

MAXWELL HILL: A EUROPEAN-STYLE HILL STATION TOURISM DESTINATION IN BRITISH MALAYA

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Abstract

The narrative regarding Maxwell Hill during the era of colonialism highlights the popular tourist destinations among the European community who lived temporarily in Malaya from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. Advantages in terms of cool climate, scenic beauty, and availability of complete facilities and infrastructure have been the source of attraction in Maxwell Hill and indirectly contributed to the increase in the number of tourists from Europe. This article will explore the history of Maxwell Hill as a tourist destination and focus on the factors that make it so attractive to the European society of that era. This method uses historical qualitative methods to analyse primary sources such as records, government documents, and newspapers. Secondary sources are also used as support sources, namely the use of internet access methods to obtain resources in the form of e-books, and journal articles; quantitative methods are also used to analyse the data. This paper uses a descriptive analysis approach to describe the role of Maxwell Hill as a tourist destination for the European community from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The results of this study found several other features such as natural attractions, European-style accommodation, the aesthetic value of the rose garden and stunning panoramic views, infrastructure facilities, which attracted visitors to Maxwell Hill before the Second World War, as well as the ease of interaction and culture. These were additional factors, apart from the accommodation facilities which were over-highlighted in previous studies. Overall, Maxwell Hill, until the mid-20th century, was indeed one of the hill stations with high popularity due to its unique features. The implications of this study may encourage management to re-evaluate the unique features available at this hill station to ensure sustainable development and preserve the inherited historical value.

Keywords: *Maxwell Hill, Bukit Larut, tourist centre, hill station, European-style, Malaya*

INTRODUCTION

Maxwell Hill, also known as Bukit Larut, is located in the Bintang Range and has become one of the popular tourist destinations in Perak since the late 19th century. The development of Maxwell Hill as a hill station in Perak was an important event in the British occupation of Perak. This is because this hill station was a popular tourist destination for Europeans who were temporarily residing in Malaya. Based on British officers' interests, especially those serving in Perak, its development was influenced by different climatic factors with their place of origin. Many British officers could not adapt to the hot weather in Malaya so some of them fell ill. The development of Maxwell Hill shows the British initiative to help its employees adapt to life in Malaya while reflecting the British effort to adopt Western values and culture. As such, expeditions to the highlands, especially Maxwell Hill, had been organised since 1875, but the location was only officially developed in 1879. The most significant period for the development of this hill station was in 1884 when the first bungalow was built. Therefore, the narrative often highlights this facility as a unique feature that attracts visitors to the hill station area. Based on the research, it is undeniable that there are other features such as natural attractions, comfortable basic facilities, aesthetic attractions of the rose garden and panoramic views, infrastructure facilities and facilities of interaction and culture, which can be categorised as unique features found in Maxwell Hill. However, these characteristics were not discussed in detail, especially from a historical perspective. This study explores and analyses the features of attraction and uniqueness that made Maxwell Hill a popular tourist destination among Europeans who lived temporarily in Malaya from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. This study is based on a historical perspective to contribute to the management of tourism areas. However, these characteristics were found not to be discussed in detail, especially from a historical perspective. This study explores and analyses the features of attraction and uniqueness that made Maxwell Hill a popular tourist destination among Europeans who lived temporarily in Malaya from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. This study is based on a historical perspective that contributes to the management of this tourism area so that the assessment of the unique characteristics of tourist attractions in the past can be preserved. This is important not only for the sake of environmental sustainability but also to ensure that the historical heritage owned by Maxwell Hill can be preserved and not erased by the passage of time. This paper discusses the historical background of Maxwell Hill, as well as its features that make Maxwell Hill a tourist area among the European community who were temporarily residing in Malaya at that time, such as the natural attractions, European-style

accommodations, aesthetic attractions of rose gardens and panoramic views, infrastructure facilities and facilities of interaction and culture.

METHODOLOGY

This historical study uses a qualitative method to analyse the primary and secondary sources, including the official files and documents relating to tourism development at Maxwell Hill from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. Regarding the data sources, this research utilised various materials covering the primary and secondary sources, including government records and documents and newspapers. This would help to ensure the comprehensive and accuracy of the research findings. In particular, extensive reference is made to British records, such as the Colonial Office (CO), the Perak State Secretary's Office (PK.SECT), the Selangor State Secretary's Office, Annual Report (FMS), Government Gazette, Federation of Malaya (FOM), Annual Perak Social and Economic Report and many more. Primary sources were obtained through archival research in various locations, including the National Archives of Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur Headquarters Branch), the Taiping Museum Library and the Bukit Larut office. Quantitative data analysis was also used to refer to statistics contained in government records as one of the supporting methodologies.

The research findings were strengthened by using secondary sources such as journal articles, books, conference papers, thesis, scientific works and authoritative materials. This study involved detailed analysis and interpretation of primary and secondary sources found in the libraries of public higher education institutions such as University Malaya, University Kebangsaan Malaysia and Sultan Idris Education University, as well as other public libraries such as Taiping Library and Taiping Museum Library. In order to obtain additional resources, the internet access method was also included, and this method was mainly used to obtain the latest resources, such as e-books, journal articles and conference papers that can be downloaded directly through the website. Based on this extensive collection of data and materials, this research explores how Maxwell Hill became popular from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Tourism

From a multidimensional concept, tourism refers to an economic and social process involving individuals or parties who reside outside of their homeland for

short, medium, or long-term periods (Yilmazer et al., 2022). The types of tourism are divided into several sectors based on factors such as holiday tourism, health, sports, education, culture, social, tours, and business (Rowe et al., 2002). In this study, we will focus more on tourism that is linked to the importance of colonialism, which initially took the form of health and later became heritage and cultural tourism. For example, the study of tourism activities since colonialism by Zakhia and Pérez-Pérez (2024, p. 198) shows that tourism in Ehden was closely related to French colonialism which developed based on adventure tourism and eco-friendly tourism. This later developed into cultural and gastronomic tourism to represent a luxurious form of tourism in the form of spa resorts. This study found that tourism activities in the area would harm the development of high-quality tourism facilities for the use of a certain period only. The issue outlined in this matter is related to the tourism impact on the environment, as well as its impact on the socioeconomic activities of the local community. In this regard, the assessment of this tourism area in terms of its impact on the local economy, society, and landscape was conducted by Nurulhuda Mohamad Yusof et al. (2021), focusing on heritage tourism in Ranau. The approach taken was an assessment of six main elements for a tourist location, and the results of this study clearly show that tourism activities indeed impacted all three aspects investigated. Meanwhile, the development of tourism areas as recreational, conservation, and educational areas was described in detail by Irawan Harahap and Irwan Effendi (2020) by combining four out of six essential elements for a tourism area with several other methods, such as assessments based on the SWOT, WTA, and WTO systems. This study found that the assessment based on that method was very important in identifying the suitability of tourism sector development through its connection with Bukit Suligi. The similarities between those studies can be seen using the same research methodology: questionnaires and interviews. However, the focus of tourism was more focused on the current context, which indirectly decreased the importance of the parties who developed the location as a tourist destination. For example, in the context of highland tourist areas such as Bukit Larut, the location was an important area for the British as the developers of the area for the use of their community.

