

MELAKA AS A HISTORIC CITY

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Melaka occupies the most dominant position in Malaysian history. It deserves special attention befitting a city that has a unique historical tradition as well as a rich cultural heritage. Since its establishment in the 15th century and its subsequent promotion to the position of a city and a kingdom, Melaka has left its mark on the history of Malaysia. Even though Melaka may not be the first state to be established in the Malay Peninsula, the emergence of the Melaka state has made possible the reconstruction of the history of the Malay Peninsula with some degree of certainty. Basically, for this reason, many historians tend to see the founding of Melaka as a landmark in the evolution of modern Malaysian history.¹ The period of the Melaka Sultanate represents the golden age of Malay history. In the words of Paul Wheatley, the period between the 15th century and early 16th century is 'a century of Melaka.'²

From various accounts, eastern and western alike some of the impressions on Melaka can be highlighted. The Melaka Sultanate with its far-flung territories was a political power of the first rank. Never before in the history of the Malay Peninsula there existed a kingdom such as Melaka that was capable of controlling practically the whole of the Peninsula and the Straits including numerous islands in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago.³ Melaka emerged at a most opportune time in the history of

¹For further discussion on the subject as well as problems relating to reconstruction of early Malaysian history, see for instance, B.W. Andaya and L.Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, Mac Millan Asian Histories series, Hong Kong, 1982, pp. 5-36. Also, P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966.

²P. Wheatley, *Impressions of The Malay Peninsula in Ancient Times*, Eastern University Press, Singapore, 1964, pp. 119-176.

³*Sejarah Melayu* as well as Portugese sources mentioned the extent of Melaka Empire at the height of its power. For further discussion of the subject, see for instance, R.O. Winsted, *A History of Malaya*, 3rd Revised

the Archipelago. On the mainland of the Malay Peninsula, both Kedah, Kuala Berang (Trengganu) or even Beruas had faded into insignificance. In Java, Majapahit was no longer a power to reckon with. Samudra-Pasai only temporarily enjoyed supremacy in Sumatra. As far as relations with Siam were concerned, Melaka's close association with China served as a deterrent against the Buddhist power in the north for many years. By the middle of the 15th century, Melaka was already strong enough to stand up and defend itself against Siamese attacks.⁴ Melaka had a well defined and organised government with a developed administrative hierarchy. At the apex of its political fortune, the ruler enjoyed almost unquestionable loyalty of its subjects.

The ruler drew his main sources of power and authority from genealogy, as the descendent of Iskandar Zulkarnain and from doctrines such as *daulat* and *derhaka* which was further supported to a large extent by the Hindu-Buddhist conception of state.⁵ Nevertheless, there was a period of Islamic resurgence when Muzaffar Syah ascended the throne (1446-1459 A.D.) after a bloodless *coup de tat*. He was seen as the first ruler to use the title of Sultan and to have based his right to rule on the Islamic principles. It was during this time that Islamic values were fully observed and Islam became the state religion. As a result, the Hindu-Buddhist concept of kingship (*devaraja, dharma ryta*), underwent a significant erosion and was replaced by Islam.

Edition, 1968, pp. 50-64. Also, R.J. Wilkinson, "The Malacca Sultanate", *JMBRAS*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, Oct. 1935, pp. 22-69. See also, K.S. Sandhu & P. Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka, Transformation of A Malay Capital c. 1400: 1980*, Vol. I, ISEAS, Oxford University Press, Petaling Jaya, 1983, section on history.

⁴ It is believed that Melaka had three encounters with Siam in 1450's. The first one occurred around Muar, the second being in Batu Pahat and the Straits of Singapore. The final clash between these two powers happened in 1459, by the land route of Pahang. For further information, see Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Kesultanan Melayu Melaka; Satu Kajian Mengenai Kedatangan, Penerimaan Dan Penyebaran Ugama Islam (T.M. 1400-1511)", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Jabatan Sejarah, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1978, 308 footnote no. 147. Also, G.E. Morrison, "The Siamese Wars with Malacca During The Reign of Muzaffar Shah", *JMBRAS*, Vol. 22, Pt. I, March, 1948, pp. 61-66.

⁵ See for instance, Zainal Abidin Abd. Wahid, "The Malacca Sultanate; Political Aspects", Workshop on Malay Sultanates. Organised by UNESCO, Kuala Lumpur, 1977. Also by the same author, "Power And Authority In the Melaka Sultanate", in K.S. Sandhu & P. Wheatley (eds.) *Melaka*, Vol. I, pp. 101-112.

