

Conversion to Islamic Religion among Chinese Minors in Johore 1930 - 1950's

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At the turn of the century it was not common for a Chinese minor to convert to Islam in the Malay States, and there are not many studies by historians on the matter. However, looking through the records of the Johore Islamic Religious Department and the Johore Chinese Affairs Department,¹ one perceives a few incidents of such cases in the Malay States. In 1918 it was reported that in the State of Kedah, the British Adviser had to confront problems regarding the conversion of Chinese minors to Islam.²

The most important issues were firstly, what were the reasons for conversion? Secondly, were these cases of a genuine nature? Thirdly, were they influenced by any Islamic religious missionary? Or was it due to personal problems which persuaded them to find refuge and comfort in Moslem-Malay families, and finally convert to Islam? These are the questions that the writer would like to raise in this paper. This study also incorporates the role of the Johore Islamic Religious Department and the Johore Chinese Affairs Department in this matter. The period 1930 to 1950's was chosen due to the fact that many cases of conversion to Islam among Chinese minor took place in Johore within this period.

In the early 1900's, cases of conversion to Islam among Chinese minors were not regarded as a serious matter in Johore.³ However, in the late 1930's there was a tremendous change as a result of the high rise of conversion cases among this group. One of the earliest cases in Johore was the case of Lim Kechil in 1936.⁴

Lim Kechil was an eighteen year old Hokkien who lived with her father and six brothers and sisters at Batu Anam. Lim Kechil was offered a hand in marriage to a Hakka man by the father. She accepted the arrangement but one month later refused on the grounds that her husband would take her to China. Later she met a Malay from Singapore who came to Batu Anam; and after a quarrel with her eldest brother she ran away to a Malay house, spent the night with the Malay family and went to see the kathi the following morning, with the intention of becoming a Muslim. The case then came to the notice of the Assistant Adviser in Segamat. Later, she agreed to return to her father and changed her plans about her religion. She decided to stay, and later her father found a suitor for her. It is uncertain whether she agreed to this new proposal, but she decided to run away again to the kathi's house where she appeared with the Malay from Singapore and asked to be married. Her

statement was that she loved the Malay and intended to marry him. The father did not have any knowledge of the Malay until his daughter's disappearance. In her testimony, Lim Kechil said that the reason for her conversion and her marriage to the Malay was because her brother drove her from home and threatened to kill her. Besides the fact that she was ill-treated by her parents, who refused to give her a share of proceeds from her involvement in the family business, her parents also treated her as a sort of *mui tsai*. Later the father wanted his daughter to be detained in a neutral place until she could decide on her future.

Such cases as the Lim Kechil case were not a result of any religious conviction or missionary effort but arose due to family problems. In such cases minors were often ill-treated by parents. Another reason was sexual attraction, many of the Chinese parties concerned being brought up closely with Malay families. If an old Chinese male became a convert this would not raise much attention, but if the conversion involved a Chinese male or female who was underage, then this gave rise to complaints. The primary cause of dissatisfaction was due to the fact that conversion to Islam, unlike conversion to Christianity, generally involved having to leave one's parents. Leaving the family home was a disgrace not only to the girl or boy but also to her family, and this intensified when she or he joined a Malay family.

The matter involved two main issues. Firstly, the father's right of guardianship of his daughter who was still a minor. Under the Women and Girls Protection Enactment the State Commissioner (as the officer in administrative charges of the District) had power to institute proceeding. Secondly, the application of Islamic Law in such case. In the events there was also the possibility of inter-racial feeling which might arise if a girl left her father's guardianship for a Malay home. On the other hand if the girl was not given the chance to convert to Islam it could be seen by the Malays as an impropriety to deter a person genuinely desirous of embracing the Islamic faith.

In the Lim Kechil case it was alleged that the origin of the case might be traced back to sexual attraction for a Muslim man. However, this is a common explanation. One should not forget that Lim Kechil had been brought up in close relations with Malays and Malay playmates; perhaps she felt a desire to change her lifestyle and adopt that of a Malay. In the record it is stated that she could speak Malay fluently; this is an indication that she was closely attached to her Malay neighbours and understood the Malay belief and custom.

