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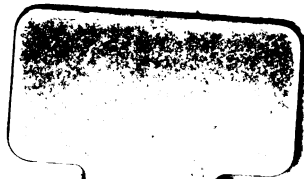


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HISTORY
OF THE
ISLAND OF CELEBES,
CONTINUED FROM THE
MEMOIR
OF
MR. R. BLOK,
Governor of Maccassar,
AND FROM THOSE OF HIS SUCCESSORS.

HISTORY
OF THE
ISLAND OF CELEBES,

BY
MR. R. BLOK,

Governor of Macassar;

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A MEMOIR,

DRAWN UP BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

AND COMPREHENDING SUCH REMARKABLE

EVENTS AS OCCURRED IN THE

ISLAND,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS GOVERNMENT

TO 1808:

TO WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDED

A REPORT,

CONCERNING THE SLAVE TRADE

OF

MACCASSAR,

DRAWN UP BY A DUTCH COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THAT PURPOSE:

AND THE TRIAL AND SENTENCE

OF

COLONEL FILZ,

Late Dutch Commanding Officer

AT

AMBOINA,

WHO, ON THE 19TH FEBRUARY 1810,

SURRENDERED FORT VICTORY

TO

CAPTAIN EDWARD TUCKER,

Commanding His Majesty's Ship of War DOVER.

THE WHOLE TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH LANGUAGE AND

PUBLISHED IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY

CAPTAIN J. VON STUBENVOLL.

VOLUME 2.

PRINTED AT THE

CALCUTTA GAZETTE PRESS,

1817.

APPENDIX.

THE treaty called Lamoon-Patooa-Re-Timoo-rong, made and concluded between the Courts of Bone, Wadjo, and Sopping in the time, or under the reign of the King of Bone, Tanrirawa, surmamed Bonkang-E, and called after his demise Mantinrooa-re-Gootchina.*

ART. 1.

In case these three kingdoms should become involved in a war with each other, the Victor shall be bound immediately to pardon the conquered, and to restore him his dominion without bearing him any further hatred or grudge.

ART. 2.

Should one of these three kingdoms stray from the good road, the other two shall be bound to bring the strayed one to right again.

ART. 3.

The three Kings are to live with each other without hatred, or envy.

ART. 4.

And each is to follow his own way.

ART. 5.

Each of the three shall rule his own subjects, without contradiction, or interference of the two others.

ART. 6.

All men are mortal, but this our engagement is immortal.

* Titles are given to Kings after their death, according to the events which happened to them during their life time.—TRANSLATOR.

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ART. 7.

ART. 7.

Should the seven heavens, which lay one above the other, fall upon the sevenfold earth, our friendship however shall not break for all that.

ART. 8.

It has been thought fit, that Bone the first, Wadjo the second, and Sopping the third, should mutually live and die together like Brothers. To swear to, and to confirm this, the three engaging parties have resorted to the town of Timoorong, where they have dug a hole, and in it laid three Eggs; after which, each of the parties has taken up a stone of a size proportionate to his respective rank, and sworn that he who should violate his faith, should be crushed to pieces, like the eggs by these stones; and that, as it was impossible that these stones should fly upwards, so was it likewise impossible that their friendship should cease.

At the same time it was under the most heavy imprecations agreed, that none of the three contracting parties should raise fortifications at Chin-rana,* or reside there, but that the place should remain as a common resort to them.

Sopping having said, previous to the conclusion of this treaty, that he was too small in land, and too weak in people, for the purpose of entering into an alliance with the other two, Bone ceded to Sopping the town of Goa-Goa with its dependencies, and Wadjo gave him the town of Baringan also with its dependencies.

* A town belonging to Bone who fortified it. It takes its name from a river on the bank of which it is situated.—TRANSLATOR.

Wadjo

Wadjo had formerly complained of being held in slavery by the Maccassars; upon which Bone said: "I herewith do liberate you from that subjection and slavery, and make you a free nation; the Maccassars are our common enemies."

This treaty the Wadjoos broke first, at the time when they assisted the Maccassars, to bring Bone and Sopping into subjection and slavery again.

Afterwards, when the Maccassars were subdued by the Netherlanders, Wadjo remained obstinate, and was conquered by Rajah Palacca, who fortified the town of Chinrana, and having taken possession of some villages belonging to Wadjo, he suffered the King of that nation, to treat with the Company; at the same time he renewed the Lamoon—Patooa with Wadjo, and Sopping; yet he disapproved the conditions thereof, for which reason he called that treaty Tellong—Pootche.*

It was long after the demise of Rajah Palacca, or at the time of the reign of the lately deceased Queen, that the Boughees were conquered by the Wadjoos, who repossessed themselves of all the territory which Rajah Palacca had taken from them; by which they impoverished Bone very much, and forced the Queen to renew the old treaty.

From this, and because Wadjo had declared against the Company, the war of 1740 took its rise. But the issue not being advantageous, Wadjo continued to insist on the observation of the old treaty, against which Bone has to this very day protested in vain.

* Abolished.—TRANSLATOR.

HISTORY OF CELEBES.

Memoir concerning the state of affairs, and interest of the Company in Celebes and its dependencies, drawn up by the resigning Governor of Maccassar, Mr. Rolph Blok, and left to his successor, Mr. Cornelis Sinkelar, the Governor elect.

SIR,

IT having been the pleasure of the Honorables, the illustrious Government of Indian Netherlands to relieve me, in a manner truly honorable, from this indeed very important and laborious Government, and to appoint you, much to my satisfaction, successor to this Government, It becomes incumbent upon me, according to the ancient and good usage of this place, to leave with you, previously to my departure, a brief but comprehensive memoir of affairs regarding the present state of the Company's interest in general with the natives of this island. Of this duty I shall acquit myself, without much prolixity, to the extent of my small abilities and to the utmost of my knowledge, beginning with the balance which ought to be maintained between the courts of Bone and Goa, for the safety of the Company's territory.

It has been from the first considered necessary that the balance should incline to the side of Bone, because that Empire, in the time of its greatest power, is never to be feared by the Company so much as the Maccassars, even in their lowest situation. To this day the case remains the

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4 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

the same ; and, in my opinion, it may be looked upon as a certain maxim, that, as the Company with the assistance of Bone, obtained their conquests here, so they can preserve their territories and maintain their authority only by their union with Bone, which alone will enable them to keep the balance of power over all Celebes. I freely confess, that should Bone, which God prevent, become unfaithful to the Company, or should it be subdued by its enemies, I know of no ally, who would exert himself in favor of the Company.

It becomes me to notice this subject in the light, in which after a strict enquiry it has appeared to me, namely, that after the last war the balance began and still continues to waver.

Principally, because the Wadjoos, at that time, could not be brought to their previous alliance with the Company and with Bone; by which Bone not only remained deprived of her territories and treasures, but lost, with the Company, much of its former lustre. Wadjo on the contrary has increased so much in power and consideration, that by the natives that nation is actually respected and feared.

As long as these Wadjoos, as heretofore, remain independent, without uniting themselves closer with any other people, the balance will, without inclining either to the one or to the other side, remain wavering as it did during the last 29 years.

But when these people come to disturb Bone in her own territory, as the confederate Princes, except Patihana, have lately begun to do, by demanding

manding the country of Timoorong, and when in order to assist their pretensions they renew their alliance with their old friends, the Maccassars, then the balance will incline pretty much to the wrong side.

Yet in this case the only inconvenience would be in the necessity of commencing a war, which, although expensive, has long since become necessary; and by which, under the blessing of God, the Company's declining authority would very soon be re-established over these self-called independent Wadjoos, as well as over all Celebes.

But should these Wadjoos, strengthened by the discontented Bone Princes, happen to dethrone the present King of Bone, and, as report says, elect in his room Aroo Mampo Bone; and should they then unite themselves with Bone, and insist on the strict observance of the old treaty, called Lamoon Patooa-re-Timoorong, excluding the Company, which treaty the late Queen from necessity renewed at the time when Wadjo had subdued Bone, then it will be more difficult to preserve peace. Otherwise, as long as Bone adheres to the treaties, the only necessary precaution is to bring the Wadjoos to their duty, that is to say to the observation of the Bonay's treaty, and of their own, made in 1670, relative to their navigation and trade.

I am well aware of what Admiral Smout says in his memoir, that Wadjo has promised to adhere to the old treaty, without bearing the name of submissive ally. But I know also that the Wadjoos do not care at all about that treaty, and think that their land and people have no con-

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cern with the Company, and that they may extend their navigation and trade under their own passports, as much as it is in their power to do.

Their sentiments in this respect are clear and evident from their last answer sent to Governor Smout, which for an amusement to you, together with the treaty of Lawoon-Patooa,* I have added hereafter, not having found the records of them, either in the Secretary's office, or among the secret papers. The first was not long ago discovered among the old and decayed papers of the chief interpreter.† From those two documents I have formed my opinion of the real state of affairs between the Company, Bone and Wadjo; which I firmly believe was never properly laid before the Supreme Government.

For who could ever have thought that in this island of Celebes such a powerfull nation could be found, entirely free, and almost equal in trade to the Company? yet, it is indisputable that Wadjo since the last war, according to the law of nations, ought to be regarded as such,

This is all which I think it my duty to acquaint you with concerning the balance. What is further necessary you should know respecting its present state, I shall mention hereafter, and shew you how the reports from the interior make it appear to be no longer as equal as it was before.

This will suffice for the present to establish my opinion, subject, however, to be corrected by a

* See Appendix.

† These papers were so much decayed, that they were not at all legible for translation—TRANSLATOR.

sounder

sounder judgment, of the safety of the Company being placed in an union and good understanding with Bone, and in a vigorous maintenance of the Company's high authority both by the respectability of their arms, and by a kind intercourse with and an upright deportment towards all the native powers.

Whilst I am upon this point, I find myself obliged, because you will find it elsewhere represented otherwise, to give you a true idea of the light in which, according to the treaties, the Company is to be considered in this island. It is really sovereign, and the people are subjects, but to be ruled only by their ancient laws and privileges, according to the treaty made with them on their becoming allies, or on their being subdued. Respecting the allies, the Company, being the first in rank, is not to rule over them, but to take care, that by observing justice and equity, each ally be supported in his rights and privileges. This is explained in the letter* of the Supreme Government of Batavia, dated 6th January 1699; and the power to that effect is acknowledged by the 25th article of the Bonay's treaty, where the arbitration of differences, arising between ally and ally, is put into the hands of the European Chief.

I shall now proceed to a description of the present state of the affairs of the respective allies, beginning with the realm of Bone, and its King.

Concerning the last important occurrences within that kingdom, and over all Macassar, with its dependencies, I refer myself to my brief History of Celebes.

* This letter was not found.—TRANSLATOR.

And

B MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

And since the Prime Minister, the privy council, and the greatest part of the other court nobles, whose names and ranks appear several times in the separate journals, are known by you, as well as by me, to possess but little understanding, I shall only add with regard to them, that most of them are the King's own sons; and that they are not at all looked upon, neither by the King himself, nor by the Company, as loyal Boneers, or well inclined to the Company. They are such on the contrary as will suffer themselves without opposition to be carried away by every wind towards a change in the Government. I therefore deem it needless to enlarge this work by a more minute detail of their qualities and ability, and observe only that there are some to be mentioned hereafter, who by their conduct do not deserve to be ranked in the number of those I have just now mentioned.

I shall therefore, in addition to what I have said already, confine myself to a brief, and real display, of what, after the present circumstances of the times and affairs, has been done, of what difficulties may occur, and of what hereafter ought to be observed.

The realm and Court of Bone, deprived by the last internal war with Wadjo of their treasures and valuables, and also, it may be said, of a great part of their former respectability, became and remain to this day very poor. This, and the continual troubles, which are occasioned to the Boneers, who border on Wadjo, by the band of robbers of the old Matoua or King of Wadjo, Aroo Paneke, cause the grandees, who keep themselves in the interior of the country, to be rather
discontented

HISTORY OF CELEBES.

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discontented with their King, more so, because he does not even, although continually importuned, sufficiently support his subjects against their oppressors; to which may be added, that many nobles, and according to report, Arod Mampo Bone in particular, are much dissatisfied, because the King, as they say, pardoned Lacasee, or Aroo Cha,* without previous intimation being given to the grandees, and their assent being waited for, and also because he bestowed on him the principal and most lucrative situation at his Court.

To redress all this, they now wish the King to return to the interior of the country; but he is apprehensive, should he put himself into their hands of losing his life or his throne, unless the Company support him with such a force, as to enable him not only to bring back to their duty all the ill intentioned Boneers, but also to free the whole land from the over-ruling power and usurpation of the Wadjoos.

This was the reason for which the Prime Minister and Nobles in so great earnest lately enquired from him at Bontualac, on what terms Bone was with the Company, and if they might as formerly hope for our assistance.

The King is now very old, and for the most part deprived of that noble spirit, which is required in so great a personage; and on the least ill fortune or bad report, he immediately becomes dejected and dismayed, because he knows his want of power to attack Wadjo without the aid of the Company.

* A son of the King.—TRANSLATOR.

So

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So situated, when the grandees, on the 18th September 1759, came to me in state to acquaint me that they wished to carry their King into the country, he requested me most seriously to hinder his departure, and to save him from danger. This I have done, at least I have delayed his removal till the Ambassadors of Bone and Soping return from Batavia. After this, should the Nobles renew their application, and the King not join them in pressing the measure, it ought to be again delayed, because the King cannot possibly in the present conjuncture give any satisfaction to the grandees in the country, without prejudice to the Company's interest, as the party favorably inclined to Wadjo seems to have the upperhand there.

It would likewise be a very troublesome thing for you, should this Prince loose his life or Government in the interior; at least there would be some danger of the Boneers, to the prejudice of the Company's interest, choosing for their Queen the Princess Aroo Palacca, the grandmother of the present Maccassar King of Goa; by which Bone and Goa would soon get under one chief.

Against this a careful watch ought to be kept. It has been my care from the beginning of my administration; and I have at the same time, as much as possible, prepared the most convenient mode of succession, in which I have succeeded so far, that the King has often promised me, that he would nominate for his successor Aroo Mampo Bone, a son of his half Brother Topawawoi, called likewise Aroo Mampo, and afterward Careeng Bessei.

This the Supreme Government of Batavia were pleased

pleased to approve by a separate letter of 31st December 1657, desiring me, at the same time, to proclaim him, Aroo Mampo, to that dignity on the demise of the present King, and recommending me most strictly to observe previous to that caution and secrecy, which indeed is of the utmost necessity,

In the mean time, I have not yet been able to persuade the King to declare this Aroo Mampo young King or heir apparent, because he says this would cause much jealousy in his family, and particularly, as I think myself, to Aroo Palacca.

It appears however from the translation of the King's letter to the Supreme Government of the East-India Company at Batavia, that he has flattered his son, Lacasee, or Aroo-Cha with the hope of the succession, in all probability to excite him thereby to a better behaviour. Notwithstanding this, I must here add for your information, that the copy of that letter, brought to me for perusal, previous to its being sent, was in some measure quite of an other purport. For, with regard to the succession, mention was made in it not of Aroo Lacasee in particular, but of all the King's children in general; which has therefore caused me some speculation, more so, because about that time Aroo Lacasee had been created Pongawa (General); and that promotion, as the Boneera say, made Aroo Mampo Bone small hearted, or, dropping the figure of speech, discontented with the King.

That the King has not in this dealt faithfully with me, or rather, that since the pardon granted to his son Aroo Lacasee, he had altered his design, does not at all surprise me; for, although I

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do believe him to be the best inclined Prince of all Celebes, as he is under the greatest obligations to the Company, he nevertheless is well known to be very reserved. He dares not, either without or within his Court, come forward fairly for the interest of the Company, but always endeavours to preserve a character of goodness even towards the ill inclined.

Last year,* he made his last Will, which it has cost me considerable pains to arrange, so that after his death the Company may suffer no disadvantage.

Amongst the Bone Princes and Nobles, who in some respect are recommendable, I reckon, in the first place,

The Princess Aroo Palacca. But as she was born by a Maccassar mother, and in consequence is nearly related to the Courts of Goa and Tello, our attention to her ought to go no further than what is required for the cultivation of an unprejudicial friendship.