The ruler was looked upon as an ordinary human being. From that date onwards the Syariah and Islamic values such as justice, equality, humanitarianism, protection, consultation (*muafakat, musyawarah*) were strongly adhered to.⁶ It became in fact a model of government for the subsequent rulers. Within the Melaka court emerged the custom and tradition, concerning the rules of succession, socio-political hierarchical arrangements, regalia, etc. It was during this time that the function and the position of the principal court dignitaries (*Bendahara, Temenggong, Syah bandar, Penghulu, Bendahari and Laksamana*) were systematized. They became a model for other states to emulate. It was also the time when *Hukum Kanun Melaka* and *Undang-undang Laut Melaka* the earliest of their kind in Peninsula history were codified and enforced.⁷ And again these (*undang-undang*) were either copied directly or modified to a certain extent by the other Malay states.⁸ Another aspect of the Melaka *Adat* which is evidently in use up to the modern time is the *Adat Raja-raja Melayu*.⁹ The text deals with the traditional customs and ceremonies in the Malay court, including the *anugerah (anugraha)* and coronations. Apart from that, Melaka also developed extensive diplomatic relations with many countries in Southeast Asia, China, Ryukyu Islands, India, and West Asia. By the middle of the 15th century the name of Melaka became famous and synonymous with the Malay Peninsula. Tome Pires writes in his *Suma Oriental*, that Sultan Mudzaffar Syah was so famous "that he had messages and presents from the kings of Aden, Ormuz and Cambay, and Bengal, and they sent many merchants from their regions to live in Malacca . . ."¹⁰

⁶For further discussion on the subject, see Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Kesultanan Melayu Melaka", Chapter IV, pp. 181-225.

⁷See Muhd. Yusof Hashim, "Undang-undang Pada Masa Kesultanan Melaka 1400-1511", in *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka, 14th-16th December, 1976*, published by Kerajaan Negeri Melaka, 1983, pp. 58-59. Also, L.Y. Fang, "Undang-undang Melaka", in K.S. Sandhu & P. Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka*, Vol. I, pp. 180-194.

⁸*Ibid.*, According to him, *Undang-undang Melaka*, was adapted and adopted in Kedah, Pahang, Riau, Pontianak and was quoted in recent times as authoritative in civil suits at Brunei. He further stressed, *Undang-undang Johor* and *Undang-undang Kedah* showed striking resemblances to *Undang-undang Melaka*. See, L.Y. Fang, *Undang-undang Melaka*, Royal Institute of Linguistic And Anthropology, Leiden, 1976, Part regarding the introduction.

⁹See for instance, Tardjan Hadidjaja, *Adat Raja-raja Melayu*, Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, 1964, passim.

¹⁰A. Cortesao (ed.), *Suma Oriental Of Tome Pires*, Vol. I & II Hakluyt Society, London, 1944, p. 245.

The rise of Melaka from an obscure fishing village into a thriving entrepot is another important episode in Malay history. Its ability to capitalise on its location in the Straits of Melaka and on the trading experiences of the earlier kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula enabled it to control both the traditional trade and the international trade in the Malay Archipelago for its own political and economic ends. At the height of its commercial hegemony, Melaka became the richest port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and with the most shipping and trading activities in the whole world.¹¹ Its location at the narrowest part in the Straits of Melaka was strategic enough to receive ships from both the east and west. Giovanni da Empoli who took part in the conquest of Melaka in 1511 A.D., has this to say about the port:

the port is excellent and sheltered from every wind, because it is well protected on every side, for although the ships touch bottom, they can rise again at will. More than two thousand laden ships could be accommodated in this port, for the bar at its shallowest is four fathoms deep.¹²

Into the port of Melaka flowed fine and highly priced merchandise from all over the east, and it is at this port that goods all over the west were sold. Melaka and Ormuz were the two entrepots for the collection and distribution of luxury goods, including spices, which were subsequently transported to Europe via the Levant.¹³ Melaka was a mercantile state whose ruling class, included the Sultan, participated in trade. The revenue from trade enormously contributed to the royal coffer. At the height of its power, Melaka is said to have 4 different *syahbandars* to manage its bustling trade with various foreign merchants.¹⁴ Melaka also witnessed the influx of many foreign merchants who congregated in the town. Tome Pires and Eredia speak of Bazaar Jawa, Kam-

¹¹M.L. Dames, (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1918-192, p. 175. Also W.D.G. Birch (tr.) *The Commentaries of The Great Affonso Dalbourquerque.*, Vol. III. No. LXII, Hakluyt Society, London, 1880, p. 75.