It was decided that the best solution to the Lim Kechil case was to put her in a hospital as being a neutral ground, so it could not be said that State Commissioner had disregarded her father's claims, nor her own allegations of ill-treatment and her reiterated desire to become a Muslim. However, placing her in the neutral ground did not solve the whole problem because

according to the Muslim belief and practice a child is considered to have reached the age of majority when he or she shall have completed his or her age of fifteen years or has attained puberty, whichever is the earlier. This is the stage under Muslim Law which terminates the period of a child's minority and thus gives her the right to determine her life or in other words she has reached the age of majority. Nevertheless, according to the civil law of the time the age of majority was twenty one years old. Thus there was a conflict between Muslim and civil law. Furthermore the issue of guardianship and the right of the minor to choose between Muslim and secular law enhances the problem.

It was a difficult question because it involved a conflict between religion, law and policy. By the Treaty of Federation 1895 the Rulers of the Federated Malay States undertook to follow the advice of the Resident General in all matters of administration other than those affecting the Muslim religion. Similarly provisions in the unfederated States reserved religious matters to the Rulers. If the conversion of a Chinese minors was in accordance with Muslim Law, the administration could not question the motives of the conversion.

In Johore according to the Muslim practice, any person who intended to convert to Islam had to be admitted without delay to the faith. The Johore Islamic law further stated that if a woman decides to convert she must submit to Johore Islamic Religious Department particulars of her parent's name, her race, her former religion, place of birth, nationality and domicile, and she had to produce her birth certificate and give particulars of guardianship and whether or not she was married.⁵ Only when a women was free from all just impediments and truly wished to embrace Islam should she be accepted to Islam. Furthermore her conversion could not be confirmed until she had practised the Islamic way of life, followed its precepts and obtained the approval of His Highness the Sultan.

Due to the conflicting law relating to the age of majority, guardianship, and the right to embrace Islam among minors, a few problems might arise as a result of conversion. There is the possibility that an aggrieved husband would take revenge on a wife who has converted to Islam, or towards the Malay family with whom she had gone to live, by committing an act such as murder. Furthermore, the parents of a minor might institute proceedings for guardianship, adhere principles might be in contradiction with Islamic Law. In addition a father might ask for a court decree against the Malay family that had given a wife or minor refuge or challenge the decision of the Kadi by declaring it as null and void. All this could lead to racial sentiment and disunity. It was also reported that a protest which would not only embarrass the British administration but might be carried to the Chinese consul who was taking a close interest in the affairs of Chinese.⁶

This study concentrates on three main areas. Firstly, the minors' problems that led them to convert to Islam. Secondly, the genuine desire to embrace Islam and of run-away cases where a minor would seek refuge and protection as a result of ill-treatment by parents. Thirdly, the role played by the Johore Islamic Religious Department and the Department of Chinese Affairs of Johore, which acted as a liason between the minors and their parents.

The role of the Department of Chinese Affairs Johore and the Department of Islamic Religious Affairs Johore should be highlighted. These two departments were the most important agencies in solving conflict between parents and minors in an amicable manner. The origins of the Department of Chinese Affairs goes back to 1877 when a Protector of Chinese was appointed for the purpose of protecting indentured Chinese immigrant labours from being exploited by passage agents and employers.⁷ One of the Departments' duties was the preparation and administration of codes dealing with how Chinese labour was to be dealt with, the control of Chinese societies, the protection of Chinese women and girls from traffickers in prostitution, and the protection of children and mui tsais. Furthermore, the Department were regarded by the Chinese as a place to which any Chinese could go for advice and help in times of difficulties, whether private or public. The Department was also consulted by other Government departments in matters affecting the Chinese community. The Secretary for Chinese Affairs was the adviser to Government on all matters affecting the Chinese in Malaya, as well as the impact of affairs in China on Chinese in Malaya.

The history of the Department of Islamic Religious Affairs Johore dates from the nineteenth century.⁸ It was the most competent Islamic religious department in the Malay States. Before 1895, Johore had already created the posts of Mufti and Kadi in the state.⁹ In 1873 the Johore Mufti was elected by the Sultan to sit in the State Assembly. Since 1893 the official post of Kadi had been created at the district level in Muar, Batu Pahat, Pontian, Endau and Kota Tinggi. In 1895 clause 28 of the *Undang-undang Tubuh Kerajaan Johor* led to the formation of the Islamic Religious and Islamic Education Department and as a result of this development, the status of Islamic religion and education were dealt with at the level of a ministry.¹⁰ Such a development did not happen in the other Malay States. As stated by Willer, 'the religious hierarchy in the Malay states at the turn of the century was staffed by vestigial, unorganised and poorly equipped religious dignitaries of earlier days, augmented by rural ulama'.¹¹ Willer argues further that religious development in Johore was very different from the other Malay states, 'the development of Islam as a state structure became more pronounced in the unfederated Malay States. This was due to the less pervasive British interest, control and economic development in those states, plus the densely populated of Malays in these areas (and consequently fewer Chinese and Indians) and the only exception was Johore'.¹² Thus the Johore Religious

Department was referred to by the British Administration for advice regarding Islamic belief and practices and Muslim Law.

