

TAXATION POLICY AND LAND REFORMS IN COLONIAL MALAYA

МУСТАМЛАКА МАЛАЙЗИЯДА СОЛИҚ ВА ЕР ИСЛОҲОТЛАРИ

ЗЕМЕЛЬНЫЕ И ФИСКАЛЬНЫЕ РЕФОРМЫ В КОЛОНИАЛЬНОЙ МАЛАЙЗИИ

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Abstract: During the 18th-19th centuries, British influence started to change the situation of the economy and the society of Malaya as a whole. Steps towards the further expansion of the tin mining industry was a turning point, which affected the whole society. The British Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were established between 1786 and 1825 and were governed by the East India Company. The tin trade was thrown open to private individuals. Further developments required more labor and funds involvement and as a result, the Chinese came to the central scene and started to invest hugely in Sungei Ujong and Negeri Sembilan's tin mining industry. This article discusses the colonial time reforms regarding Malaya's taxation and land matters. Using library-based research, this study investigated colonial taxation and land issues. Reforms, which occurred in the last two decades of the 19th century in land relations, helped to reshape existed in pre-colonial period subsistent agriculture to the more advanced and systematized export-based income generator to the British. In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was a huge increase in exportable crop production. The rubber depression, which occurred in the 1920s, gave chance for palm oil to become successful agricultural produce. Kennedy states that many of the plantation areas were large ones; by 1933, there were 32 estates with 64,000-planted acres, and this acreage had increased to 79,000 by 1941. Authorities, in order to encourage the production of palm oil and diversify the economy, granted lands on favorable terms. This research finds that at the end of the colonial

rule the British started to use the beneficial terms for the landowners to boost production.

Keywords: Malaysia, colonial Malaya, British rule, British Advisors, Bugis, bharas, land reforms, taxation system changes.

Аннотация: В течение 18-19 веков британское влияние начало менять ситуацию в экономике и обществе Малайи в целом. Шаги к дальнейшему расширению оловодобывающей промышленности стали поворотным моментом, затронувшим все общество. Поселения Британского пролива на Пенанге, Малакке и Сингапуре были основаны между 1786 и 1825 годами и управлялись Ост-Индской компанией. Торговля оловом была открыта для частных лиц. Дальнейшее развитие потребовало большего участия рабочей силы и средств, и в результате китайцы вышли на центральную роль и начали вкладывать огромные средства в Сунгей Уджонг и в добывающую промышленность Негери Сембилан. В этой статье обсуждаются реформы колониального времени, касающиеся налогообложения и земельных вопросов в Малайе. В предлагаемом исследовании на основе данных научной литературы изучались земельные вопросы и вопросы налогообложения в колониях. Реформы, которые произошли в последние два десятилетия XIX века в земельных отношениях, помогли преобразовать существовавшее в доколониальный период натуральное сельское хозяйство в более продвинутый и систематизированный источник дохода, основанный на экспорте, для британцев. В последней четверти XIX века произошло резкое увеличение производства экспортных сельскохозяйственных продуктов. Депрессия, связанная с падением цен на каучук, произошедшая в 1920-х годах, дала возможность пальмовому маслу стать успешной сельскохозяйственной продукцией. Многие из плантаций были большими; к 1933 году насчитывалось 32 поместья с 64 000 акрами посевных площадей, а к 1941 году эта площадь увеличилась до 79 000 акров. Власти, чтобы стимулировать производство пальмового масла и диверсифицировать экономику, предоставили земли на выгодных условиях. Это исследование показывает, что в конце колониального правления британцы начали предлагать выгодные условия для землевладельцев, чтобы увеличить производство.

Ключевые слова: Малайзия, колониальная Малайя, британское правление, британские советники, бугис, бхары, земельные реформы, изменения в системе налогообложения.