Aroo Mampo Bone is, according to report, and as it seems to me, a well inclined Prince, and the bravest of all Bone, thus highly fit for the succession to the throne, though with less right to it than the Princess Aroo Palacca; because born as he is from a marriage perfectly lawful according to the customs of the country, his mother was a woman of inferior rank.

The two sons of Aroo Mampo Bone, Lasappo, at present Aroo Mario Bone, and Aroo Tannette Matooa,† one of the Aroo Peeto, are like-

* 1759.

† Matooa a title given to every one of the seven electors, called Matooa Petoos.—TRANSLATOR.

wise esteemed loyal Boneers, and thus well inclined to the Company: as also

Aroo Apala, a son of the old and loyal Daceng Mamala. The same may be said of Aroo Oodjoong, a son of the † Tomarilalang, who, in 1753, fled to Goa. This Prince is still young, but of a very great expectation. Of the sons of the King, I know not one on whom any dependence is to be placed, except

Lacasee, or Aroo Cha, whose misconduct was lately pardoned, and who is now Pongawa (General). He is not, however, recommendable to the succession, nor to be trusted any further than required by the interest of his royal father. But his brother, in law

Datooa Beengo, appears to be a well inclined Boneer. Though I have represented to you the two Tomarilalangs, or privy counselors, as persons of mean understanding, yet I trust that they may be, the youngest in particular, considered as well inclined Boneers, or at least as men who have very often been taught how necessary it is for Bone to remain separated from Goa.

Lastly, the Glarrang of Bontualac may also be reckoned amongst the true Boneers.

Concerning the usurped power of the King of Bone over the lesser order of allies, against which, to this day, all vigilance has been exerted; with but very little or no advantage at all, I can point out nothing better to you, than the obser-

* Daceng signifies junior sons of Noblemen.

† Tomarilalang, a privy counsellor.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Datooa Beengo is a petty King, holding a fief under Bone.—TRANSLATOR.

§ A chief of one or more villages.—TRANSLATOR.
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vation of the very prudent orders of the Supreme Government in their letter of the 18th March 1704, which are as follows :

" We could however not resolve to suffer that point entirely to escape our notice, and we have judged it necessary to desire you to maintain the same according to the treaties. Yet it must be done with caution and discretion, and in the least offensive manner, because a different conduct would cause an encrease of confidence, and produce a close union between the Courts of Bone and of Gora.

I must further, at the request of the King of Bone, inform you, that on the 27th of August 1757, the Datooa-re Woolawang-I-Atche* has, by his last Will, given the Datooaship of Woolawang to Lama Pasabee, the King's son; and to the Princess Halima, his daughter, the small province of Goona, to be possessed by them after his demise.

Having, I think, sufficiently treated the principal points which concern the Court of Bone, I shall now, as the King of that country is become also Datooa of Sopping, and without prejudice to the rank of the allies, speak of that newly disturbed province.

Of the cause and nature of the troubles which have arisen, and of the present state of affairs there, I proceed then to present you with a brief discussion, and to point out to you what in my humble opinion ought to be observed. The origin, the progress, and the end of the former troubles, regarding the election, are fully known to

* Petit King of a province called by that name.—
TRANSLATOR.

you,

you, and you will also find them detailed in the memoirs of my predecessors, and in the separate letters of the years 1758 and 1759, as well as in the secret resolutions, and the separate journal of the same years.

In the last part of the above letters, you will be able to observe, that at that time I already apprehended, that some new troubles would arise in that country, on account of the clandestine departure of Aroo Pandjelee for Mario Rewawa.

To prevent this, I sent the Government's first messenger* with my friendly request to Aroo Pandjelee, accompanied by a letter from his father-in-law, Caréeng Barombong, exhorting him to return, but it was in vain. He left the answer to my request to be delivered by the people of Mario, who pretended to be much afraid of being attacked by Sopping as soon as Aroo Pandjelee should have left them. Aroo Pandjelee in his letter stated that he was extremely surprized at the King his brother troubling the Governor so much on his account, since, to that day, he had done nothing without his knowledge and assent.

As to the apprehension which the people of Mario pretend to entertain, you ought to know that since the last election of the King of Sopping over them, they have from dissatisfaction at the dethroning of Aroo Pandjelee, who is married to the Queen of that small province, and has had children by her, separated themselves from Sop-

* Messengers are natives kept by Government, to carry messages to the Kings and Nobles. They are sworn and supposed to be faithful to the Company.—
TRANSLATOR.

ping.

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ping. Mario by right ought to be a submissive ally of Sopping, and the revolt of the people has been the work of Aroo Pandjeelee.

About the time of, or immediately after the departure of Aroo Pandjeelee from hence, the King of Bone ordered the people of Lamoroo to march armed into Sopping, in order to defend that country against any hostile attack; whilst for the same purpose, the Vice Roy had sent for his brother-in-law the Datooa re-Pamana.*

The Soppings are, as it appears to me, disposed to bring the people of Mario to their former duty by force of arms; at least all the solicitations, and pretended difficulties of the Vice Roy were penned in that way. But all this I have carefully opposed, and have, with the approbation of the King of Bone, prevented a war, till lately, when letters from the Vice Roy and Grantees of Sopping informed us, that Aroo Pandjeelee, and the small province of Mario had put themselves under the protection of Wadjo; for which they requested our advice about the measures to be taken on the occasion.

I consulted on this with the King of Bone, and although it appeared to both of us, that all was not right with respect to the Vice Roy, and his brother-in-law, Datooa-re-Pamana, and that they both were not so loyal to their King as they ought to be, we have nevertheless in full council, and under certain conditions, unanimously consented to the King's proposal, namely, to attack Mario.

I have further to observe to you respecting

* A petty King of the province called Pamana—
TRANSLATOR.

that

that kingdom, that in my opinion it ought not to be separated from Bone, and that, above all, care ought to be taken, that it does not come under Wadjo.

With regard to the Grandees of Sopping, I can say nothing particular. From their general behaviour it appears to me that they are very unsteady. If, before the conclusion of this Memoir, any thing remarkable should happen in that kingdom, I will not fail to mention it in a postscript.

The Court of Goa is divided within itself; because the Prime Minister Careeng Tello and the Careengs Beroangee, and Pankajeene, the latter of whom is trusted with the education of the young King, are ill designing enemies of the Company and their servants. The intrigues of those courtiers, together with a proper plan to oppose their bad courses, or secret ill designs, the Governor De Boo has left us in his Memoir; which I fully confirm, and, to avoid prolixity, refer you to his manuscript. But with regard to the treaties, one thing in my opinion ought to be observed, which on that account I have already mentioned in my History of Celebes, under the head of Macassar, and in the article of King Mappa Doolang; namely, "that whilst treating with these people, we ought always to join the right of conquest with the treaties." This in regard to the other allies is not necessary to be so strictly observed. See what is further stated in the same manuscript in the article of Fort Rotterdam, and its dependencies. I must, however, not neglect to notice here, that if once more an opportunity should occur to fix the limits



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mits of this Fort, they ought by all means to be distinctly established according to the treaties. If, for instance, on the next coronation of the King of Goa, and the renewal on that occasion of the treaties, it could be done amicably, the Company might then conveniently cede for it the other half of Sodian,* to the Maccassars.

This I think, will succeed, if done with judgment; because the King of Goa would then have the honor of seeing his nine states† complete again; which alone would almost facilitate the arrangements respecting the subjects on both sides, and the right of planting paddy-fields: more so, if the Company's Ministers would but maintain the principal point, viz. the free possession of that country for the prevention only of the great smuggling in and about the rivers of Goa and Tello. In the meantime you will be pleased to comprehend me well, namely, that a negotiation relative to the matter ought not to be entered into, under the name of exchange, but under that of cementing a good and firm friendship with the Court of Goa; and that it ought to be made known to the subjects of both parties, how far the Company's territory, belonging to Oodjong Pan-

* Sodian in the Maccassar language signifies the northern provinces of Maros, which, before the complete subduing of the Maccassars, belonged to them, but after that half of it became, by the treaty of peace, a property of the Company.—TRANSLATOR.

† When the whole of the northern provinces under the name of Sodian were under the obedience of the Maccassars, they completed the nine states of electors. But since the Company took one part of them, those nine states have become incomplete.—TRANSLATOR.

dang.

gang,* extends; that also, if for the sake of removing every difference we should add to the cession of Sodian for ever, (not without requiring a written engagement from the Court of Goa not to admit there any vessel without a Company's passport or clearance) the cession to that Court of the island of great Balang† with two or three more neighbouring islands, I think, under correction of a better judgment, that it would be of no great consequence to the Company.

At such an opportunity, we could also try whether it were possible to satisfy the wish of the Supreme Government of Batavia, contained in the separate letter of 31st December 1757, concerning the Mangary.

Respecting the observation of the treaties, I must here, in justice to the Maccassars, mention that, in my opinion, they adhere more strictly to that of Bonaya than the other allies do, too strictly indeed when it serves their purpose. But of the treaty which was first entered into separately with Tello on the 15th of July 1669, and afterwards accepted, signed and sworn to by the old King Hassan Oodeen and all the principal Nobles of Maccassar on the 2d of August following, they profess themselves entirely ignorant; and this it is which they endeavour to evade.

It will therefore be of the highest necessity, that, when the time shall arrive for the present young King taking possession of the Govern-

* Oodjong Pandang is the ground where the Fort Rotterdam and the town are raised.—TRANSLATOR.

† A small island opposite the river of Maros.—TRANSLATOR.

20 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLÖK.

ment, he not only accept, and, according to the custom of the country, swear to the treaty of Bonaya, but also that he perform the same with respect to the last mentioned agreement of Tello.

The King of Tello, who lately married Aroo Madello, sister of the late Datoa-re Sedenreng*, a very old and rich Matron, is particularly described in the Memoirs of my predecessors Smout, Looten, and Van Cloodwyk, as a very dangerous, and unfaithful ally. To this I most willingly give my concurrence. But I go farther, and it appears to me that, although we must look upon all the Maccassar Nobles as our professed friends, we ought at the same time to observe them as the secret and perpetual enemies of the Dutch, who want only the power to make it evident to us. Yes! I here do declare that I never had reason to exclude from this one single individual among them, and above all, not that crafty and in former memoirs so highly extolled Careeng Madjenang; but I think it necessary that with respect to him a secret and prudent attention should be observed.

I have at times met that gentleman with all possible kindness, and never refused his manyfold applications: yet, I never suffered him to pass by the Fort with his chief colours at the top of his mast; and it appears to me, he was on account of this prohibition more, or less dissatisfied with me, for after that time he never came to me again. I believe that it will be well, merely to avoid further ill will from him, that you should cultivate his friendship, as I do not doubt but that after my departure he will make again his appearance.

*-King or Queen of the country called Sedenreng.
TRANSLATOR. His

His friend Careeng Parange, who with him was taken into the protection of the Company; has given me no reason for dissatisfaction. Yet, when I view the life and actions of both these persons towards the Company and others, then I am compelled to say, that but very little honesty is found in their sentiments;

Careeng Barombong is likewise a proper Macassar, who served under the standard of Bontalancas, and was the last of those rebellious people, who came into submission. He still enjoys the protection which his grand-mother the Queen Dowager of the King of Goa, Mappa Osseng, or Careeng Bessei, obtained for him from the Supreme Government of Batavia; and in virtue of it he retains some prerogatives in the Compong Baro.* He seems to be peaceably inclined, and has with his sons visited me once, when I was at Siang † He likewise lives retired from the Court of Jello.

The best inclined of all is, in my opinion, the eldest or first Shabandhar,‡ envoy ordinary to this Government; with whom business may be transacted tolerably well.

On the other hand I find Careeng Tamassongo, the emigrated second Tomarilalang ¶ of Goa, at present under the particular protection of Bone, not very recommendable, which may be caused

* A village close to Fort Rotterdam on the South side.—TRANSLATOR.

† The name of a small province in the North, under the obedience of the Company.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Collector of duties.—TRANSLATOR.

¶ Counsellor of state.—TRANSLATOR.

22 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

by his being still an enemy to his brother the Careeng of Tello ; and this will, as is generally the case with the dissatisfied Princes, continue as long as it will serve his turn. But Careeng Candjelee, or Beladjee has a natural propensity to mischief, he is a thief and a murderer, and nevertheless is under the protection of the King of Bone.

It is he who married Boome Partige, the late Queen of Beema, by whom he had a child now lawfully entitled to the succession of the kingdom of Beema. That child is educated at the Court of Goa ; and this is sufficient to deprive him of his right, if possible.

Concerning the province of Mandhar I know nothing to add to what I have said already in my History of Celebes. To this I do likewise refer you concerning the provinces of Lahoo, Wadjo, Torettea, Touradjo, Cajele, Tourangang and Boole—Boole. Previous to my departure, however, should any thing material happen in those provinces, I will not fail to mention it at the end of this memoir.

About the petty kingdom of Tanette, as well as concerning the levelling of the small fortress of Booren at Bantchana, I have likewise nothing to say worth your notice more than what is mentioned at length in my separate letters of last year to the Supreme Government at Batavia, and what they were pleased to direct in their separate letter of the 31st December 1759.

I will here for your information only add, that with regard to the Princes, sons to the Queen,

they

they are extremely bad, causing to our subjects at Sageree many troubles. I have never failed to oppose their misdeeds, and have always obtained proper redress, and satisfaction on such occasions. But I took care to accept the excuses they offered. I pardoned, and excited them by admonitions and good lessons to a better conduct ; which has upon the whole pretty well succeeded.

With this I shall consider as concluded all that is worth particular notice concerning the allies of the Honorable Company in Celebes. But before I proceed to the distant allies, I must here set down on that subject for your information, and as requiring your utmost attention, the recommendation of the Supreme Government of Batavia, in a letter of the 6th January 1699, viz.

"That we must not trust to a lasting peace with any of these nations : but that on the contrary, we ought always to watch their actions with a suspicious caution."

Amongst the distant allies of the company, the kingdom of Boutong, laying East of Celebes, has here the first rank. The present King, and his thirty Mantrics or Counsellors, of which the Government of that Kingdom consists, have since the last two years conducted themselves, as if all the still unsettled differences with them had already been adjusted.

The King Sacke Oodeen, in whose reign the Boutons were punished by order of the Supreme Government of Batavia, died at the end of last year, and was shortly after his demise, according to the custom of the country, succeeded by Rap-

* Sageree is a conquered Northern province of the Company. — TRANSLATOR.

24 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

pe Oodeen, son of Sahip Oodeen ; of which succession proper information was given by letter to this Government, with addition that, on account of the late King's illness, the sending of Ambassadors to Batavia had been delayed.

Concerning the island of Sumbawa, I have to inform you that the King of that country died lately, and that his Queen Dowager, daughter of the Queen Amas Hadena, who was formerly wedded to the Rebel Bontolancas, has been elected Queen of Sumbawa. But of all this, nothing has yet been communicated to this Government.

With regard to the kingdom of Dampo, many complaints have been received against the King on account of his bad Government, in consequence of which, numbers of his subjects are running away from him. The ordinary remedy has been restored to ; and a letter dated the 25th September last was forwarded to him in the hope that it may have the desired effect. If it has not, a change in the Government must be made there.

From the King of Tambora, we have lately received a letter, in which he complains very much against the King of Papekat, on account of the rejection of his claim upon sixtyfour subjects. But after a due inquiry, his complaint appears to me void of solid foundation ; and I think it necessary, by a soothing friendly letter, to induce the King of Tambora to relinquish his pretensions.

Nothing further is to be noticed here of that small kingdom and of the petty kingdoms of Sangar and of Papekat, than that the three Kings are the best inclined towards the Company ; and that their subjects are the most civilized and most courageous people in the whole island.