Maxwell Hill

Maxwell Hill is one of the tourist areas in Perak and is included in the list of early developments initiated by the British (Taiping Municipal Council, 2013). It was also the first hill station developed since the official British settlement in Malaya. The development of hill stations can be seen in several other colonial territories,

such as British colonies in Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaya, Dutch colonies in Java, Sulawesi, Sumatra, French colonies in Indochina, and American colonies in the Philippines. (Aiken, 1994). Butcher's study briefly explains the development of this area as a region that prioritises nature, which is closely related to its purpose for the British, who needed a place to rest or escape from the pressures of temperature and tropical climate in the lowland areas (Butcher, 1979).

Next, the study focuses on highland tourism activities in Malaysia, which also briefly explains Bukit Larut, and can be referred to through Siti Farrah Zaini et al. (2017). This study evaluates the characteristics of the selection of British hill station locations in Malaya and concludes that Bukit Larut became the British hill station after Bukit Bendera due to its strategic location, high accessibility, and climate, which met the desires of the British, who were under the pressure of the tropical climate.

In addition, architectural features are also seen as an important aspect of the narrative of this area. This is especially evident with the development of rest houses and bungalows, which have become important accommodation facilities during the period when the European community visited Bukit Larut. This study touches a little on the history of the development of certain bungalows, including their location and materials. The assessment of the location for constructing a bungalow which can provide a beautiful view of the town of Taiping from this hill, is a finding based on the perspective of environmental development (Siti Farrah Zaini et al., 2018). Generally, the emphasis on this architecture is seen as extraordinary because it showcases architectural designs similar to those in Europe (Siti Rohamini Yusoff et al., 2009). On the other hand, Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2001, pp. 131-133) associates the existence of the accommodation facility as a privilege for the European community and presents the gradual development of its architecture, albeit in a simplified form. Khoo Kay Kim (1981, pp. 42-44) views Bukit Larut as one of the employment rewards and benefits provided by the colonial government for British officers serving in the area. In this case, it not only explains the existence of bungalows and rest houses but also mentions the economic activities and the atmosphere that can be enjoyed at the location. However, the discussion on the matter was not detailed.

This hill station is also one of the natural assets around Taiping (Rosilawati Zainol, 2007, pp. 129-141). This matter can be proven with studies that use the discipline of life sciences, such as research on Orthoptera insects, which recorded the discovery of 71 species (Tan Ming Kai & Khairul Nizam Kamaruddin, 2016). Moreover, to prove that this tourist area is a natural area, a study by Fazilah Musa and Rutthiradevi Nadarajah (2023) demonstrated the visitors' willingness to cover the costs of this nature-based tourism with a mean and median of RM4.69 and

RM3.68 per person, respectively. However, these studies focus more on contemporary scope and context with their methodologies, such as sampling and surveys.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

History

The establishment of Maxwell Hill, which is famous as a tourist destination for the European community, is actually a reminder of the complex history of colonialism that once took place because initially, the development of the hill station was as a sanatorium or treatment centre specifically for British officers serving in Malaya. Khoo Kay Kim, in his book *Taiping ibukota Perak* [Taiping, the capital of Perak] stated that the role and importance of Perak were proven when the state led various developments, including facilities such as a sanatorium located at the Maxwell Hill station for British officers serving in the state (*Taiping Many First Report*, p. 113). Although an opinion states that the oldest hill station is Bukit Bendera in Penang, according to Butcher (1979, p. 72), Maxwell Hill remains the first hill station developed in the Federated Malay States. This statement is supported by De Ledesma et al. (2009, p. 176), who stated that Maxwell Hill is Malaysia's oldest and smallest hill station. In summary, Bukit Bendera was indeed developed earlier, but it was a hill station built by the British East India Company, whereas Maxwell Hill was the first British hill station because it was built several years after the official British settlement following the Pangkor Treaty of 1874. as such, it is clear that Maxwell Hill was indeed the first hill station developed by the British.

In terms of the development process of Maxwell Hill, this can be linked to the significance of the highland terrain, which is suitable for being a viewing area to obtain an environment similar to their original place. Actually, the process of determining these hill stations was mostly carried out by British staff serving in their colonial territories through short expeditions (Reed, 1979, p. 463). Travel experiences recorded through writings and notes based on short expedition experiences from British officers are a potential source for determining strategic locations for establishing an area. For example, the expedition led by J.W.W. Birch, the First Resident of Perak, to Maxwell Hill on July 6, 1874, inspired the idea of developing the hill station through a concrete illustration of the connection between seeking a healthier environment and the strategic considerations which influenced their actions (Burns, 1976, pp. 292-295). This is due to Birch's admiration for the beauty of the area, which has the potential to be developed into

a hill station. The information findings indicate that an environment synonymous with European daily life can influence the psychology of British officers due to the potential for colonial nostalgia. The incident of his death on November 2, 1875, which occurred a few months after the expedition, caused Maxwell Hill to remain closed. The report in the "Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak for the year 1879" explains that the absence of management, lack of funding, and geographical obstacles caused the development to halt several years after Birch's death. Its development as a hill station only occurred after the actions of William Edward Maxwell (Assistant Resident of Perak), who cleaned the area (CO 574/41-42 Annual Report of the Chief Secretary To Government For The Year 1924). The government allocated funds for the initial development of Maxwell Hill, based on an official government report in 1880 stating that the allocation for the construction of the Maxwell's Hill sanatorium was \$1,000, and efforts to develop communication facilities, including travel routes, were undertaken in 1879 ("Report on the Revenue and Expenditure of the State of Perak for the year 1879" in Straits Settlements Government Gazette for the Year 1880, p. 497). This development continued until the year 1905 (*Taiping Many First Report*, p. 113). In summary, the development of Maxwell Hill as a tourist resort took place after the Assistant Resident undertook the initiative, and the name Maxwell's Hill, referring to Bukit Larut, is in honour of William Edward Maxwell.