In dealing with the conversion of underage Chinese these two departments would look into the following matters¹³:

- i) The welfare of the minor.
- ii) Whether there was anything to prevent the minor from becoming a Muslim.
- iii) The minor's conversion would not diminish in anyway the rights of the legal guardian to custody, so that the guardian's consent:
 - (a) was required for surgery if there was a need,
 - (b) was required for marriage.
 - (c) was required if the minor decided to leave home.
- iv) With regard to iii) above the legal guardian could call on either the courts for a civil case to enforce his rights or the Protector under section 15 (i)(a) of Enactment (113) to detain the minor in a safe place.
- v) A parent's guardian loses his rights as a guardian on the minor reaching twenty one years of age.
- vi) The Chinese Affairs Officer should therefore try to:
 - (a) persuade the father to accept the conversion;
 - (b) persuade the girl to live with their parents;
 - (c) discuss the position of the minor with the Religious Affairs Officer and get his help.
- vi) Every effort should be made to settle the conversion case amicably.

When both officers had sufficient information pertaining to the conversion, and if the minor still insisted on not living with the guardian, then the argument here is as to whether or not the Chinese Affairs Officer would referred to Enactment 113, section 15(i)(a) which stated that the Chinese Affairs Officer may detain the minor in a safe place where detention was requested in writing by her lawful guardian. However, if it was requested by the minor's parent, then there has been no authority which has decided when will such right of guardianship ceases. In any case it would not cease until the minor reaches the age of twenty-one (Enactment 135) (according to the Chinese customary law, the guardianship might not cease until the minor got married; but Chinese customary law was not applied in Malaya).

Furthermore, if the minor decided to get married during her detention period the consent of the lawful guardian was required for the marriage, because the lawful guardian was entitled to the custody of the minor. The rights of a lawful guardian would be enforced by any court, irrespective of the minor's religion.

Although most cases were settled by the Department of Islamic Religious Affairs, Johore, and the Department of Chinese Affairs Johore there were

a number of cases where the parents of the minor were not satisfied. This can be seen in the 1951 case of Goh Sok Moh alias Rahmah Abdullah, a Chinese girl aged eighteen years old from Parit Pupuk Muar.¹⁴ The problem of her conversion was solved with the assistance of Haji Abdul Rahman, an agricultural officer in Muar, Penghulu Othman from Parit Pupuk, and the girl's father. A few meetings were held at the OCBC building, at the house of the penghulu and at the home of the girl's father, before they arrived at a conclusion regarding the girl's conversion. The girl's father was happy to have the discussion regarding his daughter's conversion with the penghulu and the agricultural officer, rather than with the Islamic Religious Affairs Inspector or the officer from the Chinese Affairs Department. This was because the penghulu's wife was formerly a Teochew Chinese convert a fact that helped to solve the matter. It was later agreed that the girl, Rahmah Abdullah should resume to live with the penghulu, whose wife and mother-in-law were Chinese converts. Originally the father wanted the girl to return to his house, and at the same time practise the Islamic faith. He was prepared to let her cook and eat separately from the rest of the family; after a time, if he was satisfied that the girl still insisted on embracing Islam and was sincere in her desire, he would then give her away in adoption to the penghulu. However, the girl refused to return to her father's house because she felt that the neighbours would make fun of her. The father and Haji Abdul Rahman spoke to the girl but she refused to live with her father. She was made to understand that no matter what religion she followed, her parents would still be her parents, than she highly respected. She agreed, and finally the father had to agree after realizing that his daughter was still firm in her decision. Furthermore, he realised that it was not of any use to take the girl back to his house against her wishes, for she would certainly runaway again. Finally, the girl remained with the Penghulu and his family. Later, the Penghulu applied to the Social Welfare Department to adopt the girl legally. In order to have a close relationship between the father and the daughter, the Penghulu brought the girl back to her parent's house for several visits and also allowed the parents to visit their daughter in his house at any time. In this manner the love and respect between the parents and the daughter were maintained. Thus this conversion case was solved without any interference by the Islamic Religious Affairs and the Department of Chinese Affairs, and both parties were satisfied with the arrangements made by the Penghulu.