I have now to inform you, concerning Beemâ; that the King of that realm is a very extravagant person, whom by good admonitions made in your name, the resident there is, as much as possible, to bring back within the bounds of reason; that the nobles of that kingdom, who are already dissatisfied, may not turn their minds to the still worse election, for their King, of the child of Candjelee; of that Candjelee by whose advice the Maccassars have already usurped the whole of Beemâs Mangary. This the King of Beemâ and his nobles are resolved to recover again, for which purpose they have requested the Company's assistance in gun-powder and shot. But as we received the intelligence of their design together with the request for ammunition, rather too late in the last season, we could not immediately comply with their requisition. Not long ago, however, we have taken a resolution to that effect in our assembly of council, as is fully known to you, and of course unnecessary to say more.

Respecting the Company's territory, and their subjects, described already, in my History of Celebes, to the best of my knowledge and on the best authorities I have been able to consult, I have nothing more to say than that all is there in complete quietness and good order. And since the people depend immediately on the Company, and are therefore under your absolute authority; it is of the highest importance, that they be powerfully supported by you, not only against the unlawful exactions of the Residents of the Company, but also and particularly against the insolence of the Boughees and Maccassars.

Finally,

26 MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR BLOK.

Finally, I cannot omit recommending to you to perform in person, if the state of affairs permits it, the annual collection of the Tithes* of paddy. Experience has taught me that, to be faithful to our trust, we ought to be present at that important operation, and according to the custom of former times, appear with a considerable force, especially at Cabba.†

I have, I think, sufficiently treated of all the affairs which concern the Honorable Company in this, as in the opposite islands. But as the time fixed for my departure is approaching, I have still one more obligation to fulfill, according to my former promise; and it is a great satisfaction to me to be able to observe, that to this day, all bad reports from the interior have been of no consequence; and that on the contrary with reference to the balance, they seem now more advantageous than before, because, according to the assertion of the King of Bone, the well minded Wadjoos are inclined to accommodate the differences with Bone, on condition of strictly adhering to the Bonay's treaty; which in both our opinions would be the safest way to preserve the common tranquillity.

Concerning the kingdom of Sopping, the dif-

* It is a standing order of the Supreme Government that the Governor is to collect in person the annual Tithes in the Northern provinces, except on occasions of greater importance, in which case he sends a deputy.—
TRANSLATOR.

† A large village in the Northern province of Panakajena, the inhabitants of which are a mixture of different nations, but the larger part are Boughees.—TRANSLATOR.

ferences

ferences with Mario are, it seems, still the same ; since Aroo Pandjeelee continues to reside there ; and from the foolish acts of Mappa, together with the disrespectful style which he uses in writing to the King his father, I conclude with the King himself that Mappa undutiful, both as a son and as a Vice Roy, is endeavouring to wrest the Kingdom of Sopping from his father. Our suspicion is but too strongly supported by the circumstance that there is not now one single Nobleman of that country present at the Court of Bone, to perform the ordinary Court duty.

Concluding with this, and wishing you happiness and prosperity in the difficult task of the Government you are now to enter upon, I remain with sincere esteem,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

(Signed) R. BLOK,

Resigning Governor.

FORT ROTTERDAM,
Macassar, 10th April 1760.

JOURNAL CONTINUING, &c.

Containing the most remarkable occurrences since the departure of Mr. Blok from Maccassar, to the year 1808, kept by his respective successors, and extracted from the Dutch secret records by the Translator.

THE war so long threatened between Bone and Wadjo, and of which Mr. Blok in his Memoir gave a proper idea, at last broke out in the year 1762, and lasted till the end of 1763. Bone gained by that war but little reputation, and no possessions but Chinrana, which the Boughees, retook from the Wadjoos, and two, or three villages belonging to that people. After this the King went into the country, fortified Chinrana, and abolished the famous alliance Lámoon-Patoea-re-Timobrong, calling it Tellong-pootchee.

Written
by Mr.
Sink-
elaar.

1763

When the King of Bone had returned from the country to Fort Rotterdam, I considered, on account of his great age, that, if an arrangement respecting the succession was not soon made, and he happened to die without such a provision, it would not only cause a very great disturbance within Bone, and at the Court of Goa, but also give a great deal of trouble to the Company and would even become dangerous to them, as by that Bone and Goa might become connected together, on account of the Queen dowager Aroo Palacca, grand-mother of the King of Goa, who would

1763

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29 JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

1763 take advantage of such a neglect and insist upon her right, as lawful heiress to the throne of Bone; which to prevent was of great consequence to the Company. But if no measure was taken before the death of the old King, the prevention would then become more difficult, and might even require, what is always better avoided, a recourse to arms. On this account, I made it immediately my business to represent to the King the danger which Bone would run, in case he should come to die, without having provided for the succession; and I pressed him so much, that at last I obtained my object, and a public act was signed by the King, myself, and all the Nobles, in which Aroo Mampo Bone is nominated the King's successor and heir apparent.

1766 Respecting the Kingdom of Maccassar, or the Court of Goa, that country for a length of time had been in some state of confusion, caused by the bad administration of the Prime Minister, which went so far, that the King of Goa abandoned his kingdom, and fled to Beema. His reason for so doing was, that he did not receive the honors and prerogatives due to him; and the whole, it was afterwards clearly proved, originated in the instigation of the King of Tello. At the time of his flight it was said that the King of Goa had the intention of repairing to an English Settlement. He was even reported to have actually joined a certain Challa Bankoola, living under the English protection at Bencoolen, with whom he committed many depredations on the land of Salemparang, and plundered and killed the Company's subjects.

1766
August
2d.

A messenger came to me from the King of Bone with

with a request, that I would send to him a trusty 1766
 person, by whom he could let me know some
 thing of consequence.

Upon this I commissioned the Malay Captain to proceed to, and hear what the King of Bone had to say. On his return the Captain reported to me, that the King of Bone had received a letter from the Queen mother Aroo Palacca, in which she informed him, that her grand-son the King of Goa had the intention to abdicate the throne, and to betake himself to flight; that the King of Bone had ordered him to communicate this to me, and to request at the same time that I would favor him with my advice, and point out to him what was to be done to prevent so rash a step. In reply I sent back the Malay Captain to the King of Bone with my advice, that, as the affair was as yet only a private report, I thought it best that the Company, as well as the Court of Bone, should keep themselves quiet, and wait till the Court of Goa, should, by a formal deputation, acquaint either me, or the King of Bone with the circumstance, when it would be time for us to devise the necessary means to prevent the intended flight of the King.

The King of Bone sent a letter to me, with August 3d
 information that he had received that letter in the night, being written by the Queen mother Aroo Palacca, the King of Tello, and the Prime Minister of Goa. But before I had time to assemble the Council, I received another message from the King of Tello, stating that on the preceding evening the King of Goa had abandoned his kingdom, and betaken himself to flight, and that nobody knew where he had gone.

I returned my thanks to the King of Tello.

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BI JOURNAL CONTINUING THE

1766 but asked the messenger to inform me, if he could, of the reason which had moved the King of Goa to abandon his throne and to leave his country. Was it the ill treatment he received from the prime Minister, who did not pay him the same respect which had been paid to his predecessor? or had the other Courtiers and Nobles been wanting in their duty to him? The messenger said he had heard of the King of Goa having several times complained that he was treated with an indignity, which had never before been offered to a King of Maccassar, as he had not even a decent house to dwell in, nor a park, temple or Petsjaara-house;* and many other things were withheld from him, all of which, added to the slighting of his person, had struck him to the bottom of his heart.

August
4th.

A deputation composed of the first Noblemen came from the court of Goa to acquaint me, that the King had abandoned his throne, and fled the kingdom, and that they knew not where he had gone.

I desired the deputation to tell those who had sent them, that since they had neglected to give to me, as to the representative of the Honorable Company their first ally, information of the affair in proper time, I, on the part, and in the name of the Company, protested against any bad consequences, which might arise, leaving them to be answered for by the authors of the mischief.

I had in the mean time dispatched a swift sailing boat with a Company's interpreter and the Malay Captain in search of the fugitive King of

• A Council House, or Chamber.—TRANSLATOR.

Goa,

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 32

Goa, charging them to endeavour, if they met him, to bring him back to Maccassar. They returned in the evening of the same day at 8 o'clock, and reported, that they had met the King at no great distance from Goa; that having laid open their commission to him he had in answer said that since he had left his kingdom he would not return; as to his motives he could accuse no body, because it appeared to him that God had put the thing into his mind; that now he would go and visit his mother at Beema. 1766

The King of Tello sent an express messenger to me, with intelligence, that the nine electors, or voters of the kingdom of Goa, together with the first counsellor, had the day before been persuaded by Careeng Paganak-kang, to come to his house, thereto advise with him what was to be done with the Regalia, which, on the flight of the King, had been given to his charge by the prime minister; that on their being assembled there, Careeng Paganak-kang had proposed to them to deliberate whether, since the King had abandoned his kingdom, and fled nobody knew where, nor for what purpose, the best measure to take was not to enter immediately upon the election of a new King? That against this proposal the first counsellor and the nine electors, or voters had violently protested, saying: that not only such a proceeding was contrary to the most ancient customs of the Maccassar people, but also that the election of a King could be made at no other house than that of the Prime Minister, where the Regalia must be sent back; that to this Careeng Paganak-kang had answered: "there is no necessity for it; let us but elect the prime minister for our King, and we shall on

August
7th.

B

in

1766 informing him of his election present him with the Regalia. That about this, the nine electors, or voters had deliberated, and having on both sides violently disputed and opposed each other, they at last had brought the matter to this conclusion, that the Regalia should be given in charge to the prime minister, but that for the present he should not be elected as their King. I sent my thanks to the King of Tello for the communication he had given me.

In the evening of the same day, the King of Bone sent information to me, that two days after the flight of the King of Goa, the queen Aroo Palacca had likewise left her residence, and was now at Chamboppo. That she intended to take refuge at the court of Bone, but that from shame and fear concerning what had happened between the King of Goa, and the daughter of the late Pongawa, she did not dare so come. That therefore he the King intended to send for her, being of opinion, that she would be better under the protection of Bone, than any where else.

A little while afterwards, on the same evening, the King of Bone sent another message to inform me, that the Prime Minister of Goa had been with him and had acquainted him that the Maccassars intended to elect a new King, and that probably the choice would fall upon the brother of the fugitive King. That he, the King of Bone, had expressed his surprize at the Maccassars being inclined to enter upon the election of a new King, without first endeavouring to bring back the fugitive one, in order to learn from him the reason that induced him to such a desperate step.

The

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 34

The King of Bone, having first requested of me to have the Malay Captain, sends him back to me with intelligence, that the Maccassars had by an embassy informed him, that the first Counsellor, together with some of the principal Nobles, had set out in search of the King of Goa, and that they had received orders from the assembled nine electors or voters, that in the event of falling in with him, they should exert themselves in persuading him to return with them; that in case of his non-compliance, they should request him to say, whom he wished to succeed him to the throne of Goa.

1766

August
12th.

A messenger from the King of Tello came with intelligence, that the Embassy who had been sent in quest of the King of Goa, had returned and reported that they had proceeded by land as far as the town of Mallassor, that there they learned from the inhabitants, that the day before their arrival, the King of Goa had left the place and put to sea, where to go they did not know.

August
14th.

The King of Bone communicated to me an intelligence, which he had received by a messenger from Sumbawa, who mentioned that five days previous to his departure from that place the King of Goa had arrived there.

September
24th.

Mr. David Boolen, appointed, by the Supreme Government at Batavia, Governor elect of Maccassar, arrived this day.

1767
March
9th.

This morning I received report from Tello, that the King of that realm had died.

April
6th.

A messenger, sent by the first Minister of Tello came to me and reported that it had been determined to elect for their Queen the Princess Carreng Carawese.

April
12th.

B 2

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1767 A messenger from Goa brings intelligence, in the name of the Prime Minister, that the Maccassars intended to choose for their King the younger brother of the fugitive one.

April
24th.

May 6th. Intelligence is received by me, that the fugitive King of Goa has been made prisoner by the Resident of Beema, and sent to Batavia.

On the 26th of June 1767, the resigning Governor Mr. Sinklaar took his departure from Maccassar for Batavia.

1768
Written
by Mr.
Boolen.
March
21st.

The elected young King of Goa, accompanied by a deputy on the part of Bone, and the Prime Minister of Goa, with all the Maccassar Nobles, came into Fort Rotterdam, where according to custom, he swore, by renovation into my hands, and in the presence of the full Council, to the ancient treaty, concluded by his predecessors with the Company.

May
21st.

This day, the Princess Careeng Carawese was crowned and proclaimed Queen of Tello, on which occasion that Queen received the name of Settee Salie.*

Decem-
ber 31st.

I was informed by the King of Bone of his having received intelligence from Goa, that the young King had left his Residence, and retired to the town of Barombong, and that the Queen Dowager and grand-mother Aroo Palacca had accompanied him there.

Upon this I, and the King of Bone, had taken great pains to ascertain the true reason of the young Maccassar King's departure from Goa, when

* It is the custom in Celebes, that the new King, or Queen always receives a name, alluding in some manner to the ceremony of the coronation.—TRANSLATOR.

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 36

I received a letter from the King of Bone, sent 1769
to him by the King of Goa, containing what fol-
lows :

Febru-
ry 3d.

“ Your Highness’ grand-son comes solely for
“ the purpose of declaring to you, that he by no
“ means intends to follow the example of his bro-
“ ther, and to leave his country ; your Highness’
“ grand-son has left his Goa Residence merely to
“ divert himself elsewhere, in an innocent man-
“ ner, in order to disperse the grief he feels on
“ account of his brother’s absence ; your High-
“ ness’ grand-son therefore thinks, that he can no
“ longer be of any use to the kingdom of Maccas-
“ sar.”

This was confirmed not only by the communi-
cation which on this day I received from the Febru-
ry 16th.
Queen of Tello, namely, of her having learned
that, in the afternoon of the day before, the Soo-
dang, or Regalia of Goa, had by the Council of
state, the joint* Bate Salapang of the realm, been
delivered to the Prime Minister of Goa, as a proof
that they had chosen him for their King ; but also
by the appearance before me of all the Courtiers
and Nobles of Goa, informing me, that since they
had been again abandoned by their King, they had
in his room chosen the Prime Minister, Careeng
Tamasongo, and entreating me, as the represen-
tative of the Company, to approve and confirm
that election.

The Queen Dowager of Goa Aroo Palacca, in-
formed the King of Bone, that the Maccassars Febru-
ry 23d.

* Bate Salapang, are the nine Electors or Voters, as-
sembled in a body to determine upon state affairs, and to
elect a King.—TRANSLATOR.

having

37 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1769 having dethroned his and her grand-son, she had as a compensation for the loss of his Crown, conferred on him the title of* Madanrang Palacca.

On the same day, the King of Bone bestowed upon him the title of Aroo Mampoo Wawa † ordering him in future to be distinguished by either the one, or the other of these titles, instead of that of King of Goa.

Whilst all this happened at Goa, I received intelligence that, notwithstanding all the pains I had taken to dissuade the King of Bone from going into the country, he had however resolved to go. His reason for doing so was principally to determine upon the succession to the throne of Bone, before he should come to die, which by my exertions was fixed upon Aroo Mampo Bone, surnamed Lapaga. This Prince however, a little while after his elevation, and the appearance of the King in the country, became suddenly ill, so much so that his recovery was despaired of.

In the mean-time a report was spread, that the runaway King of Goa, who by the Resident of Beema had been sent prisoner to Batavia, whence the Supreme Government had exiled him to Ceylon, had arrived at Maccassar in a ship called Freebourgh, and that he was lodged at the Governor's house.

* Field Marshal of the province of Palacca.—TRANSLATOR.

† That very Prince is still alive, under the name of Aroo Mampo Goa. Under the English Government in 1814, he was, on the election of a new King, appointed Prime Minister of Goa. But he is no friend to Europeans.—TRANSLATOR.

This

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 38

This caused the new elected King of Goa to send for information to me, when I answered that there was no truth in the report. 1770

This day I received a letter from the Supreme Government of Batavia, which informed me that I was relieved from the Government of Maccassar, and ordered me to deliver the same to Mr. Paul Godofreed van der Voort, whose arrival here might be daily expected. April 3d. 1771 February 4th.