In the early stages of the development of Maxwell Hill, the bungalows and rest houses were exclusive and could only be used by British officers for relaxation (Mohd Zamberi A. Malek, 2001, p. 131). However, many bungalows and rest houses were developed after many visitors showed interest in Maxwell Hill. The early history of the development of bungalows and rest houses began with the construction of The Cottage bungalow in 1884, followed by the construction of the Tea Gardens bungalow and Maxwell's Hill Bungalow in 1887. This development continued in the following years by the construction of other bungalows such as The Box, The Nest, Treacher's Bungalow, Speedy's Resthouse, Hugh Low Bungalow, Federal Bungalow, Watson Resthouse, and Permai View Bungalow. In fact, along with the development over time on that hill, the focus was not solely on accommodation facilities but also on development based on European cultural heritage and transportation and communication facilities. As Khoo Kay Kim (1981, p. 44) stated, the development characterised by European-style architecture in Bukit Larut enabled visitors to enjoy an atmosphere similar to their homeland.

The development of Maxwell Hill as a popular tourist area until the mid-20th century can be illustrated with the data compiled in Table 1, which shows the year-on-year development.

Table 1: Number of Visitors/Permits from 1909 to 1939

Year	Number of Visitors/Permits
1909	Tea Gardens has been closed since June
1921	743 bungalow tenants
1922	931 bungalow tenants
1923	940 bungalow tenants (937 Europeans)
	226 Asians in Tea Gardens
1924	716 European bungalow tenants
	356 Asians in Tea Gardens
1925	131 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1926	148 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1927	145 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1928	184 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1929	178 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1930	155 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1931	222 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1932	208 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1933	175 permits issued for bungalow rentals (most 'Planters' who spent time in Bukit Larut could not return to their homeland)
1934	116 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1935	149 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1936	170 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1937	182 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1938	148 permits issued for bungalow rentals
1939	237 permits issued for bungalow rentals

(Sources: 2006/0012994, CO 574/2, CO 574/41-42 *Federated Malay States Annual Report for 1909, 1910, 1924*; CO 574/6, CO 574/11, CO 574/16, CO 574/23-24, CO 574/26-27, CO 574/47-48, CO 574/53, 2006/0012204 & 2006/0012205, CO 574/59, CO 574/70 *Supplement to the FMS Government Gazette 1912, 1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1934*; 2006/0053413, 2006/0053414, 2006/0053415, 2006/0053416, 2006/0053417 *FMS Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Perak for the year 1934; 1935, 1936, 1937, 1939*).

Table 1 above shows the number of visitors who came to rent bungalows in Bukit Larut over several years. Some detailed data indicate the number of visitors, particularly from 1921 to 1924. Meanwhile, from 1925 to 1939, records were only kept based on permits issued for bungalow tenants at Maxwell Hill. In terms of the details regarding the permit information, a more thorough study is required, particularly concerning its usage, whether it is designated for individuals, families, rooms, or bungalows. However, the details regarding this

permit are briefly stated to be for renting rooms in bungalows and rest houses at this hill station by contacting the Superintendent of Maxwell Hill (Improved Facilities at Maxwell (Or Taiping) Hill Stations, 1939). In this regard, research on the number of visitors at the end of the 19th century could not be obtained, making it difficult to show a more detailed picture of the development. However, the data showing the value of these permits appears to be lower compared to the record of the number of visitors each year. For example, in 1923, the total number of visitors was 1,156 (940 Europeans and 226 Asians), while the highest number of bungalow rental permits issued was in 1939, with 237 permits. Overall, it can be concluded that Maxwell Hill was a popular tourist destination before World War II.

However, the development progress occurring in Bukit Larut slowed down due to several aspects that could not be overcome. According to Siti Farrah Zaini et al. (2017, p. 114), the Bukit Larut area, which could not accommodate the increase of the European population in the 20th century, led to the exploration of other suitable areas to be developed as hill stations to meet the growing demand for this facility. Additionally, the slow development of Bukit Larut was also influenced by the relocation of the British administrative centre to the city of Ipoh in the Kinta Valley area. The relocation of the administrative centre to the town of Ipoh in 1937 directly influenced Maxwell Hill and Taiping (Khoo Kay Kim, 1981, pp. 47-48). Although Maxwell Hill became less popular after the mid-20th century, tourism activities are still ongoing until now.

European Style Natural Attractions

The environment in the highland area of Maxwell Hill evokes a sense of awe due to its beautiful scenery and tranquil atmosphere. One particular advantage of Maxwell Hill is its attraction to visitors. This was proven when Maxwell Hill became a popular tourist destination for Europeans due to their fondness for cool areas. The Europeans believed that highland environments could enhance the body's resistance to diseases and help address mental health issues while they were in tropical areas. This was the main factor in the establishment of the settlement in Maxwell Hill, in addition to the Europeans' love for the scenic beauty of the highland area (Reed, 1979, p. 464). These two factors made Maxwell Hill a popular destination for European and non-European visitors who wanted to enjoy beautiful scenery, relax, rejuvenate, and improve their health.

The hot and humid tropical climate greatly affected the health of British officials in tropical regions. This put pressure on European society, especially British officials serving in Malaya. Therefore, the establishment of Maxwell Hill assisted in relieving the people who wished to rest and escape temporarily from

the heat in the lowland areas. Climate conditions: Maxwell Hill is located approximately 10 kilometres from Taiping at an altitude of 1,250 metres above sea level and covers an area of about 6,878.30 hectares. This indicates that Maxwell Hill is situated in one of the most humid highland areas, with rainfall exceeding 500 centimetres per year. The daytime temperature in Maxwell Hill is around 15 to 26 degrees Celsius and can drop to 10 degrees Celsius at night. This cool temperature was believed to help with the hot weather problem among Europeans temporarily living in Malaya.

