boldly portrayed. This serves as an example of a “few of those

characteristics of the people [Malays], none of that inner life which, I [Swettenham] make bold to say, is here faithfully portrayed" (ibid., viii).

Studying Oriental people involves the study of their characteristics especially when they are different from the principles of western civilization and modernity and then the eastern mode of life is at stake or put to question. In "A Silver-Point," Swettenham describes the character of a Malay chief named Dato' Dagang, who is disliked by the local community of Langat, including the Sultan. Dato' Dagang, being the middleman of Dato' Bandar, tries to bribe the author, the latter being the guest of the Sultan, to accept Dato' Bandar's gift. Dato' Bandar used to be the town troublemaker. The first attempt is made during their first meeting near a riverbank, witnessed by some followers. However, the author refuses to take the bribe. Swettenham writes "you [Dato' Dagang] don't know our customs, and I can't blame you for doing what seems to you something quite natural. All the same, by whatever name you call it, you are offering me a bribe, and that is an insult to a white man . . ." (1899: 79). The first meeting is adjourned to Dato' Dagang's disappointment in not being able to bribe the British officer. Later that day, Dato' Dagang again comes alone to meet the author, this time at the author's residence. Without any shame by his earlier failed attempt, he re-offers the bribe in which he says, "You [Swettenham] were quite right today, and I was stupid. There were many people present, and you could not do otherwise than to decline the Dato' Bandar's gift. But now, it is dark, there is no one here, and I have brought the money" (ibid., 80-81). Obviously, the only lesson he learns from the earlier incident is that the author does not take the

money in the presence of witnesses. Dato' Dagang, despite the author's earlier warning, is obviously unaware that British officers do not accept bribes even if there is no one around! This is the sort of 'burning moral principles' of the West, Swettenham seems to suggest, that Eastern people lack.

To add to his idiosyncrasy, after the failure of his second attempt, Dato' Dagang gives the money to Tuan Sheikh instead. Sheikh is the author's friend, who happens to be Dato' Bandar's son-in-law. A few years pass and Dato' Dagang has gone home to his country when the author receives a letter from the Colonial Secretary at Singapore asking him to repay a thousand dollars, the money the author lent Dato' Bandar. We do not exactly know what Dato' Dagang, the middleman, has told Dato' Bandar about the one thousand dollars he gave to Tuan Sheikh, but we assume what happened—he must have told Dato' Bandar that the author had accepted the money as a loan.

Swettenham's bravery and familiarity with the Malays is depicted in the short story entitled "A Silhouette." The story tells of Swettenham's meeting with one of the great Malay warriors at his residence. The author, as he was also a gifted artist, takes this chance to draw the warrior's portrait while simultaneously conversing with him. The story ends with the warrior realizing what the author is doing and the latter generously shows the visitor the portrait.

Swettenham writes at the beginning of the story, “amongst Malays of the Peninsula, the most picturesque figure is that of the Famous Seyyid. He has come to see me . . .” (ibid., 224). The words ‘he has come’ connotes a submissive attitude on the side of the Malay despite being “a man of war . . . and one of the famous of the Malay fighting-chiefs . . .” (ibid., 227). The words also suggest, in terms used by Herbert Spencer, the relationship of ‘the captured-the guardian,’ the author being the guardian and the Famous Seyyid being the captured. The relationship, added Spencer, “therefore always depend[s] on the successful assertion of power” (Thornton, 1966b: 74) by the guardian. The phrase “He has come” indicates the subservient attitude of the Seyyid and the successful assertion of power by the author. It is even surprising to know that at the end of the story, upon discovering that the author is drawing the Seyyid’s portrait, the latter, having realized that the host is not fully concentrating on their conversation, is not outraged by it.

This short story depicts the adventurous spirit of the author having welcomed his old enemy alone into his house, albeit the danger he faces as “the only white man” (Swettenham, 1899: 66). By telling the audience back home the author declares his bravery. This is the characteristic of a white man, in this case a British officer acting on behalf of the British imperial agenda, illustrates not only his friendliness but that of what Jawarharlal Nehru, in his autobiography has described as “the calm assurance of always being in the right” (Thornton, 1966b: 72) quoted earlier. The success of imperialism, wrote Lord Curzon lies heavily with service. “In Empire,” he wrote, “we have found not merely the key to glory and wealth, but the

call to duty and the means of service to mankind.” Of the service to mankind, Curzon added, that it ‘depended on one’s conduct and character’ (ibid., 72). The author’s bravery demonstrates a quality of good conduct and character of a serviceman to the Empire. Towards the end of the story, the author includes his conversation with the warrior, which runs as follows:

You have been writing while I have talked,” says the Seyyid; “may I ask what you have written about?”

“I have been trying to make a silhouette of you.”

“What is a silhouette?”

“Roughly speaking, it is a profile portrait, in black, on a white background.”

“Here,” I say, showing him the paper on which I am writing; “and you see, I have only used black and white.”

“Ah!” he says, “I understand; it is the black and the white of me. Do not make it too black. A silhouette can only be true in outline.”

