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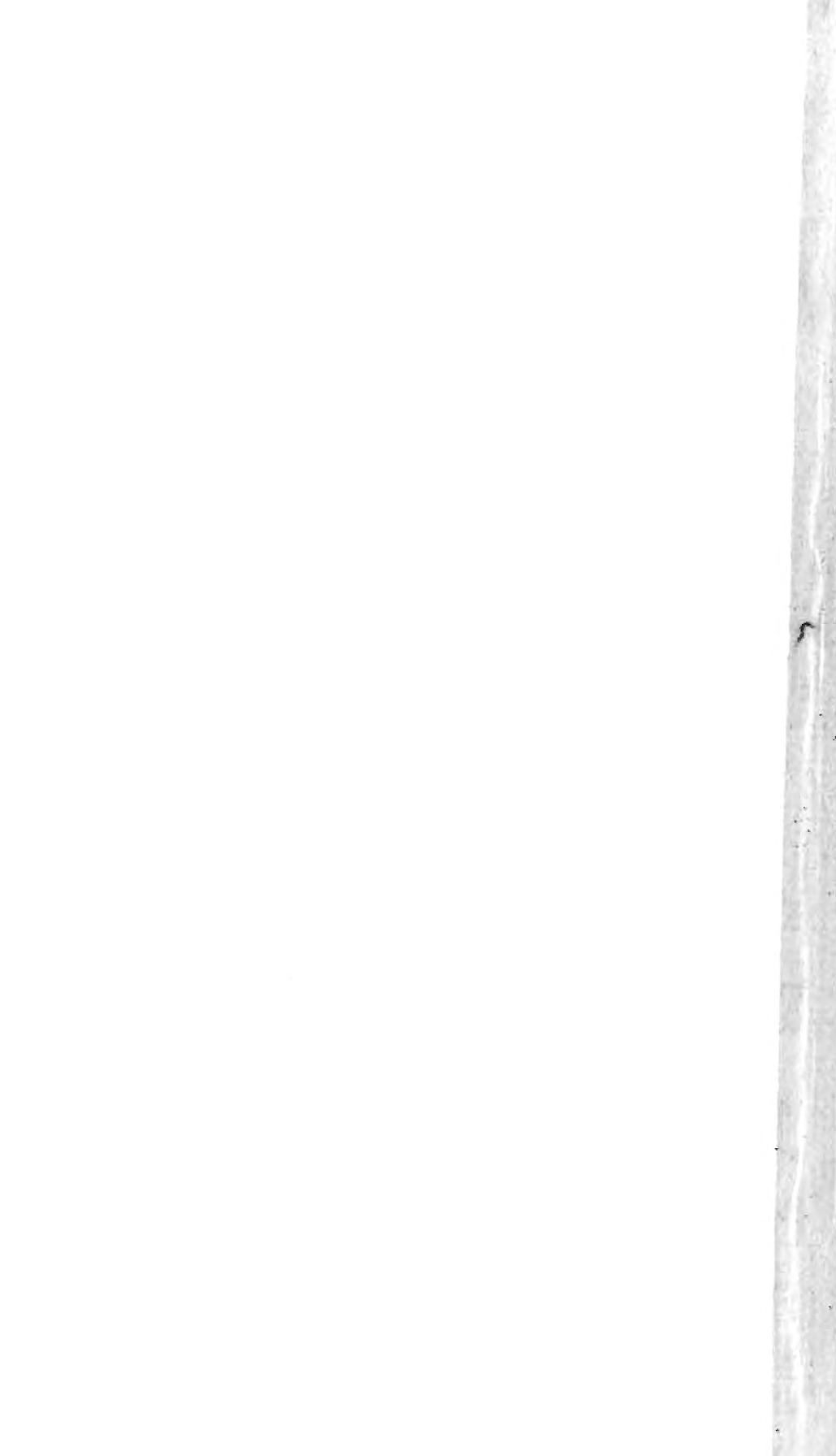
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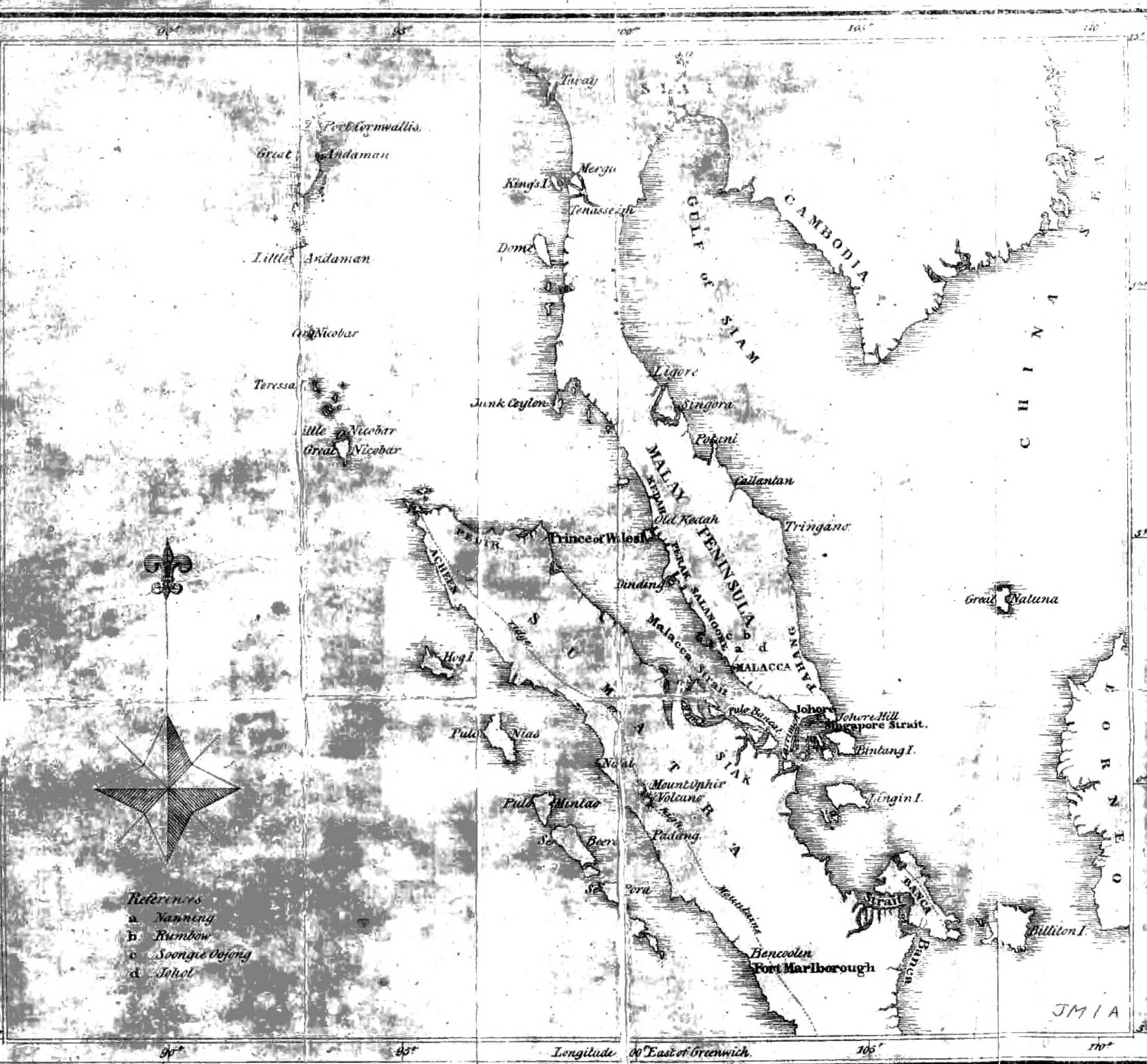
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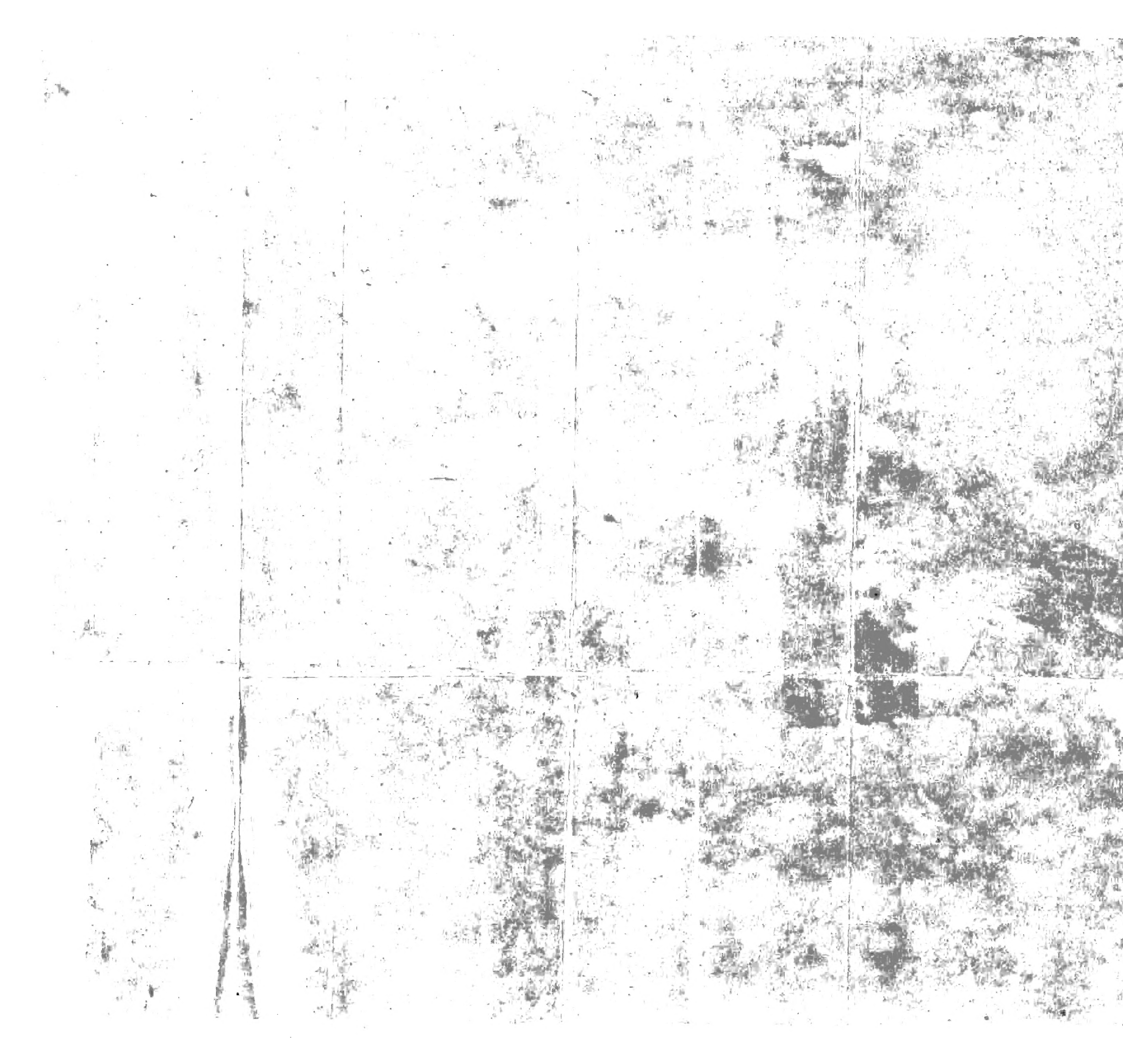


References

- a Nannang
- b Rumbow
- c Soongie Oejong
- d Sohol

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Longitude 90° East of Greenwich 105° 110°



THE
MALAYAN PENINSULA

EMBRACING

*Its History, Manners and Customs of the
Inhabitants, Politics, Natural History &c.*

from its earliest Records,

BY

Captain P. J. Begbie, Madras Artillery.

ILLUSTRATED

BY CHARTS AND LINE ENGRAVINGS

FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

Printed for the Author at the Vepery Mission Press,

1834.

JM 2

SECRET

TO

The Right Honorable

LIEUT. GENERAL SIR FREDERICK ADAM, K. C. B.

Governor of Fort St. George.

THIS ATTEMPT TO EXHIBIT, IN A CONDENSED FORM,
EVERY SUBJECT OF INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE
CONNECTED WITH

THE MALAYAN PENINSULA,

FROM

FROM ITS EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,

IS, BY PERMISSION, AND WITH THE MOST PROFOUND

RESPECT

DEDICATED BY

HIS OBLIGED AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

H. J. BOOBIE.

Madras, 1834.

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Printed and Published by
 J. B. ROBERTSON
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P R E F A C E.

In presenting the subsequent pages to those friends by whom the author has been so kindly supported, and to the public in general, he trusts that the many errors of the press will be kindly overlooked, in consideration of the distance from the place of publication which has necessarily prevented that careful revision of the proof sheets which is so desirable, and which would have been otherwise ensured. Several errors in punctuation have occurred, which have not been noticed in the *Errata*, as it would have tended to swell that list too extensively, and they are therefore left to be corrected by the intelligent reader. The Author begs to apologize for the period that has elapsed in the present volume passing through the press, which has been owing to circumstances entirely beyond his control.

BANGALORE, }
Dec. 1, 1834. }

INTRODUCTION.

When an individual voluntarily obtrudes himself on the notice of the public, the conclusion is inevitably drawn that he either is really in possession of information hitherto not given to the world, or that he is induced by vanity to suppose that his lucubrations are worthy of perusal.

A brief and candid statement of my motives will best plead my apology for having ventured from the calm of private life into the *arena* of criticism. Having been called to take an active part in the disturbances prevalent in the interior of the Malayan Peninsula, I was naturally anxious to ascertain the grounds of the dispute, and the relative footing of the contending parties—this desire led me to search into the ancient Dutch records, and I found myself, as I proceeded, obliged to extend my researches to other portions of the Malayan empire, which I had not originally contemplated to explore. I do not mean to insinuate that I undertook the Herculean task of wading through the whole of these records, which fill six large chests, and some of which are written in such ancient Dutch

that none of the inhabitants even can translate them, but merely that such of them, as appeared to bear upon the subject, have been embodied in the present work.

Whilst thus engaged, a friend, whose name I would gladly mention, were I permitted, put into my hands some valuable Dutch original communications relative to the island of Rhio and the adjacent parts, and the work, at first commenced for my own private information, swelled, from that and other sources, to a size which induced me to give the result of nearly three years' investigation to the indulgence of the public.

I must be permitted to gratefully acknowledge the assistance which I have received in the present compilation from various individuals—some of these have requested that they may be passed over in silence, and I therefore unwillingly omit the mention of their names. Where no such scruples exist I feel the highest pleasure in recording my thanks to my esteemed and valued friends the Revds. Samuel Kidd, Jacob Tomlin, and Josiah Hughes, at various periods connected with the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca, for the unlimited access, so kindly afforded to me, to the choice and extensive library of that excellent instituti-

on—to another equally esteemed friend, the Honble. Samuel Garling Esq., Resident Councillor of Malacca, for a chart of Singapore harbor, and other valuable materials—to Ensign Newbold of the 23d L. I. for his interesting papers on the Salangore coast and the Quallo Linggy—to Captain Poole, late of the Survey department at Malacca for one of the embellishments of the work, and his procuring for me from the Quarter Master General's department such copies of his various surveys as I required—to that department for permitting me to embody them, and to Colonel Garrard, the Chief Engineer, for executing the charts—to the Rev. C. Thomsen, for a paper treating on the Aborigines—and to Lt. Lawford, of the artillery, for his kindness in making such charts as were requisite.

When my intention of publishing was made known, many papers connected with the Archipelago were kindly furnished me, but, as they touched upon countries that were foreign to my design, I have not made use of them, although my thanks are equally due to the individuals.

In conclusion, I beg to state that, when I advertized the work, I promised a treatise on Malayan literature in expectation of an essay, which, by some unforeseen occur-

rence, I have never received, and have therefore omitted—and that, whilst sensible of many deficiencies and inelegance of style, I trust that the body of the information contained in the work will not altogether be unworthy of the patronage of that public, to whose decision I hesitatingly commit it.

[The following text is extremely faint and illegible, appearing to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

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E R R A T A .

The reader is requested to correct the following errata.
 p. 8, line 3, from bottom, for "ratans," read "rattans."
 p. 13, line 17, for "Perapati, is (literally a pigeon that flew from the

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vessel.") read "(Perapati is literally a pigeon), that flew from the vessel."

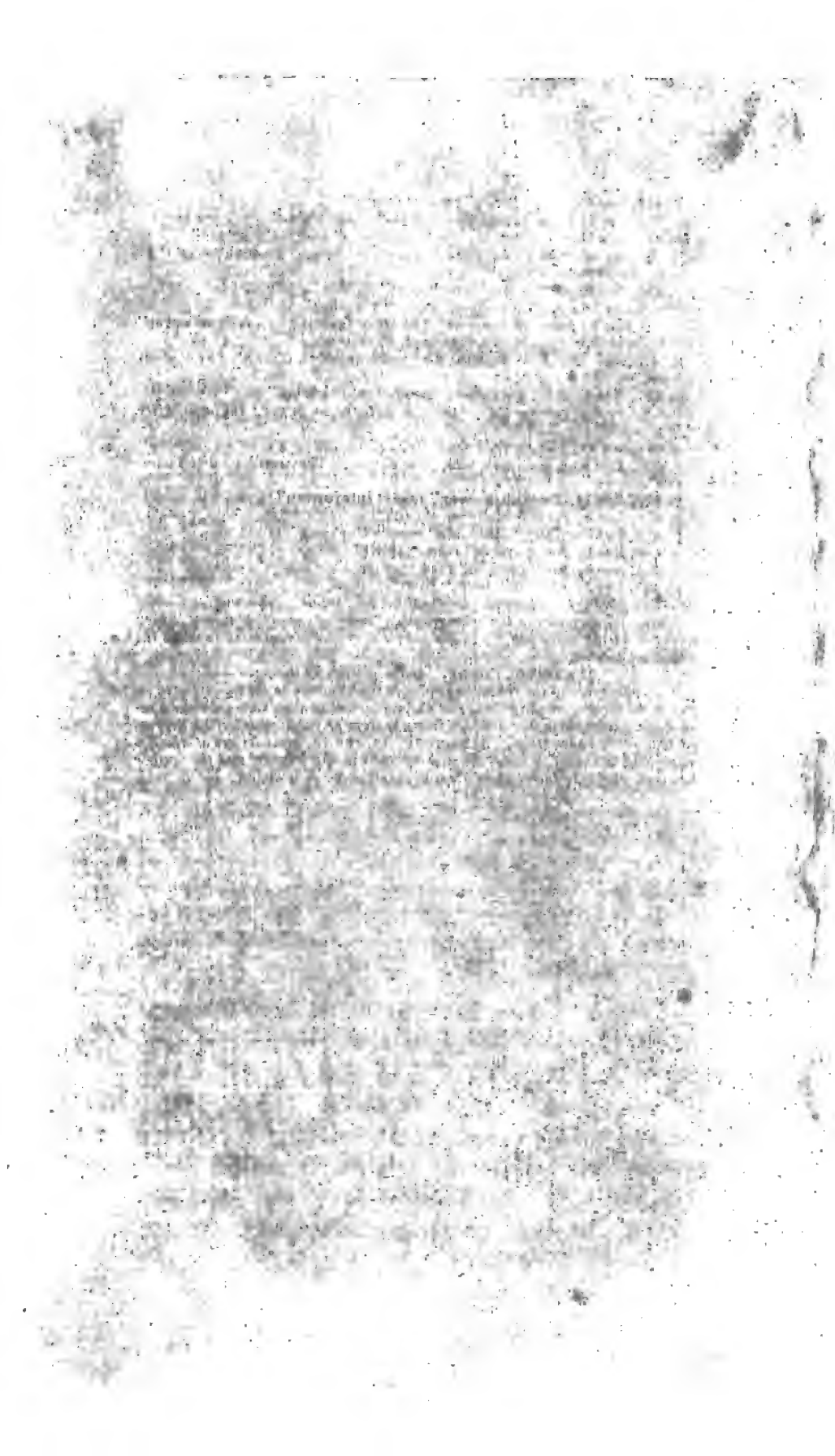
- p. 16, line 5, from bottom, for "b^ddir" read "badir"
 p. 17, line 22, for "mⁿum" read "minum"
 p. 39, line 20, for "defences, but" read "defences; but"
 p. 42, line 10, for "size, these" read "size. These"
 p. 43, note, for "swivels" read "swivels"
 p. 44, line 13, for "cortie" read "sortie"
 p. 51, line 0, from bottom for "Nanning" read "Nanning"
 p. 64, line 2, for "iniquitous" read "iniquitous"
 p. 77, line 4, for "rebelled" read "revelled"
 p. 53, line 3, from bottom, for "hang" read "change"
 p. 96, note 1, line 1, dele "the"
 ———— line 2, for "H. M. S. S." read "H. M. S."
 ———— note 2, line 4 dele, "ships"
 ———— for "compelld" read "compelled"
 p. 122, line 17, for "any on" read "on any"
 p. 124, line 8 from bottom insert after Barmana.
 p. 134, line 2 in the heading, for "panio" read "ponic"
 ———— line 7, from bottom, for "on" read "to"
 ———— note, dele "51"
 p. 141, line 13, for "injection" read "ejection"
 p. 141, line 1, dele "lana of Soongel"
 p. 163, line 2, for "140" read "141"
 p. 166, line 14, for "primœora" read "primœval"
 p. 176, line 2 from bottom, for "five" read "five"
 p. 188, line 10, for "around, it" read "around it,"
 p. 225, line 15, for "through" read "in"
 p. 229, line 10, for "obtained" read "attained"
 p. 233, line 1, before "the shot" insert "mirable coolness, whilst"
 p. 237, line 23, for "reconnoissance" read "reconnoissance"
 p. 240, line 6, for "a" read "the"
 p. 262, note for "Nicuhoff" read "Nienhoff"
 p. 264, line 8, from bottom, for "wanderers" read "wander"
 p. 265, line 7, for "inducements" read "incentives"
 p. 274, last line of the note, for "tantology" read "tantology"
 p. 286, last line of the note, for "was" read "were"
 p. 297, line 16, for "rational" read "national"
 p. 298, line 10, for "gentlemen" read "gentleman"
 p. 302, line 4, in the heading, for "over-heated" read "over-rated"
 p. 317, line 15 after "Siam" insert a comma.
 p. 318, line 9, from bottom, for "is" read "are"
 p. 341, line 3, for "113" read "330"
 p. 348, line 21, for "Jack;" read "Jack,"
 p. 350, line 4, from bottom in the heading for "Kedah peak-winds"
 read "Kedah peak——winds"
 p. 352, line 8, for "steets" read "streets"
 ———— line 22, for "breath" read "breadth"
 p. 357, line 14, for "Sir" read "Sri"
 p. 365, line 3, from bottom, for "Abilt" read "Obilt"
 ———— line 4, from bottom for "anno" read "anno"
 p. 373, line 17, for "nonmongery" read "ironmongery"
 ———— line 19, for "sun-dries" read "sundries"
 p. 370, line 22, for "malacca" read "Malacca"
 p. 374, line 22, for "shipping" read "shipping—"
 p. 377, line 15, for "wind" read "winds"
 p. 378, line 8, from bottom, dele "chiefly"
 p. 386, line 17, for "as" read "has"
 p. 400, line 19, for "1832" read "1833"
 p. 409, last line, for "sity" read "ity"
 ———— for "espuosing" read "espousing"

- p. 410, line 11, for "brang" read "Orang"
 line 3, from bottom, for "Mal." read "Ma."
- p. 412, line 10, from bottom, for "catherine" read "Catherine"
 line 3, from bottom, for "Jaug de Pertuan Mordah" read "I-
 yang de Pertuan Moulah"
- p. 415, line 1, for "a loft" read "aloft"
 line 16, for "travellers" read "traveller"
 line 9, from bottom, for "or large tank is a reservoir of water"
 read "there is a large tank or reservoir of water"
- p. 416, line 11, from bottom, for "plaintains and" read "and plan-
 tains"
- p. 444, line 7, for "pumplemoos" read "pumpkinmoos"
 Insert inverted commas before the two paragraphs in page 457, and after
 "handmaid" page 458.
- p. 457, line 21, for "sea," read "sea ;"
- p. 460, foot note, and page 462, line 2, for "Thomson" read "Thom-
 sen"
- p. 470, line 13, for "intervoven" read "interwoven"
- p. 472, line 1, for "Gods" read "gods"
- p. 478, last line, for "Banhinia" read "Bauhinia"
- p. 483, line 6, for "spirits" read "spirit"
- p. 484, line 1, for "comical" read "comical"
- p. 493, line 5, for "in" read "inlet"
 line 6, from bottom, for "others for" read "others of"

Note. A diversity in the orthography of some of the proper names having occurred in the early pages of the work, the reader is requested to adopt the following, *passim*.

Selangore, Johore, Ligoré, Soongel Ojong.

The indulgence of the reader is requested with respect to the numerous typographical errors, on the grounds of the author not having received even a second proof impression, the distance from the scene of publication having deprived him of that advantage. In pages 16, 17, and 18, some letters of the So-mung words are left blank. They were thus in the original and the author has been unable to insert them from his ignorance of the dialect.



CHAPTER I.

Geographical position of the Malayan Peninsula—Distribution of the Siamese, Malays, and Aborigines in it—Names of the principal Malayan States.—General remarks on the aboriginal tribes.—Malayan Legends relative to them—Their habits and customs.—Method of destroying wild elephants.—Of catching the rhinoceros.—Mode of barter carried on between them and the Malays.—Description of the Orang Lant with observations on anthropophagy.—Traditions, superstitions, and ceremonies prevalent amongst the aborigines—Sri Tari Buwana founds Singapura—succeeded by Paduka Pekaram Wira—Reign of Sri Rama Wikaram.—Reign of Sri Maharajah.—Sri Iskander Shah ascends the throne.—Betrayed by his father-in-law, Sang Ranjuna Tapa, to the Javanese, and escapes to Moar with the loss of his kingdom.—Founds the city of Malacca.—succeeded by Rajah Besar Moodah;—by Rajah Tengah, and Rajah Kichil Besar, who, on embracing the Musselman faith, assumes the title of Sulthaun Mahomed-Shah.—Reigns of other native princes.—Proofs that Malacca was not tributary to Siam.—The Portuguese, under Albuquerque, conquer Malacca.—Different contests between the Portuguese and native powers.—The Dutch wrest Malacca from the Portuguese.

THE best authorities have laid down the geographical limits of the Malayan Peninsula as being comprized within the Latitudes of 8d. 27m., or, according to Horsburgh, 8d. 09m. north, corresponding to the northernmost point of the neighbouring island of Junk Ceylon, and 1d. 22m. north, which is the latitude in which point Romania, its south eastern extremity, lies.

The Siamese, however, who until 1821 had no footing in the Peninsula to the southward of the river Traang which lies in 7d. 20m. north, have now extended their empire as far as Kedah in 6d. 6m. north. The Malays possess the coasts on either side from 7d. north to Point Romania, either as independent states, tributaries, or subjects; the interior parts to the northward are occupied by the Patani race, whilst in a more southerly direction, amongst the forests and chain of hills in the interior, the singular aborigines, known by the name of Semang, are still to be met with, although gradually disappearing in proportion to the inroads of an increasing and comparatively civilized population. The principal Malayan states of the peninsula may be said to consist of Kedah, Perak, Salengor, Malacca, Johol, Sungei Ujong, Rumbow, Johor, including Pahang and Packanja, Tringano, Callantan, and Patani.

In those rapid and numerous revolutions incident in some measure to all states, but more particularly to infant ones, these divisions have been subject to various alterations of geographical limits and political influence; and, as European powers have acted a conspicuous part in the drama of the peninsula, it is impossible in a detailed account to omit the neighbouring settlements of Java, Rhio, Singapore, and Prince of Wales' Island, so far as they are found mixed up with its affairs.

The original inhabitants of the peninsula, to whom allusion has been already made under the designation of Semangs, have been often treated of by preceding authors, but by far the fullest

account of them is to be met with in a work which, from the paucity of copies printed, has had but a limited circulation, and which will therefore be interesting to the general reader. The groundwork, consequently, of the following description of this singular race is drawn from Mr. Anderson's work, upon which I have grafted a few observations of my own, being, of course, responsible for the language and sentiments of those passages which are not guarded by inverted commas.

The physiologist would find his labour amply rewarded if his investigations led him to any satisfactory result as to the origin of this race, whose crisped and woolly locks, depressed noses, prominent and thick lips, and sooty colour, bear a striking resemblance to the African features, but their dwarfish stature and ill proportioned figure destroy the similitude. At Perak, the principal tin country, and also in the interior of Malacca and Rumbow, there is another race of aborigines, who are better formed and have long lank black hair and fairer complexion than the Semangs of Kedah. They are also somewhat more civilized, and speak a different dialect. Those of Malacca are known by the name of Jokong, or Jacoon, whilst the others are termed, Orang Bukit, or Semang, people of the hills; Orang Laut, people of the sea, or Orang Benua, people of the plains, according to the place of their residence. Mr. Anderson says that the word *Benua* is not applied to any particular class but is of general use, signifying, country, or region. He then states as follows; "Mr. Marsden asserts that *benua* is a

" genuine Malay word, signifying country, region,
 " land, and that a slight variation of the word, as
 " whennua, or fennua, is found in the Bisayan
 " dialects of the Philippines and the languages
 " of the South Sea Islands; bearing a precisely
 " similar signification. In my enquiries amongst
 " the Malays I have not been able, however, to
 " discover that the term, Orang Benua, (which is
 " literally aborigines, or people of the land,) is
 " ever applied to any particular race of the Ma-
 " layan peninsula, the supposed aboriginal tribes
 " being styled Sakei or Orang Bukit, Orang
 " Laut, and Semang. According to the Malay-
 " an legends, indeed, there is a race of wild
 " people said to be found in the interior of
 " Burnam, the boundary between the states of
 " Perak and Salengor, designated Tuah Benua
 " (e) by the Salengorians, and known at Kedah
 " by the name of Mawas. They are represent-

(e) " In the history of Sumatra there is a description of two races of
 " wild people on that island called Orang Kubu, and Orang Gugu, the
 " latter of whom seems to correspond with the description of the Bilian
 " of the peninsula. In the course of my enquiries amongst the natives,
 " observes Mr. Marsden, ' concerning the aborigines of the island, I have
 " been informed of two different species of people dispersed in the woods,
 " and avoiding all communication with other inhabitants. These they
 " call Orang Kubu, and Orang Gugu. The former are said to be pretty
 " numerous, especially in that part of the country, which lies between
 " Palembang and Jambi; some have at times been caught, and kept as
 " slaves in Labun, and a man of that place is now married to a tolerably
 " handsome Kubu girl, who was carried off by a party that discovered
 " their huts. They have a language quite peculiar to themselves, and
 " they eat promiscuously whatever the woods afford, as deer, elephants,
 " rhinoceros, wild hogs, snakes, or monkeys. The Gagus are much scarc-
 " er than these, differing in little but the use of speech from the Orang
 " Utan, of Borneo, their bodies being covered with long hair. There
 " have not been above two or three instances of their being met with
 " by people of Labun (from whom my information is derived) and one of
 " these was entrapped many years ago, in much the same manner as the
 " carpenter in Pilpay's fables caught the monkey. He had children by
 " a Labun woman, which also were more hairy than the common race
 " but the third generation are not to be distinguished from others. The
 " reader will bestow what measure of faith he thinks due to this relation,
 " the veracity of which I do not pretend to vouch for. It has probably
 " some foundation in truth but is exaggerated in the circumstances."

History of Sumatra Page 41.

" ed as bearing a strong resemblance to the ma-
 " wa, or long armed gibbon, and, instead, of hav-
 " ing a bone in the lower part of the arm, they
 " have a piece of sharp iron which serves the
 " double purpose of an arm and a cleaver for cut-
 " ing wood. There is another savage race, ac-
 " cording to the Malays, called Bilian, who are
 " covered with hair, and have nails of extraordi-
 " nary length. Their principal occupation is said
 " to be tending the tygers, which are their pe-
 " culiar flock, as the buffaloes are of the Malays.
 " In rainy nights they are represented by the Ma-
 " lays as sometimes coming to their residence,
 " and demanding fire, which those who are ac-
 " quainted with their savage disposition hand
 " them upon the point of a sumpit, or arrow tube,
 " or at the extremity of a sword, as, were the
 " person to present it with his hand, he would
 " inevitably be seized and devoured by the sa-
 " vage monster, a fate which the credulous Ma-
 " lay firmly believes has befallen many."

This account of the piece of sharp iron instead
 of a fore-arm strongly reminds the reader of the
 ancient misapprehension which gave rise to the
 belief of the existence of Centaurs and Lapithæ
 and is to be traced to the same source. The
 Mawas, and the Malays, mutually apprehensive
 of each other, fly directly that accident brings
 them into so unwelcome a presence, and the
 Malay, in the hasty and terrified glance which
 he casts upon a form which his untutored mind
 has already invested with imaginary horrors, mis-
 takes the cleaver for the arm that wields it.
 Essentially migratory as are the habits of the

Mawas, they are seldom to be met with divested of the chopper which is requisite either to clear a narrow pathway through the jungle, or construct a rude and temporary dwelling either amidst the embowering branches of the giants of the forest, or on the giddy verge of some beetling precipice. The sumpit is a long narrow tube, nine or ten feet long, and, as the reed is very slight and unable to sustain its own weight, it is enclosed in a hollow bamboo of the same length. The bamboo, or case, is rudely ornamented with intersecting lines cut upon it, and the Semangs use this weapon with astonishing facility and dexterity. They blow either arrows or clay pellets through it with great force and accuracy of aim; the former are generally poisoned with Ipoh, a deadly vegetable juice extracted from various trees, and with the latter a Jacoon, who was at Malacca in 1833, asserted that he had killed a man at the distance of forty yards.

Their eye sight, naturally quick, is rendered acute in the extreme, from their finding their subsistence entirely amongst the wild denizens of the forest, and the productions of inanimate nature, whilst their vigilance is ever required in order to guard against their stumbling on the lair of the tyger, or disturbing the numerous snakes lurking in the luxuriant brushwood. The latter, the elephant, the rhinoceros, monkey, rats, and the numerous feathered race, furnish them with their animal food, and they ascend the trees either in pursuit of these, or in avoidance of their enemies, with all the agility of monkeys. Unfettered as their limbs are by the use of garments, their sole

clothing consisting of a piece of the inner bark of a tree passing round their loins, and even this frequently laid aside as an useless incumbrance, their bodies have acquired a pliability and nerve utterly unattainable even by savages somewhat more advanced towards civilization than themselves, and which are inseparably annexed to their condition. The Semang does not however depend entirely on the acuteness of his vision and the agility of his limbs for his subsistence, for Mr. Anderson says, "Their mode of destroying elephants, in order to procure the ivory, or their flesh, is most extraordinary and ingenious. They lay in wait in small parties of two or three when they have perceived any elephants ascend a hill, and as they descend again, which they usually do at a slow pace, plucking the branches as they move along, while the hind legs are up lifted, the Semang, cautiously approaching behind, drives a sharp pointed bamboo, or piece of neebong which has been previously well hardened in the fire, and touched with poison into the sole of the elephant's foot, with all his force, which effectually lames the animal and most commonly causes him to fall, when the whole party rushes upon him with sharp spears and pointed sticks and soon dispatch him. The rhinoceros they obtain with even less difficulty. This animal which is of solitary habits, is found frequently in marshy places, with its whole body immersed in the mud and part of the head only projecting. The Malays call them Baduk Tapa or the recluse rhinoceros: towards the close of the rainy season, they are

" said to bury themselves in this manner in dif-
 " ferent places, and upon the dry weather setting
 " in, and from the powerful effects of a vertical
 " sun, the mud becomes hard and crusted, and
 " the rhinoceros cannot effect its escape without
 " considerable difficulty and exertion. The Se-
 " mangs prepare themselves with large quantities
 " of combustible materials with which they quiet-
 " ly approach the animal, who is aroused from
 " his reverie by an immense fire, which being
 " kept well supplied by the Semangs with fresh
 " fuel, soon completes his destruction, and renders
 " him in a fit state to make a meal of. The pro-
 " jecting horn on the snout is carefully preserved,
 " being supposed to be possessed of medicinal
 " properties and highly prized by the Malays,
 " to whom they barter it for their tobacco, &c."

The usual method of barter prevailing between
 the Malays and these aboriginal tribes is for the
 former to bring their commodities, consisting chief-
 ly of coarse cloths, tobacco and knives, to any open
 space in the vicinity of the places known to be the
 resort of the Semangs, and retire to a convenient
 distance as soon as they have deposited them.
 The Semangs then approach, and, having selected
 such articles as they either fancy or require, bear
 them off, leaving in their room whatever they may
 deem an equivalent: this consists chiefly of ele-
 phant's teeth, gahru, * dammar, † canes, ratans,
 &c.; of which, from their ignorance of the value
 which they bear in the market, they always leave

* *Alcorylum agalloctum*, Loor. or the lignum aloes. It is a perfum-
 ed wood and principally employed in burning incense in the religious
 edifices and private houses of the Chinese.

† Dammar is a resinous substance extracted from various trees and
 well known all over the east.

an ample return. A few, however, who have partially overcome their timidity, and occasionally ventured to approach the Malayan villages, have speedily learned to profit by the superstitious fears of their new acquaintance, and parted with medicinal vegetable preparations at a high and exorbitant rate. That a people living entirely in the woods should become possessed of a general knowledge of the sanatory virtues of the different trees and shrubs by which they are surrounded from their efficacy in healing their own simple diseases, and that they should regard them as charms is to be expected; and that their remedies should prove inefficient to remove those inveterate disorders produced by the more artificial mode of civilized life is no argument against the probability of this untutored race yet revealing to us many medicinal shrubs which will prove highly valuable in compounds.

The Orang Laut are another tribe residing, as their name implies, (Orang Laut, men of the sea) entirely on the sea shore and subsisting upon the fish which they strike with the spear: like all people whose diet is composed wholly of fish, they have a squalid and wretched appearance, being covered with scorbutic eruptions. They live principally in canoes, and are supposed by Mr. Anderson to be the ichthyophagi of the East of Herodotus, and he appears to think that Dr. Leyden has given that title to the Battas of Sumatra and thus states his argument. "They are certainly the ichthyophagi of the East as they subsist wholly upon fish. Dr. Leyden supposes the Battas of Sumatra to

" be the ichthyophagi described by Herodotus ;
 " but there are several circumstances in his des-
 " cription which would seem to contradict such a
 " supposition. The same author also, in allud-
 " ing to the Batta anthropophagi, or cannibals
 " of Sumatra, says. (*h*) ' This inhuman custom
 " is not however without a precedent in history,
 " For Herodotus positively asserts that the Paday,
 " or Padaoi, about five hundred years before our
 " æra, were not only addicted to the eating of
 " raw flesh, but accustomed to kill and eat their
 " relations when they grew old. Now it is curious
 " that Batta or Battay, for the name is written
 " both ways, seems to be the very word which,
 " in Greek, is rendered Padaoi, the letter p being
 " almost always pronounced b among several of
 " the Indo-Chinese nations, as in the word Pali
 " which is almost always pronounced Bali. The
 " following is the account which Herodotus gives
 " us of the Paday or Padaoi, " *another Indian nati-*
 " *on, who dwell to the eastward of these, (the Indian*
 " *ichthyophagi) are of nomadic habits, and eat raw*
 " *flesh ; They are called Paday, and are said to*
 " *practice such customs as the following ; whoever*
 " *of the community, be it man or woman, happens to*
 " *fall sick, his most familiar friends, if it is a man,*
 " *kill him, saying that by his pining in sickness,*
 " *his flesh will be spoiled for them, and, though he*
 " *deny that he is sick, they do not attend to him, but*
 " *put him to death and feast on him. When a wo-*
 " *man falls sick, she is treated in like manner by*
 " *her most intimate female associates. They also*
 " *sacrifice and feast on him who arrives at old age*

" (*h*) On the language and literature of the Indo Chinese nations As.
 Res. Vol. 10. pages 202, 203."

"and this is the reason that so few ever attain it, for
 "they kill every one who falls sick, before that pe-
 "riod." (i) Although this account corresponds in
 "some particulars with the habits of the Battas, yet
 "it differs materially in others. The Battas, it
 "is well known, inhabit the central parts of Su-
 "matra and but rarely approach the sea shore.
 "They could not therefore be termed ichthyo-
 "phagi, as they scarcely see fish. The Orang
 "Laut of the present day are not known to be
 "addicted to cannibalism, though it is extremely
 "probable they were in former times, as they
 "yet retain all the characteristics of the most
 "savage life. They rove about from one island
 "to another, and are found in greatest numbers
 "about the Lancavy groups of islands opposite
 "Kedah and in the straits of Singapore and
 "Dryon."*

I have been particular in thus quoting the whole
 of Mr. Anderson's argument, because it appears
 to me that he has misunderstood Dr. Leyden.
 The latter gentleman, so far from confounding
 the Paday or Battas with the ichthyophagi, calls
 the former "another Indian nation who dwell to
 "the eastward of these (the Indian ichthyophagi)"
 and he further states as follows. "The Batta
 language, which I regard as the most ancient
 language of Sumatra, is used by the *Batta* tribes,
 who chiefly occupy the *centre* of that island. The
 singularity of their manners, and, in particular,
 the horrid custom of anthropophagy practiced
 by a nation, in other respects more civilized than

(i) Herodotus Liber 3. 8. 99.

* Anderson's Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula, Appendix pp. 35, 36.

the Malays by whom they are *surrounded*, has attracted the attention of Europeans from the time of the "earliest voyages", &c. These Indian ichthyophagi, then, of Herodotus are clearly indicated as having in his æra inhabited the *western* coast of Sumatra, or, in other words, that portion of it which first became known to foreign adventurers. As this experienced an influx of more civilized visitors, the Orang Laut gradually disappeared, either retiring more easterly to the Lancavy group, or numerically diminishing in consequence of that law of nature by which the savage tribes dwindle and decay in the neighbourhood of industry and arts; a principle which we see operating at the present day in the wilds of America. That the Orang Laut were ever addicted to cannibalism there is no shadow of proof, while the probabilities verge towards the opposite conclusion. Whenever a race has become so degraded as to adopt anthropophagous habits, we cannot expect the extirpation of so barbarous a custom until a marked amelioration has been effected in its morals. Now, except in the article of food, the ichthyophagi are considerably lower than the Battas in the scale of intelligence and civilization.

It is a singular circumstance and worthy of record that no nation or tribe, however degraded, is entirely ignorant of Natural religion, and we accordingly find in even these poor tribes, who appear little superior to the higher order of apes (*the Orang Utan*)* except in an imperfect gift of speech, the immortal principle dimly peering

* Orang Utan means in Malayese, wild man.

through their deep mental obscurity, inasmuch as they pay an unmeaning worship to the sun, or "kiss their hand to the moon walking in brightness." The Batta tribes have even a little more twilight afforded them, for they seem to have a faint tradition of the deluge existing among them, as their aversion to the sea arises from their supposing it to be the residence of evil spirits, who would destroy them should they approach too near to it. The Menangkabows of Sumatra, again, who are the primitive Malayan race, have a distinct tradition of the landing of Noah's ark "at * "Palembang, or a small island near it, named "Lanca Pura (probably the small island of Luce "Pura,)" "attended with the circumstance of "the dry land being first discovered by the "resting upon it of a bird, '*Perapati*', is (literally a pigeon, that flew from the vessel.") Thus even in these dark regions, "God has not left himself without witness."

Their marriage ceremony is as follows. When a young woman has allowed a man to pay his addresses to her, the parties proceed to a hillock round which she runs three times, pursued by him; and, if he succeed in catching her before the termination of the chace, she becomes his wife, but not otherwise.

When a woman is in labor, the Jacoons take a round piece of wood, which they fasten at both ends in a shed. The woman is laid upon this, with her face downward, pressing upon the abdomen, until the child is born. Meanwhile, the husband kindles a fire before her, which is supposed

* Anderson's Cons. rel. to the Malayan Pen. App. P. 33.

to be of essential service, and performs the office of midwife: after the child is born, the woman is put close to the fire. Polygamy is not allowed and is punishable. They name their children simply from the tree under which they happen to be brought forth. They bury their dead.

They have neither a King nor a Chief, except that title be applied to a person called Puyung, who decides on every case laid before him, and whose opinion is invariably adopted. Having no religion, they are destitute of Priests, their only teacher being the Puyung, who instructs them in all matters pertaining to sorcery, evil spirits, ghosts, &c, in which they firmly believe.

From the Jacoons sprang the Sakei, the Udei, and Rayat, tribes. The language of the whole four is the same, and a specimen of it, which has been furnished me kindly by a friend, is here subjoined.

A LIST OF SEMANG WORDS.

EXTERNAL OBJECTS.

ENGLISH	MALAY	SEMANG
Sun.....	mata hari	médkâta
Moon.....	bulan	bulan
Stars.....	bintang	poolo-o
Sky.....	langit	langit
Ground.....	tanah	tanah
Tree.....	pohon	jo-ho
House.....	rumah	rumah
Hut.....	pondok	yi,eh
Leaf.....	daun kayu	léh
Wood.....	kayu	jo-ho
Food.....	makan-an	inchih
Rice.....	bras	bi-as
Water.....	ayer	hó
Stone.....	batu	botu'k
Hill.....	bukit	midap
Mountain.....	gunong	midap
River.....	sungei	gir-bauh

Rivulet.....	anak sungei	wang ba-tauh
Forest....	hutan	te-o
Wood.....	Rimba	bluké
Person.....	orang	mé'h.
Man.....	laki laki	teh
Woman.....	perempuan	mabé
Horse.....	kuda	kuda
Cow.....	lumbu	lumbu
Hog (wild).....	babi hutan	jélan
Fowl.....	ayam	monok
Bird.....	burong	kau-au
Dog.....	anjing	woh
Deer.....	rusa	sok
Mouse deer	pelandok	panchék
Fire.....	api	bas
Wind.....	angin	angin
A Storm.....	ribut	boha
Rain.....	hujan	hujan
Lightning ..	kuat	kilat
Monkey.....	munyit	jauh
Bow.....	panna	lo-i
Arrow.....	anak panah	lámaka
Sword.....	pädang	pädang
Medicine	ubat	ubat
Tiger.....	harimau	chinnih
Rhinoceros..	badak	agan
Elephant.....	gaja	gaju
Ivory.....	gading	bala'h
Gold.....	emas	amos
Silver.....	perak	perak
Iron.....	besi	desi
Money.....	wang	wang
Light.....	trang	hu, hai
Darkness.....	glap	tundout
Father.....	bapa	shak
Mother.....	mak	bah
Son.....	anak laki laki	wang tongkal
Daughter..	anak perempuan	wang mabé
Master..	tuán	{ this relation is not }
Servant..	hamba	{ known among them. }
Companion..	kawan	goen
Anger.....	marah	chínching
Love..	sayang	sa-ing
Fear..	katakotan	undang
Shadow..	bayang	kälbo
Fish..	ikan	ikan
Cat..	knching	kuching
Rat..	tikus	tikus
Boat..	prau	sampau

Knife....	pisau	pukep
Clothes..	pakaian	bübbüt
A lie...	bohong	pli-au
Fruit...	buah, huah-an	böh
Male...	jantan	tongkal
Female...	betina	mädé
Attributes.		
Good....	baik	abu-na
Bad....	jahat	makit,
Great....	bäsar	näba'h
Small....	kecil	halék
Tall-high..	tinggi	maju'h
Low...	rendah	mächis
Young....	mudah	aneh, keja'h
Old.....	tuah	hedok
Long....	paujang	bokit
Short....	pendék	cheno,id.
Slow....	lambat	saquirei
Strong..	kuat	säsöh
Weak..	semah leteh	bubo,arnib
Handsome....	bägis	haban
Ugly..	buruk	paban
Wrong.....	salah	ple-au
Hard..	kras	käk
Soft...	lumbot	séken
Sick....	sakit	mejh
Well (in health)..	sumboh	ged ngent
Day..	hari	cha,bä
Night..	malam	tunbot
A week..	tuju hari	tujuh patam
A month..	sa bulan	sabulan
A year..	sa lahun	sa taun
Morning..	pagi pagi	gag'h
Mid day..	tengah hari	gip-rat
Evening..	pätang	yoop

The Semang have no names for the days of the week.

Parts of the body

Head....	kapala	ko-i
Eyes....	mata	mét
Nose....	hidong	mah
Mouth..	mulut	läud
Tongue..	lidah	létik
Chin..	dagu	ung-kwo
Teeth..	gigi	lamo-ing
Lips..	b'dir	säbak
Neck..	léher	ngot
Shoulders..	bahü	kap weh
Breast..	dada	sop
Belly..	prut	koot

Thigh..	....pahu	bālah
Knee..	....lutut	krotong
Leg..	....betis	balang
Foot..	....kaki	chan
Toe..	....jari kaki	tak a'hchan
Heel..	....tumit	doodol
Arms..	....lengan	bāling
Hands..	....tangan	toong
Fingers..	....jari tangan	taka'h toong
Back..	....blakang	ki-ah
Ears.....	....talinga	pol
Hair.....	....rambut	sak

The numerals are the same as those used by the Malay.

Verbs.

To be..	.....ada	mo-ah
To go..	.....purgi	ch-i-ūp
To walk..	....jalan	chi-ap
To run..	....lari	dāh
To stand..	....berdiri	ki-ei
To sit..	....dudok	ngak
To sleep....	....tidor	te'ik
To eat....	....makan	chioh
To drink..	....m ^u num	boh
To do....	....buat	buat
To buy. <i>su</i>	....buru	hād
To catch..	....tangkap	chēp
To make..	....buat	buat
To work....	....kārja	k ^u ja
To hear..	....dangar	ting ^u
To speak..	....berkata	choh
To live..	....hidop	gāmas
To die..	....mati	kabus
To fly....	....terbang	kapo-ai
To cry..	....menangis	j ^u m
To ask for.....	....minta	hāgoh
To give.....	....beri kasih	ke
To bring..	....Bawa	jing-ing
To fight....	....barkalai	hool
To murder....	....bunuh	bunoh
To war....	....burprang	parang
To see....	....tengok	déng
To hold....	....pegang	chup
To be afraid..	....takut	[anteung
To love..	....sayang	sa-ing
To inhabit..	....diam	ya,an
To wash....	....busoh	basoh
To clean..	....chuchi	chuchi
To bathe..	....mandi	jel ^u

To fall down..	..jatoh	h ² s
To rise..	..bangun	kasi-au
To awake..	..jag	nguk
To climb..	....panjat	loo-ei

It may here be observed that, although it is foreign to my purpose to touch upon Borneo and the states beyond the limits of the peninsula, the history of the aboriginal tribes would be incomplete were I to omit noticing the Tirun or Idan, and the Biajus of Borneo. Of these last there are two races, one of which is established on the island, is warlike in its propensities, and claims to be the aboriginal tribe of Borneo. The other lives altogether at sea, in small covered boats, shifting from island to island, according to the monsoons, and thereby enjoying perpetual summer. The Biajus annually launch a small bark, laden with all the sins and misfortunes of the nation, which they imagine fall upon the crew of that vessel by which the boat is first descried.

The Tirun, or Tedong, tribes are supposed by Dr. Leyden to be a tribe of the Idan, and inhabit the N. E. coast of Borneo: they are savage, piratical, and so far anthropophagous in their habits as to feast upon their enemies. The Idan, or Marut, again, are believed by the same author to be but a tribe of the Haraforas, whom they resemble in stature, color, agility, and manners. He asserts them to be the aborigines of Borneo. The Haraforas are indigenous in nearly every island of the archipelago, and are sometimes met with in those that are inhabited by the Papras. A necessity is entailed upon every member, both of the Idan and Harafora tribes, of embruing his hands at some period of his life in human blood, and in general he is not permitted to marry until

he can produce the skull of a slaughtered enemy. They feast upon their enemies, and form drinking cups, and ornaments out of the skulls and teeth.*

It may here be mentioned that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information regarding this extraordinary race. The Malays do not appear to possess any traditionary accounts of the different tribes; and, although they readily affirm such and such things of them, they confess, when closely questioned, that their information is mere hearsay, nor can they even point out the quarter whence they derived it. From the people themselves little can be extracted. The Jokongs or Jacoons, who are, as I have stated, perfectly distinct from the Semangs of Kedah, are still comparatively very numerous in the woody fastnesses of Rumbow and Sungei Ujong, and are occasionally met with in Johol. They approximate to the Orang Sakei or Bukit, but the dialect of each tribe presents considerable varieties when the paucity of their language is taken into consideration.

That the aborigines never existed in sufficient numbers to entitle them to be considered the legal proprietors of the whole extent of the peninsula may be inferred from the fact of their not having settled down into any form of municipal government, being broken into small states, or rather wandering villages, acknowledging no common head.† The first settlers on the coast appear either to have met with no opposition on landing,

* Vide Leyden on the languages and literature of the Indo-chinese nations pp. 60. 61.

† It is to this circumstance of non-intercourse with each other that Dr. Leyden justly ascribes the corruption of the mother tongue which has thus gradually produced a variety of dialects.

or to have believed the southern extremity of the peninsula to be pre-occupied. We learn from Valentyn, Book 6th, Ch. 2d, p. 317, that the Malays emigrated from Menangkabow, on Sumatra to Palembang, opposite Banca, and settled on the river Malaya, which circumscribes the Mahameira hill and empties itself into the Tang river, by which its waters are carried to the sea. He doubts whether the name Malaya, which signifies celerity, industry, was assumed by the settlers on account of the swiftness of the stream as emblematical of their character, or that they conferred the name on the river, because its rapidity resembled their disposition. He thinks that the former was probably the case, and that the settlers gave their newly acquired name to the peninsula, after having emigrated thither. These settlers were headed by Sang Nila Utama, whose name was subsequently changed to Sri Turi Buwana. He was the grandson of Rajah Suran, who, according to the Malayan annals, was a lineal descendant of Rajah Secander Zulkarneini, or Alexander the great of Macedon. His father, Rajah Sangsapurba was called to the throne of Menangkabow in Sumatra, and settled Palembang. Sri Turi Buwana, who married a daughter of the queen of Bintang, reigned over that island for some time, but, at length, becoming weary of the place, he set out in quest of more extended dominions, and founded the kingdom of Singhapura. The new colony was repeatedly invaded by Radin Inu Martuwangsa, a powerful king of Java, but all his attacks were repulsed, and Sri Turi Buwana maintained his footing during the whole period of his reign

of forty eight years up to the date of his decease. He was succeeded on the throne by Paduka Pekaram Wira, who, dying A. D. 1223, or Heg. 620, was followed by Sri Rama Wikaram. A. D. 1236, or Heg. 634, Sri Maharajah ascended the throne. Having reigned thirteen years, he was succeeded by Sri Iskander Shah.* This prince had for one of his wives or mistresses the daughter of one of his Bandharras, to whom he was greatly attached on account of her beauty. Believing the insinuations of his other mistresses, who accused her of infidelity, the Rajah ordered her impalement. The father, Sang Ranjuna Tapa, earnestly entreated that, if his child were to suffer death, it might not be so shameful a one, but, his request being disregarded, he meditated revenge. He accordingly invited the Javanese to the capture of Singhapura, and opening the gates of the fortress admitted the enemy who, after an obstinate struggle, succeeded in routing the Singhapureans, and Rajah Secunder Shah fled to Moar on the mainland; but, removing thence, he arrived at a spot about thirty miles further up the coast, where he founded the city of Malacca, naming it from a tree so called which was very abundant in the vicinity. According to Mr. Crawford, this prince died in A. D. 1274, and was succeeded by Sulthauu Magat

* The foregoing dates are given according to the Chronological table in Crawford's Indian Archipelago. The Malayan annals fix the period of Sri Iskander Shah's reign twenty nine years earlier, stating expressly that that prince had reigned thirty two years in Singhapura at the date of his expulsion, which we shall see took place in 1252.

who after a reign of two years was followed by Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, the first Mahomedan prince. According to the annals, the succession devolved upon Rajah Besar Moodah, thence on Rajah Tengah, and thence again on Rajah Kichil Besar, who, on his conversion to Islamism, assumed the title of Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, which would thus give an additional intervening reign.

Even at this early period, however, Malacca appears to have risen into considerable importance, for the annals, after detailing the numerous court ceremonies and usages introduced by Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, thus proceed. "For
 " a long period the country of Malacca continued
 " to flourish, and its domains to increase con-
 " stantly, so that on the west its boundaries ex-
 " tended to Bruwas Ujung-carang; and on the
 " east as far as Tringano: It also became noted
 " in every country that the country of Malacca
 " was very great, populous, and abundant in all
 " the necessaries of life; and that its rajahs were
 " descended from the race of Secunder Zulkar-
 " neini, and sprung from Nasharwan Adil, the
 " Rajah of the east and west. All Rajahs came
 " to Malacca to be introduced to Sulthaun Ma-
 " homed Shah, who received them all with the
 " highest respect, and invested them with honor-
 " ary dresses of the highest value. All the mer-
 " chants likewise, whether from above* or under
 " the wind, frequented Malacca, which in those
 " days was extremely crowded, and all the Arabs
 " gave it the name of *Malakat*, or the mart for

* East or West, the wind being supposed to rise with the sun.

“collecting all merchants; for many different races of merchants frequented it, and all its great men were extremely just in all their proceedings.”† Sulthaun Mahommed Shah also added the islands of Lingga and Bintang to his possessions. On his decease he was succeeded by his son Rajah Ibrahim, A. D. 1332. Heg. 733. who on his accession to the throne assumed the title of Sulthaun Abu Shahid. This prince was murdered after a reign of one year and five months, and his brother, Rajah Kasim, ascended the throne under the title of A. D. 1334. Heg. 735. Sulthaun Mudhafer Shah.

This prince became celebrated in Malayan story for his justice and clemency, and ordered the *Kitab Undang Undang*, or book of institutes, to be drawn up in order to promote the impartial administration of the laws. The king of Siam, hearing of the fame of Malacca, was filled with a desire to conquer it; he accordingly made two unsuccessful attacks upon it, in the latter of which he paid his life a forfeit for his ambition. After reigning 42 years, Sulthaun Mudhafer, or Mozassar, Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, Rajah Abdullah, who assumed the A. D. 1374. Heg. 776. name of Sulthaun Manzur Shah.

This prince having heard that Pahang, at that time a dependency of Siam, was an extensive and fertile country, determined upon annexing it to his own dominions—He accordingly despatched an army against it, which totally routed the Pahang warriors, and Maha Rajah Dewa Sura, the sovereign of the country, fell into the hands of Sri Vija di Rajah, one of the Malacca chiefs,

† Leyden's Malay Annals p. p. 107—108.

who conducted him and his daughter, the beautiful princess, Putri Wanang Sri, to his master. Sulthaun Manzur Shah treated the captive prince with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes, and married the princess, according to a custom which appears to have obtained amongst the Malayan nations at that period.

Sri Vija di Rajah was elevated to the sovereignty of Pahang by Manzur Shah, from whom he received the *noubut* (drums) or insignia of authority, with the exception of the *nagarets*, but was obliged to resort annually to Malacca to pay his homage.

Malacca appears to have been at the height of its prosperity during the reign of Sulthaun Manzur Shah, and of all the peninsular states the most courted by foreign powers.* We find not only the Rajah of Burni (Borneo), but even the emperor of China, treating Sulthaun Manzur Shah as an equal. The latter, as well as the Rajah of Majapahit (Java) sought his alliance, and each of them bestowed upon him the hand of his daughter in marriage. The Rajah of Majapahit gave the kingdom of Indragiri in Sumatra as his daughter's dowry.

Manzur Shah, after his marriage with the princess of China, addressed a letter to his father-in-

* A similarity will be discovered between my remarks on the freedom of the states of the peninsula from all dependence of Siam, and those on the same subject by Mr. Anderson in his "Considerations relative to the Malayan peninsula." The truth is that, having taken the same view of the question as that gentleman previous to my having met with his work, I had drawn my arguments principally from the same source, viz. "the Malayan annals." I have consequently been obliged to re-write such portions of my observations, availing myself of the additional light thrown on the subject by Mr. A.—(to whose work I am proud to confess myself much indebted), as the independence of the Peninsula is too important a point to be omitted, especially as it has been not only denied by Mr. Crawford, but violated by the Siamese.

law, couched in the following style "I, his servant, (*Sahaya*) † the Rajah of Malacca, to the Paduca my father, the Rajah of China." The annals state that the Emperor of China was seized two days after this with an itch that covered the whole body, and resisted every attempt made to remove it. An aged physician, however, represented to the emperor that this was a visitation of Providence on account of his having permitted the Rajah of Malacca to adopt the mode of an inferior in addressing him, and that it could only be removed by a corresponding act of humiliation, viz, by his drinking the water in which the face and feet of the Rajah of Malacca had been bathed. The king performed the penance and recovered. "Then the Rajah of China vowed that he would not suffer himself to be so saluted by the Rajah of Malacca, and that no such practice should be admitted between their posterity. After this a friendly intercourse on equal terms subsisted for a long period between the Rajah of China and the Rajah of Malacca."

We have now to view the relation in which Malacca stood to Siam at this period. We have seen the Siamese twice repulsed in the preceding reign of Sulthoun Mudhafer Shah, and they appear to have been so dispirited by their losses, and especially by the death of their king, that we have the authority of the annals for stating that they never renewed their attacks on Malacca during the reign of Manzur Shah. Nay, they do not even appear to have attempted either the de-

† *Sahaya*, I, is generally used by an inferior in addressing a superior.

fence or the recovery of their dependency of Pahang.

It may here be stated that, although we have no exact data whereby to fix the period in which the principal Malayan states of Kedah, Perak, Salengor, Sungei Ujong, Rumbow, including Pahang and Packanja, Tringanó, Callantan, and Patani, were founded, yet as these nations are essentially Malayan, and derive their origin from the parent state in Sumatra, Sungei Ujong and Rumbow must have been established at no long period after the establishment of Johor in 1514 and the others probably much earlier, while all originally were undoubtedly free.

Many of the minor ones, such as Pahang, Packanja, &c. would of necessity become tributary to their more powerful neighbours, but Malacca, in wresting Pahang from the dominion of Siam, tore away no integral portion of her kingdom, but merely rescued a petty state from the galling thralldom in which it was held by a foreign and tyrannous despotism. Siam, unable to recover her footing, or to cope with the resources of Malacca, suspended all communication with the victor. This want of intercourse between two neighbouring states necessarily affected their mutual prosperity, and Sulthaun Manzur Shah in consequence determined to send an embassy to Siam with the view of removing so prejudicial an estrangement.

Fearful, however, of his motives for seeking a reconciliation being misconstrued, he directed that the letter should contain neither "greeting nor salutation." It accordingly ran thus. "It

“ is desirable that there should be no further
 “ wars, for there is reason to fear the loss of life,
 “ and verily Paduca Bubanyar * is to be dread-
 “ ed in war, but there is great hope of his forgiv-
 “ ness and favor. Accordingly Tuan Talani and
 “ the Mantri Jana Patra are sent for this pur-
 “ pose.” † A good deal more in the same strain was
 added, and the ambassadors then departed.

They were graciously received in Siam, and
 Paduca Bubanyar “ asked how it happened that
 “ Malacca had not been conquered when it was
 “ attacked by the Siamese. Then Tuan Talani
 “ called an old man of Sugor who had the elephant-
 “ iasis in both his legs, to display his skill in the
 “ spear before Paduca Bubanyar. He tossed
 “ up spears in the air, and received them on his
 “ back without the smallest wound. ‘ That,
 “ Sire,’ said he, ‘ is the reason that Malacca was
 “ not conquered by the Siamese, for all the men
 “ of Malacca have backs of this description.’” †

It is therefore evident that, during the reign of
 Sulthaun Manzur Shah, Malacca was not in the
 remotest degree tributary to Siam, and it is just
 as clear that during the reign of his son, Rajah
 Hussain who assumed the title of A. D. 1447, Heg.
 Sulthaun Ala-ed-din Shah on his 870.
 accession, Malacca fully retained her independ-
 ence and authority.

It is recorded in the annals that the Rajah of
 Pahang, who, it will be recollected, was placed
 on that throne as a tributary prince by Sulthaun
 Manzur Shah, affected independence after the

* The Rajah of Siam.

† Malay Annals. p. 146.

‡ Ibid—pp. 147-148.

decease of that sovereign, and directed Tuan Talani to be put to death for having visited Malacca without having previously obtained his permission. The assassination of this chief was speedily reported to Malacca by his surviving relatives, and Sulthaun Ala-ed-din despatched his Lacsamana, or admiral, to call Sulthaun Mohammed Shah, of Pahang, to account for the transaction. The Lacsamana directed one of his officers to *kris* a brother of Sri Agra di Rajah, (the noble who had put Tuan Talani to death,) and, on Sulthaun Mohammed's demanding the punishment of the murderer, replied, "He confesses it," (the murder), "Sire, but nevertheless I cannot consent to his being any way punished, on account of the grievous crime of Sri Agra di Rajah towards the Rajah of Malacca, in killing Tuan Talani at Tringano, and not announcing it at Malacca."* The Pahang Rajah was obliged to be contented with this answer, and made no further attempt to shake off the yoke of allegiance.

Sulthaun Ibrahim, of Siak, committed a similar offence against the Rajah of Malacca, and was compelled to apologize for the transaction.

Sulthaun Ala-ed-din moreover placed one of his sons on the throne of Campar by the title of Sulthaun Menawer Shah. These facts are sufficient to prove that the hypothesis of those writers, who, following a dubious opinion expressed by Valentyn,† have supposed Malacca to have

* Malay Annals. p. 235.

† "Ook schynd my toe dat Malakka in zyn tyd onder den koning van Siam geraakt is, hoewel 'te'r niet lang onder bleef." "It also appears to me that Malacca in his (Ala-ed-din) time was subdued by Siam; however, she did not long remain under the yoke." Val. Book 6th, Chap. 2d. p. 320.

been tributary to Siam during this reign, is ill founded.

A. D. 1477, Heg. 892. On the decease of Sulthaun Ala-ed-din, his son the Rajah Moodah ascended the throne under the title of Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, or Sulthaun Mahmud Shah, being the second of that name. This prince, by means of his generals, conquered the Malay states of Perak, Callantan and Pasei; and reduced Pahang, which appears to have revolted, to its pristine obedience. The Pangeran of Sourabaya, on the island of Java, also paid his respects at Malacca, which is represented to have been more flourishing than ever during this reign.

The Rajah of Siam directed the Rajah of Ligor to attack Pahang, and recover it from the control of Malacca, but Sulthaun Mahomed Shah having speedily re-inforced it, the Ligorians were completely routed, and the attempted frustrated. The Malay states of Patani and Kedah, or Que-dah, also received the *noubuts*, or insignia of royalty from Malacca. The foregoing statements prove that, of the Malayan states enumerated in page 2, Patani, Kedah, Callantan, Pahang, Perak, Pasei, and Tringano were subject to Malacca, itself an independent state, and that the claim of the Siamese to these as Tributaries, which has been so confidently insisted on by some writers, is not founded on fact. I shall in another place examine the pretensions upon which these assertions have been made, not only with reference to

It is true that he states almost immediately afterwards that his successor, Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, delivered his country from this thralldom in A. D. 1509, but this, instead of invalidating my assertion that Malacca cannot be considered a tributary of Siam, strengthens it by shewing that the very short period for which she was subjected cannot of itself constitute a claim.

the foregoing states, but to those also which are not included in the preceding enumeration. Meanwhile I must proceed with the historical details of Malacca.

The Portuguese, who at this period were considerably in advance of other European nations, with respect to Colonial possessions and an enterprising navy, sent out an expedition under Diego Lopez de Sequeira for the discovery of the island of Madagascar and the port of Malacca. Sequeira touched at Pedir and Pacem, as he passed down the straits, and finally cast anchor in the Malacca roads; he then opened a heavy fire from all his vessels on the unsuspecting inhabitants and, as the historian* expresses it, "all the people of Malacca were frightened when they heard the sound of their cannon, saying, 'what sound is this like thunder?' and the bullets came and struck the people who were on the land, and some had their necks severed, and some had their waists, and some their hands and their feet. The terror grew constantly worse and worse, and they said, 'What is the name of this weapon which is so round? It is not sharp, yet will it kill.'" The following morning Sequeira landed his troops, conceiving no doubt that the Malays were sufficiently disheartened so that the conquest of Malacca would be a work of little difficulty. In this expectation, however, he was deceived, for after a sharp conflict he was obliged to retreat to his ships and weigh anchor. The Portuguese historian (De Faria) asserts that his countrymen were overcome by treachery, as Sulthau Ma-

* Leyden's Malay Annals.

homed Shah had submitted, and agreed to furnish the merchandize demanded by Sequeira, but requested that he would send his men to three different places to receive it, and thus fell upon them when they were divided; an artifice too shallow to be likely to deceive any one with the least pretensions to common sense. In this action Sequeira, in addition to his loss of killed and wounded, was obliged to leave sixty of his men prisoners of war. Alfonso de Albuquerque, a name familiar to most readers, was at this time Governor, or Viceroy, of the Portuguese possessions in the East, and, on learning the fate of Sequeira's expedition, determined to attempt anew the conquest of so valuable a port. The condition of Malacca is thus described by the native historian. "At this time Malacca was in a very
 "flourishing state and the general resort of mer-
 "chants; from Ayer leleh (the trickling stream)
 "to the entrance of the bay of Moar* was one
 "uninterrupted market place. From the Kling†
 "town, likewise, to the bay of Penajar, the
 "buildings extended along the shore, in an un-
 "interrupted line. If a person sailed from Ma-
 "lacca to Jagra, there was no occasion to
 "carry fire with one, for wherever he stopped
 "he would find the people's houses. On the
 "eastern side likewise from Malacca as far as
 "Batu Pahat (hewn stone) there was the same
 "uninterrupted succession of houses, and a great
 "many people dwelt along the shore; and the
 "city of Malacca, without including the ex-

* The Moar river disembogues itself into the sea about thirty miles to the S. S. E. of Malacca.

† Malabars or Chullahs, natives of India.

“terior, contained nineteen lacsas of inhabitants (190,000).”*

On the 2d May, Albuquerque sailed from Cochin A. D. 1511, Heg. with his fleet consisting according to 917.

DeFaria, of nineteen vessels on board of which were eight hundred Portuguese, and six hundred Malabars, or native soldiers. On the 1st July he dropped anchor in the Malacca roads, and commenced a heavy cannonade, on which “multitudes ran searching for a place to shelter themselves from the bullets. Then said Muckdum to the prince, Sulthaun, this is no place for the enjoyment of the divine union, let us return,” † an advice which the pusillanimous Mahomed lost no time in following, notwithstanding that the king of Pahang had come to his assistance with 30,000 men.

The terrified Sulthaun despatched an ambassador on board to request that Albuquerque would inform him of the nature of his demands, but the Portuguese Commander refused to state his terms until his captive countrymen were restored to liberty. This reply increased the general consternation, and it was proposed to purchase off the invaders, but Prince Ala-ed-din, the heir apparent, indignantly remonstrated, and prepared to put Malacca in a state of defence. Hostilities again commenced but, the Prince being nearly unsupported, negociation was afresh resorted to, and the prisoners restored as a preliminary.

Albuquerque now sent his ultimatum—the reimbursement of Sequeira’s expences, and permis-

* Leyden’s Malay Annals. p. 323.

† Forty three, according to the Annals.

‡ Leyden’s Malay Annals p. 358.

sion to erect a fort. Sulthaun Mahomed Shah would have yielded to these imperious demands, had not the king of Pahang joined the war party, and a defiance was consequently returned. On the 24th July, being the eve of saint James the Apostle, Albuquerque disembarked his troops and attempted to storm the place. The result of a sharply contested action was so far in the favor of the Portuguese that they actually carried several of the defences, but they were unable to maintain their ground, and re-embarked under-cover of the night, having lost ten of their number by poisoned arrows, leaving the Malays masters of the field. The principal advantage obtained by the Portuguese was the secession of the king of Pahang, who, under the pretence of going for re-inforcements, withdrew from Malacca and never returned.

Albuquerque having rested his men on board-ship for some days, prepared for another attack; the Malays had meanwhile considerably strengthened the defences, dug* mines in the principal streets, and planted ranjows† in the different approaches. The Portuguese commander after a sharp contest succeeded in obtaining possession of the bridge, and, having been apprized of the

* De Faria. I suspect that these mines were nothing but the common pitfalls with a sharpened stake in the centre, which to this day are in use amongst the Malays, as their knowledge of gun-powder was at this period very superficial and limited to an imperfect use of fire-arms, and jinjals or swivels.

† Sharpened spikes of different sizes and figures, made either of the black spines which are found amongst a filamentous substance unwrapping the trunk of a species of sago palm, or of bamboo, and frequently hardened in the fire. They are placed in a sloping position, and, not being visible to troops in the heat of storming, inflict severe wounds, often penetrating right through the foot. These wounds are more difficult to heal than gunshot ones.

pitfalls, avoided them by passing to the rear of the town until he gained a mosque in which he established his head quarters, the enemy having betaken themselves to flight, after a desultory resistance of a few hours. In this action Albuquerque employed 800 Portuguese and 200 native soldiery. The town was given up to pillage for three successive days, and only a few of the Malays eventually permitted to return, amongst whom was a chief of the name of Utimuti Rajah, who had crossed over with his followers to the side of the Portuguese when he found the Malay cause desperate. The Arabs, or Moors as they are called by De Faria, were not allowed to settle again. The unfortunate Mahomed Shah fled to the island of Bintang, which lies about forty leagues to the S. W. of Malacca, being accompanied by his son, Prince Ala-eddin. The island is about 120 miles in circumference, and the fugitive sovereign erected a mud fort at either point of the principal river, whilst the mouth was obstructed by stakes firmly driven into the ground.

Albuquerque, conceiving that the proximity of this post endangered the security of his infant conquest, despatched four hundred Portuguese, a like number of Utimuti Rajah's Malays, and three hundred soldiers belonging to the Pegue merchants resident in Malacca, to dislodge the fugitives; the king and prince Ala-ed-din, already disheartened, abandoned their fortifications at the approach of the dreaded Portuguese, and took refuge in the internal fastnesses of the island. Mahomed reproached his son for having given him that warlike counsel, by following which he

had been rendered an outcast from his kingdom, and the dispute rose so high that the princes separated in quest of different fortunes, and Prince Ala-ed-din betook himself to Johore, which he and his father had erected into a kingdom at the same time as Bintang, although he did not ascend the throne of Johore until A. D. 1513, when he assumed the style of Sulthaun Ahmed Shah.

In order to the retention of such an important conquest as Malacca, Albuquerque built a fortress, which was termed Hermosa on account of its beauty, and a church on Saint Paul's hill in the centre of it, which he dedicated to "The Visitation of our Lady," and which was inhabited by the Jesuits and friendly brothers; this last he constructed out of the stones of the tombs of the ancient Malay Kings: He also built a nunnery called that of "The mother of God," on the adjacent hill of St. John's. Val. B. 6th Chap. 1st p. 309. He also introduced a coinage which he declared current by proclamation, and scattered a few handfuls amongst the crowd in order to reconcile them to the change of dynasty. Although acquainted with the treacherous character of Utimuti Rajah, Albuquerque attempted to attach him to his interests by making him the chief of the Malays in the town of Malacca, but subsequently detecting him in carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Prince Ala-ed-din, he publicly executed him, his son, and son-in-law, on the very scaffold which a few years before Utimuti Rajah had built for the purpose of putting Sequeira to death, had that commander fallen into his hands.

A. D. 1512. Heg. 918. The widow of Utimuti succeeded, by the promise of her daughters hand with a portion of 100,000 ducats, in inducing his successor, Pati Quitir, who was also a native of Java, to attempt the assassination of Albuquerque. The king of Campar formed a similar project and sent a congratulatory embassy to the vice-roy, requesting to be invested with the office of the deceased Utimuti Rajah, but the designs of both of the conspirators were frustrated by the unexpected departure of Albuquerque for Goa where his presence was required, and whither he returned after having invested Ruy de Brito Patalim with the command of Malacca, leaving him a garrison of three hundred men, and a fleet of ten vessels under Fernando Perez having on board the same number acting as marines.

