

## THE PEOPLING OF ULU LANGAT\*

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The settlement of Ulu Langat occurred between the end of the Selangor Civil War in 1874 and about 1920, by which time the village pattern of the *mukim* (small administrative sub-division) was established. To understand the background, however, one must sketch in the early history of Selangor and outline the course of the Civil War, before focusing upon Ulu Langat as an example of the development of one particular mukim from the setback of the civil war period to the eve of the Japanese occupation. It is described from a particular vantage point, but the individuals who made the action were Sumatrans, and their colonizing initiative is part of the greater history of the Malaysian peoples. The currents of this history were barely disturbed by the colonial interlude.

The State of Selangor is based on five river systems. Its northern border with neighboring Perak is the valley of the Sungei (River) Bernam. Next to the south is the Sungei Selangor, where the first chief to take the title of Sultan set up his base; then the Sungei Klang, on which lie Klang town, the modern State capital, and further inland Kuala Lumpur, literally Muddy Confluence, the elegant and prosperous capital of the Federation of Malaysia; further south is the Sungei Langat, near the mouth of which is Bandar, the seat of the Sultan during the Civil Wars, 1866 to 1873, which preceded and precipitated British intervention. The southern boundary was marked by the Sungei Lukut valley, now part of Negri Sembilan under an administrative decision by the British in 1883, which exchanged

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Editors' Note: The spelling of terms in this article will follow current Malay usage rather than the Indonesian transliterations usually employed in this journal.

- \* During the academic year 1967-68, I was in Malaysia, engaged on a study of the role of the Malay vernacular school in the rural areas during the period 1900-1940. This research was funded by a grant from the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Part of this work involved a local survey in a selected area, and for this purpose, I chose the *mukim* of Ulu Langat, one of the older Malay Reserved Areas, just south of Kuala Lumpur. This suited my purpose well, for I was particularly interested in the part played by education in the making of the peninsular Malay, and the people of Ulu Langat are predominantly of Sumatran origin.



the Lukut district of Selangor with Semenyih, formerly in Negri Sembilan.<sup>1</sup>

The first Sultan of Selangor was a Bugis raja who assumed the title in 1742. The Bugis, from the Celebes, had begun to arrive on the west coast of Malaya towards the end of the seventeenth century. After Raja Lumu took the title of Sultan Sallehudin in 1742, two other Bugis chiefs settled in the Selangor area--Raja Tua at Klang, and Daeng Kemboja at Linggi, south of Lukut. The Bugis met with considerable opposition at first, both from the Malay rulers in Perak and Johore and from the Dutch who were masters of Malacca, but they managed to consolidate their position, and by 1770, Sultan Sallehudin had strengthened his legitimacy by a marriage to a niece of the Sultan of Perak. Sultan Mohamed of Perak "invested Sallehudin with the insignia of Malay royalty [and] also attended the subsequent installation ceremony in Selangor."<sup>2</sup> To this alliance he soon added another, by marrying his own daughter to the future Sultan of Kedah, the most northerly of the western Malay states.

The Selangor dynasty was a junior branch of a Bugis family which had settled at Riau (Tg. Pinang) and made it a trading post which rivaled Dutch Malacca. In 1784, the second Sultan became involved in a Riau-Malacca war and was for a time driven out by the Dutch, but in the following year, after re-establishing himself, he came to terms with Malacca, and agreed to make it Selangor's principal export outlet. Selangor produced tin which was exploited not by the Bugis but by people originating from Sumatra.

Sultan Ibrahim continued to improve his position after the settlement with Malacca and, in the early 1800's, began to extend his interests northward in a bid to dominate Perak also and gain a share of its tin exports. From 1804 until 1824, when the Anglo-Dutch Treaty consolidated British predominance in the peninsula and caused them to take a stronger hand in the regulation of affairs, Selangor controlled the Perak coastline. By the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1826, the British guaranteed that Selangor would keep out of the affairs of Perak, which was a nominal vassal of Siam. The effect of this was to confirm the

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1. Mohamed Amin Hassan, "Raja Bot bin Raja Jumaat," Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society [JMBRAS], 40/2 (Dec. 1967), p. 77. Raja Bot was the chief of Lukut at this time.
  2. John Michael Gullick, A History of Selangor, 1742-1957 (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1960), p. 22. I am much indebted to Gullick for his skillful summary of a highly complicated period of Malay history. See also R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Selangor (1680-1874)," JMBRAS, 12/3 (Oct. 1934), pp. 1-34.

Bernam valley as the northern limit of Selangor. The treaty coincided with the death of Sultan Ibrahim in the same year.

Selangor's population at this time was very small, certainly not more than 12,000, and the export tin production of the state amounted to some fifteen to twenty tons per month.<sup>3</sup> The limitations of its resources gave rise to an anarchic situation after the death of the second Sultan, for as Gullick describes it, the raja class, which had grown rapidly, had only two acceptable occupations: to become "a trader and a businessman, more particularly a miner or an exporter of tin," or "the profession of arms."<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim's successor Mohamed was ineffective as a ruler and inefficient as a businessman, and his reign, which lasted until 1857, saw the rise to power of more dynamic rajas, setting the scene for the Civil War which followed in 1866, ten years after his death. The imbalance of power was related to the encouragement of Chinese tin miners who began operations at Lukut in the 1820's.

Under the care of Raja Jaafar, a Bugis from Riau, and Raja Jumaat, his son, Lukut became the wealthiest mining center in Selangor by the mid-century. The Sultan also attempted to encourage Chinese miners in his immediate area, the Selangor and Klang valleys, but with less success. Twice, in 1839 and 1846, he got into difficulties with creditors in Malacca, and Raja Jumaat of Lukut rescued him, in return for recognition of greater autonomy for Lukut. When Mohamed died in 1857, Jumaat, though he had no legitimate claim himself, was in a position to influence the choice of a successor, Abdul Samad, in place of the Sultan's principal heir, who was a minor at the time. In return, Abdul Samad recognized a relative of Jumaat, Raja Abdullah, as ruler of the Klang river district.

Chinese miners began to move into areas other than Lukut, at the instance of other Selangor chiefs impressed by Lukut's success, in the 1840's. Sultan Mohamed had tried to establish them in the Klang river area without success, and Abdul Samad, as chief of the Selangor River area before his elevation to Sultan, encouraged them in his district with better results. In 1857, Raja Abdullah began to develop mining fields at Gombak and Ampang, just up-river from the present site of Kuala Lumpur, with a force of Chinese from Lukut. By 1859, success was sure and the Kuala Lumpur area began to undergo rapid development. In 1862, Yap Ah Loy arrived to take over the management of the

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3. H. Marriot, "Population of the Straits Settlements and Malay Peninsula during the last century," Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 62/- (Dec. 1912), p. 31.

4. Gullick, Selangor, p. 37.

miners as Capitan China.<sup>5</sup> It was under Ah Loy that the land at the confluence of the Klang and Gombak rivers began its development to become the principal town in the Malay States.