¹²For the discussion on the life of Giovanni and other interesting aspects on the conquest of Melaka, see A. Bausani, *Lettera Di Giovanni Da Empoli*, Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, 1970; Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Portugal Dan Usaha Ke Timur, Dengan Tumpuan Kepada Persewaan Di Sekitar Flor De La Mar", in *Kapal dan Harta Karam*, Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 27-39.

¹³C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Power 1415-1825, A Succint Survey*, Witwaterstrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1961, p. 42.

¹⁴A. Cortesao (ed.) *Suma Oriental*, p. 265. Also, W.D.G. Birch (tr.) *The Commentaries*, pp. 77-78.

pung Keling, Kampung Pasai, Bukit China, etc.¹⁵ Melaka was indeed the heir to the commercial power once controlled by Sriwijaya¹⁶ and a new centre of a cosmopolitan society, a cultural melting pot.¹⁷

However, the success story of the Melaka kingdom did not rest only on its elaborate political system and its territorial possessions, or its share of the oriental trade, but also on its Islamic connection. With the growth of Melaka, the Islamic faith entered the kingdom and subsequently Melaka replaced Samudra-Pasai and even Trengganu as a centre for the propagating of Islam throughout the Malay Archipelago. Melaka, in its heyday, was seen by Majul as a headquarters for the spread of Islam in South east Asia.¹⁸ Melaka's trading connection enabled Islam to spread into vast territories, covering Java, Maluku, Banda in the spices

¹⁵A. Cortesão, (ed.), *Suma Oriental*, pp. 278-79. J.V.G. Mill (ed.), 'De Eradia's Description of Malacca and Meridional Cathay', *JMBRAS*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, 1930, p. 103 and 105. Roelofs, stated, "the original population and the foreign traders lived in separate residential districts . . . This arrangement clearly goes back to the days of the Sultans. To the North of Malacca river lay Upeh, the big commercial quarter, itself consisting of two separate districts, in one of which lived the people who came from north-western Asia, and in the other people from the East-Chinese, as well as Javanese from Tuban and Japara and from west Java and Palembang. Javanese from the port of Grise in northern Java lived in the district of Ilir, which was situated to the South of the river . . . The districts of Upeh and Ilir, seen from the sea stretched out along the coast like one long bazaar. As of old, the Malay fisherfolk were housed in district of Sabak in the marshy lands along the river. M.A.P. Meilink Roelofs, *Asian Trade And European Influence, etc.* The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1962, p. 37.

¹⁶See, O.W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya In the Malay History*, OUP, Kuala Lumpur/Singapore 1970. Also, Mohd. Dahlan Mansoer, *Pengantar Sejarah Nusantara Awal*, DBP, Kuala Lumpur, 1979, pp. 216-221.

¹⁷For a detail discussion on the subject, see, Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, "Masyarakat Melaka Zaman Kesultanan Dan Sifat Kosmopolitannya", in Sandhu and P. Wheatley, (eds.), *Melaka*, Vol. I, pp. 113-127. Also, Muhd. Yusof Ibrahim "Some Observation On Social Classes During The Malacca Sultanate (1400-1511)". Workshop on Malay Sultanates, Kuala Lumpur, 1977.

¹⁸According to Majul, "Although Pasai claimed priority as a theological centre, it was Malacca that was destined to become one herself. As a place where theologians and preachers gathered, where discussions became frequent, it was as it were Islamic's headquarters in South-east and Malaysia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries". See, C.A. Majul, "Theories of the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia", *Siliman Journal*, Fourth Quarter, 1964, p. 334.