Аннотация: 18-19 асрларда Англия таъсири бутун Малайя иктисодиёти ва жамиятини ахволини ўзгартира бошлади. Қалай қазиб олиш саноатини янада кенгайтиришга қаратилган қадамлар бутун жамиятни камраб олган бурилиш нуктаси бўлди. Пенанг, Малакка ва Сингапур инглиз бўғозлари аҳоли пунктлари 1786-1825

йилларда ташкил топган ва уларни Ост-Ҳинд компани-яси бошқарган. Қалай савдоси хусусий шахсларга ҳам очик эди. Кейинчалик ривожланиш учун кўпроқ ишчи кучи ва маблаг жалб қилиниши зарур эди ва натижада хитойликлар марказий ролни ўйнашди, Сунгеи Ужонг ва Негери Сембиланнинг қалай қазиб олиш саноатига катта миқдорда сармоя киритишни бошладилар. Ушбу мақола Малайянинг солиққа тортилиши ва ер масалалари бўйича мустамлакачилик вақтидаги ислохотларни муҳокама қилади. Илмий манбааларни ўрганишга асосланган тадқиқот усулларида фойдаланган ҳолда, ушбу тадқиқот мустамлака солиқлари ва ер масалаларини ўрганиб чиқди. 19-асрнинг сўнгги йигирма йиллигида ер муносабатларида юз берган ислохотлар мустамлакадан олдинги даврда мавжуд бўлган қишлоқ хўжалигини инглизларга экспортга асосланган ривожланган ва тизимлаштирилган даромад ишлаб чиқарувчиси сифатида қайта шакллантиришга ёрдам берди. XIX асрнинг сўнгги чорагида экспорт қилинадиган экинлар етиштириш ҳажми шиддатли ўсди. 20-асрнинг 20-йилларида содир бўлган каучук депрессияси палма ёғига муваффақиятли қишлоқ хўжалиги маҳсулоти бўлишига имконият яратди. Кўплаб плантациялар майдонлари катта бўлган; 1933 йилга келиб 64000 гектар екилган 32 та мулк мавжуд эди ва 1941 йилга келиб бу майдонлар 79000 га етди. Ҳокимият пальма ёғи ишлаб чиқаришни рағбатлантириш ва иктисодиётни диверсификация қилиш мақсадида ерларни имтиёзли шартларда берди. Ушбу тадқиқотлар шуни кўрсатадики, мустамлакачилик ҳукмронлигининг охирида инглизлар ишлаб чиқаришни кўпайтириш учун ер егалари учун фойдали шартларда фойдаланишга беришни бошладилар.

Калит сўзлар: Малайзия, мустамлака Малай, Британия ҳукмронлиги, Британия маслаҳатчилари, Бугис, бҳаралар, ер ислохотлари, солиқ тизимидаги ўзгаришлар.

Introduction

The British Empire and the Malaya Campaign.

The powerful British Empire, always strived for possibilities to expand their influence and increase their profits. In the second half of the 18th century, British trade with the Chinese expanded. Sadka observes that “The British were contemplating over establishing trade port somewhere in South East Asia to reduce the transportation costs hitherto existed.” (Sadka, 1962, p. 38) They had options to set up a naval base either in Penang, Aceh, and Andaman or in Nicobars. The British ex-naval officer Francis Light saw an opportunity to develop Penang as a port city and as a connecting point in their trade with the Chinese. He met with the Sultan of Kedah to discuss the possibilities of ceding Penang to the British. In return, the British would help to defend the Kedah state from possible enemies such as

the Siamese and the Bugis of Selangor. Also, the British would make a yearly cession payment to the Sultan of Kedah. At that time, Kedah needed of protection and support from the external powers to keep their Sultanate safe and continue their external trade. The Sultan of Kedah agreed with Light’s proposal and sent a letter to the East India Company. Simultaneously in 1772, Light writes letters to his firm in Madras, suggesting that Penang might suit the East India Company better than it suited his employers. However, in the beginning, their negotiations have failed. Eventually, after 12 years, when the other options of proposed British naval bases plan seemingly ruined by the Dutch that occupied Rhio and Acheh, which the company itself failed to gain, the turn to Penang came to be seriously contemplated to become like a trade and naval base in this region. As Kennedy writes, “In this favorable atmosphere Light obtained draft proposals from the Sultan of Kedah, and these proposals he took to Calcutta early in 1786. The Acting Governor-General, Macpherson, agreed to Light’s scheme, and persuaded the Company to make a factory at Penang with Light as its Superintendent.” (Kennedy, 1962, p. 77) Light returned from Calcutta with three ships. On 11 August in 1786, he formally took possession of the island of Penang. However, the Sultan of Kedah was not satisfied with the situation due to the lack of military support as initially promised by Light. Kennedy argues that “This whole question of the terms on which Penang was ceded, has been the subject of much controversy, especially as Kedah needed help very badly against Siamese pressure early in the 19th century.” (Kennedy, 1962, p. 78) After five years, in 1791, the Sultan of Kedah decided to take back Penang by force. However, he did not succeed and had to agree to cede Penang to the East India Company for the annual payment to him and his successors of 6,000 Spanish dollars. After the British Empire arrived at the Malaysian peninsula at the end of the 18th century, their interest was focused on the economic benefits from these lands. Together with trade and mining opportunities, the British established a colonial office to take over the control of the Malaysian peninsula. (Ganiyev, 2020, p. 11) Further penetration of the British into Malaya turned favourable. This was due to events that occurred back in Europe, where France defeated Holland in the war. After this case, all the Dutch overseas territories in South East were to admit the British troops without any resistance. Hence, the British established new bases in Malacca from 1795. Later in the century, the British and the Dutch signed an agreement known as the Anglo-Dutch Treaty where the main purpose of it was to settle existing