“Very well,” I reply; “I will put in the colours.”

(Swettenham, 1899: 231)

In concluding this short story, the author’s choice of words “I will put in the colours” exposes his ‘true’ colour. He begins by imposing his opinion and rule over what the Seyyid has admittedly said he has understood about a silhouette. He does not want to listen to Seyyid’s suggestion that a silhouette should not be ‘too black.’ He does not pay much attention to Seyyid’s opinion that ‘a silhouette can only be true in outline.’ He does not permit the Seyyid to exercise any authority upon his work of art. The author puts in the colours even at the expense of neglecting his own original intention of drawing a silhouette as long as the Seyyid as a captive or, in Edward Said’s term an Oriental, does not dominate him.

This last part of the story has clearly depicted the author's Orientalist mood. He is "making statements about it [the Orient], authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978: 3). Using the power of writing, Swettenham, as the narrator, "is both exhibit and an exhibitor, winning two confidences at once, displaying two appetites for experience: the Oriental one for engaging companionship (or so it seems) and the Western one for authoritative, useful knowledge" (ibid., 160).

The drawing of the portrait is a form of preserving knowledge and profiles of the past and has its own hey-day back in eighteenth century with prominent figures like Mrs. Beetham and Edouart (Coke, 1913: 30). Hence, the drawing of a silhouette, "Nature's own art real art, the shadow" (ibid., 38), serves his purpose as a colonist to capture an object as what photography does in our modern times. In his own words, Swettenham hopes "the pictures appeal to one's sense of the Beautiful in Art, the modest enumeration of the manifold virtues of the simples and the syrups brings us face to face with Truth" (Swettenham, 1899: vi). The act of drawing, while talking to the object being drawn, offers an episode of symbolic implications between the captured-guardian relationships. It could be argued that in the process of colonization, the colonist tries to form a close relationship with the local inhabitants. The above episode demonstrates the kind of colonists endeavor to keep themselves distant from local people by treating the latter as a subject or as an object of study. To the colonists, even the Famous Seyyid, is being reduced to a mere black and

white painting. It is the fate of the Orientals that they “were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analyzed not as citizens, or even people . . .” (Said, 1978: 207).

However, from the discourse of modernity, the conversation between the colonial author and the famous Seyyid reveals different meanings. The author seems to give his so-called colonial ‘subject,’ famous Seyyid, the individual autonomy to express opinion—“Do not make it too black. A silhouette can only be true in outline,” as revolutionary especially in light of the colonizer-colonised relationship. As a colonial author, he allows Seyyid’s suggestion/intervention over his own ‘master plan’—the silhouette, as opposed to the usual practice of colonial encroachment on the natives. This allowance for individual autonomy is a very modern concept, and I think, it is the way that Swettenham imposes his understanding of modernity onto the Malays. He wants the Malays to be inquisitive. When the author responds by saying “Very well,” “ I will put in the colours,” he goes even further in not just accepting Seyyid’s opinion but also to introducing the Seyyid (and the Malays) to an innovation—colours.

As “knowledge was a product of the human mind, the operations of which could only interpret the world, and not to deliver it up in all its pristine reality” (Norris, 1982: 4), the use of a silhouette to represent a Malay fighting chief, may lead to a variety of readerly responses as we have seen above. It may be true that “there is simply no access to knowledge except by way of language and other,

related orders of representation” (ibid., 5), Edward Said may further argue that when it comes to the Orient, “representations [are] framed by the whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later Western empire” (Said, 1978: 202-3). Certainly, the very idea of choosing the title “A Silhouette,” a famous form of Western art, to represent a Malay fighting chief serves the objectives of the Société Asiatic program to “draw attention of the public, by means of a periodic collection devoted to Asiatic literature, to the scientific, literary, or poetic productions of the Orient and those of the same sort that produced regularly in Europe; to those facts about the Orient that could be relevant to Europe, to those discoveries and works of all kinds of which the Oriental peoples could become the subject” (ibid., 165). Swettenham’s remark is unquestionable to his readers at home for in “Local Colour” he justifies the following:

...if you live in the East for years – if you make yourself perfectly familiar with the language, literature, customs, prejudices, and superstitions of the people; if you lie on the same floor with them, eat out of the same dish with them, fight with them and against them, join them in their sorrows and their joys, and, at last, win their confidence and regard – then the reading of their characters is no longer an impossible task ... (1899: 265-6).

What Swettenham fails to mention above, other than the ‘down to earth’ approach is to indiscriminately participate in the Malays’ way of life in order to get to know them is a fact that as white, most colonial officers in Malaya behaved well only when they are in front of the native.¹ Being so, the Malays who are by nature, a very sympathetic people, learned to trust them or to a certain extent be loyal to them as

Clifford mentions in *In Court and Kampong* that “if he [the Malay] trusts a man, ...[he]...will do anything in the wide world at that man’s bidding” (1897a: 19).