island and the Southern Philippines.¹⁹ On the peninsula it was through royal marriages and the trade interdependency between Melaka and its *jajahan/naungan*, that Islam gained an acceptance, for example in Kedah, Pahang dan Johor. Under subsequent Sultans, Melaka became a centre for teaching of Muslim culture, Muslim literature, mysticism, and law.²⁰ Istana, Mosque and the residence of *ulamaks* became the most important centres in disseminating the teaching of Islam.²¹ Melaka was at one time, considered as the 'right Mecca.'²² Subsequently, Islamic influence was absorbed into various aspects of life, through the *aqidah* and law. It is equally important to note that, together with Islam, *Bahasa Melayu* gained considerable influence and became the *lingua franca*, of the Malay Archipelago.²³ It was Islam that introduced in Trengganu, and later Melaka, the *huruf Jawi* which gave impetus to the development of Malay literature such as the *Sejarah Melayu*. Islam also brought into the kingdom such literary works as the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Hikayat Iskandar Dzulkarnain*, besides many *Kitab* such as the *Al-Quran* and *Durul Manzum*.²⁴ It is equally important to note, as a result of Islamic influence, the Muslim Calender (Hijrah) came to be used in the Sultanate. Melaka also mirrored the concept of unity *rumpun bangsa Melayu* where the Malay language, culture and Islam emerged as a binding force, and transcended the barrier of geography and *suku kaum*. By early 16th century, practically every Malay in the peninsula and the majority of the inhabitants in Java had accepted Islamic faith. Consequently, Islam became a unifying force among the

¹⁹See for instance, Meilink Roelofsz, "Arab Trade with Indonesia And Malay Peninsula From the 8th to 16th century", in D.S. Richard (ed.), *Islam And The Trade of Asia*, Cornell University Press, 1970, p. 148. Also, B.H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara Sejarah Indonesia*, DBP, Kuala Lumpur, 1967, p. 89.

²⁰For a detail treatment of the subject see, Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Melaka Sebagai Pusat Islam Abad ke XV Masihi", in *SARI*, Jurnal Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu, UKM, Jilid I, No. 1, Januari 1983, pp. 31-55.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²This statement must be viewed within the context of Melaka's role as a centre of Islamic teaching and the spread of Islam into many places. See, W.D.G. Birch (tr.), *Commentaries*, p. 82.

²³A. Cortesao (ed.), *Suma Oriental*, p. 269.

²⁴The emergence of such *Kitabs* was mentioned in *Sejarah Melayu*. See also, Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Kemasukan Islam Ke Melaka Dan Penyebarannya", in *Dokumentasi Sejarah Melaka*, pp. 219-251.

maritime *negeri* of Java which resulted in the overthrow of the Hindu-Majapahit kingdom in the interior.²⁵ It was also Islam which gave rise to the concept of *Jihad* against western intrusion in the Malay Archipelago.²⁶ The fact that Islam is now professed by the majority of the Malaysians and Islam is the official religion of the country is a strong evidence of the historical heritage bequeathed by Melaka.

Melaka's greatness and importance did not escape the attention of the Portuguese. As early as the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese collected many valuable informations regarding the city-state.²⁷ Melaka's prominent position in the Asian trade, and as a centre of Islamic activity subsequently brought it into an open war with the 'white Benggali of Portugal'. To the Portuguese, the conquest of Melaka in 1511 A.D. was their ultimate dream of creating a trading empire in the east. In the words of Albuquerque if the Portuguese were able to take Melaka, "Cairo and Makkah would be entirely ruined, and Venice would have no spices conveyed to it except that which her merchants obtained by going to Portugal."²⁸ The same sentiment is also echoed in the *Suma Oriental*, in which it is stated, "whoever is the lord of Malacca, has his hand on the throat of Venice."²⁹

As a result of the Portuguese conquest, the Sultan, the Malay ruling class and many of the loyal subjects of the Crown including traders, left Melaka. A new centre of power emerged, first at Bentan and, later on, at various places along the banks of the Johor River. The founding of the Johor Kingdom was seen by Andaya as a continuing episode of the history of Melaka.³⁰ Sultan Mahmud had lost his capital and a great deal of

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ See for instance, O.B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, Pt. Two, W. Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1967. pp. 235-237. Also, S. Naguib Al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement On A General Theory of the Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, DBP, Kuala Lumpur, 1969, p. 8.

²⁷ See, Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Catatan Mengenai Hubungan Awal Portugal-Melaka", *JEBAT*, Journal of Historical Society, UKM, Bil. 10, 1980/81. Also by the same writer, "De Sequeira: Warisan Zaman Penjelajahan Portugis Dan Utusan Ke Melaka", *Trisulawira*, Bil. 1, 1984, pp. 47-55.