This day, the Governor elect, Mr. Van der Voort arrived at this Fort. March 19th.

The King of Bone, by an express, sent intelligence from the country to me, that the heir apparent Aroo Mampo Bone had died. June 8th.

Mr. Boolen, the resigning Governor, on the 22d, installed Mr. Van der Voort as Governor, at which ceremony, contrary to custom on such occasions, no deputies of Goa and Tello were present. On the 30th of the same month, Mr. Boolen took his departure for Batavia.

From the time of the departure of my predecessor Mr. Boolen, all was very quiet at the Courts of Bone and Goa, until this day, Written by Mr. Van der Voort.

When the King of Goa sent a deputation to me, requesting me to allow the deputies to examine an article of the Bonay's treaty. 1775 February 27th.

This day I received intelligence that the King of Bone was very ill. March 2d.

The Court of Goa, desirous to ascertain the true meaning of some articles of the Bonay's treaty, sent to me their request for a Dutch and Malay copy of the same, which March 7th.

I sent them accordingly. March 17th.

This day I received the mournful intelligence, that in the night at 2 o'Clock the King of Bone had June 5th.

39 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1775 had departed this life, and that the *Grandeës* of the kingdom had immediately entered upon the election of Aroo Timmoorong, to be their King in the room of the deceased.

June
24th.

The new elected young King of Bone, accompanied by the Prime Minister and all the principal Nobles of that kingdom came and acquainted me, that the election had taken place agreeably to the desire of their lately deceased King, and requested that the Company would approve of it.

November
6th.

The Prime Minister of Bone, with other Nobles of that nation, came and acquainted me, that in their Council, they had resolved to carry their new King into the country, because, according to their ancient customs, they were bound to exhibit him there to his subjects, and for that purpose they requested my permission, which I most willingly granted.

December
ad.

The new King of Bone departed this day for his country:

1776
November
18th.

This day a most curious report was brought to me by a messenger from Palembang,* accompanied by a Glarang of Monchongkomba,† which was, that in the year before the Bougheese Prince, Aroo Pateempeng, had brought with him from Passier‡ a certain slave-boy, whom he called San-

* A village South of Maccassar, on the sea-side.—TRANSLATOR.

† A village a short distance beyond Palembang.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ A place North of Maccassar, under the obedience of the King of Sedeenreng, inhabited mostly by Wadjous.—TRANSLATOR.

keclang.

keelang,* on account of his having during the 1775 voyage performed the duty of a steerman. A short time after his arrival at Palembang, that boy had run away from his master, and taken and carried with him his master's criss. He then had taken refuge at the house of a subject of Monchongkomba of the name of Ranga. Aroo Pa-teempeng, on receiving that information, had sent a messenger to Ranga, to demand of him the above Sankeelang. When the messenger arrived at the house of Ranga, where Sankeelang was, before he could make known his errand, Sankeelang had taken up his criss, and rushing upon the messenger, had with many threats asked what he wanted with him, and if he did not know, that he, Sankeelang, was the King of Goa,† returned from Ceylon. The messenger at these words, being apprehensive of consequences, had instantly left the house, and returning to his master had reported the occurrence.

Shortly after Sankeelang, accompanied by Ranga, had endeavoured to raise a party by persuading the people of the village Bonto Lebang, Bonto-Cadeen, and Bonto-Marrano‡ to side with him, making them believe that he was in reality

* Sankeelang signifies in the Maccassar language the cross beam, upon which the rudder of their prows is resting. This Sankeelang caused a war with the Company in which the Maccassars were entirely defeated and subdued.—TRANSLATOR.

† That King of Goa, sent by the Resident of Beema prisoner to Batavia, had been by the Supreme Government exiled to Ceylon.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Villages in the south under the obedience of the King of Glisseng.—TRANSLATOR

41 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1776 the fugitive King, or Batara Goa.* He had done the same with the people of Monchong Komba threatening and warning them by messengers that, in case of opposition on their part, he would compel them to obedience by force of arms. He had also sent word to the Soolewintang† of Palemban-Keeng, that he would come and attack him.

On receipt of this intelligence, to lose no time, I ordered the chief interpreter to collect with all speed a sufficient number of people from out the villages Palembankeeng and Glissong, and with them to fall on the impostor and seize and deliver him, either dead, or alive into the hands of the Company.

November
14th.

I received by a messenger from the chief interpreter a verbal account, that he, the chief interpreter, had received my orders dated the 11th instant, that accordingly he had ordered the subjects of Palembankeeng and Glissong‡ to join him at Pattalassang. On the next day early in the morning, before any people, except those of Pattalassang, consisting of 50 men, had joined him, he had been attacked by Sankeelang at the head of about 200 men: Success had been on the interpreter's side, who had lost 2 men only, whilst Sankeelang had been put to flight, leaving behind him 17 men killed. But it had been impossible to pursue him, because the interpreter had not people enough for that purpose.

* A title, signifying in the Maccassar language a Sovereign.—TRANSLATOR

† Chief of the Village.—TRANSLATOR

‡ A track of land making a point Southwest of Maccassar.—TRANSLATOR

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I received information from the King of Goa, 1776 that he having heard, through Careeng Sandrabone, of the attack made upon the chief interpreter at Pattalassang, by a certain person called Sankeelang, he had made enquiries about that person to learn whether he was in reality the Batara, or fugitive King of Goa. It had been ascertained he was not; the people nevertheless held him for a Saint. November 15th.

I received a report that Prince Aroo Mampo, late King of Goa, together with two of the principal Nobles of Goa, had four days before left Maros, and that, according to the general rumour they had joined themselves with Sankeelang; that Sankeelang then had marched to the town of Barombong;* that the Queen Dowager of Goa, Aroo Palacca, and the Princess Careeng Balasaree were with him; and that the Queen Dowager had owned him for her grand-son, the fugitive King of Goa, who had escaped from Ceylon, the place of his exile. Upon this I immediately sent a messenger to Barombong in order to ascertain whether the Queen Aroo Palacca, and the Princess Careeng Balasaree were actually with Sankeelang. The messenger returned the same afternoon, and reported to me that he had himself seen both Princesses there. November 26th.

I ordered then an Ensign with 31 European soldiers, the Chief Interpreter, the Malay Captain, and as many natives as he should think necessary, towards the South. December 1st.

Two prisoners, followers of Sankeelang, were sent to me with a letter from the Ensign. On December 27th.

* A Maccassar fief under the Company, in the South of the Maccassar territory.—TRANSLATOR.

C 2

being

43 HISTORY OF CELEBES:

1776 being questioned they informed me, that several Maccassar Princes and other Nobles had joined Sankeelang, of which I immediately sent communication to the King of Goa,

3777
January 4th. A report reached me that Sankeelang, with about 100 men, had marched to the town of Borisallo,* and that thence he intended to penetrate North-wards into the Company's territory under the Regent of Tanralelee,† and to prevail upon that Chief to unite with him against the Company and Goa.

January 4th. Upon this I issued an order, and sent it to the Resident in the Northern province of Maros, for him to warn all the Regents of the Company's towns and villages in his district, to be upon their guard, that they might not be surprised unawares by Sankeelang, or his followers, but attack him and them in case they should shew themselves, and get, if possible, Sankeelang dead, or alive into their power,

At the same time I set a price of 250 Spanish Dollars upon the head of Sankeelang, of which I informed the King of Goa, and requested him to make it known to the Maccassar people, and to use all his power to prevent the marching of the Impostor into the Company's Northern provinces.

February 28th. I received intelligence, that all the Hill Regents of Maccassar, together with almost all the Grandees of Goa, had joined Sankeelang; and that he, Sankeelang, had said, that within 10 days he would march into Goa, and take possession of that

* Not very far from Goa, but more towards the Hills.—TRANSLATOR.

† A province under Maros.—TRANSLATOR,

town,

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 44

town, after which he would advance to Macassar, there to fetch his grand-mother, meaning the Queen Dowager of Goa, Aroo Palacca. 1777

Information was sent to me by the King of Goa, that he had learned from the Madanrang of Bone* that the Queen of Tello kept up a secret correspondence with Sankeelang, and that she had already sent him some muskets, money and clothes, &c. March 8th.

Such reports and communications, from all sides around this Fort, went on all day and night, till in the night of this day, at 1 o'clock, I received intelligence, that the post of Maros was in great danger of being taken by Sankeelang, he having already possessed himself of the villages of Chido, Simbang, and Booakan-Mata, and placed his Head Quarters at Machinna, in the house of Carceeng Tanralelee. May 10th.

I did immediately send back to Maros the messenger who had brought the above intelligence, with an order to the Serjeant stationed there to exert all his power in guarding the Company's fortress of Falkembourgh, promising to send him very soon a reinforcement in case he should be attacked by Sankeelang.

This day I received a report from the Serjeant commanding at Maros, that the enemy had advanced very close to the post; that they had already taken possession of the villages of Pakkere, Booloa, and Labooang in the neighbourhood; and that, if no speedy assistance was sent, the post was in great danger of being forced by the enemy. May 11th.

♦ Field Marshal, — TRANSLATOR.

I

45 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1777 I immediately sent to Maros a native force from Glissong, commanded by the Chief of that province; and at the same time, I dispatched a messenger to Careeng Labakkang,* with an order to march instantly with all his armed subjects to the assistance of Maros.

But whilst I was busy to arrange all these matters for the defence of Maros, I received a report that the expedition could not proceed on account of the many Prows required to transport the Troops, and of the impossibility to get Prows from the prevailing opinion, that the enemy had blockaded the river. This obliged me to delay the expedition.

May
26th.

In the forenoon of this day the late Bougheese Pongawa † Lakasee arrived here and came immediately to me and said that, having heard at Pankadjenne ‡ of the enemy being at Maros, he had hastened hither; and that on the firing of guns having reached his ears this morning as he passed the river of Maros, he had sent one of his chiefs up the river with his people to assist the post, in case it should be attacked. He requested at the same time that in this dangerous conjuncture, I would employ him in the service of the Company, for which purpose he had now come down with 500 armed men.

To that Nobleman I expressed my particular satisfaction, and desired him to keep himself in

* Chief of a province of that name North of Maros, and under the administration of the Resident of Maros.

—TRANSLATOR.

† General.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ A Northern province under Maros.—TRANSLATOR.

readiness

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readiness to join the Company's Troops, under 1777
command of a Lieutenant, and proceed to the assistance of the Company's post at Maros.

On the same day in the afternoon, the Lieutenant, with a Detachment of 65 European soldiers and a large number of Mallays under command of their Captain, set out for Maros. About 5 o'clock the Pongawa Lakasee, accompanied by the chief he had sent up the River, and the Mally Lieutenant, Intche Sadulla, came, and brought the fatal intelligence, that in the morning at half past 6 o'clock, the post of Maros had been taken by the enemy: and that on the banks of the river, close to the village Data, three European soldiers had been found, who had saved themselves by flight. Lakasee intended to bring them with him, but on meeting the expedition in the road he had delivered them to the commanding officer of the detachment. I immediately dispatched an order to the commandant of the expedition for those three men being sent to me.

I received information that a large number of the enemy had assembled at the village Carawesee in the territory of Tello. May 13th.

The King of Goa, distrusting his own courtiers and subjects requested by a message, that I would send some prows to fetch him and his family from Goa, and allow him a house at Compong Baroo for his residence. I refused him for the present and sent him word, that I wished him, before he took such a step, to consider well whether it would be proper for him to leave his habitation in such a conjuncture, without having first tried every means to drive the impostor Sankeelang and his followers from his territory. When May 14th.

1777 When he should have done all in his power without success, it would be time enough to think of his safety. At the present moment if he left Goa, it would be looked upon, by his courtiers and subjects, as if he abandoned his kingdom. Wherefore I recommended him most earnestly to remain firm and to make head against the enemies of his country.

I ordered at the same time the chief Interpreter, to prepare with the utmost secrecy two Prows, to be immediately sent with dispatches to Batavia.

In the evening of the same day, a messenger brought me a report that in the attack of the post of Maros, besides many wounded, thirty eight men of the enemy had been killed and were laying outside of the post, amongst whom were several princes of Goa, and of Sandrabone, and that thirty more had since died of their wounds; that Sankeelang had carried with him to the village of Teckere* two European soldiers, one of whom, being a very old man, was at liberty to walk about, but the other had a Bamboo tied to his neck; and that the people of Sankeelang used against the two unfortunate men every sort of scoffing and scorn, and at almost every hour of the day put them to the most violent pains.

The messenger had heard it said that, on Thursday next, Sankeelang would march to Goa, take thence the Regalia of the kingdom, and either on the same day, or Monday next, go to Macassar.

* On the Hills above the pass, about 3 hours distance from Maros.—TRANSLATOR.

Upon

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Upon this I immediately dispatched by land **1777**
a packet containing orders to the resident of Bo-
lecomba.*

On this day I sent a duplicate of the packet to May
15th
Bolecomba.

In the evening I received intelligence, that the May
17th
Queen Dowager of Goa, Aroo Palacca, having
heard that Sankeelang wished to spare the life of
the two unfortunate European prisoners, had sent
to ask, why he did not kill them, since he had suf-
fered so much from Europeans. She positively
enjoined him to put them to death, which was
done accordingly. Their bellies were cut open
and their entrails given to the dogs. The people
of Sankeelang, after having dipped their colours
into the blood of the unfortunate and cruelly
murdered men, threw their bodies into the river.

This day in the evening I received intelligence May
20th
from the chief interpreter, that having sent a
spy to Thaing† he had learned from him, that
the Queen of Tello had united herself in a con-
federacy with the King of Sandrabone‡ and
Careeng Barombong, and that they had agreed to
remain quiet for the present, but should Sanke-
elang be attacked by the Company alone, or in
conjunction with Bone and Goa, to stand by him
with all their power.

* A province on the South side of the Island, and dis-
tant by land about 15 Dutch miles from Maccassar. It
is under the obedience of the Company, and a Resident
is stationed there.—TRANSLATOR.

† The Residence of the Court of Tello.—TRANS-
LATOR.

‡ A petty kingdom South of Maccassar, on the sea-
side.—TRANSLATOR.

D

In

1777 In the evening I received from Datto Baringsang the satisfactory intelligence, that that chief had retaken the Post of Maros; that the enemy after having fired a few shots from their guns, had taken flight; and that eight pieces of ordnance had been found within the Post.

May 2nd This day I had a visit from the Mandanrang of Bone, who told me that on the retaking of the Post of Maros, every one of the enemy had taken the alarm, except Sankeelang, who remained quiet, saying: that he would first consummate his marriage with the adopted daughter of the Queen Dowager of Goa Aroo Palacca.

May 4th This morning I sent a deputation with a writing, translated into the Maccassar language, for the court of Goa, and that of Tello, to the Mandanrang of Bone, with my request that, according to custom, he would set the seal of Bone upon it, and forward it to the above Courts joining a Bongheese deputation to that of the Company.

May 6th In the afternoon, the King of Goa communicated to me, that the enemy had approached as near as the village Pao Pao, in the vicinity of Goa, and that the Tomarilalang with colours had marched out against them.

But whilst I was waiting in the most sanguine expectation for some favourable intelligence from Goa, word was brought to me in the evening, at half past six o'clock, that the enemy having surrounded the Tomarilalang, the King of Goa saw no chance of resisting them, and therefore requested assistance from the Company and from Bone.