Also, with such a firm belief in the loyalty of the Malays to their masters (as such that has been portrayed by Nakhodah Orlong), the British would be able to ensure the stability and progress of the Malays. Many Malays including their leaders such as Raja Haji Hamid begin to support the British in their military expeditions to put down the Malay rebellions. Thus, in 1901,² in *Bushwhacking*, Clifford includes the two parts of his own experience in military expeditions in the Malay States to say more about his bravery on one hand, and to affirm the Malays’ loyalty towards their colonial masters in the fight against their own Malay rebellions. They appeared as “Part I: Recollections of the Pahang Disturbances of December 1890-September 1891” and “Part II: The Expeditions into the ‘Benighted Lands’, July to August, 1894, and March to June, 1895.”

In his military expeditions, Clifford receives help from Sikh soldiers and the Malay followers since the latter “have learned to love [the peace] under British rule, they have a personal object to serve in aiding their white friend to remove all possibility of future from them by carrying the war into the enemy’s country.” The best part is that Clifford as the Resident can “gather together a hundred fighting Malays – villagers of his State, who follow him willingly at his invitation without pay or fee. Clifford gladly claims that, “the old feudal feeling, so strongly rooted in the people, has now been transferred from the native chiefs to himself” (1901: 82).

Nonetheless, Clifford takes chances when he brings hundreds of Malay fighters with him into such expeditions. His Malay followers and the rebels “are of the same race, born in the same land, [and] bred in the same faith,” (ibid., 62) Clifford acknowledges this—as Swettenham says above “fight with them and against them”—they could easily double cross him. The rebels are mostly religious persons propagating religious beliefs in their attempts to attract more Malay followers to join their groups to fight against the white men. Clifford is aware of this when he mentions “the marvelous cohesion of the Muhammadans stands them in good stead. *“Islam sama Islam! – “ We be Muhammadans amongst Muhammadans!”* they [the rebels] say, and the villagers give them their best unquestioningly, in the Prophet’s name” (ibid., 70). To be on the rebels’ side would mean to continue to endure the tortures of their unscrupulous leaders and their method of administration when they “fought so long against its dominion” (ibid., 66). Clifford takes his chances hoping that the Malays “have learned that the Europeans, with their quaint love of justice ... [are] forthcoming” (ibid., 62). To further ensure the loyalty of his Malay followers, Clifford brings along his loyal Malay chiefs to the expeditions. Food also has to be adequate as this is “the only luxury allowed” (ibid., 83) during such expeditions.

Having this security, Clifford begins his dangerous expeditions to the Pahang jungle, upstream and to the border of Pahang and beyond. Needless to say, the expeditions were successful. The rebellious personalities of Mat Kilau and Dato’ Bahaman actually existed in the history of Malaya and the expeditions to hunt them

down actually took place. The story Clifford narrates in these two parts stand as a social history of Malaya. In it are depicted Clifford's greatest achievements and the influence he has on the Malay followers. The rebels, Clifford proudly claims, "are the last of their breed – the last of the men who dared to pit their puny strength against the might of the British Raj" (ibid., 121). The next long quotation explains Clifford's imperialist stand as he concludes the two parts of his expeditions:

They [the rebels] are men who have loved, and enjoyed life greatly in the days before the coming of the white folk, who have fought manfully for years for those pleasures and privileges which mean the misery of the peasants born beneath their heels, and now comes a merciful ending to the struggle so wearily prolonged. Here let us leave them, the dreamers of dreams, the lost heroes of a date too late. "Here is tears for their love; joy for their fortune; honour for their valour; and death for their ambition! (ibid., 121)

Clifford's lines above come close to what Marx says in his article "The British Rule in India" where he writes the following:

Now, sickening as it must to human feeling to witness these myriads of industrious patriarchal and inoffensive social organizations disorganized and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilization and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires, the penetration of unspeakable cruelties, the massacre of the population of large towns, with no other consideration bestowed upon them than on natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who deigned to notice it at all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence, evoked on the other part, in contradiction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction, and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindostan. We must not

forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man to be the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey, and Sabbala, the cow (Avineri, 1969: 93-94).

Apparently, Marx's observation of India matches that of Clifford's in Malaya especially when the two shared and expressed their sorrows over the social conditions of the natives. As modern individuals, they are quick to notice the injustices and lawlessness which contribute to social disorganizations and disorders on the part of the natives and wish for an end to these matters. Since Marx claims that there is no historical change and/or internal mechanism of change in the Oriental society, he agrees that the British occupation of Asia could provide the external social forces, perhaps a revolution, to modernize those countries and emancipate the natives from their stagnant backwardness. In his own words, Marx says, "England has to fulfill a double mission in India [and other colonised territories]; one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundation of Western society in Asia" (ibid.,15). As Marx was a social commentator, his writings provide the dialectical necessity for modernization and thus made it imperative for European penetration into the underdeveloped non-Western societies. As a rule of thumb, it was persons like Swettenham and Clifford who made those 'double missions' that Marx talked about possible for the two have witnessed the 'transitions' in Malaya under their administrations.