²⁸ W.D.G. Birch (tr.), *The Commentaries*, Vol. III., p. 118.

²⁹ A. Cortesao (ed.), *Suma Oriental*, p. 287.

³⁰ See, L.Y. Andaya, "The Structure of Power in Seventeenth Century Johor", in A. Reid and Lance Castles (eds.), *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*, Monograph No. 6, *JMBRAS*, 1979, pp. 1-11. Also by the same author, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728*, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1975.

his confidence, but he certainly had not lost the the loyalty of his vassals. In many respects, the kingdom of Johor reflected attempts made by the Malays to recuperate from its losses and to revive the old empire of Melaka based on maritime trade. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Sultan Mahmud and his successors in Johor, tried their best to maintain the sovereignty of the state, to compete both with the Portuguese and the Achehese, and, most important, to recapture Melaka. Despite repeated destructions of its capital, Johor continued to function within the framework of Malay polity.³¹

The development of Melaka under three successive European powers, beginning in the early 16th century until its independence, together with Malaya in 1957, may not be our main concern here. Suffice to say that, basically, the Portuguese, the Dutch and later the British justified their occupation of Melaka on the need to control the flow of trade in the Straits, and its adjacent areas and beyond. However, it must also be appreciated that, the Europeans were not the only principal interested parties. Their presence in Melaka and the manner by which they steered Melaka towards their desired objectives often brought them into conflict with the *pribumis*. After the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese, there was not a single entrepot or power able to enjoy the whole flow of commercial traffic in the Straits of Melaka. Instead, various ports such as Pasai, Acheh, Johor, Brunei, Patani and Java etc., shared the wealth of the increasing trade volume.³² Since the fall of Melaka also, *Selat Melaka* had witnessed recurring warfares and perennial disputes between Johor, Acheh, Japara and Bugis and European powers, principally the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Despite their limited manpower and other resources, the Portuguese tried to maintain their position and to revive the old trade of Melaka.³³ In many respects, Melaka served as a vital trading link and headquarters of trade transactions between Goa and the Far East. From Melaka Portuguese influence and trading activities were directed to various places in the mainland of

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² For a deeper understanding of the trading activities in the Malay Archipelago in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the effects of western intrusion, see for example, Meilink Roelofs, *Asian Trade* etc.

³³ See for example, C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, p. 46.

Southeast Asia and the Indonesian Archipelago.³⁴ Melaka under the Portuguese gradually became a centre of the Christian Missionary activities. Several religious orders settled in Melaka, and Melaka was elevated to the status of a bishopric and a base for Christian proselytism in Southeast Asia and the Far East.³⁵

Within Melaka, emerged a small community of mixed marriages between the Portuguese males and the Asiatic females, the *casados*, whose descendants are still traceable in Melaka.³⁶ The Portuguese also left their mark in Melaka in the form of architecture and buildings, noted among them was *A Famosa*, a 16th century fortress of which only the *Porta Santiago* has survived to the present day, and the Ruins of St. Paul Church.³⁷ Some of the Portuguese words, such as *sepatu* (*sepatu*) *cameisa* (*kemeja*), to name a few, are incorporated into *Bahasa Malaysia*.³⁸

By the conquest of 1641, the Dutch inherited from the Portuguese a small tract of land, its fortifications and a very much reduced population. Nevertheless, Melaka under Dutch occupation served as a trading post from where the VOC conducted its trade with the Malay States in the Peninsula and the *pesisir* Sumatera.³⁹ A series of treaties were concluded to secure the monopoly of certain items of trade, principally tin. Like the Portuguese, this

³⁴Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, pp. 136–172. Also D.K. Bassett, "The Historical Background, 1500–1815", in Wang Gungwu (ed.), *Malaysia*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1965, pp. 113–127.

³⁵For detailed discussions and activities of the missionaries in Melaka and beyond, see for instance, Fr. Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca And Singapore, (1511–1958)*, Agencia Geral Do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1961. Also, M.J. Pintado, *A Stroll Through Ancient Malacca And A Glimpse At Her Historical Sites*, Loh Printing Press, Melaka, 1980.

³⁶See for instance, B. Sta Maria, *My People And My Country, The Story of Portuguese Community*, Malacca Portuguese Development Centre, Melaka, 1982. Also, M.J. Pintado, "The Portuguese Community In Malacca 1511–1973" in *Illustrated Historical Guide To Melaka*, Rotary Club of Malacca, 1973, pp. 48–62.