differences between representatives of the two countries in regards to the commercial and territorial questions. Territorial agreements were signed and Holland ceded to the British Dutch factories in India and Malacca as well as the whole of Singapore. Britain, on the other hand, surrendered the Bencoolen Company to the Dutch. Commercially, ports of each country admitted vessels of the other at agreed and fixed charges.

British influence started to change the situation of the economy and the society of Malaya as a whole. Steps towards the further expansion of the tin mining industry was a turning point, which affected the whole society. As Sadka observes, "In the 19th century the whole picture had changed, in a way which meant not only a revolution in the tin industry but a fundamental change in the structure of society. In Malaysia British took over gradually all states starting from Penang in 1786 and administration in Malaya began in 1874 with the Treaty of 'Pangkor'. As a result, a British Resident was appointed to help manage the state's administration. (Avazbek Ganiyev Oybekovich, Hassan Shakeel Shah, Mohammad Ayaz, 2017, p. 42) The British Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were established between 1786 and 1825 and were governed by the East India Company. The tin trade was thrown open to private individuals." (Sadka, 1968, p. 20) Further developments required more labor and funds involvement and as a result, the Chinese came to the central scene and started to invest hugely in Sungei Ujong and Negeri Sembilan's tin mining industry. In the mid-nineteenth century, a discovery of the new tin mines at Larut in Perak and Kuala Lumpur in Selangor occurred and where the Chinese were again the main stakeholders. As regards the profit distribution, the Chinese were in control over the profits and the local chiefs had rights on the pre-agreed tributes. Sadka explains that "In the 1830s Newbold estimated the tin output for Selangor at about 1,200 *bharas* annually, mostly from the mines of Lukut, Klang and 'Langat'. In 1872 the Kuala Lumpur field, which had first begun exporting in 1859, was alone exporting 1,000 *bharas* a month. Between 1825 and 1835 the tin imports from Malaya states into Malacca averaged 91, 158 *sicca* rupees out of an average of 1,123,187 *sicca* rupees for all imports; in 1870, after the field in Kuala Lumpur had come into production, the import was \$898,178 out of a total for all imports of 2,260,875." (Sadka, 1968, p. 21) The strengthening economic position of the Selangor state allowed it to develop its infrastructural and urban aspects. In 1877, the second year of organized collection by the British officers, the Langat revenues totaled \$18,233; by

contrast, the revenues of Klang, the outlet of the Kuala Lumpur mines, amounted in 1874 to \$114,000. In the 1870s, the war between the Chinese Ghi Hin societies backed by the Straits counterparts against other Hai San Chinese clan started. On the other side was the rivalry of the Sumatran and the Bugis communities in Klang. Sadka explains, "Their quarrel merged first with the struggle between the Malay chiefs for the control of mining revenues and then with the Chinese struggle for the mines. In Selangor, Captain Yap Ah Loy and the Malay followers of Ziauddin fought for the upper courses of the Selangor and Klang rivers against the rival Sino-Malay faction. (Sadka, 1968, p. 37) These events made the British Government intervene and as a result, the first residents or Advisers were established in Selangor, Perak and Sungei Ujong.

Methodology

This research will be focusing on colonial Malaysia. Research would be on the land and taxation reforms of that time. Choosing this state is justified with the possibility to identify changes in the land and taxation systems of the colonial period. This is to explore the colonialists' effects on the government system, which was based on strong traditions and beliefs.