Another case where the parents was not satisfied with the settlement made by the Islamic Religious Department of Johore and the Johore Chinese Affairs Department was the case of conversion of Lai Kim Swee.¹⁵ The parents of Lai Kim Swee brought their daughter's case before the Juvenile Court. Lai Kim Swee is a Chinese girl of seventeen years of aged. It was alleged by the mother that a Malay Special Constable named Musa from

Division A Gemas Baru Estate was the important factor who influence her daughter's intention to embrace the Islamic faith. In view of the girl's age and the mother's objection to her daughter embracing Islam an officer from the Chinese Affairs Department of Johore requested the Kadi from Segamat to bring the girl and the mother to Johore Baharu for further inquiry and investigation. The Chinese Affairs Department of Johore made an attempt to seek a solution that could be accepted by the mother and the daughter, but in vain. The mother insisted and prohibiting her daughter from becoming a Moslem, and the daughter refused to return to her mother's house. The mother wanted to solve this problem before a Juvenile court on ground that her daughter was still a minor, and should be sent to an approved school for a time in order to reconsider her decision to become a Moslem.¹⁶ Before the court's proceedings the girl was in the custody of the Islamic Religious Department of Johore in Johore Baharu. However the case was dismissed by the Juvenile Court on grounds that there was not sufficient evidence to show the girl was beyond control, as alleged by the mother. Lai Kim Swee refused to returned to her mother and she insisted on converting to Islam. Later she was taken by the Islamic Religious Department of Johore and was converted to Islam and the allegation made by the mother that she was pregnant was found to be untrue.

The conversion of Goh Eng Neo, aged nineteen years old, is another example of a genuine desire to embrace Islam.¹⁷ This is based on her testimony, taken at the residence of the Islamic Religious Inspector and before the Chinese Affairs Officer. She stated that¹⁸:

I have a father, a mother, an elder brother, 4 younger brothers and 4 younger sisters. I have also a second mother living at Kampong Sialing, 3 miles away from Tangkak. I am the second elderst in the family. I was amitted to a Malay School when I was 6 years old and passed my Sixth Standard in Malay. After that I joined an English School at Tangkak and passed Standard IV (now known as std. VI). I became a teacher of a Malay language in a Chinese School, Sagil on 7th October 1957 on on a monthly income of \$110.00. I handed \$40.00 per month to my father as food expenses and I used to spend the balance. I want to join the Muslim faith and I fully understand the faith. I know that my father does not like me to embrace the Muslim faith but I have decided on my own to do so. I came to Batu Pahat Police Station where a Police Inspector brought me to the Kadi's office on 3rd May 1958. I informed the Kadi that I wanted to embrace the Muslim faith. I have a number of Malay male friends but I am not in love with any of them. The Chinese School reopens on the 12th May and I will go back to teach. I do not want to stay with my parents because they can't teach me Muslim manners. I prefer to stay with a Malay family who can teach me the ways and manners of Muslim. I do not disown my parents but I just want to change my religion. If my parents allow me to go back and stay occasionally, I am happy to do so. I have to be thankful to my parents in bringing me up and I am very sorry to leave them, not totally. I hope my parents will still treat me as a daughter. I still think of them as my parents. In my opinion every religion is the same. I will carry on my work as usual. I hope that God will bless me what I have said from my heart.

Subsequently Goh Eng Neo was sent to the 'Home' of the Johore Islamic Religious Department in Johore Baharu and there she was able to learn and practise Islamic teaching. She also resumed her career as a teacher and continued teaching in one of the schools in Johore Baharu.

However, there were also cases where Chinese minors left their parents looking for refuge and protection as a result from ill-treatment by their parents. In most cases the parties chose to convert to Islam, but after several negotiations and assurances from their parents that they would not be ill-treated by them, they decided to abandon their plans. This is illustrated by the case of Tay Kok Hwa¹⁹ and Loy Jit Eng²⁰ two Chinese girls aged sixteen and fifteen respectively. However, there are a few reports of such cases. Most run-away cases were settled by the Islamic Religious Department and the Chinese Affairs Department through negotiation with the parents.