³⁷M.J. Pintado, *A Stroll Through*, etc., pp. 34–41. Also, *Malacca Historic City of Malaysia*, published by Tourist Development Corporation of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

³⁸See for instance, M. Teixeira, "The Influence of Portuguese on the Malay language", *JMBRAS*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1962.

³⁹D.K. Bassett, "The Historical Background 1500–1815", p. 120. B.W. Andaya, "Melaka Under The Dutch", in K.S. Sandhu & P. Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka*, Vol. I, pp. 195–241. Also, "Melaka: A Source For the Study of Coastal Trade and Shipping in The Malay Peninsula During the 17th and 18th Centuries", in *Kapal Dan Harta Karam*, pp. 53–76.

new European power in the Malayan waters also considered themselves inheritors of the rights and sovereignty of the Melaka Sultanate. As such, the VOC imposed a rule whereby all traders using the Straits of Melaka had to obtain a permit or Dutch pass before hand.⁴⁰ The Dutch were unable, to a large extent, to recover the glory of Melaka's trade once in the hand of the Sultanate. Their monopolistic tendency as much as limited manpower, practically placed them in a vulnerable position *vis-a-vis* the Melaka Straits. As early as 1644, fighting broke out between the Dutch and the Minangkabau Malays of Nanning and Rembau.⁴¹ Later, the position of the Dutch was seriously challenged by the Bugis under Raja Ali Haji in 1784. The areas around St. John's Hill, Bukit China and Bunga Raya came under heavy attacks. The town was in extreme danger and uncertainty, until the timely arrival of Van Braam and the subsequent death of Raja Ali Haji, a Bugis war hero in his time.⁴² The Dutch presence in Melaka is reflected in the form of architectural remains, such as the building of Christ Church, Stadhuys, the old Dutch house now occupied by *Muzium Negeri Melaka* and also a Dutch fort at Bukit Senjuang (St. John's Hill).⁴³

Melaka was transferred to the British in 1795. In 1807, according to Newbold, the fort which was valued at about 700,000 dollars, was destroyed by order of the British government, at the enormous expense of 260,000 rupees.⁴⁴ The British decided upon the demolition of the public buildings and the total abandonment of Melaka because they planned to transfer Melaka's trade and population to Pulau Pinang. It was argued that in the event of Melaka falling into the hands of other European power, it would be of no use to the new conquerer. It was Raffles who subsequently found the place viable, healthy, historic and of strategic value to the British. He therefore decided to save Melaka from its utter ruin.⁴⁵ Melaka, was utilised as a base from where operations

⁴⁰R.O. Winstedt, *A History of Malaya*, pp. 122–134.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 126. Also, J.K. Wells, "The Dutch Malacca and the Malay World", in *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka*, p. 142.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴³For further information on the subject see, *Malacca Historic City of Malaysia*. Also, M.J. Pintado, *A Stroll Through*.

⁴⁴T.J. Newbold, *British Settlements in The Straits of Malacca*, Vol. I, OUP, Singapore, 1971, pp. 126–127.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

were launched to oust the position of the Dutch in Batavia. By the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, Melaka was firmly placed under British rule. Together with Penang and Singapore, Melaka was incorporated into the Straits Settlements. By 1867, the administration of the Straits Settlements was transferred from the office of the Governor General of India to the Colonial Office in London.⁴⁶ From the Straits Settlements, British interest expanded into other states in the Malay Peninsula.⁴⁷

Throughout the 19th century, Melaka and Penang continued to play their role as centres for the collection and distribution of the products of the Malay Peninsula. Together they formed a vital link to the growth of Singapore as an international trading market. Melaka also continued to serve the Malay Peninsula in its economic growth especially in the economic activities of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang. In the case of Negeri Sembilan its exports and imports were channelled through Melaka.⁴⁸ The population of Melaka also experienced a steady growth; from 37,706 in 1836 to 55,000 inhabitants by the next decade. By early 20th century, the population of Melaka figured 95,000 of which 73,000 were Malays. Besides the Malays; the population of Melaka also consisted of the European descendants, the *Baba* (*Peranakan*) community,⁵⁰ and the *Chettis*.⁵¹ The *Baba Peranakan* and *Chettis*

⁴⁶For further discussion on the Straits Settlements, see for example, L.A. Mills, *British Malaya, 1824-1867*, Revised edition, Kuala Lumpur, 1966. Also, C.M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements 1826-1867*, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1972.