Furthermore, the English officers' interest in the highland topography could be linked to the belief that the climate could affect their health. According to Butcher (1979, p. 72), the journey to Maxwell Hill could provide tranquillity to travellers due to its environment, which differed from the lowland areas that experienced high tropical climate pressure. Table 2 displays the temperature collection records for several years at Maxwell Hill.

Table 2: Maxwell Hill Temperature Records for Specific Years

Year	Minimum Temperature (F)	Maximum Temperature (F)
1874	61.50	78
1904	63	72
1918	61 ½	85
1919	62	78
1923	62	78
1924	62	78

(Sources: Burn (1976); 2006/0013009 *Federated Malay States Annual Report for 1905, 1924*; CO 574/23-24, CO 574/26-27, CO 574/47-48 *Supplement to the FMS Government Gazette 1919, 1920, 1927.*)

Table 2 shows that the temperature recorded at Bukit Larut during the day was generally around 62 degrees Fahrenheit or around 16 degrees Celsius as the minimum temperature record, while the maximum temperature was around 80 degrees Fahrenheit or 26 degrees Celsius. Based on the notes of J.W.W Birch, who was the First Resident of Perak, in his journal during an expedition to survey the area on July 6, 1874, he explained that the climate in Maxwell Hill fascinated him as the temperature in this area was almost the same as his place of origin. Although temperature records could only be obtained for a few years, no significant changes were stated. Therefore, it is clear that the temperature in Maxwell Hill was a record low even though it is situated in a country located in the tropical climate zone.

Maxwell Hill also has unique environmental features that showcase beautiful scenery, and it is blessed with a cool climate that resembles particular

weather conditions in Europe. This matter can be linked to the habit of the English people coming to Maxwell Hill to rest and calm their minds, as they often thought of the location as similar to Switzerland. This was proven when an English visitor, writing in 1885, described Maxwell Hill as the 'Switzerland of the East' (Zuraidah Ibrahim, 1988, Freddie Cheah, 1971). Similarly, Katharine Sim, during her visit to Malaya from 1938 to 1942, described the conditions at Maxwell Hill, which is 2,000 feet high, as being like Switzerland with its cool morning air, architecture of the accommodations, and the beauty of the flowers in the area (Sim, 1946, p. 134). In addition, Frank Swettenham, an important official in the British administration machinery, also acknowledged that the atmosphere in this area was like that of the Riviera (Mohd Zamberi A. Malek, 2001, p. 131). There is also another opinion stating that the topography of this area created an atmosphere as if one were in England in April, during the spring season (Katherin Sim, 1946: 136). Therefore, the presence of visual appeal combined with a cool climate can create a beautiful panorama that highlights the uniqueness of Maxwell Hill as an attractive tourist destination. One specific evidence stated that Birch was astonished to see the view at Maxwell Hill, which was more beautiful than the scenery at Bukit Bendera and Penang Hill (Birch, 1976: 293-294). This similarity created a positive perception among European officials towards the development of Maxwell Hill, which eventually evolved into a tourism sector characterised by European culture and lifestyle.

The cool climate and lush green vegetation which contribute towards the stunning scenery have established this resemblance, thereby increasing the popularity of Maxwell Hill as a popular destination for the public, especially for the European community in Malaya at that time. The most prominent feature of Maxwell Hill is its hilltop, which is covered in lush green forest. In addition, this hill provides a pleasant environment for hiking, trekking, and walking in nature. The terrain of Maxwell Hill, characterised by hills and green valleys, has also created a mesmerising view. This situation visually stimulated the European tourists as they could appreciate a broader view beyond colonial farms and urban landscapes. Dense forests with various flora and fauna also surround this area. The forest offers a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere for relaxation and exploration. The European community did not experience the various types of flora and fauna in their daily lives on the plains. Maxwell Hill also has several rivers and waterfalls, including the famous Maxwell Hill Waterfall. This waterfall is a popular attraction for visitors, offering stunning views and a refreshing natural experience. Maxwell Hill also offers several stunning panoramic views of the surrounding landscape with vantage points suitable for capturing the unforgettable beauty of the natural environment.

The environment in Maxwell Hill helped to soothe the visitors' mental well-being with its calm atmosphere and cool climate. The situation in the hot and bustling towns and lowlands encouraged travellers, especially the British officials, to spend their holidays relaxing in a comfortable atmosphere while also restoring their motivation to work. This made Maxwell Hill the perfect travel destination to escape from the busy and hectic daily routine for a while. Maxwell Hill became increasingly famous when the trend of tourism at that time emphasised wellness and nature-based experiences. The beauty of the serene scenery of Maxwell Hill, with the presence of various flora and fauna, had also been depicted in several writings about Maxwell Hill. Additionally, several individuals had visited Maxwell Hill and described the beauty in this resort area. For example, Mazlan Nordin (1997, p. 12) in the *New Strait Times* newspaper stated that Bukit Larut's location in the highland area offered a soothing view. Liew Suet Fun (2022) in the article featured in *Beguiled on Larut Hills* described the beauty of the area. Its scenery was adorned with the presence of various types of flora and fauna. Meanwhile, an article in *Berita Harian* on July 16, 1998 also stated that Bukit Larut was suitable for those who desired a comfortable atmosphere much different from other resorts (Mohd Afendi Daud, 1998, p. 6). Furthermore, the orientation and position of the bungalows and rest house in Maxwell Hill provided beautiful views overlooking the town of Taiping (Siti Farrah Zaini et al., 2018).

It is clear that Maxwell Hill, as one of the earliest resort areas established in the Federated Malay States, should indeed be associated with a popular tourist destination among the European community in Malaya due to its terrain being suitable as a hill station and an important asset in the tourism sector, serving as a centre for interaction among the European community.

European Style Accommodation

Recreational facilities with various infrastructures provided, such as comfortable accommodations available at Maxwell Hill, are among the attractions of the hill station as a popular tourist destination for Europeans. The accommodations offered at Maxwell Hill consist of bungalows and rest houses. However, the bungalows and quarters initially developed were to facilitate the officers serving in this state, especially the Resident and Acting Resident ("Holiday on the hill," 1950). The development in Maxwell Hill led to more rest houses and bungalows, and accommodation bookings had been opened to other European communities coming to Maxwell Hill. The construction of bungalows in Maxwell Hill, characterised by European architectural style, has the potential to create an environment synonymous with a Western atmosphere to provide comfort to

European visitors. Therefore, most of the bungalows on Maxwell Hill were built in European style and equipped with verandas and gardens. Residential places are located in various environments, including hilly areas, valleys, and forests.