2) Historical analysis - methods are based on the primary data on the field of study and within the research, it helps the research to find answers on how the zakat system change after the arrival of colonial powers in Malaysia. The historical investigations allow to know and to reflect on a phenomenon, considering emphasize of the concepts and hypotheses and aim at understanding the relations of the History with the Time, with the memory or with Space. In this sense, two important structures need to be dominated by those who are interested in this type of historical study. This is the theory and methodology of history.

3) Content analysis – used in this research to analyse land and taxation reforms and their changes over time. This study was divided into smaller paragraphs to see the content of each parameter by periods. Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. The results will allow us to come up with the conclusion on how effective was the invaders' influence on the land issues and taxation after they initiated structural changes in land and tax administration.

Analysis of the taxation and Land Reforms in Colonial Malaya

After the establishment of colonial rule, the British focused on taxation and land reforms. Sadka writes that,

Swettenham said once, 'we don't seek revenue but population' which meant that in order to attract more labour force, authorities had to reduce or totally abolish taxes and duties on certain agriculture produce, whereas in the case of the tin industry the taxation was heavily practiced as the production of tin was a huge industry. The Malay taxation pattern had been a patchwork of local produce, land, labour and poll taxes, varying in incidence and method of the collection according to local circumstances and privileges; its main features were the import duties on all goods and royalties on all exported produce. (Sadka, 1968, p. 331)

In order to reach these goals, the British Advisors took gradual steps to abolish some import duties in Perak and Selangor. By 1878, in Perak, the British abolished import duties on all products (except on spirits, tobacco and opium). In Selangor, the abolishing of the duties on tea, salt and salt fish occurred in 1884, on tobacco and oil in 1885 and finally, in 1886, the import duties on all products except opium and spirits were abolished. About agricultural produce, tax rates were according to the type of the crop. For example, in Selangor, after mid-1880 taxes on the produce of tapioca, pepper and Gambier were abolished. Until 1894, in Selangor and Perak coffee was not taxed at all. Sadka observes that "Revenue from the agriculture was also obtained in the form of premium and rents on land. However, the revenue figures indicate that until the 1890's the total land revenue for all states, including revenue from townlands, mining leases and license, were not more than 10 per cent of the duty on the tin." (Sadka, 1968, p. 332) In Selangor and Perak, between 1880 and 1896, taxes on tin mining was from 9 to 15.3 per cent as well as from 8.1 to 14.6 per cent respectively. Another huge source of revenue was from the issuance of licenses for tin mining. This source of taxation brought revenues almost equal to the income on taxes from the tin mining itself.

Table 1 Revenues from the Licenses (in Straits dollars), 1886-95 (Sadka, 1968, p. 333)

Year	Perak	Selangor
1886	750,979	311,038
1887	744,196	458,938
1888	752,807	456,580
1889	1,388,816	648,961
1890	1,154,395	681,807
1891	1,000,478	607,750
1892	1,020,867	621,585

1893	1,031,771	752,655
1894	1,054,331	700,946
1895	783,222	424,955

The strategy of the British was to "open up" more lands in the western parts of the Peninsular. This was linked to their goal of establishing more settlements and used these new lands for commercial purposes. The British encouraged Chinese tin miners to produce more tin, whereas new land regulations were directed to reduce the Chinese influence and increase the British and European capitalists' presence in Malaya. Emily Sadka emphasizes that in the early British residency period, some influential authorities encouraged the acceleration of land reforms. As Sadka explains, "An important figure in the land reforms was Maxwell who was appointed as a Commissioner of Land Titles in 1882, in Straits Settlements. The land regulations passed in all states between 1882 and 1889." (Sadka, 1968, p. 333) These regulations divided lands into four categories such as wastelands or the land available for agricultural purposes, land in the occupation of natives under Malay tenure, building lands in towns and villages and mining reserves. Sadka writes that "The form of tenure envisaged for all agricultural land, whether under Malay subsistence cultivation or plantations, was lease for 999 years, giving a permanent, heritable and transferrable right on payment of premium, survey fee and fixed land rent." (Sadka, 1968, p. 333) The new land reforms came in 1897 where the uniform Land Enactments, which required Malay, landowners who own less than 100 acres to register in a Mukim Register; these Enactments remained in force until 1926.