⁴⁷Khoo Kay Kim, *The Western Malay States 1850-1873*, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1972.

⁴⁸See, Khoo Kay Kim, "Sejarah Melaka Secara Umum", *Jurnal Sejarah Melaka*, Bil. 1, Jun 1976, p. 10. Also his paper, "Melaka Di Zaman Pemerintahan Inggeris 1867-1941", *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka*, pp. 152-167. Also, Chan Kok Eng, "British Malacca's Trade: A Profile of a Colonial Economy", in *Jurnal Sejarah Melaka*, Bil. 7, 1982, pp. 69-75.

⁴⁹Khoo Kay Kim, "Melaka Di Bawah Pemerintahan Inggeris", p. 156.

⁵⁰See for example, Oong Hak Ching, "Sejarah Kaum Baba (China Peranakan) Di Melaka", *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka*, pp. 168-191. Also, K.S. Sandhu, "Chinese Colonization of Malacca, A Study In Population change, 1500-1957", *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography* (MJTG), Vol. 15, 1961.

⁵¹See, Narayanasamy, "Masyarakat Chitty Melaka", in *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka*, pp. 192-218. Also the article by the same author in K.S. Sandhu and P. Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka*, Vol. II.

traced their origin back to the days of the Melaka Sultanate. The degree of assimilation, adaptation, and the exercise of mutual respect among the people of Melaka, was indeed a good example of a balanced multi-racial society. The *Babas* were also responsible for the erection of the Cheng Hong Teng Temple, the most ancient Chinese temple in the Malay Peninsula.⁵²

Malaya's long subordination to European powers, the Japanese interregnum, economic backwardness of the Malays *vis a vis* the immigrants, and the emergence of the intelligentsia groups, in particular, inevitably gave rise to nationalism, a phenomenon often linked with the socio-political development in late 19th and early 20th century. In term of education, Melaka must have been among the first to receive western education. Until the opening of the first Malay school in 1816 by C.H. Thomsen, a missionary who studied his *Bahasa Malaysia* from Munshi Abdullah,⁵³ education among the Malays centred around mosque, *pondok*, *madrasah*, *surau*, and the residence of the *guru* or *ulamak*, a continuing system from the days of the Melaka Sultanate. Even Abdullah Munshi the author of *Hikayat Abdullah*, and Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi, a reformist and the editor of *Al-Imam*, to name a few, underwent their Islamic education through this process. The Anglo-Chinese College started in 1818, followed by the opening of the Melaka Free School in 1826.⁵⁴ Since then, Melaka witnessed a rapid educational expansion which subsequently acted as a catalyst for the development of socio-economic and political consciousness among its population. The establishment of *Maktab Perguruan Melaka* in 1900,⁵⁵ the publication of *Al-Imam* in 1906 and other printing press, the founding of Sekolah Al-Hadi in 1916, and religious debates between *Kaum Muda* and *Kaum Tua*, all these

⁵² Tee Yock Ling, "Berhala Cheng Hoon Teng: Perkembangan dan pengaruh ke atas beberapa aspek kebudayaan orang-orang Cina di Melaka", *Latihan Ilmiah, SmSa., Jabatan Sejarah, UKM*, 1979.

⁵³ Ahmat Adam, "Pertumbuhan Kesedaran Sosial Orang-orang Melayu Di Melaka pada Tahun-tahun 1920an dan 30an", in *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka*, p. 298 footnote no. 7.

⁵⁴ See for instance, B. Harrison, "Anglo Chinese College and Early Modern Education" in K.S. Sandhu and P. Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka*, Vol. 1, pp. 297-310.