A. D. 1512. Heg. 918. The ex-king, Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, having an enterprising individual amongst those who still remained devoted to his fallen fortunes, appointed him his Lacsamana, or Admiral, and determined to attempt the reconquest of Malacca. Whilst his fleet was fitting out, Pati Quitir continued to carry on his intrigues for the expulsion of the Portuguese, and, his plans being matured, he suddenly rose upon the conquerors, killing one officer and several men, and capturing some ordnance. He then proceeded to fortify the quarter of the town in which he resided, and stood on the defensive with 6,000 men and a few elephants until the arrival of the Lacsamana, when several petty actions took place, which generally terminated

in the favor of the Portuguese, but the strictness of the blockade in which they were held by the Lacsamana, whose fleet was now investing Malacca, and Pati Quitir, induced a famine which brought them to great necessity: from this, however, they were at length relieved, when at the last extremity, by the fortunate capture of some vessels of the enemy laden with provisions, a circumstance which compelled the Malays to raise the blockade.

Pati Unus, a Malay chief of Java, A. D. 1513. Hegera in Java, made an effort this 919. year to recover Malacca from the Portuguese: he accordingly sailed against it with a fleet of ninety sail* and an army of twelve thousand men. Ferdinando Perez, then Governor of Malacca, embarked three hundred and fifty Europeans and some Natives on board seventeen galleys, attacked this large fleet off Malacca, and drove it to the river Moar, where he sunk and burned nearly every vessel, Pati Unus escaping with difficulty after having lost eight thousand men and sixty of his largest vessels.

Mahomed Shah, the ex-king, not despairing of recovering the city of Malacca, employed a stratagem for that purpose. He persuaded a favorite officer, named Tuan Maxelis, to mutilate his features, and in this guise to present himself to the Portuguese as a victim of his master's ferocious tyranny. Ruy de Brito was imposed on by the trick, and admitted Tuan Maxelis unreservedly at all times into the fort. At length, on

* According to De Faria. Crawford makes it amount to 300. Indian Archipelago, Vol. 2, page 489.

a preconcerted day, he entered the fortress with a few followers, and commenced *krising* the Portuguese, six of whom were killed before Ruy de Brito had assembled the remainder and driven the traitor from the garrison at the very instant that a party of armed Malays under Tuan Kalaskar were coming up to his assistance. The latter, finding that they had arrived too late in the day, feigned that they had hurried to the assistance of the Portuguese, an evasion which Ruy de Brito was compelled to give apparent credence to, on account of the weakness of his garrison.

A. D. 1514. Heg. Ninachetuan, a Pagan Malay who 920.

was Bandharra, or first Minister, of Malacca, was this year, by the order of Pedro de Faria, unjustly superseded in his dignity and office by Abdullah, king of Campar. This affront the proud heathen could not brook, and he accordingly made a funeral pile, in the public bazaar, of his most valuable goods, and suffered a voluntary incremation by seating himself on the blazing and costly heap.

His successor enjoyed the office but a few months, owing to a report industriously circulated by Mahomed, the ex-king, that he was only waiting for a favorable opportunity to deliver the city into his hands. The Portuguese, who had suffered by the treachery of Tuan Maxelis, and were rendered jealous by the paucity of their numbers, lent too ready an ear to the rumour, and executed the innocent Rajah of Campar, in consequence of which their name became universally execrated in the East, and the city deserted.

In 1516, Mahomed, the ex-king of Malacca and king of Bintang and Johore, made another attempt upon Malacca, and was on the verge of success after a vigorous blockade when Don Alexias de Menezes arrived to assume charge of the Government, having with him a re-inforcement of 300 men, in consequence of which the Bintang general, by name Cerilege-Rajah, was compelled to retire.

Still, not discouraged, Mahomed in the following year returned to the attack, and, being defeated in his attempt to surprize the city, converted his original purpose into a blockade. His landforce consisted of fifteen hundred men, whilst his blockading squadron was composed of sixty vessels. The strength of the Portuguese is differently estimated at from seventy to two hundred men.

In the following year Mahomed attacked the defences, but after a

rencontre of three hours, was defeated with the loss of three hundred and thirty men, the Portuguese casualties amounting to eighteen. The action having proved so decisive, Mahomed retired to a short distance, but did not renounce the blockade *in toto*, although it appears to have been negligently enforced, as the Portuguese attacked the fort of Moar situated about thirty miles to the eastward of Malacca. This position was defended by about eight hundred Malays, who had latterly caused much annoyance to the Portuguese by their repeated and desultory attacks, but who were compelled to evacuate their position with immense loss, leaving their ordnance in

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the hands of the victors, who returned to Malacca after having destroyed the works.

A. D. 1519. Heg. 925. Mahomed still persevered in his blockade of Malacca, but the Portuguese, being seasonably reinforced by Garcia de Sa, now became the assailants, attacked the enemy's entrenched camp and, driving him before them, compelled him to retreat precipitately to Bintang.

A. D. 1521. Heg. 928. Two years subsequent to this, George de Brito being killed by the Achinese in a tumult excited by his basely endeavoring to plunder one of their temples, which was reputed to contain considerable wealth, his brother, Antonio de Brito, succeeded to the command of the squadron, which was composed of nine ships, and destined for the Moluccas. Having fallen in with George Albuquerque at Malacca, the two commanders combined their forces for an attack upon that indefatigable enemy of the Portuguese, the king of Bintang. The celebrated Lacsamana, however, not only defeated them with great loss and disgrace, but succeeded, during the subsequent chace, in capturing one of Albuquerque's vessels, who was endeavoring to make the best of his way to Malacca, whilst his co-adjutor, De Brito, was crowding all sail for the Moluccas.

A. D. 1523. Heg. 930. The king of Bintang sent a powerful fleet against Malacca, and defeated the Portuguese in a naval action in the river Moar. The king of Pahang, who had hitherto been on friendly terms with the Portuguese, seeing that success was not invariably their por-

tion, and that the tide of success was now setting with the king of Bintang, suddenly changed his line of policy. Without the formality of a declaration of war, he attacked three vessels, which Albuquerque, trusting to his neutrality, had sent to his port for the purpose of procuring provisions, of which the garrison of Malacca stood greatly in need; two of the captains and thirty men fell in this treacherous attack, whilst the third, and the remainder of the crew, delayed their fate but a little longer by escaping to Java, where the same scene of treachery was re-enacted.

Meanwhile, the investment of Malacca was vigorously maintained by the king of Bintang. The fleet was commanded by the redoubtable Lacsamana, and the whole of the force under him consisted of twenty thousand men: a renegade Portuguese commanded the land forces, whose numerical strength amounted to sixty thousand men. The Portuguese, who were already suffering from famine, and weakened by the absence of the crews which they had despatched for provisions to Pahang whence they vainly expected their return, were obliged to witness from the shore the burning of one of their vessels then lying in the roads, without being able to make an effort to rescue it; nay, they were A. D. 1525. Heg. compelled to endure yet greater 930.

humiliation, for two vessels, sent by the Governor to disperse the enemy's fleet, were obliged to strike the flag of Portugal to it.

At this critical juncture, which seemed to portend the total extinction of the infant Portuguese

domination of Malacca, Alphonzo de Sosa arrived with re-inforcements and relieved the city. Defensive measures were now exchanged for offensive operations. The new commander, in his turn, blockaded the Lacsamana in the Moar river; and, leaving a sufficient force to maintain the blockade, sailed with the remainder of his fleet for Pahang. He found the roads full of shipping, amongst which were several Javanese trading vessels of considerable size, these he destroyed along with those of Pahang, inflicting a severe, but not uncalled for, retaliation on these nations for their treachery. Still sweeping on like a ruthless meteor, he appeared suddenly before the town of Patani with fire and sword, indiscriminately murdering the inhabitants, and reducing every building to a heap of ashes.

This summary proceeding appears to have had a withering and intimidating effect upon the confederate native princes; for a period of peace, A. D. 1526. Heg. 933. amounting to nearly three years, seems to have ensued, which was first interrupted by the Portuguese themselves, who, under Mascarenas, the Governor General of India, sailed against Bintang with a fleet of twenty one ships, having on board four hundred Portuguese and six hundred Malay auxiliaries. The Lacsamana, with his wonted gallantry, boarded one of the Portuguese galleys, and was on the point of capturing it, when Mascarenas, in person, came to the aid of the vessel, and succeeded in repelling the attack.

The Governor General now stormed the capital of Bintang; and, notwithstanding that the works,

which were by no means contemptible, were defended by the Lacsamana in person with seven thousand men, carried them with the loss of *three* men, whilst that of the vanquished amounted, according to the Portuguese account, to four hundred killed, two thousand prisoners, and *three hundred* pieces of ordnance.* This disparity of numbers is totally incredible, especially when we consider that the party which suffered so severely was fighting under cover, an advantage of which the assailants were destitute, unless a wanton and indiscriminate massacre ensued after the storming of the works. The town was given up to pillage and finally razed to the ground, king Mahomet retiring to the main land, where he re-established himself, but soon after died, his end being hastened by his misfortunes. For the three years succeeding the demise of this unwearied enemy, the Portuguese appear to have been at peace, but we now find the king of Achin, A. D. 1529. Heg. Ala-ed-din Shah, who this year 935. ascended the throne, plotting with some of the inhabitants of Malacca for the massacre of the Portuguese. The conspiracy was detected in time by the Governor and the principal *intriguants* executed. The king of Achin, nevertheless, contrived to lull the suspicions of the Portuguese who in consequence 930. A. D. 1530. Heg. despatched an embassy to him. By a piece of foul treachery on the part of the Achinese the ship which conveyed the ambassador and his suite was attacked and captured and every one

* I have before hinted that the ordnance, mentioned by the early Portuguese historians, comprizes nothing but swivels and wall pieces.

on board barbarously put to death in cold blood.*

Encouraged by this success, the king of Achin determined to attempt the conquest of Malacca, and accordingly plotted with the Shahbandur, or Intendant, of that port; but, the intrigues of the latter being seasonably discovered, he reaped the fruits of his meditated treachery by being hurled headlong from one of the castle windows.

A. D. 1537. Heg. 943. The king of Achin made two attacks this year upon Malacca, in the first of which he was driven off by a vigorous sortie of the garrison; and, being as unsuccessful in the second, withdrew to Achin.

The Governor of Malacca, Don Estevan de Gama, on his part, reduced and sacked the town of Johore.

A. D. 1547. Heg. 954. The year 1547 was distinguished by the arrival of the celebrated Saint Francis de Xavier at Malacca, and a formidable attack of the king of Achin, who brought a fleet of sixty† large gallies, with an army of five thousand men,‡ of whom a regiment of Turkish Janissaries, five hundred strong, was the flower. Although the garrison at this period (October) was very weak in point of numbers, the Achinese were compelled to re-embark and weigh anchor, but in their retreat destroyed two Portuguese vessels lying in the roads ready for sea. Falling

* The principal portion of these earlier historical details is necessarily gathered from Crawford's Indian Archipelago.

† De Faria.—According to Crawford, seventy.

‡ De Faria. Crawford says, one hundred thousand, a number by far too large to be contained in the seventy gallies, although 5,000 is probably considerably below the mark. Perhaps 15 or 20,000 may be as near the estimate as any.

in with seven fishermen of the port of Malacca, they cut off their feet, ears, and noses, and with their blood wrote a challenge to a sea fight to the Portuguese commander, George de Melo.

This he was at first unwilling to accept, as he had only eight small vessels, but, being encouraged by St. Francis de Xavier he got them ready for sea, meanwhile he was joined by two galliots under the command of Diego Suarez de Melo, and his son Balthasar, having two hundred and thirty men on board, commanded A. D. 1517. Heg. 954. by Don Francisco Deza, and, thus strengthened, he set sail in quest of the Achinese fleet, which he found at the latter end of December in the river Parlas in Sumatra and, after an obstinate resistance succeeded in destroying, sinking, and capturing nearly the whole of the vessels. The Achinese are stated to have lost four thousand men, and the Portuguese only twenty five in this action.

Malacca, doomed not to remain A. D. 1550-51. Heg. 957-58. long at peace, was again threatened by a powerful confederacy, raised by Ala-ed-din Shah, who had succeeded his father Mahomed, the ex-king of Malacca, on the throne of Johore, and was resolved to make a strenuous effort for the recovery of his hereditary dominions. He persuaded the Queen of Japara in Java, and several princes of the adjacent Malayan states to join the league, and invested Malacca with a powerful fleet and army. The garrison again suffered the extremity of famine, and the town was on the eve of surrendering, when the enemy, struck with a sudden panic, occasioned probably by the

fall of the veteran and gallant Lacsamana, and his son-in-law, both of whom were killed, raised the blockade and retreated with precipitation.

A. D. 1567. Heg. Mansur Shah, a native of the
975.

Malayan state of Perak on the Peninsula, this year ascended the throne of Achin and proved one of the most unwearied enemies that the Portuguese had hitherto had to cope with. He joined in the league formed by the powers of Western India against the Portuguese, in consequence of which he sent a fleet and army against Malacca, of which he himself in the following year assumed command, but was com-

A. D. 1568. Heg. pelled to retire after losing four
976.

He sustained another signal defeat during the

A. D. 1569. Heg. next year, a single Portuguese man
977.

of war dispersing the whole fleet though commanded by himself in person.

Two years afterwards, he again measured his

A. D. 1579. Heg. strength with his European antago-
979.

nists, and sent a fleet to attack that under the Portuguese Admiral, Louis de Melo, but was defeated near Malacca with great loss.

The following year, having again entered into

A. D. 1572. Heg. a league with the princes of West-
980.

ern India, the king of Achin made another attack upon Malacca with a numerous army, but was compelled to retire in consequence of the defeat of his fleet by Tristan de la Vega.

He then formed an alliance with the queen of

A. D. 1573. Heg. Japara in Java and made another
981.

unsuccessful attempt upon Malacca. His ally, the queen of Japara, now appeared

before Malacca with a fleet of forty A. D. 1574. Heg.
 five junks and an army of fifteen ^{982.}
 thousand men but, after having besieged it for
 three months, was compelled to abandon her ob-
 ject. With an indomitable spirit the king of
 Achin, made a sixth attack upon A. D. 1575. Heg.
 Malacca with a larger force than he ^{983.}
 had ever before assembled for the purpose; but,
 when on the eve of taking the town, which was
 defended by no more than one hundred and fifty
 men, was suddenly panic struck and retired from
 before the place. The Portuguese have a Po-
 pish legend to the effect that the Virgin Mary
 appeared in the clouds and terrified the Achinese.

This year the king of Achin made A. D. 1582. Heg.
 another unsuccessful attack upon ^{990.}
 Malacca, which was his final effort, A. D. 1585. Heg.
 as three years afterwards he, his ^{993.}
 queen, and several of the principal nobility were
 murdered by the Commander in Chief, and the
 grandson of Mansur Shah, generally styled Sul-
 tan Bujang, or the lad, nominally succeeded him;
 although his reign was very brief, A. D. 1588. Heg.
 being subsequently murdered by ^{997.}
 the same individual, who now usurped the throne.

We have no further account of Malacca for
 twenty-seven years. during which period two
 other European powers, destined to play a con-
 spicuous part in the politics of the Archipelago
 had obtained a footing there, and a wider field
 was consequently opened for the historian. At
 this period Iskandar Mudah, who had ascended
 the throne after him in 1610, led an A. D. 1615. Heg.
 expedition against Malacca which ^{1024.}

consisted of a numerous fleet and sixty thousand men, but was defeated before he could effect a landing. He appears to have been considerably dispirited by the issue of this attack as he made but one other attempt on Malacca, and that a

A. D. 1628. Heg. 1038. final one, thirteen years afterwards,

and in this he not only totally lost his fleet and army but had the mortification of having his Lacsamana taken prisoner. He subsequently

A. D. 1635. Heg. 1045. wreaked his vengeance

on the nation, by imprisoning their ambassador, and murdering all the Portuguese in the vicinity of his court.

A. D. 1640, Heg. 1050. A few years after this occur-

rence, the Dutch determined to attempt the conquest of Malacca, and the king of Achin sent twenty five gallies to assist them.

The town however did not fall into their hands until 1642, after it had sustained a siege and a blockade of five months. This was a fatal blow to the Portuguese who never recovered their footing in this quarter of the globe.

As it will now be necessary to treat of the interior states of the Peninsula, viz. Rumbow, Sungei Ujong, Johol, and Nanning, which, although they were established shortly after Malacca was founded, were up to this period unmixed with its politics, I must now commence another chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Native states of Rumbow, Sungei Ujong, Johol, and Nanning—How peopled—Nanning conquered by the Portuguese—Titles of the Chiefs of these states—Disturbed state of Nanning under the Dutch—Policy pursued by the latter—Five Nanningites plot the destruction of Government—Conspiracy detected—Dutch cruelties—Nanning revolts—Wanton massacre of some Nanning peasantry by the Dutch—Gampa de Langha inveigles away the concubine of the Rajah of Johore, and flees to Nanning, where he is put to death, and the concubine restored—Dutch conclude a treaty with Rumbow and Colong—Rajah of Johore assigns over his authority over Rumbow, Johol, &c. to the Dutch—French and Dutch combined fleets capture an English merchantman at Rhio—The Rajah Moodah of Rhio declares war against the Dutch for a breach of faith—The Dutch attempt the conquest of Rhio, and are defeated—The Rajah of Salangor joins the Rajah Moodah—The two princes on the point of taking Malacca, when a Dutch fleet arrives—The Rajah Moodah is killed and the Rajah of Salangor retires—The Dutch conquer Rhio—The English settle at Pinang—Wrest Malacca and its dependencies from the Dutch, and restore Rhio to the Malays—Malacca restored to the Dutch, who obtain Rhio from the Rajah Moodah—Singapore founded by the English—succession of Rhio and Linggin—The rightful Chief deprived of his crown by native intrigue—The Bandharra of Pahang, intending to assist him, is prevented by the British Resident of Malacca—Efforts fruitlessly made by the British Government of Singapore to obtain possession of the Regalia—Treaty of Singapore signed—The regalia forcibly obtained by the Dutch—Barbarous treatment of Inchi Oowan Saban by the Resident of Rhio—Final separation of Rhio from Malacca.

THE boundaries of these four states, viz. Rumbow, Soongie Ujong, Johol, and Nanning fall to be

detailed in a subsequent portion of these pages, at a period when their demarcation becomes a matter of more importance; at present it will suffice to state that they are placed in juxta position with Malacca. Their chiefs originally emigrated from Menangkabow in Sumatra, and received grants of land from the Sulthaun of Johore, which kingdom, my readers may recollect, was founded by the Malays under Mahomed Shah the second, on his expulsion from Malacca by the Portuguese A. D. 1511.

The following honorary titles were conferred on each chief by the Sulthaun of Johore. The Panghooloo, or chief, of Soongie Ujong was styled Dattoo Calanah Pootasah, in virtue of which designation he and his successors have taken precedence of the other three states, being styled "the elder brother," and the proprietary right in the soil is said also to be superior. He of Rumbow, the next in dignity, and at present the most powerful, was styled Maharajah, and the Panghooloo of Johol, Seitiga Maharajah.

The title of the Panghooloo of Nanning is at present Si Rajah Merah, the origin of which shall be related in its proper place. At present I must pursue the train of events according to their historical arrangement. This district was conquered in 1511 by the Portuguese, who advanced as far as Padang Chashar, where an action took place, and the tumulus raised over the Portuguese, who fell in the struggle, to this day marks the boundary between Rumbow and Nanning. When the Dutch conquered Malacca, Nanning formed part of the acquisition, and became

involved with that power almost immediately afterwards, for we find in their records that on the 8th of August of the year following their conquest, they equipped a force of two hundred Netherlands soldiers, and an irregular A. D. 1641. Heg. Militia, composed of Sailors, clerks, 1051.

Portuguese, &c. in order to quell the refractory spirit of the Nanningites. Four elephants, each carrying a swivel, were intended to accompany the troops, but the measures of the council were disconcerted by the sudden arrival of two messengers bearing a letter from the Rajah of Johore. Although the missive was of a friendly character, the suspicions of the Dutch were at once aroused, and they construed, with apparently good reason, the appearance of these individuals to arise from their coming in the character of spies to ascertain how far their strength would enable them to wage a foreign war, and at the same time defend their own newly acquired dominion. The Rajah of Johore being too powerful for the Dutch to venture on converting him into an enemy, which they apprehended would be the result of their marching against the Nanningites, the expedition was postponed, for which decision an additional reason was found in the espousal of that tribe's cause by the people of Rumbow.

In 1643. 44. the lawless state of A. D. 1643. 44. the districts of Mullikei, Ynac, and Heg. 1053. 54. Purlies, in the Nannings territory, attracted the notice of Government, and in consequence of the succession of instances of murder and rapine, a Council was convened at Malacca to take the same into consideration. One of the Chiefs, named Merah Tuan Lella Maharajah, had been banished from

the whole of the territories subject to Malacca, and Rajah Merah had been appointed to succeed him. But the Menangkabows, or descendants of the followers of a young prince, who had in the past ages come over from Sumatra and wooed and won the youthful princess of * Johore, were displeased at such an innovation, conceiving the banishment of Merah Tuan Lella Maharajah to be a severer punishment than his alledged offences merited; they consequently refused to obey the orders of Rajah Merah on the plea that he was unacquainted with their peculiar customs.

These various causes induced the Council to pass a resolution to the effect that it was requisite that either that body, or some qualified individual deputed in its stead, should proceed to Nanning with the view of persuading the Menangkabows to adopt that agricultural and peaceful mode of life to which the fertility of the soil naturally invited them, as well as to survey the country and administer justice. It is somewhat amusing to observe with what ease this resolution was carried, there not being one dissentient vote, whilst the second and more important portion of it, viz. as to who should carry the same into effect was warmly debated. The Council, for its part, would willingly have undertaken the task, but it happened, by some curious and unexplained coincidence, that there was such a press of public business at Malacca at this juncture that not one of those who had voted for the visit could be spared. A second resolution was accordingly passed, by virtue of

* Vide Sir S. Raffles' papers published by his widow.

which, Mynbeer Snoucg, the Senior Merchant, was decreed the glory of introducing the Arts and Sciences into the wilds of the interior.

To the consternation, however, of the Council M. Snoucg declined the proffered honor, on which, after various futile attempts to shake his determination, a meeting was held at which a vote of censure was passed upon the said gentleman, and, because "Mynbeer Snoucg brings in various excuses, saying that he A. D. 1643. 44. is unwell, and that the road to Heg. 1653. 54. Nanning is impassable, and that his legs are bad, and that he is not a proficient in the Malay language, and that he requests an interpreter may be allowed him," the Council had no alternative but to venture their own persons, taking with them a guard of 180 men, consisting of 50 Dutch, 60 Malacca soldiers (probably descendants of the Portuguese,) and the remainder, armed peons, &c. The party, however, met with no opposition, but on the contrary were received with every mark of respect, and the following articles were agreed to by the Nanning leaders.

First. The removal of Inchi Wadat, the Panghooloo of Mullikei, from his office and the appointment of a successor.

Second. That the inhabitants should keep the river from Pangkallang Mouar clear and navigable for boats.

Third. That the tenth of the produce of the paddy, or rice, fields should be paid annually either in money or in kind.

Fourth. That Rajah Merah and the Chiefs, or Sookoos should make their appearance either personally, or by deputy, for the purpose of pay-

ing homage—(here the document is effaced but from other papers I conclude the wanting word to be “annually.”)

Fifth. That the inhabitants should be summoned by beat of Gong by Rajah Merah in order

A. D. 1643. 44. to ascertain whether they had any
Heg. 1059. 54. of them just cause of complaint.

*Any individual, preferring a frivolous and vexatious
one, to be punished.*

Sixth. That written instructions should be furnished to Rajah Merah and the Sookoos, pointing out the most advisable line of conduct for them to adopt, and the limits of their authority.

Some objection was made to the Second Article by the inhabitants, who proudly asserted that “though subjects, they were not slaves.” The Government on this pointed out to them that it was only a small portion of the river, which they were required to keep clear, the Dutch being at the expense of the remainder—that it would be of material advantage to their commerce, &c. &c. The Nanningites then objected that their houses were situated at a considerable distance from the banks of the river, and that it would therefore be inconvenient to them: this was answered by the Government enlarging on the distance which they had come (*thirteen miles in three days*) and the great personal inconvenience which they had sustained in a trip originated solely by a paternal anxiety for the prosperity and happiness of this portion of their subjects, whereupon, we are informed, that they all “with one consent and
A. D. 1643. 44. “loud voice exclaimed, ‘The will
Heg. 1059. 45. “of the Governor be done.’”

The Dutch authorities then ordered Rajah Merah to summon all the people to deliberate on the articles afresh, and, whilst they were thus engaged, the politic Europeans employed themselves in rapidly surveying and noting the capabilities of the country. The cursory glance, which they were thus enabled to take, convinced them that a large proportion of the land lying waste and uncultivated was well adapted for the production of pepper to which they were anxious that the inhabitants should direct their attention. The extent and capabilities of the land are very great even at the present day, but the price of pepper is not high enough to remunerate the expence and labor incident to its cultivation.

It will be evident from what follows that, however much the Dutch may attempt to gloss over this their first transaction with the inhabitants of Nauning, their conduct was marked by the same duplicity and oppression which have distinguished their proceedings in every portion of the Archipelago, in which they have ever obtained a footing. The third Article of the Agreement (it cannot be termed a Treaty) has been in existence now for nearly two hundred years, and, although thus sanctioned by antiquity, is nearly as obnoxious and unpalatable as ever. When we consider that the poor peasantry, besides paying this tenth to Government are obliged to contribute to the support of their Panghooos and Soukoos, we shall not wonder that this tax has been resisted whenever they conceived that they could do so with any chance of success: their submission to its imposition in the commencement may be easily

accounted for by the hopeless feeling they entertained of resisting a nation, which had subdued those conquerors whose yoke they had vainly attempted to break during nearly a century and a half.

When the weaker party has no chance of success in an open struggle, the innate hatred of oppression, uncontrolled by higher principles, dictates a resort to less honorable means; thus on the 7th August 1644 a plot laid by five Malays, A. D. 1644. Heg. inhabitants of Nanning, to set the town of Malacca on fire, and murder the Members of Council was seasonably revealed by one of the party, a slave of the name of Patch-lur. A somewhat similar project, conceived by Mutius, has been landed in every age as an act of heroism because he was a *Roman*, a name with which habit has accustomed us to associate every thing that is noble. Had he lived later and been termed an *Italian*, or had the action been recorded of a *Malay*, the same force of prejudice would have linked the epithet of treachery with the deed.

The Dutch, to whose bosoms generosity appears to have been a stranger, resorted to their usual practice of savage intimidation. The A. D. 1644. Heg. page, in which the plot is recorded, rises up in judgement against them, for the pen has there traced that the principal conspirator was *tortured to death*, and his body gibbeted; two others were beheaded and quartered, and the parts exposed in conspicuous places; whilst the fourth had in addition his head exposed on a gibbet: the fifth, the slave, was pardoned on account of his having

given the information, and pleaded that his master had compelled him to join the party.

It is probable that the atrocity of this revenge, so far from quelling the spirit of the Malays, stimulated them to action, for not only Nanning, but Rumbow and Johore, assumed a warlike attitude. The Dutch, following their maxim of "*Divide et impera*," concluded a treaty with the latter state, in order that their hands might be more at liberty to crush the nearer and less powerful ones of Rumbow and Nanning, whose parties harassed the outskirts of Malacca, notwithstanding flying detachments were constantly sent in pursuit of them.

On the 17th of November of the A. D. 1644. Heg. same year. Nanning was split into 1654. two factions, one party having been induced to declare for the Dutch, whilst the other wished to attack the fortress and plunder the town in order to relieve themselves from a famine, (the effects of a long drought) from which they were suffering considerable extremities, being greatly in want of rice and salt (the two staple articles of Malayan food) and gunpow- A. D. 1644. Heg. 1654. der. These they imported from Mouar at a very high rate. A runaway slave informed the Dutch that these latter had assembled a body of a thousand men, amongst whom there were sixty firelocks.

In consequence of this information, the Council met for deliberation, and were informed by Mr. Fruitman that a road to Nanning and Rumbow through Mullikei, which afforded easy ingress

to the interior, had been discovered a short time previously. On the 25th of November the Governor proposed to Council the measure of sending an expedition against "the traitorous and merciless Menangkabows." A force was accordingly despatched under the command of L. Fursten, which started either in December 1644, or A. D. 1645. Heg. January 1645, but was surprised 1055. and cut to pieces by the combined forces of Nanning and Rumbow, on the 5th of January whilst it was conjectured that the Rajah of Johore had rendered underhand assistance, maugre the treaty which he had signed. The Dutch, on the receipt of this disastrous intelligence at the hands of one or two who had escaped the slaughter, took the alarm, repaired their fort and raised a militia.

No attack, however, was made upon the settlement, which appears to have remained undisturbed by external aggressions for about seven years, when it is recorded that the Nanning Chiefs put A. D. 1652. Heg. to death the son-in-law of Rajah 1062. Merah, (the obnoxious Chieftain forced on them by the Dutch Government) in a summary manner for having attempted the life of his father-in-law and wife. This act was in strict accordance with the method of administering justice which had ever prevailed among them prior to Dutch interference, and in itself was highly disinterested, as they thus punished an attempt which, had it been crowned with success, would have delivered them from the control of an individual, whom they rightly esteemed to be a creature of the Dutch. The latter, notwithstanding,

deemed it an arrogation of authority, and sent a sharp reprimand, whereon the Chiefs confessed that they had overstepped their authority. No occurrence worthy of note is to be met with for a period of twelve years, when in A. D. 1664. Heg. expedition under the command of 1072.

Mr. Fruitman, the Secretary to Government, was despatched against the Nanningites. This party having fallen in with twenty-six peaceable villagers driving a large herd of buffaloes home to their stalls in the cool of the evening, wantonly fired a volley into them, thereby killing two individuals. The poor and unoffending survivors made their escape, bearing away, it is supposed, one of their unfortunate friends as only one body was found, the head of which *the victorious troops* cut off and bore in triumph to Malacca. The Governor and Members of Council, instead of reprobating this dastardly outrage, actually passed a Resolution to the effect that "they were perfectly satisfied with the favorable termination of this expedition, as the result, they trusted, would be productive of much good, and intimidate the rebellious Menangkabows from disturbing the tranquillity of Malacca."* In September of this year the Panghooloo of Nanning obtained per- A. D. 1679. Heg. mission of the Dutch Government 1088. to enter into an alliance with Rumbow, and in 1701 Nanning was ceded to the A. D. 1701. Heg. Dutch by what was termed a Trea- 1111. ty of Protection.

* I am afraid that my readers may be inclined to suspect me of endeavoring in the foregoing paragraph to throw ridicule and obloquy on the Dutch. I must therefore assure them that it is nearly a literal translation of their own account of the proceeding, and not at all heightened in the details.

Notwithstanding the proud feelings and quick sense of shame entertained by the Malays, who will not submit to opprobrious epithets, much less a blow, from even their own princes, we find it recorded in the transactions of this period that the Dutch degraded the Malay writer of Nanning from his situation, inflicted on him corporal punishment, and sentenced him to perpetual banishment of eight miles from the fortress, for "having treacherously wounded our Juristulis, (native writer), Ancha Amman."

The Panghooloo of Nanning, Orang Kaya Sing Rajah Merah tendered his resignation, the same year, of the dignity on account of his increasing age and infirmities: it was accepted and his brother, Sing Maharajah, received the seal of the Company as the insignia of his office, but the inhabitants refused to obey the new Panghooloo, or Captain as the Dutch termed him, and the country altogether was in such an unsettled and lawless state as to be brought to the notice of Council. The Captain of Malays was directed to proceed to Nanning with Sing Maharajah and the Interpreter, and proclaim the authority of the former, a measure which apparently had the desired effect.

Pursuing the narrative of events, we find that in 1720 the Captain, or Panghooloo, of Nanning prevented the boats of his people from passing down the river, and oppressed the inhabitants to such an extent by the imposition of illegal taxes and fines as to call forth a severe reprimand from the Dutch Government.

The following year, the people of A. D. 1721. Heg-
Nanning informed the Government. 1131.
that the son of the king of Menangkabow was at
Sri Menantie with the view of giving battle to the
Buggiesses, and that there was a rumour that he
intended making incursions into Nanning, where-
fore they requested arms and ammunition in order
to defend themselves. The Dutch, who natural-
ly concluded that these arms would be employed
in a very different way, replied, that; "as they
were Company's subjects," they might dismiss all
apprehensions, but warned them to give Govern-
ment the earliest intimation of any approach to a
hostile attitude on the part of the Prince.

It was somewhere about this pe- A. D. 1721. Heg-
riod, although I cannot fix the pre- 1131.
cise year, that the title of Sri Rajah Merah, to
which I have previously alluded, was conferred
on the Panghooloo of Nanning by the Rajah of
Johore, and the circumstance, whence it was de-
rived, is thus traditionally recorded.

One Gampada Langha, a Portuguese, having
inveigled away a concubine of the Rajah of
Johore, fled with her to Nanning. The incensed
prince addressed a letter to Inchi Aroom, the
then Captain Malay* of Malacca, (a man possess-
ed of considerable general, as well as local, influ-
ence, requiring that the offender should be put to
death. Inchi Aroom in cosequence took a man,
of the name of Joowana Lengang, into his coun-
cils, who agreed to assassinate Gampada Langha,

* The Dutch have in their Eastern Colonies raised an individual of
each nation residing under their authority to the count of his own Class.
These are termed "Captain China," "Captain Malay," &c: according
to their country, and receive a small stipend monthly, in return for
which they are held responsible for the good behaviour of their people.

which he accordingly did, and restored the concubine to her master through the medium of Inchi Aroom. The Sulthau, in testimony of his gratitude, conferred upon Joowana Lengang the title of Si Rajah Merah, accompanied by a present of a sword, and a silk Badjoo (or honorary dress) and two slaves, a boy and a girl. On the demise of the Panghooloo of Nanning, Si Rajah Merah, although not of the tribe to which the office of Panghooloo had been previously confined, was appointed, through the influence of the Captain Malay, to succeed him, and the office has ever since continued in his family, the sword and Badjoo passing from each Panghooloo to his successor. It is singular that this transaction, although so intimately connected with the Dutch Government, appears to have been unnoticed by them. A gold headed stick was also presented to the Panghooloo at this inauguration, to which the Dutch added, a silver seal with their Company's arms.

A. D. 1744. Heg. 1155. In 1744 the tenth of the produce having fallen to two hundred gantangs* annually, it was commuted in 1746 to 400 gantams as a tribute in lieu of being levied as a tenth, but one half of this was remitted on account of the poverty of the inhabitants until 1776 when the whole was levied, and the same amount ever afterwards furnished.

A. D. 1760. Heg. 1171. In this year the Dutch concluded a Treaty with the Rajahs of Rumbow and Colong, the principal stipulations of which were, the securing of the monopoly of tin

* About a gallon measure.

to the former at the rate of thirty-eight Spanish Dollars per Bahar of three Piculs;* the suppression of piracy; the admission of the right of the Dutch to station a vessel at the mouth of the Linggy river, for the purpose of preventing the smuggled export of tin; and the observance of a strict neutrality, whatever might be the cause of quarrel between the Dutch and the other native powers: in return for these important concessions, the Dutch promised them their protection.

We learn by a letter addressed by the Governor in Council at Malacca to the Governor General of Batavia, written in 1768, that the principal revenues of Malacca at this period were derived from the customs, and that tin was also a source of considerable profit, although less productive than formerly, a circumstance attributed to the importations being less of late years, and to remedy which it was recommended that the native chiefs should be compelled to observe the Dutch monopoly more rigidly, and to part with their tin at a lower rate.

When it is borne in mind that these chiefs were already powerfully influenced by the dread of Dutch vengeance, and would therefore have rather brought the article to this monopolizing mart at a moderately remunerating price, than have incurred the risk which they would have done by disposing of it to others who could not protect them, we should be tempted to wonder at the cool atrocity of this proposition, were it not that spoliation, and violence, when connected with Dutch Colonial administration,

* A Picul is equal to 135lbs, avoirdupois.

have long ceased to form matter of surprise. A government, which waged an iniquitous warfare against the inhabitants of the Moluccas "*for selling their cloves to other strangers,*" need not blush at any inferior shade of guilt.

A. D. 1761. Heg. 1171. In 1761 several irregularities and deliberate murders having been committed in Nanning, the Panghooloo was repeated-

A. D. 1761. Heg. 1171. ly summoned to appear at Malacca in order to answer for his conduct, but he pertinaciously refused to make his appearance. It may here be proper to observe that three years previously to this period, viz: in 1758, the Rajah of Johore assigned the nominal authority which he possessed over the states of Rumbow, Sungei Ujong, Johol, and Nanning,

to the Dutch, on condition of having the name of the Grand Seigneur erased from the public prayers recited in the mosques and his own inserted in lieu thereof. The Dutch do not appear however to have based any ulterior measures on this newly acquired authority further than concluding a Treaty with an individual of the name of Dayong Cabodia, who had been appointed Rajah over the interior by the Sulthaun of Johore, although his usual residence was at Rhio. In the treaty concluded by the Dutch with Rumbow in 1819, a reference is made to this one. The office after his death appears to have fallen into desuetude, although a close approximation to it is to be found in that of the Iyang Pertuan Besar, which falls to be noticed hereafter in its proper place.

At this period Pieter Geraldas de A. D. 1782. Heg. Brigu was the Governor of Malacca, 1194. being assisted by five other individuals as Members of Council: these were, 1st; the President of the Court of Justice; 2d; the Commanding Officer of the Troops; 3d; the Master At- A. D. 1782. Heg. tendant; 4th; the Fiscal; and 5th; 1194. the Winkellier, or Superintendant of the Company's trade. Few readers need to be reminded that a severe contest was being maintained at this epoch by the English against the united strength of the French and Dutch nations. Gerrid Pangal was also Resident of the island of Rhio, another Dutch settlement in the vicinity of Singapore, Rajah Hadgi, was the Rajah Moodah, or Iyang de Pertuan Moodah, of the same place, and Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, Sulthaun of the small island of Linggin. An English merchantman was attacked by a French man of war some where in the Indian Archipelago, but, managing to make her escape, put into Rhio for protection. It must be remembered that, although the Dutch possessed a colony here, it was as yet but in its infancy, and their authority merely nominal. The Englishman consequently relied upon the neutrality of the Rajah Moodah.

Pangal, anxious as he was to obtain the merchantman as a prize, was therefore unable to seize her without the permission of Rajah Hadgi, which he accordingly sought and obtained upon condition that he should receive a fair proportion of the booty. Pangal lost no time in communicating with the Governor of Malacca, who forth-

with despatched a fast sailing French corvette that was lying in the roads, by whom she was seized, carried to Batavia, and sold, the French A. D. 1783. Heg. and Dutch dividing the proceeds 1194. between them.

Rajah Hadgi in vain demanded his proportion of the prize, for the more powerful confederates laughed at his pretensions. Indignant at this shameless breach of agreement by the Dutch, A. D. 1783. Heg. who were *nationally* concerned in 1195. it, the disappointed Rajah Moodah declared war against them the following year. To meet this declaration Francis Lenckner, the President of the Court of Justice, was despatched to Rhio from Malacca at the close of the year in command of about seventeen small vessels and six hundred troops, a most incongruous appointment for a man of law. Lenckner's expedition terminated as might have been foreseen. He was not only totally defeated, and obliged to crowd all-cavass in his retreat, taking with him the settlers of Rhio, but also to leave behind one of his vessels, which had been stranded on the bar, and could not be floated off.

Flushed with this success, Rajah Hadgi determined the ensuing year to attack A. D. 1784. Heg. Malacca; he therefore equipped a 1196. fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, carrying a large body of men, with which A. D. 1784. Heg. he sailed for the Moar River. 1196.

The Dutch, as timorous in the hour of peril, as they had been perfidious when the rule of the strongest was theirs, despatched one of their number, Abraham D'Wind, a gentleman whose influ-

ence with the natives was very considerable, to expostulate with the exasperated Rajah Moodah, and deprecate his vengeance. But if the Dutch really hoped that they could again cajole him, they were quickly undeceived by the rapid return of their ambassador, who accounted himself but too happy in having been able to effect his escape with his life.

Rajah Hadgi, having weighed anchor, now came off Katapang, a small village situated about five miles easterly of Malacca, and opposite the Water islands; here he disembarked and erected a stockade on the seashore, in which he took up his Head Quarters, having with him about 1,000 armed followers, and 300 women. Close to this village is a spot called Poongoor, where Mr. D'Wind had a house and grounds, but, the communication between it and Malacca being merely a narrow footpath leading through a dense jungle, Rajah Hadgi was convinced that regular troops would never think of passing through so dangerous a defile as long as there were more eligible points of attack. He therefore left the stockade open on this face,* throwing up a simple *paggah*, or stout bamboo fence, in lieu of it: as an additional source of security he advanced a party to Mr. D'Wind's house.

Mean while, the Rajah of Salangore an independent state about forty miles to the westward of Malacca, who had married a daughter of Rajah Hadgi, sailed up the Linggy river, which disem-

* One side of a Malayan Stockade is always left open for the convenience of retreat, as the defenders never wait for the bayonet. As this side is generally resting on the jungle, and all the paths, except those they retreat by, are planted with ranjows, their loss is generally trifling, being screened by their works from the enemy's fire in the first instance, and safe from pursuit in the second.

bogues itself about 25 miles from Malacca, and having captured some Malacca Klings (or natives of Coromandel) who were residing at Rumbow, returned down the river; he then sailed along the coast, reducing the whole country to the westward as far as Tanjong Kling, seven miles from Malacca.

At the period of which I am treating, the now populous neighborhood of Tranqueirah, which forms the western suburb of Malacca, consisted merely of a few houses spotted here and there in a thick jungle, which was peculiarly favorable for the operations of a Malayan enemy; the Dutch, thus beleaguered both eastward and westward, were unable to prevent the approach of the Rajah of Salangore to the second Tranqueirah bridge which is only about one mile from the fort of Malacca, whilst Rajah Hadgi advanced as far as Oojong Passir, the whole of the country to the northward, as far as Pangkallang Rammah, being also in the hands of the confederates.

At this crisis of their affairs, the Dutch were unhappily at variance amongst themselves. Togar Aboe, the commander of a 36 gun frigate, then A. D. 1784 Heg. 1196. lying in the Malacca roads, roundly charged D'Wind with treachery, and the latter was accordingly arrested. The charge not being substantiated, he was subsequently set at liberty by order of the Batavian government, and shortly afterwards the frigate accidentally blew up, thus adding to the difficulties of the Dutch.

They were at length considerably relieved by the appearance of a fleet consisting of three ships

and two brigs from Batavia under the command of Admiral Van Braam, who dropped anchor between the Water islands and Katapang on the main land and maintained a constant fire on the stockade of Rajah Hadgi, who returned it as briskly. Van Braam, taking advantage of a dark night, laid down a succession of anchors, with hawsers attached to each, between his vessels and the shore. Having on board six hundred Javanese bayonets, he landed this party about four in the morning without noise by means of the hawsers, and directed it to remain concealed at Purnoo till day-break. In order to divert the enemy's attention from that quarter, the fleet continued its cannonade until the signal was made for the attack of the land column which, falling suddenly upon the stockade, dispersed the enemy with the loss of 450 killed. Rajah Hadgi was numbered amongst the slain, having been killed by nearly the last round shot fired from the fleet.

A. D. 1784 Heg.

Directly that the Admiral saw ^{1196.} the Dutch colors flying over the stockade he landed, but, not having as yet learned the death of the Rajah, he concluded that he had marched for Malacca after having evacuated the stockade. He therefore put his troops in rapid motion for that place, but discovered the real state of affairs on arriving at Poongoor. Rajah Hadgi's body was found after some search, and brought into Malacca, where it was interred on St. Paul's hill.

The Rajah of Salangore, on learning the fate of his father-in-law, hastily retreated with the whole of his troops. Tuankoo Mahomed Ali

came over from Siak during these commotions, ostensibly to assist the Dutch, by whom he was kindly received and allotted a residence in Tranqueirah, it not being deemed prudent to admit him within the walls of the fort.

In the subsequent year the Dutch resolved to attempt the conquest of Rhio. An expedition, fitted out for this purpose, which was conducted by Mr. Christian Gotlieb Baumgarten as Commissioner, was crowned with complete success. Sulthau Mahomed Shah of Linggin, from whom opposition was apprehended, not only remained neutral during the short struggle, but consented to the Dutch remaining in possession. Moorohum Jangool was at the same time elected Iyang de Pertuan, or Rajah, Moodah.

The English this year obtained a settlement on Pulo Pinang, although they did not occupy it till 12th August 1786, at that time a barren and uninhabited island belonging to the kingdom of Kedah or Quedah, which lies at the northwestern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, and received from the first settlers, Messrs. Scott and Light, the name of Prince of Wales's island. To this important settlement I intend reverting in a subsequent chapter. Ten years subsequently, the same power wrested Malacca and its dependencies from the Dutch, and, on receiving Rhio as one of these in 1798, being ignorant of its value, restored it to the Malays. Moorohum Jangool, the Iyang de Pertuan Moodah of Rhio, dying in 1807, was

succeeded by Rajah Japhar (son of Rajah Hadgi) the present Moodah, whose eldest sister is married to Sulthaun Mahomed Shah of Linggin.

On the 21st September 1818, Malacca was restored to the Dutch, who lost time in endeavouring a third time to obtain a footing in Rhio. Mr. A. Koek was accordingly dispatched from Malacca in October the same year to treat with the Rajah Moodah for the restoration of this settlement. The Chief agreed to give it up to the Dutch for the monthly stipend of 4,000 Java Rupees, and Captain Elout was accordingly appointed Resident.

In February of the succeeding year, Sir Stamford Raffles founded the British settlement of Singapore.

The affairs of Linggin now becoming mingled with the interests of these rival settlements, I must revert a few years in order to furnish a clue for unravelling the sequel.

Sulthaun Mahomed Shah of Johore and Linggin, who was the son of Sulthaun Abdul Jalliel Shah, and grandson of Sulthaun Sleman Badneralan Shah, had four wives, the first and fourth of whom were of royal blood, and the second and third were of inferior rank. Their names are as follows. The first wife was named Unkoe Poean, and was a daughter of Abdul Majied, the Bandharra of Pahang. Her mother's name was Tuan-koo Besar. Mahomed Shah appears to have had no issue by her.

The second, named Inchi Mako, daughter of a Buggis called Inchi Japhar and his wife, Inchi

Halima, was the mother of Tuankoo Houssain, generally known as Tuankoo Long.

The third wife, like the preceding was of low extraction. Her father was a Buggis of the name of Badaar Hasaan of the Siringring blood, and her mother was Inchi Senaay of Bali, (generally known by the name of Peties), a slave to Badaar Hasaan's wife, named Inchi Sungei Barro, the daughter of the Lacsamana, Dain Toomoo, a relative of Tuankoo Pootri. This wife was the mother of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, occasionally called Tuankoo Joomahal.

The fourth wife was Tuankoo Hamida, daughter of the Viceroy, Rajah Hadgi, and Tuankoo Perah, generally called Tuankoo Pootri. She bore a daughter.

In the year 1809, Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, A. D. 1809. Heg. 1222. summoned his two sons, Tuankoo Houssain, and Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, into his presence, and addressed the former nearly as follows. "You are my first born, and, according to the law and constitution of the empire of Johore, you must succeed me on the throne. It is my earnest desire that, whilst I am yet alive, you will unite yourself in matrimony with Inchi Oowan Esa, the daughter of Inchi Oowan Kories, and sister of Inchi Oowan Alli, the present Bandharra of Pahang." Then, turning to Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, he continued, "As your turn of mind appears to be of a religious cast, I have designed you for the priesthood: you will therefore prepare yourself for a pilgrimage to Mecca."

Shortly after the Sulthaun had thus notified

his wishes to his two sons, preparations were made for the voyage of Tuankoo Houssain to Pahang, and that same year he quitted Linggin, accompanied by his father, who conducted him as far as Bulang, (one of the Battang group of islands, nearly opposite Singapore), and, as a proof of his attachment and intention that Tuankoo Houssain should succeed to the crown, the Sulthaun caused him to hoist the royal standard, he himself displaying the white flag which is emblematical of a retirement from the cares and anxieties of empire. He further invested him with the grand seal of the empire, termed in Malayese, "Chap de Rajah-an" which seal Tuankoo Houssain uses to this day.

As soon as the Sulthaun Elect had quitted Bulang in prosecution of his voyage to Pahang, Sulthaun Mahomed Shah returned *via* Rhio to Linggin, and again notified his desire that Tuankoo Abdul Rachman should proceed to Mecca by the first favourable opportunity. The Sulthaun, however, suddenly expired shortly A. D. 1810. Heg. after his arrival at Linggin, not ¹⁸²³ without strong suspicions of having been poisoned by Rajah Moodah Japhar, the second person in the empire, who was then at Linggin.

On the morning subsequent to the demise of Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, the Rajah Moodah assembled such of the chiefs as were either able or willing to attend, and thus addressed them; "Our Sulthaun is no more. He died yesterday evening, but he has left us two sons—say, which of the two will you chuse as your sovereign?" Two of the oldest and most influential of the

chiefs, named Dattoo Pengawa Bukka, and Dattoo Hadgi Peng-Hadgi, thus replied, "Agree-ably to the constitution of the Empire, the eldest son must ever be selected to fill the vacant throne. We therefore wish that Tuankoo Houssain may be proclaimed Sulthaun of Johore." Upon hearing this speech Rajah Japhar exclaimed in a peevish and discontented tone, "your wishes run exactly counter to my own." The two chiefs replied, "If your highness be desirous of acting contrary to the custom established by law, and of subverting the fundamental principles of the empire, why did you assemble us for the purpose of learning our sentiments? The desire that we have expressed is in strict accordance with the law of the state, and if A. D. 1810. Heg. 1223. "your highness, Iyang de Pertuan Moodah, persist in your endeavor to set it aside, we must solemnly protest against it as a violent infraction of the constitution."

The firm tone in which this speech was delivered, and the force of the arguments it contained, overpowered the Rajah Moodah, who quitted the council without reply, the other chiefs following him, so that the agitating question of the succession was left undecided; and, had Rajah Moodah been the only person concerned in the intrigue, it had probably fallen to the ground. But, although Tuankoo Abdul Rachman himself was thoroughly destitute of any hankering after empire, his immediate relatives eagerly thirsted after that reflected power which they would derive from his exaltation. Accordingly, two of his

uncles, named Ibrahim and Mahomed, alarmed at the indecision and agitation which Rajah Japhar had displayed, proceeded, directly that the assembly had thus abruptly broken up, to the house of their sister Inchi Mariam, Tuankoo Abdul Rachman's mother, and carried her along with them to the step sister of the Rajah Moodah, Tuankoo Boontet, both of which ladies possessed great influence with him. The whole party, accompanied by a chief, named Inchi Kaloo, called upon Rajah Moodah Japhar that evening, and eventually succeeded in binding him firmly to the cause of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, A. D. 1810. Heg. 1223. whom the junta proclaimed as sovereign that evening.

The following morning the members of the cabal proceeded to the residence of the newly elected monarch, who, having heard somewhat of the intrigues that were carrying on in his favor, had closely secluded himself since the death of his father, in the hope that when not encouraged by him they would die away. When the door of his room was opened, (Rajah Moodah is accused of having forced it) this chief thus addressed him, "The body of your late father, and our sovereign, lies still unburied. You are aware that, according to our custom, it cannot be committed to the earth, until the successor to the throne be appointed. Your brother is still absent, and who can tell when he will arrive? There is consequently no one but yourself eligible to the crown and the election has fallen unanimously on you."

Tuankoo Abdul Rachman thus replied, "my

“ father, the late sovereign, expressed his ear-
 “ nest desire that my brother Tuankoo Houssain,
 “ should succeed him according to custom, as
 “ well as that I should devote myself to the priest-
 “ hood, and with that view proceed to Mecca on
 “ pilgrimage. I dare not consequently, and posi-
 “ tively declare that I *will* not, disobey his wish-
 “ es, lest I draw down a curse from heaven, and
 “ not a blessing. I therefore request you, Rajah
 “ Japhar, to act as Regent until the return of my
 “ my brother.”

A. D. 1810. Heg. 1223. Rajah Japhar Moodah, whose real

reasons for wishing to substitute Tuankoo Abdul Rachman for his brother were that there was an existing feud between his family and that of Tuankoo Houssain, in consequence of which he feared a serious diminution of his authority in the event of that prince's succession, while the weakness and vacillation of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman's character held out to him a prospect of great power, especially as he was his own nephew, exclaimed, in a tone of apparently great surprize. “ How can I venture to assume the authority of the Sulthaun, when one of his sons is actually on the spot ?”

He was joined strongly in his remonstrances by the party, who accompanied him, and the weak and wavering Abdul Rachman, whose actions invariably took the color imparted to them by his advisers of the hour, felt his good resolves yield to the impulse of the moment, and after a few faint struggles consented to his nomination as Sulthaun.

This advantage gained, the faction was by no

means dilatory in improving it. That very evening, as many of the people of Linggin, as could be assembled together, were apprized of his election by the zealous Rajah Moodah, who rebelled in the anticipation of unlimited sway under his imbecile master. This ceremony having been undergone, the remains of the deceased Sulthaun, Mahomed Shah, were committed to the dust with all the pomp becoming his rank. On the third day subsequent to the funeral, the new Sulthaun ascended the throne of his forefathers with all the solemnities usually observed on such A. D. 1810, Heg. 1228. occasions, and received the homage of his subjects, the fealty of the Malayan nations generally going with the stream.

Let us now return to the lawful sovereign, Tuankoo Houssain, usually known under the designation of Tuankoo Long, who, having reached Pahang in pursuance of his father's commands, had landed but a few days, when the rumour reached him of his father's death. As it was merely a floating report, it did not delay his marriage, which took place within about two months of his arrival. He subsequently received an official, but pithy, account of the death of Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, from Rajah Japhar, who, craftily antedating his letter, confined himself entirely to that event making no mention of the subsequent important occurrences, and attributing the Sulthaun's death to the fatigues undergone in his trip to Bulang.

The Malays, who have been termed a maritime nation, are undeserving of that appellation in an extended sense, as they never attempt to beat against a monsoon for a distant port, and always

wait for the favorable season, when they start with a flowing sheet for their destination. The wind, that blew the news of his father's death to Tuankoo Houssain's ears, was consequently adverse to his return, and, when at length the monsoon changed in his favor, he landed at Linggin comparatively friendless, nearly all his partizans having quitted it under the new Government. His firmest adherent, Inchi Oowan Saban, the A. D. 1810. Heg. husband of his mother's sister, Tuankoo Pootri, was pining in a dungeon at Malacca for his attachment to his cause. He therefore proceeded at once to the house of his brother, Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, who not only received him with great kindness, but divulged to him the whole of the transactions which had taken place in his absence, and offered at once to abdicate in his favor. But Rajah Japhar had too great interests at stake to suffer this, and the interview between the brothers had been keenly observed by him. He had watched the fast ebbing of the current of ambition in the breast of his vacillating puppet, and he accordingly summoned the whirlwind of politics, and the full flood of self interest to efface for ever from the sand the light and mutable characters traced on it by the style of fraternal affection. No sooner therefore had Tuankoo Houssain quitted the presence than he thus addressed his nephew. "You are about to yield the crown, but beware—you forget that you must part with the treasury at the same time, whilst your brother bears such hatred to your mother, your uncle, and yourself, that, as soon as he has the power, he will deprive us of

“every thing, and perhaps banish us from the country.” This speech had the desired effect, and Abdul Rachman thence forward treated his brother with coldness and neglect.

The fourth widow of Sulthann Mahomed Shah, viz ; Tuankoo Pootri, learning the A. D. 1811. Heg. 1224. state of affairs, and being favorably inclined towards Tuankoo Houssain, summoned him to attend her at Pulo Pinigad, where she was then residing, and adopted him as her own son. It is a circumstance worthy of remark that the princes of Johore never remove their wives from the land of their birth ; thus Tuankoo Pootri, as well as the other widows of Sulthann Mahomed Shah, and the young bride of Tuankoo Houssain, remained in their respective native countries.

This year Inchi Oowan Alli, the A. D. 1816. Heg. 1229. Bandharra of Pahang, and brother-in-law of Tuankoo Houssain, reached the island of Bulang, with a force which he intended to unite with that assembling at Pulo Pinigad, under Tuankoo Houssain, who had resolved upon an appeal to arms for the recovery of his crown. Rajah Japhar, alarmed at these warlike preparations, applied to the British Resident at Malacca for his intervention, and Mr. Adrian Koek was accordingly despatched by that functionary to intimate to the Bandharra that any attempt to disturb the tranquillity of Linggia would draw down the displeasure of the British Government. This prince, perceiving that in such a case success was hopeless, abandoned his design and withdrew to Pahang.

A. D. 1819. Heg. 1232. When, however, Sir Stamford Raffles founded the British Settlement of Singapore, as that island belonged to the empire of Johore, it became a matter of paramount importance that there should be nothing to invalidate the right of Abdul Rachman, (who had ceded that island) to the throne, which was as yet far from settled as he had not been able to obtain possession of the regalia. Sulthaun Mahomed Shah had left these with Tuankoo Pootri on his last visit to Pulo Pinigad. Tuankoo Abdul Rachman made several attempts to obtain them but in vain; "Who," enquired this spirited old lady, "elected Abdul Rachman as sovereign of Johore? Was it my brother Rajah Japhar, or by what law of succession has it happened? It is owing to this act of injustice that the ancient empire of Johore is fast falling to decay."*

A. D. 1831. Heg. 1234. Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, finding all his efforts unavailing, and that his authority over his subjects was little more than nominal for want of the regalia, proceeded to Tringano, with the intention of abdicating. He there married Tuankoo Suanheet, (the sister of Sulthaun Houssain of Tringano) who died in child-bed of her first son. Sir Stamford Raffles sent over Major Farquhar to endeavour to persuade Tuankoo Pootri to give up the regalia, but she was inflexible by all the arts of diplomacy. Tuankoo Houssain, however, agreed to come over to Singapore, which he as well as the Ta-

* Tuankoo Pootri is, or was not long ago, residing in Malacca. She is a fine intelligent old lady, and her countenance lights up with great animation, when she enters on this tale of by gone years.

mungong did, and there signed, "The Treaty of Singapore," by which that island was ceded in perpetuity to the British for the A. D. 1821. Heg. monthly sum of four thousand Spa- 1234. nish dollars. The island being thus ceded by both the brothers, it became a matter of indifference to the British Government which of them succeeded to the throne of Johore.

Meanwhile, Rajah Japhar, alarmed at this renewed resolution of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman to abdicate, applied to the Java Government for its interference, and, as the Dutch settlement of Rhio was involved in the question of succession, this was promptly, though not ostensibly, afforded. A brig under Dutch colors conveyed Rajah Japhar to Tringano, and Abdul Rachman was finally persuaded to return to Linggin. The Governor of Malacca, (my readers may remember that this settlement had reverted to the Dutch in 1818), Timmerman Thyssen, accompanied by Mr. A. Koek and others, proceeded to Pulo Pini-gad, when, finding that no arguments could induce Tuankoo Pootri to resign the regalia, he had recourse to intimidation, and, it is said, marched a body of troops, with their pieces loaded, into the presence chamber. Having, by these means, obtained possession of the insignia of royalty, the Dutch Commissioners delivered them over to Tuankoo Abdul Rachman at Rhio in 1823, and that prince was solemnly invested with them to the exclusion of his brother, Tuankoo Houssain, whose party was thus rendered too weak to afford any further ground of apprehension to the

Dutch. This latter is now residing in private life at Singapore. Rajah Moodah Japhar, the prime mover in this intrigue, died at Linggin in 1832, and was followed to the grave about a month afterwards by Tuankoo Abdul Rachman. The latter was succeeded by his son, Tuankoo Mahomed Shah, now (1833) about twenty six years of age, and whose enterprising and active character forms a marked contrast to the imbecility of his father: his firmness and judgement have secured the love, as well as the respect, of his subjects.

To the Rajah Moodah no successor has as yet been appointed, as the sanction of the Dutch authorities is now requisite, although it is believed that his son will succeed him. The Dutch obtained this influential voice in the election in the following manner. After the restoration, by the English, of Malacca to the Dutch in 1818, the latter, as mentioned in page 71, again obtained possession of Rhio for the sum of Java Rupees 4,000 a month; but, finding that for an additional thousand the Rajah Moodah would willingly cede the sovereignty of the island of Bintang, increased the stipend in 1825 to five thousand rupees. By this measure, whilst they subjected the once powerful kingdom of Johore to their sway, they actually increased their revenue by the exportation of the gambier for which Bintang is so justly celebrated. The Rajah Moodah reserved two thousand rupees of this sum for his personal use, and divided the remainder amongst Tuankoo Pootri, who has figured in the foregoing pages—his brother, Rajah Drees

—the Buggis' Chief, Rajah Malawa—Dattoo Pangawa—Dattoo Shahbandar—Tuankoo Sanum—&c. &c.

It now only remains to mention the fate of Inchi Oowan Saban, the uncle of Tuankoo Housain, to whom I have already alluded, and whose treatment by the Dutch affords us a strong example of the arbitrary manner in which that nation stifles the slightest breath of censure on its measures.

On the arrival of Captain Elout at Rhio in 1819 to take charge of that settlement, and to* proclaim Abdul Rachman as Sulthann of Johore, this chief was standing amongst the crowd who were listening to the Proclamation. When he had heard it read through, he could not forbear exclaiming, "Since I find that the lawful sovereign is thus for ever thrust from his kingdom, and *that* chiefly by the interposition of foreigners, I too shall quit my country for ever!"

This speech was speedily reported to the Resident and, before the unfortunate man could reach his house, he was seized, and, without a syllable of a question being put to him, hurried on board a brig for Malacca, where on his arrival, he was in like manner, uninterrogated, thrown in to the felon's jail. For nearly six years did he languish in hopeless, solitary, captivity; until in 1825, when Malacca was about to be ceded to the British in exchange for Bencoolen, the Dutch, ashamed to shew such a damnatory proof of their cruelty and oppression, threw open his prison doors, and the victim of

* Although Abdul Rachman was not *formally* invested with the dignity by the Dutch until 1823, the latter always acknowledged him as the Sovereign of Johore, and opposed the claims of his brother.

a tortuous policy was free "with all the world before him." He is now residing in obscurity and indigence at Malacca under the more mild and generous government of the British. Prior to this exchange of settlements, viz. in 1824, Rhio was finally separated from Malacca, and has ever since continued under the Dutch administration.

As, on the English obtaining possession of Malacca, Prince of Wales's Island and Singapore were united with it under one Government, it will be necessary now to bring up the affairs of Pinang to the period of union before I proceed to detail the subsequent events connected with the British Government, and, in order to do so clearly, it will be requisite to notice many of the Malayan states. In the succeeding chapter they will merely be treated of with reference to their political relations, as I purpose to embrace the other points of interest in a subsequent portion of these pages.

CHAPTER III.

Introductory remarks—Notices of the States of Salangor, Colong, Tringano; Sulthau of Tringano refuses to pay homage to Siam—Offers the British a settlement, which is declined—Seeks an alliance with the Dutch, which is also not accepted—Callantan, formerly a Dependency of Malacca, never subjugated by Siam—Patani, Pahang, Perak.—Perak refuses to send the Bunga Mas to Siam—Kedah ordered by that power to attack it—Reluctantly does so and subjugates it—Recovered by the Rajah of Salangor—Dutch factory at Perak—English enter into a Treaty with the Rajah—Kedah formerly subject to Malacca—Repeatedly threatened by Siam—Offers a settlement to the British on condition of protection—Settlement accepted on modified terms—Remarks on the conduct of Government—Extracts from Mr. Light's letter to the Governor General—The King of Kedah's letter to the same—History of the Siamese invasion, &c.—Honorable behaviour of the Pinang Government and Mr. Crawford to the unfortunate Rajah—Major Burney's celebrated Treaty with Siam—Strictures upon it—Comparison between the two Treaties of Siam and Kedah—Sir Stamford Raffles's opinion on Siamese policy. History of Kedah continued. Tuankoo Kooden, nephew of the King of Kedah, asserts the independence of his country. Proclaimed as a Pirate by the Pinang Government. Naval action between the Siamese and Kedan fleets. H. M. S. Wolf turns the scale by pouring a broadside into the latter. Tuankoo Koodeen, after a long and brave resistance, is defeated, and destroys himself. The King of Kedah is compelled by the British Government to go to Malacca in perpetual exile. Siamese violate the treaty of Siam. Concluding remarks.

IN adverting to the settlement of Pinang, Kedah, with which it is so intimately connected, must occupy a prominent space: To treat upon this

subject dispassionately—to argue the *pros* and *cons* without reference to party—and to preserve the tone of impartiality, which should ever characterise discussions of this nature, is no easy task; but I trust, that, while the following details are borne out by sober and incontrovertible facts, no bias will be betrayed in the argument of the question—no offence wantonly given—nor lightly conceived.

I have already in my notices of Malacca alluded to the aggressory spirit of the Siamese, but, in discoursing of those states which from their greater proximity are more liable to such interference, the subject becomes more prominent, inasmuch as every record of the petty states is stained with acts of Siamese oppression. Few of these small sovereignties could hope to maintain a single-handed contest with the strength of Siam with the slightest prospect of success, and they were not sufficiently united amongst themselves to make the cause of one state that of the whole.

I must take a rapid view of some of the principal of these states.

Salangor was formed principally by an emigration from Celebes and has ever been totally independent of Siam. In 1783 this state joined its forces with those of Rhio, and blockaded Malacca, but, on the arrival in the following year of a fleet from Holland, the Rajah of Salangor fled to Pahang, whilst the Dutch seized upon his country. In 1785 he collected about two thousand people of Pahang, and surprized the Dutch garrison killing one of the sentries and the Chief,

but was driven back by the garrison, who lost eight of their number. The Dutch, however, being alarmed, embarked the next morning for Malacca, having abandoned all their military stores, &c. and the Salangor Rajah again obtained, and still retains, possession. The Dutch, nevertheless subsequently compelled him to enter into a treaty whereby the monopoly of his tin was secured to them.

Colong, a dependency of Malacca, and which was at one time one of its most flourishing settlements, was wrested from that state by Salangor. It was an early colony from Singhapura, and an independent and warlike settlement. In fact, we find in the *Malayan Annals** that Colong was not only able to defend itself, but afford powerful assistance to its tributary state † when that was threatened by the restless Siamese. The circumstances are thus abridged from the *Annals* by Mr. Anderson. "About the year 1340, "it is reported that the King of Siam, who "in ancient times was named Salien Nani, hearing that Malacca was a great country, and did "not own his allegiance, sent to demand a letter "of submission but the King of Malacca refused. "The Siamese prepared to attack Malacca, and "had reached as far as Pahang, when all the inhabitants from Mouar assembled at Malacca, "and Tuan Perak brought up the people of Colong with all the women and children." ‡ The *Annals* state that the reason for his so doing was

* Vide Leyden's *Malayan Annals*, page 121 to 124.

† I have here coined a word, but I see no reason why a word so necessary should not find admittance in the English language, though it be not in Johnson.

‡ Anderson's *Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula* p. 34.

to inspire the men with greater courage in fighting against the Siamese, and then proceed, "The men of Siam however arrived, and engaged in fight with the men of Malacca. The war continued for a long time and great numbers of Siamese perished, but Malacca was not reduced. At last, the whole Siamese army retreated;" &c. * Thus we find the people of Colong mainly instrumental in repelling an attack made by Siam on Malacca, which is an evident proof that they were by no means tributary to that state.

We will now direct our attention to another of these states, viz. Tringano on the eastern side of the Peninsula. This country had long been menaced by the Siamese, and, with a view of averting his impending fate, the Sulthaun offered the British a settlement there, as that nation was then in quest of an eligible situation for a depôt, not having, at the period I speak of, established themselves at Pulo Pinang. "About the same time he writes to the Supreme Government, 'According to the advice communicated to us through Captain Glass, we gave fair words and liberal presents to Siam, but Siam is not contented. He demands ourself, or our son, to go and do homage at the foot of his throne, and, if we do not comply with his demands, he threatens to destroy our country; there is no example or precedent from the earliest period of any prince of this country doing homage in any other manner than by letter.'"

† The Supreme Government, however, declined

* Leyden's Malayian Annals p. 124.

† Anderson's Considerations relative to the Malayian Peninsula. p. 38.

the proffered settlement, and the Siamese monarch continued to threaten the Sulthau with his vengeance. Having no hopes of assistance from the English, the latter naturally turned his eyes to the Dutch. Accordingly, we find the Sulthau, (Sulthau Thammat), in July 1792 writing to the Dutch Government to request that they would send him five brass swivels, and a hundred coyans (or eight hundred gantangs) of rice, as he was apprehensive of an attack from the Siamese. In his letter to the Resident of Rhio, we find the following paragraph; "I acquaint
 " my friend of the anxiety I feel on account of
 " the Siamese. and if the Company and my friend
 " will not assist me, I shall have no rest, for
 " the Siamese are desirous of coming and injuring
 " me—If the Company and my friend can pos-
 " sibly send Captain Levy Marcus along with
 " my people to Siam, I can at once ascertain
 " what their intentions are." On the same day he wrote a long letter to the Honorable A. Couperus, Governor of Malacca, on the same subject, in which we find the following passage;
 " I have received intelligence from Siam that
 " that nation meditates an invasion of my
 " country, and the repetition of these ru-
 " mours each succeeding year adds to my un-
 " easiness. I have omitted no method of con-
 " ciliating the Siamese, and sent a Bunga Mas,
 " or Golden Flower, with other presents, as a
 " token that I am their subject,* but my submis-

* I conceive that this expression is too strong: The M. S. from which I take this is rendered into English from the Dutch translation of the original Malay letter, neither of which last are in my possession; I conceive that the phrase should, however, be no more than, "as a token of submission," as the sending of the Bunga Mas is merely an acknowledgment of inferiority.

“ sion produces no kindness on their part. I
 “ therefore inform my friend that my conduct
 “ towards the Siamese has ever been inoffensive,
 “ as I am apprehensive that, if I receive no sup-
 “ port from the Company, I shall never enjoy
 “ the blessings of peace in my country. The
 “ Siamese attacked the Patani District in the
 “ month Dulkaida.”

(Signed) Thamát,

“ Written on the 9th day of the month Dul
 “ Hadju, 12 o'clock, which is July 1792.”

Callantan is another state which was reduced by the forces of Malacca during the reign of Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, and, although oppressed and threatened repeatedly by the Siamese, has never done more than make an acknowledgment of its inferiority.

Patani, alluded to in the letter of Sulthaun Thamát, was founded by the son of the king of Siam, and derives its name from the hut of a fisherman which was on the spot where the city was built. This fisherman had a son named Tani, whence he was called Pa-tani, or Tani's father. It maintained its independence for some time, but is now annexed as a tributary to Siam. Patani appears to have been early subjected by Siam, for an ancient author,* writing in 1639, says that, Patani having revolted from Siam some years after 1624, the Dutch assisted the Siamese with six ships to subdue the rebels. Both of these states were again attacked by Siam in 1832.

Pahang having been treated of under the head

* Mandelslo, p. 126.

of Malacca. I have now only another state to mention before I come to the notice of Kedah, viz. Perak, a country celebrated for its tin, and to which it is in fact indebted for its name, *Perah*, in Malayese, being *silver*, a metal of the same color. The original king of this country was the Bandharra of Johore, who was appointed to the sovereignty by the Sulthaun of Johore, (from whom nearly every Malayan principality originated), under the title of Sulthaun Muzaffer Shah. It was a tributary of Malacca, long prior to this event, and its affairs were administered by a Panghooloo, or minister, of that state. It however never fell under Siame-e influence until the haughty Emperor of Siam directed the king of Kedah to attack it on the score of the Rajah of Perak having refused to send the Bunga Mas. Mr. Anderson, to whose valuable work I am so much indebted for notices of these minor states, thus relates the occurrence. "The king of Quedah exhausted every topic of counsel to persuade
 " the Rajah of Perak to comply, but in vain, and,
 " in reply to the admonitions of the Penang government, the Perak chief said, 'no such custom
 " has been handed down to me from past times,
 " as the sending of the Bunga Mas either to Siam
 " or Quedah,' and positively refused compliance.
 " In another letter, he says, 'I am a king of the
 " ancient race. I am he, who holds the royal
 " sword and the dragon betelstand, and the shell-
 " fish, which came out of the sea, which came
 " down from the hill of Segantang' * and again,
 " 'I am the oldest of all the kings of these parts,

* Supposed by Mr. Anderson to be Segantang Gantang in Menangkabow, which gives this state an early origin, and proves that it was independent of Siam at the time that it was founded.

“ such as the King of Siak, Salengore, Rhio,
 “ Quedah, and Tringano. With respect to the
 “ desire of the kings of Siam and Quedah,
 “ I cannot consent to it, should war even be the
 “ consequence. I must try my strength with
 “ them, for such a custom was neither heard of, or
 “ attempted to be imposed on Perak. Now, for
 “ the first time, the Rajah of Quedah demands
 “ a Bunga Mas to be sent to Siam, in an unac-
 “ countable manner. I will not comply with
 “ this his desire. Had it been usual from times
 “ past with Perak to send a Bunga Mas to
 “ Quedah, or Siam, I should have done so, ac-
 “ cording to ancient custom.’ In November
 “ 1816, the king of Quedah’s messenger returned
 “ from Siam with a positive order to attack Pe-
 “ rak. The king of Quedah says, ‘ it greatly
 “ afflicts me to execute this order. It is not
 “ with my good will that I attack Perak, nor at
 “ all my wish to become an enemy of that Rajah,
 “ but only to avert mischief from my country.’ ”

Valentyn tells us that Perak, † which formed part
 of the kingdom of Achin, was subject to Malacca
 in the 17th and beginning of the 18th century,
 and that the Dutch had a factory there, (for the
 purpose of collecting the tin), which was cut off
 by the natives A. D. 1651. Notwithstanding the
 reluctance of the Rajah of Kedah to go to war
 with an inoffensive state on the simple order of an
 imperious despot who tyrannized alike over either,
 and notwithstanding that his British Ally was
 actually forming at the time a commercial treaty
 with Perak, the king of Quedah was compelled

* Anderson’s considerations, &c. p. 86, 87.

† Valentyn, book 6th, chap. 1st, p. 311.

to subjugate that state whose independence could have been preserved by the mere utterance of a British veto; and in September 1818 Perak was prostrate at the feet of its compulsory enemy. It was, however, subsequently wrested from Siamese domination by the Rajah of Salangor, who, pursuing a less timorous and more manly policy, restored it by force of arms to its original sovereign in 1822. The first king of Perak, as far as any records now extant throw light upon the subject, was Sulthaun Muzaffer Shah, father of the famous Sulthaun Manzur Shah, king of Achin, whose unwearied attacks upon Malacca have been already recorded at page 46. The present chief, Sulthaun Taj-a-din, who ascended the throne in 1818, is the son of "Sulthaun Manzur Shah the second, who died in 1819, and whose father was Sulthaun Mahomed Taz Udeen, who died in 1801."

The Dutch had a factory here at one period for the purpose of procuring the tin, of which they received about five thousand piculs annually at the rate of about 10 dollars per picul. After their expulsion by the British in 1795, and at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the exports rose to 9000 piculs annually; and, when we consider how harassed the country has been for a long succession of years by different nations, European and Asiatic, it is not hazarding too much to assert that half the resources of this fine territory are not yet developed. In European countries, wherever there is a rich vein of ore, the soil is generally, I believe, proportionably barren, but the prodigality of nature has not been thus restrained in the Malayan Penin-

sula, and the husbandman may raise a luxuriant harvest with a mine of wealth but a few feet below the surface on which his crops are waving. A little more than a month previous to the subjugation of Perak, namely on the 30th July 1818, the English entered into a Treaty with the Rajah of that country. (Appendix A.)

I have now to advert to Kedah, or Quedah, a state with which the British are so intimately connected. Valentyn informs us that Kedah was subject to Malacca at the same period as the preceding state of Perak, and that the Dutch had there a factory, drawing thence gold dust, tin, and elephants.* Siam had long endeavoured to bring this country under her galling yoke and repeatedly threatened to overwhelm her with her power—To avert this impending danger, Sulthau Abdallah who ascended the throne of Kedah in 1778 naturally looked around him for some more powerful nation with whom to form so intimate an alliance as to overawe the Siamese. The English, who were at this period looking out for a suitable settlement in this quarter of the globe, as a sort of entrepôt for their eastern trade, appeared to him to be peculiarly well adapted for this end.