* A petty King of the province bearing that name.
—TRANSLATOR. A

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 50

A little while after in the same evening, the late Bougheese Pangawa Lakasee sent me word, that from an inhabitant of Goa he had heard, that all the people of the place had gone over to the party of Sankeelang. 1777

I was roused this night by two messengers from the King of Goa, bringing report, that the enemy had left Goa, but at the same time had surrounded the town in such a manner, that no body could get in, or out. May 27th

On this day I received intelligence from the the King of Goa, that the Queen of Tello had intimated to him her wish to abdicate her crown. May 31st

This morning I received information from the King of Goa, that the Queen of Tello had already abdicated her crown, that she had sent to Goa the Regalia of the realm, on which account the Council of Goa would assemble tomorrow, in order to elect a successor to the kingdom of Tello. June 2d

I received in the evening communication from the Queen of Tello, that she had abdicated her crown, and delivered the Regalia to the Court of Goa, because she had been accused of siding with Sankeelang, who had visited her at Thain the place of her residency, a circumstance which it had not been in her power to prevent. She had in consequence, to avoid further suspicion, abdicated her crown, and she now requested that, as a daughter of the Company, she might be taken into their protection, as it had been done before with Careeng Madjennang. June 7th

In the morning of this day, at 8 o'clock, two messengers from the King of Goa came to me bringing D s June 15th

1777 bringing intelligence, that, at 5 o'clock A. M. Sankeelang, with more than one thousand men, had unexpectedly entered Goa. The King therefore requested my assistance, as by himself he was unable to resist the impostor.

Hereupon I immediately sent some Company's native troops to Goa, and a little while after, I received a report, that they had approached the place, and that the remaining well disposed Macassars had joined them.

Having received that satisfactory intelligence, I determined not to lose so favorable an opportunity. Without delay therefore I sent another detachment of two hundred European soldiers, and some more native troops, to the number of between three and four hundred men, headed by the Commandant of the Fort, together with four field pieces, and the necessary ammunition, with order to the Commandant, to consult with the native Chiefs on what ought to be done to expel the enemy from Goa, and if possible to retake the town. The expedition, together with one thousand men of the Bougheese troops, commanded by the Mandanrang of Bone, marched off at 5 o'clock P. M.

In the same evening I received the disagreeable intelligence, that the King of Goa had already been dethroned, and that the insurgent Nobles of Goa had elected the Impostor Sankeelang for his successor.

Not long after this I received a Letter, from the dethroned King of Goa, stating that he had no more than fifteen men with him, and therefore requesting permission to leave Goa.

Having

Having in the night received intelligence, that 1777
 on the preceding day the Commandant had with ^{June}
 the European Troops attacked the town of Goa, 17th
 and had actually scaled one of its ramparts;* but
 that, on account of the native auxiliary Troops
 not assisting him, he had been obliged to abandon
 the attempt, and to retreat with a few men killed
 and wounded, I was very early in the morning in-
 formed by a messenger from the King of Goa, that
 during the night he had, with his family and a
 few faithful subjects, left Goa, and that he request-
 ed to know from me where he might take up his
 residence. I referred him to the Chief Interpreter,
 who had my instructions to satisfy him.

A Company's ship having arrived here during ^{July}
 the night, early in the morning I used a strata- 30th
 gem, and took all the men of the Garrison out of
 the Fort and marched them to Goa, as if they had
 been just landed from the ship, wishing to impress
 the enemy with an idea, that I had received a re-
 inforcement. On their arrival in the camp before
 Goa, I caused a feu de joye to be fired, where a
 most unfortunate accident happened, which was
 near producing a quarrel between the Company's
 Troops and the auxiliary Boughées. When the

* Goa laying South about one English mile and a
 half distance from Fort Rotterdam, on the opposite side
 of the river of its name, was at that time a large town
 very near three English miles in circumference, contain-
 ing many small villages and hamlets. It was very strong-
 ly fortified by a high wall and ramparts of free stone.
 The walls and ramparts, after the taking of the town,
 were levelled with the ground, but there are still some
 ruins to be seen, among which is a well said to be more
 than 150 fathoms deep.—TRANSLATOR.

European

52 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1777 European Troops fired their volley, some men had neglected to take the shot out of their muskets; and the consequence was, that three Boughees, with the son of Aroo Beroo, received a mortal wound. This caused a great confusion in the army; and for some days I had a great deal of trouble to appease Aroo Beroo and the other Chiefs of Bone.

October
8th

Having from the 15th of June last, endeavoured in vain to expel the enemy from Goa, on account of the tardiness and superstitious delays, of the jealousies, disinclination, and crafty subterfuges of some of the Company's native auxiliaries, principally of the Boughees, finding it impossible to trust them, and having no sufficient force of European Soldiers, I wrote a letter to the King of Bone, requesting that he would give positive orders to the Chiefs of his Troops before Goa, to delay no further the often projected general attack upon the enemy, and to bring the affair to a speedy issue; which letter I dispatched to day by a trusty messenger.

October
19th

A ship, with some European Troops under the command of Major Engelert, having arrived yesterday from Java, this morning I proceeded with the Major to the Camp before Goa; in order to reconnoitre the fortifications and outside batteries of the town. On my return to Macassar, I ordered all the European Soldiers arrived from Java to march out in the evening and to join the besieging army, and Major Engelert to assume the command.

Having discovered that Goa, though completely surrounded by our Troops to prevent the introduction

October
25th

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production of provisions, ammunition, or intelligence, was regularly supplied every night by the Boonghees, I ordered Major Engelert secretly, and without the knowledge of the Boonghees, to prepare for Monday next, the 27th, a general storm on the batteries of the enemy at Tingimay, a village close to the town, where the Boonghees themselves were posted, the better to deceive the besieged by attacking them in a quarter where they thought they had least to fear.



I had likewise the pleasure of receiving this morning, by the return of my messenger, a letter from the King of Bone,

This day I gave the necessary orders for the marching into the Camp before Goa of as many of the remaining soldiers and sailors in the Fort, as could be spared without leaving the Fort, with the wharf and the two ships, entirely empty.

Otober
26th

At 3 o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the body-guard, and the dragoons, I repaired to the camp, where with all possible secrecy and stillness we attacked the batteries of Tingimay on the East side, with such good success, that, after a very smart and obstinate combat of two hours, all the batteries of the enemy on that side of Goa were taken and destroyed, without much loss on our side; but the enemy had great many men killed, and wounded, and many were taken prisoners.

Otober
27th

Having learned that, on account of the destruction of their batteries at Tingimay on the 27th, our enemies were not a little dismayed, I thought it most expedient to make an attempt upon the town. For this purpose, having first sent again in the evening as many men, soldiers and sailors, and

Otober
29th

1777 and Company's writers and artificers, as could still possibly be spared at Maccassar, at 11 o'clock in the night I repaired to the camp, there to give the necessary instructions for the intended attack upon Goa, which I ordered to be made in two places.

October 30th. At 2 o'clock in the night an officer marched out from the south-east battery with his troops, consisting of one hundred and fifty Europeans, and one Company of Passangers,* to whom the King of Sedenreeng had promised to join four hundred of his men, in order to scale the wall at one of the gates of Goa, called Pentoo Bessee,† The signal for storming was the firing of seven guns. Another officer, having with him an equal number of Europeans, another company of Passangers, and all the native subjects under the chief interpreter, was ordered to storm the place at Pentoo Mangassa‡. Both attacks commenced a little before 5 o'clock in the morning, and had an equal bad success; for both officers, after half an hour hard fighting, were by the very violent resistance of the enemy compelled to fall back. The enemy in fact, notwithstanding the precautions taken by me to prevent it, had beforehand been informed of our design. This ill success, however, was attended with no great loss on our side. We had only five men killed and about sixty wounded, some of whom dangerously. The unanimous report of all the Europeans was that the enemy in great numbers, armed with musk-

* Free natives, mostly emancipated slaves, under the immediate obedience of the dutch Law.—TRANSLATOR

† The Iron gate.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Pentoo Mangassa, a gate called so from the name of a division of the town.—TRANSLATOR.

etc.

JOURNAL CONTINUING THE 56

ets, spears and large stones had been waiting for our troops in the place, and that the moment they got sight of, they rushed upon and attacked them with uncommon violence. 1777

That report was confirmed to me by the information I received this day from a Spy sent into Goa by the chief interpreter, who said that the Dattoo Baringang of Bone, had previous to the attack not only given to a great number of the enemy, who were outside, an opportunity to enter the town, but that he had even sent in two thousand men of his own Wadjo troops, who, as the spy himself had seen, were still with enemy. October 31st.

After having since the attack on the 30th October last, been moving forwards and backwards, without being able to effect any thing against the enemy, on account of the unfaithfulness and hypocrisy of most of the native auxiliaries, and especially of those of Bone, I received at last the pleasing intelligence that this morning, at half past 6 o'clock, the King of Bone had arrived from the country, and was now at his residency in the Bougheese town of Maccassar. January 1st. 1778

Since the return of the King of Bone I had constantly urged him, on the part of the Company, to repair himself to the camp before Goa, there to assume the command of the native auxiliary troops; and at 9 o'clock this morning I had at last the satisfaction to receive him at my house. He was accompanied by some Noblemen of his Court, and he expressed to me his intention of repairing immediately to the camp before Goa, and of putting himself at the head of his troops, for which purpose he had brought with him the March 18th.

E

Royal

57 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1778 Royal Standard Samparadja* with divers other colours, and a large retinue of people amounting to about six thousand men.

June 26th. As since the King of Bone, on the 18th of March last, repaired to the camp before Goa, and assumed the command of his own troops, notwithstanding the great pains I took to convince him of the necessity of bringing the present war to a speedy conclusion, I had been unable to persuade him to attempt the storming of the town; as I was aware also that, with the utmost secrecy on my part, nothing could be done with the co-operation of the King and Nobles of Bone and of the other chiefs of the native auxiliaries, without its being known to the enemy, in whose ranks they all had some relation whom they wished to save, I resolved to try my own means. Having first very privately, by three, four and six men at a time, sent into the camp one hundred more European soldiers, with two officers and eighty two armed artificers, I undertook, according to the plan I had been forming for some time, and under the blessing of God, next morning to attack Goa, without the knowledge of any one of the auxiliary troops, except a few whom I still could trust. In order to keep, till the moment of execution should come, my design concealed even from the Company's own troops, I caused a rumour to be spread, that my wife and children were to come and see the camp; and preparations to receive them were actually made.

June 27th. Having repaired in the morning at 3 o'Clock

* The name given to that standard.—TRANSLATOR.

60

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to the camp, and finding that the deception had succeeded, and that every thing was ready for the reception of my wife and children, who were expected to be there by 5 o'Clock, I ordered all the Company's troops to form their line, went up to, and acquainted them with my intention, recommending to them the utmost secrecy and silence and exhorting them, in the attack which would now commence against the enemies of the Company, for their own, as well as for the honor and glory of the Company our masters, to conduct themselves like brave soldiers. The officers and men having promised proper obedience, and expressed their wish to be led on, I, at 5 o'Clock, gave the signal for a general canonade, by throwing a shell from head quarters; at which the canonade commenced, and all the Company's troops rushed forward in good order upon the town. They soon approached towards the South the gate of Malankerec*; and with much difficulty and the loss of one European serjeant and two privates, they had the good fortune to succeed in scaling the very high and steep wall, on which they posted themselves, and hoisted a Company's

* A village on this side of Fort Rotterdam, and on the bank of the river, which divides it from Gna. After the taking of that town, when its walls were levelled with the ground, Government raised a small battery at Malankerec for the protection of the new King against the Hill Maccassars, who still remained hostile to the Company. That battery continued standing, when, in 1812, the English took possession of Fort Rotterdam; but it was demolished in 1814, at the time that after expelling the Bughers from Maccassar, on the 7th of June in the same year, Major-General Nightingale appointed Careeng Lambang Parang King of all the Maccassars.—TRANSLATOR.

1778 flag. I went up then, and ordered the main body to march on to the right, and charge the enemy, who made a most furious defence till the afternoon, when they threw themselves into some fortified houses, where the Queen Dowager of Goa Aroo Palacca, Sankeelang and others of the rebellious chiefs, with a great number of women, had retreated. Those houses could not be attacked without great risk, because the Company's troops could hold out no longer, on account of the great fatigue they had undergone already, and the fury of the enemy, on our attempting to force two of them, became so violent, that even the European soldiers were very nearly put to flight, which however the officers prevented by encouraging them. The loss on our side was, besides the three men abovementioned, no more than eight men killed.

I was, on account of the great fatigue of the troops, necessitated to fall back, and to retreat with the artillery to the royal burying-ground, where we took our post for the approaching night.

The object of our retrograde movement, on another hand, was to allow the enemy to retreat from their fortified houses, which they did; and when they had abandoned them, the houses were set fire to, and entirely destroyed by our men.

The King of Bone sent then a deputation to express his surprise to me that I should have attacked the town without giving to him, the first and most faithful Ally of the Company, the least notice of it; and to acquaint me at the same time, that the Queen Dowager of Goa, Aroo Palacca, had requested his protection for her to leave Goa with her family and repair to him unmolested, which

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which he hoped I would grant to an old Queen 1778
and a relation of his. In answer to this I sent
word to the King of Bone, that to please him, I
would take care of her safety, if there was any
possibility for me to do so, provided she would
directly come to me; in which case I gave
my promise, that no harm should be done
to her, and to that end even I proposed to the
deputation to let one of their number go to that
Princess, telling them I would order the troops to
cease firing, till she had been spoken with, and
she had come herself, or sent an answer to me.
To this they replied, that they could do no such
thing without an order from their master, and beg-
ged leave to return to him. In a short time the
deputation came back with a verbal message from
the King stating that it had been already his in-
tention to send that Queen to me, the moment
she should be with him. But when I urged them
to go to the Princess herself and tell her so, they
shewed no inclination to it, made several frivolous
excuses, and pretended at last it was necessary for
them to go a second time and learn the King's
pleasure.

This morning when ready with the troops to
renew the attack, and put an end to the contest, June
I received a report that every one of the enemy 28th
had fled, which was confirmed when our troops
approached the houses, where the day before
they had retrenched themselves. We were then
informed that the old Queen Dowager of Goa,
Aroo Palacca, with her family, had retreated into
the battery of the Pangawa of Bone, Datoo Ba-
ringang.

This

61 HISTORY OF CELEBES.

1778 This day early in the morning I issued an order for the despatch of one of the ships in the road, with three Company's Pantchallangs,* and sixteen native Padoakang† for Sandrabone, there to blockade all the rivers, in order to prevent the going out, or coming in of any of the enemy's prows.

June
29th.

In the afternoon a report reached me from the camp, that several Courtiers and Nobles of Sandrabone had repaired to the King of Sedeenreng and requested that Prince, as they were desirous to come into submission, for them to obtain from me the Company's pardon and protection; and also, that the Queen Dowager Aroo Palacca, with the impostor Sankeelang, and most of the insurgent Maccassar chiefs, had retreated to a village in the Hills called Bonto Parang.

July 1st. This day several of the insurgent Maccassar Nobles came to me, and having proffered their submission, received from me the Company's pardon and protection.

July 4th. I ordered this day the levelling of all the batteries before Goa, occupied by the Company's troops; and at the same time I sent to the King of Bone, to request he would do the same, and then move off and disband his troops.

July 9th. A Bughese Prince, named Totarassa, came to me with the intelligence, that Aroo Matno Goa, and almost all the principal insurgent Nobles, who had followed the fortunes of the impostor Sankeelang, being inclined to submission, had sent to

* Small armed vessels for the purpose of cruising against smugglers.—TRANSLATOR.