Ownership or the ability to rent a bungalow in the Maxwell Hill area indicated a person's social status and simultaneously served as prestige in European society. That was why these bungalows and quarters were reserved exclusively for tenants among British officers and European visitors vacationing in Maxwell Hill. According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2001, p. 132), the European community considered Maxwell Hill bungalows special as the environment was similar to the one in their countries of origin. As a result, Maxwell Hill had become a popular destination for British tourists to stay and experience an unforgettable, unique experience.

The Cottage near Caulfield Hill and Tea Garden was one of the earliest bungalows built for British officers (Taiping Municipal Council, 2013). The Cottage is a luxurious bungalow located in a prime location. Each bungalow is built at a different height. The Cottage is the highest bungalow, with an elevation of 4,513 feet above sea level. This luxurious bungalow was exclusively reserved for the highest-ranking British officials, highlighting the significant advantages and status differences compared to the local residents. Therefore, visitors to Maxwell Hill were not allowed to enter The Cottage. This highlights an exclusive feature that indicates the facility was once reserved for high-ranking officers.

However, as Maxwell Hill's role as a temporary stopover expanded, bungalows and rest houses were gradually added and built for the use of European officers and visitors. Interestingly, this architecture remains robust to this day, with improvements made without altering the original form of the bungalow. The history of the bungalows and rest houses on Maxwell Hill in the tourism sector showcases the role of these accommodations as exclusive lodging for European officials and visitors. The development of this bungalow and rest house increased from time to time according to the elevation. Starting with the rest house, The Tea Gardens, located at an altitude of 2000 feet (610 metres), was named for its purpose (The Gardens' Bulletin, Straits Settlements: The Flowering Plants of Taiping, in the Malay Peninsula). The arrangement of bungalows started from the lowest to the highest, namely Tea Gardens (656m), Permai View Bungalow (990m), Maxwell's Rest House (1,034m), Watson Bungalow (1,036m), Federal Bungalow (1,036m), Speedy's Rest House (1,113m), The Hut (1,128m), Treacher's Bungalow (1,143m), Hugh Low Bungalow (1,154m), The Nest (1,170m), The Box (1,242m), The Cottage (1,376m). The naming of the bungalows was based on the names of the residents or British officials stationed in Perak, especially

during the construction period (“Maxwell Hill Malaya’s Oldest Hill Station”, 1939, p. 19).

Having a lower position than The Box bungalow, The Nest is estimated to have a height of 1,170 metres. Initially, this bungalow was owned by an English businessman, John Fraser, but it was later handed over to a group of American Christian missionaries as a health treatment centre for the missionaries and a temporary residence for their religious mission. The ownership of this bungalow was once again transferred to the state government, as stated in Superintendent Maxwell Hill's proposal around the 1950s. The transition was necessary to enable highway construction while simultaneously providing income to this resort area (1952-53 Hill Garden Committee 1363/1952). Therefore, the unique location of The Nest bungalow is an attraction for visitors to Maxwell Hill. Although this bungalow does not have a sea view, its location in the heart of Maxwell Hill, surrounded by a forest environment and far from the hustle and bustle of Taiping city, can provide a meaningful experience for visitors seeking spiritual tranquillity.

Each bungalow built has a unique and interesting part in the history of the area. The role of Maxwell Hill as a hill station for British officers and visitors can be illustrated through the opportunity provided to stay and experience the beauty and tranquillity of Maxwell Hill first hand. Therefore, the additional modified components and structures of the bungalow at Maxwell Hill for rent to visitors included the number of rooms. This would facilitate tourists in making reservations based on the number of people in their groups. Table 3 shows the number of residential rooms at Maxwell Hill.

Table 3: Number of Residential Rooms at Maxwell Hill

Residence	Number of Rooms	Altitude (ft. a.s.l)
The Cottage	5	4,513
The Box	4	4,076
The Nest	6	3,800
Traicher’s Bungalow	2 double rooms	3,750
	1 single room	
Hugh Low Bungalow	2 double rooms	3,738
	2 single rooms	
Speedy’s Rest House	2 double rooms	3,648
	2 single rooms	
The Hut	2 double rooms	3,600
	1 single room	

Watson's Bungalow (Old Superintendent's Cottage)	2 double rooms	3,400
Maxwell's Hill Rest house	2 double rooms	3,396
	2 single rooms	
Tea Garden	4 sets (24 people); 8 rooms	2,152

(Sources: Draft Rule Governing the Occupation Bungalows; Government Bungalows and Rest House, etc.; Sel Sec G. 58/1935 Rules for occupation of Maxwell's Hill Sanatorium, Taiping Hills; 2004/0012510 Supplement to the FMS Government Gazette 1925; 2006/0053414 Social and Economic Progress of the People of Perak Annual Report (FMS) 1935.).

Table 3 shows details regarding bungalows and rest houses in Maxwell Hill, including the names of the bungalows and the number of bedrooms (rooms). Visitors could choose based on the various accommodations available, with different rooms for each bungalow. The bungalows and rest houses built on Maxwell Hill offered different rooms. This indicated that these residential structures were designed to meet the needs and sizes of different groups. The "Cottage" bungalow showcases a larger residence, reflecting a higher hierarchy or status among the accommodations, with its top position clearly being a privilege for its visitors. Providing more space, the Cottage and The Nest bungalows, each with 5 and 6 rooms, respectively, are very suitable for family visitors or larger groups. In contrast, the Treacher and The Hut bungalows, each with 3 rooms, can only accommodate couples or smaller parties. Therefore, if a large group is visiting, the Tea Gardens bungalow would be the most suitable place for accommodating the visitors. Although it is the lowest, it could accommodate up to 24 people.