It is not my intention to follow Mr. Anderson through his luminous argument by which he proves that Kedah was essentially an independent state. It will suffice to state what the main points of his position rest on, namely; first, that the sending of the Bunga Mas by Kedah to Siam is merely the homage of a weaker to a more powerful state, and not a token

* Valentyn. Book. 6. Chapter 1st. page 311. 312.

of its being tributary; otherwise Siam, which sends the like flower to China, must be considered tributary to the latter, a monstrous assertion which no one has as yet ventured to put forth; and, secondly that the British received the grant of Pulo Pinang from the King of Kedah as an independent prince, and that, if we now declare him to be a subject of Siam, we are bound to restore Pinang to that power, as Kedah had no right whatever to bestow upon us that which was not his own. These two points are so palpable that the utmost ingenuity of sophistry cannot shake a tittle of them. I will now briefly review the terms on which Pulo Pinang was ceded to the British. On the application of Mr. Light, under the authority of the Supreme Government, for a settlement on this island, amongst other stipulations made by the king, as a remuneration for the grant, we find these three; firstly, a compensation of 30,000 dollars per annum for the abstraction of the trade; secondly, that the Company should consider all the external and internal enemies of Kedah as their own, fight them, and bear all the expences of the wars; and thirdly, that present assistance should be rendered in the sinews of war,—men, arms, ammunition, and money, to aid in the struggle then existing to expel the Siamese. These were the principal points insisted on by the King of Kedah as an equivalent for the grant.

Sir John Macpherson, the Governor General, closed with the propositions, although they certainly were considerably modified. With regard to the first, the annual amount for Pulo Pinang was fix-

ed at ten, instead of thirty, thousand dollars. The second and third are not noticed either in the reply, or in the subsequent Treaty of Kedah, (Appendix B.), concluded in 1798 on the cession of the coast opposite the island of Pinang, now denominated Province Wellesley. This Treaty consists of fourteen articles, the only one of which that at all adverts to the claim of Kedah for protection is the second, in which, after recording the cession of the sea-coast between Kwala Krian and the river-side of Kwala Moodah, it is stipulated that "the English Company are to protect *this* coast from all enemies, robbers, and pirates, that may attack it by sea from North or South." The Treaty therefore clearly avoids touching upon the ground of affording assistance to Kedah; but, if we turn to the previous letter of the Governor General to the king of Kedah, by which the latter was induced to sign this very Treaty, we find these unequivocal expressions. "It has been resolved to accept the king of Quedah's offer to the Company of the Harbour and island of Pinang. *This government will always keep an armed vessel stationed to guard the island of Pinang, and the coasts adjacent belonging to the king of Quedah.** *The Governor General and Council, on the part of the English India Company, will take care that the king of Quedah shall not be a sufferer by an English settlement being formed on the Island † of Pinang."*

* In 1831 Kedah was taken by an attack from seaward. In 1831, the protecting vessel, H. M. S. 'S. Wolf', compelled by the tenor of Major Burney's Treaty with Siam, sunk the boats of the Kedans, when they were on the eve of defeating the Siamese fleet.

† In 1786 by the cession of Pinang, the king of Kedah lost an annual revenue of twenty thousand dollars. In 1821, he was driven from his kingdom. In 1831, after having nearly regained it, his fleet was sunk by the boats of H. M. S. ship, Wolf and Crocodile, and he was compelled to take refuge in Pinang, having lost his favorite son in battle. Here the Siamese would not allow him to remain, and he was sent by the British as a perpetual State Prisoner to Malacca.

But again, although in the *Treaty* there is no specific mention made of our obligation to defend the king of Kedah from his enemies, there is an ambiguity in the termination of it which would lead to the conclusion that there was a special reference to this letter of the Governor General. The paragraph, to which I allude, runs thus, "These fourteen articles being settled and concluded between His Majesty and the English Company, the countries of Purlis and Quedah, and Pulo Pinang, shall be as *one* country, and whoever shall depart, or deviate, from any part of this agreement, the Almighty punish and destroy him—he shall not prosper."

The most remarkable expression in this concluding paragraph is the sentence in which it is declared that "the countries of Purlis and Quedah, and Pulo Pinang shall be as *one* country." That such was the real meaning of the British Government at the time that the *Treaty* was signed, there can be little doubt, and the contrariety of its subsequent actions to its real wishes is to be traced to the unfortunate *Treaty* of Siam. Kedah, unhappily for herself, was not sufficiently versed in all the chicanery of politics, and took the phrase with all sincerity of heart in its straight-forward meaning, viz. that, if two countries be as *one*, their interests must of necessity be the same, and consequently that, whichever nation should be involved in disputes with a foreign power, the other was bound in honor to make common cause with it. It is foreign to my purpose to attempt

to prove the necessity of this with regard to one of the parties engaging in an *aggressive* warfare, but it is undeniable that, when one of the contracting powers is battling for its very existence, the other should step into its assistance, and equally incontrovertible that it should not turn its arms *against* the suffering ally.

The following is a brief analysis of the conduct of the English with regard to Kedah.

In 1783, negotiations were set on foot by the Supreme Government for the purpose of procuring a settlement at Pulo Pinang, to them a most important settlement. The King of Kedah annexed two conditions to the grant, viz. an annual stipend of thirty thousand dollars, and protection from his enemies in general, but the Siamese in particular. Had the British Government of those days dealt fairly with the subject, and either resolved to reject the grant on the proposed conditions, or to grapple with all the difficulties likely to arise from their acceptance of it, their successors would have been spared that mesh of embarrassments induced by the wavering policy pursued by Sir John Macpherson, and Sir George Leith.

The British Government, having obtained possession of Pulo Pinang upon an implication of engagements, within a year and a half after receiving it, viz. in January 1783, thus wrote to Mr. Light, the Superintendent of Pinang. "With respect to protecting the King of Quedah against the Siamese, the Governor General in Council has already decided against any measures that may involve the Company in mili-

" tary operations against any of the Eastern
 " princes. It follows, of course, that any acts
 " or promises, which may be construed into an
 " obligation to defend the king of Quedah, are
 " to be avoided. If, however, Mr. Light can
 " employ the countenance or influence of the
 " Company for the security of the king of Que-
 " dah, consistently with these rules, the Governor
 " General in Council has no objection to his
 " adopting the measure, strictly guarding against
 " any act or declaration that may involve the
 " honor, credit, or troops of the Company."

Let us now see in what light the treaty was re-
 garded by the king of Kedah, and, in order to do
 so, I must make a voluminous extract from Mr
 Anderson; the importance of the matter must
 apologize for the length of it. He thus gives, in
 pages 74 and 75, an extract from Mr. Light's
 letter to the Governor General, written in July
 1789. " After acquainting the king of Quedah of
 the intention of Government to allow him 10,000
 Dollars for 7 or 8 years, he remained silent a con-
 siderable time; at last, he acquainted me, that
 he did not like the offer, without stipulating for
 any particular sum of money, or mentioning what
 performance on the part of the Company would
 content him. Being informed that he did not
 relish the idea of selling the island, I asked him
 if he chose to accept 4000 Dollars per annum, for
 as long a time as the Honorable Company should
 continue in possession of the island: to this, after
 waiting a considerable time, he answered in the
 negative, at the same time by his letters and mes-
 sengers he endeavoured to draw a full promise,

that the Honorable Company would assist him with arms and men, in case an attack from the Siamese should render it necessary. This I evaded by telling him, no treaty which was likely to occasion a dispute between the Honorable Company and the Siamese could be made without the approbation of the king of Great Britain; at present, as there was no reason for his entering into war with the Siamese, he had nothing to fear; the Siamese, and all other Country powers, would consider the English as his friends, and for that reason would not disturb him unless provoked thereto by his bad policy." "From the information I have received, I am pretty well satisfied of the king having wrote to Malacca and Batavia to try if the Dutch would give him better terms, and last year, I hear, he wrote to Pondicherry to try if the French would undertake to defend his country."

Now it is very evident from the foregoing that protection from the Siamese was the equivalent all along required by the king of Kedah for the cession of Pulo Pinang, but, if further proof were requisite, the following extract from Mr. Anderson, containing a lengthy letter from the king himself, would be amply sufficient.

"Neither Mr. Light nor any of the succeeding Superintendents, or Governors, had it in their power to assist the king of Quedah, although his appeals were frequent and his oppression intolerable. Availing himself of the arrival of the Governor General of India, Lord Minto, at Pinang, when his Lordship proceeded to Java, he addressed him a long letter, dated 24th De-

“ cember 1810, detailing the whole history of his
 “ connexion with the English, and objects; the
 “ oppressions from Siam, and earnestly entreating
 “ the effectual aid and protection of the Supreme
 “ Government. The letter is as follows: ‘ In the
 “ year 1199, in the time of my late father, Mr.
 “ Light, bearing on the head of submission the
 “ commands of the king of England, and the orders
 “ of the Governor General, with various splendid
 “ presents, appeared in the presence of my late
 “ father, the Rajah, and requested in the name of
 “ the king of England, and of the Governor Ge-
 “ neral, the island of Pinang, for the purpose of
 “ repairing their ships of war, highly extolling
 “ the greatness, splendor, power, wisdom; and be-
 “ neficence, of his Majesty, the prosperity of the
 “ Honorable Company, and all those connected
 “ in the ties of friendship with them; promising
 “ that the king and the Governor General would
 “ assist my father in whatever might be required,
 “ and would prevent the enemies of Quedah en-
 “ gaging in proceedings detrimental to the coun-
 “ try. Moreover, that they should pay rent for
 “ the island 30,000 Dollars per annum, and en-
 “ tered into sundry other engagements. My fa-
 “ ther, consulting with the ministers, considering
 “ that the neighbouring Burmah and Siamese nati-
 “ ons were more powerful than Quedah, and hav-
 “ ing reflected that the king of Europe (i. e. Eng-
 “ land) was greater and more powerful than either
 “ of these nations; and that, by means of the
 “ friendship of the English Company, these pow-
 “ ers would be prevented from violence or molesta-
 “ tion, perceived that it would be very desirable

“ to enter into alliance with the Company, be-
“ cause the Europeans were just and regular in
“ conducting all their affairs, and, should the Bur-
“ mah or Siamese powers unjustly attempt vio-
“ lence, the powerful aid and protection of the
“ Company would enable my father to repel the
“ aggression. My father was therefore extreme-
“ ly desirous of obtaining the friendship of the
“ Company, under whose powerful shelter and
“ protection, the country might be transmitted
“ to his descendants increased in strength. For
“ this country, being small and deficient in
“ strength, would depend on the power of the
“ Company to repel the attacks of the Siamese
“ and Burmahs. My father accordingly, im-
“ pressed with a sincere desire to obtain the
“ friendship of the Company, granted the island
“ of Pinang according to the request of Mr. Light,
“ the agent for the Governor General, and a writ-
“ ten engagement, containing my father’s demands
“ from the Company, was given to Mr. Light for
“ the purpose of being forwarded to the Governor
“ General. After some time, Mr. Light returned
“ to settle on the island, bringing some sepoy,
“ and informed my father that the Governor Ge-
“ neral consented to his requests, and had sent
“ people to settle on the island; that the writing
“ from my father had been transmitted by the
“ Governor General to Europe, for the purpose
“ of receiving the royal seal and sanction, and
“ that it would be returned in six months. My
“ father accordingly granted permission to pro-
“ ceed to settle on the island of Pinang, and sent
“ his people to assist in the work, and his officers

" to protect them from the pirates in the com-
 " mencement. My father, having waited some
 " time, at the expiration of one year requested
 " the writing from Mr. Light, who desired him
 " to wait a little ; at the end of six years no au-
 " thentic writing could be obtained ; he received
 " 10,000 Dollars per annum, but Mr. Light re-
 " fused to fulfil the remainder of his engagements,
 " and in consequence of my father insisting upon
 " having a writing, agreeably to his former stipu-
 " lation, a misunderstanding arose between Que-
 " dah and Pinang, after which a new treaty of
 " alliance was concluded.

" ' Since that time many governors have been
 " placed over Pinang, but my father was unable
 " to obtain a writing either from Europe, or from
 " the Governor General. In the year 1215* my
 " father left the government to my uncle, at which
 " time, the then Lieutenant Governor of Pinang,
 " Sir George Leith, requested the cession of a
 " tract of land on the opposite shore, alleging that
 " the island being small, the Company's people
 " were distressed for procuring timber, and the
 " raising of cattle. My uncle being desirous to
 " remove the uneasiness, granted a tract (of which
 " the boundaries were defined) accordingly, plac-
 " ing entire dependence on the power of the Com-
 " pany to protect and defend him against his
 " enemies, and Sir George Leith made a new
 " Treaty, consisting of fourteen articles, and con-
 " stituting the two as one country. This, and the
 " former treaty are inscribed on the Company's
 " records. During the whole government of my
 " father and uncle, no injury or molestation of

* A. D. 1801. A mistake. It should be 1212.

" any consequence had been sustained, nor has
 " any one offered to send my letter of supplica-
 " tion to the King, or to the Governor General. I
 " consequently desisted, and only communicated
 " with the several Governors of the island in mat-
 " ters relating to the two countries, but no cer-
 " tain arrangement from Europe could be heard
 " of, nor could I obtain any assurances on which
 " I could depend.

" Moreover, so long as I have administered the
 " government of Quedah, during the time of the
 " late king of Siam, his proceedings were just
 " and consistent with former established custom
 " and usage. Since the decease of the old king,
 " and the accession of his son* to the throne in
 " the year 1215 (A. D. 1801) violence and seve-
 " rity have been exercised by the Siamese against
 " Quedah, in demands and requisitions exceeding
 " all former custom and usage, and which I can-
 " not support for a length of time; the Rajahs of
 " Quedah have been accustomed to submit to the
 " authority in matters clearly proper and consis-
 " tent with the established customs of the Go-
 " vernment, for the sake of the preservation of
 " the country, being unable to contend with Siam,
 " from the superior number of their people. Dur-
 " ing my administration, their demands have been
 " beyond measure increased, and heavy services
 " have been required of me, inconsistent with the
 " custom of the country; these, however, I sub-
 " mitted to, as far as I have been able, for the

* There appears to be two anachronisms in this letter, as the king of
 Kedah's uncle ascended the throne in A. D. 1798, not 1801, (p. 108) and
 abdicated in his favor A. D. 1804, three years after the accession of the
 present king of Siam. Consequently, the ex-king of Kedah could never,
 as here asserted, have held the government under the former king.

“ sake of the people, and to prevent the danger
 “ of a rupture with them; how many services,
 “ unprecedented in former years, have I not per-
 “ formed, and what expences have I not incurred
 “ in carrying into effect their requisitions; ne-
 “ vertheless, I cannot obtain any good under-
 “ standing with them, nor any peace, nor any ter-
 “ mination to their injuries and oppressions; they
 “ no longer confide in me and seek to attach
 “ blame, alleging that I have joined with the
 “ Burmahs, with whom this year they have made
 “ war, and their intention is to attack Quedah
 “ for the purpose of reducing the country under
 “ their government. I have in vain endeavoured
 “ to avert the enmity of Siam, but without any
 “ appearance of success. I have made known to
 “ the Governors of Pinang every circumstance
 “ with relation to this country and Siam, and have
 “ requested their advice and the assistance of the
 “ Company, on which my father relied, because
 “ the countries of Quedah and Pinang are as one
 “ country, and as one interest; when therefore
 “ Quedah is distressed, it cannot be otherwise
 “ with Pinang. The Governor advised me by
 “ all means to avoid coming to a rupture with
 “ Siam, alleging that it was not in his power to
 “ afford me assistance, for that the supreme go-
 “ vernment in Europe had forbidden all interfer-
 “ ence in the wars of the neighbouring powers.
 “ Perhaps, this would be improper with respect
 “ to other countries, but Quedah and Pinang are
 “ as one country; all the ryots and people are
 “ much distressed by the labours necessarily im-
 “ posed to avert the resentment of Siam, and

“ every exertion on my part has been made, to
 “ prevent coming to a rupture with that power,
 “ but I was unable to submit to demands exceed-
 “ ing all former precedent, which induced me to
 “ apply to the Governor of Pinang for the Com-
 “ pany’s aid, to enable me to repel their demands,
 “ for my father having transmitted to me his
 “ friendship and alliance with the Company, it
 “ would be otherwise a reflection upon the power of
 “ the king of England, who is accounted a prince
 “ greater and more powerful than any other.
 “ I conceive that the countries of Quedah and
 “ Pinang have but one interest, and perhaps the
 “ king and my friend may not have been well
 “ informed, and, in consequence, the Governor
 “ of Pinang has not been authorised to afford as-
 “ sistance, and that, should they be acquainted
 “ therewith, they would consider it impossible
 “ to separate the two countries. In consequence,
 “ I request my friend to issue directions, and to
 “ forward a representation to the king, and to the
 “ Honorable Company, of the matters contained
 “ in this letter. I request that the engagements
 “ contracted for by Mr. Light with my late father
 “ may be ratified, as my country and I are defi-
 “ cient in strength; the favor of his Majesty, the
 “ king of England, extended to me, will render his
 “ name illustrious for justice and beneficence, and
 “ the grace of his Majesty will fill me with grati-
 “ tude; under the power and majesty of the king
 “ I desire to repose in safety from the attempts
 “ of all my enemies, and that the king may be
 “ disposed to kindness and favor towards me, as
 “ if I were his own subject, that he will be pleas-
 “ ed to issue his commands to the Governor of

“ Pinang to afford me aid and assistance in my
 “ distresses and dangers, and cause a regulation
 “ to be made by which the two countries may
 “ have but one interest; in like manner I shall
 “ not refuse any aid to Pinang, consistent with
 “ my ability. I further request a writing from
 “ the king, and from my friend, that it may re-
 “ main as an assurance of the protection of the
 “ king, and descend to my successors in the Go-
 “ vernment. I place a perfect reliance in the fa-
 “ vor and aid of my friend in all these matters.”*

Now, in this letter we find the declaration that
 “ Kedah† and Pulo Pinang should be as one coun-
 “ try,” which was conveyed in Sir George Leith’s
 Treaty, alluded to, more or less directly, no less
 than five times. It is therefore evident that the
 king of Kedah conceived the expression to inti-
 mate a reciprocity of interests. He had been
 buoyed up by Captain Light to entertain a firm
 assurance that the British would protect him
 from his enemies, and he was not undeceived
 until twelve years after that power had esta-
 blished itself in Pulo Pinang.

We come now to the historical details of this
 unhappy and distracted country. Year after
 year did its unfortunate king write to the Bri-
 tish Government the information that the de-
 mands of the Siamese were becoming daily more
 arrogant and the destruction of his country hour-
 ly more inevitable—but the peculiar situation of
 the British precluded more than general advice to
 conciliate the Siamese.

* Anderson’s Considerations, &c. page 75 to 81.

† Province Wellesley is an integral portion of Kedah, of that country
 which we now declare to be Siamese. If it be a portion of Siam, by what
 right do we retain it?

At last the storm, which had so long hung over the political horizon of Kedah, and which, as it rolled sullenly on, swelled at every concession, burst like a thunder clap on the terrified inhabitants in 1821. A large fleet, * crowded with Siamese, which had been silently equipped in the Traang river to the northward, was descried, at mid-day on the 12th November, standing into the Kedah river. Immediate intimation was given by the Panghooloo, or Commander of the fort, to the Bandharra, or General, of the Kedah army, and the Lacsamana, or Admiral, who were at a short distance up the river. The guns of the fort were brought to bear upon the fleet, as these officers apprehended treachery, but they forbade them to open their fire, as the Siamese had not declared war, and they were most probably apprehensive that they would be considered the aggressors if they fired the first shot, (although in self defence), both by their allies the British, and the Siamese.

So unexpected was the arrival of the invading force that the Kedah chiefs had only time to assemble a few of their followers, with whom they at once proceeded to the landing place in order to ascertain the reason of this unusual armament. The Bandharra, Lacsamana, Tamungong, and a few other chiefs, seated themselves on the wharf, whilst a party of armed Siamese ascended it from their boats. Upon being interrogated as to their wants, they stated that they required rice as they were going to attack the Burmahs, and were promised an immediate supply but, having meanwhile landed a large bo-

* Anderson's Considerations, page 2 to 129.

dy, they dissembled no longer, but avowed their object to be the seizure of the Kedah chiefs, whom they desired to surrender. On hearing this, the Bandharra and Lacsamana, exclaiming that they were betrayed, plunged their *krisses* into the bodies of the nearest Siamese, and a general struggle took place.

Amongst the first that fell were the Lacsamana and the Tamungong, which last, a man rendered venerable by his years, had often boasted of his invulnerability, whilst the Bandharra was overpowered, disarmed and bound. The loss of their leaders dispirited the Kedah combatants, who, after a feeble resistance, fled in all directions. And now commenced the display of the savage atrocities of the Siamese. Many were unmercifully butchered, but thousands, less fortunate, were dragged from their homes, and tortured to death whilst their wives and daughters were violated by the ruffianly invaders, who, not glutted with crimes which were beyond parallel, fired the villages of the defenceless Malays who were then expiring under their demoniac ingenuity. I will not sicken my readers by dwelling on, or even detailing, the torments inflicted by the Siamese, but simply state that the fleet sailed on the following day for the Mirbow, which is a large river nearly in sight of Pinang fort, in quest of the king of Kedah, who was a short distance up the stream, engaged in superintending the cutting of a canal from that river to the Moodah, another large stream which bounds the Company's territory to the northward.

The king received intelligence of the approach

of the Siamese just in time to prevent his falling into their hands. He hurried off, with his wives and children, and as much treasure as he could collect, mounted upon several elephants, in the direction of the Prye river, which lies within the British possession of Province Wellesley, leaving a large brig and schooner, on board of which there was considerable treasure: these, of course, fell into the hands of his pursuers. A fugitive and a wanderer through nearly trackless and impervious jungles, he was for five days exposed to severe fatigue and all the inclemencies of the rainy season, whilst many of his attendants, and several of his dearest and most venerable chiefs, who had not the advantage of being mounted, perished, victims to the united assaults of fatigue, hunger, and exposure, and many of his treasure elephants separated irrecoverably from the line of march, an *accident* attributed to the treachery of their drivers. At last, he reached the residence of his brother, Tuankoo Solyman, on the Prye River, where he was furnished with four or five *prahus* on which he embarked with his family, attendants, and remnant of treasure, and, descending the river, crossed over to Pinang where he solicited, and readily obtained, the protection of the British Government.

It is pleasing to the historian to have it in his power to state that the British Authorities at Pinang not only threw the broad shield of their protection over the person of their unfortunate ally, but allowed him a handsome maintenance for himself and family—It is also gratifying to record that at this juncture, the British Government did not permit itself to be dictated to and

bearded by Siam, whose fleet had the presumption to attempt to enter the Prye river, not being aware of two important facts; viz; that the king of Kedah was no longer *in* it, and that two of the Company's Cruizers *were*. These two vessels, without waiting for orders and with the characteristic promptitude of British sailors, at once drove the intruders back again, and the Government directed that any future attempt of the same nature should be treated in a similar manner.

The Rajah of Ligore, who commanded the Siamese army, finding that the king of Kedah had taken refuge in Pinang, wrote a letter to the Government, which was couched in haughty and discourteous terms, desiring that authority to deliver up the unhappy prince, to which he received a dignified and firm refusal, accompanied with an admonition as to his style of future correspondence with the British Government. The Siamese, having detached a predatory incursion against Province Wellesley, it was speedily driven back and disarmed by a party of the 20th Bengal Native Infantry under Captain Croke. The second son of the king of Kedah, Tuankoo Yakoob, who was his father's favorite, was taken prisoner and sent bound to Siam, whilst the Bandharra, for whose life the Pinang Government earnestly interceded, was poisoned on the road to Sangora.

Mr. Timmerman Thyssen, the Governor of Malacca, on hearing of this unwarrantable aggression of the Siamese, immediately despatched one of his Netherlands Majesty's frigates to Pinang with handsome offers of assistance, a proffer which was echoed by several Malay states, so that, even

had the British power been incapable of effecting the expulsion of the Siamese, the combined efforts of all these powers would have rendered it a matter of ease and certainty. These unanimous offers place the relative position of Siam and Kedah in the strongest light, and clearly demonstrate that the pretensions of the former were unfounded.

But the Pinang Government was embarrassed by two considerations; viz; First, that it was positively forbidden to undertake any measures "that might involve the honor, credit, or troops, of the Company," and secondly, that the Supreme Government was then despatching Mr. Crawford as ambassador to Siam. "*Honor and credit*" are terms which admit of various meanings in a political point of view—"troops" allows but of *one*, and the Pinang Government was therefore compelled to decline all these offers of assistance, and leave the Ally of the British to make a hopeless, unaided, resistance. Several times did the unfortunate inhabitants of Kedah rise and endeavor to cut off the garrison of their oppressors, but their efforts were ill-concerted, and only served to draw down greater severities and more sanguinary atrocities upon themselves and families.

It was fondly hoped that Mr. Crawford, who was no mean diplomatist, might be able to settle the affairs of Kedah on a more satisfactory footing with regard to Siam, but that gentleman's mission proved entirely abortive. He was not only unable to obtain any terms for the British ally, but was also disappointed in his endeavours to establish a commercial treaty between Great Britain and Siam, whilst the king still insisted on

the rajah of Kedah's being delivered up to him. It is to Mr. Crawford's honor that, notwithstanding his opinion that Kedah was tributary to Siam, he utterly rejected this proposition, as inconsistent with British honor and engagements.

In 1824, however, commenced the war between the English and Burmese, an arduous struggle, which has been detailed by many able pens. It falls only within my province to advert to it so far as it influenced the future destinies of Kedah. The difficulties and resistance which the British troops met with, in addition to the great mortality and sickness induced by the circumstance of operations being carried on during the rainy season, rendered the issue of this protracted contest, to say the least of it, doubtful.

Lord Amherst, then Governor General of India, being aware of the implacable enmity subsisting between Burmah and Siam, arising from the circumstance of their being powerful and contiguous nations, conceived the design of procuring an alliance between the British and Siamese, and thus securing the active co-operation of the latter against the Burmese. Plausible as the idea appears at first sight, it is to be regretted that His Lordship was not better acquainted with the line of policy invariably adopted by Siam. A more intimate knowledge of that state would have convinced him that the projected embassy would be fruitless, as she never wastes her own strength by engaging personally in a struggle, unless absolutely compelled; her system ever being to employ either one, or more, of her more powerful tributaries to subdue a minor nation, by which

plan she craftily weakens the conquerors as well as the vanquished, and prevents either party making an effectual opposition to her imperious mandates. Thus she employed Kedah to reduce Perak, and Ligore to subject Kedah.

True that Siam hates Burmah, but it is equally true that she not only hates, but dreads, England. She would therefore certainly never coalesce with the British for the destruction of her rival, unless the bribe held out were too glittering for her cupidity to withstand. Still, however, the attempt was worth making, provided that in the negotiations the British honor were carefully guarded against compromise; and, accordingly, Captain Henry Burney, of the Bengal Native Infantry, was sent to Siam in 1826 to conclude a Treaty with that power. This Treaty, which has been so often and justly commented on, will be found in the Appendix (C). It consisted of fourteen Articles, and six additional Articles of an Agreement, in which every concession of the Siamese is met by a precisely similar one on the part of the British; whereas, for every demand made by Siam not the shadow of an equivalent is offered. I will not expatiate upon those articles which have no immediate reference to Kedah, but will proceed at once to the consideration of the two which bear upon it, viz. the 10th and 13th.

In the former of these we find that "The English and Siamese mutually agree that there shall be an unrestricted trade between them, in the English countries of Prince of Wales's Island, Malacca and Singapore, and the Siamese countries of Ligor, Merdilous, Singora, Patani, Junk Cey-

lon, *Queda, and other Siamese Provinces:*" &c.

Here we find a flat acknowledgement on the very threshold, of Kedah's being either a country or a province of Siam, "although the construction and punctuation of the sentence leave us at a loss to know where the "countries" terminate, and where the "provinces" begin."

It is unnecessary to repeat that, up to the period of this memorable Treaty, Siam herself never claimed Kedah as a "province," and the "country" undoubtedly never was Siamese.

"Article 13th, The Siamese engage to the English that the Siamese shall remain in Queda, and take proper care of that country and of its people; the inhabitants of Prince of Wales's Island and of Queda shall have trade and intercourse as heretofore; the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions, such as, cattle, buffaloes, poultry, fish, paddy, and rice, which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales's Island, or ships there, may have occasion to purchase in Queda, and the Siamese shall not farm the mouths of rivers, or any streams, in Queda, but shall levy fair and proper import and export duties. The Siamese further engage that, when Chou Phya, of Ligore, returns from Bangkok, he shall release the slaves, personal servants, family, and kindred belonging to the former Governor of Queda, and permit them to go and live wherever they please. The English engage to the Siamese that the English do not desire to take possession of Queda, that they will not attack or disturb it, nor permit the former Governor of Queda, or any of

" his followers, to attack, disturb, or injure, in
 " any manner, the territory of Quedah, or any
 " other territory subject to Siam. The English
 " engage that they will make arrangements for
 " the former Governor of Queda to go and live
 " in some other country, and not at Prince of
 " Wales's Island, or Prye, or in Perak, Salan-
 " gore, or any Burmese country. If the Eng-
 " lish do not let the former Governor of Queda
 " go and live in some other country, as here
 " engaged, the Siamese may continue to levy an
 " export duty upon paddy and rice in Queda.
 " The English will not prevent any Siamese,
 " Chinese, or other Asiatics at Prince of Wales's
 " Island, from going to reside in Queda, if they
 " desire it."

I purpose to offer a few observations upon this Article, previous to placing portions of the Treaty of Siam in juxta-position with the then, and still, existing Treaty of Kedah. By it we find that the first stipulation insisted on by the British Envoy is that the Siamese shall " engage to the English that the Siamese shall remain in Queda." The subjugation of our ally of Kedah by Siam was therefore made a matter of favor by Captain Burney. It is true that it is also stipulated that they shall " take proper care of that country and its people," but, as to the manner in which that care has been exercised, let smoking villages, and torture and violation amidst their ruins, answer.

The second point of favor demanded by Captain Burney was that " the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions," &c. As Kedah did not belong to Siam until the British

Envoy assigned it to her, (if a person can make a present of what does not belong to him), gratitude to the donor might have induced the other party to remit the duties as a set off against the gift. But we find, on the contrary, that, as a reward for the Siamese forbearing to levy duties to which they were not entitled, "the English engage to the Siamese that the English do not desire to take possession of Queda, that they will not attack or (nor?) disturb it, nor permit the former Governor of Quedah or any of his followers, to attack, disturb," &c.

Nay, further, that they will not even allow "the former Governor of Queda," to live in any country in the vicinity of that kingdom from which he has been unjustly expelled.

In reading this contract, signed by a British plenipotentiary, how painful is it to the mind of a Briton to find amongst the proscribed countries, the British settlements of Prince of Wales's Island and Pnye, the gift of the father of that prince, who is now denied a resting place for his age and infirmities in that very patrimony which he ceded to the English on the express condition of protection from the Siamese!—

I need only remark on two other points in this Article; viz. in the first place, that the king of Kedah is herein degraded from his acknowledged rightful title, and purposely and contemptuously denominated "Governor;" and secondly that the English engage that they will not attack Kedah themselves, nor "allow the former Governor, or any of his adherents" to do so. Now it appears that, in 1788, when the Supreme Government was urged by Mr. Light to protect its ally,

the king of Kedah, against the Siamese, it had "already decided against any measures that may involve the Company in military operations against any of the Eastern Princes." (To carry on these instructions with one slight verbal alteration), "It follows, of course, that any acts or promises, which may be construed into an obligation to ATTACK the king of Queda are to be avoided."* Yet this Article necessarily involves such a conclusion.

I will now place portions of the Treaty of Kedah and that of Siam along side one of another.

TREATY OF KEDAH.

Article 2d—His Majesty agrees to give to the English Company for ever all that part of the sea coast that is between *Kwala Krün and the river side of Kwala Moodah*,† and measuring inland from the seaside sixty orlongs, &c.

Article 3d—His Majesty agrees that all kinds of provisions wanted for Pulo Pinang, the ships of war, and Company's ships, may be bought at Purlis and Queda without impediment, or being subject to any duty or custom, and all boats going from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Queda for the purpose of purchasing provisions are to be furnished with proper passports for that purpose to prevent impositions.

Article 6th—His Majesty shall not permit Europeans of

TREATY OF SIAM.

Article 10th—The English and Siamese mutually agree that there shall be an unrestricted trade between them in the *English countries of prince of Wales's Island, Malacca, and Singapore*, and the Siamese countries of Ligor, Merdilous, Lingora, Patani, Junk Ceylon, QUEDA,† and other Siamese provinces; &c.

Article 13th—The Siamese engage to the English that the Siamese shall remain in Queda, and take proper care of that country and of its people; the inhabitants of Prince of Wales's Island and of Queda shall have trade and intercourse as heretofore; the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions, such as cattle, buffaloes, poultry, fish, paddy, and rice, which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales's Island, or ships there, may have occasion to purchase

* Vide page 99.

† Captain Burney here gives up Province Wellesley, an integral portion of Kedah, to Siam, and consequently declares it not to be a British Possession.

TREATY OF KEDAH.

any other nation to settle in any part of his dominions.

Article 7th—The Company are not to receive any such people as may be proved to have committed *rebellion or High Treason against His Majesty*.

These fourteen articles being settled and concluded between His Majesty and the English Company, the countries of Perlis and Queda, and Pulo Pinang shall be as one country, whoever shall depart or deviate from any part of this agreement, the Almighty punish and destroy him—he shall not prosper.

TREATY OF SIAM.

in Queda, and the Siamese shall not farm the mouths of rivers, or any streams in Quedah, but shall levy fair and proper import and export duties.

Article 13th—The English engage to the Siamese, that the English do not desire to take possession of Queda, that they will not attack or disturb it, nor permit the former *Governor of Queda* or any of his followers to attack, disturb, or injure, in any manner, the Territory of Queda, or any other Territory subject to Siam, &c. &c.

I will here introduce Sir Stamford Raffles's opinion on the subject of the relation between Siam and Kedah, as detailed in a letter of his addressed to Lord Minto in March 1811. I shall content myself with a few extracts from it, referring those, who wish to see the whole of it, to the 48th and following pages of Sir Stamford's Memoirs.

“Queda is one of the Malay states that appears at some period to have been overrun by the Siamese, and has accordingly consented to send, every third year, a gold and silver flower as a token of homage. The value of these articles is as trifling as need be supposed, the weight of the gold flower being only twelve dollars, and that of the silver one thirty-two dollars. There is therefore reason for considering the land of Queda as a dependency on Siam at present, but certainly none whatever for supposing that Siam

has any right of subjecting Queda to arbitrary impositions of any kind. During the former wars between the Siamese and the Burmans, it appears that the Rajah of Queda has presented the sign of homage, or the gold and silver tree, sometimes to the one power, and sometimes to the other, but it does not appear that he has ever submitted to arbitrary exactions. In the late wars between the Siamese and Burmans, it is asserted that the Rajah of Queda furnished some of the Burman prows with provisions, and it is certain that a fleet of them did actually procure supplies at Pinang. These circumstances strongly irritated the Siamese, who compelled the Rajah of Queda not only to furnish them with great quantities of supplies, but also with a thousand men, and this he was compelled to submit to last year to prevent his country being ravaged without mercy. This year the Siamese have re-iterated the same demands, and the Rajah states that the country will be ruined and impoverished if he complies with the demands of the Siamese Government, and not less certainly ruined by the Siamese armies if he refuses to assent to them. The question therefore, between Queda and Siam is obviously a question of might and not of right, for it is not admitted by the Rajah of Queda that he is subject to the arbitrary exactions of the Siamese.

“ About the period when Mr. Light first acquired the original grant of Pulo Pinang from the Rajah of Queda, he was, I believe, directed by the Supreme Government of India to examine and report on the nature of the relation be-

tween Queda and Siam, and especially whether a grant of the island made by Queda could be considered as valid without the concurrence of the Siamese Government, and from the following extract from his report it appears that he considered Queda as scarcely in any degree dependant on Siam.

“ I must now further trespass upon your patience to acquaint you with the relation Queda has to Siam. It does not appear either by writings or tradition that Queda was ever governed by the Siamese laws or customs; there would have been some remains had there been some affinity between them. The people of Queda are Mahomedans, their letters Arabic and their language Jawee. Their kings originally from Menan-Kabu on Sumatra, but, as Queda was very near Ligore, a kingdom of Siam, they sent every third year a gold and silver tree as a token of homage to Ligore. This was done to preserve a good correspondence, for at this period the Siamese were very rich and numerous, but no warriors, and a considerable trade was carried on between Ligore and Queda. After the destruction of Siam, the king of Ava demanded the token of homage from Queda, and received the gold and silver tree; when Pia Tack drove away the Burmans, and built a new city on Siam, the king of Queda sent the trees to Siam, and has kept peace with both, paying homage sometimes to one, sometimes the other, and often to both.”

In the Modern Universal History we find this decisive testimony of the independence of Kedah.

" This petty king was, for many years, tributary to Siam, but is at* present independent," to which sentence there is the following foot note appended. " It was tributary in 1686, according to Choisy, page 523, but, possibly, the kings of Siam always reckon as their tributaries those states, which have at any time been so. The city of Queda was destroyed by the Portuguese under James de Mendez Furtado in 1614. De Faria, Portug. Asia, Vol. III. p. 197."

Sir Stamford Raffles, after some other observations, proceeds thus;

" As to the opinion hazarded by Mr. Scott, with regard to the means of avoiding the evils consequent to a Siamese invasion, † it is only necessary to state that the claims of the Siamese on Pulo Pinang are quite as good as any on other part of the Quedah territory; and that, if Quedah were subdued, and made a province of Siam, we would find it impossible to defend our thin strip of mangrove marsh, three miles broad, and must consequently resign it with its inhabitants, amounting at present to the number of five thousand persons, to the devastations of the Siamese. I have no doubts but we should be able to defend our settlement of Pulo Pinang against the whole force of the Siamese territory, but have

* Captain Hamilton who was in these parts in 1703.

† Vix. By obtaining by purchase, or otherwise, the lands of Kedah to the southward of Gunong Gerai, (a mountain forming a defined northerly confine), and bounded to the southward by the Carrion and Edjoi rivers, and inland by the mountains which divide Kedah from Tringano; the whole comprizing about 12 square leagues of fine productive and well watered land. Mr. Scott's idea was that, in the event of a Siamese invasion, this small tract was capable of maintaining the whole Kedah population, and that Pinang would benefit by their bringing it all under cultivation. Mr. Scott was a contemporary of Mr. Light's, and equally impressed with a sense of the obligation on the British to defend Kedah as shewn in this summary of his opinion.

very serious doubts that the defence of it would cost us quite as much expence as the defence of the Queda territory. The tenure, by which we hold Pulo Pinang at present is that of a yearly tribute, which would by no means be creditable to the English Company, or the English nation, if the obvious superiority of our force to that of Queda did not shew the whole world that the Rajah of Queda owes this to our national justice, and not to the power of his arms. This, however, would by no means be equally obvious, if this yearly sum were to be paid to Siam, and would tend to depreciate our national character among all the nations of the Eastern seas. The difficulty of negotiating with the Siamese Government has always been acknowledged to be great, and the English in particular have been remarkably unfortunate in all their attempts at this purpose."

Had the Treaty of Siam, dated 20th June 1826, been in existence at the period that the foregoing sentence was written, it is probable that Sir Stamford would have conceived that the English have been even more than "remarkably unfortunate" in all their negociations with Siam. How clearly does this talented individual in the foregoing passages point out that the justice and the wisdom of the English lay in at once adopting the manly and straight forward policy of defending Kedah, and in the following extracts he no less judiciously exposes the fallacy of the opinion entertained by Major Farquhar on the subject of the Siamese being anxious to form an alliance with the British, having for its object the mutual advantage of both nations. It is thus

adverted to in his Memoirs. He states that it was adopted "by Mr. Farquhar, in consequence of some communications with the Siamese Governor of Ligore, as appears from the following extract from his report on Prince of Wales's Island. "The measure, most direct and effective for preserving the peace of Queda, would be a letter from the Governor General to the King of Siam, requesting him to write to the head men at S. ngora, called by the Siamese Son Kra, Ligore, Patardy,* and Calantan, not to molest the Queda empire, which the king would instantly comply with. The Siamese are from interest our firm allies because they detest the Burmans, and entertain a hope that we should be of one day or other be obliged to make war upon Ava. Several letters have been received from (by?) the Governor of Ligore to send them early notice should such an event be likely to take place, and the Governor says he has orders to tender the provinces of Mergui, Tenasserim, Tavoy, and Martaban, to the English, as the price for their co-operation against Ava. The Siamese have never given up their claims to these provinces, which from time immemorial formed a part of their natural hereditary dominions, and were only lately seized upon by the Burmans.

"Never having seen the letters of the Governor of Ligore, referred to by Mr. Farquhar, nor knowing where to refer to them, I can neither pretend to judge positively of the crisis, which produced such an offer from the Siamese Government, nor to suggest whether or not some misapprehension may have occurred on our parts. It must be

* Patani.

admitted, however, that any cession of this kind is totally averse to the usual maxims of the Siamese Government. It may, however, be observed that if there ever was such a crisis which could have induced the Siamese to renounce four of their ancient and native provinces in our favour, it would be comparatively easy to procure the cession of Queda. I may even venture to add that, in my opinion, the cession of all Queda would be procured with no greater difficulty than the cession of Pinang alone, and the cession of the whole Malay Peninsula than the cession of Queda. The only difficulty in the case will be to procure any species of cession which will be recognised by a Government so constituted as the Siamese. If our negotiations with Siam were for the present confined solely to the object of opening a trade with that country, I conceive that the very same difficulties would occur, and that no trade except of the most limited nature, would be permitted, the obstructions arising equally from the Chinese maxims of Government, which they have adopted, the ignorance of the Siamese Ministers, their short sighted rapacity and jealousy of Europeans, which jealousy will hardly fail to be increased by their* becoming better acquainted with our naval and military resources. The opinion, therefore, which I venture to express on the subject is that, though numerous circumstances tend to render an alliance with Siam desirable, nothing is to be expected from any other than an armed negotiation. Siam, situated between two powerful nations, the Burmans and Cochin-Chinese, by each of which

* The event has fully demonstrated the accuracy of this opinion.

her political existence has been several times endangered, is our natural ally, and might derive the most essential advantages from forming intimate relations with the English, but she is by no means sensible of this, and I am persuaded no overtures on our part would be acceptable to that Government at present that had not for their basis the proposition of mutual hostilities against the Burmans.* A proposition of this kind, I have little doubt, would be favorably listened to; and, if such an occasion should occur, it would be of the highest importance to embrace it, in order to procure the complete liberation of the Malay Peninsula from the influence of Siam, an arrangement which might be productive of the highest political consequences."

In this extract we perceive at once the master mind of Sir Stamford Raffles. He not only detects the shuffling and evasive policy of Siam; but, adverting to the reckless faithlessness with which she has ever regarded the most solemn treaties, when she could infringe them with impunity, declares that she must be taught both our ability and readiness to punish such infractions before any reliance could be placed on her adherence to her engagements. He also points out that, in the event of the British and Siamese coalescing, in order to humble Burmah, the former should demand, as an equivalent for their powerful co-operation, the liberation of the Peninsula, from Siamese influence, "an event which he confidently anticipated would "be productive of the highest political consequences."

* I have already stated that Siam is too jealous of the English to readily adopt such a measure.

When this combination of circumstances did, at a subsequent period, arise, we find England at the foot of Siam, instead of making her own terms; we find her, instead of stipulating for the independence of the Peninsula, yielding her ancient ally, and other independent states, tamely and unreservedly to this rapacious power, receiving no other remuneration than vague promises of future co-operation, which were never fulfilled.

The Siamese, by their numberless atrocities, rendered the oppressed Kedans ripe for resistance, as soon as they could obtain a leader on whom they could depend. They naturally looked to the ex-royal family of Kedah for a chief, at a time when their king himself was a prisoner, guarded by his allies, and they found him in Tuankoo Koodeen, the nephew of the deposed monarch, or "former Governor" of Kedah. But the Siamese dreaded this warrior as much as his own party looked up to him, and endeavoured in a most dastardly manner to rid themselves of their opponent. The following statement of the transaction is founded upon a letter which appeared in the Singapore Chronicle of the 5th January 1832. I believe it to be substantially correct, and therefore give it to the public:

I have already stated that Tuankoo Koodeen was a nephew of the King of Kedah, but I have not mentioned that his father was an Arab of Palembang, from whom it is probable that he derived that indomitable perseverance and fortitude which so eminently distinguished him in the struggle which he maintained for the liberties of Kedah.

His family had been in the enjoyment of a

handsome pension which was temporarily suspended by Government, on account of the King of Kedah's having refused implicit compliance with its mandates relative to the pending dispute between Siam and Kedah. The Tuankoo was consequently compelled to submit to the trying vicissitudes of penury and obscurity, and deemed himself happy in being permitted to reside in Province Wellesley, and enjoy a fancied security under the British flag. The Siamese, dreading his courage and talents, hired some ruffians to assassinate him; a task which they endeavoured to effect by blowing up his house in the dead of the night. They so far failed in their object that the Tuankoo was only severely scorched, but his wife and three children were killed by the explosion. Exasperated by this dastardly attempt upon his life which rendered him a widower and childless, Tuankoo Koodeen stirred up the minds of his countrymen, and excited them to assert their independence by an appeal to arms. So successful was his summons that from Province Wellesley alone it is stated that five thousand Malays flocked to his standard, and as many hundred from Pulo Pinang. With this force he retook the fort of Kedah from the Siamese on the 24th April 1831, and would probably have maintained it to this day, had it not been for Article 13th of the Siamese Treaty in which the English engage that they will not "permit the former Governor of Queda, or any of his followers, to attack, disturb, or injure in any manner the territory of Queda, or any other territory subject to Siam."

Embarrassed by this article, the Government

is said to have made an offer of arms and ammunition to the Siamese, as a proof that the capture of the fort had taken place without its concurrence. This proffer was readily accepted by the Siamese, who, reminding the British of the stipulation of active co-operation, requested them to blockade the rivers and coast of Kedah. The requisition could not be evaded, and the English, in consequence of this memorable Treaty, were compelled to turn their arms against their ancient and faithful ally. The H. C.'s armed vessels, Zephyr and Emerald, were despatched for this purpose, and shortly afterwards relieved by His Britannic Majesty's ships, the Wolf and Crocodile, and Tuankoo Koodeen and his adherents were proclaimed as pirates.

In the first naval action which ensued between the Siamese and the Malays, the former were on the eve of being worsted, when the Wolf poured her shot into the Malay boats and sunk them. This was, in fact, the only naval action that was fought, as the Malay fleet was closely hemmed in by the British, and prevented even from procuring provisions, whilst that of the Siamese was permitted free ingress and egress. Tuankoo Solyman, the king's brother, residing on the confines of Province Wellesley, made a demonstration of joining Tuankoo Koodeen with three thousand men; but, his movements being closely watched by four Companies of the 46th M. N. I. he hesitated and never declared himself.

Hemmed in by sea and beleaguered by land, the ranks of Tuankoo Koodeen were rapidly thinned by war, desertion, and famine, till at

length he was left with a Spartan band of thirty individuals who preferred death to slavery.

This heroic little party managed, however, to keep the whole Siamese force at bay for a considerable period. On the 4th October 1831, the latter made a grand attack upon the fort of Kedah; and Tuankoo Koodeen, after a brave resistance, and receiving several wounds, finding his efforts unavailing, is stated to have called a favorite chief to his side, and the two, on a preconcerted signal, deprived each other of existence by sheathing their Krises in their bosoms. The Siamese now entered the fort and put the remainder of its gallant defenders to the sword. The total loss of lives on both sides is estimated by the writer of the account in the Singapore Chronicle, (whence the materials of this statement are drawn), at from six to ten thousand, principally Siamese, who suffered more in consequence of their preponderance of numbers. The estimate is so extremely vague that it is impossible to draw any just conclusion from it.

Whilst this struggle was going on, viz. from June 1831, the king of Kedah was kept a state prisoner in Pinang until towards the end of the year when, in consequence of the Siamese demanding that the British should carry into effect that clause of the 13th Article of the Treaty which stipulates that they shall "make arrangements for the former Governor of Queda to go and live in some other country, and not at Prince of Wales's Island, or Pny, or in Perak, Salangore, or any Burmese country," the Government was compelled to request the unfortunate Rajah to remove to Malacca. As he did not feel willing

to be banished forever from his native land, and the authorities felt reluctant to enforce the Treaty of Siam by the bayonet, the only method of inducing him to accede, without the application of force, which was left to the Government was the reduction of the annual tribute of ten thousand dollars *per annum*, or $\$33\frac{1}{2}$ per month, stipulated to be paid by the British so long as they retained Pinang, to 500 dollars *per mensem* until such time as he complied. With much reluctance and compelled by want, he at length embarked in July or August 1831, and in September 1832, the Governor General, with whom the son of the now ex-rajah had an interview in Calcutta, directed, on learning the state of the case, that the stipulated price, with all the accumulation of arrears, should be paid to the unfortunate exile.

Yet this Treaty, which has been the means of accumulating so many evils on Kedah—so much embarrassment, not to use a stronger term, on the British Government, has been violated by the Siamese themselves. The 12th Article stipulates that “Siam shall not go and obstruct, or interrupt, commerce in the states of Tringano and Calantan.” In 1832 the Siamese attacked Patani, whose Rajah fled to Calantan, which place they immediately invested with a fleet of seventy war boats, and demanded the person of the Rajah of Patani, as well as those of the four brothers who ruled over the separate districts of Calantan. The Calantanese offered to give up the Patani Rajah, and pay forty thousand Spanish dollars and a picul of gold dust if they were spared the horrors of a Siamese invasion. After

some days' deliberation the Siamese accepted the person of the Patani Chief, 30,000 Dollars, and ten Catties of gold dust, with which they returned to Siam, where the unfortunate Rajah with some of his family was kept in irons. In the course of six weeks, upwards of four thousand natives of Patani, Singora, and the neighbouring states, were brought as slaves to Siam. I will not disgust my readers by detailing the state of these miserable people, but only request them to draw for horrors on their imagination without fearing to overtop the reality.

That this was a palpable violation of the Treaty of Siam there can be no doubt, and it is a striking illustration of Sir Stamford Raffles's remark that "the only difficulty in the case will be to procure any species of cession which will be recognized by a Government so constituted as the Siamese."

The whole of these evils have arisen from two causes, viz. the timorous policy of Sir John M^cPherson, and the utter disregard paid to the pre-existing Treaty of Kedah, when that of Siam was concluded. The first is to be traced to a laudable desire to promote the interests of his employers, without pledging them to a line of policy which might involve the Company in a fruitless and expensive war, which would moreover have been viewed with an eye of jealousy by the British nation at large, and attributed to motives of aggrandizement.—The second can only be accounted for on the charitable supposition that the British diplomatist was utterly ignorant of the existence of the Treaty of Kedah.

CHAPTER IV.

Opening remarks upon the states of Rumbow, Johol, Soongei Oojong, and Nanning—Deviation in the line of succession of the Menangkabow Royal Family—Traditionally account-for—authority and offices of the Panghooloos—Ditto of the Iang de Pertuan Besar—Ditto of Iang de Pertuan Moodah—Rajah Itam, the Iang de Pertuan Besar procures the election of his father-in-law, Rajah Assil, to the office of Rajah Besar of Rumbow, or Iang de Pertuan Moodah—Rajah Alli, grandson of the latter, conspires against him, and, on detection, retires to Nipah—Rajah Alli again intrigues for the sovereignty of Rumbow, and is at length successful—Rajah Laboo becomes Iang de Pertuan Besar, to the great vexation of Rajah Alli, who seizes a favorable pretext for a rupture—Hostilities commence, and, owing to an atrocious crime on the part of some of Rajah Laboo's people, he is deserted by his adherents, and compelled to resign—office of Panghooloo—Rumbow deviates from the custom of the other states—Her reason for so doing—Office of Dattoo Moodah of Linggy—The Tamoongong of Moar. Tuankoo Tuan, chief of Si Gannat, rebels—Office of Rajah de Rajah, or Rajah Shahbunder of Soongei Oojong—The Panglimahs, or warriors—The Sookoos of Rumbow Ilu, and Rumbow Onloo, and Nanning—Population of Nanning—The Dutch tribute—The ex-Panghooloo of Nanning—Ceremonies observed at the annual display of the sacred Badjo—British Resident abolishes the tax upon boats, and the tribute of buffaloes—Panghooloo of Nanning summoned to Malacca—Refuses to come—Observations on the levying of the tenth of the produce—Mr. Church goes to Nanning as commissioner, and returns unsuccessful—Remarks upon the line of policy pursued by the Government towards Nanning—the Panghooloo of Nanning seizes a Dusun—Home Government orders him to be reduced to submission—The Panghooloo successfully intrigues with Rajah Alli of Rumbow, who enters into alliance with him—The expedition against Nanning starts—Description of the road—Alarm at

Malacca—commencement of hostilities—Detail of operations—Troops retreat to Soongei Pattye—Panic at Malacca increases—Light company of the 29th arrives from Soongei Pattye—Lieutenant White killed—The troops finally retreat to Malacca with the loss of the guns.

BEFORE reverting to the affairs of Malacca, it will be necessary to take a slight review of the nature of the native Governments and of the different offices and titles of their chiefs.

The peculiar style of the Panghooloos of the different states of Rumbow, Soongie Ojong, Johol, and Nanning, have been already detailed,* as well as that they derive their origin from Menangkabow, and adhere to the same principles of Government as those observed in the parent state. Their interests used at an earlier period to be considered the same, but Nanning, though still admitted to conferences of a general nature, was unavoidably excluded from deliberations which affected peace or war, after she had fallen under European, and consequently foreign, domination.

The line of succession in all four states is the same, or, in other words, that which obtains in the royal family of Menangkabow, or, as it is sometimes denominated, Pagaroocong: instead of the title descending, as it naturally should do, on the son of the deceased Chieftain, it falls upon the son of his eldest sister.

This extraordinary deviation from the acknowledged principles of succession is thus traditionally accounted for, although, from the usual inattention to dates observable more or less in all legends, but especially Eastern ones, I am una-

* Vide pp. 50, 51, 64.

ble to give even an approximating guess as to the æra in which the foundation of the legend is laid. The Iang de Pertuan, or Sulthaun, of Johore built a large vessel, which, in despite of every effort made to launch her, remained immovable on the stocks. Matters continued in this state until the Sulthaun dreamed one night that, if a pregnant female of the blood-royal were to lie at full length across the ways of the vessel, the preternatural obstruction would be removed, and the vessel glide over the body of the victim into her destined element. He affectionately tendered this extraordinary honor to his daughter, but this lady had no ambition to become a martyr in such a cause, and resolutely declined. Fortunately for the Rajah's peace of mind, his eldest sister was equally qualified, and infinitely more willing, to fulfill the conditions of the dream; she unhesitatingly stretched her person before the stern of the ponderous vessel, which, the charm being thereby dissolved, passed over her and her unborn babe, and sought those waters which thenceforth were to be its home. The Sulthaun, in conjunction with his ministers, decreed that in consequence the crown should pass from the son of his degenerate daughter, and be entailed thenceforward on the son of the eldest sister of the reigning monarch.

The Panghooloos of these four states exercise individually all the rights of sovereignty. They levy fines, promulgate decrees, and inflict capital punishment: these acts of seigniority have been denied to the Panghooloo of Nanning by the Dutch in the first instance, and by their successors, the English, in the second, on the ground

of his feudatory rights being merged in the superior power. The Panghooloos are elected by the Sookoos and people, and confirmed by the Iang de Pertuan Besar. They appropriate fines in cases adjudicated by themselves, and receive presents at births, marriages, and deaths, and contributions on political emergencies. The Panghooloo and Rajah de Rajah of Soongei Oo-jong derive considerable addition to their revenues from the tin mines, and the Panghooloos of Johol and Ganinchi obtain some returns from the Ganinchi gold mines, which, although they be small, produce better gold than those of Pahang. The Panghooloo of Nanning possesses an additional annual tribute of five gantangs, or gallons, of paddy, two fowls, and one cocoanut, from each house in his territory.

But, notwithstanding this extent of authority, the whole acknowledge a superior influence, which is vested in an individual named the Iang de Pertuan Besar. This personage may be denominated a titular chief, who receives his honors from Menangkabow, but derives neither power nor fixed revenue from the dignity. The office appears to have been instituted shortly after the title of "Rajah of the Interior" became extinct * in consequence of a remonstrance addressed by the Panghooloos of the different states to the Sulthaun of Johore praying that, as he had resigned his authority over them in favor of the Dutch, he would procure them a leader from the royal blood of Menangkabow. The Sulthaun consequently wrote to that state, and the negotiations ended in the appointment of an individual

* Vide page 64.

of that family under the title of Iang de Pertuan Besar. As the sanction of the Dutch was requisite to this appointment, it was settled that, whatever individual should be nominated to this office by Menangkabow, he should produce to the Malacca authorities, previous to his passing into the interior, a document termed Tarumpah, which was to exhibit in a correct and unimpeachable manner the genealogical tree of the house of Menangkabow, and his own connection therewith; failing in these particulars, his title became, *ipso facto*, invalid, and fell to the ground like an autumnal leaf. But even, when fully recognized, the Iang de Pertuan Besar is destitute of any insignia of authority either in private, or in public, and receives neither taxes as a sovereign—tribute as from Dependencies, nor presents under the implication of homage: the only functions which he exercises, and revenues which he derives, are the giving his decision in disputes between ryots and settling all such matters as may be referred by the Panghooloos to him for final arbitration, and the appropriation of the fines in every case in which his judgement has been passed. He also receives presents on births, marriages, or deaths, and contributions in a state necessity, in a manner similar to the Panghooloos Belantye.

But, although, strictly speaking, the Iang de Pertuan Besar requires both the confirmation of Malacca, and the permission of its authorities before he can pass into the interior, the custom appears of late years to have fallen into desuetude. Lengan Lawoot, who was appointed somewhere

about 1813, passed at once into the interior, and his successor Rajah Laboo, who arrived from Menangkabow in 1828, did the same. This last chief was accompanied by Rajah Krajan.

Another anomalous situation has, of late years, sprung up in Rumbow. I allude to that of the Iang de Pertuan Moodah, which is inferior only to that of the Iang de Pertuan Besar; and, like it, is destitute of insignia, territory, or subjects. This office is of very recent date, and its origin is this: Rajah Itam, having succeeded Rajah Adil as Iang de Pertuan Besar, married a daughter of Rajah Assil: this last chieftain had four sons and two daughters, one of the latter of whom having been left a widow by a Buggis Chief, by whom she had Rajah Alli, subsequently married Rajah Itam. The other daughter, having been also left a widow by Tuankoo Seh, by whom she had one child, retired to Linggy, whence she was eventually invited to remove to Soongei Ojong, and, shortly after her arrival there, married Rajah Laboo.

Rajah Itam exerted his influence with the Panghooloos Belantye* and Sookoos of Rumbow, and procured the election of his father-in-law, Rajah Assil, to the new dignity of Rajah of Rumbow, under the title of Iang de Pertuan Moodah. It is asserted that Rajah Alli, who in the earlier period of his career is currently reported to have been a pirate Chief of some fame, conspired in concert with another leader of equally dubious character against the authority, if not

* The affix of Belantye is always applied to the head Panghooloos of the different states in contradistinction to such as are merely heads of townships and villages.

the life, of his grandfather, Rajah Assil, and, in consequence of the detection of his ambitious schemes, incurred the hostility of his aunt, the wife of Rajah Laboo. In consequence of this premature discovery, he retired to Nipah.

Rajah Itam was succeeded in the office of Jang de Pertuan Besar by Lengan Lawoot, who died in 1824.

It will now be necessary to retrace our steps a little in order to shew the manner in which this crafty Chief, Rajah Alli, obtained the sovereignty of Rumbow.

One of the sons of Rajah Assil, by name Rajah Hadgi, having become violently enamoured with the daughter of a celebrated Hadgi, a relative of Ramah, the present Panghooloo Rumbow, demanded her in marriage. On her father's refusing his consent, he forcibly carried her off to the *Istana*, one of the places of residence of his father, Rajah Assil. Ramah complained to the latter of the outrage, but ineffectually, as that chieftain either would not, or could not, afford him redress.

Scruples appear to prevail in the interior as to the propriety of resorting to an appeal to arms, except in cases where the contending Chiefs are of equal rank, and head their respective parties; Rajah Alli was therefore requested by the aggrieved parties to lead them against his grandfather, Rajah Assil; an office which he readily assumed, never having laid aside his ambitious aspirations to the power of that relative. Directly that he assumed command, he entered into negotiations with Rajah Assil, pointing out to him, in the strongest terms that he could devise the ne-

cessity of withdrawing for a while, and promising faithfully that, as soon as he could arrange the affair amicably, he would resign his temporary authority in his favor. His grandfather became a dupe to his artifices, followed his advice, and Rajah Alli firmly established himself as *Iang de Pertuan Moodah*, or Rajah of Rumbow.

Rajah Hadgi, meanwhile, came with his wife to Malacca—shortly afterwards abandoned her—returned to Rumbow, and became a wretched and neglected outcast in consequence of his disreputable habits and vicious propensities.

Rajah Assil, finding that Rajah Alli was strenuously supported in his usurpation by the Panghooloo Belantye, and Sookoos of Rumbow, against whose united influence it was hopeless for him to attempt to contend single handed, went to Malacca, and applied to Captain Farquhar, the then British Resident, for assistance, which he, conceiving himself bound by the existing Treaties of the Government to do, was ready to afford. On application to Pinang, however, he found that the principle of non-interference, even in the face of a treaty, was one which had gathered strength with its years; and he was forbidden to mingle with the politics of the interior: Rajah Alli consequently remained undisturbed in his authority, which subsequently became more firmly established by the death of Rajah Assil at Malacca.

Rajah Alli, or the *Iang de Pertuan Moodah*, could not view the appointment of Rajah Laboo to the office of the *Iang de Pertuan Besar*, with any other feelings than those of great distrust, jealousy, and inquietude. Aware of the impla-

cable animosity of his aunt, (the wife of Rajah Laboo), he could not but be apprehensive that she would take advantage of her husband's superior rank to shake his authority, and, perhaps, eventually oust him from the empire, especially as Rajah Laboo, on his arrival, proceeded at once to Nanning, a contiguous state, whence he was conducted by the Panghooloo to Soongei Oojong (the Dattoo Calana of which territory, as previously stated, takes precedence of the other three), and thence conveyed to Rumbow, where the only dissentient voice at his election was that of the individual most interested in his injection—Rajah Alli.

At this juncture, the Panghooloo of Sri Menanti, (the place at which the Rajah Besar of Sumatra resides), was prevailed upon by Rajah Radin, eldest son of the deceased Lengan Lawoot, to proclaim him as the *Iang de Pertuan Besar*, but shortly afterwards withdrew his support upon receiving a remonstrance from the Calana and Rajah Laboo.

Whilst affairs were in this state, Rajah Laboo seized two Lellas,* and other articles to the value of about two hundred Spanish dollars, the property of Rajah Radin, under the pretext that they were regalia. The injured Chief appealed to Rajah Alli, who willingly espoused his cause, as it afforded him a specious apology for coming to an open rupture with an individual, whose interests were so diametrically opposed to his own. Taking advantage of the favorable opportunity afforded by the absence of Rajah Laboo, the two Chiefs made a sudden irruption into Sri Menanti,

* Lella, a species of swivel.

and recovered the property. Rajah Laboo, in conjunction with the Calana, raised a considerable body of men, and marched against Rajah Alli. Amongst his followers were several people from Raboo, a district lying to the north-west of Menangkabow, some of whom are asserted in their progress to have abused a Rumbow woman to death. The indignation excited by the atrocity of this deed became so great and general that Rajah Laboo, finding himself deserted by all his principle adherents, with the solitary exception of Pahal, Panghooloo of Rumbow Ilu, retired to Malacca, where he at present resides under the self assumed title of Iang de Pertuan of Sri Menanti.

Pahal, in the first instance, retired to Nanning, but at a subsequent period returned to his own country. Rajah Krajan crossed over to Pahang, thence passed to Moar, and finally obtained a footing in Nanning, the Panghooloo of which assigned him a residence at Ooloo Battang Malacca, the proximity of which to Rumbow caused Rajah Alli no slight uneasiness, as he feared the ulterior designs of Rajah Krajan. The people of Raboo were compelled to quit that part of the country in order to avoid the torrent of general indignation consequent on the crime of a portion of their body. Rajah Radin, in consequence of the retirement of Rajah Laboo, succeeded in obtaining the office of Iang de Pertuan Besar. The revenues of the Iang de Pertuan Moodah, are derived in a manner similar to those of the Iang de Pertuan Besar, and Panghooloos Belantye.

The next office to that of Panghooloo in point

of dignity is that of Sookoo, or Minister. Soon-gei Oojong, Johol, and Nanning, are each governed by one Panghooloo Belantye, and four Sookoos: Rumbow, on the other hand, numbers two Panghooloos and eight Sookoos. This deviation from the established custom was introduced by Rajah Alli. Prior to the death of Bahagoh, Panghooloo of Rumbow, which occurred in 1819, there was only one Panghooloo although there were always eight Sookoos, on account of Rumbow being divided into two districts, viz. Rumbow Ilu, and Rumbow Ooloo. Of the latter the principal village is named Chamboong, whilst Rumbow Ilu boasts of two, Penagy, and Bandar. Formerly, the Panghooloo Belantye, or Panghooloo Rumbow, whose proper seat of authority is Rumbow Ooloo, possessed equal authority over Rumbow Ilu.

On the decease of Bahagoh, one of his nephews, named Ramah, was made Panghooloo Belantye of Rumbow Ooloo, under the title of Lella Maharajah, and another nephew, Pahal, already mentioned, was declared Panghooloo of Rumbow Ilu, or Baroo.

The election of a Panghooloo from the royal family of Menankabow is vested in the Sookoos and people, a rule which obtains in each of these states. On the vacancy occurring by the death of Bahagoh, the four Sookoos of Rumbow Ooloo, who, it is supposed, had taken umbrage at Rajah Alli's having concluded a Treaty on the 5th June 1819 with Timmerman Thyssen, the Governor of Malacca, without consulting them, (the Treaty being signed merely by Rajah Alli, and the Panghooloo and Sookoos of Rumbow

Ilu)* elected Ramah, an individual opposed to the interests of the Rajah Rumbow. The Sookoos of Rumbow Ilu, again, influenced by Rajah Alli, nominated Pahal, to whom the Rajah would willingly have transferred the undivided authority, could he have obtained the concurrence of the Sookoos of Rumbow Ooloo. Since that period, however, the sentiments of both parties have undergone a complete change, Rumbow Ooloo supporting Pahal, and Rumbow Ilu upholding Ramah. This latter has given much dissatisfaction by his conduct, and it is probable that, on his demise, the two offices will be again merged in one, especially as Rajah Alli has since resigned the dignity of Iang de Pertuan Moodah in favor of his son-in-law, Seyd Sabban. The Sookoos are appointed by their own Panghooloo Belantye, but the concurrence of the people is requisite. They participate in the revenues of the Panghooloos, in addition to which they receive assistance from the people, whenever they have occasion to make a feast.

The Dattoo Moodah of Linggy is another office, which requires to be mentioned. The colony of Linggy was founded somewhere about 1780 by five individuals, who had emigrated from Rhio to Penagy in Rumbow, viz. Cawder Alli; Inchi Mahomed; Inchi Aman; Inchi Jahoodin; and Lubbi Juman: they subsequently removed to Linggy, with their families, where, having obtained the sanction and guarantee of Dattoo Calana, the Panghooloo of Soongei

* The signatures are those of Rajah Alli, as Rajah of Rumbow, or Iang de Pertuan Moodah; Lella Maharajah, as Panghooloo Belantye, and Gampa Maharajah, Moerbangsa, Sangsoerah Pahlawan, and Bangan Balaney, as Sookoos of Rumbow Ilu.

lana of Soongie Oojong, they founded the present colony: it lies about four hours pull up the Linggy river, the junction of the Rumbow and Linggy branches at Simpang* being situated about midway.

At the time that the colony was founded, the country presented the same appearance of wild impenetrable jungle as the surrounding parts do at this day; the banks of the river from the sea, even beyond Simpang, being clothed with mangrove trees, which thrive luxuriantly in the half submerged soil which borders the river.

Over this colony, which at present consists of about a hundred houses, Dattoo Calana, the proprietor of the country, appointed Inchi Aman the chief, under the title of Dattoo Moodah. Had he styled him Panghooloo, it would have been necessary to have also nominated Sookoos, a step which would have too closely interwoven his interests with those of Rumbow, (as the emigrants were connected by marriage with that state), and have terminated either in Linggy becoming transferred to the authority of Rumbow, or else, with the assistance of that country, asserting her independence. He would, moreover, have been obliged to consult with the other Panghooloos, relative to the election of the Sookoos, whereby he ran the risk of having persons selected, who were inimical to his interests. The mouth of the Linggy river is estimated at about 25 miles nearly west of Malacca.

At Moar, again, which lies about 30 miles east of Malacca, there is an hereditary chief, styled Dattoo Tamoongong, who resides at a vil-

* "Simpang," the Malayese for "junction."

lage called Pang-Kallang Kota, situated a short distance from the mouth of the river. The present Chief, who succeeded his father about 1830, was very young when the demise of his father occurred, and was consequently unable to repress the turbulence and ambition of his relatives, many of whom have shaken off the yoke of allegiance and declared themselves independent.

His Uncle, Tuankoo Tuan, chief of Si Gannat, a village situated on a minor branch of the Moar river, and containing somewhere about four hundred houses, was one of the first to take this step, and his example was speedily followed by Inchi Ahat, and Inchi Mahomed, two distant cousins of the Tamoongong, who reside generally at a village called Soongie Dua, (literally, two rivers), which is situated on the eastern bank of the Cassang river, not far from Mount Ophir. These individuals, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the interior, forcibly possessed themselves in 1832 of a large tract of land, lying at the foot of Mount Ophir, the proprietary right of which was a disputed point between the British and the Tamoongong. They, moreover, levied the tenth of the produce of the soil from the inhabitants, and expelled Inchi Allang, who had been appointed Panghooloo by the British, when they had in 1829 removed Inchi Bauniah from that office. These two last are said to stand in the same degree of relationship to the Tamoongong as Inchi Ahat, and Inchi Mahommed.

There is yet another office, that of Rajah de Rajah, or Rajah Shahbandar, of Soongie Oojong, who is a person of considerable importance, having jurisdiction over every thing connected with

the rivers, and water carriage in general. The situation is at present held by Inchi Katus, the son-in-law of his immediate predecessor, Julki Annacan. This officer, the Dattoo Moodah of Linggy, and the subordinate Panghooloos, are all appointed by their own immediate Panghooloo Belantye, with the concurrence of the people, and the offices are retained in the same families either by blood or connection.

In all cases, however, whatever the rank of the party may be, he cannot assume office until he has been confirmed by his immediate superior; and, even in that of the highest rank, as there may be several individuals of the same family equally qualified by birth for the situation, the community exercises the elective franchise.

The minor situations are few and unimportant, the only one that requires notice is that of Panglimah, or warrior. Each Panghooloo has about a dozen, more or less, of these warriors who are generally fine athletic men, and used, until they were taught the contrary, to consider themselves invulnerable. The head Panglimah acts as a species of Lieutenant to the Panghooloos, who never lead their own troops into battle, but content themselves with remaining in the rear, at such a convenient distance as to be enabled to make their retreat good in the event of the tide of success turning against them. The Panglimahs receive no salary, but are exempt from feudal services and taxes, and are allowed to levy contributions on the people *ad libitum*, a task which they have no difficulty in performing, owing to the respect in which they are held. They are generally clothed in scarlet broad-cloth,

having a tuft of horse hair, dyed red, attached to the shaft of their spear, near the head.

Having premised thus much in order to a clearer understanding of the subsequent events, in which we find the British involved in hostilities with Nanning and Rumbow, I proceed to enumerate in the first instance the Sookoos of Rumbow and Nanning, with the population of the latter state, previous to entering on the late occurrences.

SOOKOOS OF RUMBOW OOLOO, OR DASAH.

Endika.	Si Maharajah.
Sindang Maharajah.	Mandalaha.

SOOKOOS OF RUMBOW ILU OR DE BAROO.

Moorah Bangah.	Sangsoorah Pahlawan.
Gampah Rajah.	Eangsa Ballang.

Of these, Endika is the most influential.

SOOKOOS OF NANNING.

Dattoo Endika of Anak Malacca.	Dattoo Rajah Mengkayah of Si Malangan.
Dattoo Embangin of Tige Battoo.	Dattoo Kayoo Kechil of Moongkull.

POPULATION OF NANNING.

Villages.	Houses.	Villages.	Houses.
Soongie Sipoot.....	51	Brought forward	442
Soongie Booloo.....	46	Inar.....	10
Ayer Pahaber.....	39	Sebang.....	216
Soongie Gagoo.....	22	Pootoo.....	29
Loondoo.....	15	Gadi.....	15
Briasoo.....	50	Kainoorung.....	10
Mulikee and Battang		Malacca Pinda.....	61
Mulikee.....	52	Ayer Booloo.....	5
Padang Besar.....	20	Ampangan Serang....	10
Lurion Paroot.....	52	Junantang.....	11
Taboo and Churamah		Pandoogi.....	32
Pootih.....	21	Pegoh.....	49
Kamvour.....	7	Pangkallang Nanning.	56
Alu-Gaja.....	41	Taboong.....	15
Jalatang.....	9	Calana.....	41
Ganoon.....	10	Calliatti.....	5
Dalloom.....	2	Looboo Kepoong....	3
Ayer Panas.....	5	Scattered about....	150
Carried forward.	442	Total of Houses.	1160

The foregoing estimate has reference to the villages as they stood previous to the disturbances in the interior in 1831 and 32; the individual amount of each has of course been materially affected, but the aggregate will be found to be a tolerable approximation.

The population is said to be about 6,000 people, men, women, and children, that is, about 5 to a house; of these it is calculated that about 1,500 are capable of bearing arms.

The tribute which the Dutch annually received was as follows: 400 gantangs of paddy, six dozen of fowls, a duty of 45½ Cents, (or nearly one sicca Rupee), on each boat coming down the river, and a certain number of buffaloes.

The ex-Panghooloo of Nanning, generally known as Dool Syed, although his real name be Si Aboo, (Aboo is literally "ashes") was installed in 1802 by Colonel Taylor, the British Authority at Malacca, and it was agreed upon the part of the English, that the new chief should remain in possession of the same rights and privileges as those which had been enjoyed by his predecessors under the Dutch sway, provided he substituted the English *Chaup*, or seal, for that of the Netherlands Government. The tribute of buffaloes was at the same time annulled by Colonel Taylor. I may here anticipate a little, and compare the inscription on the seal subsequently adopted by Dool Syed, when he appeared in open rebellion against the British, with that of Ramah, the Panghooloo Belantye of Rumbow Ooloo. The seal of Dool Syed is as follows; "Sulthaun Si Maharajah de Rajah, Ibn Sulthaun Abdul Jalil Mohalim Shah, under the blessing of God, the great Sulthaun." On the other hand, whilst the letters of the Panghooloo Belantye of Rumbow state, as usual, in the preamble, that they are written by "Dattoo Lella Maharajah, who governs the country of Rumbow;" the seal bears the simple inscription of Sidya Rajah, Ibn Lella Maharajah, *by favor* of the Bandharra Maharajah, Sri Maharajah."

The sword, *badjoo*, and gold ornamented stick, descended to Dool Syed at his inauguration, and are held in high veneration by the Malays, who conceive that they impart peculiar sanctity to the possessor. They are produced in public but once a year, and then with great solemnity. The Panghooloo displays the sword in the sight of the

admiring multitude, and then proceeds to cleanse it from the rust and stains which have accumulated on its blade during the past year. It is almost unnecessary to add that no hands less sacred than his own are permitted to touch it. He then carefully unfolds the *badjoo*, and extends it solemnly over smoking incense, whilst the people bow themselves to the earth, and, in that attitude of adoration, repeatedly exclaim, "Doulat, Doulat," (Holy, Holy).

The descendants of the slaves, formerly mentioned as having been presented to Jowana Lengang, are supposed to amount at present to about three hundred persons of both sexes and all ages; but, so far from being considered in the light of slaves, they appear to hold a somewhat similar rank relatively to the Panghooloo as that maintained by the vassals to the Lord of the soil in the ancient feudal times of Europe: allowance being made for the difference between Asiatic and Occidental customs. They are perfectly free from the authority of the Sookoos, and subject entirely to the control of the Panghooloo, forming a sort of body-guard to him, and rendering him military service. They are distinguished by the title of "Orang Tallah," (or people presented), and the head man of the tribe is termed "Sookoo Teega Nareh."