The solution to such cases as mentioned above was to place the infant at a neutral place or at the Johore Islamic Religious Departments' Hostel. The Islamic Religious Officer has to ensure whether the parties were really sincere in their desire to convert, and they were put under a period of four months observation.²¹ Within that period the Chinese Affairs Officer contacted the infant's family and carried out an investigation into them. The family could visit the child within the observation period for the purpose of persuasion and explanation. These meetings always turned out to be very touching and sad, because the mother and the members of the family always regretted what had happened. After these meetings the infant would normally ask for an assurance so that he or she could be allowed to stay with the closest member of the family, and be free to make a decision to decide on her future. In addition, in order to start their future career the infants requested to attend sewing, tailoring and hairdressing classes.²²

This study has shown that in 1950's there was a high number of underage females who tried to convert to Islam. For example, in 1955 there were 147 young Chinese girls to convert to Islam.²³ This was due to changes that took place in the Johore Islamic Religious Department. In 1952 the Johore Government created a post of Government Religious Officer, to be occupied by a Chinese, to control the activities and to oppose the communist movement among the Chinese.²⁴ This idea was put to the Johore Government by R.H. Oakley, Federal Secretary for Chinese Affairs.²⁵ The Johore Mentri Besar (Chief Minister) accepted the idea, in order to spread Islamic teaching to the Chinese in the new villages. One Chinese by the name of Tuan Haji Musa Ma Jin Wu was appointed to the post.²⁶ His main duty was firstly, to give advice and assistance to Chinese wishing to convert to Islam, secondly, to give lectures to the Chinese in new villages in Johore during the emergency period, and finally to distribute Islamic pamphlets to Chinese and teach Islamic principles to persons who has already converted to Islam.²⁷

Due to his ability to speak Chinese and Arabic, Tuan Haji Musa Ma Jin Wu managed to convert 85 Chinese in 1953. Furthermore his visits and program received a good response from many areas of Johore, such as Muar, Johor Baharu and Segamat.²⁸

Thus, it is not surprising that in 1950's there was an increased number among those who wished to convert to the Islamic faith. Besides the appointment of Tuan Haji Musa Ma Jin Wu, the Islamic Religious Department provided basic facilities to the new converts. In 1950 the Department already set up hostels for the purpose of giving protection and temporary accommodation to the *muaalaf* (a term to describe a Chinese who convert to Islam) or those minors who did not have any Moslem guardian.²⁹ Before the existence of these hostels the Johore Islamic Religious Department had placed the minors in the Malay family, usually the homes of those who worked with the Islamic Religious Department.³⁰ In addition, the Islamic Religious Department also conducted religious classes to educate the *muaalaf*. These classes would include teachings of al Quran, *ibadat* classes and matters relating to Islamic religion.³⁰ There were problems in understanding and pronouncing the verses of al Quran and carrying out prayers, but as a result of the dedication and guidance shown by the religious officers, the result were successful.

Thus, although there were personal and family problems which led these Chinese girls to run away and seek protection, the Johore Islamic Religious Department played a vital role in spreading Islamic teachings. The Johore Chinese Affairs Department too played an influential role as a middleman in order to give information pertaining to issues on conversion to the Chinese families. The close relationship between the Johore Islamic Religious Department and the Johore Chinese Affairs Department managed to circumvent many problems and to provide racial stability between the Malay and Chinese communities.

NOTES

¹The records and files of both departments which are now deposited in the Johore Baharu National Archive have been used for this purpose. A part from this, files from the British Adviser files, the State Secretary files and the Pejabat Kadi Besar Johore files are also referred.

²The earliest problems regarding conversion cases among minors can be seen in a letter from G. Hall, The British Adviser in Kedah to the Secretary High Commissioner Singapore, "I have the honour to inform you that trouble is caused from time to time in Kedah owing to the admission of children to Islam without the knowledge or consent of their parents. I understand that the Mohammadan precept is that anyone wishing to be converted must be accepted at once, but it is obvious that the application of this principle to minors, particularly females, is bound to lead to trouble" GA 67/1918; for further reference see also letter from the Secretary to the Federated Malay States to High Commissioner Office dated 16 June 1930, in GA 481/1929.

³See GA 67/1918 and GA 481/1929.

⁴Conversion of Lim Kechik to Islam in SS 3811/1936.

⁵Conversion of Chinese to Islam in Johore in CO 273/585 no. 13008 Revised of Chinese Affairs Part II February 1933; See also The conversion of Chinese to Mohammedanism in CAJ 106/46. In this file reference was made to the practice in Singapore which says that "The Mohammedan Advisory Board, Singapore, is of the opinion that conversion of a non-Mohammedan cannot be delayed and that any sane applicant who has reached puberty or is of age according to Mohammedan law has to be converted immediately he or she applies. Delay or refusal by a Mohammedan to convert a non-Mohammedan applicant to Islam is an act of apostasy". See also CAJ 25/53.