† A kind of prows called by that name.—TRANSLATOR.

the

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the King of Bone, to solicit his mediation and obtain from me the Company's pardon and protection; but that the old Queen, Aroo Palacca, who with Sankeelang was still in the Hills, had said she would do no such thing. 1778

This morning I ordered Major Engeler, with a detachment of one hundred and thirty Europeans, and five hundred native soldiers, to march by land to Sandrabone, and to besiege the town of that province and name. July 27th

Having on the 30th of last month repaired to Sandrabone, in order to press upon the King of that country the acceptance of the terms, which, on the 25th of July last, and on account of his having, contrary to the alliance concluded with the Company, joined the impostor Sankeelang and sided with the insurgent Maccassars, I had proposed to him in writing, viz. the payment of the expences of the war, which could be no less than twenty thousand Rix Dollars, or thirty two thousand Rupees, and an homage* to be annually served to the Company, half of which, however, was conditionally to be remitted, on my arrival there I sent to the King of Sandrabone to acquaint him of it, and at the same time to exhort him to come to a speedy decision, by giving me a categorical answer on the subject. I stated therefore my expectation, that the King would immediately send Commissaries with full powers to settle with me about the demands of the Company on the two points above mentioned. After several days waiting for the desired answer, a depu- August 4th

* That Homage was a certain number of slaves, to be delivered to Government.—TRANSLATOR.

tation


1778.  tion came at last, and offered me, in the name of their King, one thousand Spanish Rix Dollars, or two thousand Rupees, requesting at the same time that, on account of their poverty, the Company would have pity on their country. In answer I shewed to them the unreasonableness of their offer, in comparison to what the Company had a just right to demand from them; and I observed that their pretended poverty was by no means so great as they wished me to believe, and that, by their tarrying so long, they would force the Company to break off all negociation with them, and to carry on the war. Wherefore I advised them once more to consult their own welfare by agreeing to pay what the Company required, adding that, as a proof that there was no intention to distress, and much less to ruin them entirely, an abatement would be granted. Upon this they went away, and about noon they returned, and made an offer of ten thousand Spanish Rix Dollars, or twenty thousand Rupees. This sum however, on my refusing to accept of it, was immediately raised to twenty thousand Spanish Dollars, or forty thousand rupees. I closed with this and charged the deputies to tell their King that, as a proof of my inclination for peace with him, I would, on the part of the Company, accept the proffered sum, provided he should now pay down half the amount, and the remainder in a short time; and that of the required homage the Company would abate much to his satisfaction. On this last point they gave me no answer, but came again to the first, by telling me, that at present their King could not afford to pay more than one thousand Spanish Rix Dollars in ready cash, and

And asking me whether the Company would accept in payment slaves, gold, or plate, as they said I had promised it would be the case. 1778

Perceiving then that they endeavoured to evade paying at all, in very serious terms I gave them to understand, that it appeared to me their King and themselves were not sincere in their negotiation with the Company; wherefore it would be better not to detain me any longer by their frivolous excuses; and I ordered them to be gone. A little after four o'Clock in the afternoon they came again and requested of me the acceptance of fifteen hundred Spanish Rix Dollars, which offer was made in such a manner, as to indicate their intention to pay off with this sum the entire demand of the Company. This became perfectly evident when they told me that the first Member of the deputation, not present then on account of a slight illness, had in his report to the King made no mention of twenty thousand Spanish Rix Dollars.

A conference so strange and frivolous as this was, would have caused any other man but myself, immediately to break off all negotiations with them. But considering that it might be of some advantage to make them see, by raising two batteries just opposite to the walls* of their town, that the intention of attacking them was real, for to that moment the troops had by my orders taken post only at a village in sight of Sandrabone, and at such a distance that the town could scarce-

* This town, being the Residence of the King of Sandrabone, was at that time as strongly fortified as that of Gua.—TRANSLATOR.

1778 ly be reached by any, even the heaviest, ordnance;  I had the batteries raised accordingly, and I acquainted at the same time the King of Sandrabone of my fixed intention. He was told, however, that out of humanity I granted him three days for deliberation, after the lapse of which he might for the last time send Commissioners to Maceassar, there to settle the affair; but that peace, or war would depend upon that last interview, as in case of his not agreeing to the Company's just demand, I could then absolutely accept of him no proposals for accommodation.

August
4th.

After the long and frivolous negotiations in which I had been engaged with the King of Sandrabone and his Ministers, I at length succeeded so far with them, that this morning they came again with an offer to pay for the first term, within eight days, three thousand Rix Dollars, and furnish twelve slaves. The balance of half the sum demanded; being ten thousand Rix Dollars, the King promised to pay within the year. As to the other ten thousand Dollars, he and his Ministers requested the Company would grant them some reasonable time to collect and furnish the amount. On that proposal I feigned for a few minutes to consider, and then affecting to be moved by pity for their impoverished situation I told them that, in compassion to them, I would, on the part of the Company, accept their present offer, provided they should faithfully perform the promise they had made to me in the name of their King. Respecting the Annual Homage to the Company, I observed that it could by no means be taken away entirely, that they were to submit to it, but that I would endeavour to procure an abatement in the number of slaves to be supplied. This

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This morning I received intelligence of the sudden death, after a very slight indisposition, of the King of Goa, who had been dethroned by the Rebels. 1778
Septem-
ber 18th.

This day I received from the Court of Sandrabone eleven slaves, and some ready cash in part payment of the first sum due to the Company. Septem-
ber 19th.

In consequence of the King of Sandrabone having in part complied with his agreement, I ordered the return of the European troops from that town, leaving only two Companies of native troops, for the protection and assistance of the Chief Interpreter, who was to remain there. Septem-
ber 26th.

I received this day a visit from all the Macassar Nobles, who had remained faithful to the late deceased King of Goa. They informed me that, since the demise of their late King, they had agreed to elect Careeng Bomolancas, and requested my consent to his election, saying that, if I approved of it on the part of the Company, they would deliver over to him the Regalia, which had been with the late King. I complied with both points of their request, and the more readily with the latter, that I wished very much to remove the suspicions, which some of the Courtiers of Bone were endeavouring to inspire them with. I however observed to them, that in case those Grandees of Goa, who composed the established lawful Government of the kingdom, but who were now still following the fortunes of the impostor Sankeelang, should make overtures of peace, and come back again to their duty to the Company, no prejudice should accrue to them; but that the Regalia should then, October
27th.

1778 be made over to the person whom the nation might, with the consent of the Company, elect for their King.

A little while after the Maccassar Nobles had left me, a deputation from the King of Sandrabone came and requested, in the name of their King, that, as he some days ago paid one thousand Rix Dollars for the war expences, I would excuse him from paying the remainder of the sum required. To so absurd a request I refused to listen, and gave them to understand that I expected they would, within the present year, pay to the Company the sum still wanting to complete the ten thousand Spanish Rix Dollars, being half of the amount they had agreed to furnish, when I concluded the treaty of peace with them; after which I would take my determination with respect to the other half.

Novem-
ber 5th. This day I received the very distressing intelligence, that one of the bravest officers of this garrison had, on attacking the rebels, been killed on the spot.

Decem-
ber 5th. A trusty native came this day bringing me most curious intelligence respecting the insurgent party, which was, that the old Queen Dowager of Goa, Aroo Palacca, had exhorted her grand son, Aroo Mampo Goa, to go and request protection from the Court of Bone, where, if he was admitted, she would go herself; and also that the Princess Careeng Bellasaree, the mother of Aroo Mampo Goa, had expressed herself in very scornfull terms respecting Sankeelang, saying among other things, on the day of the late action, where one of the first leaders, a relation of her's
had

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had been killed: "What shall we do now?" 1778
 "Through that impostor, whom no body knows, ~~~~~
 "we have brought ourselves into this scrape. Yet,
 "what shall I say? Our Queen has acknowledged
 "him as her grand-son, and I was forced to be
 "silent."

This day I received, from the Mandanrang of January
11th.
1779
 Bone, the very agreeable intelligence, that three
 days before the old Queen Dowager of Goa,
 Aroo Palacca, had departed this life at a town
 called Borisallo.

The Governor, Mr. Paul Godofreed Van der June
16th.
1780
 Voort, after a few days illness, was this day carried
 away by death, to the great regret of the inhabitants
 of Maccassar, and to the irrecoverable loss
 of the Company.

Mr. Van der Voort was not only a good and
 just Governor to those under his obedience, but
 also a brave and determined soldier. Having, after
 the defeat of the insurgent Maccassars at Goa,
 marched twice with a detachment up the Hills,
 where he attacked and beat the impostor Sankeel-
 lang, his death was caused by the indefatigable order
 and perseverance with which he filled the duties
 of Government. He was succeeded provisionally
 in the Government, according to the standing
 orders, by the senior Merchant and Chief
 Administrator, Mr. B. Ryke.

After information had been given to all the July 1st
Written
by Mr.
Ryke.
 Courts of the Princes in alliance with the Com-
 pany of my being provisionally appointed to the
 Government of this place. in the room of the late
 Governor Mr. Van der Voort, I made it my first
 and immediate duty, by a new bond, to secure to
 the

1780 the Company the alliance and confidence of the King of Sandrabone, in order to induce him to make head against the impostor Sankeelang and his adherents. Having therefore sent to him, to request his presence and that of his Grandees, this day I received that King and his Nobles in the Council Chamber, where, on the part and in the name of the Company, We concluded with them a new treaty, to which, according to custom, they solemnly swore.

September 9th. 1781 I received this day official information of war having broke out between England and our mother country, on which account I ordered every preparation to be made for a sufficient defence in case that hostile ships should approach this Fort.

October 16th. The Maccassar Nobles, who, after deserting the cause of the impostor Sankeelang, had come into submission and sued the protection of the Company, having agreed to the election of Careeng Bontolancas for their King in the room of the deceased one, this day, in full Council, and in the presence of a Deputy from the Court of Bone, and of all the Maccassar Nobles returned to their duty, also under the following treaty concluded between the Honorable Company, and the Court of Goa, and sworn to with the usual ceremonies, installed Careeng Bontolancas King of all the Maccassars, who had already submitted, and who should in future submit to the Company.

Treaty concluded between the Dutch Government of Fort Rotterdam at Maccassar, and the King of Goa.

This day, the 16th October 1781, arrived at Fort Rotterdam and in the Hall of Council, the Maccassar

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Maccassar Prince Abdul-Haddee, surnamed 1781
Manawaree Careeng Bontolancas, eldest son of
the late Maccassar King Tumameena-nga-re Ma-
toangin, who was dethroned by the Rebel San-
keelang and died since, he, Prince Careeng Bona-
tolancas, first provisionally and now with the full
approbation of the Supreme Government of Ba-
tavia, elected King of the Maccassar kingdom,
lately conquered by the arms of the Honorable
Company, the said Prince accompanied by his
brother Careeng Data, the late Shabandar of Goa,
and by all the Grandees, part of whom, after a
temporary rebellion, have submitted to and re-
ceived the pardon of the Company.

All these Nobles have jointly and severally
promised and bond themselves most religiously,
and in every part, to keep, execute and observe
the following conditions, prescribed to them by
the said Honorable Company, and on which, and
no other, the kingdom of Goa is given back to
them :

ART. 1.

The new King, Careeng Bontolancas, the
Prince Careeng Data, and all the other Grandees
and Nobles of the realm do hereby promise, for
themselves and for their posterity, that they shall
acknowledge the Honorable Company for their
sole and lawful Lord and Protector, and that the
enemies of the Honorable Company, especially
the Rebel Sankeelang and his party, shall be and
shall remain their Enemies, also that the Friends
and Allies of the Honorable Company shall be
and shall remain their own Friends and Allies.

ART. 2.

It is therefore gratefully acknowledged by them
that

1781 that from the generosity of the Honorable Company they receive back the kingdom, which before the last war belonged to them; from which however are excluded the whole district of Tello, that part of Sodiang which had formerly been granted to them, and the province of Saparia, or Sambopo, which province the Honorable Company retain for themselves as a land conquered by them, and to which no body else can ever pretend any right or claim whatsoever.

ART. 3.

It is further agreed, that the province of Sandabone shall be entirely independent of the Maccassar kingdom, and subject to the immediate authority of the Honorable Company.

ART. 4.

That the provinces of Lenkese, Topedjawa, Chikoang, Kajang, Bangay, Djarania, Djaranikang, Bolo, Saganakkang, Ma gnado, Sorcang, Limpong, and Patanee, which provinces, laying on the sea side South West of Polongbankeeng, are called Islands, because they are entirely almost surrounded by water, shall belong in full to the Honorable Company.

ART. 5.

That they shall never attempt to build again their Chief town of Goa, which has been levelled with the ground by the Honorable Company, nor erect any battery or fortification on its ruins.

ART. 6.

That they shall at no time, and in no place, ever raised Strongholds, either of brick, palisadoes, bamboos, or other materials whatever.

ART. 7.

ART. 7.

1781.

That they shall build no villages, houses or other dwelling-places at any distance from the sea-side less than one Dutch mile.

ART. 8.

That they shall not trade, correspond or enter into Alliance with any nation, either European or indigenous, without the previous knowledge and consent of the Honorable Company.

ART. 9.

That in future, they shall acknowledge all the Torjeens* as subjects of the Honorable Company.

ART. 10.

That on account of their total inability to reimburse to the Honorable Company the expenses made in the war against them, amounting to more than 179,338 Spanish Dollars, they promise that, as long as the Sun and Moon shall stand, they the Nobles and people of Goa, shall annually contribute to the Honorable Company the tenth of the produce of their paddy-fields, which shall be collected by the respective Governors or their representatives, as they shall think proper for their own convenience.

ART. 11.

That in case of any future impediment or disturbance arising in the collection of the annual

* The Torjeens are a people who have no home. They dwell in any place where they can get their livelihood, either by burning lime, or by fishing. They were subject to the Maccassars and used by them as slaves.

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titha

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1781 tithe, the King and his successors shall exert all their power to enforce it upon the unwilling and disobedient, and to prevent by a just punishment the recurrence of the offence.

ART. 12.

That the Honorable Company leaving to the new King Carceng Bontolancas, and to his successors the Regalia of the realm of Goa, which have already been delivered by the late Governor Van der Voort, the said Regalia, consisting of

- 1 Tatarapang or criss mounted in gold, called by the Macassars Daing Tamatchina.

- 1 Criss, called Panjang Lo-e-a.

- 1 Criss, called Kallang Bodoa.

- 1 Marvelous stone, called Kaloa-nagaya.

- 1 Japan fire-lock, called Angebanko.

- 1 Spear called Tonipalanga, and

The book containing their laws called olo Kanaya, shall nevertheless be considered as belonging by the right of war to the Honorable Company; and the remaining part of that property being still with the rebel Sankeelang, the King and Nobles of Goa shall exert their utmost power to get it back.

ART. 13.

That, as it was done before the war; they shall deliver daily to the Company's farmer their toddy, for which, according to ancient custom, the farmer of strong liquors shall be bound monthly to pay to the King of Goa ten Spanish Rix Dollars.

ART. 14.

The King of Goa shall in this season, or at the latest in the next spring, send two of his most eminent

minent Nobles as Ambassadors to Batavia, who 1781
in the name, and on the part of the King and of
the whole Government of Goa, shall humble
themselves before his Excellency the Governor
General in Council, beg pardon from the Supreme
Government for their offence, and solicit their
approbation of the articles of the present treaty.
After which the King of Goa and his Nobles shall
be at liberty to make such requests to His Excel-
lency the Governor General in Council, as they
may think consistent with equity.

Of these articles three equally original copies
shall be made out, one of which shall be sent to
His Excellency the Governor General in Coun-
cil, one shall be for the Government here as re-
presenting the Honorable Company, and one for
the King of Goa and his Nobles, as mentioned at
the head of the present treaty.

Thus contracted, agreed, promised, concluded
and sworn to by the King of Goa, and his Nobles
on the Alcoran, and on the day, month and year
aforesaid, in the presence of Commissioners from
the Court of Bone, who have put to it their usual
signature, and the King of Goa and his Nobles
have put their usual stamps to their signature.

(Signed) B. RYKE, Governor.

C. CRAANE, Chief Administrator.

J. M. BASERMAN, Major Comdnt.

J. W. H. VAN ROSSUM, } Ordinary

J. L. DEVOS, } Members

T. BUSH, } of Council.

J. G. BUDAH, Secretary to Govt.

By Order of the Hon'ble the Governor in
Council at Macassar.

(Signed) J. G. BUDAH,

SECRETARY,

G 2

Having

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1782 Having to day received intelligence, from the Resident of Bolecomba, of a rumour being spread there, that the rebel Sankeelang was with four thousand men on his march towards Bolecomba and Bonthain,* I immediately acquainted of it the King of Bone with my request, that he would order the Jennang† there not only to frustrate the designs of that impostor, but also to endeavour to get the vagabond into his power. I ordered then a small detachment of European soldiers, under the command of an Ensign, to march by land to Bonthain as a reinforcement to the Company's post there, the Ensign taking with him an open official letter, which the King of Bone had sent me for the Jennang of Bonthain, couched in the following terms :

Jan.
25th.