In another instance, Nonini mentions that

With this single innovation, reinforced by the Torrens, land registration system brought in from Australia. The colonial administration provided itself with a unique base for the future influence over the direction of the colony's economy, with the source of the revenue in land rents and premium, and power over Malay rakyat by controlling their access to their means of production – land. (Nonini, 1992, p. 52)

As Sadka observes, "For instance, in Selangor and Perak, regulations that passed in 1884 and 1885 offered land for Gambier, pepper cultivation without premium, and free of rent for the first three years of occupation." (Sadka, 1968, p. 344) However, the aforementioned migrants did not fully make the British administration satisfied, due to low yields, plant diseases as well as the low quality of the produce, which was not competitive in the external trade. Coffee plantations, which was planted

by Ceylon immigrants, ended up with another failure for the British, due to the price drop for coffee in the world markets. Another drawback was finding and using these labor forces on a regular basis. For instance, the Chinese labor forces were costly, Javanese migrants were prone to leave the plantations and settle independently as soon as they could afford it and Tamil labourers were not available in sufficient numbers for deployment. With these failures and the reality that existed at that time, the British authorities were not happy at all. They had to find ways that land and labor were readily available on a regular basis.

The role of agriculture in the colonial Malaya

After the tin industry became the leading income generator to the state budget, most of the changes in the agriculture sector might have been overlooked. However, reforms, which occurred in the last two decades of the 19th century in land relations, helped to reshape existed in pre-colonial period subsistent agriculture to the more advanced and systematized export-based income generator to the British. In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was a huge increase in exportable crop production. Kennedy describes that due to the increase in the consumption markets there was a need to develop the agricultural sector even more, "The population increase through immigration, better health, transportation and more stable political situation, necessitated either more food production or more imported food in areas where the main increase had taken place." (Kennedy, 1962, p. 201) The new towns became more populated due to the development of the tin industry, and as a result, more fruits, crops and vegetables started to be grown in smallholdings of the Malays and Chinese. "Kuala Lumpur in the 1880s can be taken as a good example of this concentrated food production for a town market. *Padi* areas of Ampang valley, as well as Batu and Setapak on the outskirts of the town itself." (Kennedy, 1962, p. 201) This showed how the demand for the produce of agriculture-increased day-by-day, creating competitive prices and contributed to better welfare of the population.

At the end of the 19th century, many immigrants from Ceylon migrated to Malaya in order to grow coffee beans. Nevertheless, this attempt did not succeed. The failure of this campaign could be characterized by the Europeans' lack of expertise in this field. The choice of the investors and the type of coffee (Liberian coffee) were wrong. Indian migrants planted coffee in Selangor, Perak and Negeri Sembilan. After the business started, world prices on this type of coffee beans went down drastically, hence, the plantations failed to make the

estimated profits and all this campaign failed to succeed. Arabian coffee grown in Brazil prospered in the world markets at that time causing the coffee industry of Malaya, which was mainly planted with Liberian type, to decrease. After the unsuccessful trial, investors in a coffee plantation in Malaya, either returned to Europe or found other businesses such as a plantation of rubber trees.

At the end of the 19th century, new possible produce of rubber gradually decreased the interest of the British in the other agricultural products. The rubber tree plantation boom started with the enthusiasm of the Director of the Gardens at Singapore, Henry Ridley. In 1888, he started to experiment with growing rubber trees and tried to persuade the higher authorities to invest in the rubber tree plantation business. He insisted that the best option to invest for the British authorities in Malaya was most probably rubber. His struggles started to give results after almost a decade, wherein Selangor, Perak and Malacca farmers started to plant rubber on an experimental basis. Kennedy explains, "Very significant expansion was, however, taking place in the first decade of the 20th century and by 1910 the rubber boom was at its height. Ridley again contributed to this, by perfecting the method of tapping which is used till today so as to extract the maximum flow of latex with the minimum damage to the tree." (Kennedy, 1962, p. 204) By 1920, the rubber exports reached 200,000 tons, providing over half of the world's rubber supplies. The planting of rubber trees required vast lands to be cleared. This provided the locals and immigrants to work, a source of income for the companies as well as the revenue from the export taxes to the government.