⁵⁵ See Ramlah Adam, "Perkembangan Maktab Melayu Melaka (dari 1900-1922)", in *Jurnal Sejarah Melaka*, Bil. 6, 1981, pp. 22-42. Also, Sabihah Osman, "Perkembangan Pelajaran Melayu Di Melaka Antara Tahun 1900-1941", in *Dokumentasi Seminar Sejarah Melaka*, pp. 321-351.

in one way or the other generated a degree of consciousness among the people of Melaka. The *Kesatuan Guru-guru Melayu Melaka* was established in 1926 to protect the interest and welfare of its members.⁵⁶ The first Malay newspaper in Melaka, *Suara Benar* printed in *Jawi* was circulated in 1932.⁵⁷ *Suara Benar* was indeed a forum in which the Malays voiced their grievances. Melaka also witnessed another important event in the history of education, namely the setting up of *Maktab Perempuan Melayu Melaka* in 1935.⁵⁸ By then, various social clubs such as the *Mohamedan Recreation Club* and the *Persekutuan Sentosa Perseimbangan Pengkalan Rama* had come into being.⁵⁹ In 1939 emerged the *Jamiat ul Dakwah al-Islamiah*. Membership of this associations included the followers of the *Kaum Muda* and the *Kaum Tua*.⁶⁰ The year also saw the emergence of *Kesatuan Melayu Melaka* championed by the Malay intellectuals and journalists.⁶¹

Thus, it is fairly clear at this juncture that Melaka was indeed a historic city-state.

The glory of Melaka under its Sultanate, expressed in the form of literary evidences, and artifacts such as tombstones (Sultans Mansur Syah and Alauddin Riayat Syah), Melaka coins, the heroic images of Laksamana, such as Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat⁶² coupled with other historical remains bear the testimony to Melaka's antiquity. Melaka's long history against foreign autho-

⁵⁶ Khoo Kay Kim, "Melaka Di Zaman Pemerintahan Inggeris", p. 161.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162. Also, A.M. Iskandar Hj. Ahmad, *Persuratkhabaran Melayu 1876-1960*, DBP, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, p. 29.

⁵⁸ Sabihah Osman, "Perkembangan Pelajaran Melayu Di Melaka", p. 341. Also, Muhammad Yusof Harun, "Pokok Dan Pemikiran Cendekiawan Melaka Sebelum Perang Dunia II", *Jurnal Sejarah Melaka*, Bil. 7, 1982, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁹ Ahmat Adam, "Pertumbuhan Kesedaran Sosial", pp. 306-307.

⁶⁰ Khoo Kay Kim, "Melaka Di Zaman Pemerintahan Inggeris", p. 162. Ahmat Adam, "Pertumbuhan Kesedaran Sosial", pp. 317-320. Also, Muhammad Yusof Harun, "Pokok Dan Pemikiran Cendekiawan Melayu", pp. 87-88.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Later in 1941, *Kesatuan Melayu Muda* (Melaka) was formed and inaugurated by Ibrahim Yaacob who subsequently was arrested by the British.

⁶² See, Yahaya Abu Bakar, "Kesultanan Melayu Melaka", pp. 211-213. William Shaw and M. Kassim Hj. Ali, *Malacca Coins*, Jabatan Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, 1970. Kassim Ahmad (peny.), *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, DBP, Kuala Lumpur, 1964.

rities since the time of Sultan Mahmud formed an essential part of Melaka's development.⁶³ The socio-religious awakening, the economic backwardness of the Malays, together with an emergence of intellectuals in many ways, helped to mould the response of pribumis to the return of the British after the Second World War. They explain why the pribumis largely accepted the struggle of UMNO against the Malayan Union in 1946. The slogans such as *Takkan Melayu Hilang Di Dunia* which is contributed to Hang Tuah, or *Di Atas Robohan Kota Melaka, Kita Dirikan Jiwa Merdeka* by the late Dr. Burhanuddin El-Helmi, clearly indicate how the history of Melaka is used as a basis for the struggle against colonialism. Because of the importance of Melaka in the Malay history, Tunku Abdul Rahman later chose this state as the site to announce the date of Independence for Malaya.⁶⁴

⁶³For notes on Naning War, Naning War Memorial and Tombstone of Dol Said, see, *Illustrated Historical Guide To Melaka*, p. 75 and 81. According to Newbold, as a result of heavy expenditure of Naning War, Melaka between 1831-34, suffered a deficit. The annual loss to the state rose from 135,700 Rs in 1831-32 to 465,500 Rs in 1833-34. See, Newbold, *British Settlements*, Vol. I, p. 170.

⁶⁴See, Baharom Azit, "Menyambut Kepulangan Missi Merdeka, 1956", in *Jurnal Sejarah Melaka*, Bil. 7, 1982, pp. 1-6. Also, *UMNO Sepuluh Tahun, 1946-1956*, Daud Press, Pulau Pinang, 1957, hal. 136-139. About 50,000 people attended the rally.