In 1807 Major Farquhar, the British Resident at Malacca, abolished the tax of 45½ cents on each boat coming down the river, so that two out of the four taxes imposed by the Dutch, were freely remitted by the British administration.

In 1828, the Panghooloo of Nanning, who had latterly shown symptoms of turbulence and dis-

affection, was summoned to Malacca, but he positively refused to obey the requisition; it is uncertain whether his contumacy arose from apprehensions of being brought to a sharp reckoning for his offences, or from laboring under the idea that, if he once placed himself within the reach of the superior power, he would be compelled to submit to the levying the tenth of the produce of Nanning, a measure which was then originated for the first time with respect to the Malacca lands.

That the British were fully justified in adopting this plan with regard to Nanning, there can be no question. By referring to the former pages of this work, my readers will at once perceive that the tenth was specifically insisted on in the Dutch Treaty of 1643-44, and continued to be binding on Nanning for upwards of a hundred years. True it is that, in 1746, it was replaced by an annual tribute of 400 gantangs of paddy, but the cause of this substitution is evident, viz. that, for the two preceding years, the tenth produced only 200 gantangs; in other words, the Dutch, who were entitled to a *tenth* by Treaty, levied a *fifth* by intimidation.

This reasoning is founded on the assumption that Nanning only produced 2,000 gantangs of paddy annually, an amount, however, which I have little hesitation in asserting that I believe fell considerably short of the actual quantity raised. If, on the one hand, Nanning really produced no more than the 2,000 gantangs, the contemplated levying of the tenth would have been a real boon for which the inhabitants should have felt extremely grateful; or even granting her annu

crops to average 4,000, although not relieved, she would not have been additionally burthened; and if, on the other hand, she produced considerably above the 4,000 gantangs, the English to whom her increasing prosperity was mainly attributable, were entitled both by Treaty and gratitude to the tenth of her crops.

It has been sometimes urged that, notwithstanding the long connection which has subsisted between Nanning and the different European governments, she has made no advance in prosperity, or at least not in a ratio commensurate with her advantages; but this opinion is not borne out by facts. During the time of the Dutch administration, she was not thoroughly subjected to European control, and petty feuds amongst the Chieftains frequently rendered both life and property insecure; whilst her rulers endeavoured to obtain as large a revenue as practicable from her peasantry, even though they wrung them above the fair proportion of the produce of the soil. Industry and wealth reside not with anarchy, oppression, and misrule; and it is an argument in favor of the future prosperity of Nanning that, if she did not visibly progress, she at least did not retrograde, under the influence of these adverse circumstances.

When we discuss the prosperity of a state, we should have a just criterion whereby to judge it. It is easy to look to the capabilities of the soil, and, comparing its natural fertility with its actual produce, to attribute the vast tracts of waste, uncultivated, land to mis-government; but, al-

though this certainly, when it really does exist, must be acknowledged as a main source of the evil complained of, the dispassionate enquirer will take other causes into consideration: he will compare the population with the extent of the country over which it is distributed—he will enquire whether the habits of the people be agricultural, or their disposition industrious—whether their wants be simple, and natural, and, consequently, easily supplied; or whether an artificial mode of life has begotten additional cravings, and induced greater exertions in order to satisfy them—and, lastly, he will compare the state of the country, which he is examining, with that of contiguous nations, which sprang into existence at the same period, and have enjoyed equal natural advantages.

It is a trite, but a true, remark, (the justice of which has been often forcibly presented to me in a life which has been essentially erratic), that the traveller needs not to be informed of the moment that he passes across the frontier of the English East India Company's territory; and this is strikingly verified with respect to Nanning. After her villages had been destroyed by war, and her fields laid waste and desolate by the concomitant cessation of harvest for two years, she yet exhibited greater signs of prosperity than her neighbour of Rumbow, who, with a denser population, had remained unscathed by the sword—uninterrupted in her harvests.

It is therefore not unfair to conclude that, as Nanning has undoubtedly thus progressed during the short period that she has been under the

British, she will, now that she is visited again by peace, and enjoys the advantage of being intersected by good military roads in various directions, rise rapidly in the scale of prosperity. Her population is apparently on the increase, and, wherever the soil, on either side of the road, is adapted for the plough, it is gradually coming into cultivation; the road to Soongei Barro is a remarkable instance of this: a year ago before it was cut, it was a difficult and narrow pathway leading through a thick jungle—it is now bordered a great portion of the way by rice fields. I purpose reverting to this subject when treating of the revenues of the state; meanwhile, I must proceed with the thread of my narrative.

In consequence of the refusal of the Panghooloo of Nanning to appear at Malacca in 1828, no alternative was left for the Government but that of despatching a Commissioner. Mr. Church of the Pinang Civil Service, and Deputy Resident of Malacca, accordingly proceeded, in the subsequent year, into the interior, with instructions to levy the tenth; to forbid the Panghooloo from assuming the right of punishing offenders, who were directed to be sent to Malacca for trial; and to restrain him from inflicting fines: in lieu of these privileges, he and his four Sookoos were offered pensions from Government. The mission was totally unsuccessful, as the Panghooloo unequivocally rejected each stipulation.

I have, I trust, demonstrated the *right* of the Government to the tenth; the *policy* of demanding it is another question: the tax, as I have previously stated, was very obnoxious to the mass of the inhabitants, although the odium of

its original imposition must belong to the Dutch. Still, as it was known to be unfavorably viewed by the people at large, and the additional revenue, thereby to be derived, was so very inconsiderable, it appears to me that it should have been taken into consideration that the terror of Europeans, which had so forcibly influenced the native states two centuries before, was considerably abated of late years, and a less exaggerated opinion of their power was daily becoming more prevalent.

It was therefore a subject for mature deliberation whether, for the purpose of procuring the tenth, any step should be taken which might tend to drive the *people* into rebellion; for this tax struck at every individual from the highest to the lowest.

The same objection does not hold with regard to the other two. The Panghooloo of Nanning had long been deprived of the power of life and death. We have already seen that the Chiefs acknowledged in 1652 that they had no power to put an individual to death, without the sanction of the Dutch; although they were undoubtedly continued in the exercise of their minor and judicial functions. The decisions given by the Chiefs were necessarily very arbitrary, and a wide door for extortion was unavoidably thrown open by the system of appeal current amongst the Malays: thus, it was no difficult matter, in a dispute between two individuals, for the party, who was cast by an inferior Panghooloo, to obtain a reversion of the sentence by an appeal to a Sookoo; his opponent, on application to the Panghooloo Belantye, might, perhaps, get the

judgement on this appeal set aside; and the matter terminate by being laid before the Iyang de Pertuan Besar, whilst both parties, by the imposition of fines, and practice of bribery, were reduced to beggary, and ultimately resorted to nefarious habits of life. No one will maintain that this state of things was desirable, nor deny that its termination would have been a real benefit to the people; but it appears to me that the manner in which it was endeavoured to introduce the alteration was injudicious. In lieu of these privileges, and in order to induce the Panghooloo and Sookoos to concur in levying the tenth, pensions were offered to the whole. Dool Syed had made no mean use of the sanctity which was attributed to him in virtue of the *badjoo* and sword, and, at this period, had advanced so greatly in reputation and political power that Malays of every rank, who were laboring under any bodily infirmity, flocked to his residence at Taboo, in order to be cured of their diseases by drinking the water in which his foot had been dipped. If my readers will reflect that, in the preceding pages, I have mentioned but one instance of a similar assumption of power, (and I have found, after diligent search, none other recorded)—if they will further remember that the individual, of whom it is related, is no less a personage than the celebrated Sulthaun Manzur Shah, who governed Malacca in the very zenith of her prosperity; and then advert to the seal used by the Panghooloo,* they will be able to form some idea

* Dool Syed used this seal in correspondence with the British only after he had openly declared against that power in 1831; but I see no grounds for doubting that he employed it at this period in his communications with the native states.

of the influence which he had obtained over the surrounding states who, although his superiors by adventitious circumstances, thus acknowledged his authority.

It is obvious, then, that the British, in endeavouring to reduce this overgrown power, should have carefully abstained from pursuing any line of policy that might unite the interests of the Panghooloo with those of his people. Had they adhered to this, and, by stripping him gradually of his seignorial rights, deprived him of the greatest proportion of his power, the tithe could have been subsequently imposed with little chance of resistance.

This would not have been a difficult matter, as, notwithstanding the attachment of the people to the person of the Panghooloo, and the reverence in which his reputed sanctity maintained him, he had latterly rendered himself obnoxious to them by his arbitrary exactions. The power, that would have relieved them from this oppression, would have been cheerfully welcomed, and have met with no opposition. As the Proclamation of 1831 expressly states that "the tenth will not be taken until the country is improved, and the inhabitants better able to afford it," it is obvious that the making known the intentions of Government on this head, perhaps years before it could be carried into effect, and thus needlessly irritating the minds of the population, was, at least, an impolitic step. By endeavouring to effect these changes all at once, and offering pensions to the Panghooloo and Sookoos, they united all parties against them, and confirmed the power of Dool Syed in a tenfold degree, as he detailed to his

people the disinterestedness of his conduct in refusing to sacrifice *their* welfare for the prospect of a handsome *personal* provision.

Mr. Fullerton, the Governor of the Straits, which term comprehends the three British settlements of Pulo Pinang, Malacca, and Singapore, arriving at Malacca, shortly after the unsuccessful termination of Mr. Church's mission, resolved to enforce by the sword the adoption of those measures which negotiation had failed to effect. An expedition was accordingly equipped, and the limbers of a brigade of six pounders packed for active service: a few hours previous to the one fixed on for the march of the troops, Mr. Fullerton altered his plans, and countermanded the detachment.

That he had sufficient grounds for this sudden decision is a matter of very little question; but it is to be regretted that the expedition was ordered before his plans were so matured as to be placed beyond the possibility of being shaken by any thing except an extraordinary, and totally unforeseen, change in the posture of affairs. It was a matter of notoriety that the destination of the troops was Nanning, and their object the apprehension of the person of the Panghooloo: a clear intimation was therefore given to that Chieftain that the British Government had decided upon keeping no terms with him; and, as the advance against him had not been countermanded on the ground of his submission, (the sole one which should have dictated the measure), he naturally came to the conclusion that want of *power*, not of *will*, had led to the aban-

donment of hostilities. His hands were strengthened tenfold by the circumstance, and the *badjoo* and sword, to whose virtues he hesitated not to ascribe the quailing of the British, rose into still higher veneration amongst his followers.

Mr. Fullerton's main reason for deferring the expedition appears to have been founded in a desire to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Government previous to engaging in hostilities. He accordingly addressed it on the subject, probably anticipating that, by taking this step, a delay of only a few weeks, at most, would be incurred, from which no material injury would result. If such were his views, he was disappointed, as the Bengal Government referred the whole affair to the Authorities at home; in consequence of which, an interval of nearly two years elapsed between the first declaration of the intentions of Government, and the receipt of the decision of the Court of Directors. Mr. Fullerton about this period returned to England, and was succeeded as Governor by Mr. Ibbetson.

Dool Syed was not slow in taking advantage of the foregoing combination of events in his favor, which he considered as peculiarly adapted for promoting his independence. It must here be noticed that, strictly speaking, none of the lands in the vicinity of Malacca, are Government property, the different allotments belonging to individuals, who have assigned them over to the Company for a fixed annual rate, without the power of resumption except at the pleasure of Government.

Amongst the number of individuals, who have

thus ceded the produce of their landed property, was a Malay of the name of Inchi Suran, who had parted with his patrimonial *Dusun*, or orchard, at Panglangdna to the British authorities in 1828. The title deeds of the Estate can be traced back in his family as far back as 1723, but there is sufficient proof of its having been enjoyed by his ancestors at so early a period as 1603. The Panghooloo of Nanning selected this person as a fit subject for the first display of his pretensions to independence, by forcibly ejecting him, in 1830, from this Dusun on the pretext that it had from time immemorial been the property of the Panghooloos of Nanning.

It appears as if Dool Syed had purposely fixed on this individual on account of the transfer having been so recently made that it was perfectly fresh in the memory of his adherents, and neighboring Native powers; whilst, it so occurring that it had been effected in the very year in which he had first openly refused to obey the orders of Government, the seizure was calculated to convey the impression of an open and contemptuous defiance of its authority.

Inchi Suran resorted to Malacca, and laid his complaint before the proper Officers of Government: it so happened, however, that His Majesty's Court of Judicature was closed, in consequence of the non-appointment of a successor to Sir John Claridge, as Recorder, which circumstance permitted Government to delay until the receipt of orders from home. Had it been open, the Civil power would have been compelled to resort to instant measures for the recovery of the

Dusun, and would consequently have required, even at this period, to have been backed by a military force.

In June 1831, the decision of the Court of Directors, in favor of the reduction of the revolted dependency, was received, the strength of the troops at Malacca being four Companies of the 29th M. N. I., tolerably complete in numbers, except in the point of European officers, and a small detail of Golondauze, or Native artillery. A proclamation was issued by Government, dated the 15th July, and which will be found in the appendix (D.), setting forth that troops were on the point of proceeding into the interior, and exhorting the people to remain quiet.

Notwithstanding that Malacca is a field station, and that consequently her troops are supposed to march in any direction at an hour's notice, the sweeping reductions, which had lately been made, had deprived both the Ordnance and Commissariat Departments of the *materiel* requisite for the field, and the expedition was unavoidably delayed, until the receipt of Stores from Pinang and Singapore should afford it the means of moving.

Meanwhile, as every publicity had been given to the fact that a *secret* expedition was on the point of starting against Nanning, the intelligence was rapidly conveyed to Dool Syed. This wily chief immediately despatched letters to Rajah Alli of Rumbow, transmitting the forged information that the ulterior object of Government, after the subjugation of Nanning, was the reduction of Rumbow to a British province, under the

sway of his aunt's husband. Rajah Laboo, (see page 140) whom it was their intention to substitute in his room. He further added that Rajah Laboo was to accompany the march of the troops.

This was startling intelligence to Rajah Alli, but he prudently resolved to ascertain its authenticity by an application to Government for the disavowal, or confirmation, of its truth. He therefore addressed the Governor, stating his own disbelief of the report, as he had ever maintained friendly relations with the British; but requesting a denial of its correctness, in order to tranquillize the minds of his people. The messenger, who brought the letter was, unfortunately, as it subsequently proved, charged with a verbal reply, disclaiming all hostile intentions; and, although, on after deliberation, a letter to the same effect was forwarded via Linggy, this important document never reached its destination, having most probably fallen into the hands of Inchi Katus, the Dattoo Moodah of Linggy, whom Dool Syed had artfully brought over to his interests, by representing, it is said, that the Government intended an interference with his lucrative tin mines.

Early in August, the expedition against the refractory Chief was ready to start: it consisted of one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, one Assistant Surgeon, a proportion of native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned officers, and 150 rank and file of the 29th M. N. I.; accompanied by a brigade of six pounders with their limbers and waggons, and one Lieutenant, one Magazine Serjeant, and 24 Golondauze, (inclusive of Non-Commissioned); the whole com-

manded by Captain Wyllie, whilst W. T. Lewis Esq., Deputy Resident of Malacca, was appointed Commissioner with the force. There being no gun bullocks, buffaloes were, per force, substituted as cattle for the artillery.

This force was considered disproportionately large with reference to the service on which it was to be employed. So little was known of the state of the interior that the strength of the detachment became a matter of jest amongst those, who were not "to peril their lives in this cause;" and, whilst some hinted at the sufficiency of a Havildar's guard, others more roundly asserted that a red jacket amongst the bushes, would scare every Malay out of the country—the expedition was termed a picnic. Lieutenant Milnes, who formed one of the body proceeding in advance, was formally appointed Resident of Nanning, before it was conquered, and plans for a redoubt at Taboo were called for, ere the troops had stirred from Malacca. A Depot was to be formed at the Government bungalow at Soongei Pattye,* thirteen miles from Malacca, whither it was intended that the provisions for the troops should be sent by means of the Malacca river, which runs within half a mile of it. The plan was excellent, or at least conceived to be such, and the boats, having accordingly started from Malacca on the 5th August, ran aground at Ching, six miles higher up, there not being sufficient depth of water to admit of their proceeding farther on their destination. In detailing the confident presumption which prevailed in Malac-

* Compounded of *Soongei*, a river, and *Pattye*, a tree which produces a fetid bean, eaten by the Malays, and which grows here in great abundance.

ca at this period, a confidence which gave place to such an agony of apprehension twenty four hours after the troops had marched, it is difficult to relate the facts without verging on ridicule, and venturing on sarcasm.

At four o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 6th August, the expedition started along a tolerable road, making all due allowances for its being unfrequented except by foot passengers.

The road to Malim, which is five miles* distant from the bridge at Malacca, and about four from the suburbs, known by the name of Tranqueirah, is pretty fair, until within somewhat of a mile of that place. Here it leads across an extensive swamp, formed by a petty tributary of the Malacca river, which, passing over ground very little higher than the bed of the main stream, cannot of course, be confined within a channel, so as to conduct it thither, as the bed of the canal would then be lower than that of the river: true it is that, by cutting a canal towards Kleiwang,† a place on the seashore lying three and a half miles to the westward of Malacca, and probably about the same distance, in a direct line, from Malim, the swamp could be drained; but the expence would be considerable, and the measure would entail great distress on the proprietors of the exten-

* Such of my readers, as may have met with my "Narrative of the late Nanning Expedition," will find several discrepancies in the distances as there laid down and as here detailed. At the time that it was penned, the measurements were given from the impressions left on the memory by passing along the road once in daylight, and from the current estimate: our progress was any thing but uniform; tolerably rap'd when the roads were good, and insufferably tedious when the contrary was the case, or the buffaloes fatigued; add to this, the density of the jungle which prevented the eye from judging by any distant object, and the subsequent hurry of action, without an opportunity of reviewing the ground, (the retreat was by night) and the mistakes in these points will I trust, be indulgently viewed, especially as they, and other inaccuracies, are now corrected.

† Literally "a sword."

sive paddy fields in this portion of Malacca, as the water from the marsh is an unfailing source of irrigation: indeed the whole of this morass is rapidly coming into cultivation.

From this to Ching, a place ornamented with delightful orchards and thriving pepper plantations, is about a mile further, and, after passing this, the detachment filed into a noble forest composed principally of oil and durian trees, whose strait and towering stems, and luxuriant foliage, attracted universal admiration. Indeed, in passing through scenery of this description in any country perfectly strange to the traveller, the eye resting on these primæval monarchs of the wood, and the ear saluted by the melancholy, but pleasingly soothing, whooping of the different species of monkeys, † as they spring from tree to tree on his advance, the heart of any individual, unable to relish such beauties, must be more than usually insensible; but, when you are proceeding with hostile intentions, and expecting that the next sound which you shall hear may be the ringing of a musket, or the spitting of a bullet, the mind has an additional interest infused into it.

I remember that, just before arriving this magnificent forest, which I have so feebly attempted to describe, the troops filed along a pass between two hills, called the Ching hills, the road being enfiladed by a third. These hills were loftily and abundantly timbered, whilst the dense underwood, which clothed their sides, and groaned under the crushing pressure of the gun wheels, afforded cover that a *tirailleur* might have envi-

† Principally the *Simia Lar*, or long-armed ape.

ed. Here every thing was motionless, except the detachment, which necessarily broke the silence in its progress; but even over it an air of silence was thrown, and the men held their breath as they threw keen glances into the bushes and at the surrounding heights, which they expected each moment would become instinct with life, and re-echo with volley after volley. Well do I remember too the feeling of disappointment which was experienced when the rear of the column emerged in safety from this defile, which a handful of resolute men could have defended against a host, and how, when the officers found this advantage thrown away, they co-incided with their Malacca friends in the opinion that not a shot would be fired.

But, although such searching looks had been directed into the brushwood, there was a glittering eye fixed intently on the detachment, and the sparkle passed unnoticed by all. Within a few feet of the pathway, concealed in the tangled brushwood, lay the son-in-law of Rajah Alli—Syed Sabban. So motionless was this chief that not a stir of a leaf betrayed his hiding place, and he counted man and officer as the troops slowly filed past him.

Rajah Alli, with a faith in the British Government which did him infinite credit, although he had received no reply from it, had directed Syed Sabban to take up this position in order to see whether Rajah Laboo were really accompanying the force; and, on receiving a reply in the negative, addressed the Panghooloo of Nanning, telling him that it was evident that no hostile de-

signs were entertained against Rumbow. The latter, however, sent back for answer that he had received certain intelligence from Malacca that the original plan had been changed; * and that, for fear of exciting suspicion, Rajah Laboo was to remain behind until after the reduction of Nanning, an event, which would leave the English at liberty to turn their arms against Rumbow. The suggestion was probable, and the natural consequence resulted that Rajah Alli coalesced with Dool Syed, and not only powerfully co-operated with men, arms, and money; but, by throwing his influence into the scale, decided many waverers to uphold the cause of the Panghooloo; amongst these were Inchi Ahat and Inchi Mahommed, the individuals formerly mentioned as having forcibly possessed themselves of the territory at the foot of Mount Ophir. At this juncture too arrived the ex-king of Kedah, who had been transported hither by government in virtue of the Treaty of Siam, an event which certainly did not tend to strengthen the confidence of the native princes in the British nation. On the arrival of the force at Malim, it learnt the fate of the rice, and instructions were accordingly despatched to the Naigue, who commanded the convoy, to discharge the boats, and bring the supplies on by coolies to Soongei Pattye. The escort was further strengthened by a Havildar's guard, in addition to that under the Naigue. The boats accordingly returned in a body to Malacca on the morning of Sunday the 7th of August; and, on rounding the last reach of the river at seven

* None of these proceedings and manœuvres were known at the time of the publication of the "Narrative." They were revealed by Syed Sabban after peace had taken place between him and the British.

o'clock struck a terror into every bosom. With inconceivable rapidity, the report flew through the town that, whilst the troops were going up to Taboo by land, the Panghooloo had cunningly descended the stream with the view of taking Malacca by a *coup de main*; this ridiculous panic, which did not subside for some hours, was as universally diffused, amongst the population, as it was unfounded. Whilst, however, the inhabitants of Malacca were suffering from imaginary terrors, the party in advance was engaged in a slight brush with the enemy. It had arrived at Soongei Pattye about 1 p. m. on the Saturday, and Captain Wyllie having posted a chain of sentries round the Government bungalow, the remainder of the day was spent there, the officers amusing themselves by forming conjectures as to whether any resistance would be offered on the morrow when crossing the frontier of Nanning, from which they were distant about half a mile. Mr. Lewis despatched a messenger hence to the Panghooloo with a flag of truce, and a letter, in which he strongly pointed out to him the hopelessness of attempting to oppose the force which would cross the boundary on the morrow, and advising him to submit at once. This messenger was stopped at Kalama by the Panglimah Dattoo, who was, entrusted with the defence of the Nanning boundary, and threatened with death, if he attempted to proceed. The man was, however, firm to his purpose, and was finally permitted to accomplish his mission.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 on Sunday morning the 7th instant, although the supplies had not as yet reached

Soongei Pattye, Captain Wyllie determined on proceeding, fearful that, were the detachment to halt on the confines, an erroneous impression might be conveyed to the Nanningites, who would, in all probability attribute a delay, dictated by prudence, to vacillation and apprehension. There can be little doubt that such would have been the case, and, as the best information up to this period tended to strengthen the belief that the affair could, even in the event of hostilities, be decided by a *coup de main*, for which purpose the troops could carry sufficient provisions in their haversacks, the advance was fully justified by the strict principles of war. The measure was a daring one, but precisely of that nature, which was most qualified to strike terror into the Malays, and I have no hesitation in affirming my belief that it would have been crowned with success, had the detachment been unincumbered with guns, or even had these last been dragged by gun bullocks, instead of impeded by the sluggish buffaloe. At all events, the leaving the supplies behind was providentially the means of saving the troops from a total defeat, a few days after, as it enabled them to make a stand at Soongei Pattye.

The head of the column with Captain Wyllie, and Mr. Lewis had no sooner arrived at the foot of the hill near Kalama than two sentries armed with muskets, were descried upon the high ground bordering the paddy field which marks the boundary between Malacca and Nanning: here also stood, or rather danced, the Panglimah Dattoo, who, clothed in scarlet broad cloth, brandished a spear in his left hand, whilst his right was arm-

ed with a sling. This paddy field was only ninety yards across, and, to the spot where the Panglimah was, might be about twenty or thirty more; although, from the road across having been broken up, and nothing save a narrow foot path left, the distance was apparently considerably more.

The two sentries discharged their pieces on the instant, and the Panglimah whirled a tolerably large stone across, which fell harmless within a foot of the column. Thirty or forty Malays immediately issued from the jungle in rear of the sentries, and, although half a dozen bayonets might have pushed across and effectually dispersed this small body, it was natural to conclude that the bushes teemed with concealed musketry. The word was accordingly passed for the leading gun, which rattled down the declivity and opened with grape. The Panglimah stood a couple of rounds; but the third took him in the midst of a *demi-volte*, and his followers instantly dispersed: the jungle having been scoured with two or three more rounds, the head of the column pushed across and took up the new position in order to protect the working party which was employed in rendering the road passable for the guns. When this was completed, the guns and rear guard passed over, and a temporary halt was ordered.

A little after ten, although intelligence had been received that the supplies had not reached Soongei Pattye, the "assembly" sounded, and the march was resumed as it would have been impolitic to have remained on the ground, where opposition was first offered, as if the circum-

stance had been unexpected, and had deterred the force from advancing. It soon arrived at a second paddy field, the road of which was also broken up. The Malays again collected in the jungle on the flanks, whilst the road was being repaired, but a few rounds of grape quickly dislodged them. The troops then advanced through a dense brushwood, the guns making their own road, as the pathway would only admit of single files. Here heavy sniping was expected but they were permitted to pass unmolested. The low jungle was at length succeeded by trees, and finally by the plain of Alu Gaja*, where they encamped at a little after one in the afternoon. † There was now but two days rice in camp, but a further supply for one day was fortunately obtained from a China man residing here. The night passed undisturbed.

On the morning of the 8th the detachment again pushed on through a dwarf jungle, exposed only to a dropping shot or two, until it reached Priggi to Datus at a quarter to two p. m. having been *seven hours and three quarters* in advancing *one mile and three quarters*. The enemy this day commenced firing on the camp from the surrounding jungle; being probably incensed by the British having on the march set fire to the house of a Chief of the name of Dattoo‡ Emban-gin, who had been desired to come over to Government, and, influenced apparently by fear of Dool Syed, had quitted his property.

* Literally "the place of the elephant hunt."

† The distance between Sungai Pattye and Alu Gaju is just *two miles*. From this some idea of the progress of the troops may be formed.

‡ Vide List of the Sookoos of Nanning, page 148

On the 9th the advance was continued, and a few hundred yards brought the detachment to the foot of Bukit Seboosa, a hill whose summit was crested with a defence of felled trees, the first intimation as yet given of determined opposition. Two roads to Taboo here diverge—the one leading right over the brow, and the other winding round the foot, of the eminence: across the first were lying several felled trees, whilst the entrance of the other was artfully concealed by green boughs.

The officers at once saw that the enemy, whom they had contemned for neglecting the natural advantages of his country, was fully aware of them, and not a doubt could be entertained that he would cut off the communication with Malacca by the same means which he had adopted in order to obstruct the advance, so that the situation of the detachment became one of extreme difficulty and danger. The only human chance of extrication was to put a bold face on the matter, and, by pushing forward, perhaps, strike that terror into the Malays, which it was evident had not yet been inspired.

Captain Wyllie, therefore, ordered the coolies to the front, to cut through the felled trees on the direct road leading to the stockade; for, as yet, as previously intimated, the circuitous rout was a *via incognita*. The surrounding woods had barely reverberated to the first stroke of the axe, as it fell heavily upon the prostrate trees, when a volley from the stockade came whistling down the road, by which the first casualties were inflicted; viz. one sepoy and one cooly wounded.

The leading gun opened in consequence, and a shower or two of grape caused the stockade to be evacuated.

By this time the guides having discovered the other road, (which they recollected would obviate the necessity of traversing a paddy field, which, in the other route, it would have been requisite to cross), the head of the column countermarched, and struck off, "right shoulders forward," into it.

The first obstructions removed, a tolerable road, offered itself for some way, until when about to move down a short, but abrupt, descent across a ridge of Bukit Seboosa, at which the two roads unite. Here felled trees were again found, and a slight annoyance experienced from occasional shots from the stockade which commanded the point, and into which some of its previous defenders had apparently returned. The descent led the detachment to the plain of Mullikee, where it encamped at half past ten, and beyond which it was decreed, (providentially for the party), that the first expedition against Nanning should not proceed. The head man of Mullikee, named indifferently Dattoo Malālu, or Malālu Sulthaun, was the spokesman of the Panghooloo, a sort of confidential officer, who was entrusted with the delivery of his master's sentiments. A party under Lieutenant Milnes was sent to his house, and, on its being found empty, it shared the same fate as several others had previously done, and the torch reduced it to ashes.

The unsparing manner in which house after house had been subjected to the flames was justifiable only by strong military necessity. Every

one, which had been thus sacrificed, commanded either the road, or the encamping ground, and was thus injurious to the safety of the detachment; but the stern measure, dictated by policy, was more calculated to exasperate, than conciliate, the population. It must also be confessed that disappointment and perplexity prevailed in consequence of the manner in which the troops, who were marching to deliver the people from the oppression of their chiefs, had been met. They had been informed that the villagers would receive them with open arms; whereas they fled at their approach, or, hovering on their flanks, poured unseen shots upon them from the jungle—the Commanding officer, in reply to his repeated requisitions on Malacca for supplies, was informed that such was the prevalent panic, not a cooly, for the transport of the rice, could be procured on any terms, and was recommended to forage on the country. Paddy there certainly was in abundance, but troops, which never took off their accoutrements for an instant, obviously could not husk it into rice; and, it was therefore destroyed, wherever it was met with.

Another reason, for applying the flames to the house of Dattoo Malálu, was that he was conceived to be one of the strongest abettors of the Panghooloo.

During the whole of this day the force was kept on the *qui vive* by shots from the different eminences surrounding the small plain on which it was encamped, and its situation had become extremely critical—The provisions were totally expended, and the enemy were swarming around in greater numbers, and with increased audacity,

whilst there was not a single post between its present position and the Havildar's guard, which was *conjectured* to be at Soongei Pattye. In the event of that small party having been cut off, there would not have been a single connecting link between Mullikee, and Malacca.

This circumstance had been taken into consideration and duly weighed before-hand; but, as every disposable man had been drawn from Malacca, and yet the body moving in advance, consisted of only a hundred and fifty bayonets, it was clear that, weakening this handful of men, by leaving detached parties at intervening distances, would only subject it to be cut up in detail. The die had therefore been cast before the expedition started: if the game were to be played, it must be played boldly: it was so played, and, although it proved unsuccessful, it cannot be denied that, despite of every adverse circumstance, the troops had performed more than could have been expected of them, and had arrived at that point where defeat was no disgrace.

Affairs were now rapidly drawing to a crisis: at six p. m. firing was heard between Mullikee and Malacca, which, being kept up without intermission until 8 p. m., induced a belief that the long expected supplies were at length upon the road, and that the receipt of them would enable the troops to move on the next day to Taboo, which, with the inaccuracy which had distinguished all the preceding statements of distances, was said to be distant two miles, although actually upwards of five. As the only possibility of advancing rested on the supplies, a Havildar's party

was despatched by Captain Wyllie at eight o'clock in order to strengthen the convoy.

At ten P. M. the musketry, which had been increasing in liveliness, now rumbled in a heavy and incessant roll, which continued to be sharply kept up until about two A. M. of the tenth, at which hour the havildar's party rejoined, stating that it had proceeded a considerable way, without meeting either friend or foe, and had consequently returned. The firing now considerably abated, and by 4 A. M. had sunk into total silence. Whilst the ringing of a single shot could be heard, it was evident that some of the gallant little band* was yet struggling for existence, but the dead stillness which had ensued induced a painful belief, amounting almost to a certainty, that the last of the convoy had paid the price of his unflinching fidelity with his life.

Another havildar's party, escorting seventy coolies, was sent back at 5 A. M. of the tenth, with the faint hope of perhaps being able to assist that of Soongei Pattye, or, at all events, redeeming a portion of the stores; and the return of this detachment was anxiously expected, as its report would at once decide the movements of the main body. At six A. M. a faint glimmer of hope was inspired by a flag of truce entering the camp, which shot up considerably when it was discovered that the bearer of it was the son of Dattoo Malālu.

Looking back at this distance of time, and carefully weighing all the information subsequently obtained, I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that the tale told by this man was true, and the

* 1 Havildar, 2 Nalgues, 12 Privates; Total 15.

part taken by his father sincere. He stated that his father was anxious to remain a peaceable subject of the British, but that he was completely in the power of Dool Syed, several members of his family being hostages at Taboo, and himself having been summoned thither the day on which his house was burnt; that he had only returned in time to see it smouldering in ashes, and was willing, provided his personal safety were ensured, to enter the camp and tender his allegiance.

Here was a gleam of sunshine indeed—and, within ten minutes, the old man entered the camp, and, after being somewhat re-assured, dwelt upon the complicated miseries which he and his family were undergoing in consequence of the war. It was little suspected that his children were at that very moment houseless wanderers in the surrounding jungle.

The Dattoo was advised to throw himself unreservedly on the protection of the British, and to bring, as a test of his sincerity, the inhabitants of the circumjacent villages into camp for the purpose of offering their submission. He promised so to do; and, not being one of the *chief* ring-leaders, was permitted to depart.

But the moment had now arrived when the troops, so far from being able to protect the inhabitants, were compelled to direct their attention more exclusively, not so much to their own safety in particular, which, with military men, is the last consideration, as to the defence of Malacca itself, which rested mainly on the preservation of that body which formed a full half of the garrison of that town. At nine A. M. the havil-

dar's guard returned, with the loss of one sepoy and one cooly wounded, having been driven back by an overpowering force. Seventeen only, out of the seventy, coolies returned, the rest having been either dispersed or taken.*

It is probable, indeed so much so that the question hardly admits of a doubt, that Nanning would have succumbed by this time, had it not been for the powerful co-operation of Rumbow. The determined manner, in which obstacles had been successively overcome, had induced a quailing in the population, which had been productive of the most beneficial effects, had not Rumbow feared that the troops would step from Nanning into his territory. This state could easily bring five hundred men to act in the jungle, a force which was equivalent to twenty times that number in the plain.

The Rumbow force was headed by Syed Sabban, who, contemptible as he afterwards proved as an ally, was a formidable opponent. He encouraged the Panghooloo to continue the struggle, and dictated the policy of re-occupying each successive station, as it was quitted by the advancing troops, who had thus, literally, at no one period a foot of ground beyond that which they occupied, and were consequently entirely misled on the essential point of their rear being kept open by a friendly population.

A retreat was accordingly deliberately resolved on, but, the dispersion of the coolies requiring a

* Immediately after shots had been exchanged at Kalama, the greater proportion of the Malay coolies put white flowers in their hair. They stated that it was in consequence of a feast; but it was subsequently discovered to be a signal to the Nanningites that they were friends and not to be fired on.

corresponding sacrifice of baggage, the least portable articles, such as the tents, &c. were destroyed, and the retrograde movement commenced at 11 A. M. It was fortunate for the troops that the baggage and stores were so much reduced in number, as the fighting men were thus kept in a more compact body than they would otherwise have been.

Felled trees were thrown across the road in great numbers, all of which had been cut down subsequently to the return of the havildar's guard in the morning, and some casualties occurred from the fire of the enemy whilst the coolies were engaged in cutting through the obstructions; but, although there was a heavy sniping carried on by both parties, the troops met with no opposition in front until they arrived near Kalama.

A concealed stockade was here erected, from which a very brisk fire was maintained and which galled the head of the column very severely. Being ignorant of the existence of this work, of a stockade, grape was used, and, of course, ineffectually. The advance guard, under Ensign Short, was accordingly ordered to *detour* to the rear of the enemy's position, whilst Captain Wyllie, accompanied by Mr. Assistant Surgeon Smith, led another party round to the other flank. Ensign Short came suddenly on the rear of the stockade; poured a volley into it, and emptied it of its defenders.

The remainder of the retreat was but slightly interrupted. Seventeen wounded men were placed on the limbers and tumbrils, and the troops filed into Soongei Pattye at 7 P. M. Here a junction was effected with the party of the havildar,

(* Peer Homed), who, it appeared, had been attacked the preceding night by a large body of the enemy, whom they had gallantly repulsed after a defence of about ten hours. The loss of this party was five wounded, being a third of the whole.

The 11th was employed by the troops, who had thus fallen back on their supplies, in throwing up a stockade all round the government bungalow, and clearing away the circumscribing jungle. The enemy also erected stockades in the vicinity, and commenced blockading the Roombiyah† forest in the rear of the British. At midnight the enemy attacked the infant position, but were driven back by a volley, as also in two other attempts before day light.

On the twelfth a small party of the 29th reached the camp from Malacca, but, in crossing the felled trees in the forest, a grenadier was shot dead, and another and three of the Chinese coolies wounded. The rest abandoned their loads, and the sepoys were obliged to prosecute their march without the supplies, which consequently fell into the hands of the enemy.

By the thirteenth, the defences were completed, and no apprehensions entertained as to their being forced. The principal danger to be guarded against was fire, as the roof of the bungalow, under which all the ammunition was unavoidably placed, was composed of *atap*, a most inflammable material.

* For this noble defence, Peer Homed was created a Subahdar by H. E. the Commander in Chief, but he died before his promotion reached him.

† Roombiyah, the Metroxylon Sagu, or Sago Palm, which from its abundance here gives the name to the place.

To describe the panic that now pervaded Malacca is impossible. The language, that would attempt to convey a feeble idea of it, would be charged with hyperbole, and a relation of sober facts be esteemed a burlesque. I shall therefore content myself with stating that a Malacca militia, (not to serve beyond the town), started into instant existence—swords that had slept, and rusted, in the scabbard for years, were drawn forth, and surbished,—whilst the drives of the inhabitants in the precincts were universally discontinued, as fear whispered that every bush concealed a Malay, and converted every stick into a musquet barrel.

Requisition after requisition was sent up for the return of the troops in order to defend Malacca, and although Captain Wyllie, the Commanding officer of the whole, represented that the town was best covered by the position which the troops had taken up, and which held the enemy in check; although it was further stated that they were again ready to act on the offensive, if carriage were procured, the panic was so great as to entirely cripple the exertions of the civil authorities to meet this necessary want, and the fears of the inhabitants became hourly more obstreperous, and the entreaties for the troops, daily more urgent.

By the fifteenth the alarm had increased to such a height that Captain Wyllie was obliged to return to Malacca, not only in order to tranquilize the town, but to adopt measures for the return of the troops, whose safety was thus compromised by the existing terror. Leaving Lieute-

nant Milnes in command, as next senior officer, he accordingly started for the town early in the morning of the 16th, accompanied by Mr. Lewis, whose presence was no further required, as the prospect of an advance was improbable. An escort, of course, accompanied the party, which experienced no opposition.

Captain Wyllie had no sooner arrived at Malacca than he despatched a re-inforcement to the stockade, and, a day or two subsequently, a subahdar's party with three barrels of ammunition. This was to have been relieved by one of equal strength, as it was conjectured that the constant passing and repassing of military would prevent the enemy making much progress in blockading the road, until the subsidence of the panic in Malacca would admit of coolies being procured to cut a passage for the guns through the obstructions. Both of these parties suffered so severely from the enemy's fire, and the ranjows that Lieutenant Milnes was unable to fulfil the instructions, and the forest re-echoed with the fall of gigantic trees. The force in advance now mustered one hundred rank and file, inclusive of wounded.

On the night of the eighteenth, or, more strictly speaking, one in the morning of the nineteenth, just as the moon dipped the upper edge of her disc behind the wood,* a sudden assault, for which the troops were prepared, was made on the stockade, but the assailants had hardly emerg-

* The Malays always select the going down, or sudden obscuration, of the moon as a fit time for a night-attack, the eye not being fully accustomed to the altered light: a sudden squall or one of those crushing mingling of the elements, familiarly termed, "Sumatras," is also a favorite season.

ed from the jungle, before they were driven back by a well directed fire of artillery and small arms. The jinjals which were fixed in high trees proved the most harassing, as no defence could be thrown up against them, and the roof of the bungalow exhibited upwards of sixty shot holes.

Since the departure of Captain Wyllie, no opportunity had offered for the officer commanding the troops to communicate his situation to Malacca, which was daily getting more critical. As long as the enemy contented himself with firing, and the ammunition and provisions held out, the post of Soongei Pattye was tenable; but the case was widely different when he resorted to the discharge of fire—arrows against the roof, which it required the utmost vigilance to prevent being wrapped in flames.

On the 20th the harassed detachment was reduced to one barrel of spare ammunition; and heard, at mid-day, with emotions of thankfulness, the sound of English musquetry between Soongei Pattye and Roombiyah.

It was at once conjectured that it was a party escorting ammunition of which the detachment stood so much in need; the enemy, in the vicinity of the stockade also heard it, and opened a fire upon three of the four faces of the stockade. At 1 P. M. the rolling of the musketry still continuing unabated, Lieutenant Milnes despatched a havildar's party to assist it by taking the enemy in rear, and another of the same strength half an hour afterwards, with some coolies to assist, in bringing on the supplies.

Shortly after the departure of the last detail,

the woods distinctly rang with a light infantry call, and, as the bugle notes swelled upon the breeze, the little handful at Soongei Pattye felt assured that the light company of the corps had arrived from Singapore.

As the head of the column emerged into the paddy field on which the rear of the stockade rested, conjecture was converted into certainty, and the company filed into the stockade, bearing the body of Lieutenant White who was numbered amongst the casualties, being mortally wounded through the lungs. The remaining officers consisted of Captain Hibgame, Lieutenant Brodie, and Ensign Fothergill.

Although this detachment had heard the firing at Soongei Pattye, it had conceived that it was entirely a *ruse de guerre* of the enemy in order to induce it to advance incautiously. From the absence of all intelligence since the morning of the 16th, an idea was prevalent in Malacca that the defenders of Soongei Pattye had been cut off to a man, and that the place was in the possession of the enemy; the appearance of the party under the havildar, as it fell suddenly upon the rear of the enemy who were intent upon obstructing the advance of the light company, was the first intimation given that Soongei Pattye was still in the hands of friends.

At a quarter before three in the afternoon Lieutenant White expired, and was buried the same evening inside the stockade. Captain Hibgame having remained the whole of the 21st at Soongei Pattye, departed for Malacca at 4 A. M. of the 22d, taking with him Lieutenant Brodie,

seventy privates principally composed of the light company, and nine of the most severely wounded out of a total of nearly seventy. This party, by pursuing a bypath, reached Malacca undiscovered. Ensign Fothergill was directed to remain in advance.

On the 22d, 23d, and 24th. the firing from different jujal batteries had become more annoying. One was silenced by the guns, and several others destroyed by sallies of infantry, the enemy evacuating them with precipitancy on the approach of the troops. Several houses in the vicinity, which afforded cover to the Malays, were also fired by small detachments, the enemy never waiting for the bayonet. It was therefore evident that, had the troops been in possession of carriage and able to afford a chain of posts in its rear, they could, even at this period, after being, in a manner, hemmed in for a fortnight, have traversed the country in any direction passable for infantry and driven the Malays from every position.

Whilst the detachment was thus maintaining its ground, measures were in progress for its release from its situation, and Syed Sabban was induced to withdraw with his adherents and engage not to obstruct the retreat of the troops, by a promise of receiving from Government the sum of five hundred dollars.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 24th Lieutenant Hurlock of the 29th reached Soongei Pattye with a re-inforcement of forty men, and bearing imperative orders for the return of the whole to Malacca. The guns were directed to be destroyed if they could not be brought on, but little opposition was expected since the with-

drawal of Syed Sabban from the confederacy. The twenty-fourth was spent in destroying the limbers and waggons, burying the round shot, and damaging the ordnance gun powder. As it was thought likely that the enemy might make an attack on the stockade, the guns were kept mounted till the last moment, when a few spokes being knocked out of each wheel, and the cap-square keys &c, carried away, the carriages and wheels were dragged on to the top of the heap of broken limbers, &c, and portfires strown profusely through the pile.* The bags of rice were prepared for destruction in a similar manner.

Nearly every cooly being employed in the transport of the sick, the officers and men each took as many cannister grape as the weight of their arms and accoutrements would permit them to carry, whilst the guns were lashed to platforms, and conveyed by coolies. There being no carriage for the drag-ropes, felling axes, mamooties, &c, these articles were necessarily abandoned. At 8 P. M. the detachment filed silently out of the stockade under the guidance of a bright moonlight, and, as soon as the rear

* In the "Narrative" the following words were used; "The gun carriages, tumbrils, and limbers, having been broken up," &c; and, immediately afterwards, "When the rear guard had quitted the stockade, Ensign Short and Assistant Surgeon Smith fired the pile of gun carriages and the ore of rice." As, in the second expedition, the guns were found mounted on their carriages, the Singapore Chronicle made some illiberal remarks as to the veracity of this statement. The carriages, when the guns were retaken, were found as described in the text, and the cheeks, and some of the fellyes and spokes, had been injured by the flames. It was also stated that, when the pile was fired, "the enemy, setting up a hideous yell at the supposed accident, came rushing on to take advantage of it." Had the Chronicle, therefore, possessed a spark of candor, he would have seen that it was possible that I, who, according to the line of march, quitted the stockade, prior to the firing of the pile, and was not sufficiently endued with the spirit of prophecy to anticipate that the enemy, who entered as the rear guard quitted, would attempt to save the carriages, might come easily to the conclusion that they had perished in the flames.

guard had cleared the works, Ensign Short and Mr. Assistant Surgeon Smith fired the piles of gun carriages and provisions. The enemy came rushing on with a yell, but these officers effected a junction with the rear guard in safety. A spark falling upon the roof of the bungalow, it rapidly fell a prey to the devouring element, and the sheeted light which burst upwards, and fiery tinge which the conflagration threw upon the dark masses of foliage around, it were lovely in the extreme.

The enemy opened their fire on the rear of the retreating column, which was returned by it, and the discharge of pieces soon became general in spite of the repeated bugle call to cease firing. The detachment at length reached the Roombiyah forest, but, by this time, the heavy precursory clouds of a Sumatra had blotted the moon and stars out of the heavens, and the road could only be discovered by the flashes of musquetry, or the glances of the lightning which searched the forest in every direction. The muttering of the thunder assumed every instant a louder volume, and the slow, pattering, big drops fell thicker and faster. Hitherto the obstruction of the felled trees had been surmounted, although certainly with great difficulty, but each successive obstacle rapidly exhausted the strength of the men as the guns were lifted over each by sheer manual labor. Near the summit of the hill, however, a tremendous tree* was lying across the road, three or four, smaller ones having been

* This tree was measured in the second expedition, when it was dry and consequently contracted in diameter, and found to be thirteen feet in circumference. A few yards further on lay another, which, if I mistake not, was 21 feet in girth.

thrown diagonally across it. This barrier, with all its addenda of limbs and branches, was found impassable. As many men, as could get under the platform endeavored to lift the gun over, but, with all their efforts, were unable to raise it sufficiently high to place it on the top of the trees; whilst, underneath and around, the passage was equally obstructed. The want of drag-ropes, and tools, was here fatally felt, and, after persevering in his efforts for a quarter of an hour, the Artillery officer spiked the guns, and proceeded to the front to communicate the circumstance to the Commanding officer. Fresh and equally unavailing efforts were made; and, taking into consideration the number of wounded, who were exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, and that the ammunition, which was rapidly decreasing, would not hold out until assistance could be obtained from Malacca, the guns were finally and sorrowfully abandoned.

The troops, although unincumbered with the guns, were yet so harassed by all the fatigues which they had endured, that it was not until 4 A. M. that they arrived at Malim, thus having marched 8 miles in as many hours. After halting half an hour, they again pursued their route, and reached Malacca at 6 A. M.

Of all descriptions of warfare, there is none that so much tries the courage and discipline of the soldier as that of jungle fighting, and there is none in which so little honor and renown is obtained. The reason is obvious; when men see their companions dropping around them by shots from an invisible foe—when they see comrade after comrade picked off much in the same manner as deer

are stalked by a gamekeeper, they have not the excitement which rouses troops in a fair and open struggle, nor the satisfaction of knowing whether one of their answering shots has revenged the death of their associates in arms, and it is highly to the credit of this detachment that it exhibited throughout the struggle a coolness and deliberation which could not have been surpassed by any species of troops; whilst that no fame should be reaped cannot be a matter of surprize, as the nature of the service precludes manœuvring; and there is therefore little room for the display of any talent, but that of passive courage.

It should have been mentioned that, a few days previous to the return of the detachment, a small party of Royal Marines under Captain Moore, had been landed for the purpose of aiding in the defence of Malacca.

The guns fell into the hands of the enemy, and the event was celebrated with great rejoicings, a buffaloe feast being given by Dool Syed, one of the *ci-devant* gun cattle, which had been left at Soongei Pattye, forming, as customary, the principal part of the entertainment.

CHAPTER V.

Dool Syed, Panghooloo of Nanning, levies a tax on the villagers. Apprehension of some of his Chiefs. British Resident goes to Simpang to hold a conference with the Rumbow Chiefs—an alliance formed—arrival of re-inforcements from Madras—Part of the force moves up to Roombiyah and to Ching.—Dool Syed sends in offers of accommodation which are rejected—Colonel Herbert joins the force in advance—Sappers employed in cutting through the Roombiyah forest—Malayan method of felling trees described—Accidents occasioned by the falling trees—Dreadful death of a convict by one—Enemy fire on the covering party at Soongei Pattye,—are driven from their position and the works fired—continuation of operations—Stockades at Malacca Pinda destroyed—Strong stockade of Ayer Mangis carried, and Lieutenant Harding killed. Stockades at Loondoo and Pangkallang Nanning destroyed—Capture of two sons of Pitah Maluyoo, one of the refractory chiefs.—The magazine at Roombiyah greatly damaged.—Affair between the Rifles and the enemy—Ensign Wright severely wounded—Repulse of a party from Priggi to Daitas—Ensign Thomson wounded—Party halts at Wright's stockade and is re-inforced.—Operations to the front suspended. A convict, who attempts to desert, killed by the enemy,—stockade at Soongei Pattye destroyed—Syed Sabban of Rumbow joins in order to co-operate.

THE retreat of the detachment having left the whole country at the mercy of Dool Syed and his adherents, he speedily began to make incursions on the territory of Malacca proper, as if in retaliation for the damage which his people had sustained. He therefore enforced a tax of twenty reals upon each village, most of which, dreading the consequences of a refusal, complied with the demand.

On the 24th September 1831, eight of the peo-

ple, appointed to this office, went to the village of Parrit Melahna in the British territory, distant about 14 miles from Malacca, for the purpose of levying this tax, or fine, on the inhabitants. The head man, or petty Panghooloo, of the village asked and obtained permission to consult his Panghooloo Inchi Kachu. This last individual had been ever a warm adherent of the rebellious chief, and had partaken of the feast over the guns. The Nanning party agreed therefore to wait until he was summoned from his village, which was close at hand. As soon, however, as Inchi Kachu heard the nature of the errand, he altered his politics, being determined not to submit to this arbitrary exaction. He accordingly proceeded with some armed followers to Parrit Melahna, and, after some resistance, succeeded in capturing seven of the party. The eighth, after being severely wounded, made his escape. The prisoners were brought to Malacca, and lodged in the jail. Only four of them were chiefs, or persons of consequence, whose names are given below.

First, Akhir Zammar,—Head Panglimah, and related to the Sookoo, Rajah Nung Kayah.

Second, Hadji Kadir,—Son in law of Sookoo Membangin, the chief whose house was the first fired.

Third, Panghooloo Besar,—He acted as High Sheriff, and executed the orders of government in levying fines, seeing executions, &c. carried into effect.

Fourth, Panglimah Arrip,—A great warrior, and brother of the Panglimah Dattoo, who was killed at Kalama, Aug. 7, 1831.

After the opening of His Majesty's Court of Judicature, these men were transported to Bombay.

The duty still continued harassing in the extreme to the troops, as, whilst some of the principal guards in Malacca were indispensibly strengthened, it was a matter of equal necessity to maintain a chain of picquets to the northward of the town. Six, out of seven, convicts, who had escaped from the camp, and fallen into the hands of the enemy, were sacrificed over the grave of the Panglimah Dattoo. The seventh was retained to read the Koran to the Panghooloo, but subsequently put to death for attempting the life of that chief.

Meanwhile, the British government was exerting itself to break the existing league in the interior, and to put matters in such a train that the next expedition might have a fairer chance of success. Negotiations with Rumbow were consequently set on foot, and the Chiefs of Rumbow agreed to meet the British authorities at Sim-pang.*

Accordingly, on the 18th January 1832, R. Ibbetson, Esq. the Honorable the Governor T. W. Lewis, Esq. Deputy Resident. J. B. Westerhout, Esq. and Captain Hibgame, commanding

* Sim-pang, as the name imports, means, "a junction;" it is the point of confluence between the Linggen and Rumbow branches of the Linggy river, and was probably selected as emblematical of the political union, which was expected to be formed there.

the escort, with fifteen sepoy, embarked on board the H. C. Schooner Zephyr; the remaining 38 sepoy who completed the escort were put on board the Chinese Tote,* Pakeen, on whose deck I was permitted to step as a passenger.

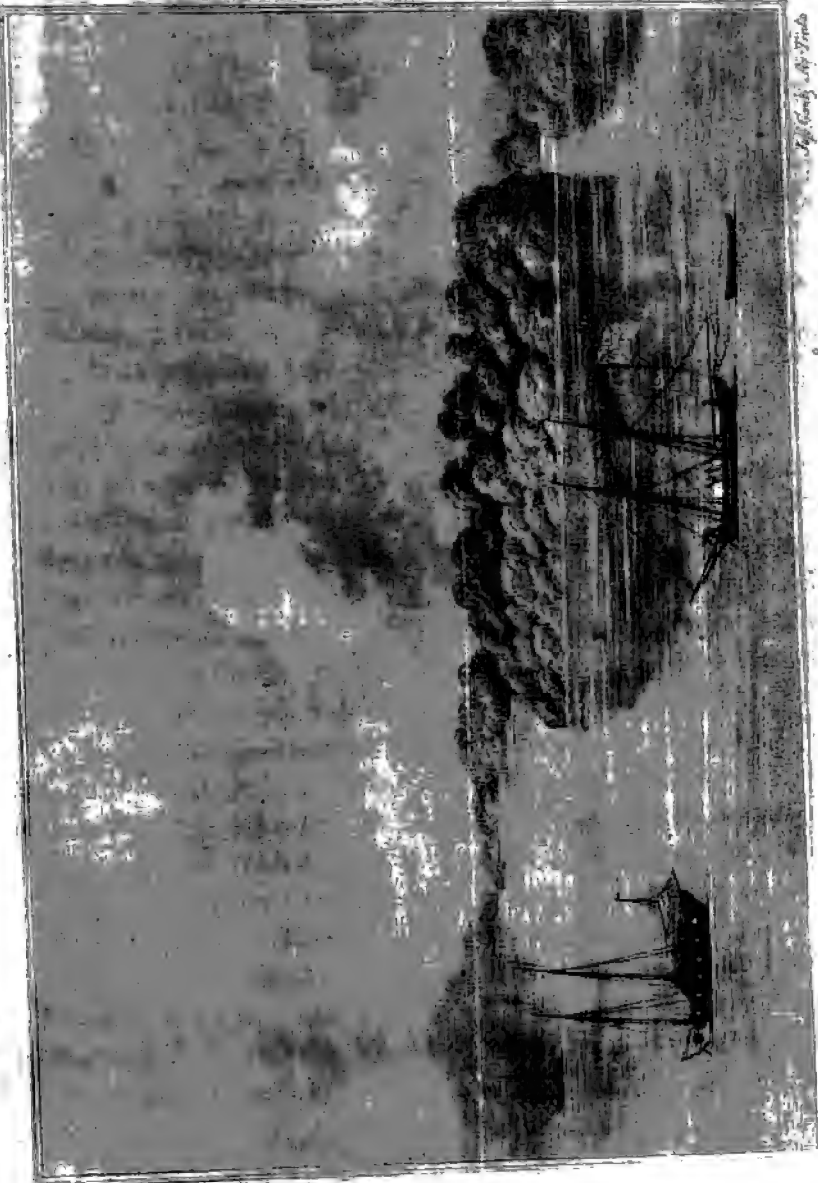
Notice had been brought the preceding evening that twelve pirate boats had put into the Linggy river, and some native boats were ordered to accompany, so that, in the event of their attempting to escape into shallow water, the smaller craft might pursue and capture them.

Both vessels weighed at 11 A. M., but, the wind subsequently falling foul, they did not make the mouth of the Linggy until sunset. The left, or eastern, bank of this river, on which is placed the small British post, † trends to the westward, running parallel with the seashore for a considerable distance, so that the entrance is completely concealed from seaward: a long spit of sand juts out from the point, in consequence of which vessels entering are obliged to go a long way to the westward in order to enter it. At spring tides, the lead gives three fathoms throughout the whole length of the channel at high, and a quarter less two at low, water. The shores of the right, or western, bank are much more abrupt, bold, and picturesque than those of the opposite side, but both are clothed, as I have stated, with bagow trees. Inside the mouth were lying the native boats of the detachment, which had arrived before the larger vessels, but, although the moon rose "full orb'd" and a vigi-

* A small vessel, latteen rigged.

† This was withdrawn during the disturbances.

PLI



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Entrance of the LANGLEY RIVER taken from the Ensteward at Flood Tide

W. H. Wright, Del.

JM 108

[The page contains extremely faint and illegible text, appearing to be a list or index of names and dates. The text is too blurry to transcribe accurately.]

lant watch was kept, not a pirate boat could be seen.

At daylight on the 19th the Zephyr, which had remained outside for want of water, was towed into the river, and I exchanged my vessel as she passed. As the sun rose, and the Schooner and Tope moved up the stream, it was pleasant to hear the bushes pouring forth the melody of their feathered tenants,* or echoing with the plainings of the monkeys; whilst ever and anon a startled kingfisher whirred away from his overhanging perch, his plumage sparkling in the sun, as he sought a retreat higher up the river.

After proceeding about three miles, the wind dying away, and the ebb making strong, the vessels were compelled to anchor. At 2 p. m. they again weighed, and dropped anchor off Simpang at 4 p. m. in three fathoms water. The soundings were very regular, being from 4 to 6 fathoms throughout, with the exception of those taken in going over the tongue of sand which spits out from the point called Bukit Bruan, or Bear's hill, from its being a favorite resort of these animals. Here the soundings varied from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 fathoms, and the danger was enhanced by several rocks under the water.

In the evening, the whole party of gentlemen landed at Simpang, for the purpose of viewing the spot which the convicts were employed in clearing of jungle in order to have space wherein to pitch a tent. Here they met with some of the inferior Rumbow Chiefs, who, although they expressed

* The Malayan Peninsula is the only tropical climate in which I have met with singing birds, although I should think that the Indian Archipelago in general contains them.

themselves in general terms of friendship, appeared by their countenances to doubt either the sincerity or value of the contemplated alliance of the British. They stated, however, that the Rumbow Chiefs had appointed the conference at ten o'clock on the following morning.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the Governor's tent having been pitched on shore, the gentlemen quitted the *Zephyr*, which was lying at anchor with springs on her cable, in order that she might be able to act in the event of treachery; forty of the sepoy were also disembarked. These latter were divided into two sections, each forming a street at the opposite doors of the tent. Hour after hour passed without any signs of the Rumbow Chiefs, until at one P. M. the sound of distant gongs came floating down the stream. A full hour after this, the party came in sight and landed at the point.

It consisted of Rajah Alli, the Rajah Rumbow, with his mother, wife, and four or five other females, Syed Sabban, the Panghooloo Rumbow, the eight Sookoos, the Moollah, &c. and about 150 armed men. As the individuals above enumerated evidently approached with great feelings of distrust, it was communicated to them, as they quitted their boats, that the troops would "present arms" to them as they passed up the street, that being the customary honor which Europeans paid to persons of distinction. Notwithstanding this explanation, however, the Chiefs visibly started as the hands of the sepoy simultaneously rang upon the slings, while such of the savage multitude around, as were unconscious of the meaning of the ceremony, laid their

ready hand upon their krisses. Being somewhat re-assured, they entered the tent.

Amongst the party, who thus presented themselves, was Inchi Katus, the Dattoo Moodah of Linggen. This Chief had come uninvited by either party; he had, as previously stated, been actively engaged on the side of the Panghooloo of Nanning, and had supplied him liberally with arms, ammunition, provisions, and information, by means of the Linggy river. He had long been tributary to Rumbow, and, as such, paid annually into the Treasury of that state a portion of the profits of the tin mines. During the late disturbances, he had shaken off this tax, from the inability of Rajah Alli to enforce it; and he naturally concluded that the coalition of Government and Rumbow would be the signal of its renewal. In addition to this, the distraction of the country had thrown the whole revenue of exports and imports by the Linggy river into his hands, and, it was therefore clearly his interest to maintain things in their existing state.

Obnoxious as he therefore was to both parties, he was desired to quit the presence into which he had intruded, and he accordingly slunk away to his boat. Being a man of considerable influence, he had well nigh succeeded in his aim by inspiring the Rumbow Chiefs with suspicion as to the ulterior object of the British, and the Panghooloo Rumbow, who evidently leaned to the same side, would do nothing, without previously issuing out and consulting him. So strong was this apprehension, that the Chiefs unanimously refused to enter into negotiations as long as the

troops stood to their arms. The arms were therefore "piled," but the men positively forbidden to stray from them, as it was suspected on the other side that a rush might be made to obtain possession of them. So often did the Panghooloo Rumbow sally forth in order to concert with Inchi Katus, that Mr. Westerhout was finally obliged to go to the boat of the latter and expostulate with the Panghooloo.

The negotiations at length commenced, and proceeded tediously enough, Rajah Alli's mother, a shrewd old lady, being the principal debater on the part of Rumbow. The Panghooloo Rumbow did all in his power to obstruct the negotiations, but at length the Treaty was agreed to, and the different Chiefs had only now to affix their signatures and *chaups*. Out of the whole party it was discovered that the only one who could write his own name was Syed Sabban, an advantage probably owing to his Arab descent, whilst the others hardly appeared to know their respective names and titles until they were enumerated with excessive volubility by the chatty dame. The delivery of presents now took place. To Rajah Alli was delivered a valuable double-barrelled Joe Manton; whilst Syed Sabban, after a long eulogy for the talent and courage he had displayed against the British in the last war, was invested with a dress of honor and the title of Panglimah Besar, or the Great Warrior; this appellation was an additional source of inquietude to Inchi Katus. A royal salute was then fired by the Zephyr, and the parties separated about sunset.

The conference was originally to have been held higher up the Rumbow branch, at a place called Ramoon China; but altered subsequently to Simpang. The Panghooloo of Nanning, on hearing that the former spot had been fixed on, erected a stockade there, with the view of firing on the British; and the new Allies, who had passed the post in safety in the morning, were rather apprehensive of being fired on by their incensed and deserted comrade, on their return, for having so quietly abandoned his cause. They were, however, permitted to pull by unmolested.

A more ruffianly, half-clothed, and poverty-stricken band was perhaps hardly ever grouped together than that with which the British power had just then concluded a league, compelled to court such an alliance solely by the almost impenetrable fastnesses of the country.

The vessels then weighed anchor, and, dropping down the river with the tide, the Zephyr cast anchor at the mouth at 10 P. M. for want of water over the bar; whilst the Tope, whose draught was less, proceeded to Malacca. At 8. 30 A. M. on the 21st the Zephyr again weighed, and staggering under a strong breeze and press of canvass ran into the Malacca roads by 2. 30 P. M.

Simpang produces some very large oysters, nearly the size of the Colchester; but the party could not procure any in order to pronounce upon their flavor. The river also abounds with very excellent fish.

A day or two after the return of this party, the re-inforcements from Madras, designed to assist

in the reduction of Nanning, began to arrive at Malacca. The force now consisted of the 5th M. N. I., five Companies of the 29th N. I. two Companies of Sappers and Miners, and a proportion of European and Native Artillery, with a good park, and cattle for the Ordnance and Commissariat Departments. The Staff was as follows;

Lieutenant Colonel C. Herbert, Commanding.—Captain J. S. Wyllie, 29th N. I., Brigade Major.—Lieutenant J. H. Bell, S. & M., Superintending Engineer.—Captain F. Bond, Commanding Artillery.—Lieutenant Milnes, Commissariat Officer.—Major P. Farquharson, Commanding 5th N. I.

By the end of January nearly the whole body having arrived, preparations were made for an immediate advance into the interior. In the interval that had elapsed between the termination of the first, and commencement of the second, expedition, the local authorities at Malacca had not been idle, and several coolies had been employed for months together in cutting down the jungle on the high road to Nanning, as far as Roombiyah, to the width of about eighty yards on each side. Timber had also been cut and collected at Roombiyah, for the purpose of constructing a stockade, as it was intended that a Depot should be formed there. In order to protect these cutters, a body of Malays was raised, and armed with muskets, to which was given the name of the "Malay Contingent."

On the 7th February 1832, the Light Company of the 5th M. N. I. under Captain Justice with Ensign Walker, and that of the 29th M. N. I.

under Ensign Short, with a Company of Sappers and Miners under Lieutenant Bell, and a hundred of the Malay Contingent, marched for Roombiyah. A report was prevalent in Malacca, the preceding night, that Inchi Katus, the Dattoo Moodah of Linggen, had moved down to attack this body; but, although the enemy were heard in the vicinity of the camp on the night of the 7th, no hostilities took place.

Dool Syed, deserted by those who had so powerfully upheld him in the first contest, and alarmed at the accession of troops by which the determination of Government was evinced, despatched letters to several individuals resident in Malacca requesting their intercession in his behalf; but, whilst thus soliciting pardon on the one hand, he was equally careful to provide for the worst on the other; he continued strengthening his defences, and was urgent, and ultimately successful, in his letters to some of his former associates to induce them again to league with him against the British. Amongst these were Inchi Abat, and Inchi Mahomed of the gold mines of Genning, and Rajah Krajan. His own most influential chiefs were Dattoo Endika, Dattoo Kayoo Kechil, both Sookoos, Malacca Tomby, &c. The Government refused to treat with Dool Syed except he surrendered himself unconditionally, promising, however, that his life should be spared.

On the morning of the 9th February, the grenadier Company of the 5th M. N. I. under Captain Poulton, moved on for the occupation of Ching, half-way between Malacca and Roombiyah, with instructions to support the party in ad-

vance, if necessary. The preceding night, the Malay Contingent, having, as they asserted, heard a couple of shots from the jungle, began throwing away their ammunition in return, but the firing was speedily stopped. At midnight a jinjal shot, with much *taum tauning*, caused the troops to stand to their arms till day break; but subsequent events proved that at this period nothing further than needlessly harassing the troops was intended, as Soongei Pattye had been selected as a fortunate spot for re-opening the campaign. Lieutenant Watts, of the S. and M., about this time, joined the troops in advance.

On the 12th or thereabouts, Dool Syed addressed a letter to J. B. Westerhout Esq. requesting that gentleman to meet him at Soongei Pattye, and offering to give up the brigade of six-pounders, which had fallen into his hands at the termination of the first expedition; he also expressed a willingness to vacate the Panghoolooship in favor of either his nephew or his son, provided that, in return for these concessions, no farther steps were taken against him.

To this letter Mr. Westerhout was directed to reply that, if he really wished to avert the storm that was impending over him, he must at once and unconditionally surrender, and bring the guns along with him to Malacca. It was obvious, indeed, that the offer was made merely in order to gain time, as he had not at this period received certain promises of assistance from his former allies, and he could not but be aware that the British would look upon the offered transfer of authority, as being, what it really was, merely nominal.

On receiving this reply, although his life was guaranteed to him, Dool Syed is reported to have exclaimed that he saw that his death, banishment, or perpetual imprisonment, was decreed by Government; and, rather than perish so ignominiously, he would fall fighting, and leave at once a name and example to his posterity.

On the 16th intelligence was received at Malacca that the chiefs, who had been wavering, had actually joined Dool Syed, which circumstance rendered resistance nearly a matter of certainty. It was also reported that the Rajah of Pahang had offered the Panghooloo an asylum, in the event of hostilities terminating unfavorably for him, and that the females of his family had already departed on their way thither.

On the 19th the Barque Lady Munro arrived at Malacca with the remaining Company of the 5th, the other Company of Sappers and Miners, and twenty gun-bullocks, ten having died on the passage.

The following morning, the fifth Company of the 5th, under Lieutenant Poole with Ensign Hertford, marched for Ching, relieving Captain Poulton, who moved forward to assume command of Roombiyah. On the 21st intelligence was received that Inchi Mahomed, and Inchi Ahat intended moving on the neighbourhood of Rheim and Ayer Panas * in order to carry off the families as hostages that the males would not assist the British with carriage; and, although they do

* Ayer Panas, "hot water." There are two or three places in the Malacca territory, so named from their springs. The one in the text is in Assahan.

not appear to have ever put the threat in execution, they stockaded themselves at these places, and much oppressed the inhabitants.

On the 21st the Rifle Company under Captain Winbolt with Ensign Wright joined the advance.

It may be necessary here to premise that the whole of the second expedition was carried on by detachments; that is to say, that parties of various strength varying from one to two companies, went out daily in the nature of covering parties to the Sappers and Miners, and consequently the operations of the day were carried on by the senior Officer present with such covering party. The command was therefore exercised indiscriminately by Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns. On the 22d Captain Poulton, having received orders to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Soongei Pattye, proceeded with a part of his detachment, and Lieutenant Bell, beyond the Roombiyah forest. He saw no one except a few Malays running away, and an old man with a child, who, unexpectedly falling in with the troops, was dreadfully alarmed. After being reassured, he was permitted to depart. On the return of this party, they fired nine stockades, which subsequently proved to be those that had been erected in the jungle on either side of the road, during the former expedition.

It should have been stated that, previous to the march of the troops, a second and stronger Proclamation had been issued to the inhabitants of the disturbed district. This Proclamation contained a reward of 1,000 dollars for the apprehension of Dool Syed, dead, or alive, and

200 for the heads of each of the following Chiefs, viz. Endika, Petah Malayoo, Pendika Tomby, Inchi Mahomed, and Inchi Ahat. But so ill, as long as the obnoxious tenths hung over the heads of the people, much effect could not be expected from any Proclamation. It requires very strong inducements to induce the Malays to desert even a chief of moderate influence; much more, a person who was, like Dool Syed, invested with the very odor of sanctity, and supposed by his credulous people to be endued with the power of working miracles. The following quotation from Leyden's Malay Annals will put this in a stronger light.

After stating that Bichitram Shah, afterwards Sangsapurba, a linear descendant of Rajah Secander Zuikarneini, had descended on the mountain Sagantang Maha Miru, and wanted to marry, for which purpose the different chiefs brought their daughters, who were successively stricken with leprosy on account of their inferiority of rank, the translator thus proceeds. "According to the persons from whom the author derives his information, the Rajah of the country of Palembang, which was formerly of such great extent, had a daughter of extreme beauty, named Wan-Sundaria. Then Ampu and Malin made obeisance to Sangsapurba, and represented to him that Damang Lebar Dawn had a daughter: Sangsapurba accordingly sent to ask her in marriage, but he excused himself, alledging that she would probably be struck with sickness, and that he would only resign her to him as a wife on certain conditions: these conditions were, that, on Sangsapurba mar-

rying his daughter, all the family of Damang Lebar Dawn should submit themselves to him; but that Sangsapurba should engage, both for himself and his posterity, that they should receive a liberal treatment; and in particular, that, when they committed faults, they should never be exposed to shame nor opprobrious language; but, if their faults were great, that they should be put to death according to the law. Sangsapurba agreed to these conditions, but he requested, in his turn, that the descendants of Damang Lebar Dawn should never move any treasonable practices against his descendants, even though they should become tyrannical. 'Very well,' said Damang Lebar Dawn, 'but if your descendants break your agreements, probably mine will do the same.' These conditions were mutually agreed to, and the parties swore to perform them, imprecating the divine vengeance to turn their authority upside down, who should infringe these agreements. From this condition it is that none of the Malay rajahs ever expose their Malay subjects to disgrace or shame; they never bind them, nor hang them, nor give them opprobrious language; for, whenever a rajah exposes his subjects to disgrace, it is the certain token of the destruction of his country: hence, also it is that none of the Malay race ever engage in rebellion, or turn their faces from their own rajahs, even though their conduct be bad, and their proceedings tyrannical.*

After this digression, I proceed with the detail of the operations. On the 25th February, at

* Leyden's Malay Annals, pp. 25, 26, 27. I am aware that a great portion of this quotation is to be found in a foot note of Raffles's Java, but it is a case so decidedly in point that I have, like that author, transferred the passage to my own pages.

day break, a brigade of 6 Prs. with its complement of Colondauze, under Lieutenant Begbie, and the other Company of Sappers and Miners, under 2d Lieutenant Smythe, marched for Roombiyah. This detachment, having halted for half an hour at Chng, reached Roombiyah with difficulty at 2 P. M., the cattle being much distressed.

On the 2d March, Colonel Herbert joined the force in advance, having appointed Captain Hibgame to succeed to the command of Malacca, on the departure of the Head Quarters of the 5th M. N. I., the stockade at Roombiyah being nearly completed, and on the 5th the Brigade Major, Captain Wyllie, also arrived. The Sappers and Miners were busily employed in cutting through the felled trees, and hewing down the lofty forest of Roombiyah to a distance of eighty yards on each side of the road, a task in which they were ably seconded by a body of Chinese and Malay coolies. The axe employed in the Peninsula is very small and light, and firmly bound with split rattans to an extremely pliable handle. The cutters erect a temporary stage around the tree to be felled at the height of about three feet from the ground, upon which they stand, and cut with astonishing rapidity.

The very smallness of the axe tells in favor of the Malay, as he has no occasion to hew the trunk to the width that an English felling axe necessarily requires. The lower edge of the incision is remarkably smooth and horizontal, whilst the distance between it and the upper lip rarely exceeds three, or four, inches: the axe therefore falls rapidly on nearly the same spot at

each successive blow, and this horizontal cut is carried all round with the exception of about six inches upon the side to which it is intended that the tree should fall. When at length the trunk begins to groan, and the branches are seen to quiver in the breeze, a loud halloo is given in order to warn the neighboring cutters to stand clear, and a few sturdy strokes through the bark and remnant of the stem send it thundering to the ground, not unfrequently involving two or three minor ones in the same ruin.

Let my readers picture to themselves upwards of a hundred cutters all employed in a small space, the ground already strown with prostrate trees in every direction, so as to render flight nearly impracticable, whilst others are crashing all around, and they will agree that the situation of these men, and that of the covering party which protected them presented a combination of the extremely hazardous and awfully sublime, and that the few casualties which occurred in comparison with what might have been expected must be traced to the overruling superintendance of Providence.

On the 6th March, three of the Sappers and Miners were severely hurt by the falling trees, and I may here remark that I believe that no man, who ever was injured in this manner, was capable of returning to his duty during the remainder of the campaign.

On the 8th Captain Burgess of the 5th M. N. I. joined with his Company, and Ensign Boulder-son of the 29th to relieve Ensign Short of the same Corps in the command of the Light Com-

pany, the latter being obliged to proceed to sea on sick certificate.

On the 9th two more of the S. and M. hurt by the falling trees, as were two more and a convict on the following day.

On the 13th Colonel Herbert, with his staff, Captain Wyllie, and Lieutenant Bell, Superintending Engineer, covered by the grenadiers of the 5th under Captain Poulton, started at 6 A. M. to reconnoitre Soongei Pattye, which they reached in 55 minutes.

The enemy had apparently not returned to this post since the destruction of the stockades, as not a Malay was to be seen, nor had any fresh defences been thrown up. The road across the paddy field, was, however, thickly planted with ranjows, over which cocoanut leaves were strown, apparently as an index to the enemy of their position until such time as the British were expected to cross. The Malays appear to have been subsequently aware of this reconnoissance, as in the evening their yelling was distinctly heard, and between forty and fifty shots fired near the encampment.

On the 14th the Honble. R. Ibbetson, Esq. the Governor of the Straits, paid a visit to Roombiyah for the day; Lieutenant Milnes, Commissariat officer, also joined.