With the death of Sultan Mohamed, Raja Jumaat was the arbiter of the Selangor chiefs, though he himself could not become Sultan; but he died in 1864, and his sons Raja Bot and Raja Yahya were not of the same caliber. When another Selangor raja, Mahdi, who had a claim against Abdullah of Klang, rose against him, in concert with a group of Sumatran miners from up-river led by one Sutan Puasa, the Lukut faction was not in a position to do anything about it, and Raja Abdullah was driven out to exile in Malacca.<sup>6</sup>

In the Civil War that followed, Sultan Abdul Samad remained at Bandar, in Kuala Langat, where he had retired from Kuala Selangor in 1859 on becoming Sultan, and skillfully supported neither side while awaiting the outcome. The narrative of the war is one of shifting complexity which need not be detailed here. In principle, two warring factions emerged. One was led by Tunku Kudin, of the Kedah royal family, who had married the Sultan's daughter and was deputed by him to settle the dispute over Klang. This suited the interests of the Chinese miners under Yap Ah Loy, giving the Tunku powerful support; their side eventually won. The other side was led by the aggrieved Mahdi, supported by Selangor chiefs of the first Bugis line, who by now felt themselves sufficiently established to resent the interlopers from Riau, the Lukut faction. Mahdi also gathered support from the smaller groups of Sumatrans operating further inland, of whom the most notable was Sutan Puasa, who had always resented the Bugis rulers, and from Chinese mining factions opposed to Yap Ah Loy.<sup>7</sup>

The war involved Malacca and Penang in two ways. It directly concerned both British and Chinese tin interests, who were prepared to support belligerents in the hope of victory for their particular protégés and mining concessions as a reward. At the same time, the coastal alarums and excursions attending the fighting were considered by the Straits Settlements Administration to be acts of piracy, and in 1871, an officer was sent to pressure the Sultan into imposing a settlement, which the Sultan was not in a position to do. Finally, in 1874, at a time

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5. S. M. Middlebrook, "Yap Ah Loy," JMBRAS, 24/2 (July 1951), pp. 17-23.

6. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

7. Gullick, Selangor, pp. 62-64. Chap. 4, pp. 56-70, is perhaps the best brief account of the Civil War. Middlebrook's "Yap Ah Loy" has a longer and more detailed account.

when Tunku Kudin, Yap Ah Loy, and their followers were in the ascendant, with the arrival of Sir Andrew Clarke as Governor of the Straits Settlements and the initiation of a policy of direct intervention in the affairs of the Malay States, the Sultan was persuaded to accept a British Resident, who would be stationed at Klang with the Tunku, to advise him on the administration of the state. Raja Mahdi went into exile, and apart from a brief uprising in Ulu Langat of Sumatrans under Sutan Puasa, who was not ready to submit to this confirmation of the power of the Bugis sultanate,<sup>8</sup> "henceforth the Pax Britannica brought contentment and prosperity to Selangor and gave its people footballs in place of creese and cannon"!<sup>9</sup>

Selangor had suffered disastrously during the war. Most of those not actually engaged in the fighting had fled to coastal villages away from the main river estuaries or over the hills to Pahang. They needed the encouragement of more peaceful conditions before returning to continue opening up the lands they had begun to settle before the outbreak of hostilities. In 1874, the Malay population of the State was estimated at about 5,000. Ten years later, when the first rough census was taken, it was up to 17,097.<sup>10</sup> In the same year the Chinese population was 28,000.<sup>11</sup>

British control over Selangor did not follow immediately on intervention. Initially, colonial influence was concentrated in the coastal areas, Kuala Selangor, Kuala Klang, and Kuala Langat. Yap Ah Loy controlled the interior, managing his Chinese community directly, and maintaining relations with the *Dato Dagang*, leaders of the Sumatrans.<sup>12</sup> As the situation became more stable, and with growing prosperity particularly following a rise in the price of tin around 1879, the influx of Malay settlers increased and the opening up of the interior for agriculture expanded. The usual pattern was for an enterprising Dato Dagang to select a site for development, obtain the Sultan's approval for his application to the government for the land, then return to Sumatra to recruit kinsmen for his new village. Yap

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8. Middlebrook, "Yap Ah Loy," p. 86. I was unable to find any clearer details on Sutan Puasa, beyond what is given by Middlebrook. The official reports (House of Commons Series of Colonial Accounts and Papers) do not give any further information.

9. Winstedt, "History of Selangor," p. 32.

10. John Michael Gullick, Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya (London: University of London, 1958), p. 21.

11. Middlebrook, "Yap Ah Loy," p. 8.

12. Ibid., pp. 89, 91.

Ah Loy also supported this because he needed the local production of food to supply his mining forces.<sup>13</sup> Such Dato Dagang could become penghulus of their districts by obtaining a *kuasa*, or certificate of authority, from the Sultan.

The situation in Selangor at this period, therefore, was one of the rapid opening up of new kampongs, some established on old pre-war sites but the majority entirely new, by a multiplicity of Malaysian groups which, though mainly of Sumatran origin, had few direct ties one to the other. The Dato, interested in founding a new settlement, would not draw from nearby established communities but would recruit from the lands of his own origin and would develop his own tightly knit little community, distinct from the others nearby.<sup>14</sup> Such was the process which governed the opening up of Ulu Langat mukim, to which we now turn.

The District of Ulu Langat, a modern administrative entity, is one of the seven districts into which the State of Selangor is divided. It lies inland from Kuala Langat District, in the southeast of the state. 'Ulu' signifies 'Upper,' in the sense of upper Langat River; in this sense, it contrasts with Kuala which denotes the confluence of a tributary with the main stream or, in Kuala Langat, of the main stream with the sea. The District itself is in turn divided into six mukims, Kajang, Cheras, Beranang, Semenyih, Ulu Semenyih, and Ulu Langat mukim, each named after the principal town or village of the mukim, except for Ulu Semenyih which is sparsely populated and mainly forest reserve. It follows from this that Ulu Langat is the name of a District, of a mukim within the District, and of the main town of that mukim. At the time of British intervention, Ulu Langat village was the largest settlement in the District, a community of some 300 Sumatrans, occupied mainly in agriculture, but Kajang, which became the District capital, was already beginning to grow as an embryo commercial center.

As has been suggested, the lines of communication in western Malaya originally followed the rivers from and to the coast, and coastal traffic provided the communications spine of the country. Once on the river, it was easier to follow it up than to strike across country, though tracks did exist connecting the headwaters of one stream to another when navigation even for small craft had become impossible, and, of course, there were overland routes across the main Malayan watershed to connect with streams which drained to the east coast. This provided a filigree of interior routes to parallel the main coastal artery. Somewhere between these two parallels, secondary centers of

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13. Gullick, Selangor, pp. 82-83, 76.

14. Gullick, Political Systems, Chap. 2, "The Malay Village Community," pp. 22-43, esp. p. 32.

settlement developed. They were secondary in relation to the coastal nodes of political power, where rajas set up their forts to control the flow of traffic up and down the rivers, but of primary importance economically as centers for the exploitation of Selangor's natural wealth. Kuala Lumpur was such a center.

To reach Ulu Langat today one drives south from Kuala Lumpur on Malaya's A I, the road which carves its way from Penang in the north to Singapore in the south, uniting the modern towns which have usurped primacy from all but a few of the river mouths, cutting across the succession of river valleys and watersheds intervening. Even so, one is conscious of passing from one valley to the next, for the modern road has not polarized the lines of settlement. The road out of K.L., as it is called, climbs gently for six miles out of the Klang valley, then drops down towards Cheras on the Langat side. At Kampong Batu Sembilan, Ninth Mile-Stone Village, just before the main road crosses the Langat river itself, a side road to the east leads off into Ulu Langat mukim.