Another important agricultural produce was coconut, which served as one of the main sources of food and other purposes such as making various household items. Traditionally, Malays used coconut as food and its shell as utensils. During the colonial time, coconut products such as copra and coconut oil were exported. Even during the colonial time, the situation did not change as locals produced most of the coconut. Palm oil was another important produce, by contrast to the coconut, palm oil was from foreign origin. Palm oil originated from West Africa and first time reached Malaya in 1875 and was grown in the Botanical Gardens of Singapore. Before the mass production, it required some type of modifications, which took a few decades before the product was commercialized this product. The rubber depression, which occurred in the 1920s, gave chance for palm oil to become successful agricultural produce. Kennedy states that "Many of the plantation

areas were large ones; by 1933 there were 32 estates with 64,000 planted acres, and this acreage had increased to 79,000 by 1941.” (Kennedy, 1962, p. 209) Authorities, to encourage the production of palm oil and diversify the economy, granted lands on favorable terms.

The pineapple was one of the fruits that were cultivated in Singapore, Johore, Selangor and Perak. Initially, the pineapple was planted together with the rubber trees as a cash crop. However, in the later stage, in certain soils its sole plantation, without any other crop planted together was common. Cocoa-trees that were brought from Africa had not become commercialized in Malaya. Some experiments had been attempted, however, widespread cocoa tree plantations were not observed. Other crops, which European merchants brought, were coffee, sugar cane, peppers cloves and nutmegs, which were successfully integrated into the local agricultural production line.

Discussion

These land reforms had two major aspects. First, the government secured the revenue for its budget from the rents and taxes imposed on these lands. For example, in Selangor, as the new rent scheme was put into effect, it increased revenues about 12 times from the land in 1883, compared to the previous year. The second aspect was characterized by the British officials’ justification of what was the major transformation in land tenure, from the pre-colonial period, in terms of ‘continuity’ with the native system of land tenure from the earlier period. Another interesting change in the land tenure relationships was due to the growing number of immigrants into the Malay states. These immigrants were from the Indonesian archipelago, Malays, Javanese, Banjarese and Sumatrans. In Selangor, the population increase between 1884 and 1891 was 48 per cent. This increase in the population of Selangor and other Federated states was mainly due to the contribution of the inflow of immigrants from Indonesia, Kelantan, Kedah, Perlis and Patani. Javanese immigrants settled in coastal areas such as Klang, Kuala Langat and Kuala Selangor. They also settled inland in Ulu Langat valley in Selangor. Banjarese also settled on the coast of Kuala Selangor. The leader of the migrants that populated the new lands had to deal with local *penghulus*. The land was divided among migrants, according to the new regulations as well as titles were given out. In order to encourage new migrants, the British gave them loans, abolished export taxes and the land was given with special terms. As early as 1888, the rubber started to be growing in the farmlands of Malaya and

by the early 20th century, it became one of the main income sources for the British. Kennedy explains, Very significant expansion was, however, taking place in the first decade of the 20th century and by 1910 the rubber boom was at its height. Ridley again contributed to this, by perfecting the method of tapping which is used until today to extract the maximum flow of latex with the minimum damage to the tree. By 1920, the rubber exports reached 200,000 tons, over half of the world’s rubber supplies.

Conclusion

During the 18th-19th centuries, British influence started to change the situation of the economy and the society of Malaya as a whole. Steps towards the further expansion of the tin mining industry was a turning point, which affected the whole society. The British Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were established between 1786 and 1825 and were governed by the East India Company. The tin trade was thrown open to private individuals. Further developments required more labor and funds involvement and as a result, the Chinese came to the central scene and started to invest hugely in Sungei Ujong and Negeri Sembilan’s tin mining industry. In Selangor, the population increase between 1884 and 1891 was 48 per cent. This increase in the population of Selangor and other Federated states was mainly due to the contribution of the inflow of immigrants from Indonesia, Kelantan, Kedah, Perlis and Patani. Javanese immigrants settled in coastal areas such as in Klang, Kuala Langat and Kuala Selangor. They also settled inland in Ulu Langat valley in Selangor. Banjarese also settled on the coast of Kuala Selangor. As early as 1888, the rubber started to be growing in the farmlands of Malaya and by the early 20th century, it became one of the main income sources for the British. Kennedy explains, that very significant expansion was, however, taking place in the first decade of the 20th century and by 1910 the rubber boom was at its height. Ridley again contributed to this, by perfecting the method of tapping which is used until today to extract the maximum flow of latex with the minimum damage to the tree. By 1920, the rubber exports reached 200,000 tons, over half of the world’s rubber supplies.

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