15th. The enemy appeared this day on the flanks of the covering party with a view of reconnoitring and defying the troops. They commenced rebuilding the stockades which had been destroyed on the 22d ultimo, whilst an incessant *taum-tauming* was kept up.

16th. A party of convicts was employed this day in clearing the ground more fully around the new Roombiyah stockade. A large tree, two thirds of the way up the hill on the left flank, was one of those singled out for destruction; and, as it fell, it crushed a Rajahpoot convict to death. This man, having been refused permission by the overseer to go in quest of a draught of water, obstinately refused to work, and stood, with his arms folded, on the declivity of the hill: when the tree was nodding to its fall, a loud shout warned him of his danger, but, whether his feet were chained to the spot by obstinacy, or rivetted by that fascination which enwraps the senses at such a moment, he neither made a movement, nor uttered a cry, as the ponderous mass, slowly bending towards him, swept down with accelerated force, and the crash announced that the last sinew which had upheld it had finally snapped in two.

His body presented a fearful spectacle—his skull was fractured—his brow beaten in—his ribs crushed to a mummy—his back bone broken, and the bone of the right thigh protruding through a ghastly wound, whilst the eyes, turned in their sockets, spoke volumes as to the exquisite agony endured in that short, last, moment of existence.

17th. This day, the enemy, becoming emboldened by the circumstance of the troops not having fired on them, approached within fifty yards of the covering party, and loaded it with every epithet of abuse, which the Malayan language affords, and fired a shot or two. A little after 4 P. M. Colonel Herbert, Captains Wyllie, and

Poulton, and Lieuts. Milnes, Beggie, and Bell, walked out to visit the covering party, consisting of the Lt. Com. 5 N. 1. under Captain Justice and Lieutenant Poole, which was at that period on the Malacca side of the Soongei Pattye paddy field. A reserve company under Captain Burgess was also posted at the edge of the Roombiyah forest. Just as three of the party reached the spot, Captain Justice was descried moving up the paddy field to the right against the flanking stockades, whilst Lieutenant Poole with the other section of the light company pushed across the paddy fields against five stockades, which occupied in part the position of the British in the first expedition.

Captain Justice approached without opposition to within 20 yards of the flanking defences, on the wooden rampart of which a sentry was pacing with his musquet; and, being unwilling to fire the first shot, waved to the Malays to evacuate it; the hint was readily taken, and the stockade fell without a shot being fired.

Captain Justice then pushed on to the flanks of those defences, which Lieutenant Poole was attacking, the firing of jinjals and musquetry announcing that resistance was being offered. Colonel Herbert, on arriving at this juncture, ordered up the reserve under Captain Burgess, but, before it could come up, the whole of the defences were in the hands of the light company. The casualties in this affair, which was ably conducted, were trifling, viz. one sepoy slightly wounded by musquetry, and seven do. and one Malay contingent, wounded by ranjows.

The light company and reserve having been thrown out to the front, the enemy were dislodged from the jungle, and the sappers and miners commenced destroying the stockades, which were placed in the shape of a half moon, so as to concentrate their fire on the road across the paddy field. They were about four feet high, and composed of horizontal piles of wood, the outer and inner rows being about three feet asunder and the interstices filled up with earth. Loop-holes for the musquetry, and embrasures for the jinjals, were cut in them. Two swords, a *taum-taum*, and a large collection of ranjows, were the only spoils of the day.

When the combustible materials were fully in a blaze, the party returned unmolested to camp, which they reached at a little before 8 P. M. rejoicing that hostilities had at length commenced.

Sunday, 18th. The rifle company of the 5th (Captain Winbolt and Ensign Wright), and the light company 29th N. I. (Ensign Boulderson) formed the covering party, remaining on the higher side of the paddy field, as the cutters were still employed in the rear. On the arrival of the head of the column at its ground, it was received with a fire of jinjals from Soongei Pattye, which was speedily silenced by the rifles. Captain Winbolt dispersed his riflemen amongst the paddy fields, in which they lay concealed at full length, whilst the light company of the 29th took up its position at the edge of the cutting. At 11 A. M. the enemy mustered in force at Soongei Pattye, and opened a brisk, but harmless, fire on that portion of their opponents that was

visible to them. The fire was returned, and the riflemen picked off four of the enemy. Half an hour afterwards, the firing totally ceased. One rifleman wounded by a ranjow.

19th. The grenadiers under Captain Poulton and Ensign Walker, and the C. company, (Captain Burgess,) of the 5th, formed the covering party; an exchange of shots took place, and three of the enemy said to have fallen.

20th. The rifles, and the light company of the 5th with their officers out to-day, and a few shots fired; a strong stockade on the brow of the hill of Soongei Pattye, which had annoyed the British position in the former expedition, was discovered by the working party, and destroyed.

21st. Head Quarters of the 5th N. I. under Major Farquharson, and the grenadier company of the 29th N. I. under Lieutenant Harding, joined to-day in pursuance of orders. Covering party composed of grenadiers of the 5th and light company 29th under their respective officers.

22d. The ground at Soongei Pattye having been cleared sufficiently for an encampment, the flank companies of the 5th and 29th with the rifle company, and the two companies of sappers and miners, marched for that place at 10 A. M. having been delayed until that hour by heavy rain. One of the 29th severely wounded by a ranjow, which, entering at the ball of the toe, re-appeared at the surface of the foot.

Sunday 25th. The Head Quarters of the 5th and Colonel Herbert marched for Soongei Pattye. At 7 A. M. a detachment from that post, under

Captain Poulton, carried five stockades at Kalama, with the loss of two sepoy's wounded by musquetry, (one mortally), and two slightly by ranjows. Another detachment under Captain Justice carried two others in a different direction at the same time. Engineer officers, Lieutenants Bell and Watts. The defences were much blood stained, and the enemy was supposed to have suffered severely. The Panghooloo of Nanning was said to have been in the neighborhood of these stockades. A little before noon another party pushed on to Kalama; and, finding it evacuated, returned at 12 o'clock.

27th. The rifles and the grenadiers of the 29th under their respective officers, Captain Winbolt, Ensign Wright and Lieutenant Harding, with Lieutenant Bell, S. and M., Captain Winbolt in command, crossed the Malacca river to the right of the camp, and burned five stockades at Malacca Pinda, which were occupied by about sixty or seventy of the enemy, who ran off without firing a shot. A good deal of sniping exchanged between the light company of the 5th which formed the covering party under Captain Justice, and the enemy, but no casualties.

28th. Dool Syed threatened the Panghooloo of Doorian Toongal, a place in the vicinity of Roombiyah, that he would hamstring all his buffaloes, if he continued to supply carriage to the troops. Covering party, F. company of the 5th under Ensign Thomson.

29th. Information having been received by Colonel Herbert of a very strong stockade at Ayer Mangis, * a place which lies at the left, or

* Ayer Mangis, or the Mangoe stream.

southern extremity of the Kalama paddy field, about three quarters of a mile distant, its reduction was resolved on. He accordingly sent out a party under Soon Kien,* to reconnoitre the position of the enemy; and, shortly afterwards hearing that the contingent were critically situated, ordered out the light company of the 5th (Captain Justice and Lt. Poole) and the grenadiers of the 29th (Lt. Harding) to their assistance.

Captain Justice, on arriving near the scene of operations, directed Lieutenant Poole to proceed with his section along the narrow path which led along the hither bank of the paddy field and to fall on the right flank of the stockade; Lieutenant Harding was directed at the same time to proceed along the opposite edge and to attack the left flank, whilst Captain Justice himself moved up the paddy field against the face of the work. This latter party, having few obstacles to encounter in the march, was at its destination a considerable time before the rest. On arriving within half musket shot, it was received with a brisk fire from the enemy to whom it was perfectly visible.

The stockade being composed of upright posts, which precluded scaling, Captain Justice sounded the "Lie down," and the men remained a considerable time in this position with the balls ploughing up the ground around them, until a volley on the right announced that Lieutenant Harding's party had reached the left flank of the work. They then sprung on their feet, and continued firing as they rapidly advanced.

* One of our Officers of the Malay Contingent, the descendant of a China man by a Malay Woman.

On wheeling round the face of the stockade, Lieutenant Harding was found lying on the ground mortally wounded. It appeared that his flank movement had taken the enemy completely by surprise, who fled, in the greatest confusion, after firing an ill-concerted volley, leaving two killed and one wounded, the latter of whom managed with great difficulty to effect his escape. The very last man that issued from the stockade unexpectedly confronted Lieutenant Harding, there being a space of about twelve yards between them. This officer put his hand to his belt, but, unfortunately, the pistol was inextricably entangled, and, before he could draw it, the man fired from his hip. The ball passed through the throat, and injured the spine, down which it appears to have passed.

Amongst the other casualties were Subadar Shaik Byram of the Grenadiers, left arm shattered, and two or three of the grenadiers, more or less severely, wounded. Lieutenant Poole's party, which had encountered the greatest and most formidable natural obstacles of the whole, came up very shortly after the other two, but the affair was so rapidly terminated that it had been decided before its arrival.

This attack was judiciously planned and no less ably executed. The enemy were in great force, the day being Thursday, on which the Panghooloo was in the habit of giving a weekly buffaloe feast. The casualties, as far as numbers, were trifling, notwithstanding the strength of the position and the number of the enemy, whilst the calculations of the arrivals of the different

columns were as accurate as could be anticipated in a woody country.

The Panghooloo of Doorian Toongal, who was with the party, cut off the head of one of the fallen Malays, as he either saw or pretended to see, a strong resemblance to the features of one of the proclaimed chiefs, whilst the military employed themselves in making arrangements for the removal of the wounded. Lieutenant Harding, whose nervous system was paralysed by the nature of his wound, was lying on the ground, cheerful, and suffering but little pain, but the efforts to remove him threw him into excruciating agony.

Several ineffectual attempts were made, and at length they succeeded in bearing away the body of the wounded officer, who was conveyed to camp. The ball was traced down the spine by the surgeon, but could not be followed the whole way. Lieutenant Harding lingered till $\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 p. m. of the following day, and his body was sent to Malacca to his widow. He had universally endeared himself to his brother officers by the kindness of his disposition, and was as universally regretted. In person he was remarkably tall, being six feet, four inches, and stout in proportion. On the same day, the E. company under Ensign Wright accompanied by Lts. Bell and Smythe of the Engineers, formed the covering party to the cutters. There was heavy sniping carried on all day, and the two Engineer officers volunteered to head different sections. Amongst the casualties was a sepoy of the E. company mortally wounded by a shot from a tree on the hill of Dat-

too Membangin. The enemy fled, and, as they crossed the paddy field to the rear of their position, Ensign Wright shot one of them dead. The coolness and courage displayed by this party met with its due meed of praise.

On the morning of the 30th at half past 3 a party consisting of 100 rank and file under Captain Burgess with Ensign Hertford quitted Room-biyah in obedience to instructions from Colonel Herbert, for the purpose of attacking a village called Loondoo. Two other parties also started from Soongei Pattye, one in the direction of Loondoo, and the other against Pangkallang Nanning. Captain Burgess reached Loondoo at 20 minutes past eight, having been delayed considerably by the narrow and wretched state of the path. He there found a mud stockade, 22 paces square, six feet high, and five thick. The village had been abandoned on the approach of the troops, and the party of sappers, which accompanied the detachment, levelled the defences. The paddy fields in the neighbourhood were in full cultivation, affording a striking contrast to all those lying in the direct road to Taboo, which had been undisturbed by the plough, since the collision of Nanning with the ruling power.

Captain Burgess tied a copy of the Proclamation round a tree, which stood at a corner of the demolished stockade, and, understanding that there was another work three miles further on, put his detachment in motion for it: on arrival, however, he found that this was Ayer Itam,* which had been visited by the detachment from Soon-

* Ayer Itam—literally Black water.

gei Pattye under Captain Poulton, who with Ensign Walker, had proceeded thither according to his instructions, and, having destroyed the defences, had fired a house in the neighbourhood. He accordingly returned, taking a shorter cut through the jungle, which he found, however, obstructed nearly the whole way by felled trees, in consequence of which he did not reach Roombiyah until half past one.

A party of the Malay contingent on the same day surrounded the house of Petah Malayoo, which was situated in a paddy field, about half way between Roombiyah and Soongei Pattye, and, although they failed in their principal object, they succeeded in capturing the two sons of the retractor chief, who were sent down to Malacca guarded by the escort which, on the morning of the 31st, was proceeding in charge of the body of Lieutenant Harding.

31st. E. and F. company of the 5th formed the covering party.

1st April, light company of the 5th and grenadier 29th, the covering party.

2d. The European artillery under Captain Bond arrived at Roombiyah. Covering party, grenadiers and rifles of the 5th.

3rd. The European artillery, and eight of the Golondauze, with Captain Bond and Lieutenant Begbie, proceeded at 5 A. M. to Soongei Pattye with the following ordnance, viz. one 12 pr. howitzer, one 4½ inch howitzer, one 8 inch and 5½ inch mortar, and a brigade of 6 prs. Twelve Golondauze, under a Jemidar, were left at Roombiyah with the brigade of sixes which came up on the 25th February.

On the arrival of the artillery at Soongei Pattye at 6 o'clock, the rifles and flank companies of the 5th being already drawn up, this party at once proceeded to Dattoo Membangin* about a stone's throw in advance of Alu Gaju, distant from Soongei Pattye 2m. 5fls. and consequently 4m. 5fls. in advance of Roombiyah. The detachment reached their ground at 7 A. M. and the artillery was parked on the extreme right, or the advance flank, resting on the jungle which clothed the acclivity, midway of which it was posted.

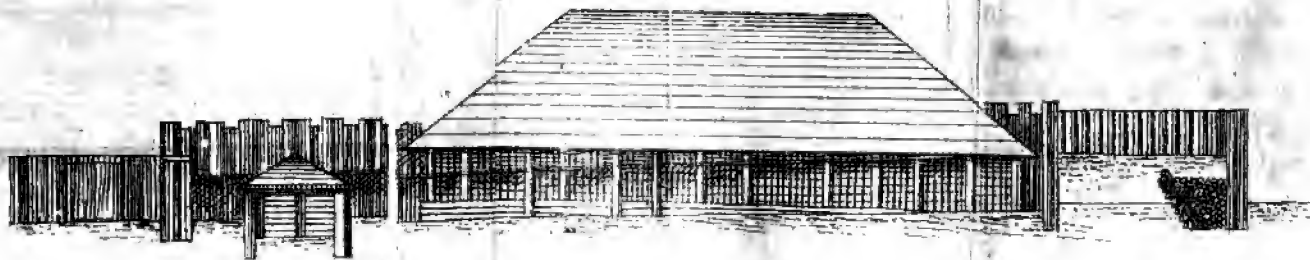
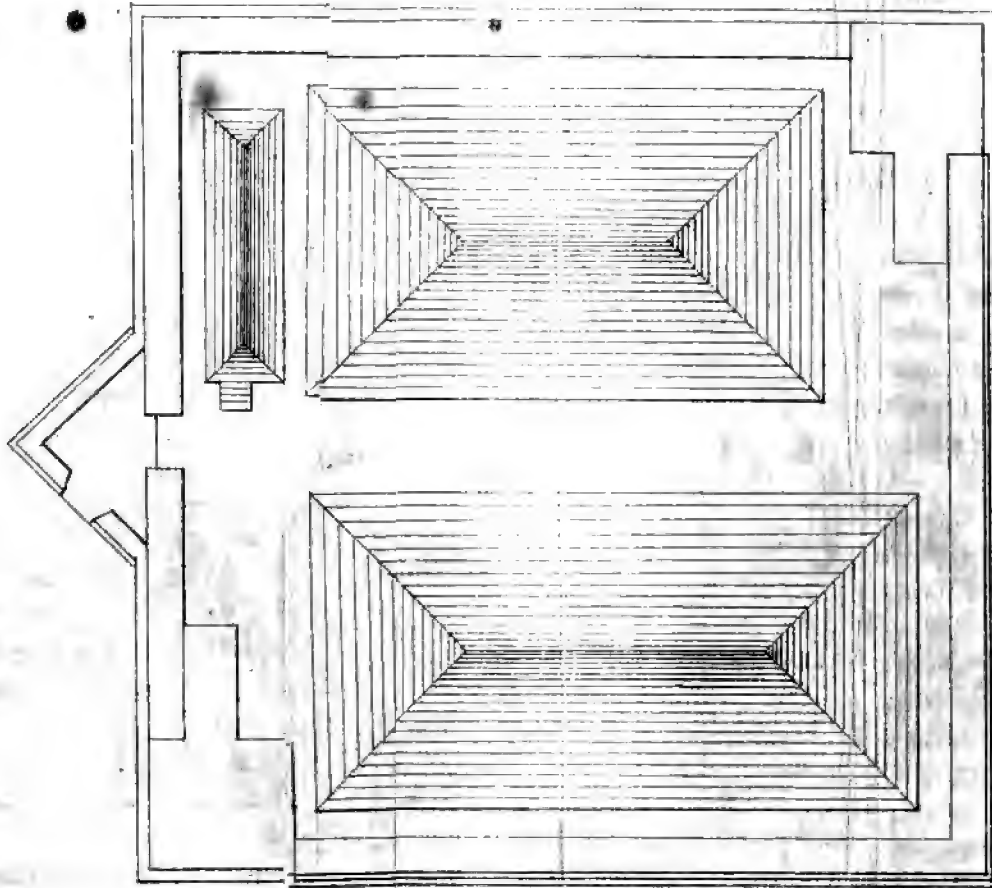
On the 3d April, a very heavy fall of rain, accompanied by severe thunder and lightning, occurred, which did great damage to the stockade at Roombiyah, the magazines of which, for want of room, were placed under the platforms of the guns.

On the 5th the remainder of the force arrived from Soongei Pattye, and the house of Dattoo Membangin was appropriated as a General Hospital.

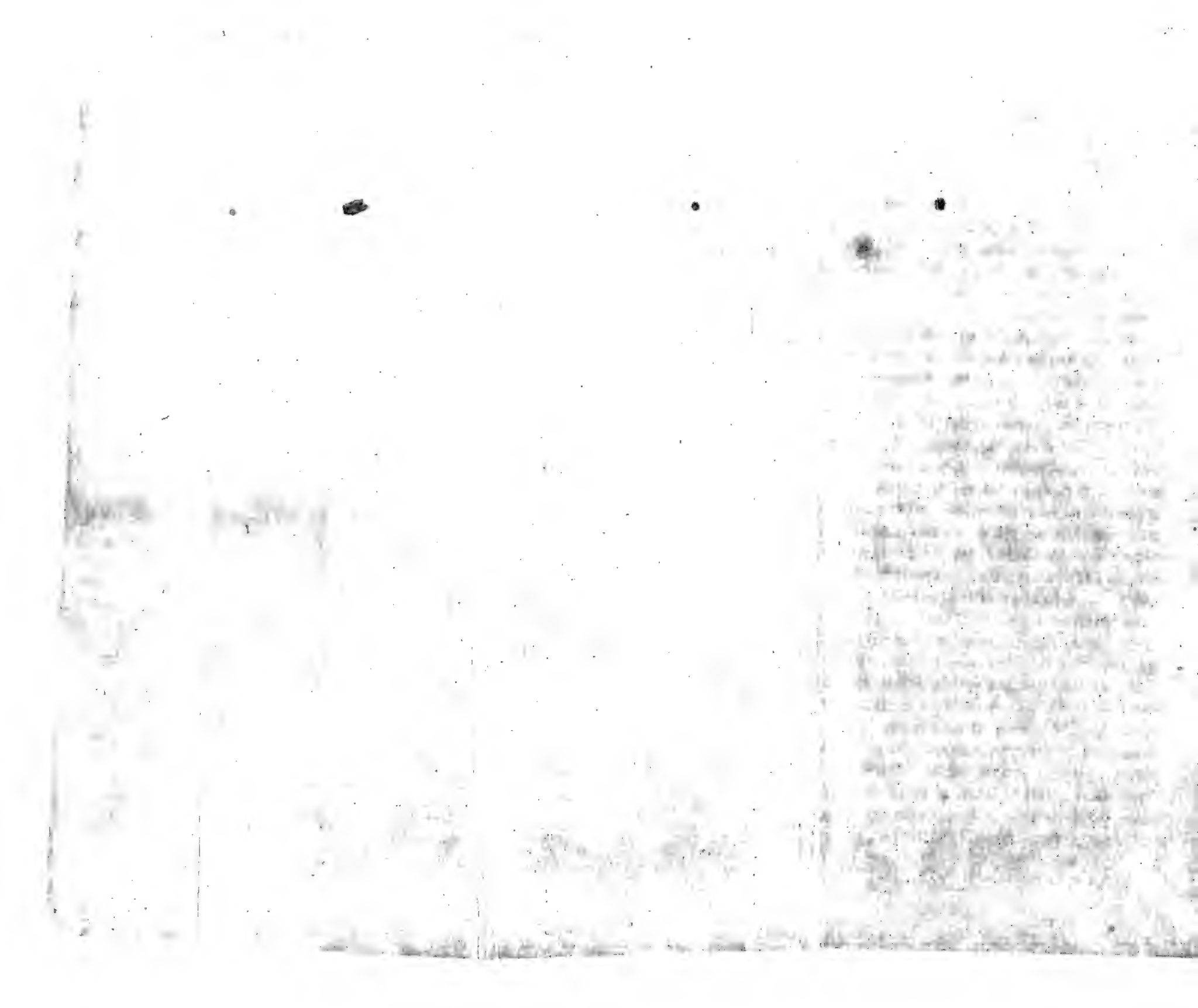
On the 7th a committee was held at Roombiyah on the damaged powder and there was found to be three feet and a half of water in the magazines, and 10,500 rounds of musquet ammunition, and the whole of the rifle powder, destroyed, a serious loss at the commencement of a campaign. The rain had fallen in such abundance that the roads across the paddy fields were completely submerged. A cooly, coming from Malacca with some property of Colonel Herbert, was murdered by some marauders within a mile of Room-

* This place is the residence of one of the Sookoos of Naaming. (Dattoo Membangin.) His house, as I have stated, was fired by the first expedition, and he had lately erected a new one.

BELL'S STOCKADE



JM122



biyah. At 7 P. M. a few shots were fired on the front of the camp, but no attack was made. This night four of the Malay contingent, who had been posted as sentries, deserted with their arms and ammunition. As this was not the first instance of the kind, and the occurrence left the camp exposed in the quarter which the Malays were destined to protect, the practice of posting them as independent sentries was discontinued.

8th and 9th. The sappers and miners employed in cutting down the jungle in advance towards Taboo. Covering party on the 9th C. company, 5th N. I. Ensign Wright.

10th. Covering party, F. company of the 5th, Ensign Thomson. Lieutenant Begbie was despatched to Malacca with seven carts and a havildar's party to bring up the 18 pr. carronades with a proportion of ammunition. This party was relieved at Soongei Pattye by one of similar strength from Roombiyah, and, whilst halting there after the relief, was attacked by about fifty of the enemy, whom it drove off with the reported loss of two killed and two wounded. The enemy this day commenced firing on the tappal bearers and guard.

11th. Light company of the 5th, covering party.

12th. At 7 A. M. the covering party, which consisted of the rifle company, was exposed to a sharp fire from a stockade on the right, just as it was reaching its ground, at about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from camp. This stockade was situated on a tongue of jungle, which jutted into the paddy field skirt.

ing the road, and at a murderous distance. At the first volley, one rifleman was shot through the heart, and five others wounded. Captain Winbolt sounded the "halt and lie down," the enemy still keeping up a vigorous fire. He subsequently directed Ensign Wright to lead his section across the paddy field, he himself intending to fall upon the right flank of the stockade with the other. Ensign Wright sprang upon his feet, calling upon his men to follow him, and dashed into the paddy field, without observing that his call had not been obeyed by any of the company except his orderly boy, the men being apparently panic struck by their losses. This gallant young officer had hardly reached the centre of the paddy field, exposed to the fire of the stockade, which was all concentrated on him, when a ball broke his right thigh, and brought him to the ground. The Malays rushed out, with the intention of cutting off his head, but were driven back by the orderly boy, Emaun Ally,* who, kneeling behind his master, fired seven or eight shots over the body. Whilst lying in this helpless state, Mr. Wright received a second ball in the left shoulder.

The rifles at length rallied, and the enemy were driven from their position and the wounded officer removed with the other casualties to camp. The artillery was this evening brought into play for the first time, Captain Bond proceeding with the 5½ inch mortar down the hill of Dattoo Membangin, and throwing some shells in the direction of Wright's stockade.

* This lad was subsequently executed for the murder of Lieut. Col. Coombs at Palaveram on the 10th October 1852.

At 4 o'clock this evening Lieutenant Begbie left Malacca with the 18 pr. carronades, being accompanied by 2d Lieutenant Lawford of the artillery. Commissariat supplies, leaving Malacca at the same time, were placed in charge of the senior officer, who had a suitable escort of 37 rank and file. The party, however, did not reach Roombiyah till midnight.

13th. The covering party this day consisted of the grenadier company 29th M. N. I. under Ensign Boulderson.

14th. The covering party formed by the light company 29th N. I. under Ensign Boulderson, and the 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzer on its bed under Lieut. Begbie, who had rejoined the preceding day. Every thing quiet.

15th. Sunday. The grenadier company of the 5th regiment under Captain Poulton with Ensign Walker, and the same piece of ordnance as the preceding day under Lieutenant Lawford, composed the covering party, which was unmolested throughout.

16th. The E. company of the 5th N. I. under Lieutenant Poole, with the small howitzer, formed the covering party, the whole under Lieutenant Begbie; Engineer officer, Lieutenant Bell. The officers proceeded half a mile in advance of their position, through the jungle, until they arrived at Priggi to Dattus, where the enemy were said to have thrown up some formidable stockades. After throwing a shell or two in order to feel their way, they crossed the open space, and found a breast work and unfinished stockade, which they destroyed by means of some of the sappers. The

Engineer crossed the paddy field to inspect a *dusun*, which flanked the right of the road, but found no works thrown upon it. Lieut. Poole also proceeded on the road towards Bukit Seboosa, but was recalled by the bugle before he reached that place. The reconnoissances having been completed, the officers and their escort returned to the covering party, which was unmolested throughout.

Billal Munji, one of the guides, who was a Nanningite of some importance, gave information before day-break of the 17th that the enemy had during the night thrown up two breast-works, right and left of the road on the hither side of the cutting. This man, when accompanying the covering parties, dressed himself in such a manner as to disguise himself from the Nanningites, with whom he used to associate at night, and assist in constructing their defences, so that his information was the best that could be procured in camp.

The covering party this day consisted of the F. company of the 5th under Ensign Thomson, and the small howitzer under 2d Lieutenant Lawford; Engineer Officer, Lieutenant Watts. Shortly after the party had started Colonel Herbert, having received intelligence that opposition was likely to be offered, as stockades had been erected, directed that Lieutenant Begbie should join with the 5½ inch mortar, which he accordingly did, and assumed command of the whole, having been previously directed to apply to Ensign Thomson for his instructions. A misconception of the orders thus passed on from one

officer to another consequently ensued, and the orders, which originally intended that the stockades should be attacked if found on the hither side of the cutting, were misconstrued into positive directions that they should be destroyed.

The party arrived at the edge of the cutting, but saw no signs of the works, and therefore proceeded cautiously onwards until it neared Priggi-to-Dattus. The sound of axes being distinctly heard at that place, a shell was thrown from the howitzer in order to ascertain the strength of the enemy. A tremendous yelling and volley of musquetry announced them to be in force; by this first fire a* convict at the mortar was shot through the head, and a havildar and one or two sepoys wounded. The fire was immediately returned by the troops, and a havildar's party pushed up the road. Ensign Thomson, having proceeded a short distance into the jungle to the right, returned with a report that he could see two stockades at the head of the paddy field.

The artillery, covered by a part of the infantry, accordingly proceeded in the direction and shelled the stockades, which the enemy evacuated, crossing over to the jungle on the left of the main road, with the view of falling on the left and rear of the troops. This movement required, and was met by, a resumption of the original position, whence the firing was kept up briskly both by the ordnance and small arms. As, however, the enemy's fire was very galling, Ensign Thomson obtained

* This man is still alive, and in charge of the government Bungalow at Tanjong Kling. The ball has never been extracted, but his health is uninjured, although partial idiocy has been induced.

permission to attempt to turn the left flank of these, the only visible stockades.

As the firing was very heavy upon this party shortly after it had quitted with this object, a further party was sent to strengthen it, while the artillery moved on about thirty yards to the edge of the jungle in which it was posted, with the double view of attracting part of the enemy's fire, and thus drawing it off from the storming party, and of covering the advance. Nothing could be seen of Ensign Thomson's party, and the stockades were found to be re-occupied, in consequence of which the artillery again opened upon them, but with little effect.* Word was at length brought that the little detachment had suffered severely from an extensive breast-work, which had been thrown up during the night in the *Dusun*, which Lieut. Bell had reconnoitred the preceding day, and through which Mr. Thomson had intended to proceed in order to turn the flank of the visible position. The officer was the first that fell, being stunned by a severe graze and contusion on the crown of the head by a musket ball. On coming to his senses, he found his party killed, wounded, or dispersed, and his *chokra*, or boy, lying alongside of him. The enemy closing upon him, he started to his feet, and ran, accompanied by his servant, towards the artillery, which position he fortunately reached. It subsequently appeared that Endika commanded on this occasion.

Out of fifty four rank and file, which had marched that morning, twenty seven were now *hors de combat*, six of whom, either killed or wounded,

* The 48 inch howitzer was of hardly any service throughout the war, being deficient in windage, in consequence of which hardly one of the fuzes ignited.

were lying in front of the concealed breastwork. The artillery was reduced to one round per gun, and the enemy on the increase, and passing to the rear. To have attempted, under these circumstances, the removal of six bodies, (for the wounded had probably ere this been murdered), would have only involved an increase of casualties, without effecting the object, and Lieutenant Begbie retreated with the remnant of his party to Wright's stockade, where he halted, sending in by the wounded a requisition for assistance.

At about eleven a. m. Captain Justice and Lieutenant Poole arrived with two companies of the 5th and ammunition for the artillery, and were shortly followed by the rifles under Capt. Winbolt. This last detachment, however, shortly after returned to camp, on the rear of which the enemy made a slight attack, but were driven back by 12 pr. howitzer under Captain Bond. The cutting was resumed, and carried on throughout the day with occasional sniping.

18th. Covering party* composed of the rifles, Captain Winbolt, and the light company of the 5th under Captain Justice and Lieutenant Poole; Artillery under Lieutenant Begbie; sniping carried on throughout. One of the Malays shot by a Naigue. At 9 p. m., just before the moon rose the enemy made an attack on the right and rear picquets, but was repulsed.

19th. The covering party this day consisted of the flank companies of the 29th regiment; artillery officer, Lieut. Lawford, who took out one of a brigade of 4½ inch mortars, which had

* I have been obliged to repeatedly omit the name of the Engineer officer for the day, from having no means of ascertaining it.

arrived from Malacca, in addition to the howitzer of the same calibre. In the evening, the enemy endeavoured to intercept the supplies at Kalama, which were *en route* from Malacca, but were driven back by the light company under Captain Justice and Lieut. Poole, which quitted camp for the purpose of succouring the convoy.

20th. Owing to the weakness of the force, consequent on casualties and sickness, there being at this period about three hundred sick in hospital, offensive operations to the front were discontinued, until such time as the arrival of the reinforcements expected from Madras and Pinang should enable the troops to resume their attitude. As the attacks of the enemy upon all convoys coming from Malacca had assumed a systematic appearance, the grenadiers of the 5th, under Captain Poulton and Ensign Walker, were ordered to cover the sappers, who were engaged, in extending the cutting on each side of the road from Roombiyah. A little sniping, but no casualties. The enemy threw away a few shots on the advance picquets, and at 20 m. past 8 p. m. fired one of the 6 prs. at Taboo, in mockery of the British evening gun.

21st. Ensign Wright, and some of the most severely wounded men, escorted by the light company of the 5th with its officers as far as Roombiyah, proceeded *en route* to Malacca. Artillery engaged in throwing shells from the 8 inch mortar into the enemy's stockades situated at the head of a paddy field, 1,100 yards in front of the right battery.

Sunday 22d. The fire returned, by an 8'0" jinjal from the stockades, the balls of which fell

about fifty yards in rear of the battery. Artillery employed as yesterday.

23d. Light company 5th N. I., under its officers, with a few rifles attached, formed the covering party to the sappers at Kalama clearing the jungle; sniping—one of the enemy wounded. Artillery and the stockades exchanging shots.

24th. Captain Winbolt with the rifles covering in the rear. Artillery &c. as before. A convict, who deserted from camp to-day, killed by the enemy, and his bowels ripped open at Soongei Pattye. Tappal fired on, and one of the enemy killed.

25th. Lieutenant Poole marched with a company of the 5th N. I. at 3 a. m. towards Soongei Pattye, for the purpose of destroying a stockade there. This officer reached the place at day-break, and surprised about fifty of the enemy, who, favored by a dense fog, effected their escape: having obtained his object, he returned to camp. Captain Burgess, from Roombiyah, destroyed another in the neighborhood an hour or two afterwards. The enemy fired on the right battery from a new stockade in its rear, but were dislodged by grape.

27th. The Malay Contingent took a stockade across the paddy field to the rear, on the Sebang road; the enemy, four or five in number, making their escape. Captain Poulton with his subaltern and the grenadiers of the 5th formed the covering party at Soongei Pattye. Syed Sabban arrived in camp this day for the purpose of co-operating. It was said that Government had proffered to subsidize the Rumbow people but that the chief preferred having liberty to plunder. The enemy was evidently emboldened by the

inactivity of the British in front, and their yells and war songs were heard all around. A party approached within a hundred yards of the right battery under cover of the night, but retreated on the fire of the picquet, which was on the alert.

28th. Another sapper was this day severely injured by a tree falling on him at Soongei Pat-tye.

Sunday 29th. Ensign Stoddart, who had been left sick at Malacca, joined his company, the grenadiers of the 5th N. I.

30th. Lieutenant Begbie despatched to Malacca as member of a Committee on Military Stores received from Singapore.

CHAP. VI.

Grand attack of the Camp by the Malays—driven back with loss—Ensign Walker killed—Syed Sabban destroys a village and brings in two prisoners—Serious affray between the Malay Contingent and the convicts—A stockade at Pangkallang Nanning destroyed—The defences of Bukit Seboosa destroyed by Syed Sabban—Operations to the front resumed—The new defences of Bukit Seboosa attacked and carried—Dattoo Malala tenders his submission—The post of Pur Ling taken—Malayan families, in utter destitution, enter the British camp—Endika, one of the rebel Sookoos, applies for terms—The Panghooloo asks for terms, and is told to submit unconditionally—The Stockades towards Sebang destroyed—Mr. Westerhout arrives at Bukit Seboosa with instructions from Government to treat with Dool Syed—Conference between the two and duplicity of the latter—Reply of Government to the Panghooloo—H. M. S. Magicienne, and H. C.'s Schooner Zephyr blockade the Linggy, Moor, and Cassan, Rivers—Endika makes fresh offers of submission—Continuation of operations—Attack of the stockades of Bangkul Munji—Line of defences carried, and one six-pounder recaptured—The fall of Taboo, recapture of the other six-pounder and flight of Dool Syed—Sebang people tender their allegiance—Mr. Anderson, Civil Commissioner, arrives in camp, and dies of fever about a month afterwards—The war having terminated, the force is gradually reduced—Capture of Pendika Tomby, another proscribed chieftain.

SYED SABBAN obtained permission to proceed at day-break on the 3d to the village of Mullikei, which he expected to plunder.

On the 3d May at a little after 6 A. M. as Captain Justice, the Captain of the day, was inspecting the "relief," the enemy commenced a brisk attack upon the right picquets, driving them partially down the hill. It

was a singular interference of Providence on behalf of the British that the enemy should have been permitted to make their attack at the identical moment that the new picquets were drawn up on the very spot which the enemy selected as his point of attack. There was consequently just double the number of bayonets ready to repel the attack that there would have been had the Nanningites waited until after the relief of the picquets, which they might probably have forced, and entered the camp pell-mell. The struggle would then have been hand to hand, a species of warfare, in which regular troops would run the greatest risk of being worsted.

Captain Justice moved rapidly up to the assistance of the nearly overpowered picquets, and recovered the lost ground, whilst the bugles were ringing through the camp, and the troops "arming in haste." The 12 pr. howitzer was brought from the extreme right picquet to the point on which the attack had been made, and whence it had been so gallantly repulsed by Captain Justice. Captain Bond, who commanded the artillery in this battery brought up some mortars also into position here, whilst Lieutenant Lawford was directed to take charge of the rear battery. The enemy, on being driven from the eminence, crossed the hollow which ran between it and a superior height called Bukit Lanjoot, crowned with a strong stockade, whence a plunging fire was directed on the whole of the camp. The body under Capt. Justice, was therefore directed to lie down whilst the batteries played over them, both did their parts, the infantry lying down with ad-

- The rate of fire was whilst the

the shot of the artillery, passing a few feet over their heads, perforated the stockade, carrying death and destruction in their train. One 12 pr. shot, after piercing the stockade, tore out the bowels of one man, and carried off the leg of a second; the enemy subsequently acknowledged only two killed and three mortally wounded by the artillery.

The destructive effects of this powerful piece of ordnance inspired a panic into the Malays, who had conceived that the thickness of the stockade had rendered it impenetrable, and they evacuated it in confusion, the infantry under Captain Justice taking possession of it, being accompanied by a party of sappers under Lieutenant Bell who proceeded to destroy it.

At the commencement of the affair, the grenadiers of the 5th, with Captain Poulton, and Ensigns Stoddart and Walker, were directed to take the enemy's position in rear by moving along a path which wound round the foot of Bukit Lanjoot. On arriving at a spot where the road branched into two, Captain Poulton and Ensign Stoddart pursued one path, whilst young Walker took the other. But the enemy was fully prepared, at this stage of the war, for flanking movements, and a stockade had been erected on the latter path in anticipation. As the gallant boy came unexpectedly on this work, a ball took effect in his heart, and he fell dead to the ground, one arm being for an instant thrown convulsively upwards. The sepoy, next to his officer, and two others, were wounded by the volley.

Shortly after this melancholy event, Bukit

Lanjoot was in the hands of the other party, and the body of Ensign Walker was brought into camp and buried that evening.* The firing did not cease till noon.

Unpleasant suspicions prevailed throughout the day that Syed Sabban was implicated in this attack, to which opinion his having quitted camp, about an hour previously, gave a very probable color.

He returned in the evening, however, having fallen in unexpectedly with a village, between the camp and Mullikie, which consisted of nineteen houses. These he set fire to, and brought back with him two prisoners, one of whom had been wounded by musquetry in the leg.

4th. Lieutenant Begbie with 46 carts of military stores and provisions returned to camp. The enemy throwing up stockades on the road to Sebang, opposite to the British rear picquet.

On the 5th a serious affray occurred in the bazar, in the evening, between the Malay Contingent and the convicts, which, had the enemy been prompt to take advantage of the confusion, might have been very prejudicial to the safety of the camp. By the efforts of the officers and men it was subdued, but not before one of the Contingent had received a severe wound, and one of the convicts, a kick on the stomach, of which he died that night.

Sunday 6th, was distinguished merely by the wounded Malay prisoner attempting to hang himself, a death which to a Malay is peculiarly

* A handsome monument, designed by Lieutenant Smythe, Engineers, has been erected to the memory, and over the remains, of Mr. Walker by his brother officers of the 5th.

disgraceful, and subsequently endeavoring to beat his brains out against the floor, in both of which purposes he was prevented.

7th, 8th & 9th. The usual exchange of shots was carried on, whilst the enemy were busy carrying on the building of their stockades, in the hopes of hemming in the camp. On the latter day the Contingent were directed to scour the jungle.

A false attack made on the front of the lines at 10 P. M. of the 12th.

Sunday 13th. At half past 8 A. M. one company of the 56th N. I. under Captain Wallace, and Captain Simcock and Lieutenant Minto of the 5th with Lieutenant Liardet, 14th N. I., doing duty with the 5th, and Lieutenant Symes, 29th N. I. from Madras, strengthened the force at Dattoo Membangin, the name of which place had been altered, on the completion of the work, to "Bell's stockade," in compliment to the senior Engineer.

14th. Syed Sabban destroyed one of the enemy's stockades at Pangkallang Nanning, the enemy hastily evacuating it.

15th. Right picquet attacked at 10 P. M. and the troops under arms; the enemy retired.

16th. The same harassing duties going on.

17th. Captain Wallace's company of the 46th N. I. arrived at Malacca from Pinang. The duty at this period very arduous, the guards standing fast for want of a relief, and one half of the European artillery in hospital.

At 3 A. M. of the 21st Syed Sabban started with his own followers and the Malay Contin-

gent for the purpose of attacking the stockades at Bukit Seboosa, which Billal Munji, the guide, had reported to be nearly empty, the Nanningites having gone to procure rice the preceding day. Each man carried a *purang*, or Malay knife, in order to assist in cutting a path through the jungle to the rear of the defences. At daylight, the artillery, agreeably to secret orders, opened their fire towards Bukit Seboosa, in order to distract the attention of the enemy. The few men that were in the stockades evacuated them on hearing Syed Sabban's drum* and, that chief threw his men into them. At 10 A. M. Captain Justice, Lieutenants Minto, and Poole with a company of the 5th N. I. and a party of sappers left camp for the purpose of destroying the stockades at Bukit Seboosa, which they found to be eight in number, seven whereof were connected by breast works in the manner of "Waterloo squares" and formed a crescent, whilst the eighth on a detached eminence flanked the right of the position.

This party fired not only these defences, but also seven others which had been erected between Priggi-to-Dattus and Bell's stockade since the cessation of active operations, and returned to camp at half past 3 P. M. In the stockades at Bukit Seboosa, which formed such a strong post, were several boarded stages, apparently for the purpose of affording protection from the shells. The troops found the skeletons, and severed skulls of five of the men, who had been left on

* He carried an English drum for the double purpose of deceiving the enemy, and informing his allies when he should be in possession of the stockade.

the ground on the 17th ulto. and, having collected all the bones together, burned them.

22d. The force having been further strengthened by the arrival of Lieutenant Stevenson's company of the 46th, which had been relieved at Soongei Pattye by another company of the same corps under Ensign Falconer, and the destruction of the stockades at Bukit Seboosa having materially altered the relative position of the contending parties, Colonel Herbert determined on the 21st to renew active operations. His first intention was to occupy Bukit Seboosa at once, but it was abandoned in consequence of the extent of jungle which still intervened between that hill and the British post. Accordingly at 6 A. M. the grenadiers and light company of the 5th under Captain Poulton, and Captain Justice, Lieutenants Minto, Poole, and Ensign Stoddart, with a 5½ inch mortar under Lieutenant Begbie, formed the covering party to the sappers. On arriving at the ground, Captain Poulton moved on with the grenadiers as far as Priggi-to-Dattus to make a reconnoissance, and returned at half past 8 A. M. with the skull and skeleton of the sixth missing man, which were found considerably to the rear of the position occupied by the enemy on the 17th April. It therefore appears probable that these were the remains of a havildar, whose thigh was known to have been broken by a shot, and that he had been carried thither for the purpose of giving information, and subsequently butchered.

Another skeleton was found in the jungle, in the afternoon, but, as there was a Brahmical cord on it, it could not have been that of a Ma-

lay, and the bones most probably were those of a convict, as no sepoy were now missing.

The carronades having been sent to Roombiyah to be mounted on the stockade there, the brigade of 6 pounders which had been left at that station, was brought up to Bell's Stockade.

23d. Covering party this day consisted of the rifles, (Captain Winbolt), grenadiers of the 29th., (Ensign Boulderson), and the $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch mortar, (2d Lieut. Lawford). The weather began to grow very oppressive, the mercury standing at 6 A. M. at 86° , at noon 87° , and at 2 P. M. 91° .

24th Captain Wallace, with the company of the 46th N. I. Ensign Boulderson, with the light company, 29th N. I. and Lieutenant Begbie with the $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch mortar, formed the covering party. On arriving at the ground, Captain Wallace pushed on with a section of his company for a reconnoissance, a few of the Malay Contingent preceding as guides. After advancing 2, or 3,00 yards beyond Priggi-to-Dattus, the party arrived at the edge of a narrow strip of paddy field running across the road at the foot of Bukit Seboosa, on the other side of which was a small occupied breast-work. A sharp, but short, exchange of shots terminated in the evacuation of the work, which the detachment partially destroyed, and returned to the covering party. Thermometer at 2 P. M. 96° .

25th. At 5 P. M. the grenadiers of the 5th under Captain Poulton, with Ensign Stoddart, the company of the 46th under Captain Wallace with Lieutenant Stevenson, the 12 pr. howitzer, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch mortar, under Lieutenant Begbie

with 2d Lieutenant Lawford, and the Malay Contingent under Syed Sabban, left Bell's stockade for the attack of the new stockades erected on Bukit Seboosa.

On arriving at Priggi-to-Dattus, the detachment was halted, and Syed Sabban, with the Malay Contingent, and a Jemidar's party of 20 men moved off to the right in order, by taking a circuitous route through the jungle, to be enabled to fall on the left flank of the works simultaneously with the grand attack in front.

As soon as this party had been absent the space of time in which it was calculated that this object would be effected, the main body resumed its progress until it reached the foot of Bukit Seboosa, where a sharp turning concealed it from the view of the stockades. Here the detachment halted for nearly 20 minutes, when firing was heard on the right of the British, but at a considerable distance from the point of attack. As a deathlike stillness prevailed in the works, Captain Poulton directed the senior artillery officer to feel whether they were deserted. The 5½ inch mortar was accordingly brought up to the angle of the road, which was nearly 500 yards distant from the enemy's position, and the first shell thrown told on the works, and a tremendous yell at once awoke all the echoes of the woods, as the answering musquetry flashed through every loop hole. A few more shells were thrown, one of which, from the dead pause which ensued, appeared to have produced some effect.

The 12 pr. howitzer was now brought up by drag-ropes, the bullocks following in the rear

with the limber, and the infantry covering the gun. After advancing about 100 yards, these opened to the right and left and the 12 pr. commenced firing. The advance was thus continued by successive halts, until a gun was brought within a hundred yards of the stockades, when Captain Wallace, having obtained permission, led his men on at the charge, and a rush of the whole body of infantry taking place, the stockades, two in number, were evacuated.

The first shot was fired by the British in this action at a little before 7. A. M. and the works were gained at half past 9 A. M. two hours of which interval were passed in active contest. The casualties amounted to Captain Poulton, slightly wounded with a ranjow, at the close of the affair, and 18 rank and file wounded, eight of whom were by musquetry, and the remainder by ranjows. Three of the Artillery drivers were wounded, two of them by musquetry, one mortally, and one by a ranjow.

The faces of the stockades were torn with the grape and fragments of the shells, three or four pieces of which last were picked up in the works, although no traces of blood were discoverable.

Captain Poulton and the wounded men returned to Bell's stockade, as did also 2d Lieutenant Lawford, who was seized with the jungle fever. Captain Justice, with Lieutenant Minto, as a volunteer, arrived at 10 A. M. with the light company of the 5th, having started as a re-inforcement; and, in consequence, Ensign Stoddart returned with the grenadiers as an escort to the wounded.

The party, which remained in possession of Bukit Seboosa, proceeded forthwith to strengthen the position by breast works and batteries—cutting away the jungle, &c., and Captain Wallace despatched a Jemidar's party to the foot of the hill on the Nanning side, in order to protect the well at Mullikei.

26th. The cutting continued. Syed Sabban went out to reconnoitre to the front, and discovered a mud stockade, and another wooden one. Captain Wallace and Lieutenaut Begbie went to see these works, and, whilst searching for them, found another of wood and mud just commenced. All these were destroyed. Syed Sabban, who again proceeded to the front, brought in intelligence in the evening that Dattoo Malālu, or Malālu Sulthaun, whom I have mentioned in the account of the first expedition, was anxious to come in. The night falling, however, he did not make his appearance.

Sunday 27th. Early in the morning, the Dattoo entered the British post, and tendered his allegiance. He spoke in moving terms of the miseries that he was enduring from this protracted struggle, but excused himself from affording any active co-operation at present, as some members of his family were hostages at Taboo for his fidelity to the Panghooloo. He informed Captain Wallace that at Bukit Pur-Ling, one mile in advance, there were three stockades, which at that moment were unoccupied.

The propriety of seizing these was a point that required to be nicely weighed. The detachment at Bukit Seboosa was considered to be merely

adequate for the defence of that post, and an unsuccessful attack upon Pur-Ling might have compromised the security of the former, and embarrassed the future operations of the force, as the main body was unable to afford any re-inforcements. If, on the other hand, Pur-Ling fell, and the post could be maintained, a most considerable advantage would be obtained, as this position was the key of Taboo.

Captain Wallace put it to the hazard, and Syed Sabban with forty of his own people, the party of the Malay Contingent attached to Bukit Seboosa, and twelve sepoy of the 46th N. I. under the command of a Jemidar, started for Pur-Ling with instructions to "take it and keep it."

This little band, on nearing the hill, found the regular road obstructed with felled trees, but, striking off to the left, and pursuing a narrow pathway, soon came upon three stockades, which crowned the hill in *echelon*. These being empty, a part of the detachment was thrown into them, whilst the remainder proceeded down the steep declivity which leads to Tanjong Pur-Ling. On the other side of the paddy field, which runs at the foot of the hill, they observed a large breastwork, which crossed the road, and was subsequently found to be 46 paces in length. This was flanked on its right by a smaller one. As the enemy who were some way beyond it, ran to occupy it, the British party made a push for it, and both entered nearly at the same moment. The only casualty was a Nanningite who was *krissed* by Syed Sabban's head warrior (Panglimah Prang Balla Che Low), and

carried off by the retreating party. The breast-works were burnt, and the stockades on Bukit Pur-Ling occupied by Syed Sabban's Malays, and the Contingent, whilst that chief returned with the sepoy to Bukit Seboosa. This step, so daringly planned, and so successfully executed, completely altered the prospect of affairs, and there was now every prospect that the troops, which had been so long cooped up, would speedily be in possession of Taboo. Advices of this event and its issue were despatched to Colonel Herbert. The stockades were visited in the afternoon by Lieutenants Minto and Begbie, and the position found to be remarkably strong, the jungle being so dense that the stockades were not visible until within a few paces of them. The paddy field at the foot was 96 paces across, and had the breast works on the other side been occupied, the loss of the British would have been severe. At the extremity of the paddy field to the right, as they advanced, was seen the house of the guide, Billal Munji, with a stockade thrown up around it. The enemy attacked the stockades at night, but were driven off.

28th. In the morning a son of Malālu Solthaun entered the post of Bukit Seboosa, bearing a message from his father that he would actively employ himself in favor of the British, if he could, by any means recover those members of his family who were hostages at Taboo. He was permitted to depart, with assurances of ample protection both of person and property.

At 10 A. M. Captains Wallace and Justice, Lieutenant Minto, Syed Sabban, and a party of sepoy started for Pur-Ling, and, having thrown

the chief and sepoys into the works, these officers returned to Bukit Seboosa.

29th. Syed Sabban, accompanied by Dattoo Malālu, and part of the family of the latter, came to Bukit Seboosa. The latter chief had contrived to bring not only his family, but a jinjal, six musquets, and one blunderbuss, from Taboo the preceding night. The fortunes of the Panghooloo were now at so low an ebb that he durst not detain these, for fear of exciting a revolt amongst those, who yet adhered to his desperate cause.

This group presented an affecting spectacle—women, and children of all ages; from the tenderest years upwards, stood in various attitudes with misery and pinching poverty depicted in their countenances—their home had been the jungle—their food, as precarious as their refuge. It was a sight that would have pleased a philanthropist; could he have witnessed the eager joy with which the gift of a few bags of rice, and a handful or two of salt fish, was received by these poor people, who had been so many months destitute of any approach to a substantial meal; and a corresponding effect was speedily derived from this trifling act of humanity, inasmuch as it soon got blazoned abroad, and the people began seriously to consider whether they would not reap more advantage from returning to allegiance, peace, and plenty, than they possibly could do by an obstinate adherence to the cause of the Panghooloo, who, reduced to the last extremity, redoubled his exactions on their property, and increased the weight of his conscriptions.

It is not to be supposed that the information obtained by the force was ever exact in all its

details, although substantially correct in the leading features. In order to exemplify the inaccuracy of the intelligence procured in the commencement of the second expedition by the spies of the British, I shall recite a portion of that communicated by Dattoo Malā'u, who had, as we have seen, been at Taboo the preceding night.

After having stated that he, Endika, and Rajah Krajan, commanded at Bukit Seboosa on the 25th May, and that five shells had burst in the stockades, he declared that both of these individuals had, like himself, deserted the Panghooloo, which intelligence proved to be founded in fact. He, moreover, asserted that the Sebang and Johol people had also withdrawn from the confederacy; that Dool Syed was then left with a hundred men, and Sookoo Orang Cayoo Kechil, who was so decrepid as to be obliged to be carried; and that at the fall of Pur-Ling, which completely disheartened the rebels, several women and children broke their limbs in leaping out of the houses on the approach of the troops.

On being questioned as to the disposition of the stockades at Taboo, his answers were not so clear, which might possibly arise from the interpreter not thoroughly understanding him. He stated that there was one large stockade there, with a smaller one on each flank, and that one 6 pr. was in the centre work, while the other was in the house of the Panghooloo in the neighborhood, but he could give no idea of the relative positions of these works either to each other or with reference to the country, in which they were situated. These details, although sufficiently accurate to exonerate the Dattoo from the charge of decep-

tion, were too vague to afford any basis for a determined plan of attack.

30th. Captain Wallace, and Lieutenant Mintó with a party of infantry, and Lieutenant Begbie with 5½ inch mortar, started for Bukit Pur-Ling, in order to hoist the British Colors on its summit, whilst the sappers were employed in stripping one of the tallest trees of its branches in order to convert it into a flag-staff. The party moved down the hill, passed Tanjong Pur-Ling, and proceeded about a quarter of a mile, until it arrived at the verge of another paddy field, the banks of which were sprinkled with houses. The country on the Taboo side of Bukit Pur-Ling bore a marked contrast to that afforded by the route of the troops up to that point—the savage grandeur of the primeval forests, and the lurking and dangerous ambushes yielded by the brushwood, here gave place to extensive paddy fields, and clumps of fruit trees here and there dispersed over a light and sandy soil.

When the sound of the "British grenadiers" struck up by the drums at Bukit Pur-Ling, came swelling on the breeze announcing that the flag was hoisted, a few shells were thrown in the direction of Taboo, but, being unanswered the detachment returned to camp. A feeling of security and protection began now to be evinced by the inhabitants of Mullikei, who all returned, and re-established themselves in their respective villages.

31st May. This morning, Endika, whom Dattoo Malālu had stated to have deserted Dool Syed on the 25th of May, sent in a message to say—that he wished to withdraw from that chieftain, but was so narrowly watched that he had not as yet

been able to effect his purpose. However, having been ordered by the Panghooloo to build a stockade a little in advance of Tanjong Pur-Ling, to which he objected on the grounds of his men being dispersed and his ammunition exhausted, he had been directed to go and procure both, and he stated that he intended to embrace the opportunity thus afforded him of withdrawing from the league.

1st June. Endika, with all his followers, abandoned the cause of Dool Syed, whilst Malālu Sulthann's people, seeing that the British were now firmly established, were prevailed on to tender their services in assisting to cut down the jungle, at the same rate of pay as that received by the hired cutters of Government.

2d. The Panghooloo sent a messenger to Captain Wallace, commanding at Bukit Seboosa, to enquire whether, in the event of his surrendering, his life would be spared, and was informed in reply that he must yield unconditionally, and was recommended to trust to the mercy of Government.

Sunday 3d. The stockades on the Sebang road, five in number, and opposite the rear picquet at Bell's stockade, which had given a slight annoyance for so long a period, were this day taken and destroyed. There were only ten Malays in them, one of whom was taken prisoner.

Mr. Westerhout arrived from Malacca at Bukit Seboosa at half past 11 A. M. and, being entrusted by Government with power to treat with the refractory Panghooloo, proceeded to Pur-Ling, whence he despatched a letter to him, expressive of his anxiety to see him. This gentleman

then returned to Bukit Seboosa, which he reached at 4 P. M. and proceeded to Bell's stockade. At half past 9 P. M. the reply was received, which was sealed with the Company's *chaup*, thus reserved, it would appear, for a season of distress. In this letter, Dool Syed briefly stated that his anxiety for the meeting was tenfold more intense than that of his friend, and appointed the conference to take place at 10 A. M. of the following day. Mr. Westerhout's messenger crossed on the road a man from Dool Syed, bearing a letter for the Deputy Resident, Mr. Garling, and another for Colonel Herbert.

On the 4th Mr. Westerhout came up to Bukit Seboosa and proceeded to Tanjong Pur-Ling accompanied by a few armed Malays. The Panghooloo made his appearance on the other side of the paddy field with his adherents, and both the principals advanced unaccompanied towards a large tree in the centre of the field. Upon meeting, the Malay Chieftain fell at the feet of Mr. Westerhout, and burst into tears, and two or three minutes elapsed before he could recover from his agitation.

An exchange of upper garments between the two had previously taken place, as a mutual assurance that no treachery was meditated, and the metamorphosis of either party must have been sufficiently grotesque; on the one side stood the athletic and portly Dutchman with his body confined in the linen *badjoo* of the Malay—on the other, was the starved and miserable Panghooloo sinking under the weight of the huge coat, which well-nigh concealed him altogether from view.

Dool Syed declared that he had been misled by the advice of two or three individuals, who were the first to desert him, when the tide of success had set against him; he complained bitterly of Syed Sabban and Dattoo Malālu, and inveighed long and sharply against the head guide, Billal Munji, to whose instrumentality he evidently attributed his present situation. He stated that, as this man was a Nanningite, he was thoroughly versed in all their customs, and knew the days when the stockades would be empty; whilst it was useless to endeavor to defeat that knowledge by altering either his plans of defence or periods of attack, as the guide received intelligence from his family, towards whom the Panghooloo durst not use any harsh measures, as their influence was great, and the very attempt would have alienated the remainder of his followers from his standard. He, moreover, asserted that he never contemplated resisting the Government, whom he considered as superior to him as the heavens were to the earth, but that he had been combating against the acts of an individual.* He further stated that there were six stockades † at Taboo, with traversed gaterways, that he had only a few jinjals, plenty of musquets, but only

* This expression was in conformity with the system of duplicity on which the Panghooloo had all along acted. From the very outset of the business he affected to consider that the imposition of the tenth was the act of the Land Collector, W. T. Lewis Esq., and not that of Government. Agreeably to this system, he wrote to Government, after the first expedition had penetrated beyond Kalama, to the effect that this gentleman had entered his territory with troops and killed his Pangllmah, requesting at the same time that the Government would put a stop to such proceedings. To the last, he pretended to believe that Government was totally ignorant of troops being in the interior.

† This was correct, but, as he conceived that Billal Munji gave information of every thing, his confession had more appearance of cunning than candor.

one barrel of gun-powder. As to the guns, he coolly remarked that he found them abandoned in the jungle, and that, perceiving the Company's *chaup* on them, he had carried them to Taboo, as owing to his being a servant of the Company, he was bound to take care of its property. He also furnished Mr. Westerhout with the terms, on which he would surrender, the principal of which were that he would meet the Deputy Resident, either at Soongei Pattye, or Rombiyah, and there deliver up the guns.

Dattoo Malālu, who had accompanied the British party, seeing his ancient master exposed for so many hours to a fierce sun, despatched a cocoanut apiece to the Panghooloo, and Mr. Westerhout; but the former positively refused to touch the one sent to him, unless it were previously tasted by Mr. W., as he suspected that his former servant had poisoned the water of it. I have mentioned this anecdote, trivial in itself, merely as an illustration of the predominant suspicion of treachery in a Malayan mind. Guarded as the water of a cocoanut is by a *drupe* of inordinate thickness, most people would have looked upon it as the very worst medium for conveying poison. An armistice was agreed on until a reply should be received to the terms of the Panghooloo.

On the 5th Lieuts. Poole and Liardet arrived at Bukit Seboosa, with the wheel, which gave a distance of 2m. 3f. between that post and Bell's stockade, and a further distance of 1m. 7f. to Pur-ling. During the night, the enemy, in defiance of the armistice, attacked Pur-Ling in hopes

of being able to regain it; and, being driven back, planted the road with ranjows.

6th. Dattoo Malālu, and the Hadji, who was the messenger on the part of Dool Syed, returned with the reply of Government, which stated, that the Panghooloo must appear at Malacca* and bring the guns with him, in which case, his life would be spared, and he be permitted to reside in Nanning as a private individual, but the proffered mercy was to be at once accepted, no delay being allowed.

On the 7th June, a brigade of 6 prs. was mounted on Bell's stockade, and Lieut. Stevenson 46th N. I. appointed to command.

8th. Intelligence was received that Dool Syed did not intend closing with the offers, and the following day, the Head Quarters of the force moved on from Bell's stockade to Tanjong Pur-Ling. The boats of H. M's S. Magicienne and the H. C's Schooner Zephyr were now employed in blockading the Moar, Linggy, and Cassan rivers, in order to prevent any further supplies of ammunition and provisions finding their way into the interior.

11th. The detachment of artillery at Bukit Seboosa, under Lieutenant Begbie, joined the Head Quarters. On the evening of the 10th, Endika approached within a few hundred yards of Tanjong Pur-Ling, and sent to enquire what treatment he would receive in the event of his surrendering, in reply to which, it is said that he was referred to Government.

* Had the authorities consented to meet Dool Syed halfway as the latter proposed, it would have confessedly been a negotiation between two equal powers, instead of a rebel suing for pardon.

The sappers were employed, in cutting another road down Bukit Pur-Ling, the old one being so steep as to injure the cattle, and by the 13th a very easy descent and excellent road was completed. On this day, Captain Justice and Lieutenant Minto, with their respective companies, joined from Bukit Seboosa, of which post Captain Wallace was left in command.

14th. Lieutenant Begbie with the 12 pr. howitzer, and a company of the 5th N. I. under Lieutenant Poole, formed the covering party to the sappers under Lieutenant Bell. The instructions to the senior officer were, that information had been received of three stockades close upon the verge of the cutting; these he was to reconnoitre, and occupy, if empty. Lieutenant Begbie accordingly despatched some of the Malay Contingent to reconnoitre. These, having gone to the edge of a paddy field, observed the stockades at a distance, which they conceived to be empty, but would not cross the field in order to satisfy themselves. Lieut. Poole subsequently reconnoitred them, and, in the afternoon, the three officers proceeded along the road until they arrived at an eminence which overlooked these works. No doubt remained that they were empty, but the senior officer, taking into consideration that these stockades, which rested on the jungle in their rear, were so prominently exposed as to render it probable that they formed merely a lure, whilst stronger works were concealed in the vicinity—that they were commanded by rising grounds—that the infantry consisted only of 38 rank and file, and that the paddy field pre-

sented serious obstacles to the passage of the artillery, declined occupying them, and the detachment, after having cut back through the felled trees, and opened the road, returned to camp, where the decision was approved by Colonel Herbert. It was not known at the time that these works were the ones termed the Bangkall Munji stockades, which formed a part of the Taboo defences.

15th June. At 3 A. M. one of the heaviest falls of rain which had ever been experienced, descended and did not cease until 6 A. M. At half past 6 A. M. Captain Justice and Lieutenant Minto with two companies, and Lieutenant Begbie, with the 12 pr. howitzer and 5½ inch mortar, formed the covering party to the sappers under Lieutenant Bell. On arriving at the ground of yesterday, the officers proceeded to reconnoitre the stockades, and, whilst so engaged, were disturbed by a jinjal shot from the nearest one. The Engineer officer commenced throwing up a log battery for the artillery, the enemy keeping up a constant fire in order to prevent its completion. It was with great satisfaction that this party every now and then heard the discharge of the 6 prs. overpowering for the instant the incessant clanging of the great drum of Taboo* whereby an assurance was conveyed to it that the toils of the troops were drawing near their termination.

The firing of the enemy being heard in camp,

* Taboo, a drum, whence the name of the place. The great drum was made of the trunk of a tree, the internal diameter of the cylinder being about 2 feet, the length 3½ feet, and both ends covered with parchment, similar to drum heads. It was suspended between two posts near the mosque, and was heard distinctly at Par-Ling.

the light company of the 5th under Captain Sinnock, with Lieut. and Adjt. Mackenzie, as a volunteer, joined the covering party. At half past twelve, the battery was completed, and at this juncture Brigadier Herbert, with his Staff, Captain Wyllie, and Captain Bond, as a volunteer, arrived at the spot. Syed Sabban came up also with his men, but positively refused to cooperate, on the plea that it was an unlucky day. The light company, and a section of another under Captains Sinnock, and Justice, and Lieut. Mackenzie, moved off to the left in order to get to the rear of the stockades by a concealed march through the jungle, Lieutenant Minto remaining with twenty men, to protect the guns. The 12 pr. having a round of cannister set home upon the round shot, now opened on the stockade, this being the first shot fired that day by the British whilst the mortar shelled in the direction of the Taboo lines. The angle of the stockade, whence the jinjal had been playing, was speedily breached, and the enemy apparently silenced. Captain Bond directed the artillery to move out in front of the battery and take up a position further in advance, during which move out the enemy rallied and again opened a fire, which did no further injure than wounding a convict through the throat, and the limber wheel in a couple of spokes. Captain Sinnock's party being still in the jungle, and the stockades again emptied by the artillery, Lieutenant Minto obtained permission from Captain Bond, (the Brigadier and his staff having returned to camp), to cross over the field and occupy them with his section.

Past not only these, but also the Taboo, stock-

May 25th





A
Rough Sketch
of the
Defences and Lines
at

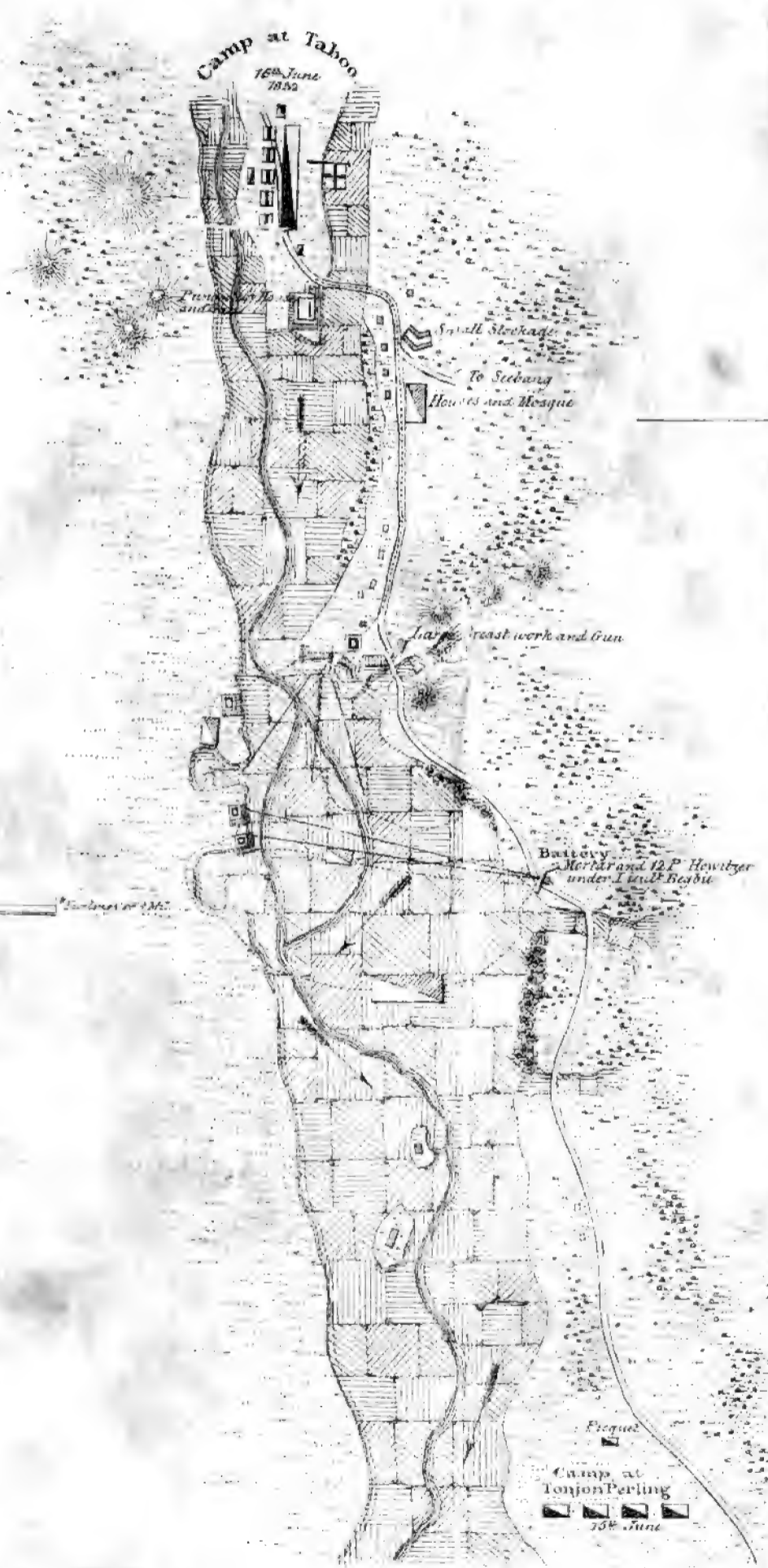
TABOO,

which were attacked and captured on
the 15th June, by a Detachment
of the Force under the
command of Capt^r Sinnerock, 5th Reg^t M.N.I.

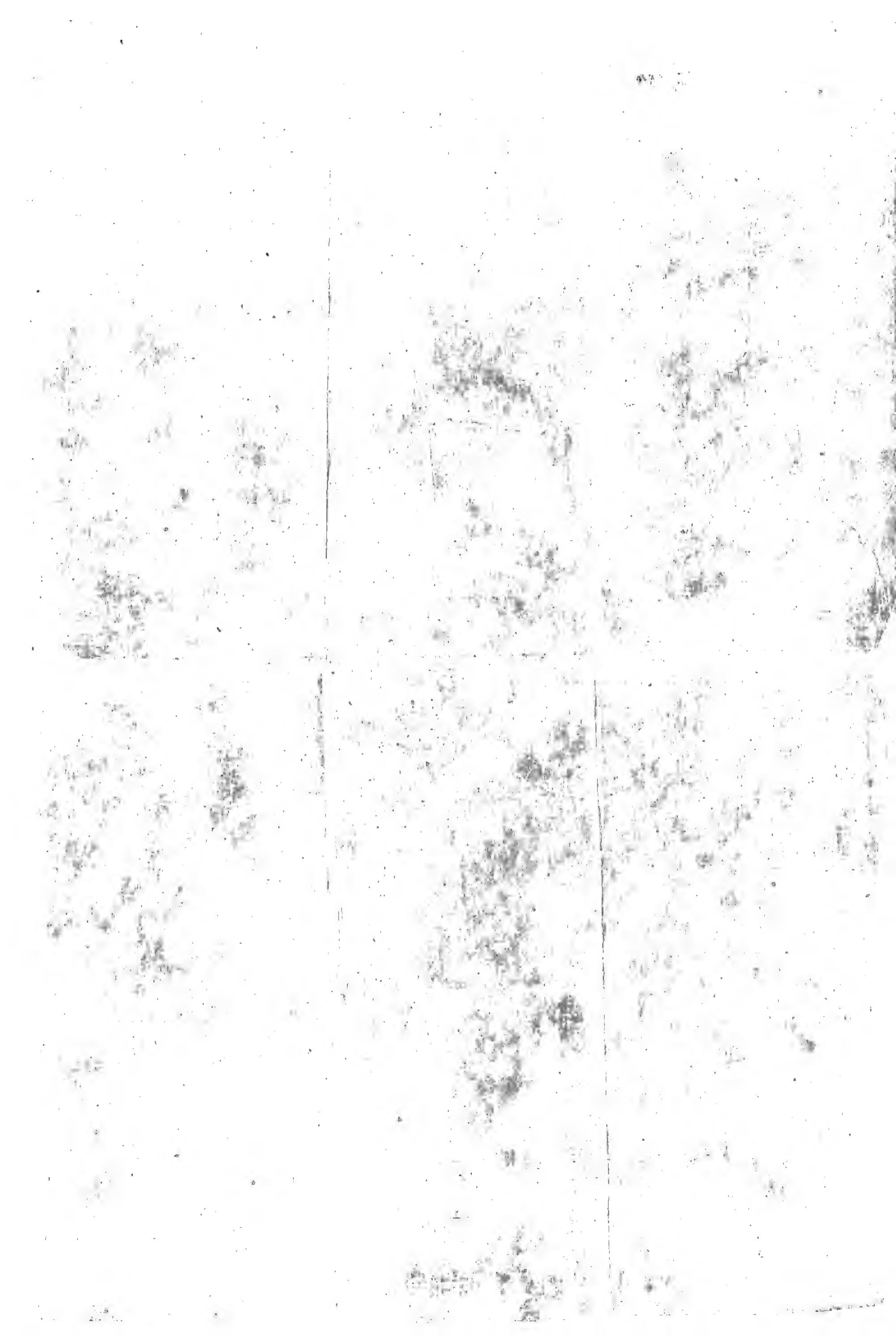
Scale of 4 inches to one Mile

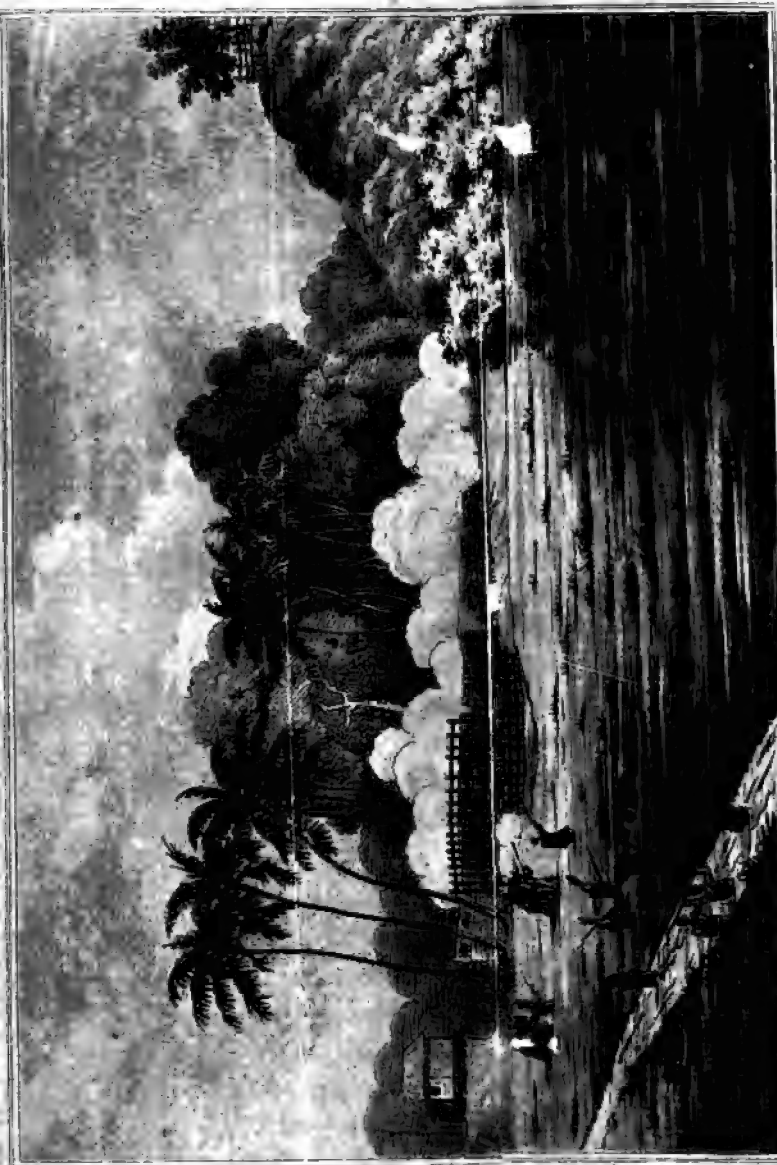
References

- British Position* 
- Columns of Attack* 
- Enemy's Stockades* 
- Two Guns retained from the Enemy* 



JM 10





Jeff Gandy copy, Faso

Attack upon the first Lines of TABOO, by a Detachment of the 5th NI. under the Command of Cap^t Sinnedk, June 15th 1839

Genl R. B. Dyke del.