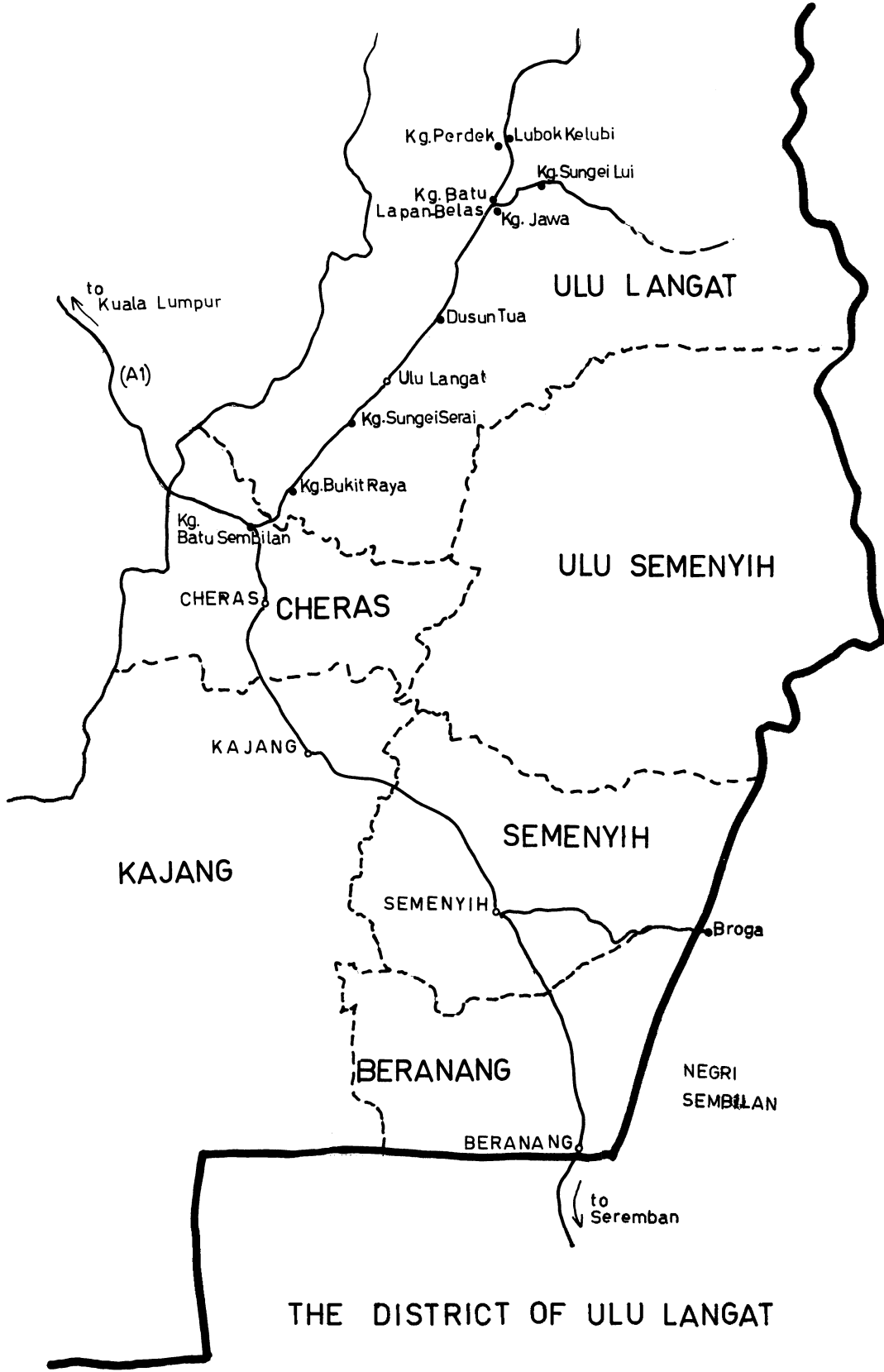
Continuing on the main road for a moment, Kajang, the District capital, lies five miles beyond the Ulu Langat turn-off. Its approach is marked by a gathering of Malay houses, satellite kampongs, for a distance of two miles or so, but the town itself is entered suddenly: a crossroads, to the left a police station, to the right the District Office and Court-House, in front, on both sides, abrupt two-story walls of the blank sides of arcaded Chinese shophouses. The main street ends in a market area and a bus-park. This, like most Malayan towns, is purely Chinese, another world from the Malay kampongs in the surrounding countryside.

Returning to the Ulu Langat turn-off and following it up, we are back again on the axis of the river. It is perhaps symbolic that Kajang lies on the main road from Kuala Lumpur to the south, a modern, colonially-developed artery, but the road up the mukim of Ulu Langat follows almost every major turn of the river, reinforcing the pre-colonial axis of travel. Nine miles up from the turn-off, at Kampong Batu Lapan-Belas, Eighteenth Mile-stone Village (eighteen miles from Kuala Lumpur), the river branches, and so does the road, one arm following the Langat to a modern hydro-electric power station at the foot of the main range of hills, the other following its tributary the Sungei Lui towards the south.

There are five major centers of settlement in the valley. Ulu Langat itself just beyond the thirteenth mile,<sup>15</sup> Dusun Tua at the sixteenth, Batu Lapan-Belas (Eighteenth Mile Village),

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15. Mileages are given according to official survey maps, measured from Kuala Lumpur. Ulu Langat is 4½ miles from the main road turn-off.



THE DISTRICT OF ULU LANGAT

as its name implies at the eighteenth mile, where road and river fork, Lubok Kelubi nineteen and one-half miles up on the Langat river, and Sungei Lui 21 miles up on the Sungei Lui branch. Bukit Raya, one of the centers of settlement before the war, now no longer exists. It used to be at the beginning of the road through the mukim, at the tenth mile, but for reasons which will be discussed in this account of the mukim, it was evacuated and destroyed by the government during the communist emergency, which lasted from 1948 to 1960. Today there are only two, new, houses on the slopes of the hill (*bukit*) overlooking the road. One belongs to Inche Ishak bin Haji Mohamed, Malay author, journalist, and politician, and the other to Che'gu Idris bin Suki, retired schoolteacher. Neither of these is a native of the mukim.

The road through the mukim is in fact fairly level, and fairly straight, while the river meanders to one side, never far away. The climb is gentle, only about 100 feet from Batu Sembilan to Batu Lapan-Belas. The valley bottom varies in width from one-quarter to about three-quarters of a mile, while the hills on either side range from 500 to 1,000 feet at the beginning but are topping 1,000 feet at the head of the settled valley. The sides of the road near settlements, and stretching out from the kampongs, are planted with smallholdings of rubber and coconuts, with rubber predominating very definitely. Most of the traffic passed is Malay; men on bicycles going to and from their holdings, or carrying rubber sheets for sale to Chinese traders in Kampong Batu Lapan-Belas, Ulu Langat, or Kampong Batu Sembilan. There is an occasional Chinese-owned commercial van, carrying supplies from Kajang to shops in Ulu Langat and Batu Lapan-Belas, and a regular, Chinese-owned, bus service into Kajang.

It is only in Ulu Langat and Batu Lapan-Belas that there are any Chinese living. Batu Lapan-Belas is an artificial settlement; its key institution is the petrol pump, but there are also a number of undifferentiated general stores, vying with each other to supply the needs of the people at the upper ends of the valley beyond the fork. There is also a clinic and a branch police station. Ulu Langat is the administrative center of the mukim. Its heart is a crossroads, but the side arms do not run for more than a few hundred yards. It has a police station, a clinic, and, much less imposing than either of these, the penghulu's office, a small two-roomed shed. There is a row of Chinese shophouses, which tail off in a string of Malay coffee shops, open-fronted tin-roofed stalls that face the mosque. The mosque is a wooden building, two stories high, which stands in its own compound at the central crossroads. In the same yard is the old, abandoned, and now tumbledown schoolhouse; a new primary school has been built on the edge of the town, and, in the same area as the new primary school, a secondary school is being built and is already partially occupied.

Besides the mosque, there is another impressive building, but of a very different type. This is the two-story modern house of Tuan Mohamed Nasr bin Abdul Jalil, the younger son of Penghulu Abdul Jalil who presided over the development of the mukim from 1905 to 1932. Tuan Mohamed Nasr is the local Justice of the Peace and the elected State Assemblyman. In contrast to the modern penghulu, who lives in a standard Class VI type government quarters and is really a chief clerk for the mukim, Tuan J.P., who tours his domain in a smart new Fiat 2000 Sports Saloon, is clearly the source of power and influence in the area. He owns the only "industry" in the town, a rather run-down looking saw-mill, which is worked by Chinese labor.