The organised management of accommodations by the Maxwell Hill management also attracts visiting tourists. Each bungalow that tourists wish to book has a rental rate set by the management of Maxwell Hill (Taiping Municipal Council, 2013). In 1947, most of the bungalows designated as accommodations in the tourism sector in Maxwell Hill charged affordable rental rates to reach more tourists. For example, the rental for most bungalows was around \$3.50 per day, while \$2.00 to \$1.00 was charged per day for Speedy's residence. This allowed the accommodation at Maxwell Hill to be accessible to various British visitors. In 1947, the Maxwell Hill committee adjusted the rental for each The Cottage, Treacher's Bungalow, The Hut, and Watson's Bungalow. The adjustment of rental values for each residential unit needed to be controlled to maintain the relevance of the

imposed accommodation rental. Therefore, British visitors were required to obtain permission from the authorities before entering the Maxwell Hill area in order to enhance control and monitoring by the colonial authorities. Each British visitor who stopped by and rented a venue at Maxwell Hill would obtain a permit from the Maxwell Hill authorities. This permit would be issued when visitors paid for the rental of the bungalow residence (“Improved Facilities at Maxwell (Or Taiping) Hill Stations,” 1939).

The daily rental rate for the adjusted accommodations was around \$3.50 per day. However, the rental charges for Speedy’s Rest House and Tea Garden residences differed with \$2.00 per day for double rooms and \$1.00 per day for single rooms at Speedy’s Rest House. On the other hand, the charges for Tea Gardens were based on room sets. Each set of Tea Garden rooms contained 2 rooms which could accommodate 4 people. Therefore, the charge was 25¢ per person. There has been a change in the rental rates for bungalows in Maxwell Hill, but their value remains relevant and reasonable. The quality of Maxwell Hill as a tourist destination had increased the popularity of the hill station, particularly in terms of its service charges, which were in line with the infrastructure facilities and the captivating scenic views. This could be seen from the regular maintenance and the provision of basic facilities in each rented residence such as beds, mattresses, blankets, pillows, linens, towels, plates, phones, cooks, and plumbers.

Table 4: Maxwell Hill Bungalow Rental Rates

Government Officials	Private Individuals
14 days – Free	1 day - \$2.00
After the 14-day period -\$1.00/day	First day after 1 week - \$1.50/day
	One week - \$10.00
	Two weeks - \$15.00
	Three weeks - \$20.00
	One month - \$25.00

(Source: 2006/0053410 *Perak Annual Report* 1893.).

Table 4, cited from the Perak Annual Report 1893, provides an overview of the different rental rates for bungalow rental services in Maxwell Hill during the colonial era. Based on the schedule, it was clear that there was a difference in rental rates between "government officials" and "private individuals." This shows a significant difference in the acceptance of service access at Maxwell Hill, which was not equitable based on a person's position in the colonial hierarchy. For example, government officials enjoyed significant privileges with subsidised or free accommodation, further reinforcing their social and economic advantages in

the colony. This aligns with the concept of "exclusivity" as stated by Crosette (1999: 5 & 7) and Siti Farrah Zaini et al. (2017: 110), where colonial authorities prioritized their own needs and comfort while excluding or marginalizing the local population and unofficial visitors. (Siti Farrah Zaini et. al, 2017: 110; Crosette, 1999: 5 & 7).

The Aesthetic Appeal of the Rose Garden and the Panoramic View

Next, Maxwell Hill also served as a microcosm of colonial society, complete with landscaped gardens and architecture that mimics English aesthetics. The development of landscapes and recreation, deliberately synonymous with Western cultural arts, aimed to enhance the sense of colonial identity and strengthen the existing power dynamics in the region. Many bungalows and rest houses were built in this area with unique characteristics. Frank Swettenham (1900) described a beautiful scene adorned with rose gardens surrounding the residential area of "The Box Bungalow" in Maxwell Hill during the British era.

According to a report in the Supplements to the Perak Government Gazette 1908, The Box bungalow, Maxwell's bungalow, and The Cottage were described as locations for rose planting on Maxwell Hill. Another location for this ornamental plant was also developed around the Tea Gardens bungalow (CO,2006/0053583 Supplements to the Perak Government Gazette 1909). The Box bungalow, which is located at an altitude of 4078 feet (1240 metres) on the ridge, for example, had a vast flower garden (Burkill & Henderson, 1925, p. 306). The flower garden in the residential area of The Box was estimated to cover an area of 1.5 acres. Based on the statement in the *Federated Malay States Annual Report: Report on the Government Plantation for the Year 1908*, rose plants were also provided in every bungalow occupied by tourists. Western design and aesthetics were carefully employed to create beautifully landscaped gardens which adorned the residential area of Maxwell Hill. The application of Western style in the architecture and decoration of the Maxwell Hill environment created an atmosphere almost synonymous with the West while simultaneously reinforcing European society's colonial identity and social hierarchy. Most of the flower seeds planted in Maxwell Hill were brought from Europe, creating an environment that closely resembles a Western atmosphere. This comfortable atmosphere could cure homesickness and provide comfort for British officers serving and European communities temporarily residing in Malaya. The flower and ornamental garden at Maxwell Hill was one of the main attractions for European tourists. The existence of flower garden development in this resort cannot be denied as it had contributed to shaping a beautiful atmosphere in Maxwell Hill. Visitors could

enjoy various species of plants around the Maxwell Hill flower garden (Perak Government Gazette 1901). However, roses and violets were among the first ornamental plants to be cultivated in Maxwell Hill due to their suitability for the temperature and climate in Maxwell Hill, as well as their significance in European culture.

The appointment of Leonard Wray in 1882 as the Superintendent of the Government Hills Garden in Maxwell Hill led to the development of a flower garden that showcased the beauty of European flower species such as Dahlias, Begonias, and Gloxinias as tourist attractions. The flower plants at this hill station were able to thrive with the support of the Penang Botanical Gardens. Roses, violets, dahlias, canna, amaryllis, and begonias were among the most commonly planted flowers in the ornamental garden of Maxwell Hill (*Report on Government Gardens for the Year 1897*). Consistent garden maintenance had led to an increase in the planting of these ornamental flowers in 1907, becoming a source of pride for the British officials overseeing it. Based on the record Supplementary to the Perak Government Gazette 1908, this decorative plant remained in good condition every year and was one of the aspects contributing to the satisfaction of tourists visiting this hill station.