JM 141

ades, ran a deep and rapid, but very narrow, nullah which was much swollen by the heavy rains of the morning, the paddy fields themselves being knee deep in water, and the nullah only fordable in a few places. Whilst Lieut. Minto was endeavoring to cross the stream, the 6 pr. opened upon him with round shot from the Taboo lines, the balls falling short by a few yards, and bounding over the detachment, which, entering at the breached angle, was soon under cover of the stockade. Lieutenant Poole, volunteer for the artillery, now joined the guns, and Captain Bond returned to camp.

Captain Sinnock's party coming up, and finding the first stockade in the hands of Lieutenant Minto, pushed on to the Taboo lines, throwing a few men, *en passant*, into the other two flanking stockades. The rifle company under Captain Winbolt with Lieutenant Liardet, and Lieutenant Milnes, as a volunteer, joined the artillery, and the 12 pr. howitzer having limbered up, the whole proceeded along the high road, Lieutenant Minto making a simultaneous advance from the left, and picking up the detachments as he moved on. Felled trees soon obstructing the road for artillery, Lieutenants Begbie and Poole struck off the left into the paddy field with the mortar, the volleys of Captain Sinnock's party being then heard. On arriving at the nullah, the lines being then in possession of the troops, several unsuccessful attempts were made to get the mortar across, and, by the time the artillery got into the stockade, the rifles had also arrived, a section of whom under Lieutenant Liardet had dislodged

a party of the enemy from a stockade on the top of Execution Hill* which flanked the left of the lines. Whilst the troops were resting for a few minutes, Syed Sabban, encouraged by their success, made a movement towards the last defences viz. those of the Panghooloo's house, about six hundred yards further on; which being observed, the whole of the troops, with the exception of a small body left in charge of one of the recaptured 6 prs. which was here found, moved on at the charge step. The enemy fired a round or two on the advancing party from the 6 pr. in the stockade at Dool Syed's house, and fled in the greatest confusion, the dinner of the chief and his people being left untouched on the mats. Every thing eatable was immediately destroyed for fear lest poison should have been mingled with the food. The loss of the British, besides the convict, was only two sepoys wounded by musquetry, and three by ranjows. It was asserted, but I know not with what shew of truth, that the enemy lost four wounded (all by artillery), one of whom was a son of Dool Syed, whose arm was said to have been broken by two fragments of a shell.

The Taboo defences would not have fallen so easily had not the rapidity of the attack prevented the junction of the Sebang people. The principal line measured, inclusive of its angles, 284 yards; whilst the chord, or straight line from one flank to the other, subtended 180. Had this

* A steep conical hill which derived its name from its being the spot where the Panghooloo, on the assumption of the power of life and death had put offenders to death by *krissing*.

line been properly occupied, the fire upon the advancing troops would have been very destructive, especially whilst these were detained in crossing the nullah, which led past the right flank and in front of the works, the left being, as previously stated, guarded by the stockade on Execution Hill. The principal body of the defenders of these lines, hearing the beating of the *Taboo*, hurried from Sebang to occupy their posts, and when, within a quarter of a mile, learned from the fugitives that the works were taken.

I have been detained longer with the narrative of these events than I originally purposed with reference to the main object of this work, but no regular account of the military operations has as yet been given to the world; and, arising from, and involving, political events as they do, they could not be passed over in silence, nor slurred, over as unworthy of notice. The remainder of the transactions connected with this subject may be more briefly summed up.

On the 16th the Head Quarters arrived, and the British standard was hoisted. On the 18th the people of Sebang requested that Lieutenant Milnes, who knew the language, might be sent to them in order to treat for terms, and that officer, accompanied by Syed Sabban and a party of the Malay contingent, accordingly proceeded to that village on the following day. Some difficulties were at first experienced, owing to the extreme terror of the people, few, if any, of whom had previously seen an European, in consequence of which, the whole population betook them-

selves to the jungle. Dattoo Membangin was finally persuaded to trust himself, and a large proportion of the people soon collected around the parties. Confidence was speedily established, the whole of the villagers came back, and Lieutenant Milnes returned at half past 4 P. M. to camp, bringing with him Dattoo Membangin and the two Sookoos of Sebang, who all tendered their allegiance. For the manner in which Lieutenant Milnes effected this pacification of Sebang, he received the merited thanks of the Brigadier and the Local Government.

On the 20th the flank companies of the 5th under Captains Poulton and Sinnock, with Lt. Minto and Ensign Stoddart marched for the occupation of Sebang; and, on the 27th, Mr. Anderson* of the Pinang Civil Service, arrived in camp as Commissioner for Nanning.

On the 12th July, the carriages of the six pers. having been repaired, and rendered fit for travelling, they were escorted to Malacca by a party under Captain Justice, and a complement of artillery men under Lieutenant Begbie, the men being selected from the detachment engaged at the recapture.

Captain Hibgame, with a portion of the companies which had remained at Malacca, was ordered to occupy Taboo, whilst the main body returned to Bell's stockade, and Malacca. Ta-

* This gentleman, who was in the bloom of existence, exerted himself beyond his strength, and, in his zeal for the service, exposed himself above the powers of any constitution. He was seized with fever in consequence, on the 3d August; but, hearing that there was a probability of being able to capture the Panghooloo Gantye of Soongei Barro, he left Bell's Stockade in pursuit, in defiance of all entreaties to the contrary by his friends, and returned unsuccessful on the evening of the 4th. He died of brain fever on the following day at 3 P. M.

becoming extremely unhealthy on account of the proximity of the hills, which induced fever, was subsequently abandoned as a station, and no post was retained in advance of Bell's stockade. The 23d L. I. having arrived from Madras towards the end of July, the greater portion of the troops in advance was relieved by it, and Assahan and Rheim occupied in addition. Colonel Herbert, whose health was so much impaired as to render a return to Europe necessary, was relieved in September by Colonel Wilson C. B. by whose orders a star fort was erected in the neighborhood of Bell's stockade, which has now neither "a local habitation nor a name," having been pulled down in the middle of 1833, and the place thenceforth called "Fort Lismore," in compliment to the family of His Excellency, Sir Robert O'Callaghan, the present Commander in Chief of Madras. Dool Syed has been an outcast* from his country ever since, and the force, by gradual reductions, is brought nearly to its original strength.

On the 11th December, Pendika Tomby, one of the proscribed chieftains, was traced to a house in the vicinity of Soongei Pattye, and attacked by six of the Malay Contingent: he received four severe sword cuts, but effected his escape. Two days afterwards, he was apprehended in the jungle near Sebang, and forwarded to Malacca *via* Bell's stockade. Two of the severest cuts were on the shoulder blade, and presented a horrible appearance. His friends, probably with the view of staunching the blood,

* Since the foregoing was written, the ex-panghooloo has surrendered himself (in March 1834) to the British Government.

had opened the lips of the wounds and distended them by thrusting in a filamentous substance, resembling cocoanut hair. They were dressed by Dr. Maurice at Bell's stockade, whence he was furnished with a dooly for the remainder of his journey.

CHAP. VII.

The Empire of Johore—City when founded—Attacked by the Portuguese—Malacca and Menangkabow subject to it—Natural productions—Piratical habits of the natives—Occupations of the different islanders—The Tumbooso race, a wandering sort of sea gipsies—Deadly enmity existing between the Johore and the Lanum pirates—Track generally pursued by the pirates at different seasons of the year—Other states piratically engaged—Remarks on piracy—The Dutch authority at Rhio attempts to destroy a pirate fleet at the Carimons—Method of extirpating piracy—Table of the maritime population of Johore—List of the piratical chiefs—Genealogy of the Johore Rajahs—Priesthood of Johore—Form of Government—Early history of Johore—Description of Pahang—Tin mines and harbour of Pahang,—Its produce—Tringano.—Description of it and its inhabitants—Administration of Justice—Patani—formerly governed by queens—Conquered by the black king—Description of Singora and its Siamese temples—New town of Singora—Its trade—Tributary to Siam—Village of Ku-yeo—Ligore—Conquered by the Siamese—Superstition of Malays relative to lucky and unlucky days—Copy of a Malay Almanac belonging to the Rajah of Johore, by which maritime expeditions are regulated, with a translation, and explanation.

THE city of Johore, which was founded by Sulthau Mahomed Shah in 1512, after his expulsion from Malacca by the Portuguese, was in former times very large, and handsomely built, but, this having been destroyed by the Portuguese in 1608, * a new one was built higher up the river. The city was first visited by the Dutch under the Admiral Jacob Heemskerck and

* Valentyn, Book 6. Chap. 5. p. 550. Dutch Edition A. D. 1726.

Jacob Buyren, in A. D. 1602. The Portuguese attacked them in 1603, and were defeated. The following year they were successful, but again repulsed in 1605. In 1607-8, they succeeded in burning the town. Further inland, was a town, called Battoo Saowar, or Sabar, belonging to the king of Johore, and pretty well fortified and inhabited. The villages of Calca, Seribas, and Melanoege of the Island of Borneo, which had revolted, and Samba, lying more northerly, were subject to Johore, and as well as Bintang, and Lingga, governed by the Iang de Pertuan Moodah.* Sulthaun Marhom Daroo Salam, king of Pedir and Achin, declared war against the king of Johore in A. D. 1613, although that prince was married to his own sister, and did him much injury.† The Empire of Johore extended from Point Romania, the southern extremity of the Peninsula, as far north as Perak, and several petty princes were tributary to it. Even in 1609, we learn from Nieuhoff,‡ that Malacca, although then governed by the Portuguese, was subject to its jurisdiction, and I have else-where shewn that this authority remained until the Dutch persuaded the Rajah to relinquish his claim. Valentyn says that from A. D. 1624 to 1671, Menangkabow was subject to Johore. “ In deze tyd schynd't Ryk van Maningcabo ook onder di Koningen van Djohor gestaan te hebben.”¶

* Val. B. 6. Ch. 8. p. 339.

† Val. B. 7. Ch. 1. p. 7.

‡ Nieuhoff, apud Church. Collect. voy. Vol. II. p. 189 et seq.

¶ Val. B. 6. Ch. 8. p. 339.

The country on the main land is fertile, abounding in fruits, pepper, cinnamon, and game, * and, like the rest of the Peninsula, abundantly watered by showers, and cooled by alternating breezes. It also produces tin, gold, elephants' teeth, *agala* wood, canes, excellent timber for masts, &c., in abundance. It has, however, of late, dwindled away, and become a dependency of the Dutch settlement of Rhio.

The empire of Johore consists at present principally of numerous islands, which have long been celebrated for the piratical pursuits of their inhabitants. This nefarious mode of life is so deeply engrafted on the character of the nation as to form almost a second nature, and every circumstance affords its aid to strengthen, in lieu of eradicating, such lawless propensities. The Rajah of Johore, his nobles, and the Chinese emigrants, who are settled at the different European stations, have all more or less interest in encouraging the system—the scanty literature of the nation turns wholly upon the favorite topic, the exploits of some noted pirate of either ancient or more modern times forming the theme of their legends or romances, whilst the arms of the robber crew are nerved by songs of a similar description as they pull their long oar in chace of the trading boat, which passes their lurking place. In addition to these incitements, to predatory living, thus prominently given to the people of Johore, all stimulus to industry is destroyed by the rapacity of their rulers, who compel them to part with the *agar-agar* and *biche-de-mer*, the principal product of their isles, for an inconceivably

* Hamilton's new account of E. Ind. vol. 2.

small sum; whilst the very nature of the kingdom, whose creeks and wooded islands afford them never failing and safe retreats, constitutes them a maritime, and, with reference to their situation in the scale of society, a piratical race.

Some of the islands, such as Tamiang, Galang, Mappa, Booroo, Sakana, Trong, Pekaka, Soongei, &c. are, however, more exclusively devoted to piracy, (which they consider their hereditary right), than others. The people of Lanum, who do not belong to the kingdom of Johore, are also an essentially piratical race, although their captures are not stained with such sanguinary atrocities as disgrace the Johoreans, who seldom spare any but women, and occasionally a few Mussulmans, either Hadgis or otherwise. In some of the islands we find both sexes employed in planting, manufacturing, and selling, sago, or collecting and disposing of *biche de mer*, and *agar-agar*, which they dispose of to the Chinese Junks that annually traffic between these islands and Singapore, Lingga, and Rhio; in others again these honest occupations are followed exclusively by the weaker sex, whilst the men are roving over the smooth sea which is studded with their "island homes." The Tumboosoo race, indeed, have not even a fixed abode, but wanderers like sea gipsies, from island to island, shifting with the monsoon, and finding shelter in every creek; like the gipsies too, who subsist not in peace with their fellow mortals, they live at variance with the other pirates. An indomitable hostility prevails also between the Lanum freebooters and the Johoreans, so much so that either party will

desert their victim should a *prahu* of the other nation heave in sight, and a deadly struggle ensues between the pirate crews, by which means the trading boat occasionally effects her escape from the clutches of her enemy.

The Johore people, according to the best native information that can be obtained, proceed annually in March from their places of resort towards Pulo Liaper and Billiton where they rendezvous. They thence proceed direct to the coast of Java, while the Lanum people, it would appear, pursue a more easterly course, and scour the coast of New Holland. The *prahus* employed by the former vary from five to ten coyangs in burthen, are armed with either iron or brass swivels, and carry from 40 to 80 men. Those of the Lanum people are considerably larger, their burthen being from ten to twenty coyangs, and their complement often amounting to 170 men.

On the return of these two squadrons from their piratical excursions in the above direction, they generally repair their boats, and, as soon as they are again ready for sea, renew their depredations, although they select a different theatre for their display. The Johore people generally confine themselves to the straits of Malacca, whilst those of Lanum embrace both coasts of the Peninsula. The former, however, sweep the sea for a longer period, commencing in June, and retiring to their strong holds in October, when the wind has become too strong for their frail vessel; on the other hand, the Lanum people, who winter at the same time, do not commence their ra-

vages until the end of August or beginning of September.

In addition to these two piratical nations, there are several vessels of other states that are engaged in the same pursuit, and perhaps there is not a single one of all the numerous countries in the Archipelago which does not, either overtly or tacitly, encourage the system. Pedir, Siak, Manglun, Soosoo, &c. on the coast of Sumatra, Salangore, Moar, &c. on the Malayan Peninsula, uphold piracy as far as circumstances permit them to do so, whilst the Dindings, Sambilangs, the Lancavey groupe, and the Linggy river, afford safe shelter to pirates of every class.

When piracy forms the national character of a people, it is obvious that no external force, short of utter extermination will succeed in extirpating it; the death blow must be given by a reformation of the principles of the people at large. When we reflect upon the singular anomaly of the existence of the piratical state of Algiers surrounded, as it is, by civilized nations, and bear in mind that, the Archipelagian corsairs possess a very superior advantage in being enabled by the smallness of their vessels to effectually elude pursuit by taking refuge in the creeks which present themselves in every direction, the obstacles to the suppression of piracy in this quarter appear almost insurmountable. But, when we further consider that the very boats which trade to the different British and Dutch settlements, and are consequently furnished with regular papers, become pirates in their turn, if they happen to fall in with a vessel, whose inferior size holds out hopes of conquest,

the difficulties, attending the attempt to put down the evil by the strong arm alone, become indeed insuperable.

In 1826 the Dutch Resident of Rhio despatched the colonial marines in Government vessels, which were accompanied by native boats belonging to the Rajah Moodah of that settlement, on an expedition towards the Carimons, where it was understood that the pirates had congregated in large numbers. This undertaking had every prospect of giving a severe blow to piracy, but, unfortunately, the native boats reached their destination first, and were beaten before the arrival of the troops, the pirates having, in the interior, taken the alarm and retreated.

Several attempts have been also made by the British, but, with the exception of the destruction of the piratical nest of Korow, nothing material has been effected. Owing to the difference of size existing between a man of war and a *prahu*, the latter of course discerns her tall enemy long before she herself is visible from the mast head. Latterly a few gun-boats have been equipped, but they do not appear to be a whit more successful. Whether the pirates avoid coming in contact with them, or the crews are either bribed or frightened into inactivity, I shall not stop to enquire, as my object is to state the inefficiency of the system, not to investigate the causes which prevent its working well. As, therefore, neither the cruizes of men of war nor the shorter excursions of native rigged and armed boats have tended to the suppression of piracy, and as the habits of the people themselves have under-

gone no amelioration, it is evident that other measures must be tried in order to produce the desired effect. It appears to me that, if we cannot, by the hand of power, extirpate piracy, a proper line of policy would starve it into extinction. Where this crime is followed by a whole nation, the conclusion naturally follows that the profession must needs be a lucrative one that can thus support so large a population—it is no less clear that the number of the victims must considerably exceed that of the nation that preys upon them. The strength of the pirates lays in unanimity; they always outnumber those that they attack, because they prey in fleets, and the traders proceed either singly, or merely in company with two or three others. To extirpate piracy, therefore, the peaceable portion of the Archipelago should meet their enemies on their own ground. Their trading voyages are generally made with reference to the seasons when the European traffic is the briskest in the straits, and, consequently, the boats, which are now cut off in detail, might with ease and conveniency proceed in fleets to which a convoy could readily afford protection. Thus effectually deprived of those golden gains which now enrich it, and feed the system, piracy, as a national pursuit, would necessarily fall to the ground, and its followers be compelled to betake themselves to a more honest and reputable mode of subsistence.

I am fully sensible that the natural desire to forestall the market would act as a powerful draw-back to unanimity and co-operation; but still trading vessels should either be capable of

single resistance, or combine for mutual defence. In either case, the certainty and number of the prizes, which at present form the main stay of piracy, would no longer hold out the same temptations to the crime.

The following fable will exhibit in a condensed form the different portions of this piratical empire, and other matters of interest connected with it.

Table of the Maritime Population of the Empire of Johore, exhibiting the different Islands, and Tribes by whom they are inhabited.

Islands.	Tribes.	Name of the Chiefs.	Estimated Population.				REMARKS.
			Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
Timbelan.	Timbelan.	Dattoo Patraengi Seri- ni Rajah.	1,200	1,000	600	2,800	<p>These Islands in general are planted with sago, and coconut trees, whose produce and oil the inhabitants take annually to the adjacent islands of Singapore, Rhio, and Lingga, where they dispose of them.</p> <p>In addition to the above, these islands produce Ebony, Gubiroo, Lakka wood, and Tin.</p> <p>The inhabitants of these islands collect <i>Biche de Mer</i> and <i>Ager-ager</i>.</p> <p>This island is totally uncultivated.</p> <p>The first of these are noted pirates, and none of the three islands is cultivated, although the soil is well adapted for the production of gambier and black pepper. The reason is to be found in the abundance of the white ants, which would destroy the produce of the labor of the inhabitants.</p>
Serasa.	Serasa.	Orang Kaya Passie.	1,200	500	400	2,100	
Soobee.	Soobee.	Orang Kaya Ibrahim.	480	100	300	780	
Temaja.	Temaja.	Do.	450	800	320	1,070	
Siantan.	Siantan.	Panglimah Rajah. Dattoo Pangerang Mo- hammed Jayer and Orang Kaya Seda Palawang.	2,500	1,800	2,000	6,300	
Boongooran.	Boongooran.	Orang Kaya Dana Rajah.	3,000	2,000	2,500	7,500	
Lart.	Lart.	Do.	250	40	60	350	
Tiooman.	Tiooman.	Panghoolon.	150	20	30	200	
Tinggy.	Tinggy.	Beteen.	150	55	40	225	
The Carimons.	Carimon.	Do.	600	300	800	1,250	
Laboo.	Laboo.	Do.	100	20	15	135	
Roaroo.	Roaroo.	Do.	200	60	100	360	
Oongarang.	Oongarang.	Orang Kaya.	400	100	250	750	
Rété.	Rété.	Orang Kaya and Ban- dara.	2,000	1,200	2,000	5,200	

This island furnishes annually about 5,000 piculs of tin, a considerable portion of which, perhaps one-third, consists of Banca ore, which is smelted thicker, and, after having been smelted, is conveyed to Singapore market.
Population entirely practical.

Do. Do.

Population employed in felling timber for building sampans, or for joists and beams for houses, &c. These fell timber for carpenter's work, principally for building houses, store rooms, &c. The women prepare and sell chinnam for betel, and both sexes manufacture keffiar mats which they sell, as they also do rattans.

Although these islanders, especially those of Booroo, are essentially piratical, they yet devote that portion of their time, in which they are prevented from putting to sea, to agriculture. Both men and women, plant, manufacture, and sell, sago.

Both sexes employed in fisheries.
The male proportion of the inhabitants is entirely practical. The women are employed in fishing, and preparing *Biche de Mer*, and *Agur-ogor*, which articles they dispose of principally to the Chinese of Singapore, Rhio, and Lingga.

The inhabitants of these islands follow the same occupations as those of Galang. The island of Soegie produces good ebony, and *Gahrae*, which the natives dispose of to the Chinese Junks, to

Sinkel.	Dartoo Solwatan of Lingga.	4,000	3,000	2,500	9,500
Sekana.	Do.	2,000	1,500	2,000	5,500
Mappah.	Orang Kaya, and Par-ghooloo Namba Rajah.	2,000	1,500	2,500	6,000
Sungei Papan. Baras.	Batteen, Do.	400	150	225	775
Bombang.	Do.	200	100	100	400
Muntan.	Do.	400	300	200	900
Oppang.	Do.	400	400	300	1,100
Goswa.	Do.	300	300	200	800
Booroo.	Do.	800	500	100	980
Koondoor.	Do.	400	200	70	670
Seraka.	Do.	250	180	40	450
Sungei Goswa. Galang.	Do.	100	60	20	1,800
	Do.	100	40	60	200
	Do.	600	400	300	1,900
Timmlang.	Do.	500	300	200	1,100
Mooroo.	Do.	800	200	60	560
Bulang.	Do.	600	300	250	1,050
Soegie.	Do.	600	500	500	1,600

Table of the Maritime Population of the Empire of Johore, &c.

Islands.	Tribes.	Name of the Chiefs.	Estimated Population.				REMARKS.
			Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
Langga.	Langga.	Sulthan of Johore.	10000	8,000	6,000	24000	whom these articles are annually conveyed to Singapore, Rho, and Lingga. This island produces gambier, and pepper the last in the greatest quantities.
Singapore. Johore.	Singapore. Johore.	The Tamoongong of Do. Do.	600 400	400 300	500 500	1,500 1,900	
Pahang.	Pahang.	The Bandharra.	30000	19000	30000	60000	Johore, as well as Pahang, is on the main land, but included as a portion of the empire. Of these it is reckoned that 12,000 are capable of bearing arms. Pahang produces a great quantity of gold dust, ebony, <i>Kayoo</i> , <i>Keomonic</i> , tin, &c. Bintang is highly productive in gambier.
Bintang and the Residency of Rho.	Bintang.	Rajah Meedah of Rho.	16000	14000	12000	42000	These five places are adjacent to the island of Sumatra, and the principal authority is vested in Orang Kaya of Palandoo. This tribe wanders over the Archipelago, having no fixed residence, and being at unity with all others. Their boats are from 3 to 8 Coyangs burthen, and armed with a few swivels and [spears
Pingrad. Palandoo. Manda. Igal. Bintayan. Goowoon.	Pingrad. Palandoo. Manda. Igal. Bintayan. Goowoon. Tumboosoo.	Do. Do. Orang Kaya. Batteen. Do. Do. Do.	2,000 500 800 200 100 400 600	1,500 200 400 100 80 800 200	2,800 180 300 70 80 800 240	5,800 650 1900 370 240 1,900 1,040	
Total.			71480	61995	60000	194375	

In addition to the chiefs of the piratical tribes of Timmiang and Galang, given below, there are several inferior leaders, who have distinguished themselves sufficiently to be entitled to the appellation of Panglimah. I have not been able to procure a late list of these warriors, but a MS. in my possession gives the following statement of those who were existing in 1823.

TIMMIANG.

Panglimah Iding. (Father-in-law of Dattoo Massar). Panglimah Jago; Panglimah Lamud; Panglimah Boorig; Panglimah Moodik; Panglimah Joolamo, of Chinese extraction; Panglimah Katchang apprehended in the Kampong of the Canton Chinese by the instrumentality of Tuan-koo Syed.

Panglimah Awang; Panglimah Oondoo Lanoon; Panglimah Toompang; and Panglimah Asan. These two last are said to frequent near Sakana.

GALANG.

Panglimah Rajah Lang; Panglimahs Ootara; Prangdola; Abong; Moolood; Lasang; Sampan; Oondoong; Ooyan; and Poona.

Having thus exhibited a condensed view of the constituent portions of the empire of Johore, I now propose to enter more into detail, commencing with a concise account of the present royal family of Johore from Sulthaun Mahmood Shah down to the year 1827, at which period my MS. terminates.

Sulthaun Mahmood Shah,* son of Sulthaun Abdul Jalliel Shah, and grandson of Sulthaun Sleman Badaar-Alan-Shah, reigned over the kingdom of Johore in peace and quietness for about thirty years; he died at Lingga in Fort Tanna in A. D. 1810, aged fifty-six years, five months, and twenty three days. He was buried at Lingga by the Vice-roy, Rajah Japhar, with great pomp and ceremony.

The deceased prince had married four wives, the first and fourth of whom were of royal, and the second and third, of meaner extraction.

The first wife, Unkoo Pootan, was the daughter of Abdul Majid, the Bandharra of Pahang, and his wife, Tuankoo Besar. This princess had no children, died long before the Sulthaun, and was buried in the royal cemetery at Pahang.

The second wife, Inchi Mako, was the daughter of a Buggis, named Inchi Japhar, of the family of Toomajo, and of Inchi Halima, also of the same family. Tuankoo Houssain, generally called Tuankoo Long, was the fruit of this marriage. This latter appellation is a corruption of Soo Long, which in Malayese signifies "first-born."

The third wife, Inchi Mariam, was the daughter of a Buggis, named Badaar Hassan, of the family of Siringring. Her mother was Inchi Senay, of Bali, commonly called Petees, who was a slave to the lawful wife of Badaar Hassan, named Inchi Sungei Barro, the daughter of the Lacsamana, Dain Toomoo, a relation of Tuankoo

* The first few lines of this genealogy are necessarily a repetition of that portion which it was requisite to quote when treating on the acquisition of the settlements of Singapore and Rhio. They are interwoven with both subjects, and the slight tautology is unavoidable.

Pootri.—The issue by this marriage was Tuankoo Abdul Rachman.

The fourth wife, Tuankoo Hamida, was the daughter of the Vice-roy, Rajah Hadgi, and Tuankoo Perah; she is commonly called Tuankoo Pootri, and bore a daughter, which survived its birth only one hour.

After the decease of the Sulthaun, the second wife, Inchi Mako, married a Buggis chief, named Dain Menipi, of the family of Tepetila, who had been installed Sooliwatang at Singapore.

The third wife, Inchi Mariani, is still a widow, and resides at Lingga, to which place she followed her son, Sulthaun Abdul Rachman Shah.

The fourth wife Tuankoo Hamida, otherwise known as Tuankoo Pootri, resides at the island of Mars, or Pulo Pinigad, in the palace of her deceased husband, and rules over different islands of the empire of Johore, whose revenues she enjoys. She is much respected by, and has great influence over, the other portions of the empire.

Inchi Mako, the widow of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, and the present wife of Dain Menipi the Sooliwatang at Singapore, had two full sisters, named Inchi Pootoo, and Inchi Kepay. The eldest, Inchi Pootoo, married a Malay of the kingdom of Johore, named Inchi Oowan Saban, who, as I have previously stated, was seized in 1819 by Captain Elout, the Resident of Rhio, and transported to Malacca for expressing his attachment to his nephew, Tuankoo Houssain. The second sister, Inchi Kepay, married a Malay of Patani, named Hadgie Abdullah, and died without issue at Singapore in 1820.

The third wife of the deceased Sulthaun, Inchi Mariam, had two brothers, viz. Ibrahim, and Mahomed, the former of whom was made Sooli-watang at Lingga, somewhere about 1810: on account of his contumacious and disloyal behaviour, he was deprived of this situation by the reigning Sulthaun in 1826. Mahomed is with the Bandharra of Pahang, over whom the Sulthaun has scarcely any control.

The eldest son of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, viz. Tuankoo Houssain, generally called Tuankoo Long, had two wives, both of whom were of noble families. The first was named Tuankoo Pooan, daughter of the late Tuankoo Moodah of Bulang. The issue of this marriage was one son, named Tuankoo Mahomed, generally known as Tuankoo Besar Itam.* The second wife was Inchi Oowan Esa, daughter of the deceased Bandharra of Pahang, named Inchi Korees, and sister of the present Bandharra, Inchi Oowan Alli. There are no children by this marriage.

The second son of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, married Unkoo, the daughter of Rajah Sleman, and Unkoo, Boonteed. The issue of this marriage was one son, named Tuankoo Mohamed, commonly called Tuankoo Besar. I have already shewn that Tuankoo Abdul Rachman was placed on the throne of Johore, after the death of his father, in defiance of his brother's legitimate claim and in opposition to his own wishes.

Tuankoo Mahomed, otherwise Tuankoo Besar Itam, the son of Tuankoo Houssain, or Tuankoo

* Literally, "The great black chief."

Long, married Inchi Oowan Esa, the daughter of Abdul Rachman, the Tamoongoong of Singapore. From this marriage sprung an only son, named Tuankoo Mahmood. Tuankoo Mahomed, or Tuankoo Besar Itam, died at Singapore in December 1825.

Tuankoo Mohammed, (generally called Tuankoo Besar), son and heir of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, the Sulthaun of Lingga, married, at Tringano in 1822, Tuankoo Lebaar, the daughter of Sulthaun Mahomed of Tringano. The issue of this marriage was a son, named Tuankoo Mahmoud, who was born in September 1823.

Rajah Hadgi, the Vice-roy of Rhio, had seven lawful wives, who were as follows.

The first wife, named Tuankoo Pera, bore him two daughters; the eldest of whom, is Tuankoo Sitia, generally known as Tuankoo Besar, and the second, Tuankoo Hamida, generally called Tuankoo Pootri.

The second wife, Inchi Phooan, daughter of the Sulthaun of Indragiri, bore him two daughters, the eldest of whom was named Tuankoo Boonteed, and the second, Tuankoo Pooan.

Inchi Ganderia, the third wife, who was also born at Indragiri, was the mother of Rajah Japhar, the late Vice-roy of Rhio.

The fourth wife was Rātu-Mās-Theba, the eldest sister of the reigning Sulthaun of Jambi. The fruit of this marriage was one son, named Abdul Rachman, who died when he was about four months old, as did also his mother, at Jambi.

The fifth wife, Inchi Opay, was born at Rhio. She had one daughter, named Rajah Amina.

The sixth wife, Inchi Oning, was born at Indragiri: she had two sons, the eldest named Rajah Drees, and the second, Rajah Pahang, which last died in his infancy.

The seventh wife, Inchi Mariam, was born at Rhio, and had one son, named Rajah Achmet, generally known as Tuankoo Itam.

Rajah Japhar, the eldest son of Rajah Hadgi, and the late Vice-roy of Rhio, married Tuankoo Lebaar, the daughter of Rajah Alli, the former Vice-roy of Rhio, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son was called Rajah Abdul Rachman, the second, Rajah Alli, and the third, Rajah Abdullah. The daughter, who was the second child, was called Rajah Maymoona.

In addition to the foregoing, Rajah Japhar had twenty three illegitimate children by different concubines, viz; nine sons and fourteen daughters, whose names are as follows: sons, Rajahs Joomahad, Mahomed, Khasim, Mahmood, Houssain, Osoop, Hassan, Yusuf, and Abbas; daughters, Rajahs Gatiya, Laouda, Liya, Halima, Mariam, Fatima, Baingda, Noor, Ooya, Mida, Senay, Sapia, Biba, and Teleha.

Rajah Drees, the second son of Rajah Hadgi, had three lawful wives, as follows;

The first wife, named Dain Gelia, had one daughter, called Rajah Biba.

The second wife, Dain Teka, bore him one son, named Rajah Basoo.

The third wife, Rajah Sapia, gave birth to two daughters, Rajah Fatima, and Rajah Sitia.

Rajah Drees had also seven illegitimate children by different concubines, viz. four sons, and three daughters; sons, Rajahs Abdul Rachman, Ibrahim, Ami, and Oosoo; daughters, Rajahs Esa, Slama, and Limā.

Rajah Achmet, (generally called Tuankoo Itam), the third son of Rajah Hadgi, married Rajah Hama, by whom he had one daughter named Rajah Esa. He had also ten illegitimate children by different concubines, viz; eight sons and two daughters: sons, Rajahs Alli, Abdullah, Omar, Osman, Mohammed, Hadgi, Awi, and Hamied; daughters, Rajahs Saliba, and Chi.

Tuankoo Sitia, (generally called Tuankoo Besar), the eldest daughter of Rajah Hadgi, married a Buggis Prince, named Tuankoo Krain, The issue of this marriage was one daughter called Tuankoo Manda, who was married to Rajah Alli, the Sulthaun of Siak, and died without issue. Tuankoo Krain returned in 1818 from Rhio to Celebes, where he died in 1822. His widow, Tuankoo Sitia, resides at Pulo Pinigad.

Tuankoo Hamida (commonly called Tuankoo Pootri), the second daughter of Rajah Hadgi, married Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, as previously detailed.

Tuankoo Boonteed, the third daughter, we have already seen, married Rajah Sleman, by whom she had Unkoo Thé, who subsequently married Tuankoo Abdul Rachman Shah, Sulthaun of Lingga. On the demise of Rajah Sleman, his widow went to reside with her daughter a. Lingga.

Tuankoo Pooan, the fourth daughter of Rajah

Hadgi, married Rajah Brima, the Sulthaun of Salangore, by whom she had one son, who died when he was about four months old. The Sulthaun himself died at Salangore in September 1826, and the widow went to reside with her brother, Rajah Japhar, at Pulo Pinigad.

Rajah Amina, the fifth daughter, is at present unmarried, and living at Pulo Pinigad.

Rajah Passir, the illegitimate daughter of Rajah Hadgi, married Rajah Syed of Indragiri, but is now separated from him, and is also residing at Pulo Pinigad—She has no children.

Rajah Abdul Rachman, the eldest son of Rajah Japhar, the Vice-roy of Rhio, on the 12th August 1824, married Rajah Fatima, the second daughter of his uncle, Rajah Drees, by whom in January 1826 he had a daughter, called Rajah Inthé.

Rajah Alli, the second son of Rajah Japhar, on the 17th August 1826, married his cousin Rajah Sitia, the third daughter of Rajah Drees, and in April 1827, (at which period, my information terminates), had no family.

Rajah Abdullah, the third son of Rajah Japhar, was unmarried in April 1827, and residing with his parents in Pulo Pinigad.

Rajah Maymoona, daughter of Rajah Japhar, in September 1823, married Syed Houssain, second son of Tuankoo-Syed-Sherif-Mahommed-Sin-Bin-Abdul-Rachman-Coodisi. The issue of this marriage was one son, named Tuankoo Mahmood born in November 1824, and a second, called Tuankoo Aloowi, born in April 1827.

Rajah Booroo, daughter of Rajah Oosoo, and

grand-daughter of Dain Kamboja, married her cousin, Rajah Mohammed, son of Rajah Indood, and grandson of Dain Kamboja. The issue of this marriage was three sons and three daughters; the sons are, Rajahs Houssain, Salé, Alli; the daughters, Rajahs Fatima, Seripa, and Hawa. On the demise of Rajah Mohammed, his widow and children took up their abode in Pulo Pinigad.

Rajah Houssain, eldest son of Rajah Mohammed, married Rajah Maymoona, the daughter of Rajah Moosa, by Inchi Fatima; they are living at Pulo Pinigad. The issue of this marriage, up to 1827, was four sons and one daughter; viz. sons, Rajahs Syed, Draman, Stamat, and Abdullah; the daughter, who is the third child in order of birth, is called Rajah Trang.

Rajah Fatima, the eldest daughter of Rajah Mohammed, married Rajah Joomahad, the illegitimate son of the Vice-roy, Rajah Japhar. Up to 1827 there were no children by this marriage.

Rajah Tapa, sister of Rajah Booroo, married Tuankoo Achmet, the son of Tuankoo Mansur, the Sulthaun of Tringano. By this union there was one daughter, named Tuankoo Tepia, who was married in December 1826 to Syed Achmet, son of Tuankoo Syed of Lingga.

Rajah Moosa, brother of Rajah Mohammed, married Inchi Fatima, (as above), by whom he had one daughter, Rajah Maymoona, who married her cousin, Rajah Houssain. Rajah Moosa subsequently became insane, and is now living separate from his wife in Pulo Pinigad under the care of, and supported by, his relations. The ci-

devant wife of the unfortunate Rajah Moosa re-married, her second husband being a Buggis Chief, named Krain Chindrapolé, by whom she has a daughter called Rajah Sitia. Shortly after the birth of this child, her husband, Krain Chindrapolé, repudiated her, and returned to Celebes; whilst, at the same time, Rajali Sitia and her daughter removed from Rhio to Malacca, where they now reside, although they occasionally visit their relations at Rhio, Singapore, and Lingga.

Rajah Hadgi, an illegitimate son of Rajah Moosa, is at present residing in Malacca, where he is married and has a family.

Rajah Seripa, and Rajah Tayapa, illegitimate daughters of Rajah Moosa, are now living at Pulo Pinigad. The eldest Rajah Seripa, married Rajah Bajo, by whom she had one son, named Rajah Soolong, who is now, (1833), about twenty one years old, and is residing with his mother. Rajah Bajo, when on a visit to the Vice-roy, Rajah Japhar in 1820, was arrested by Captain Koenigsdoerffer, the then resident of Rhio, and sent to Malacca, whence he was carried in May 1824 as a state prisoner to Batavia.

Rajah Gatiya, the eldest illegitimate daughter of Rajah Japhar, the Vice-roy of Rhio, is at present married to Rajah Omar, the younger brother of Rajah Moon, the Sulthaun of Indragiri, by whom she had one son, named Rajah Osman. By her former husband, Rajah Abdullah, the son of Rajah Brima, the Sulthaun of Salangore, she had one son, called Rajah Ibrahim. The whole family is at present residing at Pulo Pinigad.

Rajah Laouda, the second illegitimate daugh-

ter, married an Arab of the name of Syed Mahommed Habesi, by whom she had one son, called Syed Omar.

Rajah Mariam, the fifth illegitimate daughter, married Syed Mustapha, an Arab, by whom she had a daughter named Saripa, and, subsequently, a son called Syed Hydroos.

The following individuals are the children of Rajah Alli, the former Vice-roy of Rhio, and brothers and sisters of the Princess Tuankoo Lebaar, the wife of the present Vice-roy, Rajah Japhar.

The brothers of Tuankoo Lebaar, viz : First, Rajah Isa, who married Rajah Booroo (commonly called Unkoo Oowo), by whom he had one son named Rajah Yakoob ; he is the successor of Rajah Japhar in the office of Vice-roy of Rhio, and resides at Pulo Tring in the straits of, and nearly opposite to, the island of Singapore.

The succession to the Vice-royalty of Rhio descends laterally, not lineally, and it is a custom that, whosoever is the heir apparent, he must remain in the Vice-royalty, and not reside elsewhere.

Rajah Ismael, the second brother, resides at the island of Mandu ; Rajah Hassan, the third, at the island of Booroo, as does the fourth, Rajah Japhar ; whilst the fifth, Rajah Kassim, resides at the island of Bulang. The sixth brother, Rajah Baso, was, as we have seen, very summarily disposed of by the Netherlands' government.

The sisters of Tuankoo Lebaar are as follows ; first, Rajah Gatiya, who is married, and residing at Panamera in the neighbourhood of Johore ; second, Sapia, married to Rajah Drees ; third,

Hawa, married to Rajah Achmet; fourth, Sari-pa, who is married to Arong Belawa, and has one daughter; fifth, Sya, at present unmarried, residing at Pulo Pinigad; sixth, Amina, also unmarried at Pulo Pinigad; and seventh, and last, Temila, married to Rajah Kassim, the illegitimate son of Rajah Japhar, who, up to April 1827, had no family.

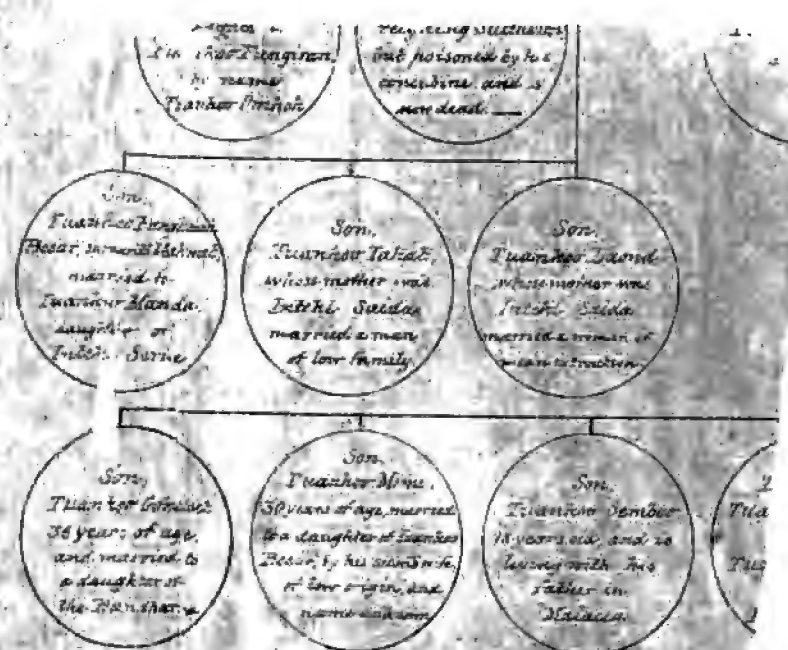
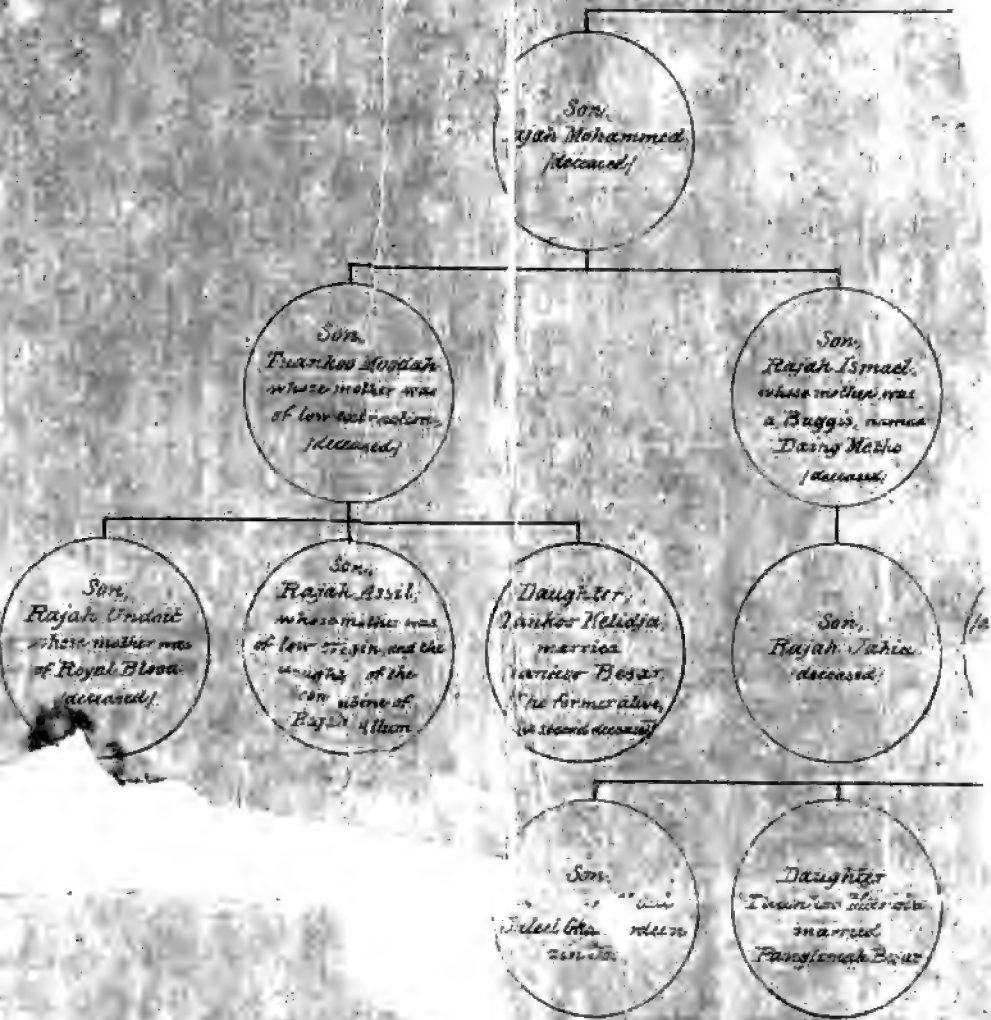
Unkoo Syed-Sherif-Mahommed-Sin-Bin-Abdul-Rachman-Coodisie is the natural son of the Arab Abdul Rachman Coodisie by a Siamese woman of Pandelingen, and was born at Palembang, but was sent in his youth for the advantages of commerce to Lingga, where, with the consent of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, he married Tuankoo Saripa, the daughter of the Arab, Syed Houssain. Her mother, Tuankoo Itam, was a cousin of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah. From this marriage there sprung four sons and two daughters; viz. The first child, a daughter, named Saripa Tebeda; the second, a son, Syed Abdullah; the third, a daughter, Saripa Mariam; the fourth, a son, named Syed Houssain; the fifth, a son, Syed Achmet; and the sixth, a son, Syed Hassan.

After the death of Tuankoo Saripa, Unkoo Syed married her step-sister, Saripa-Ooloowia, one of the natural daughters of his father-in-law, Syed Houssain, and the whole family is now residing and settled at Pulo Pinigad.

Before I dismiss the subject of the genealogy of the Johore Rajahs, I will direct my reader's attention to the plate on the opposite page, where the genealogy of the same family, as far as it is connected with the branch of Tuankoo Pangeran

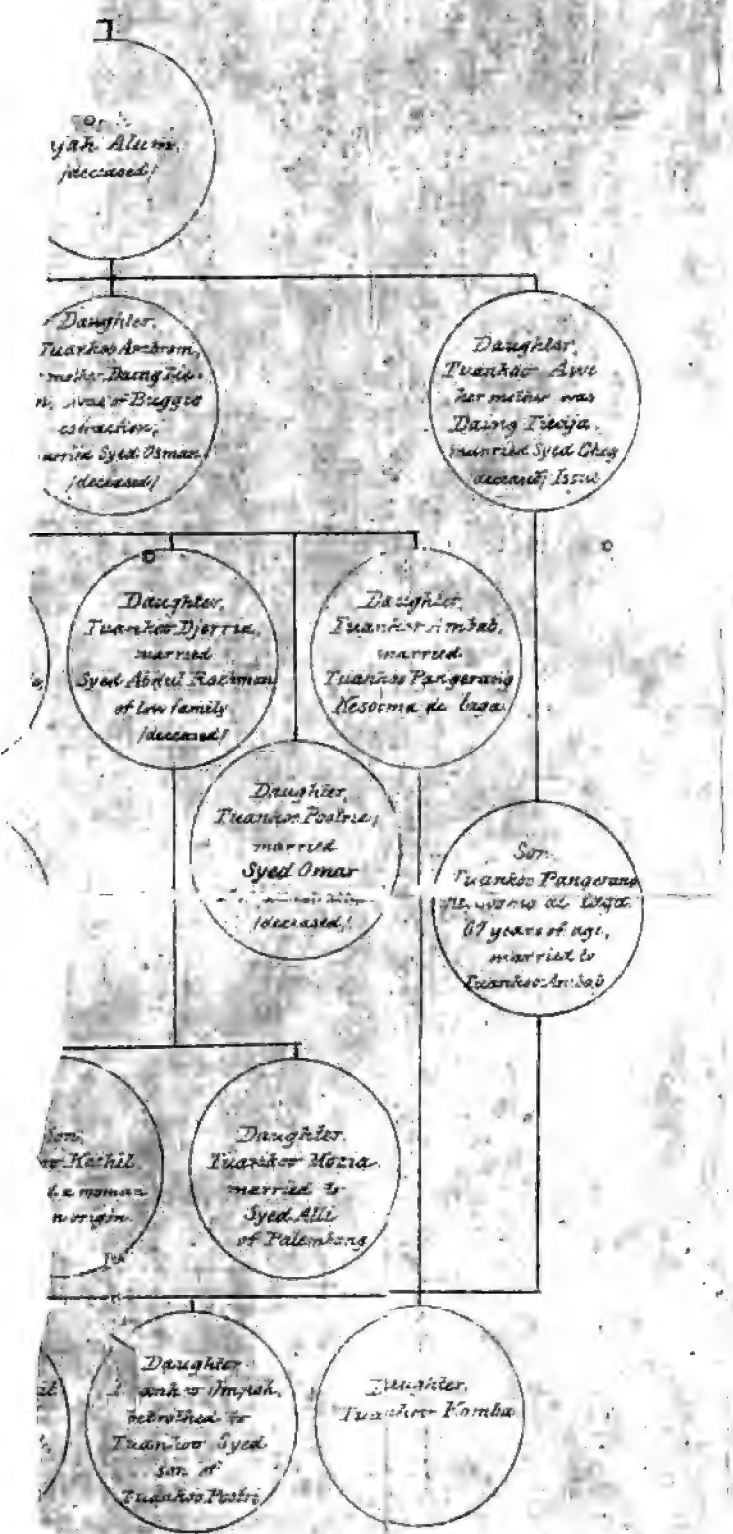
Jan 157

The Prince Raja Ismael (on whom you have mercy) Sultan of Johore
 ascended the throne to avoid the Banahara and the Temongong -
 Raja Ismael was first sent to Java and subsequently to the Sultan
 of Malacca. He subsequently fled to Raja Ismael named the Sultan of
 expelled him from their Raja Ismael took refuge in Java and built a fortress



The above is according to the Genealogy of **Tuan Koo Panglenah Besar** - 13

and the Temongong. His widow who was then
 of Singapore she gave birth to a son named
 ndharra and Temongong who were both
 a, and with the assistance of the Buggis,





Kesooma de Laga, is exhibited in a tree, the materials being derived from a Dutch translation of the original Malay in the possession of the Tuankoo, for which I am indebted to the same friend who put me in possession of the preceding information.

I will now advert to the Priesthood of the kingdom of Johore. Essentially a Mussulman population, little variety can be expected in the following remarks, and, as my principal object is to supply such information within my power as has either not hitherto been given to the world, or has been confined to a limited circle, I shall, avoiding the well-known topic of the Mahomedan religion, slightly touch upon the peculiarities of that faith, as relative to the dynasty of Johore. After these few preliminary remarks, I may observe that the Johoreans have a High Priest, whose situation and office is one of great influence. The only High Priest of Johore of whom I have an account, was a Siamese by birth, although of Menangkābow parentage; his name was Abdul-Waap. He was chosen by Sulthaun Mahmood Shah as High Priest, and formally invested by him as such.

On the demise of his patron, Abdul Waap went to Pulo Pinigad, where he sought and obtained the countenance of Tuankoo Poutri, the most influential * of the widows of the deceased Sulthaun, and became the High Priest of herself and the Royal Family, as well as that of the nobility.

This High Priest died in October 1824 in the

* Vide page 275.

palace of Tuankoo Pootri at Pulo Pinigad, and was buried, on the 8th October, the day succeeding his decease, by the Vice-roy, Rajah Japhar, with every solemnity. His remains were deposited in a portion of the minaret, appropriated to the Royal family. After the death of this High Priest up to the present period the office appears to have fallen into desuetude, the chief minister of religion being the Malay teacher, Abdul-Raschid, who performs divine service in the mosque at Pulo Pinigad, and in the Royal family; he is, however, principally supported by Rajah Japhar, deriving very trivial maintenance from the people.

An Arab Hadgi, named Syed Shech, also came to Pulo Pinigad from Malacca. He was well stricken in years and appears to have obtained great influence over both the Royal family and the inhabitants of the kingdom. He was a great favorite with Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, and continues to be such with all the members of the family, and the greater portion of the inhabitants. He subsists upon his own little property, eked out by presents from the different branches of the Royal family at Singapore, Rhio, and Lingga.

The Kings of Johore always had, from the year of the Hegira 1173, or A. D. 1761-62, up to the decease of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah in A. D. 1810, eight Ministers, or Councillors of State, four of whom were legitimate descendants of the ancient Malay, or Menangkābow, dynasty. These four were as follows; the Bandharrā of Pahang, the Tamcongong of Johore, the Rajah Indrabongsoo,*

* The offices of Rajah Indrabongsoo and Iyang de Pertuan Moodah was extant in A. D. 1602. Vide Valentyn, Book 6th Chap. 5. p. 359.

and the *Lacsamana*, or Admiral. The two first of these resided in, and governed, those countries, whence they derived their titles; whilst the two last had no permanent place of abode, as they were obliged to accompany the Sulthaun whithersoever he went.

The other four Councillors were either princes or nobles of the *Buggisses*, and had the following style; the first was denominated the *Iang de Pertuan Moodah*, or the Vice-roy of *Johore*, and resided at *Pulo Pinigad*, administering the affairs of the island of *Bintang*; the second, termed *Rajah Toowa*, had no fixed residence; the third, or *Dattoo Soliwatang*, resided in *Lingga*, and the fourth, or last of the eight Councillors, called *Dattoo Panggawa*, abode with the Vice-roy in *Pulo Pinigad*.

It would appear, from *Hamilton*, that, previous to this period, viz. in A. D. 1700, the office of *Iang de Pertuan*, or *Rajah Moodah* was exercised, not by the *Buggis* chiefs, but by the Royal family.

This author informs us that, after an interregnum of three years, caused by the murder of the Sulthaun by one of his nobles on account of his atrocities,* *Sulthaun Abdullah Jalil*, a prince of great moderation and justice, and cousin german to the former, was called to fill the vacant throne. This is the prince that in A. D. 1703 made *Captain Hamilton* an offer of the island of *Singapore*, which he refused as being of no use to a private person. In 1709 the Sulthaun devolved the government upon his younger brother, the *Rajah*

* *Hamilton's new account of the E. Ind.* p. 92 and seq.

Moodah, who was covetous and tyrannical, the king secluding himself in his palace, and devoting his time to religious pursuits. The Rajah, or Iang de Pertuan, Moodah, however, exercised the sovereignty for only about three years, his oppressions having driven the people in A. D. 1712 into open rebellion. * The tyrant fled with his wives and children to the capital, Johore Lami, at the entrance of the straits of Singapore, but, being pursued by his exasperated subjects, first slew his family, and then killed himself.

Sulthaun Abdullah Jalil offered to restore things to their previous condition, but his people told him that he was unfit for the cares of empire, adding, "that he might retire to either Pahang or Tringano; but that, as for Johore, and the islands between it and Sumatra, they would consider what to do with them."† The king, his family, and a few adherents, proceeded towards Tringano accordingly in vessels provided by his late subjects, but, on his way thither, was received by the inhabitants of Pulo Aura, Pulo Tinji, Pulo Pinang, and Pulo Timun, as their lawful sovereign, whilst he put his eldest son, a youth of about twelve years old, on shore at Pahang, in order to preserve the allegiance of that country.

To return to the subject more immediately before us. On the demise of Sulthaun Mahmood Shah, and the subsequent violation of the law of succession by the elevation of Tuankoo Abdul

* This would appear at first sight as being at variance with the declared principles of the Malays, who never engage in rebellion against their sovereign, but it must be remembered that the Rajah Moodah was merely in the possession of delegated authority.

† Hamilton, ut supra.

Rachman, the youngest son, to the throne of Johore, the four first named ministers refused to acknowledge the new sovereign, and separated themselves from his councils. The third minister, the Indrabongsoo, withdrew with his family from Lingga to Pahang, where he died two years afterwards; the fourth minister, or the Lacsamana, with his family removed from Lingga to Siak, where he also died; and the sixth minister, or the Rajah Toowa, left the kingdom, and, accompanied by his family, settled in Borneo, where he likewise died at the expiration of a twelve month.

From this period, the present Sulthaun of Lingga, Abdul Rachman, had no other ministers than the following; viz. the Viceroy, (Rajah Japhar), the Dattoo Soliwatang, the Dattoo Bandharra, and the Dattoo Panggawa, besides the Panglimahs Dalam and Prang. The princes, ministers, and nobles, of the Menangkābow family still refuse to acknowledge Abdul Rachman as their sovereign, but pay reverence to the rightful heir to the kingdom, Tuankoo Houssain, commonly called Tuankoo Long.

I have now to advert to Pahang, as it is a component portion of the Johore empire, which is described by Nieuhoff* as being situated about a league from the sea and inhabited solely by the nobility, the suburbs being appropriated for the occupation of the lower orders. The town is small, and "inclosed with a wall made of the trunks of trees joined close together, and about twenty four feet in height, strengthened at each angle with a bastion, but not filled with

* Nieuhoff, apud Church Coll. Vol. 2. p. 181 et seq.

earth." He also informs us that, owing to the streets having a bamboo hedge on either side, and to the miserable *attap* houses, (the only wooden building was the king's palace), being surrounded by cocoanut, and other, trees, Pahang presents the appearance rather of those gardens that are generally met with in the vicinity of a large town than of the city itself. This description is fully corroborated in all its essentials by a much more modern traveller, the Rev. W. H. Medhurst, the English missionary at Batavia, who visited Pahang in the middle of 1828.

This gentleman informs us * that the town of Pahang, which lies on either side of the river, is situated four or five miles from the mouth, the Chinese *Campong* being on the left † bank and consisting of miserable *attap* houses, raised, as all buildings are in Ultra Gangetic India, about five feet from the ground.

The disagreeableness of the picture is considerably heightened by the insufferable stench arising from the collection of the filth which the Chinese, in those places where they have not partially adopted European customs, allow to accumulate beneath their houses, for these people, although they boast of their civilization, combine the gross feeding of the Greenlander with a disregard of personal comfort and cleauliness, only inferior to that of the Hottentot. This remark applies principally to the lower orders. On the opposite bank, stands the Malay *Campong*, or town, which Mr. Medhurst informs us, is "surrounded by an

* Missionary Quarterly Chronicle, Vol. 4 p. 149 & seq.

† I suspect that Mr. M. has here fallen into the common error of speaking of the river as he entered it, instead of denominating the banks with reference to the course of the stream. All the Chinese store houses, &c. are on the right bank, as the observer looks from the source of the river.

ugly wooden fence, quite close, and about ten feet high." It is singular that Pahang, with all its natural resources, should have remained so stationary that the descriptions, given of it by these two travellers, at such an intervening distance, should so closely tally.

There is one *musjid*, or mosque, at Pahang, the duties of which are conducted by an Arab priest, who appeared to Mr. M. to be possessed of very great influence over the population. There being but one *musjid*, would lead us to suspect that the population of Pahang is very limited; as the Mussulmans, generally speaking, have more places of worship than those of any other faith.

The tin mines are situated at some distance in the interior, and wrought, as they are throughout the Peninsula, by Chinese adventurers. Such, however, is the jealousy entertained by the Bandharra of Pahang, as to the ulterior object of Europeans, that, I believe, they have hitherto been unvisited by any of that class.

At the height of the springs there is two fathoms water over the bar, but during the neap-tides there is scarcely one. The vessels, that proceed to Pahang for the purpose of procuring its gold-dust, tin, &c. anchor outside, whilst the Chinese junks cross the bar at one spring tide, and, having taken in their cargo at the Chinese store houses, wait until the setting in of the next springs enable them to recross the bank.

In addition to gold-dust, tin, *kayoo koomoonee*, and ebony, Nieuhoff* informs us that Pahang produces pepper, eagle and *kalanbak* woods,

* Nieuhoff, *apud* Church Collect. Vol. 11 p. 181.

nutmegs, *sapan* wood, diamonds, and hogstones, whilst the interior abounds with elephants.

To the northward of Pahang, and, situated about a mile up a river of the same name, stands Kamaman, a paltry settlement, not numbering much above twenty Chinese, who have been attracted thither by the tin mines, which are situated about two days journey, or thirty miles, in the interior.

This settlement was formed about A. D. 1817, but, the vein of ore becoming nearly exhausted, there were not, in 1828, more than a hundred Chinese at the mines.

Although the states of Tringano, Patani, and Singora, are at present no component portions of the empire of Johore yet, as Patani, and by inference Tringano also, which is to the southward of it, was at one period a part of that kingdom, and as I am now treating of the eastern coast of the Peninsula, to which I may not have an opportunity to revert, my readers will, I trust, excuse my departure from strict method of arrangement, and permit me to embody in this place, my scanty remaining information relative to these places, and Ligore.

Tringano is situated in N. latitude 5. 25. upon a river of the same name, but not so wide as that of Pahang. The town, however, lies nearer the mouth, the Malay *campong*,* which is both large and populous, containing between 20, and 30,000 inhabitants, is nearest to the landingplace, but is extremely filthy and the streets are crowded and narrow. The houses are built of *attap*, and the place possesses two markets, the venders and purchasers

* Missionary Quarterly Chronicle at supra.

being principally women, a custom which prevails also in the eastern part of Java, and portions of Sumatra, as Pedir, &c. The Chinese population is numerous, and the *campong* of this class consists principally of substantial stone, or brick, dwellings, whose appearance carries the stamp of antiquity along with it. The people, however, still retain their native tongue, hardly ever conversing in Malayese.

Mr. Medhurst notices the abundance of weapons amongst the population, a circumstance which also strikes the observer with regard to the eastern coast of Sumatra, where it is not at all unusual to see a man armed at the same moment with sword, *kris*, and spear. Each of these weapons, throughout the Peninsula, rises in value according to the number of individuals who have fallen victims to it, and I have known as high a price as eighty dollars asked for a *kris*, which, independent of this factitious value, could have been readily obtained for three.

The administration of justice at Tringano is distinguished by the same laxity as prevails in all the Malay states. The minor punishments of whipping, imprisonment, working in irons, &c., so common amongst other nations, are entirely excluded from the Malayan code, on account of the high spirit of the people, which, although not powerful enough to restrain them from the commission of crime, has yet sufficient influence to make them prefer death before degradation. Fining, mutilation, and capital punishments, are therefore nearly all that is left as a terror to evil doers, and even of these the former appears to be either unknown, or rarely practiced, at Tringano. In

most Malayan states there are traces to be found of a similar restitution in cases of theft as that contained in the Mosaic law * but, at Tringano, in the case of the first offence, nothing but the restoration of the article itself is required, and a slight reprimand is adjudged: on a repetition of the crime, the thief is sentenced to the loss of a hand and foot, and, although the method of amputation is exceedingly unskillful, the member being severed by a violent blow, the temperate habits of the natives generally ensure recovery. The relatives, in most cases, however, take off the individual by poison, rather than suffer him to remain a living monument of their disgrace. Such as are permitted to live obtain a scanty subsistence by acting as watermen on the river. Where the offence is of no ordinary dye, death is inflicted, the culprit kneeling on the ground, and the executioner thrusting a *kris* down the suture of the left shoulder blade, until the point penetrates the heart.

The present Rajah of Tringano, we learn from Mr. Medhurst, was the younger brother of the deceased king, who left the throne to him in preference to his own sons, who do not appear to feel the loss of empire. The queen, nevertheless, secured her former share of power by marrying the new king.

Patani lies in N. Lat. 6d. 50m., and consists of two towns, the old and the new, if the former be deserving of that appellation, as it consists at present of only two or three houses, which are fast falling to decay. Old Patani was built by a son of the king of Siam, named Chan Sri Bangsa, and stands about a mile or two from the mouth of

* Exo dus, Chap. 22d. v. 1 to 4.

the principal river, which is very wide. The English established a small factory here in 1610* which they subsequently abandoned in 1623. Mr. Medhurst states† that the Dutch, at one period, established themselves here, but, as I do not know the data upon which he goes, I am unable to decide whether this were really the case, or whether the two nations may not have been confounded, a supposition which appears probable from the following passage of Mr. M's journal which would hint at his information on that point being meagre; "The people in general," he remarks, "seemed scarcely to know that the Dutch had ever been there; and, to my questions regarding the former inhabitants of the colony, they returned very vague answers."

We learn from Floris ‡ that Patani was formerly governed by queens, but was conquered by the black king of Siam, or Rajah Api, about A. D. 1603. Hamilton informs us that in A. D. 1703 § it still formed part of the empire of Johore, the sovereign of which kingdom paid tribute for it to Siam. About A. D. 1786, it was finally ¶ wrested from that state by the Siamese monarch, and in 1832, as I have previously shewn, it suffered the horrors of a third irruption. The new town lies up a small river that falls into the principal river, ¶ but the water on the bar is so shallow that none but the smallest class of *sampans*, or boats, can cross it, in consequence of which its trade is going rapidly to decay. The Chinese

* Anderson's Considerations relative to the Mal. Penin. p. 49.

† Missionary Quarterly Chronicle Vol. 4 page 174.

‡ Floris, voy. apud nov. coll. trav. Vol. I. p. 439.

§ Hamilton's, New Account of East Indies vol. II p. 157.

¶ Anderson's Considerations at supra.

¶ Medhurst's Journal, at supra.

campong consists of about 50 or 60 houses containing, on the usual average of 5 to a house, from 250 to 300 inhabitants.

Singora, the next town to the northward, lies in N. Lat. 7° 35', and appears from a very early period to have been tributary to Siam. Gervaise* says that "about the year 1673 this city *rebelled* against the king of Siam," which leads us to infer that a long succession of years had caused it at that period to be considered a province of that kingdom. It was speedily reduced to its former state of subjection, and the city demolished. The same author, states that the new town was large and beautiful, but not otherwise considerable. Singora, however, owing to its being the first Siamese town on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, presents a striking contrast to the scenery which the traveller meets with in that portion of it which is properly Malayan. The Siamese, being Buddhist sectarians, are, of course, idolaters, and it requires no stretch of the imagination, as you near the coast, and see the hills and vallies studded with innumerable pagodas, whilst the yellow-robed *talupains*, with their begging boxes, move musingly along, for the spectator to believe himself at once transported to the regions of Burmah.

It is a singular circumstance that, wherever idolatry has prevailed, "the groves" and "the high hills," so often alluded to in scripture, as being the spots selected by the heathen of old, should ever be the favorite sites of the temples of the Pagan;—witness the Druidical groves of ancient Britain, and the pagodas which glitter on

* Gervaise, p. 16, and 61, et seq.

the hills of the Burmese, Siamese, Cochin-chinese, &c. idolaters, or the more labored, but less gaudy, shrines, at which the Buddhist votary of Continental India pays his unmeaning devotions.

Thus, the principal pagoda of Singora is perched upon the very pinnacle of a rocky eminence, beetling over the shore, steps being cut in the face of the rugged hill for the convenience of ascent, up and down which the inhabitants are to be seen constantly passing. Mr. Medhurst informs us that there is another temple of a species of architecture very different from that usually employed by the Siamese, and his description would induce us to suppose that, while the structure cannot be assigned to any peculiar rational order, the Chinese method of temple building is partially blended with it. His account of it is as follows; "It was situated in the midst of a large enclosure, something like a country church-yard, and the temple itself had much the appearance of a village church in England, with a portico before and behind, and three arched windows on each side, surrounded by various erect stones, which, at a distance, might be taken for grave stones." Inside this temple, and at the upper end was an image of Buddha, from 16 to 20 feet high, and resembling those so common in Burmah.

We are also informed by him that the Siamese are easily distinguished from the other classes of inhabitants "by their very black stiff hair, which is stroked back in front, like a topknot. The women wear the tuft of hair in front instead of behind, and, as well as the men, have no clothing from the loins upwards, except a piece

of cloth thrown carelessly over the shoulders, and generally covering the front of their persons. The countenances both of the men and of the women were, for the most part, intelligent and interesting; and indicated a degree of understanding superior to the Malays in general; &c."

I now come to a description of the modern town of Singora, for the materials of which I confess myself indebted to the published journal of the Rev. gentlemen, whom I have quoted hitherto as my authority for the more recent account of these settlements on the east coast of the Peninsula.

The town of Singora is therein described as being composed of three *campongs*, "inhabited severally by Chinese, Siamese, and Malays. The first is situated on the left * hand side of the river, the second on the right, and the last further up the bay, and not visible till boats have passed the Siamese town." This passage clearly indicates that the Chinese division is nearest to the mouth of the river, and it is said to contain about a thousand inhabitants and to constitute the focus of trade. The houses of this class are here substantial brick dwellings, each having, although forming a continuous street, its own party walls. The doors and windows are covered with brick and mortar in order to check the spread of fire, whilst such, as cannot afford the expence of an entire brick dwelling, generally construct, within their *attap* houses, a strong room of about 10 feet square of the above materials, which they consid-

* It is probable that the foot note of the page 290 is equally applicable here, but, having no personal knowledge, or chart, of Singora, this is, of course, mere conjecture.

er fire proof, and wherein they deposit their most valuable property.

The trade of Singora is carried on principally by junks, and the small native craft, which convey its produce either to Siam or Singapore. Its exports consist chiefly in tin, iron, (of which there are two mines), dried prawns, to the annual amount of 1,000 piculs, and a trifling quantity of pepper. This last item has almost ceased to form an article of commerce, owing to the ruinous exactions of the governors of Singora, who resorted to the system of compulsory deliveries, paying sometimes not even the fourth of the market value of the spice. As a necessary consequence the cultivation of it has become extremely limited, and many of the former flourishing plantations are rapidly being exchanged for the solitude and wildness of the jungle.

Singora being a tributary of Siam, of course pays no duty to that government, but it is generally expected that vessels putting in there, should make a present to the governor of the place: the person, who at present fills that office, is of Chinese extraction.

On the opposite side of the bay, about an hour's sail from Singora, is a scattered Chinese hamlet, called Ko-yëo, the inhabitants of which are engaged in the manufacture of earthen pans, and in different agricultural pursuits.

Ligore, the last town to the northward of the Malayan Peninsula, lies in N. latitude 8. 16, and was conquered by Rajah Api, the black king of Siam, about A. D. 1603.* The city is ancient, but

* Floris, ap. nov. coll. voy. p. 439.

has never risen to any great importance. The Dutch at the beginning of the 18th century had a factory here,* the produce being tin, rice, fruits, and occasionally a considerable quantity of pepper. Somewhere † about A. D. 1760, the Burmese over-ran Siam, and Ligore followed the fate of its master. In 1788—89, however, Pia Tack, an individual distinguished for his enterprising character, seized the supreme authority of Siam, whence he expelled the Burmese, and, amongst other conquests, regained Ligore, which has ever since remained an integral portion of that empire, and has been employed as its instrument for the reduction of Kedah.

Before I conclude these notices of the piratical Malayan States, I will here allude to a superstition prevalent among them with regard to fortunate and unlucky days, by which they are much influenced in all their nautical expeditions. This has naturally arisen from the observance of the weather to which they have been led by the maritime mode of life, upon which the superstition has been readily engrafted in consequence of the ignorance and darkness in which their minds are enveloped. Tables of every day in the year have been accordingly constructed; and, as I have not met with one which has as yet been given to the public, I annex an original one, belonging to the family of Johore, with a translation and explanation.

The top of the page is that containing the figures, 1, 2, 3, &c. up to 30, corresponding with

* Gervaise, p. 16 and 61.

† Cholsy, p. 524.

the days of the month, the Malayan year consisting of twelve months of 30 days each, making a year of 360 days. These figures, of course, denote the days in the columns beneath them. Upon the right hand of the table are the names of the months, the first Malayan month commencing at the bottom of the page, and the others ascending in succession. The first is the Mohorram, corresponding with our June; the second, Sufr, or July; the third, Rabbih-il-awal, or August; the fourth, Rabbih-il-akhir, or September; the fifth, Joomadil awal, or October; the sixth, Joomadil Akhir, or November; the seventh, Rajib, or December; the eighth, Shabban, or January; the ninth, Ramzan, or February; the tenth, Shoowal, or March; the eleventh, Zooalgiddah, or April, and the twelfth, Dulhejah, or May.

The hieroglyphics are nine in number, of which, however, only eight appear in the table, as the sign ☉, which indicates wind, is always compounded with one of the other three simple characters; these four original signs are the first in the following list.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ○ Fine weather.. | 5. ☉ Fine weather with
wind. |
| 2. ● Stormy..... | 6. ☁ Cloudy & stormy. |
| 3. ☉ Rain | 7. ☁ Windy with rain. |
| 4. ☉ Wind..... | 8. ☉ Very fine weather. |
| 9. ☉ Fine, but cloudy. | |

The instructions for the use of the almanac commence immediately over the latter end of the months, and the two sentences may be freely rendered thus; "when there is a strong westerly wind in that year" (the one in which you consult

the table), "it is a sign of rain—of strong wind and good rain. Ho! all my friends! observe well in the morning, at noon, and in the night. If it be rather cloudy in the morning, you may, by the blessing of the Almighty, sail with safety in the evening, (for such is the instruction of my teacher), provided there be no cloud at the time, but you must observe the face of the sky diligently for yourself. (i. e. do not trust too implicitly to my words.)

"It is requisite in the first place that, whosoever of my brethren searches for this wisdom, he should believe my instructions to be founded in truth. You must ascertain the precise year, month, and day, from the Abujat (a chapter in the Koran) and add to it the wisdom of the almanac, (that is, having found out the day correctly, turn to the table and see what weather is therein foretold on that day). You must look for the day of the month in the Kalendar, of which there are four different kinds, but they all lead to the same result; for, as the years change, so do the months and days. Time follows according to the seasons of the years, the months, and the days, but, oh! all my friends, do not be certain, or it will involve you in ruin, if you do not search (diligently) according to your knowledge."

The table, for more ready reference, is divided at the bottom into three equal spaces, the division being marked by the word *saputoh* or ten; that is, each space contains a period of ten days.

CHAP. VIII.

Residency of Rhio—Description of the island of Bintang—Its rivers—Its districts—District of Sebong—Its population and plantations—Little Sebong—Population considered to be over-heated—Dutch policy towards the Chinese colonists—Simpo—Old Sebong—Soil of Sebong—District of Rotjo—Nearly deserted, on account of the age of the plantations—Soil better than that of Sebong—District of Soongei Ayer Pawar—Villages of Looagpoi and Sungui Ayer Pawar, with their population and pursuits of the inhabitants—District of Sungui Dookon—The most flourishing of the whole—Its population—District of Gissee—Villages of Gissee and Sing-Ling—Soil very good—Agriculture and Trade of Rhio—Appearance of the Gambier plant—Method of rearing and manufacturing it—The Gambier leaves afterwards used as manure for the pepper plants—Gambier greatly adulterated—Pepper does not thrive—Soil unfavorable to cattle—Means of subsistence of the lower orders—Handicrafts of Rhio—Tables of exports and imports—Strictures upon the Dutch colonial policy—Shipping of Rhio—Commerce of Rhio—Causes of the decline of her trade—Principally to be attributed to her oppressive duties—Comparative Table of her Revenue, sale of farms or monopolies, &c.—Receipts and expenditure—Population of Rhio—Diet of the inhabitants—No beggars—Crimes and offences—Slavery—Religious edifices—Useful timber trees—Method of extracting wood oil—Of rendering the cocoanut tree productive.

IN the account of Malacca, I have already detailed the manner of the acquisition of the islands of Rhio and Bintang by the Dutch, and shall therefore here confine myself to a description of these islands and matters of general interest connected with them.

Rhio itself, although the seat of the Netherlands Residency, has nothing to recommend it to notice, except a pretty fort, which has been erected there by the Dutch, but which is said to be commanded by an adjacent height, and which is consequently more for show than real defence. This small island produces nothing, and is only valuable in consequence of its proximity to Bintang,* to the description of which island, I at once proceed, premising that my information is chiefly confined to the northern and western portion of the island.

The island of Bintang lies in about N. Lat. 1. 10. and possesses the very great advantage of being intersected by several broad and navigable streams, by means of which its produce is principally conveyed to the residency of Rhio. The names of these rivers, some of which are of inferior size, are as follows; the Sebong, the Rotjo, Ayer Jawar, Cawal Goonookayang, Abantang, Simpang Pools, Gindi, Jalang, Ayer Rajah, Pho Touwo, Iant Jookang, and the Oonam: these generally have their source far inland, and are navigable by boats, or *sampang pukats*.

For the convenience of reference, I will suppose the northern and western parts of the island to be divided into districts, and, in pursuance of this artificial arrangement, commence with Sebong.