Kajang is a typically Chinese small Malayan town. It is at the level of Ulu Langat, an overgrown village, that one sees the transition from Chinese urban to Malay rural life. Even so, Ulu Langat is like a jig-saw community, with interlocking but not united pieces of Chinese, Malay, and Malayan--shophouses, the mosque and coffee stalls, the police station, clinic and government office. It is very hard to give a character to such a patchwork community. Dusun Tua, however, the second main center of the mukim three miles up the road, is pure Malay.

Dusun Tua is, like Ulu Langat, a large kampong, but unlike Ulu Langat it has none of the specialized institutions of a town. There are "shops," but they are small stores run as sidelines by Malay smallholders, underneath, or in open stalls in front of, the owners' houses. They have the appearance of, and indeed they are, sidelines to catch a bit more cash, rather than principal enterprises. I was told that none of these shops lasted more than one generation, none was a family business. There is a strong homogeneity about the village, the houses all similar in style and type, only more or less prosperous looking, more or less well cared for. Apart from the mosque, the only other building that stands out is the school, like the one in Ulu Langat a modern building, on the edge of the village, removed from the site of the old school which was more central.

Although it is not immediately obvious from the road, which is lined with houses each in its tree-shaded compound, Dusun Tua is in the center of the only extensive *sawah*, wet-rice field, area in the mukim. The sawahs lie back from the road, behind the houses, in a broadening of the valley to a width of about one mile.

Beyond Dusun Tua, the valley narrows for a stretch, and there is a stretch of rapids in the Langat river. Then it opens up again into the vee of the flattish land formed by the meeting of the Langat and the Lui. Originally the main settlement here in the upper valley was at Lubok Kelubi, together with its twin kampong, Kampong Perdek. These two are now one village on the Langat, just beyond the fork. Here also there is a small area of sawah. Although Kampong Batu Lapan-Belas is now a fairly

large community, it has the air of impermanence, rather than settlement. It is the place where the bus turns round and goes back; it is as far as the Chinese traders, with their supplies for the shops, come. It is a meeting place and a market, but not a home.

Kampong Sungei Lui, on the Sungei Lui branch, is in the mukim, but not of it. To reach it, one travels through two miles of uninhabited land, before coming out into the Sungei Lui complex of three contiguous villages, Kampong Sungei Lui itself, Kampong Mesjid, and Kampong Tanjong Pauh. The people here are Sumatrans, like the others of the mukim, but have maintained a local pride and sense of separation from the rest of the mukim. They are Korinchi, a trading people, who in Sumatra and Malaya have been treated with suspicion because of their reputation for supernatural powers. They were said by legend to become were-tigers. The community originally supported itself by growing vegetables for sale down the valley, but now, like the rest, its main occupation is rubber.

One other kampong is of particular interest. Kampong Jawa is a small Javanese settlement just outside Batu Lapan-Belas on the Lui road. The people here still speak Javanese, although the settlement was founded in the 1920's. The houses also are different, built mostly on the ground, unlike the raised Malay houses that are common to the rest of the mukim. There is a modern Arabic school here which serves the whole mukim and teaches pupils who have completed the Malay primary school. Today most of the pupils are girls, for there is a large state-supported religious school in Kajang which trains boys who are going on to the post-war Muslim College near Kuala Lumpur to qualify as religious teachers.

The District of Ulu Langat first came into the regular administrative orbit of colonial government in 1884, and it is only from this date that we begin to have clear records, the files of the District Office in Kajang which was opened in that year.<sup>16</sup> At first, the only full time administrative officer in the office was an Indian, Packiam Pillay, who had the post of Chief Clerk. At this time, the Selangor Inspector of Police was appointed Collector--the earlier title for District Officer--and the scanty records for the first year suggest that he would ride out from Kuala Lumpur, an uncomfortable journey before the tracks were cleared, every two or three months. The

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16. These records have not been well preserved, and they were only brought into the National Archives of Malaya, where they have yet to be cleaned, repaired, and placed in order, after I had discovered them in an outhouse of the Kajang Office and notified the Director of the Archives.

distance of fourteen miles was at best a good day's journey.<sup>17</sup>

Figures from a rough census taken in 1884 give a fairly clear picture of Kajang. It was a settlement of 61 households, 23 of them Malay, and eighteen Chinese. Occupations in the community were given as follows:

Police Clerk 1; Forest Ranger 1; Miners 4; Padi-Planter 1; Planters (undefined) 2; Shopkeepers 22; Farmer 1; Medicine Shopkeeper 1; Boatman 1; Trader 1; Tinsmith 1; Carpenter 1; Basket maker 1; Gambler 1; Blacksmith 1.

The figures are not presented so as to show the races of these people, but another part of the records shows that sixteen of the "Malays," certainly Sumatrans, were shopkeepers.<sup>18</sup>

Census figures for the outlying areas were collected by the local penghulus, who were not used to this kind of chore and returned barely decipherable scraps of paper in barely literate Jawi script. But it is clear from those which have survived that by far the largest community in the District was the village of Ulu Langat. This was a community which, by 1884, numbered some 400 persons, described as mainly occupied with dry crops which are not specified (85 *ladangs*; dry fields) but with some rice cultivation (56 *bendangs*; padi fields).<sup>19</sup> Five other mukim returns are in the files: of these, Beranang, on the Negri Sembilan border, and Semenyih, between Kajang and Beranang, returned populations of 100 and 85 respectively; "Raja Mohamed's mukim," which I cannot place, numbered 100 people; and two more unidentified papers list 291, and 75 persons, respectively. It is quite clear from these papers, and from the District Officer's comments minuted upon them, that the census was very unreliable, but it would seem reasonable to conclude that the total population of the district was between 1,000 and 1,500, and that the major concentration of population, one-third to one-half of the total, was in the Ulu Langat mukim itself. For comparison the following table gives the population figures for Ulu Langat

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17. District Office Ulu Langat files [DOUL] 55/84. Also Selangor Secretariat files 191/85. First Annual Report, for 1884, by Syers, the Collector.

18. DOUL 10/84.

19. DOUL 61/84. The Penghulu recorded 300 people, but the District Officer corrected this to "about 400," noting the presence of sixty "new settlers without any fixed occupation. Perhaps the Penghulu was concerning himself only with his personal jurisdiction, his people, not with his geographical area, which was a recent, colonial, dimension to his authority."

Table 1  
Population of Ulu Langat District, by Race, 1931

Mukim	Kajang	Ulu Langat	Cheras	Semenyih	Ulu Semenyih	Beranang	Total
Malays	6,415	5,007	1,263	1,450	518	3,572	18,225
Chinese	14,801	2,956	2,210	3,861	2,282	1,574	27,684
Indians	6,447	225	252	1,393	270	1,165	9,752
Others	397	14	14	56	8	40	599
Total	28,060	8,202	3,739	6,760	3,078	6,351	56,190
Area (square miles)	148	114	23	37	71	24	417

Source: Census of British Malaya, 1931, Table 19.

District from the 1931 Census of Malaya. Unfortunately no more detailed information on the populations of individual kampongs is available. As a central date for the core period of my study, 1931 is useful.