Obviously, in order for the British to bring and maintain peace in Pahang, cooperation from the locals is very much needed. In “At the Heels of the White Man,” Clifford narrates the cooperation he received from a local Headmen named Alang Abdollah. The story is about a Headman, who hates Ram Singh, the police officer in charge, but the former is willing to work together with the white man’s government to bring down the Chinese gang robbers. This is one of the characteristics of the Malays which Clifford admires the most. They “are less fanatical than any other Muhammadans in Asia, and a man of this race will tolerate ... [even the Infidel like Ram Singh]” (Clifford, 1897b: 136).

By the summer of 1902,³ Clifford arrives in London to escort the Malay King, of whom he considers as “the mildest mannered man that ever scuttled ship or cut a throat,” (1929: 181) (this reminds us that Swettenham used the same epigraph to describe the Malays earlier) and a few other Chiefs for the Coronation of King Edward VII. The moment they dock at the harbour, some of the Chiefs begin to “shake their heads and ejaculate the names of Allah and His Prophet” (ibid., 185), a way of expressing their feeling of panic and at the same time impressed by the scene of the city of London. At the Hotel Cecil, being unfamiliar with the modern bedroom, “two of the Chiefs [are] sleeping on the *outside* of their beds, with only a silk coverlet, such as is used in their own country, pulled up about their necks... [because]... in their own country a sleeping-mat is a sleeping-mat, and bed-clothes do not exist” (italic in original). In order to avoid them freezing, Clifford shows them

the right way of using the modern bed. The next morning, those Chiefs exclaim, "How great is the intelligence of the white folk! Those sleeping-mats, which have insides to them, are indeed a splendid invention!" (ibid., 187) After the London tour, the Chiefs may have forgotten about the sleeping-mats altogether. They have seen many more things, "wonderful things, which, when we [the Chiefs] tell of it, our folk at home will by no means believe." At last, one of the Chiefs says, "Now ... I understand why time is valued so highly by white people" (ibid., 188). Of the many Chiefs who go to London, there is an old Chief who detests the whole experience, especially the climate and the "roar and the rush of London [that] irked him; the absence of greenery and of sun-glare was at once unnatural and unutterably depressing; he could see nothing to admire, and a great deal to dislike..." (ibid., 189-190).

On the supposed day of the ceremony, King Edward was compelled to submit to an immediate operation for appendicitis and His Majesty's Coronation was indefinitely postponed. The calamity of this news shocks both the British and their Malay guests but not the Malay Sultan. He accepts the news as "the will of Allah.... To-day and to-morrow – until the danger of the King be passed – I go not forth from my dwelling. I will *semba-hiang hajat* – recite prayers for my Intention – (viz., for King Edward's safety.) "To him my service is due, for to him I owe – everything." Therefore, by having a person such as the Malay Sultan, "surely there is hope for a race," Clifford seems to imply. The purpose of visiting London, the great city of the Empire, is for the Malay rulers to become "loyal and enthusiastic Imperialists" (ibid.,

196), maintaining faith in the supremacy of the Empire. Such an exposure creates admiration on the side of the Malay rulers, ensures a complete faith in the greatness of the Empire and gives the British easy access to implement their modernization programmes on the Malays.

Truly, in the eyes of the British, the creation of the new generation of Malay Rulers would help the British transform and modernize the Malays. But the process of producing such loyal and enthusiastic Malay Rulers is not easy. It involves many human factors including environmental and cultural differences, which may produce undesirable results. Clifford, being creative, imaginative and skeptical at the same time, wishes to explore such human experimentation in his work of fiction. Hence, *Sally: A Study*.

Sally: A Study is the story of a young Malay raja who receives his education in England, perhaps, in the vision of the Colonial Officer to create a western-trained local administrator. It is in fact a study of how a person manages to maintain his cultural identity and at the same time absorb the imposing western one. It is still a theory “since the opportunity had been thrust upon him (Saleh), to work it out in practice” (1904a: 41). Saleh, the protagonist in this story could have loosely come from the familiar name of a local rebel of North Borneo, Mat Salleh when Clifford served as a governor there. The character of Saleh’s father, the old King, reminds us of the old chief in “Piloting Princes” who hates the climate and the hustle and bustle of London, let alone the western culture. There is also a high hope that by exposing

Saleh to “a high standard of civilization, with its exalted moral code and nobler ideas” (ibid.), it will make him a ‘loyal and an enthusiastic imperialist’ as demonstrated by the Malay Sultan in the “Piloting Princes” above.

Jack Norris, the British Resident who is responsible for escorting Saleh to England and introducing him to Mrs. Le Mesurier of Winchester, Saleh’s caretaker, is also another familiar name in Clifford’s fictional characters. Norris appears earlier in *Since the Beginning* (we will discuss this novel in detail in the next chapter) as a British Resident but does not play an active role in the novel (in 1898, Clifford gives Norris’ first name as John), and is an active figure in the story as a political agent in “At the Court of Pelesu.” In both his works of fiction, Norris stands as Clifford’s disguise.