This beautiful flower garden became a source of excitement for visitors who want to enjoy the beauty of the flowers, the peace, and the tranquillity of the garden. Katharine Sim (1946, p. 135) also listed several types of flowers that adorned the area of this hill station during her visit to Maxwell Hill, such as roses, dahlias, montbretia, gloriosa, honeysuckle, and morning glories. However, the heavy rainfall in the hilly area necessitated the installation of roofs over certain ornamental plants, and some of them needed to be planted in pots, such as *Pelargonium zonale*, *Dianthus caryophyllus* (Carnation), and *Heliotropium peruvianum* (Burkill & Henderson, 1925, p. 309). Tourists who wished to obtain vegetable or flower plants available at this hill station at reasonable prices could acquire the plants from the Superintendent of Maxwell Hill (Pk. Sec. 2213/47). A worker named Guna or Thoraraisa Thoraipandy sometimes collected vegetables or flowers to sell to British families living in bungalows around Maxwell Hill. Therefore, British officers developed flower gardens and ornamental plants, which also became one of the attractions for European tourists to Maxwell Hill. The beauty of the available scenery, complemented by various decorative plants, helped to create a better atmosphere and bring tranquillity to visitors.

Infrastructure Facilities

The construction of the road to the top of Maxwell Hill in 1884 has benefited many people while also helping to promote tourism. At first, the road was made of mud

and gravel, but later it was paved with concrete. The construction of paved roads, the provision of jeep services, and the establishment of rest huts along the travel route have made it easier for people to reach Maxwell Hill. There were two types of transportation services provided by Taik Ho and Company (Wright & Cartwright 1908, p. 251) for the climbers. The first type of transportation utilised the "Pony Back" or horse-drawn carriage. The use of the horse-drawn carriage on the 6-foot-wide path was guaranteed to be safe. Furthermore, the horse-drawn carriage not only transported visitors but was also capable of carrying supplies such as linen, towels, blankets, and sufficient food supplies while at Maxwell Hill. (Bukit Larut Resort Office Reports 2016) In addition, the "Sedan Chair" service or litter service was also provided, but it was exclusively reserved for English officers and visitors (Wright & Cartwright, 1908, p. 252). However, this litter service prioritised women and people with disabilities. This was because the use of horses for that group was not suitable due to safety factors.

The fare charged for the transportation service varied according to the stopping stations at Maxwell Hill as this chair-carrying service required six to eight "coolies" or porters. Throughout the journey, four porters would carry the palanquin and four other porters would rest. The exchange of porters would take place during the journey until reaching the designated station. Based on the charges for the sedan chair service in 1908 (Wright & Cartwright, 1908, p. 252), the fare from the foothills to The Cottage station was \$1 per porter, while the fare to Tea Gardens station was 50¢ per porter. However, the journey to the destination at the top of Maxwell Hill using these transportation services took more than 4 hours because the transportation used was limited in speed and capacity. Table 3 below shows the fare for taking the ride from Maxwell Hill to The Cottage and Tea Gardens station.

Table 5: Price of Stretcher Service Fees

Station	Wage Price (per person)
The Cottage	\$1
Tea Garden	50 c

Source: Wright and Cartwright (1908).

Figure 1 shows four coolies carrying a palanquin that carries a European visitor. Meanwhile, the other two will rest or carry the visitor's belongings. The wage for the labourers is paid according to the station they wish to visit.



Figure 1: Stretcher Service
(Source: Liew Suet Fun [2022].)

In this regard, transportation fares had increased, especially in the mid-20th century. Unlike the early 20th century rates, these fares had been recalibrated according to the distance from the foothills to specific bungalows. This matter can be shown in Table 6, which records the fare values in 1935.

Table 6: Transportation Service Rate

From foothill to Selected Residence	One Chair (\$)	One Riding Mule (\$)	Per Load of about 40 lbs	
			By Cooly (\$)	By Mule (\$)
The Cottage	6.00	3.00	-.80	-.65
The Box	5.50	2.75	-.70	-.60
The Nest	5.50	2.75	-.70	-.60
Speedy's Bungalow	5.50	2.75	-.70	-.60
Hugh Low's Bungalow	5.50	2.75	-.70	-.60
Treacher's Bungalow	5.00	2.50	-.60	-.50
The Hut	5.00	2.50	-.60	-.50
Maxwell's Bungalow	4.00	2.00	-.45	-.40
Watson's Bungalow	4.00	2.00	-.45	-.40
Tea Gardens	3.00	1.50	-.40	-.30

(Source: Sel Sec G. 58/1935 Rules for Occupation of Maxwell's Hill Sanatorium, Taiping Hills.).

Table 6 shows that this service also provided transportation for visitors' luggage and goods at a certain rate depending on the type of service used for a specific distance. For example, in the data, the highest service fee was charged on visitors coming to The Cottage bungalow, which is the highest bungalow at this hill station, and the lowest fee was charged to visitors coming to the Tea Gardens, which is also the lowest bungalow. If the rates for this service were previously determined according to the station, then the change that occurred in the mid-20th century placed the rates more based on bungalows and rest houses. Generally, human labour is more expensive than animal labour to transport goods or goods for visitors. Therefore, it is clear that the infrastructure facilities in terms of transportation services at Maxwell Hill have also undergone changes in terms of rates and types of services. Although the rates charged were somewhat expensive at that time, the transportation facilities offered were features that could attract tourists to come to Maxwell Hill.

In addition, the construction of water reservoirs was also carried out to store water for visitors and residents while simultaneously modifying the shape of the reservoirs to accommodate the water capacity obtained from the main water sources and the average amount of rainwater stored in the reservoirs. The existence of a water reservoir could ensure the cleanliness and safety of the water supply in Maxwell Hill for consumption by residents and visiting tourists. The main source of water supply in Maxwell Hill comes from three rivers, namely Sungai Ranting, Sungai Jana, and Sungai Air Terjun. The three main rivers irrigate the Maxwell Hill area for the community's daily use. In addition, rainwater flows into the river areas near Maxwell Hill, namely Sungai Batu Tegoh, Sungai Larut, and Sungai Tupai (Liew Suet Fun, 2022, p. 26). The British authorities took the initiative to maintain the cleanliness and purity of the water source in Maxwell Hill by constructing a water reservoir around the 1900s ("Reservoir Crack", 1939, p. 7). The reservoir construction aimed to channel the water supply in the Larut Matang district. Initially, a water reservoir was built near Speedy's Rest House. Later, around 1914, the British added two more reservoirs to accommodate the large supply of clean water ("Special Repair to Maxwell's Hill Reservoir – Work to Stand Over till 1918 (Sel. 3805/1917)"). Several British officers had been recruited to maintain the reservoir and provided accommodation near the Maxwell Hill water reservoir area.