One of the first tasks of the District Officer was to identify the Malaysian authorities in the area, and, if they were considered reliable in the eyes of the colonial administration, to confirm them as penghulus and define the boundaries of their jurisdiction. For Ulu Langat mukim the local power was Raja Daud, a warrior from Perak who had been a follower of Raja Mahdi.<sup>20</sup> Daud was an old soldier whose influence was considerable but whose activity declined with the coming of peace. His zest for life seems to have left him under British rule, except for a short period in 1892 when there were rumors of an impending invasion by Malays from Pahang, and, with the blessing of the Resident, he set out with a force of 85 men to ambush them.<sup>21</sup> Two years previously, the District Officer had complained that the older penghulus were failing to keep up with the new demands made upon their office, and would have to "learn their jobs"; Daud, he remarked, was "interested, but ailing."<sup>22</sup> The nicest account of Daud is from the District Officer's Monthly Report for July 1895: "Raja Daud at Ulu Langat is a nice courteous old man, but of scarcely any use at all. He cannot write, and is addicted to opium; all he wants is to be let alone."<sup>23</sup>

Daud's authority in Ulu Langat mukim was not unquestioned. Although it seems that British recognition made his position at Ulu Langat mukim itself unassailable, as settlement advanced up the valley and, particularly in the 1890's, when Chinese miners farther up in Ulu Lui appeared to have found a major tin field,<sup>24</sup>

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20. Daud's origins were given by Haji Ismail, aged 78, and his brother Haji Mohamed Yusof, aged 92, both former Ketuas of Ulu Langat kampong. Daud, they said, was Orang Perak, but whether he was a Sumatran is not clear.
21. DOUL 895/92, 104/92. For an account of the troubles in Pahang from 1890-95, which threatened to spill over into Selangor, see W. Linehan, "A History of Pahang," JMBRAS, 14/2 (June 1936), Chap. XII, "Revolt of the Orang Kaya of Semantan," pp. 139-168.
22. DOUL 111/90.
23. DOUL 802/95.
24. In 1884-85 there were Chinese operating at Ulu Lui, and at Sungei Michu near Ulu Langat. See Selangor Secretariat files 191/85. The Ulu Lui tin rush raised false hopes, and work there stopped by 1897. DOUL 182/98.

Daud's claim was disputed by a Sumatran family, probably Mandailing, from the southern Batak country. A certain Jaafar bin Bilal claimed that his wife Fatimah had a right to the land, which she had inherited from her father Dato Muda Yusof, who had received a kuasa to control all the land from "Ulu Sungei Langat to the Pahang Border," in the year 1278 A.H., 1861 A.D.<sup>25</sup> The decision in 1890 was that Jaafar's claim would not be allowed, on the grounds that his family had never actually occupied or developed the land and that the rights in this area still, therefore, belonged to the Sakai, aboriginal nomadic peoples of the interior who lived there.

Fatimah's family tried again to assert their claims in 1905, when the question of appointing a new penghulu arose. Jaafar bin Bilal again entered his claim and so did Omar bin Musa, a trader in Ulu Langat. Omar supplied a family tree to show that he was a nephew of Dato Muda Yusof, and, as a male, asserted a prior claim to that of Fatimah, Yusof's daughter. According to Omar, Yusof was the third in line of the Datos of Langat, the son of Dato Tamat, and grandson of Pa'Bangkal. *Pa'* (*Pak*) is a deferential title accorded in the records to Sakai headmen, and this lineage suggests an attempt to establish legitimacy by asserting a linkage with the aboriginal true natives of Malaya. What makes Omar's claim particularly interesting is that he mentions as a qualification that he is able to speak Malay, but, in spite of this and his probable legitimacy, he was ruled ineligible by the District Officer because he was illiterate.<sup>26</sup>

The question of who had the right to guide the development of this area reflects the pace of the development itself. At the time of British intervention, it is apparent that Ulu Langat itself was the farthest point of significant settlement, as indeed the "ulu" in its name indicates. It was, in fact, the farthest point of up-river navigation, for just above the town there is the first stretch of rapids. Beyond Ulu Langat was Sakai country, and Raja Daud had recorded the presence of 37 Sakai in his area, in his census return of 1884. Although Jaafar bin Bilal's claim was rejected on the grounds that this was Sakai land, the tide of settlement was inexorably rising. The tin mining at Ulu Lui opened up a good bridle path all the

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25. DOUL 629/90. Fatimah, it seems, had previously been married to a Korinchi trader, who had returned to his home in Sumatra. This area was finally opened and settled by a Korinchi group in 1910-20.
26. DOUL 159/05, 187/05. Claims of Omar bin Musa and Jaafar bin Bilal. See also Michael Godfrey Swift, Malay Peasant Society in Jelebu (London: Athlone Press, 1965), pp. 9-10, on the use of aboriginal connections to establish legitimate rights to land.

way up the river, and in 1890, the District Officer explored the possibility of extending a track through this way to Negri Sembilan. By 1893, an extensive survey for the purpose of encouraging settlement had been completed for the whole District,<sup>27</sup> and in the following year, there was a survey of "foreign Malays" in the District, which is of some interest.<sup>28</sup> The District Officer enumerated the "foreigners" as follows: from Minangkabau (West Sumatra), 385; from Kuantan (Pahang, East Malaya), 50; from Rawah (Riau), 133; from Mandailing (Tapanuli), 194; from Kampar (Riau), 288;<sup>29</sup> from Java, 150; from Rembau (Negri Sembilan), 311; from Jempol (Negri Sembilan), 43; and "various," 189. He noted with approval that the majority of these people were making permanent settlements, mostly developing sawahs, but that those from Kuantan and Java were coffee planters. Only the men from Rembau and Jempol, both just to the south in Negri Sembilan, were transients, crossing into Ulu Langat by jungle routes, collecting forest products. In the next few years, this gave rise to several jurisdictional problems between the D.O. of Ulu Langat and his opposite number in Jelebu, the Negri Sembilan district to the south. In accounts of their border conferences, one notices that, even to the colonial rulers at this date, the Malay States were very much separate political entities, and they met at the "frontier" as agents of two foreign powers.<sup>30</sup>

It is not clear when Dusun Tua developed, but it was certainly well-established by 1900, and on its way to becoming the second most important community in the valley. Dusun Tua had attracted the attention of the British as early as 1890 because of its hot springs, and the Resident had proposed building a rest house and sanitarium there.<sup>31</sup> A school had been opened at Ulu Langat in 1890, and in 1901, the D.O. reports that attendance had fallen off seriously because the boys from Dusun Tua had been withdrawn by their parents. It seems that the pupils were withdrawn from Ulu Langat following a misunderstanding with the penghulu. By Selangor Regulation V of 1891, all Malay boys living within two miles of a school were obliged to attend, and the enforcement officer was the penghulu. Since Dusun Tua was

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27. DOUL 32/93. Annual Report for 1892.

28. DOUL 1748/94. Note that the figures given from this survey refer to the whole District of Ulu Langat. No mukim breakdown was made.

29. There is a Kampar in Perak, but this is a small, recent town. "Kampar" given as the community origin suggests the Kampar River in Sumatra.

30. DOUL 205/1900, also 190/05.

31. DOUL 490/90.

over two miles from Ulu Langat, according to the penghulu's account, he had told the parents that he could not compel them to send their sons. The Dusun Tua people said that they were under the impression that the penghulu had forbidden them to send their sons to Ulu Langat. The report is not clear, but it is possible that there was some enmity between Penghulu Hassan, Daud's successor, and a new community at Dusun Tua that was developing its own identity, although both Dusun Tua and Ulu Langat are predominantly Mandailing. About 25 boys were involved, and in the following year the D.O. began to raise the question of opening a second school at Dusun Tua itself.<sup>32</sup>

By the start of the new century, settlement was rapidly pushing up the valley. In 1902, we find a complaint from the Sakai leader of Ulu Lui, Pa' Mantri, that a Haji Daud of Dusun Tua was stealing his people's lands around Lubok Kelubi. "Haji Daud has met Pa' Mantri [and] said that he has 16 relatives coming [from Minangkabau] who are to apply for land to settle at Lubok Kelubi."<sup>33</sup> In spite of an announced British policy of protection, the Sakai were losing to Malaysian settlers. In 1897, the D.O. recorded 250 Sakai in his District, of whom 164 were in Ulu Langat mukim.<sup>34</sup> It was at the instigation of the Ulu Langat District Office that, in 1900, the Resident-General of the F.M.S. ruled that there would be no extension to the Sakai of the system instituted for recording land titles because the aboriginals needed special protection, and the result of issuing them formal titles to their *dusuns* (wild orchards, usually of durian trees) would mean that such titles would quickly pass into the hands of Malays, for "unfair and inadequate consideration."<sup>35</sup> It is not clear what steps were taken to protect the Sakai, but it seems that by registering claims and receiving title after squatting, the Malaysians could easily edge the Sakai out anyway, and the Sakai were thus only protected against those who were too impatient to go through the legal processes of claim registration.