Saleh or Sally, the latter being his English name is more or less a woman’s name rather than that of a man, is sent to England at the age of fourteen to be educated. He leaves behind not only his old father and mother but also the privileges and childhood’s experiences of any young Malay raja. As Saleh innocently says “When I am big I will take all the women I choose and use them villainously – ay, and keep them, too, if so I wish!” (ibid., 16), an attitude that surely reminds us of the old regime of the Malay King. As Saleh approaches the city of London, he shares the same impression as the one experienced by the local Chief when they visit England in the “Piloting Princes.” “The size, the dingy ugliness, the noise, the hurry of London combined to awe him; the great towering buildings, blackened with

smoke..." (ibid., 26) begin to irritate his first impression of the country. Luckily for the Chiefs in "Piloting Princes" their stay is just a matter of days, but for Saleh, it is in England where he will spend the next five years or so.

Saleh shows the utmost resistance at the beginning of his stay in Mabel's household despite her motherly appearance. Back home, Saleh's own mother would not possibly show motherly love—even having a meal together, "his own mother would not have dreamed of taking such a liberty" (ibid., 35). The first lesson that Saleh has to learn is the idea of punctuality. "The household was as punctual as a nicely adjusted piece of clockwork, and he, who had never been taught the value of time, chafed at the extravagant importance which the Le Mesuriers attached to never being so much as a minute late for meals, play, or lessons. Then discipline -- another thing entirely new to him -- had come to the ordering of his days" (ibid., 33). These two lessons (punctuality and discipline) become his life's tyranny. In Malaya, he is "always having as his right the best of everything that is going; always pampered and petted, flattered and adulated; always taught that his whims are above aught else, that his desires are given to him to satisfy, not to restrain; always applauded most loudly for his naughtiest deeds and sayings" (ibid., 17). In addition, there are also ideas such as "honor, duty, [and] morality" (ibid., 35), which suddenly carry different meanings in his everyday life. The duty of honouring the lady at the dining table is far too offensive in terms of his upbringing that "even his own mother would not have dreamed of taking such a liberty with her son" (ibid., 35), but, here in England, he is

obliged to do so, in addition to many other things which appear to be incongruous from his cultural background.

Therefore, the first challenge Saleh had to face was in choosing between his eastern cultural upbringing or the new western one, which was very alien to him. The first twelve months were certainly the most challenging period of adjustment for Saleh in his new setting. But as Swettenham reminds us earlier that as a Malay, Saleh “looks askance on all innovations, and will resist their sudden introduction. But if he has time to examine them carefully, and they are not thrust upon him, he is willing to be convinced of their advantage” (1895: 3). With Mabel’s friendship, guidance and encouragement, Saleh begins to adjust and be less homesick. He even begins to obtain “his first glimpse of the kindness, the sanctity, and the exquisite purity of English family life” (Clifford, 1904a: 39). Indeed, for a boy who feels “himself to be a thing of torn and bleeding roots plucked wantonly from the soil in which they have won a hold,” (ibid., 18) Saleh is fast adjusting to his new environment. Saleh adapts to his new surroundings not only “with ease and comfort, but with keen pleasure, taking active pride in living up to the high standard” (ibid., 39) of western civilization. By the end of his five years stay in England, Clifford writes, “the denationalization of Raja Saleh was a completed fact...[that within him] ... the Malayan soul lay dead, or slumbering, and in its stead had been born the soul of a clean-minded, honest-thinking, self-respecting Englishman” (ibid., 40).

At this juncture, we begin to get the glimpse of Clifford's concern over Saleh's extensive exposure to western education. He is absorbing everything that is western and is leaving his eastern roots behind which will eventually make him deracinated (denationalized). In the truest sense of the word, deracinated signifies that Saleh has adopted a western perspective which might not be compatible with his eastern cultural upbringing, or as the famous Macaulay's 'Minute' (1835) states, Saleh has become a member of "a class of persons Indian [in Saleh's case, Malay] in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (quoted in Bhabha, 1994: 87). To test Saleh's deracination, Clifford brings in another character, a nameless little Princess, whom Saleh meets during his visit to the Fairfax family of Richmond. The little Princess is a descendent of an Indian royal family. Unlike Saleh, she is very critical of her English upbringing and does not absorb the English's tastes or opinions as opposed to Macaulay's assumption above. On one occasion, the little Princess, after bragging about her lineage, tells Saleh that the Indians will "drive them [the Englishmen] out of India, and my people will go back and reign as before in their own land!" Her statement outrages Saleh! He replies, "That is nonsense! You could never turn *us* out. *We* are much too strong..." (Clifford, 1904a: 54)(my emphasis), using 'us' and 'we' as if he were an Englishmen addressing England's superiority, to which the little Princess replies by accusing him of being a coward. In response to her accusation, Saleh admittedly says, "I am not a coward and I do like the English... They are just people and very kind people" (ibid., 58). With that proud note, Saleh leaves the little Princess with her frustration over not winning him over.