⁶CO 273/580, 1932 no. 92036 Part III, Monthly Review of Chinese Affairs for October 1932 pg. 30; One of the example regarding the guardian's reaction against such conversion could be seen in a letter from The Assistant Commissioner Kota Tinggi G.R.A. Turnbull to The Adviser, Chinese Affairs Johore in RCJ 1044/46 in connection of the conversion of Sia Hay Noi alias Rashida Abdullah. "Sia Hay Noi alias Rashida Abdullah called at my office yesterday morning, saying she did not want to stay at the house of her adopted mother in Johor Baharu. She asked me for a letter authorizing her to marry Che Yusoff, a Malay school teacher. I informed her father of all this yesterday afternoon. He was most upset. I advised him to see his daughter and to try to discuss the whole matter with her once again. Last night after receiving a telephone call, I was visited at my house at 9.15 p.m. by two of the leading towkays, 2 other Chinese and Sia Ah Gek. They asked if I could stop the marriage but I told them that I did not feel able to interfere in a marriage between two Moslems. The towkays will do all they can to prevent any show of feeling between the Chinese and Malays in this matter, but there may be some repercussions. The father is in a very over-wrought state and is likely to make some wild statements against the Malays, and may possibly inflame the young Chinese hoolign element. The father's complaint now is if this is allowed to happen now, how are we to prevent Malay men from enticing our daughters from us using charms and magic? He now wants to write to the Chinese Consul-General to ask if anything further can be done and says he will send me a copy of his letter".

⁷Report on the organisation and work of the department of Chinese affairs as at 30th November 1946 in CAJ 18/47; See also CAJ 105/46 for further information on the duties of Adviser Chinese Affairs Johore; See also PAJ 189/49 in connection of the renaming of the new post in the Department of Chinese Affairs Johore and see also SSJ 267/49 for further information on the establishment of the post of secretary in the department of Chinese Affairs.

⁸Ahmad Fawzi Basri, *Johor 1855-1917: Pentadbiran dan Perkembangannya*, Fajar Bakti, Petaling Jaya, 1988; M.A. Fawzi Basri, *Perkembangan dan Peranan Jabatan Agama Johor 1895-1940*, *Malaysia in History*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 June 1975; See also Ismail Mohd Talib, *Sejarah Perkembangan Jabatan Agama Johor 1895-1940*, Thesis, History Department, National University of Malaysia, 1975/76.

⁹M.A. Fawzi Basri, *Perkembangan dan Peranan Jabatan Agama Johor, 1895-1940*, pg. 10.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 10.

¹¹Thomas F. Willer, *Malayan Islamic Response to British Colonial Policy*, *Jurnal Sejarah*, Jilid XII, 1973/74, University of Malaya, pg. 82.

¹²*Ibid.*, pg. 82.

¹³See note from the Secretary C.A.J. dated 27 Jun 1951 in *CAJ* 104/51.

¹⁴*CAJ* 104/51, Goh Chee Theng asks that his daughter Goh Sok Moh age 18 who wishes to become a Moslem be prevented to do so.

¹⁵*CAJ* 107/56.

¹⁶Letter from SCAJ to The President Sessions Court 11 November 1956 in *CAJ* 107/56; See also letter from CAJ Segamat to SCAJ 12 December 1956; The case was brought to the Juvenile court on 5 February 1957 see letter from Probation Officer Session Court Muar dated 17 January 1957 to Madame Chew Yin in *CAJ* 107/56.

¹⁷US (I.A.) J 30/58.

¹⁸Statement of Goh Eng Neo taken at the residence of Inspector of Religious Office on 5.5.1958 before Lam Tek Kan Chinese Affairs Officer, Batu Pahat in US (I.A.) J 30/58.

¹⁹Tay Kok Hwa a Teochew girl aged 16 wishes to become Islam in *CAJ* 105/56.

²⁰Lao Jit Eng a Hainanese aged 15 wishes to become Islam in *CAJ* 59/56; See also *CAJ* 42/56 and *CAJ* 139/56 for further reference see files PAJ and *CAJ*.

²¹See all the problematic cases of conversion in files PAJ and *CAJ*. One of a good reference is in the case of Rashida Abdullah.

²²*Ibid.*

²³See files *CAJ*, PAJ and KBJ.

²⁴PAJ 374/52.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.* Tuan Haji Musa Ma Jin Wu also responsible for marriage arrangement among the minors after their parents has been consulted by him. One of such arrangement could be seen from the conversion of Chong Siew Man who married a Chinese mualaf after she was converted to Islam, in *CAJ* 36/55.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*