The great concern of the administration during this period of development was to encourage permanent settlements, and to discourage transients. W. W. Skeat, D.O. Ulu Langat in 1896, urged the settlement of Javanese, who would develop coffee plantations as they were doing around Klang. He proposed the appointment of a Javanese headman who would draw a salary of ten to fifteen dollars per month plus five dollars for every 50

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32. DOUL 125/1901. Plans for new school, 462/03.

33. DOUL 610/02.

34. DOUL 102/97.

35. Ulu Langat Land Office files 1242/00, and Selangor Secretariat files 6443/00.

Javanese settlers he brought in. So far only 125 acres in the whole District had been opened for coffee cultivation, and Skeat deplored Land Office policy in giving preference to applications for mining land.<sup>36</sup> Skeat was very concerned about "the unsatisfactory class of natives in the district," presumably speculators but not settlers.

In 1901, the Resident ruled that no more land should be cleared for mining "in the Ulu of the Langat River above the village of Ulu Langat," and that action should be taken to close existing leases of mining lands; at this time, thirteen Chinese mining leases became subject to forfeiture.<sup>37</sup> This would seem to have been a forerunner of the Malay Reservation Enactment of 1913, the bill to reserve certain lands to Malay ownership, occasioned by concern that the "improvident Malays" were too ready to sell off the lands they had acquired, not "making provision for their children and grandchildren," as the Sultan of Perak had put it. Though at the time, the Act of 1913 considered these lands as "ancestral," the ruling of the Resident of Selangor in 1901 illustrates the period, only a decade earlier, when permanency of settlement was actively formulated. Ulu Langat mukim, in its entirety, was one of the first Malay areas to be reserved.

By 1901, the settlement pattern of the mukim was taking shape. By 1905, when the third penghulu of colonial times took office, the groundwork was laid. Penghulu Abdul Jalil was appointed in 1905, and administered the mukim until his retirement in 1932, by which time the area was already very much as it is today. Jalil was a very different type of man from Raja Daud, and his appointment marks a significant change in the quality of Malaysian leadership.

Initially, when the British began to regulate Malay affairs, they located the existing leaders, sometimes an arbitrary decision at that time, and if they were amenable, confirmed them in office. Raja Daud was such a man, but as we have seen, his status depended more upon his personal prestige than upon his efficiency. Colonial administration made many demands upon its officers, and the penghulu was converted from a leader of his people to a general factotum responsible for a host of duties in his appointed rural area. Raja Daud, the "courteous old gentleman," had wanted only "to be left alone." The same report continues:

The Penghulu who cannot write and is not very keen on routine work may have been all that was wanted ten years ago, but now what with legislations, orders,

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36. DOUL 475/96.

37. Ulu Langat Land Office files 145/01.

circulars, etc., etc., a District Officer finds it of the utmost assistance to have intelligent, energetic Penghulus who can write . . . for although men of this class are really more "government clerks," than "penghulus" in the Malay acceptation of the word penghulu, yet considering that the vast bulk of the Malayan natives who are opening up the country to agriculture are foreigners, this class of man really serves the native interest sufficiently, I believe, at the same time being a far, far, greater assistance to the District Officer.<sup>38</sup>

In the early years of colonial administration, there were a number of Malaysians who offered their services on the basis of education and previous training, "freelances" who sought employment with the government. One such man was Raja Bot of Lukut, son of Raja Jumaat; Raja Bot had lost his sub-state as a result of post-war settlements. When his father, Raja Jumaat, was the power in Selangor, he had been sent to Malacca to learn English, and then apprenticed to a Chinese merchant as a clerk. At the age of thirteen, he had returned to Lukut as a stores superintendent for the mines. In 1887, after a period in the wilderness, he applied for a penghulu's post in Selangor, and was given Sungei Buloh, between Klang and Kuala Lumpur, which he opened up and settled. In 1888, he was appointed to the State Council, and remained a member to his death in 1916, becoming the chief Malay spokesman. He acted as an inspector for Malay schools, in which capacity he visited Ulu Langat in 1890, and produced an incisive report on the two schools then existing in the District, at Kajang and Semenyih. He was particularly concerned about the recruitment of satisfactory schoolmasters. He felt that three years of school was the optimum, since this would provide the essentials of Jawi literacy, while two further years would hardly be enough to add anything of further value.<sup>39</sup> It was probably Raja Bot's concern and advice which introduced the idea of compulsory education in Selangor, the first Malay State to pass such an ordinance, in 1891.<sup>40</sup>

Raja Bot seems to have been a general advisor to the British administration in Selangor, a man who was in fact a "foreign" Malay, which was one of the objections to his family's influence which underlay the Civil War. He was relied on, and valued for, his abilities rather than for his birth. At the lower level of Ulu Langat District; there was another Malaysian who performed a similar intermediary role, as an aide to the District Officer. This was Raja Alang, a Mandailing, who had been brought up and

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38. DOUL 802/95.

39. DOUL 974/90.

40. Mohamed Amin Hassan, "Raja Bot bin Raja Jumaat," pp. 68-93.

attended Malay schools in Malacca and Singapore.<sup>41</sup> He had joined the government service as a Forest Ranger in 1883, and become a Chief Ranger in 1889. The modern Forest Ranger in Malaya is a conservation officer, but in those days the Rangers were the advance guard of land development and settlement. A letter from the D.O. to the Resident in 1889 asks for a book for Raja Alang to learn English; the Resident replied that he knew of nothing suitable to be had.<sup>42</sup> Raja Alang, though nominally a Forest Ranger, seems to have been the D.O.'s right hand man in Malay affairs, and, in spite of his lack of English, the D.O. wanted to promote him to the post of Land Officer and raise his salary. One gets the impression that every British officer depended heavily upon individuals such as Raja Bot and Raja Alang, who might be described as administrative contractors or brokers, engaged in executing policy where possible, but more importantly advising on modifications where necessary, the differential mechanism between colonial and domestic domain.

Others, with less influence but part of the same machinery, fitted into these intermediate roles. In 1890, a man named Kassim applied for the post of vernacular schoolmaster in a new school to be opened at Cheras. Kassim had had a very varied career: as a schoolmaster in Singapore, an interpreter on a British gunboat in Perak; a customs clerk at Bandar on the Langat estuary in Selangor and at Durian Sabatang on the Perak River; a mining overseer at a European mine in Negri Sembilan (the mine owner had been Kassim's Supervisor of Customs); and a government clerk at Kuala Lumpur.<sup>43</sup> Kassim is typical of the schoolmasters of this early period, many of whom had no special training or previous experience of education but were older men who could read and write and who looked upon teaching as a semi-pensioned prelude to retirement.