This division is on the north side of the island, and is consequently in the straits of Singapore, facing the Peninsula. It contains four settlements, the first of which is called Singkang, a

* Bintang, in Malayese, signifies a star.

name apparently given to it by the Chinese, who are the principal inhabitants, but which is generally known as the great Sebong.

This village is situated about an hour's pull from the mouth, and *sampang pookats* have no difficulty in proceeding up the river as far as this point—indeed, nothing but a little labor is requisite to render the river easy of navigation much beyond Singkang. The population in 1825 amounted to about 1,040 souls residing on the banks of the river, and, allowing for immigration and births, we might be led to estimate it at present as not under 1,300.

At the time this estimate was made, however, it is stated that there were only forty houses, one arrack distillery, one opium, and one gambling, farm. With the aid of these three last it was calculated that the population amounted, as above, to 1,040. Now, granting that these estimates are correct, the preponderance of the population over the houses, giving an average of twenty six inmates to a dwelling, can, as it appears to me, be only accounted for in two ways.

The first of these is that Sebong, being one of the principal gambier plantations, would probably considerably exceed the usual average of five to a house. But, then, even doubling, or quadrupling, the average, there would still be a vast disproportion between the houses and the inhabitants, and the conclusion naturally follows that, if the estimate be really correct, there must have been, at the time that it was made, a floating po-

pulation, derived from huts scattered in the vicinity, Simpo, for instance, which was attracted thither by the concomitant and pernicious excitements of the arrack, opium, and gambling, farms. This hypothesis is fairly corroborated by the subsequent account of the districts of Soongei Dookoo and Gissee.

About an hour's pull from great Seborg up the Pitjukang branch lies little Seborg, a place which appears to be of very little importance. The same estimate, which gives us such an overwhelming population to great Seborg, here sinks to nearly one half; that is to say, the houses are stated to be twenty seven, situated in a morass, and built of wood, and the inhabitants four hundred, whereby an average of somewhat less than fifteen is afforded, although there are here also arrack, opium, and gambling, farms.

As even this is far too high, the excess can only be accounted for on the foregoing principles.

I am, nevertheless, inclined to believe that the *population* is considerably over-rated for the following reasons. The principal, if not the sole, inhabitants of those portions of the island of Bintang, upon which gambier is grown, are Chinese; a race, whom the Dutch affect to contemn, and even go so far as to say that they injure the country by living like leeches on its produce, until they are enabled to return to their native country with the wealth which they have thus amassed.

Without stopping to enquire whether the censure, thus bestowed upon the Chinese, be not equally applicable to other nations, I proceed to

remark that the Dutch have ever endeavored to prevent the most industrious portion of their colonists returning to their native country in too wealthy a condition. The same policy, which has led them to impose an enormous carriage and cattle tax, (which by its exorbitancy has nearly defeated its object), and to oppress their Chinese subjects with a poll tax, and another for the privilege of quitting the settlement, has naturally led the under officers of government to over-rate the population.

In a great variety of Dutch papers that have passed under my inspection, I have here and there met with complaints as to the difficulty of inducing the Chinese in the interior to give a fair estimate of their numbers, and the reason assigned is their wish to evade the poll tax.* It therefore appears to me probable that the Chinese crowd themselves into houses by way of enforcing an idea of the smallness of their population, whilst, the Dutch, aware of the practice, fix an arbitrary and excessive estimate of the same.

The third settlement in Sebong is Simpo, which was established about seven or eight years ago, and lies about half an hour's journey, in a south easterly direction from Sebong, on a branch of that river, which is navigable up to this point. Simpo contains thirty three houses, one Chinese temple, and a hundred inhabitants, or only about three to a house, which number falls below the proper average. I therefore conceive that it is likely that at least one half of the

* In all the Dutch settlements, the Chinese are required to pay, I think, one dollar per annum for the liberty of wearing their tails.

population of Simpo was attracted to the neighboring town of Sebong, which possessed all those inducements comprized in opium, arrack, and gambling, which were not to be met with in its own village.

The fourth and last village in this district is old Sebong, if indeed it be still in existence, which is situated on a branch of the Sebong river: it was formerly a place of considerable importance, but, in 1825, was reduced to three plank houses with *attap* roofs, and presented the appearance of fast falling to decay.

The inhabitants of the district of Sebong are principally gambier planters, and retail traders, who carry the gambier and pepper to Rhio. They are governed by an individual selected from among their own body, who is accountable for their behaviour to the Captain of the Chinese of the Canton *campong*.

The number of the plantations in Sebong in 1825 was ninety gambier, and seventy pepper plantations, whilst the Captain of the Chinese estimated the whole population to amount to 1,540, a number which, while it exceeds the aggregate of the four villages, is said by the Dutch to fall short of the truth, thus affording an illustration of my previous remarks.

The soil of Sebong is of a yellowish color and poor in its nature; it is consequently well adapted for the growth of either pepper or gambier; The roads in the district are tolerably good, and, at a trifling expence and labor, might easily be rendered very excellent.

The second of these imaginary districts is Rotjo, which lies south-west of great Sebong, and which was formerly of some importance, but was subsequently abandoned on account of the antiquity of the plantations, and the scarcity of firewood. There are, however, still a few inhabitants in the neighborhood of, and beyond, Tanjong Bekeboo. There is but one regular village in the whole district, named Godjok, situated three hours journey to the westward of Singkang on a river of the same name as itself, which takes its rise far inland, and *debouches* in the bay of Bintang. It consists of only sixteen houses, besides an arrack distillery, and an opium and gambling farm: the population does not exceed one hundred inhabitants, who have much difficulty in procuring a livelihood.

The number of plantations throughout the district was, at this period, sixty, and that of the inhabitants about four hundred. The soil and the roads are rather better than those of Sebong.

The third district is Soongei Ayer Pawar, which borders on the southern part of Sebong, and contains the following villages.

1st. Looagooi, which is situated at the source of Soongei Ayer Pawar, at about two hours journey from Singkang, and contains about twenty-four houses, an arrack distillery, and its constant companions, the opium and gambling farms. The population is estimated at one hundred and forty. The best description of *sampang pookats* are built here.

2d. Soongei Ayer Pawar, which is the proper

capital of this district, lies on the same name, and was formerly a respectable village: it is at present reduced to three houses. The Soongei Ayer Pawar is one of the clearest and widest rivers in the island of Bintang; at an hour's pull from its mouth there was formerly a considerable village, which contained from four to five hundred inhabitants, engaged in rice cultivation, but subsisting principally by piracy. On the return of the Dutch to Bintang in 1818, these people removed to Reté, where they still continue their piratical practices.

According to the statement of the head man of this district, Soongei Ayer Pawar contained fifty-two gambier and pepper plantations, many of which were, however, even in 1825, abandoned on account of the trees being too old. The exact population can no more be given of this than of the preceding districts, but it was estimated to contain about six hundred and sixty inhabitants.

Soongei Dookoo is the fourth district, and lies in a south-easterly direction from the last: it is the most fully cleared and wealthiest portion of the island. Upon the river which takes its source from the hills by which the hamlet is sheltered, lies the only village of the district, called Soongei Dookoo, which contains about twenty-seven houses, besides two arrack distilleries, opium and gambling farms. The population, which exceeds 1,500, is scattered throughout the gambier and pepper plantations of the district, of the former of which there are one hundred and fifty, and of the latter, one hundred, gardens.

The fifth and oldest of all the districts of Bintang is Soongei Gissee, which contains the following villages :

First.—Gissee, which is situated upon the river of the same name, and contains about forty houses, two arrack distilleries, and an opium and gambling farm. It is much reduced and fallen from its former state of prosperity, and its trade is very inconsiderable when compared with what it used to be. The Soongei Gissee takes its rise very far inland.

Second.—Sing-Ling, which is about half an hour's journey from Gissee and lying upon the same river, contains only ten houses, and is altogether very insignificant. The Soongei Gissee is one of the largest and clearest rivers in the island, and is navigable with *sampang pookats*, and even *prahus*.

The soil in the district of Gissee is* superior to that of any of the preceding ones, pepper thriving better here than in any other portion of the island, and there being a few fruit trees scattered here and there. There are about one hundred pepper and gambier plantations in it, and twelve hundred inhabitants.

I will now pass on to the consideration of the agriculture, trade, &c. of the Residency of Rhio. The preceding account will have prepared my readers to expect that the agriculture is almost exclusively confined to the production of gambier and pepper, the method of planting and preparing the former for the market I now proceed to detail.

* This phrase must always be taken with reference to the staple produce. The soils adapted for gambier and pepper are the very worst for other agricultural purposes. Gissee, however, appears to possess a variety of soils.

The gambier plant appears to have been introduced into Bintang, during the last century, but has thriven so well that it may be now considered indigenous to the island. It generally attains the height of seven or eight feet,* and presents a very grotesque appearance from the manner in which it grows, the stem being straight, and the branches twisted into every variety of figure. The blossoms are pinkish white, and globular, so as to present the appearance of small snowballs. The small stems which support the foliage, and the leaves themselves are glaucous, and contain a bitter sap. The plants are spread, as it were, over the whole island, and, by their extending thus, leave very little room for the cultivation of other trees.

The gambier is propagated by seed, and, when the plants have obtained the height of five or six inches, they are transplanted from the nursery to a field prepared and cleared for their reception, and where they are put in holes about a foot deep, and five or six inches diameter, a space of five feet being allowed between each plant. They are protected from the heat of the sun by boughs thickly interwoven, and stretched horizontally above them; after they have been about two months in the new soil, they require no further care beyond the common precaution of keeping the ground free from weeds, which would otherwise stifle them.

When the plants have attained the age of from six to eight months, the cultivators begin to cut the shoots, which are used in the manufacture of gambier, and repeat this process twice a year

* Appendix E.

for a period of twenty years, after which, the trees from age become exhausted, and produce nothing but sapless leaves which are consequently unfit for the manufacture of gambier. It is estimated that one plantation of 22,500 square roods, will contain 129,600 plants, which will yield the first year from five and twenty to thirty piculs, and, for the eight successive years, upwards of a hundred piculs, after which the produce gradually decreases, until it wholly ceases.

In every gambier plantation there is a large building erected in which the gambier is dressed and the laborers reside; this is constructed either of *kadjans*, or planks, the roof being made of *at-taps*. I will now describe the method of manufacturing the gambier.

The cuttings from the plants are made in the morning and evening, and are carried to the aforesaid shed, where, being laid upon a table, the leaves are stripped off, and thrown into an iron pan which is sunk into the ground, and filled with water, the sides of the hole being lined with masonry, and the intervening space piled with bark, which is used for fuel. An intense heat is maintained for three or four hours, and, whilst the leaves are boiling, they are repeatedly stirred with a fork which may be either a double or treble pronged one. The leaves are then taken out of the kettle by means of a sieve, and placed in a wooden trough, hewn out of a tree, and three and a half feet wide and ten long, having a gentle slope towards a pan, destined to receive the sap as it drops from them.

In this pan the process of boiling is continued until the liquid has attained a degree of consistency, when it is removed into a pail, or bucket, (where it is left to cool), by means of a rough sort of ladle, made of the bark of a tree called Sampang.

In order that none of the sap may remain in the leaves, the mass is well kneaded, or pressed with an oval piece of wood. The fluid, being somewhat congealed, is transfused into a mould, the sides of which are made of pieces of wood, an inch square, fastened to each other with pins, and fitted to a flat plank, as a bottom.

Here the gambier is allowed to remain until it has become perfectly hard, when, the pins being removed, the frame is opened, and the substance cut with a knife, sixteen inches long, with a straight point, or end, into small squares, being put upon a table, covered with linen, for that purpose. These squares of gambier are then placed upon a sort of hurdle, made of rattans, in which they are exposed to the influence of the sun for twelve days, and dried over the furnace for as many nights. The gambier is now fit for the market, and placed in either straw or gunny bags in order to its being sent to the *campong* of the Canton Chinese at Rhio, where it is sold by weight in *kranjangs*, (the Malay term for hamper), made of the water rattan.

When the gambier is of good quality, it is of a yellow color, but the surface, on exposure to the air, very speedily becomes dark brown. It is, however, repeatedly adulterated by the admixture of sago, and other foreign substances, a

practice which has been, of late, carried to such an extent in the Residency of Rhio, as to cause the gambier of that settlement to fall greatly out of repute, and that of Malacca is considered the most genuine.

In 1825, however, the Bintang gambier was superior in quality to, and higher priced than, any other, being at that time thirteen guilders a picul, and the exports of that year to Java and Siam amounting to 74,435 piculs, exhibiting an increase over the preceding year of 21,733 piculs. The leaves used in the manufacture of gambier, are employed afterwards as manure for the pepper plants, for which they are admirably adapted as they prevent the springing up of grass and weeds. The manufacture of gambier is at present entirely in the hands of the Chinese, who were originally employed by the Malay owners as laborers, on account of their superior skill, and who have eventually contrived to engross the whole to themselves.

The pepper cultivation of Bintang is very insignificant, as the soil of the island is by no means adapted for this article of produce. What plants there are, are to be found scattered amongst the gambier plantations, and are cultivated merely in the leisure hours of the owners.

They are very weak and sickly, and produced only 9,404 piculs in 1825, which exhibited a decrease of 501 piculs over the preceding year, (*vide* comparative statement, &c.); and, in 1826, there was a further decrease of 1,777 piculs, the produce being only 7,627.

In the following year, also, there was such a

decline in the price of gambier, probably owing to the system of extensive adulteration, that the planters did not more than cover their expences, and entertained thoughts of removing to some other country. Another cause which undoubtedly powerfully co-operated in paralyzing the gambier trade of Rhio, was the injudicious imposition by the Netherlands government of an exorbitant tax upon this staple of Bintang, as notified to the planters by a proclamation dated 26th April 1826, which, rendering them incapable of competing with the British settlements on equal terms, drove them fairly out of the market. To remedy this, the local government proposed that the duty should be lowered to one florin on each picul exported to Rhio, and four upon all sent to Java, but I am not aware whether the suggestion were ever acted on.

Bintang produces no cattle whatever, and the only animals of that description, which at all thrive there, are a few horses: the neighboring island of Pulo Pinigad, on the contrary, produces cows, buffaloes, and goats, in abundance. The reason generally assigned for the great mortality of cattle at Bintang is the presence of a poisonous species of rush which is to be found growing amongst the grass, the extirpation of which would involve great difficulty attended with a considerable expence of time and labor.

The numerous rivers which intersect, and the bays and straits, which surround, the Residency of Rhio, abound in very excellent fresh and salt water fish, but they appear to be generally neglected by the natives, who subsist principally

on salt fish, in preference, which they obtain from Java and Siam. The lower orders, however, live upon fresh fish and muscles, which they find at ebb-tide buried an inch or two below the surface of the sand, but this is not to be ascribed to choice but poverty, as the fresh fish is considerably cheaper.

The handicrafts of the Residency of Rhio are few and limited. There is one public, and one private, brick-kiln on the island of Bintang, but, although the bricks and pan-tiles, manufactured there, are of a very tolerable quality, they form no part of the export trade. These, with as many lime kilns, manufactories of silk from the raw material imported from China, and Siam arrack distilleries, fruit markets, &c. are the principal trades of Bintang. On the island of Pinigad, and at Looagooi, on the river Ayer Jawar in Bintang, there are good boats and *sampang pookats* built; whilst the meaner occupations, which can hardly be termed trades, but which employ a great proportion of the inhabitants, may be thus stated; some are engaged in burning lime, or chunam, for betel; others in extracting wood oil; others, in manufacturing dammar; others, in collecting water rattans; others, in making *kadjans* and *attaps*, and others, in cutting up wood into billets.

There are also trades-people to be found in the Residency of Rhio, such as carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, dyers, and smiths, who are, however, to be considered more in the light of job mechanics than of regular artizans, as they always, when employed, work at a fixed daily rate;

thus, a carpenter receives daily from fl. 1. st. 3, to fl. 1. st. 15; a joiner, from fl. 1. st. 15, to fl. 2, a dyer, from 20 stivers to 1 florin; a smith, from fl. 1. st. 3, to fl. 2, and such other handicrafts, as are to be met with here, are paid in proportion.

The trade of Rhio is principally international, and cannot boast of any considerable exports except to the different Dutch settlements, but, even this declined very seriously in 1826 for which two very adequate causes existed, viz. the disturbances then prevailing in the interior of Java, by which portion of the Netherlands government the greatest proportion of its gambier was consumed, and secondly, the oppressive tax on the importation of that article to Java.

It does not, however, appear likely that Rhio will ever rise into any importance as a commercial settlement, so long as the neighboring British settlement of Singapore exists. Imports to any extent can never take place until she possesses merchants, and, as this class of men cannot establish themselves, from the absence of the articles, most sought after by the buyers in exchange, such as, cotton goods, iron, opium, &c., it is evident that the very first principles of trade, viz. the reciprocity of exports and imports, is here wanting.

Singapore, on the other hand, from the vast possessions of the British in the East, has goods from all quarters of the globe pouring into her lap; and, not content with the produce of the British possessions, by the *bonus* held out to foreign bottoms, in the shape of reduced duties, decoys, as it were, the vessels of the very Dutch

themselves from trading to their own ports, where the duties are very high. There is consequently not a single portion of the whole British territory so thoroughly obnoxious to the Netherlands government as this flourishing island.

The same short-sighted policy, which induced the Dutch to impose a tax, amounting to a virtual prohibition, upon the principal produce of Rhio, led them to strangle their infant China trade by levying excessive duties on the Chinese junks, on the 23d May, 1826; a measure, which had the natural and inevitable consequence of throwing the cargoes of these vessels into the rival settlement of Singapore.

In order to place the decline of the trade of Rhio in a striking light, I subjoin an account of the exports and imports of that settlement for the years 1825, and 1826, which will be found in the following pages.

Table of the Imports and Exports of Rio for the years 1825 and 1826.

Nature of the Goods.	1825.		1826.					
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Increase Imports.	Increase Exports.	Decrease Imports.	Decrease Exports.
Birds Nests. (1st 2d & 3d) sorts..... Piculs	14	30	812	113	672	.....	.....	181
Black Pepper..... "	.....	9,404	.....	7,627½	.....	.....	.....	1,776½
Europe Broad Cloth (common) Ells.	392½	316½	39½	.....	.....	.....	362½	316½
" Camblet..... "	80	18	6	.....	.....	.....	74	18
" Chintzes..... Pieces	169½	127	95	8½	.....	.....	74½	118½
" Cotton goods, as Sarongs, Gingham, &c..... "	978	724	185½	41	.....	.....	692½	683
" Handkerchiefs..... "	2,895	2,555	378	67	.....	.....	2,517	2,488
" Linen Black..... "	2½	.....	5	.....	2½	.....	.....	.....
" Linen White..... "	231	178	63	37	.....	.....	178	141
Gambier..... Piculs	.....	70,435	.....	66,353½	.....	.....	.....	4,081½
Indian cotton goods, as white and black linen, chintzes, handkerchiefs, sarongs, gingham, &c..... Pieces	38,789	29,938	1,046½	789½	.....	.....	37,743½	29,148½
Iron, English and Swedish.. Piculs	276	160	17	.....	.....	.....	259	160
Java Tobacco (1st and 2d sorts) Korge	131	113	131½	105½	.....	.....	.....	7½

Table of the Imports and Exports of Rho for the years 1825 and 1826, Continued.

Nature of the Goods.	1825.		1826.				
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Increase. Exports.	Decrease. Exports.	
Oil, Cocoanut and kadjang.. Piculs	533 $\frac{3}{4}$	152 $\frac{7}{8}$	597 $\frac{3}{4}$	213	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
Opium..... Chests	64 $\frac{7}{8}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	.....	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{8}$
Raw silk (China)..... Piculs	9	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	3
" " (Cochin Chinese).....	2	1	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	.....
Rice, Java, Siam, and other, Cooyangs	2,199 $\frac{7}{8}$	219 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,671 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	187 $\frac{1}{2}$
Steel..... Tons	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tin..... Piculs	138 $\frac{1}{2}$	176 $\frac{1}{2}$	284 $\frac{1}{2}$	261 $\frac{1}{2}$	146 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....
Tortoise-shell..... "	13 $\frac{7}{8}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	7 $\frac{3}{8}$
Tutenague..... "	47	101 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	.....	.....	.....	101 $\frac{1}{2}$

Miserable as is the idea conveyed by the preceding table of the trade of Rhio, there are yet some other circumstances behind which complete the picture. Scanty as the imports are, the most valuable are the European wool-len, linen, and cotton goods, yet these are the very items from which Holland derives no direct profit. The manufactures thus consumed belong to her rival of England, and she therefore merely enjoys the customs which are levied on their importation. With an unworthy jealousy, she has attempted to exclude these articles from her market, by the imposition of exorbitant, which had not even the plea of being protecting,* duties, as she brought no similar goods of her own thither. By thus stifling her English trade, she drove merchants to more hospitable shores, thus acting against her own interests by inducing a stagnation of trade, and compelling her subjects to purchase at dearer foreign markets.

“ Restrictions upon the intercourse with a particular country, which is supposed to have a balance against us, are unreasonable, even supposing the general principle to be sound. For, if we get commodities cheaper from that nation, and sell ours to it with greater advantage, the balance will, on the whole, be more in our favor than if we carried on the same transactions with

* Although the right of imposing protecting duties is undeniable, political economists are agreed as to the *impolicy* of the measure. The apparent benefit derived from it is the securing a certain advantage, independent of skill, for a national manufacture in the home market, but the natural result is the forcing of the wealth and labor of individuals into those channels which they would have otherwise abandoned in favor of more lucrative ones. The measure is therefore disadvantageous to the individual, and consequently to the community which is composed of individuals in the aggregate.

any other nation. If we can get wine cheaper from France than from Portugal, the annual value of our imports for wine will be diminished by dealing with the former country. Besides, what is imported may often be so, only for the purpose of re-exportation to some other country."

It must also be remembered, when discussing the trade of Rhio, that from 1819 to 1825 Malacca was also a Dutch colony, and the reciprocity of trade existing between the two settlements greatly contributed to the prosperity of the former. The restoration of Malacca to the English in 1825, and the heavy duties imposed upon Chinese junks, were two causes which materially affected the commercial interests of Rhio, but the senseless tax imposed, on the 26th April 1826, on the import of gambier to Java, blasted her trade and was one of the indirect causes of the disturbances amongst the Javanese. I shall exhibit the combined effects of these three in a comparative shipping Report of Rhio from 1820 to 1826 inclusive, but, could I lay before my readers the reports of the subsequent years, the decline of Rhio would be still more strikingly displayed.

Report of the Import and Export Shipping of Rioh from the 1st September 1820, to the 31st December 1826.

Description of Vessels.	Year.		Cleared In.					Description of Vessels.	Year.		Cleared Out.				
	1820	1821	Under Dutch Colors.	Under Native Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Description of Cargo.		Total.	1820	1821	Under Dutch Colors.	Under Native Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Description of Cargo.	Total.
Ships.....	1	7	1	0	6	7	Ships.....	1820	1821	73	117	4	4	.....	4
Brigs.....	18	26	18	2	3	20	Brigs.....	1820	1821	26	2	1	1	.....	11
Schooners.....	1	9	1	1	1	1	Schooners.....	1820	1821	2	1	1	1	.....	3
Junks.....	0	3	0	1	1	1	Junks.....	1820	1821	73	117	1	1	.....	1
Native Vessels.....	99	136	99	28	3	127	Native Vessels.....	1820	1821	80	80	1	1	.....	190
Sampang Pookats, Gambier Prubus, Cockups and Sampangs...	0	39	0	39	0	39	Sampang Pookats, Gambier Prubus, Cockups and Sampangs...	1820	1821	85	200	1	1	.....	80
Total.	119	229	119	70	6	195	Total.	1820	1821	85	200	4	4	.....	289
Ships.....	7	10	7	3	3	10	Ships.....	1821	1822	7	7	4	4	.....	11
Brigs.....	26	31	26	2	3	31	Brigs.....	1821	1822	26	2	4	4	.....	32
Schooners.....	9	9	9	1	1	9	Schooners.....	1821	1822	9	9	1	1	.....	9
Junks.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	Junks.....	1821	1822	3	3	1	1	.....	3
Native Vessels.....	93	136	93	136	3	229	Native Vessels.....	1821	1822	87	197	1	1	.....	284

Sampang Pookats, &c...		181 Sampang Pookats, &c...		1822		1823		1824	
	Total.	181	Total.	1822	Total.	1823	Total.	1824	Total.
Ships.....	16	4	20	16	2	9	2	12	1
Brigs.....	25	2	27	21	37	36	2	28	4
Schooners.....	6	1	13	7	6	6	1	4	1
Junks.....	146	2	2	128	4	135	2	3	1
Native Vessels.....	272	161	307	282	304	189	304	4	3
Sampang Pookats, &c...	193	272	272	327	253	309	253	3	3
Total.	436	436	641	531	616	502	616	502	694
Ships.....	10	2	12	9	12	9	2	12	1
Brigs.....	35	2	37	36	37	36	2	28	4
Schooners.....	5	1	6	6	6	6	1	4	1
Junks.....	142	4	4	135	4	135	2	3	1
Native Vessels.....	253	162	304	189	304	189	304	4	3
Sampang Pookats, &c...	192	253	253	309	253	309	253	3	3
Total.	421	421	616	502	616	502	616	502	694
Ships.....	12	1	13	12	13	12	1	12	1
Brigs.....	33	5	38	28	38	28	4	28	4
Schooners.....	6	2	9	4	9	4	3	4	3
Junks.....	142	4	4	135	4	135	2	3	1
Native Vessels.....	253	162	304	189	304	189	304	4	3
Sampang Pookats, &c...	192	253	253	309	253	309	253	3	3
Total.	421	421	616	502	616	502	616	502	694

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Report of the Import and Export Shipping of Rhio from the 1st September 1820, to 31st December 1825,

Continued.

Description of Vessels.	Cleared In.					Description of Vessels.	Cleared Out.					Year.	Total.
	Under Dutch Colors.	Under Na-tive Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Description of Cargo.		Under Dutch Colors.	Under Na-tive Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Under Foreign Colors.	Description of Cargo.		
Native Vessels	145	92	...	...	...	Native Vessels	114	124	...	...	...	...	238
Sampang Pookats, &c.	...	343	...	...	...	Sampang Pookats, &c.	...	403	...	...	...	...	403
Total.	196	445	3	...	644	Total.	158	537	3	...	698	...	698
Ships	...	...	...	...	8	Ships	...	...	...	...	7	...	7
Barques	...	...	...	...	2	Barques	...	...	...	...	2	...	2
Brigs	...	...	...	...	44	Brigs	...	...	...	...	60	...	60
Schooners	...	...	...	...	16	Schooners	...	...	...	...	14	...	14
Sloops	...	...	...	...	1	Sloops	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
	1825						1825						

	Chinese, & Siamese, and other Native Craft		Chinese, Siamese, and other Native Craft		Total	1826	1833
	1826	Total	730	Total			
Ships	12	1	13	13	1826	12	13
Brigs	27	4	37	37		28	38
Schooners	13	2	15	15		14	16
Wankangs, Topes, Pan- jallangs, and Padduwa- kans	128	56	184	184		116	197
Sampang Pookats, &c.	5	478	483	483		2	507
Total	185	538	732	732	Total	172	771
						590	9
							Sundries

* Previous to this there was no Harbour Master at Rho, nor any record of shipping kept.

Now, although this table exhibits a falling off of only 68 vessels of all sorts entering, and of 62 clearing out, in the year in which these causes began to operate, there was in reality a far greater decline in the trade, as the largest proportion of these vessels, instead of resorting to the other Netherlands ports, as in previous years, carried their cargoes to the English settlements of Singapore, Malacca, and Pinang, whence they returned with English goods, the Dutch produce being thus thrown out of its own market. Indeed, so languishing was the trade at Rhio, that a very trifling portion of the cargoes of these vessels was landed for its market, and the bottoms thus employed must be considered more as engaged in the English carrying trade than contributing to the commerce of Rhio, the principal profit derived by the Dutch arising from the harbor and anchorage dues.

Thus, the re-transfer of Malacca to the British has been attended with the most beneficial results to the shipping interest and commerce of that country. It has been occasionally contended that, because Malacca does not pay its own expences, the retention of it only hangs a dead-weight upon the finances of the Government. The following circumstances will, however, shew the fallacy of the assumption.

The foregoing statement shews the indirect profit derived by the English from the paralyzed state of the commerce of Rhio, consequent, in a great measure, on the transfer of Malacca, and the following considerations as clearly indicate the direct advantages to be traced to the same

source. In 1786, we find Captain Light writing to the Supreme Government the information that the Dutch Government at Malacca was extremely annoyed at the British having obtained possession of Pulo Pinang, as it anticipated thereby a great loss of trade, and that it was using every endeavor indirectly to prevent the formation of that settlement. As a further proof of this jealous, monopolizing, disposition, Captain Glass thus writes, shortly after this communication. "So oppressive are the Dutch regulations that many will claim your protection to be freed therefrom. Rhio and Salengore have lately fallen sacrifices to their power by attempting to assert a right they had, as sovereign states, to open their ports to all nations, and to allow of the import of all commodities. In order, therefore, to give life to commerce, expiring under the restrictive regulation of the Dutch, I think it would be advisable to form treaties of commerce with all the remaining independent rajahs, and the freedom of navigation, as allowed by the laws of nations, vindicated; for, at present, the Dutch will not allow a Malay vessel from the eastward, bound to this place, to pass through the straits of Malacca."

By this oppressive and unjust measure, the trade of Pinang to the eastward labored under very heavy disadvantages, and the benefits in consequence of the removal of these by Malacca passing under the same government in A. D. 1795 were as great and obvious. On the restoration in 1818 of Malacca to the Dutch, that

Power resumed its former restrictive regulations, and used every exertion to crush the infant British settlement of Singapore, by reviving obsolete and exclusive treaties with the principal tin countries of the Peninsula, &c. Although these efforts were in a great measure counteracted by the firm and prompt measures of the British government, it is undeniable that a great portion of the rapidly increasing prosperity of Singapore, and simultaneous decline of Rhio, are to be attributed to the circumstance of Malacca's having changed hands again in 1825.

The following statement of the import and export duties of Rhio during her best days, viz. from 1819 to the beginning of 1825, shews that her trade was never so considerable as to hold out any prospect of competing with that of her rival of Singapore.

Comparative Statement of the Import and Export Duties of Rhuio from the Year 1819, to 1825 inclusive.

Year.	Import Duties.	Export Duties.	Entrepot Duties.	Total.	Increase with reference to the preceding year.	Decrease with reference to the preceding year.
1819.	16,537 14 8	24,406 14 1	.....	40,993 28 9	.....	.....
1820.	14,442 2 13	34,163 15 10	.....	48,595 18 7	7,601 19 14	.....
1821.	16,823 11 13	36,294 24 10	.....	53,118 6 7	4,522 18 ..	.....
1822.	16,828 23 14	36,752 29 14	.....	53,581 23 12	463 17 ..	.....
1823.	8,286 19 14	44,461 13 6	.....	52,768 3 4	.....	833 20 8
1824.	12,519 10 ..	53,846 8 ..	.....	55,365 18 ..	13,617 14 12	.....
1825.	5,428 26 ..	21,703 15 8	11 ..	27,143 11 8	.....	.....
Total.	90,916 18 14	251,619 1 11	11 ..	342,546 19 15	26,205 9 10	833 20 8

Of these duties one half was paid to Rajah Japhar, the Vice-roy of Rhio, according to a stipulation entered into with that prince on the 26th November 1818, up to the month of June 1819, when Captain Elout, the Resident of that settlement, being authorized by the Netherlands government, entered into another arrangement with that prince, whereby the whole of the duties was secured to the Dutch. I will now consider the gambier question in all its bearings.

On the 19th December 1818, the Dutch government of Malacca passed two resolutions with regard to the trade of Rhio, which were both brought into play on the 1st January 1819. The first of these was an import and export tax of 4 per cent upon all Dutch and Foreign ships, and the second was that, while the Import* of gambier and pepper was free, an exorbitant duty was levied upon the exportation of these articles, viz. upon black pepper one florin and fifteen stivers, and upon gambier fifteen stivers per picul, or 5 per cent.

Grasping as the Dutch colonial administration undoubtedly is, it at length discovered that the road to wealth does not lie in immoderate duties and excessive taxation. This fundamental principle of political economy they appear to have arrived at very slowly, for it was not until the 9th July 1822, a period of three years and a half, that these regulations were modified, and the interests of the state more clearly understood. At this time a proclamation was penned, and

* The import duties on the produce of Bintang, a portion of the Residency at Rhio, should have been levied at Java, and the markets to which it was brought, instead of at Rhio.

which was introduced at Rhio on the 11th September 1822, rescinding the former regulations, and fixing the import and export duties of Dutch vessels at 1 per cent, and of foreign bottoms at 2 per cent. Previous to this period, vessels clearing out from any Dutch port to another Netherlands settlement, (from Java to Rhio, for instance), paid the same export duties at the one, and import duties at the other as if both the vessels and produce were foreign. The levying of export duties is always ruinous, and, Java and Rhio being constituent portions of the same government, the international import duties should have been very light, in order by the boon of a drawback to encourage the growth of commerce between these two ports, the former of which, as already observed, was the principal mart for Rhio produce.* Now, with regard to the export duties, a very high authority in political economy asserts that "it has been an universal principle of modern taxation that duties are to be levied only on articles imported, and not on those which are exported. This principle is sound. The taxes imposed by any community, ought to fall upon its own members, and not upon those of other communities. To attempt acting otherwise would be, not only unjust, but impolitic. These articles of produce and manufacture, on which the export duty was imposed would not, in the general market of the world,

* "Commerce is of three kinds: the home trade, the foreign trade, and the carrying trade. The home trade is of all others the most advantageous. In the exchange, which takes place here, both the commodities, whose value is raised, belong to the same country, and consequently a double benefit accrues to the society. The returns, also, of such a commerce are much more quick. With the same capital, therefore, a much greater number of transactions will take place in a given time".

keep their ground against the same commodities from other nations, which imposed no such duty."

This principle appears to have been reversed by the Dutch, for, at this period, (1822), the duties on all goods *imported* into Rhio from Java, or Madura, were remitted, provided the papers of the vessel shewed that she had not touched at any intermediate port, whilst the *export* duty on gambier, the staple of that settlement, was exactly doubled, being rendered 10 per cent. At the same time, in order to compensate for the imaginary loss sustained by the remission of duty on the Javan imports, the tax upon foreign woollen, linen, and cotton, goods was raised to 15 per cent, if imported under the Netherlands flag, and to 24 per cent, if under foreign colors.

This latter import received a further extension on the 19th March 1824 by a duty of 25 per cent being levied on these articles, if manufactured in, and imported direct from, any country to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and 35 per cent if only imported from the same quarter, without reference to the flag under which they were brought to the Dutch colonies.

In 1822, also, the duties upon the export of black pepper were abolished, and a decree passed that, being the growth of Rhio, it should be considered an indigenous production, and farmed out annually. This regulation would have had a beneficial effect, had it embraced gambier, the principal product, upon whose prosperity that of the other hung. But, in 1826, when the Dutch saw the impolicy of an *export* duty on gambier, and consequently rescinded it, such an extrava-

gant *import* duty was laid upon its introduction into Java that its manufacture instantaneously ceased. It will hardly be credited that the Netherlands government imposed an import duty of eight * guilders at Java upon gambier whose market price at Rhio was ten, provided it were brought by Dutch, and of twelve, if by foreign vessels. This exorbitant tax appears to have been laid on under the hope that, by carefully excluding all other gambier from the Javan markets, the government could obtain a large price for its own, as the Javanese would submit to pay extravagantly rather than be deprived of what was, to them, an essential article of subsistence. But the administration appears not to have taken into calculation that there is a *ne plus ultra* point in taxation, nor to have foreseen that whilst it thus maddened the Javanese into rebellion, it destroyed the commerce of Rhio against whose gambier and pepper the only market it possessed was effectually closed.

I will illustrate this by two Tables of the Monopolies, or Farms of Rhio, the first embracing from July 1819 to December 1826, and the second comprising from January 1828 to December 1831.

* 200 guilders are equal to one hundred Spanish Dollars.

Previous to inserting the other table, I may here remark that in 1826 the exports of gambier amounted to $66,353\frac{1}{5}$ piculs and, of black pepper, to $7,627\frac{1}{3}$ piculs: in the first quarter of 1827, viz. from the 1st January to 31st March, the exports of the former amounted to $26,350\frac{1}{2}$ piculs, and, of the latter, to $2,101\frac{1}{2}$ piculs, which, superficially viewed, would indicate encreasing prosperity; but it must be held in remembrance that this short-lived rise in the exports is to be traced to the removal of the export duty, whilst they actually remained a drug in the market to which they were sent, the injury not being felt by the exporters until 1828, or the following season.

Comparative Sale of the Farms at Rango from 1828 to 1831 inclusive.

Year.	Description of Farm.							Increase above the preceding year.	Decrease below the preceding year.
	Duty on Fish and Vegetable market.	Opium.	Arrack.	Port.	Gambling.	Export-Duty on Black Pepper.	Total.		
• 1828 Guldens.	2,355	1,050	690	795	690	5,870	.....
† 1829 " "	1,168	460	315	515	700	3,980	.....
• 1830 " "	1,180	520	315	510	700	3,225	.....
† 1831 " "	70	1,640	605	415	465	990	4,985	.....
Total Guldens.	6,175	2,085	1,736	2,275	3,080	15,970	.....

• Paid in Copper.

† Paid in } Silver }
 } Copper }

N. B. From 20 to 80 per Cent deducted on all payments made in silver.

I will now only exhibit two tables more, viz. that of the imports and exports of opium, and exports of gambier, and black pepper, from 1820 to March 1827, and comparative statement of receipts and expenditure before summing up this branch of the subject.

Comparative Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Residency of Rhio from 1819 to 1826, and the Remittances in Specie made by it to the Residency of Malacca from 1819 to 1824.

Revenue.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.	Expenditure.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.	1824.	1825.	1826.
To Farms and Landed Revenue.	10,771 25	16,920	22,980 35	35,640	54,060	149,820	159,120	174,000	To Government Salaries and Native Police.	8,242	5,915	10,858 12	12,142 15	12,730	19,915	29,027	29,262
Port fees on large transfers of goods.	70	65	205	103 22 8	71 15	357 18	314 5	82 15	Prisoners, Convicts, &c.				74 18	57 18	113 18	746 12	1,655 85
Import and Export Duties	40,993 28 8	48,595 18 6	53,118 6 8	53,581 23 12	52,748 3 4	66,365 18	90,412 17 8	86,132 15 9	Maintenance of State Prisoners.	265 15							
Small Stamp Duty.							2,261 23	2,166 28	Salary of Land Collector, Cash keeper, &c.	6,033	4,482 15	6,243	4,938	4,938	3,810	4,964	5,871 6
Harbor and anchorage dues.	925 3 8	1,003 11	2,060 3 12	2,348 10	2,056 7	1,855 26 8	1,919 2	1,821 13 8	Civil Harbor dues, expence of the Anchorage and Light house salaries, subsistence, &c.		308 29 12	4,147 25 8	237 7	652 22	1,463 6	3,689 12	4,392
Tax upon Chinese returning to their native country.	3,190		2,030	936	1,248	3,240	2,900	3,972	Salary of Land Store house keeper &c.		734 6	1,596 20	1,626	1,620	2,768	3,825 28	2,870
Auction Duties.					311 12 12	106 23	59 25	29 3 12	Freight, transport, portorage, and boat hire.	72 22 8	110 6	261 15	162 7 8	328 25	213 27 8	268	96
Fines and Confiscations.	60	29 26 4	77 20 8	20 3 12	370	105 26	52 13	217	Compensation and presents to the Royal Family.	26,097 1	40,400	52,000	48,000	48,000	48,000	59,000	66,000
Sundry Items.							23 16	361 4	Travelling expences and Remuneration to the Civil servants.	138	240		1,000	66 20	615	14	
Horse and Carriage tax &c								21	Public Dinners.		400	300	300	300	300	300	300
Postage.								14 24	Presents.	138	250		36	50			
Stamps of the General Secretary.								277 24	Civil buildings and works.	451 20 8		2,705 19 8	1,102 7 8	15,258 21 4	1,891 20 8	16,050 1	1,342 17 11
Received in remittances from Malacca.	56,010 27	67,673 25 10	80,471 12	92,630	110,565 8	221,851 21 8	257,255 4	268,569 7 15	Sundry expences of Administration and Police.	431 3 8	91 22 8	48 22 8	137	10	126	122 15	25
	38,967 15	59,050	52,375	75,000					Sundries.		7,959				104		341 24
									Farms and Leases.							155 3 8	100
									Maintenance of Native Ambassadors and Nobles.							234	
									Pensions to Civil, Military and Native Widows.							220	240
									Civil Buildings (Personal).							1,210	920
									Price of Small Stamps.							58 11 8	129 63
									Water-works.							3,042 10	
									Schools.							200	
									Unemployed Civil servants, formerly belonging to the Government of Malacca.							1,637 15	
									Medical Service, and Vaccination.							500	600
									Excising Measures and Weights, &c.							6	43
									Cost of Criminal, &c. Justice.							24	
									Military and War Department.	29,594 1 12	69,798 6 6	66,349 5 4	18,649 23 9	22,936 2 8	29,258 19 8	120,992 3 8	91,150 22 3
									Colonial Marine.							18,152 25 8	24,909 20 6
									Netherlands Do.								400
									General Marine Department.								600
									Purchase, &c. of Coffee.								140 15
									Do. Rice.								252 50
									Do. Sundry goods.								8,654 52
									General Police.								2,880
									Gun Boats.								5,779 6 14
									Salary to Collector of Exports and Imports.								5,280 15
									Hospitals and building of Alms houses.								280 24
									Remittances to Malacca in Specie.						10,000		
Total Indian Guilders.	94,973 12	126,723 25 10	158,846 12	167,630	110,565 8	221,851 12 8	257,255 4	268,569 7 15	Total Indian Guilders.	71,765 26	94,619 6 2	151,747 8 12	95,989 11	114,559 18 12	223,382 9 0	284,527 2 8	254,517 13 3

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

1880

1881

1882

1883

1884

1885

1886

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
1887												
1888												
1889												
1890												
1891												
1892												
1893												
1894												
1895												
1896												
1897												
1898												
1899												
1900												

1901

1902

1903

Some idea may be formed of the rapid decline of Rhio from the simple fact that the farms, which in December 1826, (vide Table, page 113), brought 174,000 guilders, sold in December 1827 for only 126,660 guilders, exhibiting a decrease, in that short period, of 47,340 guilders. The poll tax of 12 guilders on Chinese returning to their native country, (which in 1824 brought 3,240, and in 1825 2,900 guilders), could not in this year be farmed out to any individual, as the stagnation of trade, induced by the oppressive import duty levied on gambier at Java, had deprived this industrious class of a large portion of their property, which was invested in the trade of this article, and consequently blasted all prospects of a return to China.

The falling off of the trade, of course, affected the import and export duties, which amounted in 1825 to guilders 90,412 17 8 but, in 1826, only yielded 86,132 15 9, exhibiting a decrease of guilders 4,280 1 13.

I now come to the population of the Residency of Rhio, of which the following is an approximating estimate.

	1825.	1826.
Europeans or their descendants.	22	38
Portuguese or Native Christians.	25	26
Arabs.	8	8
Buggisses.	552	640
Moors.	70	22
Chinese.	10,855	13,635
Malays.	8,000	8,000
Javanese.	100	16
Total.	19,632	22,385

The statement of 1825 exhibits an increase of about two thousand souls over that of 1824, and 1826, again gives 2,753 over that of 1825, but it is to be presumed that the population has since declined commensurately with the trade. I have already stated the principal occupations of the inhabitants, and the only point in the foregoing estimate worthy of notice is the sudden decline in the Javanese population. In 1824 there was not a single individual of that nation to be found in the Residency of Rhio, and, in the following year no less than 100 flocked into it, dwindling again in 1826 to sixteen. Nearly the whole of these were employed in manufactures of art and elegance, and their short residence in the place shews the utter absence of encouragement held out to them to induce them to prosecute those arts which might have tended to the establishment of a branch of external commerce.

I have previously intimated that fish, both salt and fresh, composes the diet of the principal portion of the inhabitants, Rhio not producing any other article of subsistence in itself. The poultry, consumed by the Europeans, and the pigs, by the Chinese, are to be considered, especially the former, more as articles of import, than indigenous productions. A few vegetables are raised, but potatoes are imported from Java and China. Salt is also imported from Siam and Cochin-China. Coffee plantations have also been tried on Bintang, but, although the plants at first promised well, they invariably withered away as they advanced to maturity, and the soil would therefore appear to be unfavorable for its

cultivation. Rice is imported from different places, paddy not forming an article of cultivation. The price which it obtains in the market is generally as follows;

The first sort Javan Rice, 300 guilders per
Koyang of 40 piculs.

Second sort of Do. 200 do. per. do.

Siam Rice,.....150 do. per. do.

The first sort Javan Tobacco fetches 876 guil-
ders per Korge of 40 baskets.

Second sort do. do. 800 per do.

Oil is sold for 30 guilders per picul, and salt at 50 guilders per Koyang. The drinking water from the various springs is both excellent and plentiful.

Although the articles of life are thus scarce and dear, there are no public beggars infesting the streets. There are no alms-houses, or receptacles for the indigent poor, but each class of inhabitants provides for such of its countrymen as are unable to obtain their own livelihood. Amongst the Chinese this is managed by means of a monthly collection made in money and rice.

The principal crimes committed at Rhio are thefts and robberies, but they would not appear to be very numerous, as in 1825 there were thirty one, and in 1826 forty, convicts, twenty three of whom had been condemned by the Residency Court, and the remaining twenty seven had been transported thither from Batavia. The powers of the Residency Court are extremely circumscribed, being limited to a hundred stripes of the rattan, or three months working in irons: all offenders, whose crimes are deserving of severer pu-

nishment, are sent to Batavia for trial. Notwithstanding this small number of convicts, there are no less than three jails, one of which was built in 1824. The allowance from Government for the maintenance of each prisoner was formerly twelve stivers a day, but this, being found insufficient, has been latterly a little increased.

Slavery used at one time to be carried on to a considerable extent in Rhio, as the Vice-roy, Rajah Japhar, had considerable interest in the trade. Slaves were bought at either Pulo Pinigad or Lingga, and imported into Rhio with a certificate from Rajah Japhar that these unhappy persons were either run-away slaves from the ancient Dutch, or else their descendants; but, owing to the precautions lately adopted, their number appears to be on the decline. In 1826, by a register then taken, there were found to be ninety six slaves of eight years old and upwards, and twenty one below that age.

The religious edifices in the Residency of Rhio are very few, there not being one place of Christian worship, and of the heathen but two Chinese temples, and one mohammedan mosque. Of the former, the first is situated in the Kampong of the Canton Chinese, and the second in that of the Fokien; the mosque is situated on Pulo Pinigad, and a Malay teacher performs the service for the Royal Family * therein. The Chinese temples are built of stone with tiled roofs, and are, upon the whole, tolerably elegant buildings.

Bintang contains some extensive and nearly impenetrable forests, but no botanist having as yet

* Vide page 295.

made it the field of his researches, only a few of the most valuable species of timber are as yet known. The first of these is the **Tarantang*, which thrives best in water or marshes, and is very slender and plant; the second is the *Tamboosoo*, which selects an opposite soil, being found principally on the hills and in elevated situations, where the soil is red and stony; the fruit of both these trees is eaten by the natives, and the wood is said to be capable of resisting the influence both of the atmosphere and water for twenty years, and upwards.

The third species is a magnificent tree called the *Kayoo Ballum Pangat*, † which is universally diffused throughout the Residency of Rhio, but delights most in red soils, or elevated situations.

The stem generally towers upright for upwards of a hundred feet, and measures about four feet in diameter. The wood is generally used for house building and masts, for which latter purpose the junks purchase it at Rhio, and carry it to China where they dispose of it at a profit of about 100 per cent. The wood is, however, very difficult to work up, and requires to be carefully protected from both the air and water, either of which would speedily cause it to decay.

The fourth species is the Bintangor or ‡ Poon, the five varieties of which are very plentiful throughout Bintang; the first of these is the Bintangor Battoo, or Red Poon; the second, the

* *Coleopyrum Coriaceum* of Dr. Jack. *Malayan Miscellanies* Vol. 2 p. 65.

† *Petrocarya Excelsa*—of Do. ut supra.

‡ *Calophyllum inophyllum*. Lin.

Bintangor Agar Agar; the third the Bintangor Katona; the fourth, the Bintangor Kawang; and the fifth, the Bintangor Boonga, or White Poon. The whole of these species are used as masts for vessels, for which purpose the outside cuts of the tree are generally preferred, as their superior flexibility enables them to resist the force of the wind for a longer period.

Although the former are in the greatest request for ship, and house, building, there are several others that are very well adapted for this purpose, as the *Kruing*, or oil tree from which the wood oil is principally extracted; the *Kjateling*; the *Rangas*, or *anacardium encardium*, or *manga delateria sylvestris*, Bat. Transactions, vol 5; *Kaya Sarga*. R. the *Tampinis*; the *Kledang*; the *Kranjie*; the *Marawang*; the *Mirbow*, or *Metrosideros Amboinensis*, R.; the *Genaya*; the *Dawedaroo*; the *Resa*; the *Serayu*; the *Biliam*; the *Galat*; the *Ansa*; the *Medang*; the *Gooloot*; the *Champadak*, or *Jack*; the *Artocarpus integrifolia*, Lin &c. &c.*

The different uses of these are as follows; Wood oil is extracted from the *Kruing* tree by a very simple process: an incision,, of about three or four inches deep and as many wide, is made in the tree at the height of about eight or ten feet from the ground, and a vessel suspended immediately beneath it in order to catch the sap, as it exudes from the wound. As, however, this rises too slowly to satisfy the desires of the people employed in its collection, they generally call in

* I have been unable to ascertain the scientific names of the greater proportion of these trees; and, from not having seen them, am unable to supply the requisite information.

art to the assistance of nature, by lighting a fire round the roots of the tree and thus accelerating the ascension of the sap. The same process obtains throughout the Malayan Peninsula, and is also employed with reference to cocoanut trees in order to render them more fruitful, although it is not to be supposed that the Malays are acquainted with the principles on which their procedure is founded.* I am not aware what quantity of oil is generally procured from one tree; but, from the length of time that I have seen them take in consuming, and the bright flame yielded by them when set fire to by the British in the second expedition against Nanning, I should conceive that the *Kruing* furnished a very tolerable proportion of oil, although much inferior in quality to that procured from the fruit of the Cocanut.

I have been unable to ascertain the particular use made of the wood of the *Getaling*, but believe that it is employed in house building; the *Rangas*, the *Champadak*, and the *Dawedaroo*, are used for furniture and inferior work, and the juices of the former are deleterious, and blister the skin; a sort of varnish is also drawn from the *Rangas*. The *Seraya* and *Medang* are sawn into planks; the *Kranjie* is used for rudders and anchor stocks for the country vessels; the *Murbow*, *Biliam*, and *Klat*, for ceiling rafters, and posts;

* It is almost unnecessary to remind the European reader that the circulation of sap is strikingly conformed to that of blood in the animal system, the fluid being carried up to the top of the tree and to the branches by means of arteries, and returning by veins. As the weight of the column of sap would prevent its ascension, the arteries are furnished with valves, like those of the animal, opening upwards and placed at convenient distances. When the solar, or other, heat has drawn, or forced a portion of the sap up the tube, the valve beneath it closes with the weight and prevents its return, the heat, meanwhile, drawing it higher up the tube, and another valve acting in like manner.

the *Tampinis*, for pepper poles; and the *Mara-wang* for building *prahus*. The *Mirbow* is possessed of a peculiarity which I have never noticed in any other large timber tree; it is, that the smooth bark, which encircles it, is as virid as that of a hazel sapling, and the contrast between it and the brown and rugged stems of its neighbors strikes the eye at a very great distance.

CHAP. IX.

Singapore—Its situation—Appearance from sea-ward—Description of the town—New harbor—Canal—Remarkable Stone—Inscription on it unknown—Mentioned in the Malay Annals—Population—Trade—Description of Malacca—Church of the "Visitation of our Lady"—Inscription on the tombstone of the second bishop of Japan—Tradition of the nun—Tradition of a subterraneous passage—Description of the town—Houses of Dutch and Chinese—Anglo Chinese College—Mission Chapel—Bukit, China—Trade of Malacca—Population—Pulo Pinang—Soil—Pepper and Spice plantations—Roads—George Town—Fort Cornwallis—Public Buildings—Scenery—Comparative statement of the heights of the hills—Description of them—The Great Tree—The waterfalls—Chinese water mills—Climate of Pinang—Province Wellesley—Kedah peak-winds, vapors—and climate—Wet and dry seasons—Provisions—Land Revenue system injudicious—Comparative Table of the trade of the three Settlements.

IN pursuance of the plan which I have laid down in the arrangement of these pages, I shall now advert to the three British settlements of Singapore, Malacca, and Pinang, first touching on the topography of each, and then treating them as one settlement in my further observations. This course, whilst it leaves me at greater liberty to pursue the subject in all its branches, will operate as a check against tautology, which, considering the unity of policy, could hardly otherwise be avoided.

The town of Singapore, established by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, lies in N. Lat. 1° 15' 30", and is romantically situated at the head of a

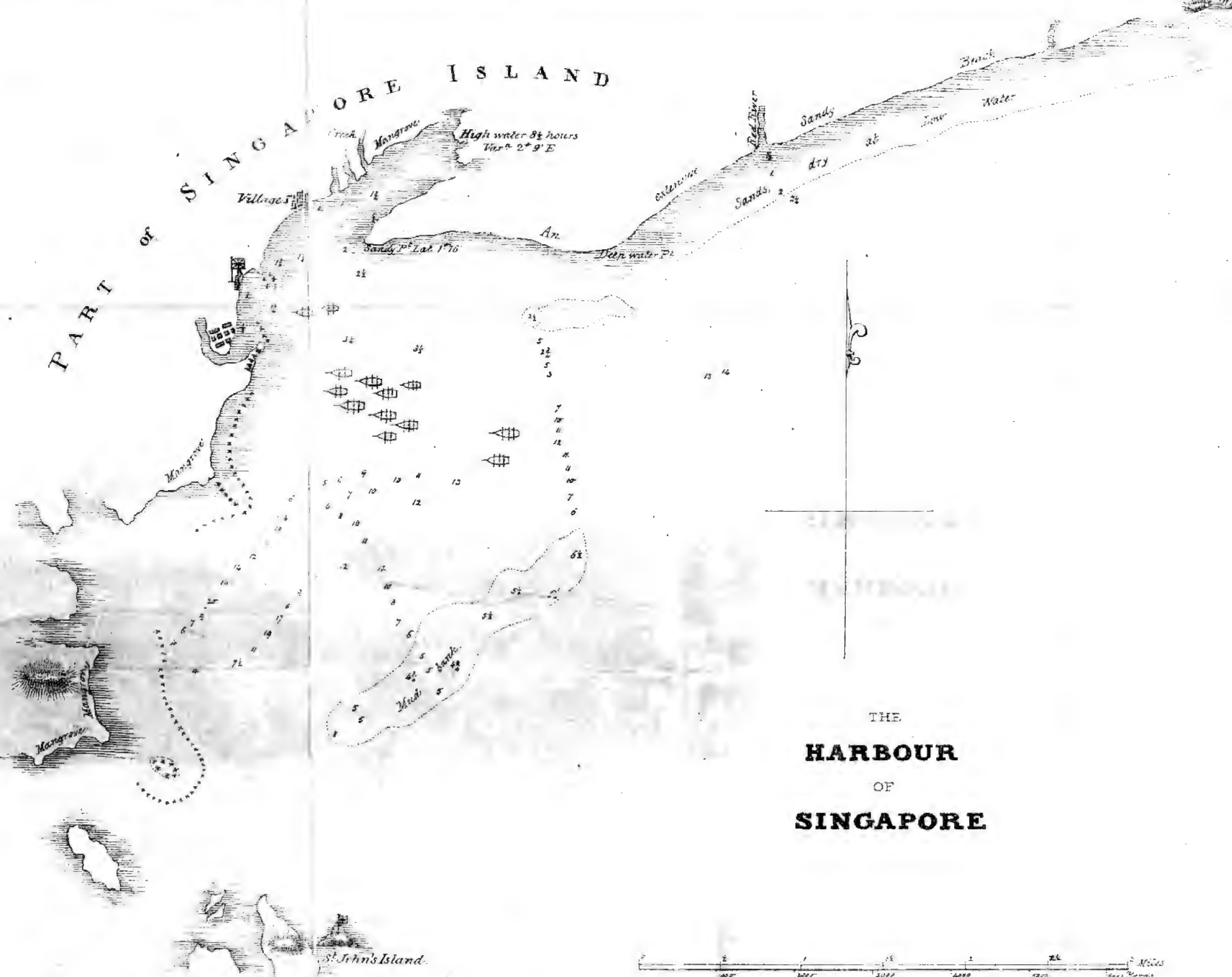
deep bay. Vessels coming into Singapore from the Straits of Malacca, having to round St. John's Hill, can be descried as far as the Karimons from *Deblakang Mati*. * The lover of the picturesque will find ample materials to gratify his taste as he passes through the cluster of islands which here gem the bosom of the deep; Barn island, Alligator island, the Rabbit and Coney, (two small islands, which bear a strong similarity in figure to the animals whose name they bear), besides several others, present to the inexperienced and bewildered eye a labyrinth of islands, through which the mariner has to thread his way. The unexpected manner, in which the town and shipping burst upon the view, as the vessel sweeps round the island of St. John's, which forms the left point of the bay of Singapore, &c. is striking in the extreme.

The harbor presents a bustling and a pleasing scene. Outside of the merchantmen are the king's ships easily to be distinguished by their long, low, hulls, whilst their light and fairy masts and spars rest in faint and delicate relief against the deep blue sky; next to them, the huge Indiamen are to be seen, like Leviathans half emerging from the deep, and as it were, frowning disdainfully on the smaller country craft lying closer in shore; and the group is completed by the clumsy appearance of a Cochin-Chinese frigate or two, and the grotesque Chinese junks, which, varying in size, and vying with each other in the gaudiness and fan-

* Literally, "behind dead." This is a high hill, bearing about S. W. from the flag staff of Singapore, and forming a portion of New Harbor.

A flag staff was erected here in March or April 1833, when a rupture with Holland was expected, in order to telegraph the approach of vessels. Tradition says that a Malay was murdered behind this hill, whence its name.

PART OF SINGAPORE ISLAND



THE HARBOUR OF SINGAPORE



1850. Hydrographic Office, London.



cifulness of their colors and decorations, lie to the eastward of the bay.

As the eye rapidly traverses this scene, it rests upon the neat and elegant private garden houses, which fringe the sandy beach on which the clear ripples break in sparkling light; but the most conspicuous object is the Court House, whose snow-white structure is finely contrasted with the green herbage and foliage of the Government hill behind it, on the top of which the British colors are seen floating in the breeze, which propels your vessel in foam to the anchorage.

The river of Singapore is about twenty-yards wide at its mouth; but, a reach or two higher up, it is considerably wider; it is, however, much obstructed at the mouth by an increasing sand bank, on which, at spring ebbs, there is not above a foot of water. This is principally caused by the sharpness of the left bank of the lower reach, which has been faced with masonry, and provided with a double flight of steps for the convenience of landing. The angularity of the work checks the free flow of the water, and causes the stream to set across to the opposite side, each successive tide depositing those particles, which the uninterrupted stream would have kept in solution. The point, or tongue of land, which forms the extremity of the right bank, trends to the eastward, and thus shuts out the view of the entrance from seaward. On this point are the artillery barracks, and house of the artillery officer, with a few pieces of ordnance. The town lies on the right bank of the river, and contains some very good European shops, at which nearly every thing requisite can

be procured. One portion of the town is inhabited chiefly by Chinese shopkeepers and artizans. The former deal principally in glass and crockery ware, although other articles are also procurable from them. The handicrafts are mostly tinmen, carpenters, &c. the latter of which make very good furniture. The houses are in general good, and the streets regular and clean, those that run parallel with the river having a curve similar to the Regent's Quadrant from their having followed the sweep of the river.

The whole town has an appearance of great bustle and activity, which inspires the spectator with an idea that he is gazing upon a settlement which is rapidly rising into importance under the united influences of English capital and industry and an advantageous locality. This opinion is strengthened if he step on to any of the private wharfs which line the river's bank, and cast his eye upon the numerous *sampan pookats* and *sampans*, which lie closely moored together throughout the whole breadth of the river above the Custom House landing place above described.

On the left bank of the river stand the private, or garden, houses of the merchants, the Court house, and the Jail, which is a strong and cheerful looking building, but situated in a morass. This, however, was being filled up in May 1833, and is probably by this time no longer a subject of complaint. On the top of the hill is the Government House, which is a neat wooden bungalow with venetians and an *attaped* roof: the centre consists of two parallel halls with front and

back verandahs, terminated by two square wings, which comprise the sleeping apartments. The drive up to this spot is exceedingly romantic—A spiral carriage road winds up the hill, and, at each progressive step, fresh beauties attract the eye. Eminences, undulating above each other, display broad patches either cleared for cultivation, or shining in the bright green livery of* clove plantations, or yield a prospect of inviting coolness by the forest clumps with which they are chequered. The only desideratum to render the scene such as a painter would love to study, or a poet to retreat to, is a sparkling stream whose waters should glitter through the foliage and break in murmurs on the ear as it rippled through the bosky dell beneath the traveller's feet.

The troops are cantoned at some distance inland, although the greater proportion of the officers reside in the town for want of houses in the immediate vicinity of the barracks. The Malay town is on the left of the base of the beach, and is generally called *Campong Glam*, on account of the Glam trees in its neighbourhood. The Glam is a species of the *Kayoo putih*,† (*melaleuca-leucadendra* L.; *myrtus alba*); the tree, whose leaves yield the well known medicinal oil called the *Kayoo putih*, vulgarly contracted into *Cajeput*.

Singapore is to be looked upon more as a commercial than an agricultural settlement, and it therefore produces but little within itself. The soil is, however, adapted for the growth of gam-

* *Caryophyllus*, L. Chengké, Malayese, derived from the Javanese: see Marsden's Dict. p. 114.

† Laterally, "white wood," from its bark being white. The rind peels off in ragged, paper like, shreds.

bier, pepper, cloves, &c; and the superior freedom from adulteration in the former article would have been the means of annihilating the Rhio trade in gambier, had not the land revenue system of the Straits been equally impolitic with the export and import duties of the Dutch Colonial administration. I shall revert to this when touching on the system prevalent in Malacca, as the same regulations obtain very nearly in each.

A new passage, which has received the name of "New Harbor," has been lately discovered to the westward of Singapore, through which vessels can pass, and thus avoid the circuitous route, by St. John's, when going to, or coming from, the Straits. The soundings are good, but the channel narrow, and not to be attempted but in daylight. A road has been made to the right, or inland, point of the harbor from Singapore, which presents a tolerably picturesque view, and has added to the even now circumscribed drives of the inhabitants. For a considerable distance from the shore, the beds of white coral, as you proceed to New Harbor, are visible beneath your boat's keel, and a *sampang* load of all the varieties can be easily procured for a rupee. The Sulthau of Singapore has latterly erected a very neat house at this spot, built and furnished after the English fashion. The inhabitants of New Harbor are generally employed in either fishing, or making *cad-jans*.

The Government has latterly turned its attention to widening and deepening a canal to the eastward of the river, which, by opening a facility for inland water carriage, may tend to encourage agri-

culture in the interior. The effects of this judicious measure are, however, all but neutralized by the same land system, which checked the growth of the gambier.

The principal curiosity of Singapore is a large stone at the point of the river, the one face of which has been sloped and smoothed, and upon which several lines of engraven characters are still visible. The rock being, however, of a schistose and porous nature, the inscription is illegible. It is said that Sir Stamford Raffles endeavoured, by the application of powerful acids, to bring out the characters with the view of decyphering them, but the result was unsuccessful. Where such an eminent person has failed, it may be thought presumptuous in me to hazard a conjecture on the subject of the language in which the inscription was pennéd, but I may perhaps be permitted to make an attempt to throw some light upon a subject so confessedly obscure. Resorting to the Malayan Annals, which, clouded as they undoubtedly are by fable and allegory, yet contain many a valuable piece of information, we find therein mention made of three remarkable stones at Singhapura. The first that I shall mention is that recorded at page 82 of Leyden's Malay Annals, in which the translator, following his author, tells us "that there was a man of Pasei, named Tun Jana Khateb, who went to Singhapura with two companions, named Tuan de Bongoran, and Tuan de Salangor. One day Tun Jana Khateb was walking in the market place of Singhapura, and drew, near to the palace of the Rajah,* where one of

* Sultaan Ahmed.

the Rajah's women observed him. He was looking at a betel tree, when it suddenly broke. This was observed by the Rajah, who was enraged at it, conceiving it to have been done solely for the purpose of attracting the lady's attention, and displaying his skill. He accordingly ordered him to be put to death. The executioners seized him, and carried him to the place of execution, and stabbed him near the house of a seller of sweetmeats. His blood flowed on the ground, but his body vanished from their ken, and his blood was covered up by the sweetmeat seller, and *was changed into stone and still remains at Singhapura*. According to one account, however, the body of Tun Jana Khateb lies at Langcawi, where it was buried, for thus they sing of it in *Pantuns*.

“Tough is the duck of Singhora, (above Kedah),

“The Pandan* leans on the Tui tree,

“His blood was shed at Singhapura,

“But his body lies at Langcawi.”

The second instance that I shall adduce is also recorded by the same author, who informs us that during the reign of Rajah Secander Shah the Javanese conquered Singhapura principally by means of the treachery of Sang Ranjuna Tapa, who invited the enemy to the conquest in revenge for the Rajah's having directed his daughter, who was one of the royal wives, to be impaled on suspicion of infidelity. As a judgment on his perfidy the historian says that “By the power

* Pandan is a shrub that is occasionally planted in fences. It is the *Pandanus* of Linnæus, and the *Keura* of Thunberg.

of God Almighty, the house of Sang Ranjuna Tapa faded, and its pillars were overturned, and rice ceased to be planted in the land, and Sang Ranjuna Tapa, both husband and wife, was changed into stone, and those are the two stones which appear beside the moat of Singhapura."

The third, though first in order of record, I have reserved for the last to be brought forward, because I am inclined to think that the evidence is fully presumptive in favor of its being the stone now visible at Singapore; it is to be met with at pages 62, and 63 of the Annals.

The preceding pages inform us that in the reign of Sir Rajah Vicrama, there was a redoubtable champion of the name of Badang. Several remarkable feats of strength are recorded of him, but I will merely select the one in point. The fame of Badang having reached the land of Kling* the Rajah of that country despatched a champion, named Nadi Vijaya Vicrama, to try his strength with him, staking seven ships on the issue of the contest.

After a few trials of their relative powers, Badang pointed to a huge stone lying before the Rajah's hall, and asked his opponent to lift it, and to allow their claims to be decided by the greatest strength displayed in this feat. The Kling champion assented, and, after several failures, succeeded in raising it as high as his knee, after which he immediately let it fall. The story then says that Badang, having taken up the stone, poised it easily several times, and then threw it out into the mouth of the river, and

* Coromandel.

this is the rock which is at this day visible at the point of Singhapura, or Tanjong Singhapura."

After some other recitals, the Annals state that "after a long time, Badang also died, and was buried at the point of the straits of Singhapura; and, when the tidings of his death reached the land of Kling, the Rajah sent two stone pillars, to be raised over his grave as a monument, and these are the pillars which are still at the point of the bay."

Now, the first two instances are totally destitute of presumptive evidence; this last is, on the contrary, full of it: At the mouth of the river there is a large rock, which is concealed at high water, and on which a post was erected four or five years ago by, I believe, Captain Jackson of the Bengal Artillery, to warn boats of the danger; this is the rock fabled to have been hurled by Badang: He is said to have been buried at the point of the straits of Singhapura, the scene of this wonderful exploit; and there, the very spot where this record is to be still seen, the Rajah of Kling, who had been so serious a loser by it, ordered his monument to be erected.

Fabulous and childish as the legend is, it brings us directly to the point. Sri Rajah Vicrama, called by Crawford* Sri Rama Wikaram, reigned in the year of the Hegira 620, or A. D. 1223, and was succeeded in Heg. 634, or A. D. 1236 by Sri Maharaja. The Annals state, after recording the death of Badang, that this king reigned a long time; consequently the occurrence must be placed early in his reign. The Annals were

* Crawford's Indian Archipelago Vol. ii. p. 482.

written in the year of the Hegira 1021, or A. D. 1612, nearly four centuries afterwards, and the original circumstance thus became obscured by legendary traditions; but I think that we are fairly warranted in concluding that there was a remarkable wrestler of the name of Badang existing at that period, and that this inscription contained a recital of his feats, &c.

This supposition naturally leads me to enquire what is the language in which these actions, recorded about A. D. 1228, could have been written. At the period of the transaction, the Malays were destitute of a written language, as it was not until between forty and fifty years afterwards, when the Mahomedan religion became the popular one, that the Arabic character was introduced. It appears to be probable that the Kling Rajah, aware of this destitution of a written character, employed a sculptor of his own nation to cut the inscription on the rock, and that, from the epitaph being in an unknown language, the original story as therein related, being necessarily handed down by oral tradition, became corrupted in every thing but its leading features. This supposition is borne out by the form of the characters, which more resembles that of the Malabar language than any other oriental tongue that I am acquainted with. I do not mean to say that the words are essentially Tamil, but merely to express an opinion that the inscription is couched in an obsolete dialect of that language.

Language, as a nation progresses to civilization, sustains serious alterations, which barely noticed at the time, or viewed as merely slight and ne-

cessary changes in order to meet the influx of new ideas and new wants, nevertheless, in the lapse of years, almost substitute a different dialect to that originally used by the community. The Tamil of A. D. 1228 may be easily conceded to be an obsolete tongue in A. D. 1830, although we are unable to trace the successive changes which it may have sustained in the revolution of six centuries. As a proof of this assertion I have merely to mention that the earliest Dutch Records at Malacca, which could not have been written before A. D. 1596, when the Dutch arrived in Java under Hautman, are now unintelligible even to the best informed of the residents of that nation. Thus, in the course of less than two centuries and a half, has been lost an European language, much more guarded by adventitious circumstances against corruption than any native tongue could possibly be, in countries where the constant intercourse and the similarity of dialect would naturally lead to a fusion of Asiatic languages.

Singapore has a chaplain but no church, the only place of worship being the Mission Chapel, towards the erection of which, however, the East India Company liberally contributed.

The statement in the next page will exhibit a comparative view of the population of Singapore on the 1st January 1832 and 1833.

Comparative Statement of the Census taken on the 1st January 1833.

	1832.		1833.		Increase.		Decrease.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Europeans.....	83	22	91	28	8	6	.....	.....
Indo Britons.....	67	27	56	40	.....	13	.....	.....
Native Christians.....	274	146	167	133	.....	.....	107	13
Armenians.....	20	6	27	8	7	.....	.....	.....
Jews.....	5	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arabs.....	61	3	96	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Malays.....	3,748	3,467	3,763	3,368	15	.....	.....	.....
Chinese.....	7,149	613	7,650	867	501	.....	.....	.....
Natives of the Coast of Coromandel.....	1,374	40	1,762	57	388	254	.....	.....
Natives of Hindostan.....	408	121	389	116	.....	17	.....	.....
Javanese.....	391	253	361	234	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bugis, Balinesc, &c.....	735	692	794	932	59	240	.....	.....
Cafrees.....	7	1	23	14	16	13	.....	.....
Parsees.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	14,324	5,391	16,185	5,797	1,029	545	172	139
Females.....	5,391	.....	5,797	.....	545	.....	179	.....
Total Inhabitants.	19,715	20,978	1,574
Deduct Decrease.	311
Increase in 1833.	1,263

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Small as the island of Singapore is, its situation is so peculiarly adapted for a commercial entrepôt that its trade is very considerable. Without detaining my readers by dry tables, I will content myself with enumerating the places with which she trades, and the total amount of her exports and imports; under the former head are comprised "Great Britain, Foreign Europe, South America, the Mauritius, &c, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, China, Java, Rhio, Siam, Cochin China, Ceylon, Sumatra, East side of Peninsula, West side of do., Celebes, Borneo, Bali, Manilla, Camboja, Arabia, and the Neighbouring islands and other Ports." The imports from Great Britain in 1832-33 fell little short of two millions of Spanish dollars, whilst the exports to the same place exceeded two and a half millions. The China imports for the same period attained to 1,963,668, and the exports thither, to 743,818. The imports from Rhio amounted to 163,926, exhibiting an increase over the preceding year of 71,710. The exports thither, 179,395; shewing an increase of 104,356. This augmentation is to be traced to the causes assigned when treating of the trade of Rhio, namely the impolitic measures pursued by the Dutch Colonial administration, whereby, whilst they enfeebled their commerce as a whole, they threw the poor remnants of it into the English markets instead of their own.

The total value of the imports of Singapore for the last three years is as follows; for 1830-31, 8,458,731; for 1831-32, 7,936,674, exhibiting a decrease of 521,757; and for 1832-33, 8,589,174, being an increase on the preceding year of

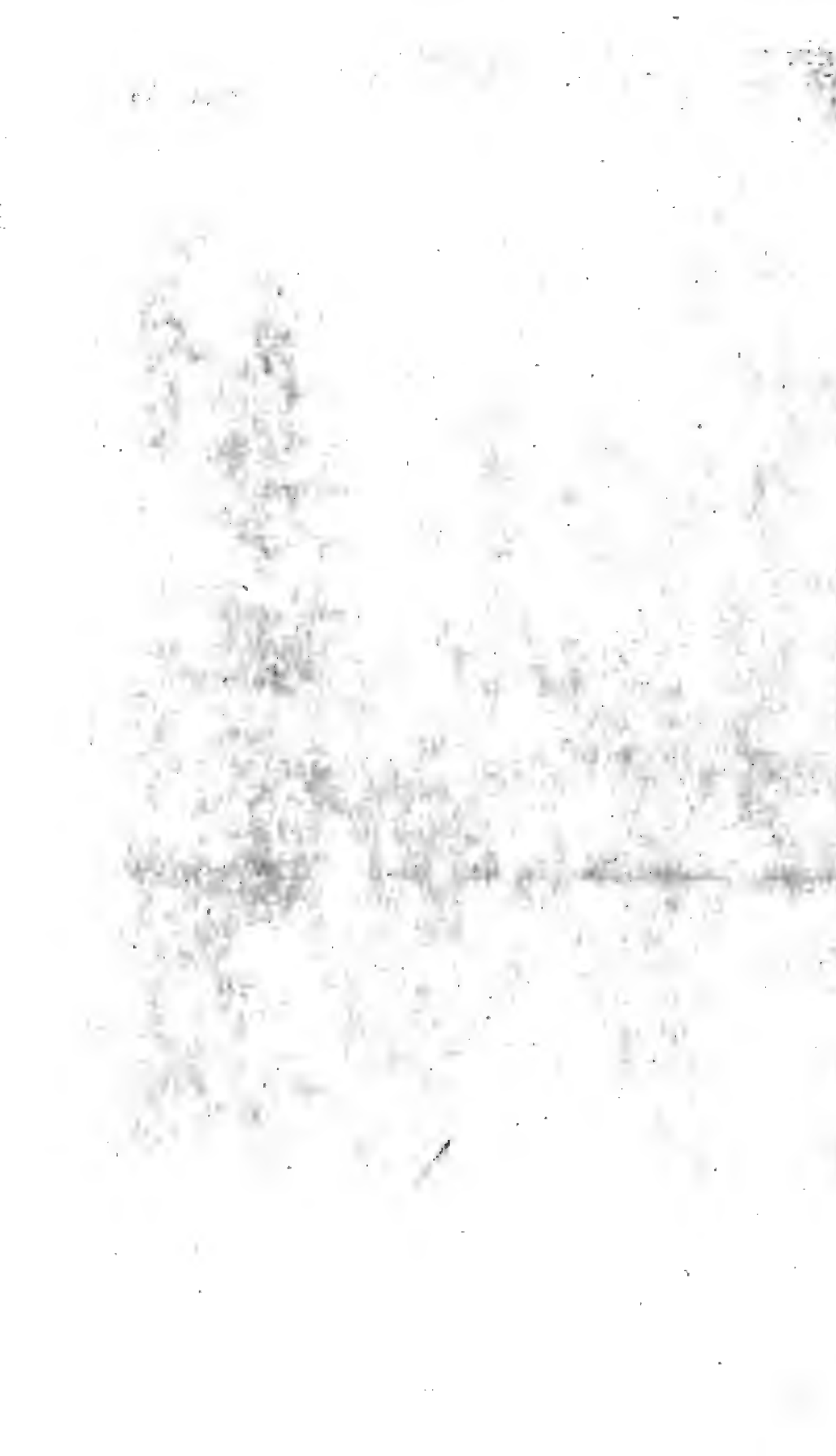
P. 11

Top of the Alps



Cap. P. B. P. del.