Saleh's pride confirms his acceptance of the western perspective as he associates himself as being part of the British Empire, and pays no heed to his own Eastern civilization, as opposed to the little Princess who is proud of her lineage. Clifford seems to be arguing that culture constitutes an important element of a civilization that the moment Saleh leaves behind his cultural heritage, he is denying his Malay civilization and has no pride left. The fact that the little Princess is not susceptible to being deracinated suggests something else about Saleh and his race; either Saleh is a weak person or his Malayan heritage does not put stress on such matters. But Saleh's cultural hybridity will soon experience what Bhabha calls the struggle of cultural 'in-between' whereby Saleh begins to feel displaced in his British surroundings (1994: 13-15).

After such a short acquaintance with the Fairfax's daughter, Alice, Saleh begins to admire her. Alice, on the other hand, considers Saleh "little more than a child" (Clifford, 1904a: 65) and he "was not a man like other marriageable men" and continues "to be 'nice' to Saleh" (ibid., 63). Saleh, the denationalized, does not realize that by following 'his heart's desire,'—"he loved Alice Fairfax with all the fire of his Malayan temperament, but also with the reverence, the purity, the idealism of a European lover" (ibid., 67) – will cause him a far more lasting injury. Saleh lives in "a fool's paradise," (ibid.) until the little Princess comes to his rescue for the second time. The little Princess purposely brings Saleh close enough to listen to a conversation between Major Dalton and Alice at a party. Only then does Saleh begin

to believe that Alice is not at all in love with him. The truth hurts Saleh but he blames himself for it. Saleh says, "I hate myself because I can't be one of them" (ibid., 83), finally admitting his limitation. This incident is surely the last straw that breaks the camel's back. Saleh had been 'taken in' (ibid., 87) by it, and had been the lone victim of this deception. Fortunately, Jack Norris is within reach for he had just returned from the East and it is he that Saleh turns to.

The five-year span in England has changed Saleh "to become an Englishman," (ibid., 98) and this is a "flaw in the theory from the beginning," Norris argues that Saleh "has been so busy aping Englishmen for so long, consciously at first, less consciously later, but aping always, that the thing had become a habit" (ibid., 99). Clifford seems to suggest, Saleh's western education should have rigorously taught him to be a good administrator, but not an Englishman. Having seen the failure of Saleh's education, Norris persuades him to return with him to Pelesu with the hope that the East as "a wonderful place ... [would] ... weaves its own spells – spells whose magic even a white man can feel" (ibid., 105). It is the white man's last hope.

The story actually ends here which is Clifford's original intention. He puts "The End" to the story in his last installment of *Sally: A Study* but the publisher put "To Be Continued." With the feeling that he had been challenged by his readers for 'a vile practical joke,' Clifford continued writing the second part *Saleh: A Sequel* in one month.⁴ Even if the publisher had not put "to be continued" at the end of *Sally: A*

Study, the general reader would have felt a sense of incompleteness in the story. Most would want to see the impact of his western upbringing, especially the education he received in England and its influence on him on his return to Malaya. We have yet to see the actual flaw of the theory as far as witnessing Saleh's limitation in his social life. The publisher intentionally promised a sequel for the general readers would have expected this from the story.

There are probably two expectations from the readers. What we have seen so far is the development of a character named Saleh in a western setting, which has accidentally assimilated him to the western culture, mostly by the habit of imitating them. Saleh becomes a person who embraces western culture too much which enabled him to associate himself more easily in the white man's social circle. The worst part is that he forgets his own cultural identity as a Malay. Therefore, it is not enough to test Saleh on the western ground by having him meet the little Princess. It could still be an individual flaw. The readers want to see Saleh, who blames himself for everything and realizes his limitations, regain his original identity, which requires him, if possible, to leave everything that is western in him. The readers want to see the actual outcome of Saleh's re-assimilation in his original setting.

Secondly, Saleh's western education has enabled him to see things from a white man's perspective. He embraces the glory of the Empire and her achievements in all the continents of the world. He identifies himself as British, not as Malayan. After his intellectual encounters with the little Princess, and the failure of his love

affair, the readers want to see Saleh change his western perspective and overcome what he finds lacking in himself. In other words, how is the magic of the East going to heal the wounds of his western scars, both intellectual and personal, or will they deteriorate further?

Saleh: A Sequel is supposed to provide the answers to the above question or does it. Clifford begins the sequel by describing Saleh's resistance on leaving England. Saleh says, "this [England] is *my* land" (1908: 117)(italic in original), emphasizing that England is his mother country. This is something of a surprise to his readers especially in view of Saleh's vehement attack in glorifying the Empire and the discovery that he "was divided from them [the English] by the accident of colour" (Clifford, 1904a: 44). This hinders his privileges as a young man in falling in love with the English lady. Most readers would assume that Saleh would willingly want to leave England. He drags his feet upon leaving for his country after which Norris, now the claimed expert on the Malay language and its idiomatic expressions, rightly says "The eel returning to its mud, the *sirih*-leaf to its vine, the betel-nut to its twig!" (1908: 117), persuading Saleh that his return is the best possible choice.

On his voyage home, as the ship is approaching Asia, Saleh, still forgetful of his cultural identity, takes Stella, an Australian lady, to dance. This causes much embarrassment to her Australian side of the family who then tells Stella to leave the ballroom immediately. Saleh is horrified by this incident. Nevertheless, this serves as

evidence that Saleh's western heritage is still engrained in him even as he approaches home.