Older penghulus soon found that they could not cope with the type of work laid upon them with the quickening of the administration, and the government began to lose its patience with courteous old gentlemen. Some of them actively hindered the changes introduced, for conservative reasons. For example, Raja Mahmud, one of the supporters of Raja Mahdi in the Civil War, who became penghulu of Kuala Selangor, resigned over a compulsory vaccination campaign which he was required to support in 1885,<sup>44</sup> and it seems that Raja Daud of Ulu Langat had the same reservations, though he was more subtly obstructive. "He makes me to rove like a dog amidst pressing work at the hospital,"

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41. DOUL 557/93.

42. DOUL 92/89.

43. DOUL 511/90.

44. Middlebrook, "Yap Ah Loy," p. 88.

complained the Indian dresser (surely a Jaffna Tamil brought up on biblical English), who was responsible for administering vaccinations in the mukim and had repeatedly appointed days for his visit when Raja Daud was supposed to gather his people together for treatment.<sup>45</sup>

When it was clear that Raja Daud could no longer manage, he was given an assistant, Mohamed Hassan, who had been a Malay writer in the Kajang Office. Hassan, who was appointed assistant in 1898, became substantive penghulu on Daud's death in 1899 and held the office until his own death in 1905.<sup>46</sup>

Following the death of Mohamed Hassan, there were a number of applications for appointment to the post in Ulu Langat from the State of Selangor and beyond. Only two of the applicants had any personal claim to the position, the two relatives of Dato Muda Yusof mentioned earlier. Seven applicants based their claims on the grounds of membership in the Selangor aristocracy, but the D.O. considered that it would be more appropriate to find a man of Sumatran background, because of the large number of "foreign settlers" in the mukim.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, none of the "royal" applicants were sufficiently literate for the post, and by now literacy and administrative experience had become necessary qualifications.

When Penghulu Hassan died, a young Malay writer, in other words a Jawi scribe who would also have to transliterate Jawi letters to the Office into Rumi, from the District Office, Abdul Jalil, had been sent to manage the mukim pending a new appointment, and in mid-1905, he was confirmed in the post. The notice of his appointment states erroneously that he was a Minangkabau,<sup>48</sup> for by his own account, he was a Mandailing and indeed for this reason, he was eminently suitable for a mukim in which Mandailings were in the majority. He was Sumatra born, but his family had come over in 1886, when he was seven years old. He had attended a Malay vernacular school in Setapak, in the Gombak area just north of Kuala Lumpur, to Standard IV and then taken employment with the government as a Malay writer. In 1905 he was 27 years old.<sup>49</sup>

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45. DOUL 1030/91.

46. DOUL 557/98, 818/99, 151/05. According to informants, Hassan was also from Perak, a protégé of Daud.

47. DOUL 198/05.

48. DOUL 198/05.

49. DOUL 260/04. A memorandum on himself for the Office files, prepared by Abdul Jalil.

Abdul Jalil held the post until 1932, when he was succeeded by his son Mohamed Nor, in spite of the fact that he was not very popular apparently with the Selangor Royal Family. A Confidential File in the year of his retirement records the D.O.'s recommendation that he be given a certificate of honorable service, but notes that the Sultan might not approve;<sup>50</sup> his son and successor, Mohamed Nor, agreed that since Mandailings had generally supported the side of Raja Mahdi in the Civil War, they were resented by the Selangor royalty. The mukim is still dominated by this family, for although Mohamed Nor retired in 1963 and was replaced by an "outsider" from Kuala Langat, his personal influence is still considerable as the senior member of the community, while a younger brother Mohamed Nasr, is the elected State Assemblyman, and local Justice of the Peace. This, incidentally, represents a third change in the nature of the office of penghulu; from the warrior chief of Raja Daud's time, to the administrative "boss" of Abdul Jalil's time, to the executive clerk of the present. In fact, the direct line of power would seem to have passed from the administrative "boss" to the political "boss," the elected State Assemblyman, who visibly has far more prestige and influence than the present penghulu, although it is evident that much of this prestige depends on his descent from the penghulu under whom the District saw its greatest period of development.<sup>51</sup>

In the files of the Kajang Office for 1922, there is a letter from "Malays of good birth," to be forwarded by the District Officer to the Sultan. It complained that when a penghulu retired or died, he was often succeeded by a man who had "neither right nor ancestral claim to the post." Even though the successor was a Sumatran by birth, experience as a peon, notice server, or Malay writer, could make him a penghulu. It admitted that this had been reasonable ten to twenty years earlier, when such people were considered educated, but by the 1920's, the Malays of better family had received education. Professing no ill-feeling towards the other Malaysians "who have helped in the welfare and progress of the kampong Malays" (note the implied sense of social distinction), it asked for preference for "suitable people, who are descendants of the old chiefs." The D.O. noted that it was "not a pleasing production," and the Resident directed that "the displeasure of His Highness the Sultan should be voiced." No action was taken to consider the petition.<sup>52</sup>

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50. DOUL Confidential File, unnumbered, 1932.

51. See, for comparison, Syed Husin Ali, "Patterns of Rural Leadership in Malaya," *JMBRAS*, 41/2 (July 1968), pp. 95-145. Leadership in that article is taken more in the sense of office holders than in the actual location of power.

52. DOUL 908/22.

Abdul Jalil quickly gained recognition as an effective and energetic penghulu. Informants in the mukim gave him the credit for most of its development, and it would seem that whereas up to the time of his appointment only Ulu Langat and Dusun Tua were securely established, soon after his assumption of office, there was a spectacular increase in immigration. The D.O.'s Annual Report for 1906 records a heavy influx of Sumatrans into the District, in the Semenyih and Beranang areas, but most of all to Ulu Langat mukim where the penghulu, "who takes an intelligent interest in the improvement of his mukim, is anxious to open for padi cultivation a considerable area in Ulu Lui."<sup>53</sup> The same report notes a number of changes in the township of Ulu Langat itself; brick houses replacing wooden in the town center, and the laying out of a recreation ground. A later report in the year records the opening of land for sawahs at Lubok Kelubi.<sup>54</sup>

Abdul Jalil's efforts to control the development of his mukim caused a protest from Haji Mohamed Sidek, a Minangkabau and self-appointed Dato Dagang of Ulu Lui. Sidek complained that the penghulu had appointed his own Dato Dagang for the area although he, Sidek, had been operating there since 1901, and had himself imported and settled 30 of his kinsfolk from Minangkabau. It was not possible to trace the results of this protest, but Abdul Jalil probably had his way. He seems to have developed a policy of ensuring that local leaders should be his own appointees. Eventually a dual system emerged by which the "natural" leader of the community was known as the Dato Dagang, while the administrative leader, a man appointed by the penghulu, was the official Ketua. In the minds of the villagers, the Dato Dagang was their leader while the Ketua was his adviser, a sort of microcosmic Residential system.<sup>55</sup>

Abdul Jalil encouraged settlement generally, but it was his policy not to permit the mixing of communities. Thus, Lubok Kelubi was first settled by Minangkabau, and new Minangkabau arrivals would be directed by the penghulu to join them there. The present Ketua Kampong of Lubok Kelubi, who has held his office since 1920, arrived with his family around 1910 and says that there were already about fifteen Minangkabau families in residence. He says that Abdul Jalil would direct new arrivals to report to a Ketua of their own kind, and that this conscious

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53. DOUL 21/07. Ulu Lui, the area encompassed by the Langat and its tributary, the Lui, including Lubok Kelubi and Sungei Lui.