“ Jennang of Bonthain, I have been informed
 “ here that he who calls himself Batara Goa
 “ (King of Goa,) has the intention to attack the
 “ Company's posts at Bolecomba and Bonthain.
 “ Should this report be true, I do herewith order
 “ that, on the receipt of this, you shall immediate-
 “ ly join the Company's Resident, and assemble
 “ all our subjects there, as whosoever attacks the
 “ Company's subjects attacks also the kingdom of
 “ Bone, and whosoever slights the Company of-
 “ fers likewise an insult to Bone, for the Compa-
 “ ny and Bone are one and can never be separat-

* Bonthain is a province of the Company in charge of the Resident of Bolecomba, laying southwards opposite to the Island of Salyer, and defended by a palisade battery, under command of a sergeant.—TRANSLATOR.

† Chief, or Governor, on the part of Bone, over the Boughees dwelling there.—TRANSLATOR.

“ ed,

"ed, but must share together good and evil. 1782
 " Moreover if the above report be true, you are
 " commanded to send me, as soon as possible, a
 " proper account of it."

Signed by the King of Bone,
 and written in the King's
 Dalm,* at Oodjong Tana,†
 this 15th day of January 1782.

In the afternoon, towards evening, an English trading ship, called the Pallas, commanded by Captain John Donnell, was seen in the roads of Macassar, respecting which vessel such measures were taken, as resolved upon on the 9th September 1781. 1784
May
4th.

I received this day, from the Resident of Bolecomba, a letter containing the very agreeable intelligence, that the Impostor Sankeelang had died, having, it was said, eaten of a poisonous fish, which had been given to him by a priest, in order to rid the world of such a monster. 1785
July
6th.

The death of Sankeelang is confirmed by a second letter from the Resident of Bolecomba. July
11th.

A Deputy from the Court of Goa waited this morning upon me, and in the name of all the Maccassar nobles informed me that they wished to install their new King, and present him, according to the ancient customs of their country, to the Nation as their lawful Sovereign, which they had fixed upon should take place on the next new moon. For the Ceremonial they requested me to

* Palace.—TRANSLATOR.

† Oodjong Tapa signifies in the Maccassar language the end of the land.—TRANSLATOR.

assist

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1785 assist them with one, or two Hermaphrodites,*
 whose presence was required by usage.

Novem- A Deputy from the Court of Goa came and in-
 ber 15th formed me that the installation of the new Maccassar
 King had taken place on Friday the 11th instant.

Dec. I received, for the first time, the visit of Ca-
 30th. reeng Lembang Parang,† who acquainted me that
 he was a Maccassar Prince, and nephew to the
 present King of Goa; on account of which he
 requested of me the Company's protection, which
 1786 I fully granted to him.

A Deputation from the King of Goa came to
 January inform me, in the name of their Royal Master,
 31st. that the above Careeng Lembang Parang had
 been appointed by the Nation Betchara Boota Goa.‡

1789 This day I received information, that the king
 of Bone had at length succeeded in his deceit-
 March full plan, to rule part of the Maccassar Empire
 5th. by one of his Creatures, Aroo Mampo Goa,||
 who

* It is with the Maccassars an ancient custom always
 to have one or two hermaphrodites at the installation of
 their Kings, and without them the ceremony is con-
 sidered not to be complete. The interior of Celebes a-
 bounds with such people.—TRANSLATOR.

† This Prince seems to be faithfully attached to Eu-
 ropeans. He was in 1814, after the Boughees had been
 expelled from Maccassar, raised to the dignity of King
 of Goa. Major General Nightingale himself, assisted
 by the Resident, the late Captain R. Phillips, performed
 the Coronation.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Prime Minister.—TRANSLATOR.

|| This Aroo Mampo Goa not only kept his residence
 in the hills, but he likewise seduced almost all the subjects
 of the King of Goa, who inhabited the plains, to for-
 sake the King; which went so far, that, in the year 1793,
 the

who, by the instigation of that King, had induced most of the rebellious Maccassar Nobles, lately come into submission to the Company, to leave their King and to follow him up into the Hills, where he assumes the title of regent of the Hill Maccassars. 1789

In consequence of the many complaints made by me against the King of Bone, on account of his deceitful conduct towards the Company, and of his injurious behaviour towards the Maccassars, in not resigning to the Company the remaining Regalia of Goa, which had in the late war been delivered to him by the rebel Aroo Mampo Goa, in consequence also of complaints which that King had preferred against me to the Supreme Government at Batavia, I received order to resign the Government to the Senior Merchant and Chief Administrator at this place, Mr. William Beth, and to take seat in the Supreme Council at Batavia. At the same time, to shew to the King of Bone that it was the earnest will of the Supreme Government to have the Regalia of Goa restored by him, they had, with the approbation of the Honorable the Court of Directors in Hol-

1790
March
28th.

the King had scarcely one hundred subjects remaining. Aroo Mampo Goa did more, he distinguished the people under him by the name of Hill Maccassars, and those who remained with the King he called Beach Maccassars. He was still alive when the English gave up Fort Rotterdam; and when in 1814, after expelling the Boughees from Maccassar, Major General Nightingale appointed Careeng Lembang Parang, who had been prime Minister, King of Goa, Aroo Mampo Goa was in his room made prime Minister. He is very much attached to Bone, and bears an implacable hatred to Europeans.—
TRANSLATOR. land

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1790 land; prepared themselves to enforce that restoration; for which purpose, a whole battalion of European soldiers, called the Orange battalion,* and a complete Company of European Artillery were ordered from the Cape of Good Hope to Maccassar. From Ceylon two Companies of Sepoys, and from Java five officers† and five hundred European Soldiers, with four Companies of Javanees, arrived here this day. The whole force here with the garrison in the Fort, amounted to about two thousand men, besides three ships of war, and seven or eight transport ships all manned with Europeans.

May
20th

The Governor elect, Mr. Beth, was this day installed by the resigning Governor Mr. Ryke, who immediately after that ceremony departed for Batavia.

Written
by Mr.
Beth,
May
23d.

When my predecessor, Mr. Ryke, had, on the 20th instant, departed for Batavia, the King of Bone, who, on account of the great animosity and hatred he bore to him, had for a long time resided at Maros, came down again to Maccassar and listening to my advice shewed an amicable inclination towards the Company. As he pro-

* This Orange battalion, when it arrived at Maccassar, was ordered to encamp at Bolecomba.—TRANSLATOR.

† The translator was one of the officers who arrived at Maccassar, whence he was sent to Maros as Commandant with a detachment of about one hundred and fifty European soldiers and artillery men and two Companies of Javanees, there to watch the movements of the King of Bone, who resided then not more than an English mile distance from the Company's Fortress.—TRANSLATOR.

miscd.

mised to me that, in a very short time, he would deliver over to the Company all the Regalia of Goa, which were with him, I wrote to the Supreme Government at Batavia to assure them that, if the man of war, and the troops were recalled from Maccassar,* I should be able through the influence I had upon the King of Bone, to get satisfaction from him without blood-shed. In proof of his disposition to live in terms of friendship with me he

Came and paid me a visit, bringing with him the rebellious Prince Aroo Mampo Goa, and another Nobleman, for both of whom he entreated the Company's pardon, which I granted in their name.

Respecting the Court of Bone, Mr. Beth says;

The State of affairs of our Government here has in general for some time dreadfully declined, so much so, that we ought to wonder how the necessity of enforcing the observation of the treaties, and of exacting from their allies the respect due to them has not long before this been felt by the Company; how they are not sensible that by winking at injuries, they betray a weakness which exposes them to contempt and ridicule. It is high time, I conceive, to put a stop to the capricious and impudent behaviour of the Boughees and of the Maccassars, and to shew them for once, that we are not at all inclined to be under their usurped power, and still less to take for our rule all

Extra
from the
Memoir
written
by Mr.
William
Beth on
his re-
signing
the Go-
vern-
ment to
Mr. Pe-
ter The-
odorus
Chasse,
Govern-
or elect
of Mac-
assar,
dated
30th
April
1800.

* The ships and troops, except the garrison of 400 men, were in the same year recalled to Java accordingly.

—TRANSLATOR.

H

their

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1800 their fickle whims, gross conceptions, and deceit, ~~ful~~ tricks, and patiently to remain satisfied with the neglect of our just demands, and with their mocking answers to the complaints made to them on the part and in the name of the Company.

The brutal and altogether unsufferable behaviour of the Boughees is, in my opinion, a sure indication of some great undertaking; and I should not wonder at all, if in a very short time, you discover that the design of the King of Bone is to make himself entirely master of all Maros. Should no proper means of redress be speedily taken, and should they be suffered to proceed thus, all our exertions to bring and keep this Island again into a state of perfect quiet, will in the end prove fruitless, and the safety of our European inhabitants here stands upon a very loose ground indeed.

Such a remedy, I am sorry to say, I can in the present situation of affairs not easily point out, since the King of Bone and his subjects appear to have so entirely forgot the many good services conferred upon them by the Company, that we experience from them nothing but arrogance and presumption, and they pretend to no less than to subject us to their caprices, and to make us take the law from them. These are the people, whom the Company call their first and most faithfull ally, and on whom they think we are to depend for a support against all the encroachments and violence of the other allies in Celebes.

An ally, who uses every possible means to expose the Company to losses and indignity, and who

1800
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who makes his stay here in every respect insupportable to the Company by the troubles which he causes them, such an ally, I dare freely to declare, is not worth for much, less so, because he is not satisfied with boldly usurping the land of the Company, but he wants also to compel by force of arms, all the inferior allies to submit to his intolerable yoke, else his awful Majesty of Bone immediately shews his anger, and threatens to waste by fire and sword all the possessions of the Company and of their other allies in this Island.

Of this I had a complete proof in the last war* which Bone had with the King of Tanette. Such a danger I wish, from my very soul, you may never have occasion to experience.

No further evidence is necessary to convince you of the fatal truth, that we are here surrounded by the most unfaithful Nations in the universe, who have no respect for, or attachment to the Company, but are perfectly disposed to make us entirely dependent on them, and for that they only want time and opportunity. You ought therefore constantly to be on your guard, to keep a cautious eye over them, and to have about you some

* In 1794, the King of Bone wished to usurp from the King of Tanette some grounds, or paddy-fields, which the latter opposed. This created a very serious war between them, and was near to involve the Company into a trouble, out of which they would not so easily have extricated themselves, because Bone was alone, and much too weak for its opponent, whom all the other petty Kings had joined; and the Company could not well suffer Bone to be entirely defeated by the other party, for fear they should afterwards be attacked themselves.—TRANSLATOR.

H 2



trusty

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1800 trusty men faithfully attached to the Company, in order to get correct information of every thing going on among them.

To give you my further opinion concerning the state of affairs at the Court of Bone, it appears to me that, since the King of that country made war against the King of Tanette, Sedenreeng, and other petty northern powers, Bone has, to a certain degree, fallen into a state of confusion, which it will cost its ruler much trouble to remedy so, as to regain from its neighbours that respect which it enjoyed before. I should not be surprised at all, if at one time, or other the King was to pay his ambitious designs with the loss of his own dignity.

What admits of no doubt is that those, on whom he ought most to depend, are not at all his friends ; and I know at present not one Nobleman of any eminence, that is attached to him, fit to supply the place of the Tomarilalang, Dattoo Baringang, and of other officers of State who were killed in the last war with Tanette. None that he could trust are qualified to fill the different offices for the general welfare of the Bougheese Empire ; and that is, I believe, the reason for which to this moment they have remained vacant. The old Madanrang also is at the door of death, and cannot for any length of time protract his existence.

The intercourse with the King of Bone, on account of the great ambition he has to domineer over all the other allies of the Company, is indeed very dangerous. He assumes to himself such power and authority over the inferior allies, that

that no Prince, or Nobleman, whosoever he may be, can on no account, without his permission, approach the Governor; and even then such a Prince, or Nobleman is introduced by an officer of the Court of Bone. 1800

I have incessantly, but in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his wrong pretensions. He continues as violent and obstinate in urging them, as he was before the war with Tanette.

His haughtiness and compulsory measures have by no means been successful to him, as he has by them lost much of his respect and credit with the joint allies. Was he at present powerful enough to keep the natives of Celebes under his restraint and dominion, we should indeed, though much to the prejudice of the Company's possessions and authority, be obliged to remain quiet, and patiently to bear with him. But without the assistance of the Company he would not be able even to protect his own country, and to keep his subjects in order and under due obedience. His whimsical conceptions, which the several allies have beheld, when any of them have been on the spot, must appear to them very strange indeed, and thus from friends he is making enemies, and puts both his kingdom and his own person in imminent danger.

His conduct is directly contrary to the contents of the treaty of Bonay, Art. 18 and 25, by which all the Allies are to be considered as free Nations, and in case of any difference arising amongst them, it is also left to the decision of this Government, who on such occasions acts in the name of the Company as the first ally and arbitrator.

What

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1860 What means may be used to put a stop to this unexampled ambition of the Court of Bone, which has attained its highest degree, and to moderate His Bougheese Majesty, and bring him to more reasonable sentiments, I dare not presume to say; since such affairs in general ought to be treated according to the circumstances of the moment; and since unfortunately the present time does not furnish a favourable prospect of success in any measures that might be taken, for want of a sufficient force to support them.

In the mean time, I pity very much the poor subjects of the Company, who, though they have an European power for their protector, are obliged to support all sorts of brutality and insolence from that very people who, in earlier times, were looked upon as their slaves.

All the insatiation with which these Boughees carry on their pride, arrogance and boldness now risen to such a height, is to be attributed solely to the too great and wrong indulgence, which, from the first period of our settling here, Government shewed to them, and which, if continued any longer, will soon carry with it the unavoidable ruin of the Company.

But this very material point we are obliged to leave to the disposition and decision of the Supreme Government. On them it depends to take such measures as in their wisdom they may think proper, to prevent such an unwished for event, from which I pray heaven will protect us!

That the Boughees are thus securely and insultingly playing with us, can easily be conceived from

from the journal of the late Governor Mr. Van der Voort, and from his patient struggle with them, during the late war with the Maccassars, when he was obliged to make use of them, notwithstanding their hypocritical conduct towards the Company, and their but too partial indulgence and almost open adherence to an enemy, whom they were bound to consider as their own and to treat as such.

The most shameful and insulting behaviour of these Boughees to my predecessor, Mr. Van Ryke, at his own house, on the 24th of March 1789*, will sufficiently shew to you, that they are apt to any attempt, being confident that all their insolence shall be passed by with impunity. Mr. Ryke, however, had informed of it the Supreme Government, and given them to understand that his life was in danger.

Concerning the Empire of the Maccassars, to bring it again into such a state, that in the course of time the Company may put a better faith in that Nation, than it was possible formerly to do, is by no means impracticable.

The King of Bone, who still retains part of the Regalia of the Maccassar realm, can do but little or nothing with them to his advantage; and, if I am not deceived, I could assure that the subtle Maccassars are purposely keeping him in suspense, and delude him with the hope that they will come to the resolution of dethroning their present King, who in 1781 was seated on the Throne by the

* No more of the above insulting behaviour was found.—TRANSLATOR.

Company,

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1800 Company, and of electing, either him, the King of Bone, or his son Aroo Palacca.*

Finally the weakness of his Bougheese Majesty, who, blinded by his ambition, does not observe the many tricks, which his mortal foes the Maccassars are putting upon him to bring him to his fall, is perfectly notorious, because not a single Boughee is suffered within the Maccassar kingdom, from which it clearly appears, in how little consideration he stands among them.

With the Maccassar people you will have but little, or scarcely any trouble at all. They are by no means so turbulent as the Boughees. But on the other hand, you ought to be more cautious with them and more carefully to stand upon your guard whenever they come to visit you, because they are more sly and in the whole a more ingenious people than the Boughees, and know very well, how by flattery and humility they may bring every one into their interest.