Upon arriving at his father's palace, Saleh is not received by his parents. His father is sleeping and his mother is sick, the two reasons being "a euphemism, as he [Saleh], who had been free of the inner precincts of the palace, knew well, and they meant in plain language that the king [and the queen] did not mean to allow ...[themselves] ... to be bothered" (ibid., 134-135), a typical excuse of the Malay monarchy. A half an hour later, Tungku Anjang, his half-brother comes to welcome him. The latter, however, accuses Saleh of being a half-caste for he "dresses like a white man and ... he weareth boots in the audience-hall" (ibid., 138). When Saleh first met Jack Norris a long time ago at his father's palace, he used to tell this same remark – "And thou wearest boots – even in the king's hall!" (Clifford, 1904a: 15). Clifford purposely created the Tungku Anjang's character in order to serve as a comparison between Saleh's past and present. Saleh should have by now realized how far he is already absorbed in the white man's culture.

That evening Saleh manages to see his own mother whom he has not met for the past six years. The hug he receives from his mother, Saleh feels, is not as passionate as the hug he received from Mabel, his adopted mother. Saleh, after listening to a repertoire of complaints that his mother makes against his father, begins to pity her. The King has practically abandoned his first wife, Saleh's mother, for a concubine, and has not given her a monthly allowance. She has become an

addicted opium smoker in order to help her put up with her circumstances and her husband's injustice.

A week later, Saleh, at last, is permitted to see his father. The meeting, however, is not the moment of joy cherished by two people, father and son who have lived apart for six long years, but is a battle for confronting each other's values. The King takes "no notice of any kind," even when Saleh "bent at last to kiss the king's knee" (Clifford, 1908: 159). His father is no longer the man who used to support or encourage Saleh when he was young. Saleh confronts his King, an old King, who happens to be his father.

"And in the white men's land the people are without manners, decency, or morals" (ibid., 163), the King says dogmatically, intentionally to cause anger in Saleh, to which Saleh says innocently, "No, Majesty, I noticed nothing of the kind" (ibid., 163). The answer Saleh gave causes more anger to the King, adding up to an already heated conversation. He begins by giving the example that men and women are allowed to dance indiscriminately, and kiss each other shamelessly, this practice causes harm and is not fitting in the East. At first, Saleh disagrees with his father but judging that "explanation, he [Saleh] felt, was hopeless" (ibid., 164), Saleh just keeps quiet, which makes him subject to further condemnation.

The confrontation between the two rulers, a father and his son, partly manifests the failure of Saleh's western upbringing, this is what Clifford wants to

highlight here. Saleh sees what is "Oriental from the standpoint of the European," which makes him bewildered in arguing about western culture with his father. To Saleh, everything that he sees in the west is acceptable from his western point of view. The King, however, looks at the "West through the eyes of the East" (ibid., 165), hence, everything is harmful and not fitting. There is nothing that the two would agree on.

There is another aspect of the confrontation, which is important as the novel develops. The King's resentment towards the British and its policies caused him to glorify his past and the unlimited power he used to exercise before the coming of the white men. The western power limits his jurisdiction in his state by having a Resident for consultation before any plan can be executed. To accept Saleh would also mean to accept the continuation of western dominance in his state, hence, limited power prevails. To the King, Saleh is just another white man, and no longer his son. Saleh is therefore trapped between the rejection of his own family and the alien identity he embraces. He must begin to find his own identity.

After one month of getting himself re-acquainted with his own people, Saleh begins to "conform to things as he found them. He spends his times discussing "the points of rival fighting-cocks or decoy doves, [and] by listening for hours to... the tales ... of brave days of old, each one of which served to make more manifest to Saleh the ugliness and the hollowness of the present" (ibid., 175). Saleh also observes that his father, the King, although "was still nominally the ruler of the state,

he was euphemistically said to govern 'by the advice of the British Resident,' all things were done by the white men in his name... had no power, and very little even of influence," (ibid., 177) as compared to the old days. In the midst of his observations, Raja Pahlawan Indut, and Raja Haji Abdullah come to influence him further. Saleh who "kindles to ...stories of the past; he hateth the mean of today" (ibid., 179), takes delight in the dreaming of wild dreams—to "drive them [the Englishmen] out of" (ibid., 54) Pelesu, the way the little Princes suggested earlier.

However, white men always have their plan. Having realized the mistake in educating Saleh in the west, the white men try to reacclimatize the "deracinated" Saleh by training him to be a local colonial administrator. First, he is sent to work at the office of the Secretariat for twelve months to learn the daily office routine from ten to four o'clock at Kuala Pekara, a beautiful town where the British Resident lives. Hence, he is once more living in the white men's environment with clubs and billiards, balls and dances. Nevertheless, deep inside him, in his own land, he "learned to perceive the barrier of difference" between him and that of white society. "The Malays did not try to transform white men into Malays," (ibid., 196) yet the white men has transformed him into an Englishman and now he has to work rigorously like the white men.