54. DOUL 73/07.

55. This was clearly the case in Kampong Sungei Lui, according to a personal communication from Che'gu Long bin Saad, who taught there from 1939-1949.

separation of kampongs by community, both by official direction and in the minds of the settlers, continued until the war period after 1940.<sup>56</sup>

Lubok Kelubi provides a particularly interesting example of this because, to a stranger today, the village appears to be one with a neighboring settlement, Kampong Perdek, since the two have grown into one. But the people of Kampong Perdek are from Palembang and arrived only in 1916.<sup>57</sup> When the first Malay school for this area was opened, in 1927, it was sited in Lubok Kelubi, near the mosque. Since 1945, a new school has been built for greater Lubok Kelubi, situated actually in Kampong Perdek. This building is quite adequate for the whole community and is anyway less than a mile from the old building, but when I was discussing the history of the school with a group of people gathered informally at a Lubok Kelubi coffee shop, mistaking me and my University of Malaya student companion for Ministry of Education officials, they asked us for a new school, since "those fellows down the road are different from us (*orang lain*)." Coffee shops indeed often turned out to be the keys to separate centers in modern villages which are agglomerations of two or more earlier settlements. Thus in Ulu Langat town, there are four original kampongs: Dusun Nanding which is Mandailing; Ulu Langat which is mainly Mandailing but more heterogeneous now; Kampong Michu another Mandailing group but originally a separate kampong; and Kampong Rantau Panjang which is Minangkabau. Lubok Kelubi now also includes Kampong Panjang, which is a second group of Minangkabau. Each of these is marked, informally, by its shop where smallholders gather after the early morning rubber tapping to sit and chat.

The Sungei Lui area had attracted interest early as a possible mining area, and Chinese had been operating there in the early 1890's, but the mines had come to nothing. This tributary of the river also led towards a jungle pass into Ulu Semenyih and to Jelebu in Ulu Negri Sembilan, and indicated an up-country route which was fairly well traveled, part of the network of communications in the interior which connected with the east coast, used by "marauders," and by traders and gatherers of forest products such as gutta percha. It was a network which atrophied temporarily with the development of the main roads to Kuala Lumpur and Kajang and the influence of new developing urban centers centralizing the transit and distribution of goods, but it came to life again during the Japanese Occupation and post-war anti-communist campaign. As a result many of these tracks have now been expanded into clear-weather laterite roads.

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56. Haji Mohamed Yamin, Lubok Kelubi, Feb. 1968.

57. Haji Adnan, Kampong Perdek, Feb. 1968.

Korinchi traders knew of the area early, and it was Korinchi who finally established the settlement of Kampong Sungei Lui, together with its satellites, Kampong Mesjid and Kampong Pauh. Kampong Sungei Lui was started around 1916 by Korinchi who developed the area for growing vegetables which they traded to the other kampongs in the mukim. Apparently these people did not originate directly from Sumatra, but from Negri Sembilan. This is interesting, because they did not conform to the pattern of settlement through the offices of the penghulu, but came in almost literally through the back door--and the people of Sungei Lui have a record of differences with Abdul Jalil. The village set up its own management committee under the leadership of its own *Dato Empat*, a variant for Dato Dagang. Although Abdul Jalil tried to establish his nominee for Dato Dagang among them, the *Jawatan Kuasa Kampong*, Village Committee, apparently paid this man little respect. Haji Mohamed Rasul, senior of the village elders today and one of the leaders of the 1920's and 1930's, asserts that Kampong Sungei Lui was very much a self-sufficient community before the war, and that the penghulu rarely interfered with them; nor did he give them much help when they asked for it. Abdul Jalil regarded Lubok Kelubi as the most important center in this area, even though the people at Sungei Lui seem to have been a well-organized and progressive community. One suspects that he favored Lubok Kelubi, encouraging settlement there, to counterbalance his lack of control at Sungei Lui.<sup>58</sup>

Other centers in the mukim which had also begun to develop by 1920 were Kampong Bukit Raya, south of Ulu Langat on the mukim border, and Kampong Sungei Serai, a small Minangkabau kampong two miles south of Ulu Langat; Sungei Serai has only become significant since the war, and is still a very small settlement. The people of Kampong Bukit Raya came from Batang Kapas in Riau, Sumatra, and would have made an interesting study, for according to Penghulu Mohamed Nor they were always troublesome and he and his father before him had great difficulty in controlling them. Bukit Raya, unlike Sungei Lui, lies on the main road to Kajang, and the penghulu could not overlook the village. Their turbulence came to a head in 1948, when a number of Malays from this village joined the communist guerrillas in the jungle, and after an ambush in the village had nearly cost the penghulu his life--he was on his way to Kajang at the time with a report on subversive activities within the mukim--Bukit Raya was evacuated and razed, and its people dispersed and resettled.

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58. DOUL 731/25. Letter from Abdul Jalil on plans to develop Lubok Kelubi further. Information on Kampong Sungei Lui from Che'gu Hassan bin Busu, the present schoolmaster, with Haji Mohamed Rasul and Haji Rafie bin Kadhi, elders. Interviewed during February 1968.

Bukit Raya was situated near to the junction of the main road from Kuala Lumpur to Kajang, on the fringe of the penghulu's jurisdiction, and more open to the influences of the colonial domain and its currents of thought and activity than the people further up the valley, which may partially account for its sense of independence. Malaysia, after experiencing a decade of communist rebellion, and more recently a period of "confrontation" from Indonesia, is extremely sensitive now about "subversion." There is no doubt that in Ulu Langat mukim there were Malays who were involved in the post-war uprising, but Penghulu Mohamed Nor was very reluctant to give any further information about this. His brother, the J.P., says that there was religious conflict at Bukit Raya between *kaum muda* (progressive) and *kaum tua* (conservative). He denies that there was any political trouble there, but Ishak bin Haji Mohamed, the Malay writer and politician who now lives at Bukit Raya, says that about half of the young men of Bukit Raya joined the Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army, and later supported the Malayan Communist Party. Other informants told me vaguely about a man named Shamsuddin, who seems to have come from here, who together with 30 others of Sumatran origin was deported during the Emergency.<sup>59</sup>

The pattern of settlement by 1940 shows a well-developed center at Ulu Langat, a secondary center at Dusun Tua, outliers at Lubok Kelubi on the upper Langat and at Kampong Sungei Lui, and a kampong at Bukit Raya, at the "entrance" to the mukim. There was also a small and very compact settlement of Javanese at Kampong Jawa, near the junction of the Langat and the Lui. Kampong Jawa was also settled around 1916, originally by a small group of people who had been brought over as contract labor for coffee estates in the coastal areas of Selangor, and who then brought over relatives direct from Java after the foundation of the kampong.<sup>60</sup>

The Sumatran origins of 80 percent of the population of Ulu Langat are still very real to them. Sumatra is the mainland, the old country, from which their people have come, and family ties are still very close. Some of the people even own lands across the Straits of Malacca, and I was told that there were individuals who were caught out on the wrong side of the water by the recent period of Confrontation, who had for the time being been prevented from returning to Malaya. For these

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59. Interviews with Haji Mohamed Nor, June 1968, and Ishak bin Haji Mohamed, February 1968. Personal communication from Tuan Mohamed Nasr. See W. R. Roff, The Origins of Malay Nationalism (New Haven: Yale University, 1967), pp. 87-90, for the relationship between religious progressivism and political radicalism in pre-war Malaya.

60. Ketua, Kampong Jawa, interviewed Feb. 1968.

people, the modern political division into Malaysia and Indonesia has no more meaning than its colonial origin. In practice, political loyalty is channeled through the personal leadership of the original Dato Dagang and their successors, but there remains a spectrum of choices from Sumatran to Malayan, between loyalties of varying intensity from kampong or mukim to constituent State or the Federation, and all this is cross-hatched with ideologies ranging from the more conservative forms of Islam to communism. To the observer whose Malaya is characterized by Kuala Lumpur, and the new post-colonial multi-racial Federation, Ulu Langat appears as a passive rural Malay backwater, but its own history reveals a dynamic process of settlement and development, suggestive of more powerful undercurrents which can still have their effect upon the surface of Malaysian life.