As much as I have been able to observe the Court of Goa, I have found that the Maccassars are confederated with Tanette and Sedenreeng; and in case the King of Bone does not alter his conduct towards them, you must, if you take my advice, be upon the watch, that, should the dark clouds, which are already gathering over the head of the King of Bone, burst out in a sudden storm, you may be able to take a courageous

* His father died in the end of 1812, and the English Resident the late Captain Richard Phillips, seated him on the vacant Throne. It is he who afterwards caused to the Government so much trouble, and forced them to send in 1814 an expedition against him.—TRANSLATOR.

resolution,

resolution. Had the plan against him come to maturity during my Government, I should have assigned him a place of protection and safety, and then have dealt with him according to circumstances. With respect to the person who might have raised himself to the Throne, in case of his giving me information of it, I should have accepted that as a communication only, and tried to make him wait the pleasure of the Supreme Government at Batavia, for fear of their otherwise finding too precipitate the election of a new King in the room of the lawfull one. By these means I should have had time to dive into the course of the affair, and to see how far the new elected King was liked or disliked by the people. Above all I should not have suffered that prosperous moment to escape, but have made my best exertions to fish in that troubled water, and to prescribe terms the most conducive to the restoration of the countries of Maros and Bolecomba; by which, I am sure, the prosperity of the country, and the better cultivation of the paddy-fields would be prompted, and an increase of revenue would be secured to the Company. 1800.

Be it however far from me to wish, that my opinions should be considered by you as a certain truth, and to pretend that you ought to take them as your rule. This would be the more foolish on my part, as I know too well the strange and unsteady character of these people, and how on the least untoward circumstance they alter their mind immediately, reconciling themselves with one another for the payment of a small fine; though indeed they reserve their revenge, and wait only for a fit opportunity the better to execute their former plan. I It

1800 If for instance the King of Bone, finding himself in such a case as is said above, as he has still the Regalia of the Maccassar kingdom in his possession, retreated with them into that country, it certainly would not appear incredible, that the first concourse of the people should acknowledge him for their King.* I did not then in what I stated above, mean to be positive ; or else I should incur the reproach of presumption and folly.

The present King of Goa resides now at a hamlet called Mangassa, on account of which the Boughees call him by no other name than Careeng or Lord of Mangassa, because the high and distinguishing title of King of Goa, was always derived from the residency of the ancient and famous city of Goa.

I could have wished very much, that the Supreme Government at Batavia had on my application granted me liberty to permit that Prince to reside again at the old place of his ancestors ; because I should then have been better enabled to ascertain, how far the Hill Maccassars would acknowledge his authority and adhere to him, as from the great superstition they have for the Soudang or Regalia, which he is not possessed of, they feel at present a great repugnance to call and consider him as their King.

* The superstition of the Nations of Celebes is so great respecting what they call the Royal, or National colours, or standard, that, if even the most insignificant person should happen to become master of them, he might raise the most dreadful insurrection, in which the whole of the Mob would follow him, and leave their King and Nobles alone.—TRANSLATOR.

The

The people of Celebes in general, with a few exceptions, among the immediate subjects of the Company, though more or less curbed by their different masters, keep and cherish their natural temper, and are very arrogant, and extremely superstitious, easily offended, but very difficult to be appeased. They are at the same time malicious, ambitious and covetous of money; greedy for war, and in general very intriguing. Compared with the other Nations of the East, they must be allowed to possess a considerable share of boldness, except the Boughees, who indeed have very little of that about them, if there be nothing to plunder, or some thing of that kind to do, as Admiral Speelman, in his Memoir of 1666 says, he has experienced from them.

Extract from the Memoir addressed by Mr. Peter Theodorus Chasse, to his successor Mr. Francis Van Braem, dated 14th April 1808.

It is a certain and undeniable fact, that the authority of the Company here has fallen into a remarkable decline, as stated by the late Governor, Mr. Beth, in the 3d paragraph of his Memoir. But so many complaints against the Boughees, and other Nations of this Island are found in the records of the earliest times, when the Company were still in their full lustre and power, that when our forces have diminished, there can be no wonder that our affairs have not taken a better turn. Nor would it be easy to bring them back to their former proper state, if they ever were in a proper state, which I have not yet seen satisfactorily confirmed. For we had always, even from the very first period of our settling here, much trouble with these people owing; I am fully convinced, to a wrong condescension on our part; which enabled them by degrees to invade the rights of the Company, they think-

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1808 ing themselves bound by treaties no farther, than what flattered their vanity and selfishness.

Though I have not succeeded in completely establishing the respect, which for a long while, and I may say from the very time of our settling here, has been withdrawn from the Company by the Boughees and by the other Natives of this Island; I have, notwithstanding the war with the English, and the indeed very great weakness of our force, and other unpleasant and disadvantageous circumstances, lost nothing of the little of that sentiment which I found existing, at the time I took charge of this Government. Much less have I suffered from them any insolence, or injury; but on the contrary, I have tolerably revived the authority of the Company, by which during my Government and to this day, a tranquillity not known before has prevailed here and all over the Island. The allies of the Company, except Bone, have returned to their duty; and the conduct of Bone even has for some time become more tolerable.

To redress every evil immediately would require the force of arms, and that force ought to be at hand, and very considerable, not less than two thousand men, according to the compendious account* of the affairs between the Company and Bone, which, in 1805, I have submitted to the Supreme Government at Batavia.

* Mr. Chasse, in 1805, was ordered by the Supreme Government at Batavia, to answer to the complaints which the King of Bone had made against him to the Governor General in Council. This Mr. Chasse did, by giving a full account of the arrogant behaviour of the King of Bone, dated 20th August 1805.—TRANSLATOR

Whether.

Whether a war with the Boughees does not become unavoidable in the present situation of the affairs of the Company, and as long as our respectability is not supported by a more efficacious force; whether in any case we should not have a better prospect of success with them by open war than by good words, and fine promises drawn up in a treaty, which from our first settling here were fever, or, if at any time, very indifferently attended to; and finally whether, after all other exertions on our side, we should be obliged to maintain a state of activity without gaining any thing I shall leave to the consideration and wiser judgment of the Supreme Government. 1808

If the garrison here were put on such a footing, as I have stated in my separate letter of the 30th September* of last year to the Supreme Government at Batavia, not only less circumspection then would be necessary on our part, but we should have it in our power, at the least insult from them to take hold, without form of process, of such persons or provinces, as should have committed the outrage, and without the necessity of a war to inflict upon them a condign punishment. Nothing more, I am sure, would be requisite to keep these Nations in constant fear and submission.

For the rest the necessary political balance of Celebes is centered in the petty powers, who being confederated with Tanette, are for that purpose secretly engaged with the Company.

The present King of Goa or of the Maccassars, who, in 1781, was, by the interposition of the

* This letter was not found among the records.—
TRANSLATOR.

then

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1808 then Governor Mr. Ryke, elected King of that Nation, is a very good, tractable and affable man; but his authority, from the pressure of circumstances in which that realm was then and still continues to be, is of very little weight. He is in fact destitute of all means and entirely unable to maintain himself according to his dignity.

The people of that country have, since the last war with the Company, become so enervated and poor, that at present they rather want encouragement, than restraint; which ought to be observed for the sake of that equilibrium between the powers of Celebes, so much required for the interest of the Company. They are in absolute want of our protection, since all their Forts and Strongholds were in the last war with them entirely destroyed.

Notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to regain for the Court of Goa, from the King of Bone, the Regalia of the Maccassar kingdom, I could never accomplish that point, and they are still with him. These things in themselves are but of little service to the King of Bone, he nevertheless does not wish to part with them, unless they were to be given to Aroo Mampo Goa, and those Hill people, who still adhere to him, and who, when in the last war their fortified town of Goa was taken by the Company, fled with him into the Hills, carried with them the Regalia, and delivered them afterwards to the King of Bone. That King even must have a personal reason not to give them back, as long as he retains his favorite thoughts, that, at one time or other, he will himself become King of the Maccassars and unite that Crown with the Crown of Bone; which, it is
to

to be hoped, he will not succeed in obtaining, as 1808
it would produce a total breach of the balance; and
and an immediate downfall of the Company, and
of their allies in this Island would be the consequence.

To avoid this ever to be deprecated union will depend much on the good and prudent management of your political trust, though temporal circumstances, and passing events will at times outrun all our computations. With this exception in view as long as the Regalia of the Maccassars remain with Bone, the state of alienation, in which the Hill-Maccassars are with those of the plains and on the sea-side, must be carefully kept up, as being absolutely necessary for the safety of the Company. The Hill-people, by whom Aroa Mampo Goa, a sinister, and by no means to be trusted person, was before the last war made King of Goa, and has since that time been chosen for their Chief, do, in consequence of the Sodang, or Regalia of the Maccassar kingdom being still with Bone, side with that Court. But those Maccassars who dwell in the plains and on the sea-side, and who, for the sake of self interest, are inclined and attached to their King and to the Company, ought, as much as is consistent with our own interest, and as far as the two can be reconciled with equity, to be preferred to the Hill-Maccassars.

This however ought to be done with judgment and caution, for fear of being by the cunningness, more peculiar to the Maccassars than to the Boughees, inveigled into a chaos of perplexity. We must always be backward in yielding to their demands, for they never have done with
making

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1808 making pretensions, which at times they try to obtain in a soliciting way, and make it as their plea that what they pray for was formerly their property, or has been under their protection. The case commonly turns out to be in part as they represent it ; but they forget to mention that what they claim, was conquered by our arms and afterwards remained in our hands by the treaty concluded with them.

More caution still ought to be observed with regard to Bone. That Nation being considerably more ambitious than any other in the Island, they are constantly busy, in various manners, to usurp every piece of ground which they can get at, and which can be of any advantage to them. Of this many instances frequently occur in the records, and my repeating them in this Memoir would be superfluous to you and to your successors-

To make you further acquainted with the present King of Bone and his subjects, I must refer you to my above mentioned compendious account* in which you will also find unfolded the original cause of the coolness between Bone and the Company ; whilst the correspondence,† which I have kept up with that Prince, will shew you how little he troubles himself about the just complaints of his benefactor the Company, and how little accommodation is to be met, either from him, or from his subordinate chiefs ; which I trust will one day or other bring on their ruin. There

* The same which Mr. Chasse wrote in 1805.—
TRANSLATOR.

† This was not found among the records.—TRANSLATOR.

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are no tricks imaginable which they do not make use of to avoid giving satisfaction to us; and they have always at hand some means or other to make us appear in the wrong. 1808

The King of Sedenreeng has more than once, and again lately sent me word of his coming hither; but he has never yet made his appearance. In his letters to me, however, he not only expresses but proves the continuation of his attachment to the Company.

He is the only Prince in this island, that possesses a considerable property in ready cash and valuables, most of which he obtains by his private trade, and by the monopolies he has established throughout his extensive kingdom.

His correspondence with the Sultan of Banggermassing in the island of Borneo, and above all that which he holds with the King of Palembang in the island of Sumatra is very displeasing to the Company; and in my opinion may in process of time become a matter of consequence to us. It would therefore be well, and much desirable for us, that he should abandon both of these correspondences.

On this subject, in 1806, I wrote to the Supreme Government at Batavia that, by the treaty of Bonay, the trade and correspondence with these Courts are prohibited, but that former Governors connived at them, in consequence of which a sort of permission became established. As it could not be now easily withdrawn by force, the Supreme Government at Batavia wrote me a letter, dated 3d March 1807, wherein they said, that "the best way is to hinder, if possible, that intercourse by mild admonitions." This I have done, and I am happy to say that, since that

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time,

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1808 time, I have heard nothing more of it, which makes me believe that it has been in a great degree abandoned by the King.

In the records of this Government you will find at large, that in the year 1805, the King of Soping came here to pay me a visit. Although he waited upon the King of Bone, yet I could very clearly perceive, that his inclination bent more towards the Company and their allies, than towards Bone.

This King, with many of his Nobles, after having for a considerable time resided here, being much gratified by the distinguished and friendly treatment, they had received from me, took their departure; on which occasion they unanimously declared to me their firm determination never to deviate from their attachment to the Company, but to stand and remain all of them to the last man our most faithful trusty friends and allies.

Respecting the Government of Wadjo, nothing of importance has occurred except that, on account of a small piece of ground, they got into a quarrel with the King of Sedenreeng. Their Datto, or King sent to me an Embassy, who arrived here on the 7th of July 1807, to request from the Company some gun-powder and shot, in order to act upon the defensive against Sedenreeng. That request I very civilly put off, giving them to understand that, as both were allies of the Company, I would, if solicited by them, afford my intercession, agreeably to the treaty of Bonay, and endeavour to make up, and adjust in an amicable manner their difference with the King of Sedenreeng. Fortunately the dispute was afterwards settled between the two Courts, without either coming to any

any extremity ; and without my interference they became reconciled to each other. 1808

The petty kingdoms of Erekan and Lowo are, from the first time of our settling here, reckoned the first and principal allies ; they have, however, at times conducted themselves very unfaithfully and disloyally towards the Company, having put themselves, like vassals, under the protection of Bone.

The Mandhars, divided under seven petty Kings, of whom the Maharadia Balaniepa,* is the Chief, have behaved just in the same manner. Though they are placed among the allies of the Company, they suffer themselves to be treated by Bone as if they were its subjects. This however is never acknowledged by the Company, and I have even endeavoured to turn it in our favor, by exciting their resentment against the usurpation of Bone and disuniting them altogether from that power ; which would be very much to the advantage of the Company, and would contribute to secure the political equilibrium in Celebes.

The Kings of that country intended several times to come hither and pay me a visit. For that they had once already put to sea ; but they were prevented from proceeding in their voyage, partly by bad weather, and partly by fear of the King of Bone, who threatened them with his high displeasure if they had the audacity to appear before me.

I come now to those allies, who are separated by sea from this Island, and I have first to acquaint

* King of Balaniepa — TRANSLATOR.

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1808 you, that in general, if compared with the natives of Celebes, you will have very little trouble with them.

The present King of Beema in the Island of Sumbawa, is a very good man of whom no suspicion is to be entertained, that he will ever depart from his alliance and duty to the Company, because he considers himself more as a vassal than as an ally to us; though the treaty concluded with him, and with the other Princes in that Island could tell him quite otherwise.

It will however be very necessary for you, to prevent, as much as you can, any familiar intercourse and marriage contracts between the Courts in the Island of Sumbawa and the Boughees and Maccassars, particularly the latter, because that Island was in ancient times under the dominion of the Maccassar Empire, on which account the Court of Goa still cherishes some hopes of possessing it again at some favourable time, or other.

Some years ago a saltpetre manufactory had been established there, but it was soon afterwards abandoned, because it did not answer the expectation.

Concerning the kingdom of Sumbawa itself, I am fully of my predecessor Mr. Beth's opinion, that in process of time, when more favorable circumstances will permit it to the Company, a small sum of money should be bestowed in raising a fortress at the chief town, which bears the name of the Island. It would be of great service, because the garrison of that post and that of Beema, would be able, in time of danger, to assist each other. As it is now, this Government is rather too far for a speedy succour. A small post there would

would also furnish the means of keeping in order 1808
the Boughees, who are strongly established in the
Island, and carry on an illicit smuggling trade to
a very considerable and dangerous extent.

MEMORANDUM.

From the last date of the above narrative, to
the coming of the English in 1812, no Journals,
either of Mr. Van Braam, who succeeded Mr.
Chasse or of Mr. Van Braam's successor, Colo-
nel Von Wickerman, were found among the Re-
cords. All that has passed in the Island during
the English Government, the Translator is not
fully acquainted with; and being apprehensive
that a partial statement would be unsatisfactory to
the public, he thinks it much better to mention
nothing at all.—THE TRANSLATOR.

END OF VOL. II.



ERRATA.

Page 44, line 18—For Careeeng, read Careeng.

Page 55, line 9—For Passangers, read Papan-gers.

Page 55, do. 15—The same.

Page 56, line 13—Forenemy, read the enemy.

Page 58, line 20—For Molankeree, read Ma-lankeree.

Note to do. line 11—For Lambang, read Lembang.

Page 71, art. 6, line 2—For raised, read raise.

Page 72, note, line 2—For lively ood, read live-lyhood.

Page 94, line 27—Instead of for, read far.

An error in the running title has occurred at the press from page 32 to 71, which has been perceived too late for any possible remedy.