More work comes with his new appointment as a tax collector in a new district, Bandar Baharu, under Baker, the District Officer after the Resident finds him "slack" (ibid., 212). The new appointment, however, puts Saleh in misery for is he

not the “lang Mulia Raja Muhammad Saleh, a scion of a royal house, should be called upon in any circumstances to perform “coolie work” such as this?” It is “Ta’ patut It is not fitting!” (ibid., 204), says his Malay followers. While performing this abominable task, Saleh is afflicted with malaria. He is sent to his mother’s house and receives proper attention there. He, however, does not die of malaria. He develops a strong immunity against malaria just like any of his fellow Asiatic brown people. Something else does develop though, his relationship with Munah, her mother’s servant, during the course of nursing him. He and Munah get married even though it is against the advise of both his royal parents for Munah is just a servant, not of royal blood. To cover the shame caused by Saleh’s unapproved marriage, the King asks Saleh to marry Tungku Meriam, Saleh’s cousin. Many more marriages and divorces take place after this for Saleh cannot find the ideal wife to marry, an idea represented by Alice Fairfax.

In the course of five years after his return from England, Saleh has become the leader of a rebellion against the British Empire, having Raja Pahlawan Indut as his chief-in-command. The rebels are using Saleh’s name as he is the young prince of Pelesu to gather more Malay followers to fight against the Infidel—the white men. It is worth pointing out that Clifford, after years of spending his life in Malaya, notices how Islam as a religion could also be a source of fanaticism to the Malays. In a sense, fanaticism has become synonymous with Islam during the early days of the colonial encounter in Malaya as in present day Malaysia. Religion as an entity is not within the prerogative of the British colonial government as stated in the Pangkor

Engagement 1874 we came across earlier, yet it has become the important source of influence for the rebellions to take place in Malaya as in the present novel.

Towards the end of the novel, the British manages to counter the attacks made by these rebels, hence, forcing Saleh and his army to retreat to a place called Ulu Penyudah, literally translated as 'The End.' Around this time, Saleh hears the news about his old friend, Jack Norris who comes with one of the British reinforcement armies to bring him down. Saleh is sad to hear this news, even more when Norris asks him to give himself up. Saleh has gone too far that he cannot go back – he is now an “outlaw” (ibid., 242). However, this outlaw has the heart to go back and see his old friend. Unfortunately, as he creeps into Jack Norris’s camp, Saleh is mistakenly murdered. Saleh dies in the arms of Jack Norris, a person who is responsible for his fate – “unfitted by training to be a Malay raja, unsuited by nature to be an Englishman” (ibid.).

No matter how much Clifford admires the Malay Sultan in “Piloting Princes” for the latter’s loyalty towards the King of England after being introduced to Western civilization, Clifford continues to emphasize in *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* that to educate the Malay Raja in England is still a “theory—a beautiful theory” (1926a: 41), that the result may not necessarily be desirable, anticipating the ambiguity of modernity. Clifford admits this ambiguity when he writes, “Even the omniscience and the omnipotence of the white men have their limitations” (ibid.). The consequences of modernity as Giddens suggests in his metaphor the “Juggernaut” as

a machine sometimes “veers away erratically in directions we cannot foresee” (1990: 139).⁵

The failure of ‘the theory—a beautiful theory’ could be explained from a point of view of modernity. In many ways, Clifford’s skepticism over the success in educating Saleh in England and making him a better administrator has everything to do with the nature of modernity itself that requires total change. Clifford is correct to be skeptical about his government’s policy because he knows that modernization has to come with economic and political changes, not just personal/individual change, even though it has to start from the latter. The implication is, of course, that in order to be successful, modernization has to be total and must change the whole order of society. This cannot be achieved by purely political or administrative reforms, as Marx would argue, but has to be predicated upon a prior structural change in socioeconomic relations. The change in the political level alone, as in the case of Raja Saleh, will not be successful because no measures has been taken to assess the degree of preparedness of the ordinary Malays or *ra’ayat* and the rest of the Malay upper class to accept the change that Saleh would bring back to Malaya. Change has to affect all levels at the same time and in the following chapter, we will come across, in the writing of the two colonial officers, these personal/individual changes.

For the time being, we have learned that even though the two colonial writers understand the truths that the Malays ‘fear’ their Rajas and the British found it easy to administer the Malays by influencing their rulers, the modernization process has to

be done at all levels of the Malay society in order for it to be effective. What Swettenham will explore in his “At a Funeral” and “A Mezzotint” and Clifford in his *Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* is that the ordinary *ra’ayat* has to be made ready for the changes that will affect them in the course of modernization, be it socially or economically rather than just politically. But as far as the colonial discourse is concerned, the two authors dare to stand against the leading colonial agenda to educate the Malays’ upper class overseas. The consequences of modernity encompass all sectors of human’s life, and because it begins during the colonial era, the opportunity had been thrust upon the British government to work it out in practice and to make it as successful as possible. At best what the two colonial authors could do during their tenures in Malaya was to instill modernity on the personal level, as the next chapter will emphasize.