Therefore, in this section, the condition of Maxwell Hill is clearly detailed. It is equipped with various infrastructure facilities for visitors, thereby creating a comfortable and pleasant environment for them during their stay at Maxwell Hill. Hence, it is appropriate to consider this aspect as a unique feature of Maxwell Hill that can attract visitors to come, especially since this aspect can provide comfort

and satisfaction to them during their stay, which is desired after spending some time in lowland areas due to the tropical heat.

European Style Recreational Facilities

During the British colonial era, the development of Maxwell Hill was more oriented towards the English community. Frederick Weld, the Governor of the Straits Settlements at that time, also stated that Maxwell Hill was developed for colonial officers with an atmosphere oriented like their homeland. This section will discuss the social and cultural interaction facilities based on the cultural patterns of European society which attracted tourists to Maxwell Hill. Evidence shows that visitors could enjoy a comfortable environment while utilising the various facilities and activities provided at Maxwell Hill to fill their leisure time ("Improved Facilities at Maxwell (or Taiping) Hill Station." 1936). Infrastructure and activity facilities need to be diversified to create an enjoyable atmosphere because visitors come to Maxwell Hill not only to relax but also to explore the resort area by engaging in social activities which can fill their free time and provide them with satisfaction in enjoying the area's beauty. Most of the social activities provided are based on Western culture, thereby reinforcing their social hierarchy within the colonial structure in Malaya.

The social and cultural interaction facilities at Maxwell Hill are designed for sports and recreational activities such as tennis, badminton, cricket, and horseback riding. These activities were popular among Europeans then, creating a comfortable atmosphere for them because they were synonymous with their daily activities in Europe. Several bungalows and rest houses in Maxwell Hill provide courts such as The Cottage, The Box, The Hut, and Speedy's Bungalow (Sel. Sec. G.58/1935). This can be seen in the writings based on the expedition notes of Margaret Shennan (2000), stating that the sports activities carried out by European society included tennis and horseback riding. Furthermore, Katharine Sim described the very interesting atmosphere during this sports activity, where the morning ambience while they played tennis was coloured by the bluish morning atmosphere, and the area around the croquet field was adorned with Blue Salvia flowers (Sim, 1946, p. 136). In fact, he also stated that Maxwell Hill is "as beautiful as a summer in England" with the presence of "English flowers and English spirit" that reflects an environment more inclined towards its own culture, to the extent that he suggested Maxwell Hill as the perfect place for British officers to cure their longing for their homeland in Europe even while being in a foreign country.

The sports and recreational infrastructure facilities in Maxwell Hill also played a significant role in attracting European communities to visit Maxwell Hill. The application of European culture in Maxwell Hill's social activities created a comfortable atmosphere among the European community. Based on Margaret Shennan's writings about her expedition to the Malay Peninsula in the mid-20th century, the swimming pool at Maxwell Hill was one of the famous tourist attractions. The swimming pool at the foot of the hill was famous for its clear water and was surrounded by an environment with wildflowers and lush creeping plants, making it an attractive place to relax and enjoy the beauty of nature (Shennan, 2000, p. 112). The changing room facilities and an open bar in the swimming pool area made it a comfortable and enjoyable place to spend leisure time (Sim, 1946, p. 47). In this regard, Liew Suet Fun (2022, p. 89) also stated that based on her experience, the swimming pool originated from a natural waterfall located in Maxwell Hill. He stated that snacks were also provided at the swimming pool clubhouse. Therefore, this explanation can prove that the swimming pool facilities had become one of the attractions for tourists to visit this hill station. Therefore, the development of a swimming pool at the foot of Maxwell Hill station provided a picture of the integration between the beauty of the natural environment and the development of facilities by humans, which would create opportunities for European tourists to enjoy the beauty found in Maxwell Hill optimally. Therefore, it is clear that the facilities developed at Maxwell Hill for socialising activities for the community visiting the hill station were features which directly attracted its visitors during the mid-20th century.

CONCLUSION

During the British colonisation, Maxwell Hill played an important role as a popular tourist centre among the European community in Malaya at that time. Based on the discussions conducted regarding the characteristics of tourist attractions found in Maxwell Hill, it has been explained that they are created through a combination of the environment and human activities. This matter is illustrated through discussions based on the tranquil atmosphere at Maxwell Hill and the basic facilities to create a comfortable environment. Maxwell Hill's popularity has led Europeans to arrive in Malaya to enjoy and appreciate the natural beauty and the valuable historical significance that once existed in the Bintang Range area. The land formation in the highland area, characterised by hills, green valleys, and breath-taking views, offers European tourists a visual experience different from the urban landscapes in the lowlands. The beauty of the mountainous environment, with its diverse flora and fauna, contrasts the space

they inhabit in the lowlands. This visual appeal, combined with a cooler climate and refreshing atmosphere, contributes to the overall attraction of Maxwell Hill as a tourist destination.

Infrastructure facilities equipped with unique residential places and amenities are among the features that make the Maxwell Hill area suitable as an attractive tourist destination. Applying British aesthetic architecture to the development of bungalows was one way to create a European atmosphere in Maxwell Hill. Organised management in handling bookings makes it easier for travellers to secure accommodations. Similarly, the provided transportation facilities make it easier for visitors to reach the high areas that are difficult to climb, especially for women, children, and the elderly. In addition, the variety of facilities in the area, along with its beautiful surroundings, has successfully attracted attention and received a positive response from the European community. Maxwell Hill was built with the characteristics of a retreat, simultaneously replicating the English landscape with recreational facilities for the European community. Moreover, after the development of Maxwell Hill, which was adapted to the cultural characteristics of European society through the construction of flower garden areas for decorative purposes, the aesthetic appeal of the rose garden created a breath-taking panoramic view for tourists. The basic facilities for activities and social interactions, such as sports commonly played in European countries, were also built to attract tourists. The uniqueness of Maxwell Hill had opened up opportunities for an increase in the number of visitors up to the 20th century, as the number of Europeans at that time was also increasing.

This study can also be elaborated further, especially in the post-World War II period, by demonstrating its continuity in the contemporary era. The use of values and figures found in British records have been maximised to describe the history of tourist areas such as Maxwell Hill and cover a broader scope beyond tourist areas.

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