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652,200. Her exports for the same periods were, for 1830-31, 8,271,223; for 1831-32, 6,941,542; decrease, 1,329,681; for 1832-33, 7,087,028; increase on the preceding year, 145,486.

Having thus touched upon the most interesting topics relative to Singapore, I proceed to the notice of Malacca, the next British settlement in the Straits.

Malacca, as approached from seaward, has, or rather had, a very striking appearance. Around the foot of St. Paul's hill stood the old fort, which was blown up by the English in 1807, when they were anticipating, * the restoration of the settlement to the Dutch; in order to render its recapture more easy, should such necessity subsequently arise: this being now removed, the houses, which are nearly exclusively occupied by the officers of the force, are distinctly visible, and, by their modern appearance, afford a pleasing contrast to the fine old ruin of the church, dedicated by Albuquerque to the "Visitation of our Lady," which crowns the summit, whilst a noble and magnificent grove of Ansanna trees edged the brow, leading from the Church to the Government, or Stadt, house. This was partially cut down in 1831, because it interfered with the view of the flag staff from the government house, and in 1833 the remaining trees fell a sacrifice in like manner for the accommodation of another individual.

There is an ancient Malay manuscript rela-

* It has been stated by a late writer that the fort was destroyed "in the vain hope that the inhabitants, thus left without military protection in this lawless country, would emigrate to Pinang, which our countrymen were endeavouring to establish in rivalry of Malacca." *Voy. and Trans. of Rev. D. Tyerman, & G. Bennet, Esq. Vol. 2. p. 271.* It is needless to say that both the assumptions and chronology are incorrect. The expense of destroying the fort amounted to 200,000 rupees, not to 2,000,000 dollars as stated by the same gentleman.

tive to the building of the fort. Its tenor is as follows, " Three years after the Portuguese had taken Malacca, an order came from the king of Portugal that they should build a fort at Malacca, like the one at Goa. The Portuguese straightway employed the Malays at Malacca in bringing iron stones from Quallo Linggy, Pulo Api, Battoo Bras, Pulo Jara, Pulo Mas, Pringgit,* Bukit Bruang, and from the interior. Thirty dollars was paid for every hundred large stones, and twenty for a hundred small ones. For lime they paid fifteen dollars a koyang; for eggs, to mix with their mortar, a fanam each. The laborers, employed in digging the hill, got half a dollar each *per diem*. The Portuguese were thirty-six years and fourteen days in the construction of this fort."

The roof † has long been off the venerable church of the Visitation of our Lady, " which Valentyn ‡ tells us was inhabited by the monastic order of Jesuits and friendly brothers: he also mentions that there was another church dedicated to " The mother of God," on the neighboring hill of St. John's, but of this there are now no traces, it having been probably pulled down by the Dutch in order to make room for the little redoubt on this hill, and the materials used in the construction of the work. The interior of the church is nearly covered with flat and ancient tombstones, having several quaint devices carved on them. The inscriptions are much obliterated in consequence of their exposure to the weather,

* A hill near Malacca, at present the seat of W. T. Lewis Esq.

† With the exception of the east end, or chancel, which has long been converted into a magazine.

‡ Valentyn, Book 6th, Chapter 1st, page 309.

and are nearly illegible. Some of the old Dutch families have vaults here, in which the remains of their relatives are to this day deposited, in preference to being taken to the English burial ground at the back of the hill.

The oldest record of mortality that I could find bore the date of 1598. It is a tombstone remarkable for pointing out the place of sepulture of the second bishop of Japan, and lies in the centre of the church opposite the door, or principal entrance. The inscription, tho' much worn, is still legible; it is as follows;

HIC JACET DO
MINVS PETRVS
SOCIETATIS
JESV SECVN
DVS EPISCOPVS
JAPONENSIS
OBIIT AD ERE*
TVM SINCAPV
RA MENSE FE
BRVARIO AN
NO 1598.

The principal thing observable in this plain inscription is the studied division of the words: for the information of the fairer sex, I shall subjoin the epitaph in its natural order, and give a translation of the same. The Latin runs thus; "Hic jacet Dominus Petrus; Societatis Jesu, Secundus Episcopus Japonensis, Abiit ad Fretum Sincapura, Mense Februario, onno 1658," which imports, when rendered into English, that "Here lies (the body of) Lord (Bishop) Peter, of the Society of Jesuits, (and) the second Bishop of Japan. He

* This should be FRETUM, but the sculptor has turned the F. into E.

died at the Straits of Singapore in the month of February in the year 1598."

In addition to the foregoing, a great interest is thrown around this spot by a current tradition that just outside the porch a young nun was inhumed alive for either heresy or incontinency. Her grave is unmarked by a stone, but, close along side of the supposed site, are two tombstones, and whilst the spectator endeavors to decypher their foot worn characters, he learns from some older inhabitant the legend of the young nun lying unhouseled in her nameless grave.

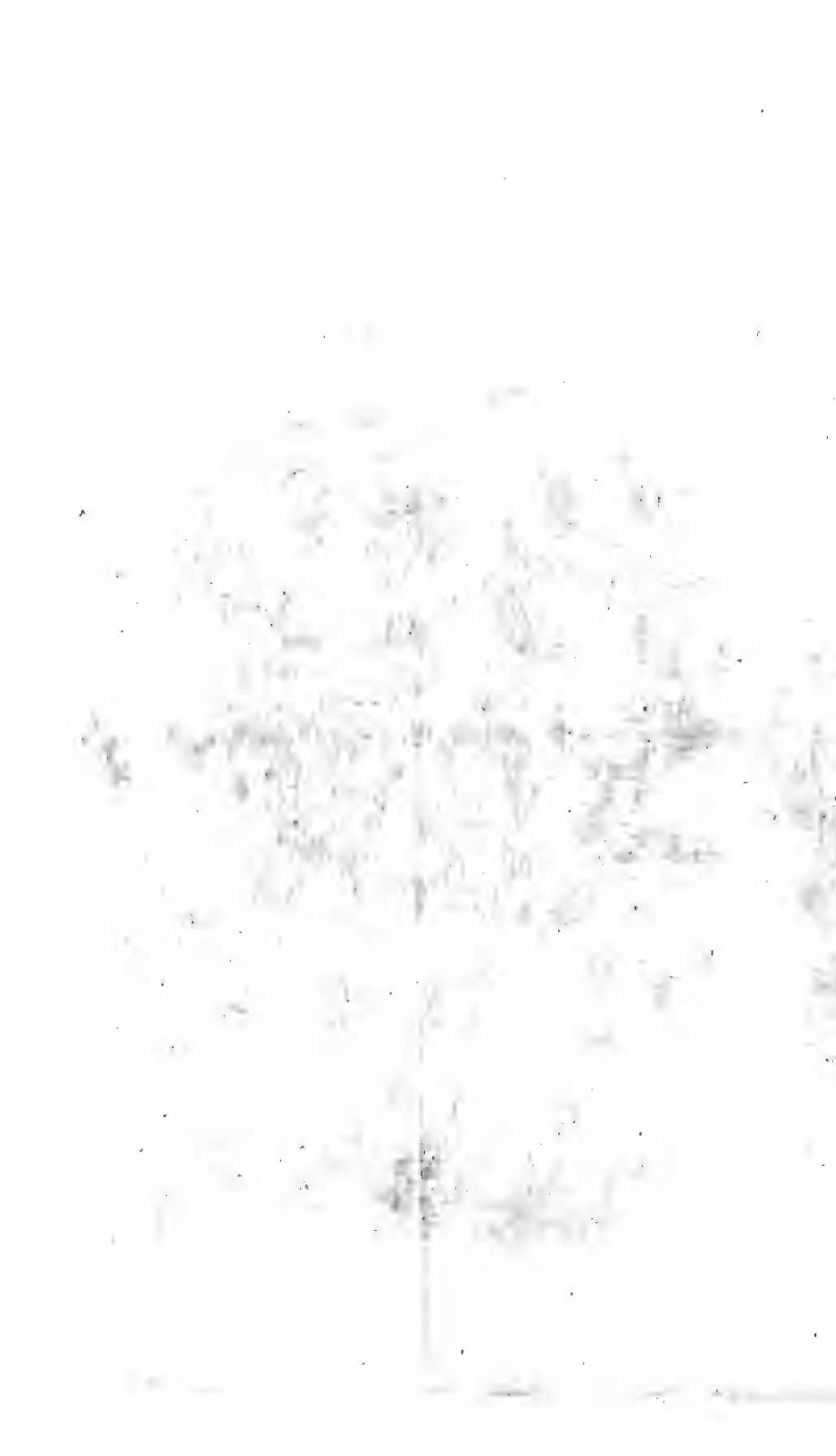
Another tradition exists relative to a subterraneous passage which is said to have been a future communication between the monastery of the friendly brothers on St Paul's and the nunnery of "The mother of God" on St. John's but which has been filled-up for some years. The distance between the two, being about half a mile, is in itself a refutation of the legend.

On the right bank of the river stands the town of Malacca, inhabited chiefly by the Dutch, Portuguese, Malays, Chinese, Chulials, &c. The houses of the former are very substantial in their structure, the walls being unusually massive. The inhabitants do not appear to trust, nevertheless, entirely to their solidity, as the beams of each flat are strongly rivetted to the walls by iron clamps. The ground floors are generally bricked, and mats are seldom spread over them, under the idea that the houses are cleaner, and less dust accumulated. The Dutch houses are, for the most part, neatly furnished.

Those of the wealthy Chinese are very splen-



JM 202



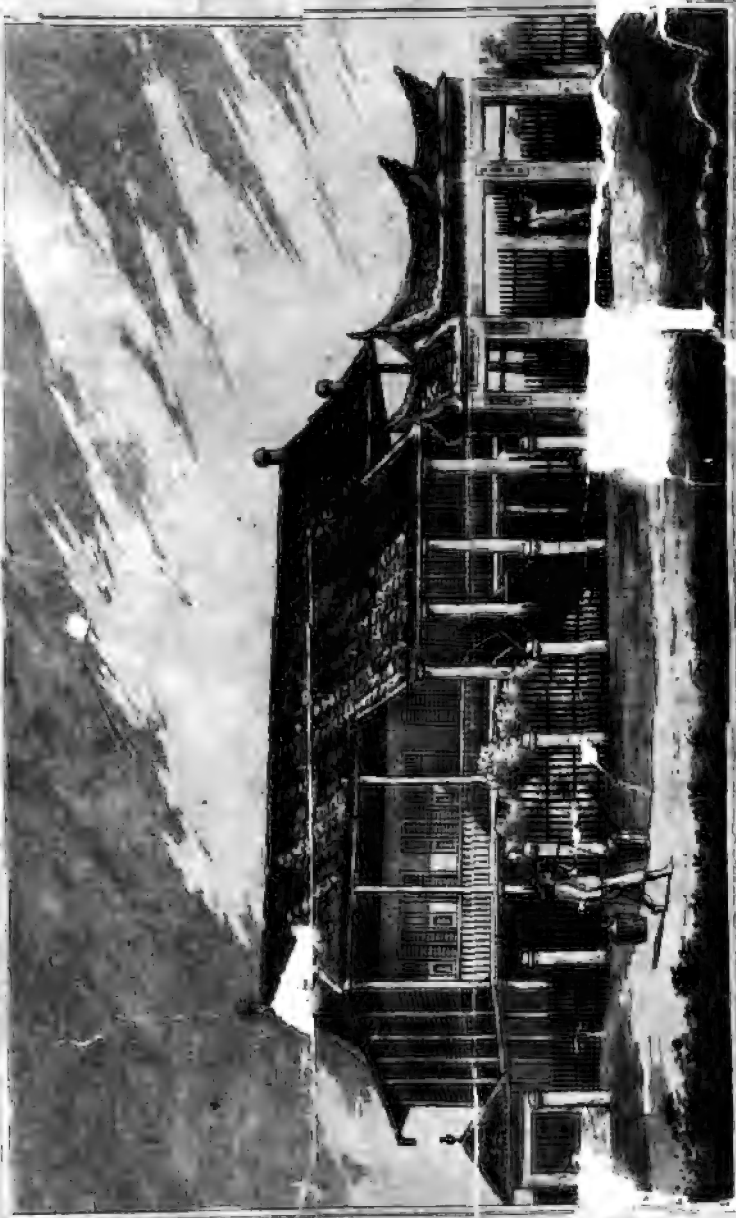
didly fitted up, the term being taken with reference to their national taste. They consist of two parallel houses connected by porticoes and balconies, the one furthest from the street constituting the private apartments. In addition to ornaments peculiarly Chinese, the walls are covered with European pictures, mirrors and pier glasses, handsomely framed, and chandeliers, wall shades, &c. are to be seen in profusion. The sleeping apartments are, however, for the most part, over the front of the quadrangle, and, although principally furnished in the Chinese mode, are handsomely fitted up. The large four post bed is adorned with massive open work and gilt cornices, (for which, when tastefully executed, the Chinese give a prodigal price), and along side of it is placed a smaller or single couch, without curtains, for repose in the day time. As an instance of the extent to which a wealthy Chinaman will go, in order to gratify his taste, I may mention that, early in December 1833, I saw in the *private* apartments of a Chinese gentleman of Malacca, a splendid black and gold Japanned cabinet, made in China, which cost 250 dollars. As access to these private apartments is not easy, this article could not have been kept for shew.

The houses of the Portuguese present no peculiarity, as the descendants of the conquerors of Malacca have, with hardly an exception, sunk into a state of deep poverty and ignorance, neither is there any remark requisite on the style of building prevalent amongst the other classes, the houses of all being generally wooden, or cadjan,

with attaped roofs. About a quarter of a mile westward of the bridge and on the sea-shore stands the Anglo-Chinese college, a building erected for the purpose of promoting a reciprocal knowledge of the two languages amongst the English and Chinese, and of communicating the privilege of the gospel to the latter.

A tract of land, near St. John's Hill, was granted by the government in 1815 for the object of the Mission, but, being inconvenient on account of its distance, was exchanged for the present site, seven hundred dollars being given to boot to the owner of the more eligible ground. On the 11th November 1818, the foundation stone of the Anglo-Chinese college was laid by Major Farquhar, the late English Resident and Commandant of Malacca, in the presence of the Honble. J. S. Timmerman Thyssen, (the governor of the colony, after its restoration to the king of the Netherlands), and several other gentlemen. This institution mainly owed its origin to the munificence of the Rev. R. Morrison, D. D., in China, who devoted a thousand pounds, and a hundred a year for five successive years, to this purpose.

The lower part of the building is appropriated to schools, &c.; one apartment being reserved as a library, in which are to be found several thousand volumes, most of them scarce and valuable works, which have been presented to the college by different individuals. It maintains a Principal on £150 per annum, with house rent, oil &c. and a Professor on the same salary without the perquisites. The upper apartments are occupied by the Missionaries connected with the col-



Anglo Chinese Architecture

C.A.

THE ANGLO CHINESE COLLEGE

Anglo Chinese College



lege, or rather, would the accommodation admit of it, are intended for them at large; as, during the present year, the building has been assigned to the London Missionary Society. The Mission chapel is a plain, but neat, building which was erected by voluntary contribution, and the foundation of which was laid on the 28th January 1826. Here, every sabbath, four services are performed, viz. a Chinese service at half past 10 A. M.; a Portuguese one at 2 P. M.; a Malay one at 5 P. M.; and an English one at 7 P. M., thus affording the pleasing spectacle of the worship of the true God in four different languages on the same day in the same place. Besides the Free school, which contains about seventy boys, who are instructed in reading and writing the English language, there are five Malay schools, four of which are supported by the London Missionary Society, and the fifth by a private fund. There are also Chinese schools containing a large proportion of children, also supported by the Mission, and five Portuguese schools sustained by private subscriptions. In all these the scriptures and tracts form the subject of reading, but I shall defer the consideration of their effects, until I come to treat of the morals of the population at large.

The drives of the inhabitants are generally round Bukit China,* which hills present a picturesque appearance, being studded with the horse-shoe form tombs of the Chinese. On the top of one of these are the remains of an ancient Dutch redoubt, and at the foot of another are two wells

* Bukit China, Chinese hills, of which there are five.

of excellent water, which employ a considerable portion of the lower Chinese, who bring it into town in buckets for sale, as this is the only water which is free from brackishness. One of these wells, we learn from the Annals, was dug by the Chinese in the reign of Sulthaun Manzur Shah * of Malacca.

The trade of Malacca has fallen off very considerably, a consequence naturally to be expected from her situation between Singapore and Pinang. I will not enter into details here as the subsequent comparative statement of the trade of the three Settlements will be sufficient to illustrate this branch of the subject. Her exports of native produce consist principally of arms, balachang, betel-nut, bricks and tiles, cordage, dammar, ebony, hides, noumongery, jaggery, pepper, seaweed, spices, wood *gahru*, tin, sun-dries, and live stock, *kayoo kamoonee* &c., but her trade is not sufficient to encourage European merchants to settle there. Nevertheless, as the excess of her imports over her exports of oil and rice, the two most essential articles of life to the Malay, has decidedly decreased, whilst the population has increased, it necessarily follows that more land has fallen under cultivation.

Of the exports, the tin is by far the most important, but I shall reserve the consideration of this subject till I come to treat upon the tin countries of the Peninsula, and will now proceed to the topography of Pulo Pinang.

This island lies between N. Lat. 5° 15' and

* Leyden's Malay Annals, page 179—180.

5° 29', and in E. Longitude 100° 25'.† Its greatest length, which is from N. to S. is about 16 statute miles, and its greatest breadth is at the northern extremity, where it is about 11 or 12 miles; but, at the southern end, this decreases to about 8. "Taking therefore the medium of its breadth to be about ten miles, it contains in superficial measure 160 square miles." ^{containing}

The eastern side of the island, ~~being~~ a level belt of about three miles in breadth, appears on that account to have been selected as the site of the capital, George Town; and here are consequently to be found the fort, with all the public buildings, houses of the European inhabitants, &c. This spot, which is called "The Valley," is of alluvial formation, and presents a variety of soil. It is of a triangular shape, the *Tanjong*, or point, on which the town is built, forming the apex, and the range of mountains, running from north to south, constituting the base.

The soil near the *tanjong* is, as might naturally be expected, sandy with a superficial stratum of about four inches in depth, consisting principally of decomposed vegetable substances. About a mile further inland, the land begins to rise, and the superstratum to increase to about a foot in thickness, the sand still continuing to form the basis. As the chain of hills is approached, the ascent of the ground is sensibly increased, and the soil becomes richer, interspersed here and there with beds of white clay, resembling fuller's earth.

In such parts of the island as, from their proxi-

† Ward's contributions to the Medical Topography of Prince of Wales's Island, p. 1. & seq.

mity to the sea, are overflowed by the tide and covered with mangrove, the soil, to the depth of a foot, is a rich black mould interspersed with sabulous particles, and, throughout the island, generally exhibiting an admixture of clay and sand.

To the southward and westward of the ridge of mountains level parcels, or patches, of ground form the predominant feature; these are now nearly all under cultivation, being principally planted with pepper, and spice trees, principally clove. A belt of cocoanut and *areca*, or *pinang*, trees is to be seen. The eastern part, being well adapted for the production of paddy, is principally devoted to that purpose.

Many of the hills, to be hereafter more particularly noticed, have, by the stimulus of European industry and capital, been converted from pestiferous jungles into smiling clove plantations, and are ornamented with the seats of the proprietors. Many of these are remarkably well chosen, and when the visitor gazes upon the various buildings, the houses of the private individuals, the public works, the different shops with all their various displays, and the hills rescued from the grasp of ancient forests, he can hardly conceive that this is the same island which, less than fifty years ago, was overwhelmed with the desolation of unchecked foliage, and formed no more than the occasional resort of a few Malay fishermen, and daring pirates.

The roads, which intersect the valley in every direction, more especially on the north side, are very good and are kept in excellent order. They

are almost all shaded by the *ansanna* tree, which thrives here very luxuriantly.

Most of the trees to be found in the Peninsula are to be met with here, as well as all the fruit trees, with the exception of the *dookoo*, a species of the *lansch* which, in the opinion of many, rivals the *mangusteen*, as its agreeably subacidity imparts a raciness to the fruit, of which the palting sweetness of the other is destitute. The sugar-cane and pepper plants form the principal articles of cultivation, and the annual produce of the latter may be taken, on an average, at 15,000 piculs.

George Town, as the settlement is denominated, lies at the eastern extremity of the valley, and comprizes one principal street, minor ones branching off in various directions. The appearance of the houses is, perhaps, still more irregular than that of those of Malacca, but the dwellings of the resident gentry are of a very superior description, and built in the Indian style; although here as well as at Malacca, small *attaped* houses may occasionally be found in juxtaposition with them.

A broad ditch, the two extremities of which communicate with the sea, girds the town, the object of which, viz. carrying off the filth, is but partially effected, as it is often only half filled.

The fort, called Fort Cornwallis, is a small work, which has been erected on the Tanjong, or Point, and is therefore well washed by the sea. That portion of it, which faces the land, is isolated by means of a broad ditch, whose extremities communicate with the sea, in consequence of which it is constantly wet. The fort contains

the arsenal and the barracks of the European artillery, whilst the native troops are cantoned at the distance of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the westward of the fort.

The other public buildings are the hospital for the native troops, the convict hospital, His Majesty's jail, the Chinese poor house, and the lunatic asylum. According to Dr. Ward, it would appear that by far the larger proportion of the patients in the latter were Chinese, and the diseases principally dementia,* the rest being affected with mania and monomania. This is to be naturally attributed to the prevalence of excessive opium smoking amongst this class, as well as, in some measure, to their inordinate love of gaming.

Pinang has long been celebrated for the exquisite beauty of its scenery. The infinite diversity of hill and dale, here smiling in all the joyousness of cultivation, there frowning with dark gigantic forests—the roads humming with life—the glassy sea instinct with shipping the light *sampan* as it glides from vessel to vessel—the isles, which gem the ocean—and the more distant mountains, which rear their crests in apparently interminable succession on the Kedah coast to the utmost verge of vision, all arrest the attention and infuse a hallowed and sublime chain of feelings into the bosom.

The following table of the heights of the different Pinang hills is extracted from a letter in the Pinang Gazette of August 1st 1829, which was written, I believe by the late Dr. Ward of the Madras Establishment.

* Ward's Contributions, &c. p. 25.

" Table of the Altitudes of the Hills—Pinang.

Direction.	Names.	Proprietors.	Height in feet above the level of the sea.
N. E. end of the Island.	1. Mount Erskine.....	Govt. J. J. Erskine Esq.	559.
	2. Ditto. Olivia.....	(The late) G. Browne, Esq	620.
	3. Highlands of Scotland.	R. Scott, Esq.	1428.
Centre of ditto.	4. Mount Hygeia.....	Government.	2442.
	5. Bel Retiro.....	The late Rev. R. Hutchings	2574.
	6. Western Hill.....	Captain Low.	2370.
	7. Mount Elvira.....	Honble. Mr. Ibbetson.	870.
S. W. extremity of ditto.	8. Landsdowne.....	The late G. Browne Esq.	1800.
	9. Sans Souci.....		1580.
	11. Belmont.		1650."

1. Mount Erskine was formerly a signal station for communicating with the fort, and a bungalow was erected on the summit; of this last the ruins are still visible, amidst the jungle which has overgrown the hill, since the abandonment of the station. The soil is rocky, in consequence of which and of the slightness of the elevation the thermometer ranges nearly as high as it does in the valley. This hill is supposed to be unhealthful.

The second in the foregoing list is Mount Olivia, which lies to the S. E. of Mount Erskine. This has been reclaimed from the jungle, and the clove plantations, which clothe its sides, present a very beautiful appearance. From the summit of the hill several beautiful prospects burst upon the eye, and the Mount, whilst the seat of Mr. Browne, was often visited by the admirers of the beautiful in nature. This gentleman along with two or three others, fell a victim, in the prime of life, to the Pinang fever, which raged so destructively in December 1832 and January 1833. The range of the thermometer averages about three degrees lower than in the valley, and the salubrity of the climate is well attested.

The "Highlands of Scotland," the seat of R. Scott Esq., is a hill delightfully situated, its superior elevation commanding a wider range of prospect, and a corresponding diminution of temperature, the thermometer generally standing eight degrees lower here than it does in the valley. Invalids rapidly recover their health on this invigorating spot, where the mind is refreshed by the sight of bright green patches of cultivation diversified by the more sombre masses of crowded fo-

rests, and the body is braced by the cool breezes which refresh the mountain's brow.

Mount Hygeia, and Bel Retiro, the former, as its name implies, the site of a convalescent hungalow, and the latter, as its denomination equally denotes, the spot to which the honorable the governor occasionally retires from the fatigues of office, deserve praise so nearly in the same degree that a description of them would closely border on tautology; I shall therefore pass on to the consideration of the next, or

The Western Hill, which is the highest of the range, and lies about two miles west from Bel Retiro. The road, which leads to its summit, wind so gradually that the traveller is barely conscious of the ascent; hence also several picturesque views are presented to the eye, but the intervention of the "Great Hill" excludes the valley and George Town from the prospect. As this road leads through the forest over the various summits in the neighborhood, the advantage of constant variety is secured to the traveller, whilst, on his arrival at his destination, he is enabled to take exercise on either foot, or horseback, an advantage exclusively enjoyed by this hill.

Mount Elvira, the next in succession, has been cleared on the north side, which is now planted with clove trees; the southern and eastern sides are still unreclaimed from the jungle, which approaches to within 30 yards of the house.

The ascent, like that of the preceding one, is extremely easy and commands some bold and interesting scenery.

A considerable portion of its way leads along

one face of a deep ravine, at the bottom of which a rapid rivulet foams along, dashing from cascade to cascade in its precipitous career. The opposite bank rises in gloomy abruptness, clouded, rather than clothed, by thickly wedged and towering forest trees, the topmost ones of which are enveloped in the mists wreathed around the mountain brow.

Captain Low's hill is the northernmost of a small chain which runs along the coast, and diverges at an angle from the southern extremity of the principal chain. The clearing of this hill was only commenced upon in 1829. The range of the thermometer is about five degrees lower than it is in the valley.

Lansdowne, Sans Souci, and Belmont, form together that range which is usually termed the Pentland one. Cultivation on these is universal, the forest trees having been entirely superseded by the mangusteen, the clove, and the nutmeg, trees, whose regular disposal along the sides, however unpicturesque, is nevertheless pleasing to the eye. The views from these hills comprize principally the three vallies, respectively denominated the Southern, Western, and the Great Tree, vallies. They are generally less liable to fogs chiefly than the Great Hill, which circumstance may be attributed to the total absence of jungle. The thermometer averages from 8 to 10 degrees lower than in the valley, and as its daily variations are much less violent, than on Mount Hygeia, these hills appear better adapted for invalids than the latter

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VIEW OF THE TENANG WATFERS

The great tree, or Setomian, of Pinang has been so often described that a notice of it here would appear unnecessary, were it not unpardonable to omit at least a passing allusion to it. This natural production grows upon a steep acclivity on the side of one of the mountains, and measures 37 feet in girth at the base, towering upwards to the height of one hundred and twenty one feet before it throws out a single branch.

Another natural curiosity is the waterfall, or rather waterfalls, of Pinang, for there are two, distinguished respectively by the appellations of the great, and the lesser, falls. The former of these I had no opportunity of seeing: it is remarkable principally, I believe, for the scenery around it rather than the volume of water being considerably greater than that of the other. A melancholy interest is attached to it on account of an officer (Lieut. Brooshoof of the 35th M. N. I.) having been dashed down it.

The other fall lies about four miles to the southward of the town and amply repays the labor of a visit. The tourist crosses the stream at the foot of the mountain by means of a tree thrown across as a bridge. After ascending the hill for a considerable distance, the narrow and rugged pathway leads directly to the foot of the fall, and the appearance of it is picturesque and striking in the extreme. Enveloped in the bosom of a deep jungle, only about seventy or eighty feet of the torrent is visible, the upper part of which is partially broken into three successive leaps. The main fall, which is somewhere about fifty feet, throws itself in foam over the face of a dark gra-

nite rock, being divided at the top by a crag, but re-uniting at about one fourth of the fall. The water is beautifully clear, and is the stream which supplies the town. At 7 A. M. the thermometer, standing at 76° in the shade, fell to 73° on being plunged into the stream.

At about five miles in a southerly direction from the town, and at the foot of another mountain, is situated a Chinese water mill for the purpose of grinding wheat. It consists of an overshot wheel, whose axle turns a horizontal cog-wheel on either side. These wheels communicate their motion to four wheels with mill stones on one side, and to three similar ones on the other. The flour and bran are thence conveyed to the hoppers, of which there are two sets on each side, and the flour is thus passed through five muslin sieves, the hoppers being violently shaken by communication with the overshot wheel. In another part of the building, several people are employed in picking out the damaged grains, stones, &c. from the wheat, previous to its being passed through the mill.

The climate of Pinang is vastly inferior to that of either Malacca or Singapore, and nearly, if not quite, as oppressive as that of Madras. There is a heaviness in the atmosphere, generated perhaps by the undrained marshes, and luxuriant jungle, to which the other two places are strangers, and the principal advantage which it possesses is that the hills hold out a remedy at hand for all the maladies which the valley is liable to induce.

Province Wellesley is, as previously stated, a tract of land, three miles in depth, and extending

thirty miles along the coast, thus comprizing a tract of about ninety square miles. In 1822 this strip of coast was unreclaimed from the jungle, and undrained of its marshes. In the former lurked tygers in such numbers as to render it a matter of extreme hazard to attempt to land, whilst the well sheltered creeks afforded a never failing retreat to swarms of pirate boats. The population did not then exceed 5,400, and, as this was scattered over the whole extent of these all but impassable forests, the country was in general a waste, and the people little subject to the restraints of the law.

A strait of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in width divides Pulo Pinang from Province Wellesley, and, as this narrow sea is well sheltered from violent winds, it is the favorite spot amongst the inhabitants for boat racing and regattas.

Although Province Wellesley is open to every wind, yet it is sheltered from the greatest violence of the N. W. and S. W. winds by the interposition of the Pinang range of hills.

On the northern side, at the distance of about 20 miles the gigantic and granite capped Peak of Kedah rears his stupendous bulk, his summit wrapped around with those everlasting clouds which cool the wind ere it rushes down at midnight into the plain to supply the atmosphere exhausted by the noon tide beam.

On the eastern side again the long peninsular ridge, distant about forty miles, interposes itself, several minor ranges intervening between them and the province, rising one above another like the seats in a huge and magnificent amphitheatre.

tre. All these different ranges, whilst they protect the plain from the violence of the winds, serve to condense the vapors which are subsequently precipitated in fertilizing showers, their distance at the same time preventing that humidity and closeness of the atmosphere, engendered by them, extending to the province.

On the western side, Province Wellesley is fully exposed to the influence of the sea breezes, and to the regular S. W. monsoon. The clouds, which accumulate on the peninsular range, are generally attracted thence by the Peak of Kedah, whence they pursue their route across the channel towards the northern extremity of Pulo Pinang: here they are again checked by the hills, and descend in showers upon the valley; but Pulo Tikoos, or Rat island, a little to the northward of Pulo Pinang, is still more frequently watered by them, from its lying yet more directly in their track.

The atmosphere, of Province Wellesley from its lightness and coolness, resembles that of Malacca, and possesses a great superiority over the close oppressive climate of Pinang. The course of the wind is in general as follows, when it is not opposed, or overcome, by the regular monsoons.

At day-break a cool and gentle breeze from the east heralds in the sun: the temperature of this may be stated at 75° of Fahrenheit, and the breeze gradually dies away until it is succeeded at 9 A. M. by a calm, whose duration varies from fifteen minutes to two hours, the mean being one hour. A strong sea breeze then sets in, the tem-

perature of which is, of course, much influenced by the weather. In a clear, sun-shiny, day it may be taken as high as 85° , but in cloudy, or blowing, weather, it falls to 80° , 76° , and even to 74° . This lasts steadily to 6 P. M. and occasionally to 8 P. M., when it is almost invariably and suddenly checked by the cold easterly land wind, which rushes down from the mountains, and under whose influence the mercury rapidly falls five or six degrees; this sudden change of temperature is extremely trying to delicate constitutions.

The regular hot winds of India are never felt here, nor indeed in any part of the peninsula, the narrowness of which, and the repeated showers with which it is visited, being a counteracting cause. The south wind, however, during the hot, or dry season, parches up the vegetation, and induces head aches and feverish sensations.

As it is more charged with vapor in the rainy season, it is less injurious.

The tropical winds, or N. E. and S. W. monsoons, blow sometimes eight or ten days together with scarcely any intermission; these reduce the temperature occasionally to 74° . It sometimes happens, however, that the wind will shift all round the compass within 24 hours.

The dry season includes the months of December, January, February, and March, during the last two months of which the grain is cut and housed, and the paddy fields and swamps rapidly dry up. A drought occurs generally every seven or eight years, and is generally accompanied by a murrain amongst the cattle, and an epidemic

amongst the poultry. Heavy floods generally take place about once in every five or six years.

The highest range of the thermometer is 86° . and very rarely 87° , the lowest being $69\frac{1}{2}$; this last was in clear weather at six in the morning.*

As, in tropical climates the year is divided into two seasons, viz, the wet and the dry, it follows that the other eight months fall under the denomination of the wet; not that rain constantly is to be expected therein, but that it forms the predominant feature. The months of July, August, September, and October, are those in which the greatest quantity of rain falls.

The climate of Pinang and Province Wellesley is, as already stated, certainly inferior to that of either Malacca or Singapore. On the other hand Pinang possesses the advantages of superior cheapness in the necessaries of life, and the accommodation of stands of coaches for hire, not only in the town, but over the island, which convenience neither of the other settlements can boast of.

The land revenue system of the Straits is unfavourable to the agricultural interests. The Regulations may be thus summarily stated.

When an individual wishes to obtain a grant of land from Government, and the different forms of application have been gone through, he is bound down to clear the tract within a limited time, the period of which is arbitrarily fixed, and in the event of his failing so to do, he is ejected, and the land resumed by Government.

* The substance of the foregoing remarks is taken from the Pinang Gazette, but as the whole of the original paper was not adapted to the design of this work, such information as was requisite has been thrown into a new form, whereby the necessity of conveying it in detached fragments was avoided, and an unity of style preserved.

Secondly, the land to be duly measured and the lease granted.

Thirdly, the rent to be one dollar per acre for the first term of fifteen years; for the second term of fifteen years, not to exceed three dollars; and for the third term of fifteen years, not to be above ten dollars per acre.

Fourthly, in the event of the tenant refusing to cultivate his ground at or under any of the foregoing rates, he is to be ejected therefrom, and the ground, with all buildings thereon, resumed by Government without any remuneration.

I shall shortly remark upon the pernicious tendency of these regulations.

Few of the class of peasantry, who are able and willing to cultivate those vast tracts of forest lands, are possessed of sufficient property to enable them to undertake the clearing, as it will employ a man and his family from three to five years, before the land will yield any return. It is therefore requisite for the speculator to be in possession of funds, independent of this land, whereby he may be enabled to maintain his family until the latter becomes productive. This, of itself, is sufficient, in nine cases out of ten, to prevent a Malay attempting the undertaking; but, when in addition to this heavy outlay, he is called upon to pay an annual tax of one dollar per acre for land, at that moment a dead weight upon his resources, it would be matter of surprize if we found the forests disappearing under the axe.

But, let us suppose that a man has ventured on the experiment, and that, at the expiration of thir-

ty years, the property has descended to his son, much improved, and sprinkled with tenements. The season may be unfavorable, and the new proprietor, either from that cause, or from unexpected losses, may be unable to pay the quit rent fixed by Government, and the additional tax of one tenth of the produce. Instead of distraining his property to the extent of the deficiency, he is forcibly ejected, and the land, which his father found a wilderness, and left a garden, along with all its houses, becomes the property of Government, by whom it is let to another individual.

Thus, any man, for a debt of, say, one hundred dollars, may be summarily deprived of property to ten times the amount at the discretion of a Government functionary. I do not mean to imply that such as ever been the case, but the bare existence of the possibility is sufficient to paralyze the agricultural industry of the natives.

If, instead of extinguishing the disposition to husbandry by this tax, the more liberal policy of a bonus upon all cultivated forest lands had been adopted, the extensive and rich alluvial tracts in Nanning, would have been cultivated, and the forests would have fallen under the axe of the woodman instead of that of the pioneer—a happy and contented peasantry would then have supplied the place of a restless and hostile population—each individual, having property to lose, would have been interested in the preservation of peace, no jungle would have afforded cover to an enemy, and, lastly the Government would have been exempted from the ruinous expences of a war, which was attended by no beneficial results.

CHAP. X.

Description of the Tin countries—Soongei Oojong—Linggy river and its banks—Village of Quallo Linggy—Produce—Telohpua—Cultivation—Soil—Soongei Duraka—Soongei Rhya—Ayer Itam—Simpang—Pangkallang Koompas on the Linggy branch—The Kubur of Dattoo Klambu—Permattang Passir—Terusam—Pangkallang Maugis—Pangkallang Durian—Pangkallang Kundang—Tributary streams of the Penangie, and villages—Mines of Linggy—Rumbow levies a duty on Linggy tin—Valley of Kondoor—Jemampong—From Jemampong to Sala—Jehooi—Temeong—Mines of Temeong, or Soongei Oojong—Coast of Salangore—Tanjong Agas—Tanjong Selamat—Teloh Passir Panjang—Tanjong Tuan, or Cape Rachado—Legend of the spirit of Teloh Rubiah—The Dattoo of Tanjong Tuan, or presiding Saint—Lookoot—Tin mines—Little Lookoot.

HAVING in the preceding chapter given a cursory topographical description of the three British Residencies in the Straits I will now advert to the different countries in the Peninsula from which the tin, which forms the staple produce, is procured.

Mr. Anderson remarks that his predecessor, Mr. Crawfurd has stated* that "The Tin of the Eastern Islands has, however, a much wider range of distribution than that of any other country, being found in considerable quantity from the 98° to the 107° of east longitude, and from 8° north to 3° south latitude." But says Mr. Anderson, "Tin has been found, † however, in considerable quantities much further north, viz; in

* Crawfurd's Indian Archipelago, Vol. 3. page 450.

† Anderson's Considerations &c. pp. 121, 122.

the interior of Tavoy, in latitude 12° 40' north, the mines being situated at a place called Sakana, about four days journey from the city of Tavoy."

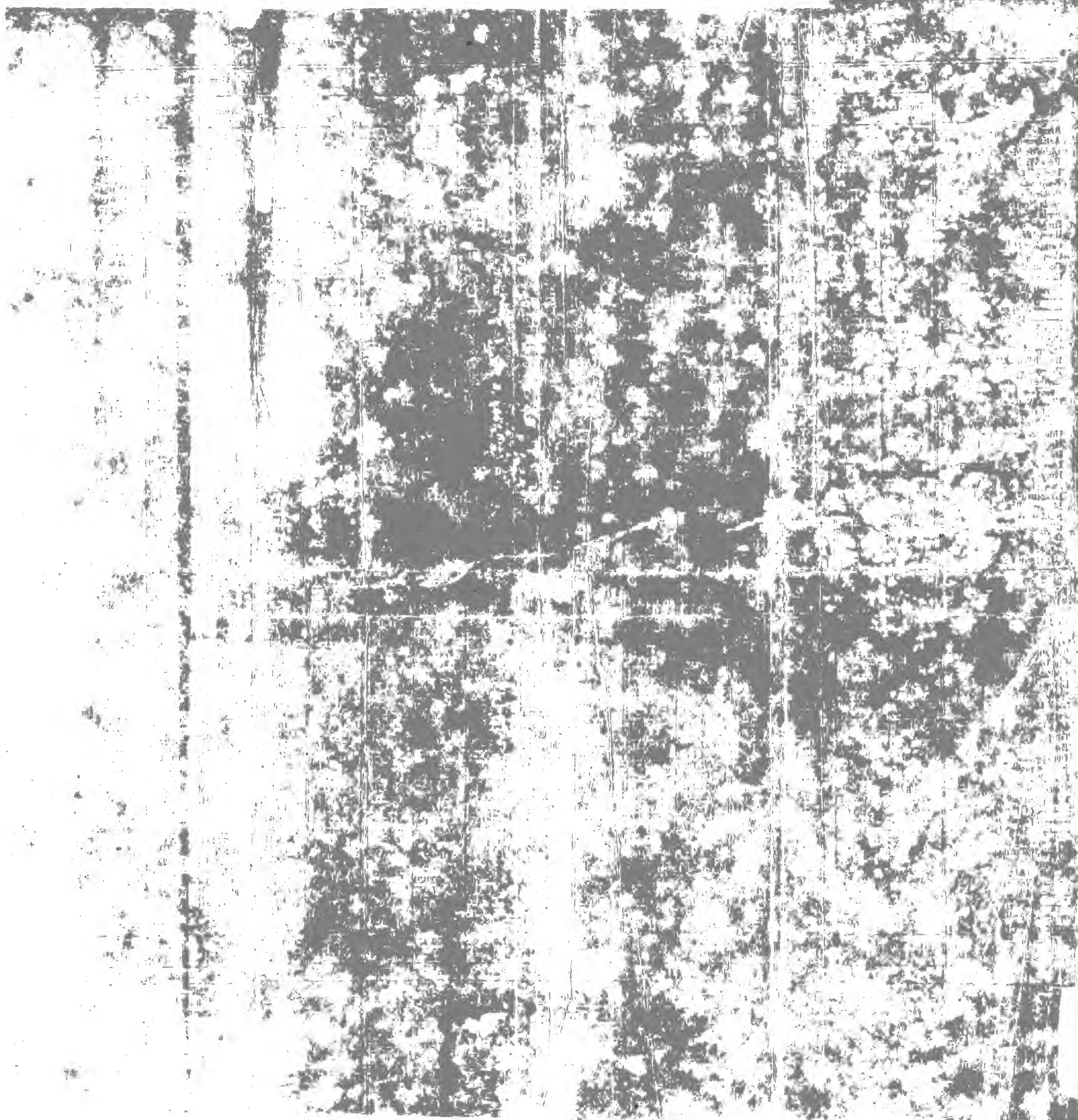
The principal places in the Peninsula, whence tin is procured, are Pahang, and Kwala Moodah in Patani, on the eastern side, Linggi in Soongei Oojong, Lookoot, in the Salangore territory, Colong, Salangore, Pungah Perak, Trong, near the Diudings in the Perak territory, and Oojong Salang, or the island of Junk Ceylon.

The best and purest tin is procured from the two last mentioned places, and fetches about fifty dollars per bahar of 500 $\frac{1}{2}$ avoirdupois; the Salangore tin is very pure and white, and fetches about from half to three quarters of a dollar less in the China market than that of either Banca or Junk Ceylon.

It is exported in small pieces of a catty weight each, the tin from the other places being generally cast into slabs weighing about a third of a picul each. The Perak tin is of a very good quality, when refined, but requires re-smelting, owing to pieces of iron stone and sand being mingled with the ore. This adulteration amounts to 3 or 4 per cent. and the tin is sold at from 45 to 46 dollars per bahar of 428 $\frac{1}{2}$. The Patani tin fetches about the same.

Of Pahang and Patani such information as I have been able to procure has been already given, and I will therefore proceed to the Western countries at once, as, from their being more accessible to Europeans, more extensive intelligence regarding them has been obtainable.

To commence with Soongei Oojong, which con-



tains the mines of Linggy. I have already stated that this colony was founded between fifty and sixty years ago by five inhabitants of Rumbow, originally from Rhio, of the names respectively of Kadir Alli, Jehuddin, Inchi Aman, Lubbi Juman and Inchi Mahommed; * the last of these is still surviving and residing at Linggy. These individuals removed from Rumbow to a place on the coast between Tanjong Kling and Quallo Linggy, known by the name of Kubu Achi, or the Achinese fort, tradition stating that here the Achinese erected a fort in the course of one of their expeditions against the Sulthauns of Malacca.

The emigrants had commenced clearing away a spot for the new settlement when one of their number was killed by a tree falling on him. The survivors, influenced by that superstitious feeling so predominant amongst the Malays, regarded this casualty as a prohibition from Heaven against their settling there; they therefore hastily quitted the scene of their misfortunes, and, passing up the Linggy river, obtained the sanction and guarantee of Dattoo Kalana, the chief of Soonge Oojong, to found the present colony of Linggy.

At this period the infant settlement presented the same appearance of impenetrable jungle and swamp, which now distinguishes the adjacent wastes. Mangrove and *bagow* trees clothed the marshy and undrained plains down to the water's edge. The Dattoo Kalana appointed Inchi Aman

* For a large proportion of the subsequent intelligence relative to Linggy, I am indebted to Ensign Newbold of the 23d L. I., who enjoyed a favorable opportunity for collecting it, and willingly permitted me to avail myself of it, and blend it with that derived from other sources.

as chief over the new colony under the title of Dattoo Moodah of Linggy. He was succeeded, on his demise, by his son-in-law, Inchi Katus, the present Dattoo Moodah, who is under the two Kalanas of Soongei Ojong, Kawal and Bhan. The Kalanas reside at Pauhi, a village about ten miles beyond Jebooi, and were formerly vassals of the Sulthaun of Johore.

The Linggy river, upon the right branch of which this colony is situated, is about 450 yards broad at its mouth. The entrance is impeded by several small rocks, and a spit of sand, (on which at high water there is not more than a quarter of a fathom), which runs out from the point of the left bank for more than three quarters of the width of the bight formed by it, and a high promontory, called Tanjong Salamat, which is situated about midway between the Linggy river and Tanjong Tuan, or Cape Rachado, distant about eight miles, nearly due west.

The largest of the rocks off the right, or westerly, bank is called Battoo Berjambil, or the tufted rock, deriving its name from the circumstance of its being capped with foliage. A channel of two fathoms at high water runs about midway between the spit of sand and Tanjong Salamat, narrowing and deepening as it approaches the extremity of the right bank, close into which the lead gives eight fathoms.

About four miles up the river, off Bukit Bruang, or Bear's hill, are some coral rocks, to the right hand as you pass up the stream, and here the water, which nearer the mouth was only three fathoms, deepens, from the contraction of

the banks, to four fathoms, and the same soundings continue up as far as Simpang, or the point of junction of the Linggy and Rumbow branches.

The banks on either side are low and swampy, and clothed with the *bagow** and *nee-bong* † trees; a dense and uninhabited forest extending inland to the distance of several miles on either side. The right bank is disputed by the chiefs of Salangore and Rumbow, but is in possession of the former; the left bank forms the demarcation of the East India Company's territory.

Up as far as Simpang the breadth of the river is nearly uniform, being apparently between three and four hundred yards, its general course from Simpang to the mouth being S. by W. The branch, which falls in to the right at Simpang, is generally called the Linggy river, but, correctly speaking, it should be termed "Battang Pennar." Ascending this branch, you arrive at Linggy and the tin mines of Soongei Oojong.

The eastern branch, or that one which falls in to the left of Simpang, is called Soongei Penagie, or the Rumbow river, which takes its rise in the Rumbow mountains. Its general course from Pangkallang To Bandar, higher up the stream, to Simpang is S. W. by W.; whilst that of the Linggy branch from Linggy to the same point is about S. E. by S.

A few reaches above the point of junction, both these branches narrow considerably, and continue so to do in proportion as one advances nearer

* *Gnetum Gneon*. L. The natives manufacture twine from the bark of this tree.

† *Caryota urens* L. *Euterpe globosa*, Gært. A species of palm. The stem is split into laths for flooring.

to their respective sources. The banks of either present the same unalterable appearance of forest, but become gradually less swampy. The influence of the tide extends as high as Pangkallang Kundang on the Linggy branch, although the water be salt only as far as Bukit Makuniet, and, on the Rumbow branch, as high as Pangkallaog To Bandar.

Ascending the river, the first village to be met with is that at its mouth, as its name imports, Quallo Linggy. It is of very recent origin, having been established in June 1833 by a few emigrants who had been driven from Salangore by the tyranny and exactions of their chiefs, Rajah Mahomed and his relatives. Within the course of a few weeks it increased to nearly three hundred people, including women and children, the greatest influx being from Jaggra, or Parcelar hill, and its vicinity.

It consists at present of forty six houses. The Dattoo Moodah of Linggy, Inchi Kattas, had a house here, but, on the breaking out of the disturbances between this chief and Syed Sabban, the British Government, with the view of preserving the appearance of strict neutrality, ordered it to be removed. The village lies on the banks of the river, and at the foot of the grassy knoll, whose summit is crowned by the temporary barracks erected there for the accommodation of the small military detachment.

The barracks are encircled by the walls of an old Dutch redoubt, which it is supposed was erected somewhere about 1784, during the disturbance between that Power and Rajah Had-

gi* It consists of a low, but strong, earthen wall, rudely reveted with rough dark red stones, apparently the iron stone of Malacca. There are three small barbette batteries commanding the entrance of the river. The area enclosed is about 4,800 square yards, the redoubt being about 80 yards by 60. The sea faces are both higher and stronger than those of the land.

The circumjacent jungle, to the extent of about six hundred yards by three hundred, has been cleared by the emigrants, who, confiding in the impartiality and protection of the British Government, have already commenced small plantations of *kladi*, *pawn*, sugar cane, and pine-apple.

A few of that singular tribe of Iethyophagi, the Rayats, have deserted their ancient fishing haunts between Tanjong Serai, and Soongei Barro in order to settle here, which would indicate a disposition on their parts to adopt a more civilized mode of existence than they have hitherto pursued.

There are some fine *ansanna*, and *durian*, trees sprinkled over the eminence on which the redoubt stands, and to these Syed Sabban, or the Iang de Pertuan Besar of Rumbow, lays claim on the ground, or pretext, that they were planted by one of his ancestors. A very recent settlement has been formed between Tanjong Serai and Telohpuan, on the same bank of the river as the *quallo*, and distant from it about twelve minutes row, a belt of swampy forest, principally of neebong trees, intervening between the two. From its proximity to Telohpuan it thence derives its name,

* Page 65. & seq.

and lies upon a small creek, nearly dry at low water, which communicates with the river. This creek was formerly a notorious lurking place for pirates, and vestiges of ancient clearings, (probably of the early Buggis settlers), tombs, old wells, &c. are visible to this day in various parts of the forest between the *quallo* and Taujong Serai, a circumstance which would induce us to believe that at some distant period this spot had been highly populous.

At present the intervention of the forest divides the *quallo* and Telohpuan into distinct settlements; but, as soon as this has fallen under the axe, the two will be again united, and compose, as formerly, an extensive tract of cultivation embracing upwards of a mile of the left bank of the river.

Telohpuan is at present colonized by eight families, who have cleared a tract of land, measuring about nine hundred yards in length by three hundred in breadth, and planted it partially with paddy, plantains, pine apples, *kiadi*, sugar-cane, and the *ubi Bengala*, or sweet potatoe. A *sawah* has also been discovered, which will, in the process of time, be brought into cultivation.

The soil appears to be well adapted for the production of the above vegetables as well as of pine apples, *Lada China*, or black pepper, which last thrives well; cocoanuts, *durians*, and *mangustens*, also find congenial soil here, and a few clove trees have been planted and will probably succeed. Coffee plants have not been introduced, and the gambier will never be attempted until such time as the Chinese may form a consti-

tuent portion of the colony. A small quantity of *sirih* has been planted.

Many impediments offer themselves to the rapid progress of the new colonists. Deficiency of capital, so great an obstacle in European communities, can hardly be estimated as one amidst a simple people, whose wants are few and easily supplied, but the paucity of *choncoles*, and other agricultural implements, is a serious draw back; to this may be added their slovenly method of agriculture, casting in their seed amid the stumps of the trees which they have felled, leaving the stocks in the ground.

The old planters affirm that the *sawahs*, or wet rice fields, about the *quatta* will produce three crops of paddy per annum; the *ladangs*, or dry ones, of course, but one. About two hundred gantang of paddy had already been planted in November 1833.

Dammar and wood oil are procurable in small quantities from trees in the immediate vicinity of Bukit Miniak, and Tanjong Serai, and also, in larger quantities from Bukit Bruang and Tanjong Dahan. *Neepah ataps*, and neebongs for lantei, or laths, are cut on the river banks, and exported in considerable quantities to Malacca, Soongei, Barro, &c. Some valuable timber, such as the *merantei*, *scraya*, *rambei*, *daun*, and *medang ketanahan*, trees are to be found in the circumjacent forest.

The river, as well as the banks at its mouth, and those off Tanjong Serai and Tanjong Dahan, is abundantly supplied with fish, which forms the principal article of subsistence amongst the

settlers, who generally obtain them by angling : during the dark of the moon, however, they generally adopt the process termed " Meniulah," or spearing by torch light, when the fish approach the surface of the water. A *Scroomal*, or enclosure, has, however, been lately constructed, and as soon as the *blats*, or nets, are ready, the fishing by nets will supersede angling. Formerly there were several sets of fishing stakes here belonging to the Buggis, and other, settlers, the remains of which are still visible. No military post being then stationed at Linggy, the pirates used to sallly out and commit gross outrages and depredations on the defenceless fishermen, in consequence of which they were abandoned.

The places, which at present have most intercourse with Quallo-Linggy, are Soongei Barro, Pangkallang Bula, the two Ranuan Chinas, Soongei Seepoot, in the Company's territory, and Soongei Rhya, in Salangore. Trading vessels from the opposite coast of Sumatra have occasionally touched at Linggy during the year 1833, but have passed on, without landing their cargoes, on learning the disturbances in the interior. Little doubt can be entertained that, if ever the tin mines of Linggy and Soongei Oojong fell under European Government, the *quallo* would rapidly arise into importance as a commercial mart. At Quallo-Linggy there are 47 houses, including the *mesjid*; and seven at Telohpuan, making a total of 54.

The possession of the Linggy river was frequently contested by the Dutch authorities of Malacca and the Buggis Chiefs of Salangore. We have

already seen* that in 1786 Sulthaun Ibrahim of Salangore expelled the Dutch from his territory, and this same chief, during the time that Mr. Adrian Koek was Governor of Malacca, or a few years previous to that settlement passing finally into the hands of the English, advanced his claims to the country as far east as Soongei Barro. In order to repel these pretensions, the Dutch appear to have repaired the redoubt.

About a mile and a half up the river the *bagow* trees for a considerable distance are much more stunted in their growth, owing to the soil being less adapted for them; as, higher up, they are again in full luxuriance. The Malays term this spot *Bagow Rendah*, or Diminutive *Bagow* trees.

Further on, and nearly midway to Simpang, on the same, or left, bank of the river, rises Bukit Bruang, an eminence previously described, and only remarkable as having formerly been, according to the account of the people of Rumbow, the boundary between Rumbow, and the possession of the Company.

Beyond this is Rantow Panjang, or Long Reach, from which a fine view of the Rumbow mountains is obtainable.

About the centre of the Rantow Panjang, the river Duraka, † (so called from its course being from nearly an opposite direction to that of the Linggy), empties itself into that stream, debouching at the right bank. It is about ten yards wide at the mouth, nearly opposite to which, on the other side, another stream of the same name pours its water into the Linggy river. The Ma-

* Page 87.

† Duraka, rebellious.

lays state that the former communicates with Soongei Rhya, a river which empties itself into the sea between Tanjong Agas, and Tanjong Salamat in Salangore, its mouth being about two miles in a westerly direction from that of the Linggy river.

This communication was unknown to the British during the late Nanning war, and the Malays affirm, with great shew of reason, that, whilst the boats of H. M.'s. Ship *Magicienne* were blockading the mouth of the Linggy river, arms ammunition and provisions passed without interruption up the Soongei Rhya into the Linggy river by means of the Duraka, and were thus conveyed into the interior with as little difficulty as if no blockade had existed.

Between the mouth of Soongei Duraka and Simpang is another small stream, named Ayer Itam, or Black water, which disembogues itself about half a mile below Simpang, where the *Iaug de Pertuan Besar* occasionally resides, and, in conjunction with the *Tuan Moodab*, levies the impost of three Spanish dollars per bahar on all the tin which passes down from the mines of Soongei Oojong.

Simpang was founded about sixty years ago, and was at one time a flourishing settlement. It was established by the father of the present *Rajah*, but destroyed by the Dutch, who sent two small brigs against it about the period that they erected the redoubt at the mouth of the river. It reverted to its original state of jungle, from which it was partially rescued by the British in January 1833 for the purpose of the conference already detailed, and the clearing has been

since completed by the Rumbownese, although not to the extent of the original settlement. The only vestige, which Mr. Newbold observed, of the former settlement was a small tamarind tree, standing behind the miserable abode of the Tuan Besar; and which the old Rajah, Rajah Alli, informed him had been planted by the hands of his father, the brother of the late chief of Salangore, Sulthau Ibrahim. Behind the tree was a small well of whitish, but sweet, water, and a raised house occupied by an old Malay chief, named Rajah Korun, a near relative of the Rajah of Jelaboo.

A few fruits and vegetables, such as sweet potatoes, pine-apples, plantains, and Jack trees, had been planted by the new settlers amidst the half cleared jungle, indicating an intention of permanent colonization.

The house of the Tuan Besar was of a different model from that usually adopted by the Malays, and seems intended mainly for defence—It is situated on the tongue of the Simpang, and consists of a sort of hall, or log redoubt, covered with ataps, and resembling a shed, the sides of which are about three feet thick, and four and a half, or five, feet high. Off either end of, and connected with, this lowly dwelling were raised and private apartments appropriated exclusively to the females of the family. On the top of the log walls of the hall were planted seven swivels, two of which were *Rantaks**, one of the description called “*Ekoor Lootong*,” and the others were *Lellahs*, the most favorite wall-piece of the Malays. Two others of this last

* A *Rantaka* generally carries an eight ounce ball.

kind were reared up against the door-way. Two sides of the hall were adorned with a few spears and circular shields, whilst the long trails of the Lellahs were lashed to the horizontal beams of the roof.

In consequence of the dispute then, pending between the Iang de Pertuan Besar, and Inchi Kattas, the Linggy chief, the Rumbow fleet, if six small *prahus* can be so named, were lying off Simpang at the time that Mr. Newbold visited the post. The largest of them was about twenty five tons burthen, and built after the best Malay-an model with a high stem and stern—She had been purchased at Malacca by Syed Sabban, and was gaily painted and decorated. As none of the boats were provided with guns, they were probably as much intended for retreat as for any other purpose.

About a mile and a half up the Linggy branch of the river, (in which space five small tributaries pour in their waters), and a little retired from its rightbank, is the first village which is subject to the Dattoo Kalana of Soongei Oojong. It is called Pangkallang Koompas, and is so completely embowered amid the surrounding jungle that its site is merely indicated by the eminence on which it is known to stand. The next village is Serban, consisting simply of three houses, and lying upon the left bank of a small tributary which here joins the Linggy.

About a mile further up, and after having passed the mouth of Soongei Besar, the voyager arrives at the "Kubur," or tomb, of Dattoo Klambu. This was a Mahomedan saint of considerable odor, who crossed over from Achin to

the Malayan Peninsula, and who, during his lifetime, selected this spot for the inhumation of his remains. It is situated on the summit of a steep mound near the bank of the river, and having a small stream winding round its foot. The structure has nothing peculiar in it, being built after the usual fashion of the Malayan Mussalmans; it is about twenty yards long by two broad, and is visited by most Mussulmans passing up the river, who repeat a prayer and offer an oblation for the peace of the Marhum. There is neither date nor inscription on it, with the exception of a few sentences of the Koran, and the names of some of the devotees which have been rudely scrawled on it in charcoal.

The salt water reaches up as high as Bukit Makaniet, close to which is another hill, called Bukit Tiga. Two or three miles higher up the river on its right bank, a wooden jetty, belonging to Nakhodah Manil, indicates the entrance to Pemattang Passir, a place which forms part of the straggling village of Linggy, and consists of about twenty six houses. The river here is not above five or six yards broad, and beyond Terusam, where the stream, which, higher up, has been divided by a small island, again unites, it becomes yet shoaler and more narrow, there not being more than four feet water at half ebb. The right branch, or that to the traveller's left in ascending, is the one up which the boats usually proceed.

On the left bank, a little beyond Terusam, are two landing places, the first of which is called

Pangkallang Mangis, and the second Pangkallang Durian, respectively deriving their name from the abundance of Mangusteen and Durian trees growing in their immediate vicinity. At Pangkallang Durian there are four ware-houses, the property of Nakhodah Lope, who is considered to be one of the wealthiest subjects of Rumbow—A deadly feud exists between this individual and the yet wealthier and more formidable Inchi Kattas.

At Pangkallang Durian, quitting the main stream, which leads up to the tin mines of Soongei Oojong, a rivulet which falls into the left of the river, leads to Pangkallang Kundang, the principal landing place of Linggy. This stream is barely navigable by boats, being only about two and a half yards wide, and as many feet deep. About two hundred yards before reaching Pangkallang, a petty stream, which falls into the left of the rivulet, leads to the house of the Dattoo Moodah, and to the interior of the Linggy village.

Pangkallang Kundang is a small *entrepôt* for the reception of the tin which is brought thither for the purpose of being bartered for the different necessaries of life, such as rice, opium, salt, tobacco, cloth, oil, salt-fish, *balachang*, &c. which arrive from Malacca, &c. in boats of from half to one and a half coyangs burthen.

These boats cannot ascend much higher, and the tin is consequently brought down in smaller craft from Jebooi, which is a large village and jetty in Soongei Ooojong, lying about thirty miles further up the stream. The tin is generally bought up by the rich Malayan proprietors of

the ware-houses, and exchanged by them for the articles already enumerated, brought by the traders from Malacca and the east coast of Sumatra. In the godown of a trader, named Hadgi Yusuf, Mr. Newbold observed, among other articles, a chest of Benares opium a large quantity of tin, cast into blocks, *balachang*, rice, oil, and a vast heap of a species of cockleshell, brought, he was informed, principally from Assahan, and Battoo Baroo in Sumatra. These are calcined by the Malays, and converted into Kapurs, or prepared lime, which they masticate along with their betel. In a retired bed room were eight or nine spears, one or two of which had been manufactured from old bayonet blades fastened to long bamboos, a few old swords, Kleywongs, * Kris-ses, three European musquets, and a buff shoulder belt. The European portion of this armory had probably been acquired during the Nanning war.

The house of Inchi Kattas, the Dattoo Moodah of Linggy, is stockaded, and defended by an iron six pounder and five or six swivels. There are three ware-houses at Pangkallang Kundang, the principal of which belonged to Sali-hud-diu, the brother-in-law of the Dattoo Moodah.

Linggy, Pemattang Passir, Pangkallangs Kundang, Durian, and Mangis, form, as before mentioned, the village of Linggy, which contains in the aggregate about 112 houses, and of which the Pangkallangs may be considered the wharfs. The proprietors of the ware-houses at the differ-

* A Malay sword.

ent Pangkallangs reside in the interior of the village.

From Linggy there is a pathway, principally through swamp and forest, To Bandar, the residence of the Rajah of Rumbow, and also to Pangkallang To Bandar on the Penagie, or Rumbow river, by Kondoor and Leureen. The natives say that it is little more than a three hours walk by this path. The road by land from Linggy to Jebooi and the mines also passes through Kondoor, thence to Jemampong and Sala. The distance between Sala and Jebooi may be accomplished in about two hours.

Previous to adverting to the mines or to the late disturbances, I will here describe the Rumbow branch of the Linggy river, the materials of which have been furnished to me by the same officer to whom I am indebted for the preceding.

The Penagie, at its junction with the Linggy at Simpang, is about the same breadth as that stream, but is deeper, and does not contract so soon above the point of union. Its general course from the source to Simpang, as previously remarked, is S.W. by W., but, a little above that point, its waters take a curve to the N.E. before they mingle themselves with the Soongei Penaar.

The first tributary streams, which are met with in ascending the Penagie, are those which fall into it from the right bank, called Soongei Dua, or the two rivers, and a little higher up, another rivulet debouches from the left bank, known by

the name of Soongei *Champadak*,* and which takes its rise at the foot of a hill of the same name.

Between the mouths of Soongei Dua a sand bank extends nearly halfway across the river. In the centre of the sweep, already mentioned, and close to the right bank, is a low rock, called *Battoo Karang*, opposite to which there is a curious bight in the river termed *Lubo Bantali*, into which a river of the same name debouches. Ascending the stream, the next tributary, falling in from the left bank, is the *Ramoan China Besar*, measuring about ten yards across at its *embouchure*, a little less than half a mile beyond which the right bank becomes higher and more free from jungle: this place is denominated *Penjamaran Bu-ayer*, the alligator's basking place, the natives stating that it is a favorite resort of these animals.

About half a mile beyond this, (passing the mouths of the Soongei Oojong, and Soongei Dua), is some high ground on the left bank, called *Tebbing Tinga*, on which stands a leafless tree, at whose foot criminals, subjects of Rumbow, are put to death either by "Salang," or the "Kris Panjang." The marks of a foot path from the river side to the rising ground are distinctly visible.

About eight or nine hundred yards further up, the stream of *Ramoan China Kechil* falls in from the left bank, being about eight yards wide at its mouth. The village lies about half a mile up the stream. Two or three miles beyond this, upon the right bank of the river, and on the top of

* *Champadak*, *Artocarpus Integrifolia*, L. The Jack tree.

a small hill commanding it, stands the well stockaded house of Rajah Alli. A small stream, called Padas, that flows into the river about a quarter of a mile further down, gives the name to this place. The river, for several hundred yards both above and below Padas, was obstructed by large trees which had been felled completely across it; in addition to which, there was a formidable *cheveaux-de-frise* composed of sharpened stakes bound together, and extending from bank to bank.

It is upon this part of the river, where the obstacles are greatest, that the stockade principally bears. Notwithstanding that the trees had been cut through here and there for the convenience of passage, and that time had divested them of their branches, &c. for they had been felled against the expected attack of the English in the first Nanning expedition, the difficulties of passing these barriers was extreme even in 1832, although two years had elapsed, and no enemy disputed the passage. The work reflected considerable credit on the engineer, who happened to be no less a personage than Lacsamana Kubib, or the admiral of the Rumbow fleet of six boats, which we have seen was lying off Simpang.

About a mile and a quarter from Padas, the Simeen stream falls into the Penagie, and about a mile up the tributary is situated the village of the same name containing thirty seven houses. This place belongs to Rumbow, and is under the authority of one of its Sookoos, viz: Bangsa de Balang. About a quarter of a mile further up, and situated on the right bank of the stream, is a house and jetty called Pangkallang To Bandar,

whence, as already mentioned, a pathway leads through Simeen and Kondoor.

At Pangkallang To Bandar Mr. Newbold procured a smaller boat, in which he proceeded about another mile, beyond which he found himself unable to advance, on account of the numerous obstacles in the shape of felled trees, &c. which barred his progress, and he was therefore reluctantly compelled to return.

The mines of Linggy, as indeed is the case throughout the Peninsula, are wrought by Chinese. Kawal, the uncle of the present Kalana, permitted them to settle for this purpose on the following conditions, viz: that, at each smelting of the ore, without reference to the quantity subjected to the process, he, as Pangooloo of Soongei Ojong, was to receive three bahars of tin, of three piculs each, at the rate of thirty Spanish dollars per bahar. An additional sum of six Spanish dollars was also to be paid on the same occasion to the proprietor of the soil.

Kawal having advanced the requisite capital, the Chinese entered upon the working of the mines. The funds were obtained by his consigning all the tin, as it passed down the Linggy, to the merchants of Malacca, who advanced the money upon the speculation. Upon one occasion no less than two thousand five hundred dollars was advanced, of which Kawal retained one thousand as his own share, paid eight hundred to the Kalana, gave four hundred to the Rajah di Rajah of Soongei Ojong, and divided the remaining three hundred between Kadir Alli, and Inchi Mahomed, two of the founders of the colony.

The number of Chinese employed in working the mines had increased in 1828 to about six hundred men, who were distributed into ten *Kung-Schs*, or companies. They appear to have presumed on their numerical strength, as they greatly displeased both the Kalana and the Rajah di Rajah by their arrogant and dissolute conduct. The working of the mines, however, was still continued up to 1830 when a serious disturbance arose in consequence of some improper conduct, real or alleged, of the Chinese towards a woman of Terachi, whereon the Malays rose and slew one of their number.

The Chinese, profiting by the absence of the Kalana, who happened to be then at Sri Menanti on the business of the Iang de Pertuan, advanced *en masse* upon Terachi, but were speedily driven back by the Malays, who pursued them as far as Soongei Ojong, slaughtering great numbers of them, and dispersing the rest. The Chinese, in consequence, abandoned the mines, and their property was confiscated by the irritated chiefs.

Upon the representation of the Dattoo Moodah that this wholesale confiscation would render him incapable of fulfilling his engagements with the merchants of Malacca, who had invested large sums in the speculation, the Kalana agreed to restore all the tin that was collected in the mines, (*Timah Karungan*,) and the tin ore, (*Timah Biji*); such, however, as was either smelted, or found scattered about the Chinese houses, remained confiscated. Of this there were found about eighteen piculs, five-ninths of which the Kalana

reserved for himself, and the remainder he assigned to the Iyang de Pertuan Besar of Rumbow.

This appears to have been the first profit derived by Rumbow from the Linggy mines, and to have been founded probably upon the two following grounds, backed by superiority of power; viz. first, that the founders of the colony were originally subjects of Rumbow, and, secondly, that the boats descending the river must needs pass the Rumbow post of Simpang.

A few of the Chinese were induced to return to Linggy in 1831, and the Kalana offered them the working of the mines upon different terms to those on which they had been originally opened. The new proposition was that, for every Chinese house erected in the colony, the Kalana should receive a donation of one hundred Spanish Dollars at the time of its construction, and a perpetual tribute of one dollar on each Bahar of tin. The Dattoo Moodah further reserved to himself the opium monopoly, and the Rajah di Rajah was to receive half a Spanish dollar on each Bahar of tin. Owing to the Nanning disturbances, it was not until lately that the mines could be re-opened, and Inchi Kattas seems to have seized upon this circumstance as a pretext for discontinuing the payment of a compulsory present, or tribute, to Rumbow.

We have already seen that the Rumbow chiefs and Inchi Kattas regarded each other with no friendly eye at the conference at Simpang in January 1832, and their private animosity was considerably enhanced by their espousing

different parties in the pending disputes between the British Government and the Panghooloo of Nanning.

After the termination of that contest, Syed Sabban, probably calculating upon the support of Government on account of his * services during the war, issued the following Proclamation in January 1833.

“ General Order by the Iang de Pertuan Besar, and Iang de Pertuan Moodah, with the concurrence of Dattoo Sellah Maharajah—to brang Kayoo Kattas, (that is, to the Chief of Linggy.

“ That we make known to you that, upon all tin which is exported by the river Linggy, we peremptorily impose a duty of three dollars per Bahar, because we have referred the case to Malacca, to the Governor of Pinang, and the Resident Councillor of Malacca—therefore this order is issued to the Chief of Linggy that all, who bring down tin, (from Semoojong), must go to Simpang to pay the duty.”

“ Written 23d January 1833—Hegira 1248.”

This Proclamation which, whilst it stated the fact of the reference, thus craftily insinuated that the British Government sanctioned the duty, was met by a counter one from Mr. Ibbetson, worded as follows;

“ The Honorable R. Ibbetson Esq. Governor of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca, hereby notifies and makes known that, with respect to the territory of Simpang in the inte-

* Although Syed Sabban was next to useless as a *friend* in the second expedition, dear bought experience in the first shewed that he was formidable as an *enemy* in the jungle—His espousal of the British interests had this negative good that he was no longer acting against us.

rior of Soongy Linggy, Rajah Alli, the Rajah Besar of Rumbow, and the Rajah Moodah, with their people, have given intimation to him, the Governor, of their intention of levying a duty on tin there. The Governor, in consequence, makes known to all whom it may concern that these matters do not pertain to him, nor is it in his power to interfere; because that place is not within the jurisdiction of the Honorable Company. They, the Chiefs, are in error to suppose that he, the Governor, has any authority at Sim-pang."

"Written at Singapore, 27th April 1833."

The Malacca merchants, who had, on the faith of the promises of Inchi Kattas, advanced considerable sums for the working of the mines, now grew alarmed for their money. If Syed Sabban were permitted to levy the duty, the price of the tin would be so materially enhanced as to render it impossible to dispose of it advantageously in a foreign market. The government was clamorously solicited to compel Syed Sabban to relinquish his claims, and, on this public refusal to interfere with a foreign state, most acrimonious attacks upon it were inserted in the weekly press of Singapore.*

It is, however, a matter which admits of no

* The following instance may serve as an example—After the conclusion of the Nanning war, Syed Sabban requested two barrels of gun powder from Government in order to celebrate his marriage, and the request was acceded to.—The chief subsequently stated that one barrel was sufficient at that time and begged that, as he had no convenient place to stow the spare barrel in, it might be kept in the magazine at Malacca until he required it. This was also agreed to, and, upon Syed Sabban's application for it during the struggle between him and Inchi Kattas, it was, of course, given to him.—This simple circumstance was twisted by a correspondent of the Singapore Chronicle into a Charge against Government for furnishing ammunition to Syed Sabban, despite of the professed neutrality of the British.

dispute that those, who had thus invested their property, had not a shadow of right to demand the interference of Government. Finding that the speculation in the Linggy tin was a profitable one, they, on their own responsibility, without even soliciting the guarantee of Government, risked their property in the adventure. Nay, the very insecurity of the speculation appears to have entered into the calculations of the merchants from the beginning, as is evident from the reduced price which they paid for the tin, and yet, when the long expected event arrives, they coolly demand the assistance of Government. No really British property is embarked in the concern, the traders being either Dutch or Chinese, residing to-day under the protection of the British flag, and equally willing to live, if need be, under that of France, Russia, or any other power, who may be in possession of Malacca.

As the Government could not interfere on behalf of the merchants, these latter endeavoured to recover the money, which they had advanced on private speculation, by private efforts. One of these, a wealthy Chinese, chartered a small brig, called the catharine, and despatched it to Linggy with a Dutchman on board to act the part of supercargo—The Dutchman, on his arrival off the river, feigned utter ignorance of the Malayan language, and conversed with Syed Sabban by means of an interpreter, pretending that the vessel had arrived from some other port. The Jang de Pertuan Mordah, being completely deceived, allowed the Catharine to complete her cargo of tin, the duties on which her fictitious

Supercargo promised should be faithfully paid on the morrow—with this the Chief being satisfied, the brig weighed during the darkness of the night, and, when the morning dawned, was no longer to be seen at Linggy.

As this deception was practiced under British colors, and the Catharine belonged to the port of Malacca, the exasperated Syed Sabban appealed to authorities of that Settlement, but, as Government was resolved to observe a strict neutrality in the pending differences between Rumbow and Linggy, the Chief received as little support as the merchants had before him—He therefore resolved to enforce, if possible, the payment of the impost, by a recourse to war, in which he was assisted by a few individuals interested in his success, whilst Inchi Kattas was aided in arms, ammunition, and money, by those merchants whose property was at stake.

A series of petty actions ensued between the two parties, and early in the struggle, Sali-uddin, the brother-in-law of the Dattoo Moodah, was mortally wounded, being shot through the body, whilst defending a stockade at Monang, two or three others of inferior note being killed at the same time. At a subsequent period, Panglimah Prang Balla Che Low, the Lieutenant of Syed Sabban during the Nanning war, and considered invulnerable, had a limb broken by a shot, and died of the mortification which ensued.

Since the death of this warrior the struggle has continued with various success, but Inchi Kattas has gained ground, and has every prospect

of ultimately freeing himself from the unjust and oppressive demand of Syed Sabban, and reviving the decaying trade. There used at one time to be at least sixty boats lying off the wharfs of Linggy for the purpose of procuring tin, but these were reduced by the disturbances to about one third of the number in 1833.

The first part of the road from Linggy to Kondoor* is tolerably good, passing through clear and cultivated ground, but this soon gives place to dense and extensive jungle, the pathway through which, even in the month of May, is plashy, and slippery, the mud in some places being ankle deep. Kondoor is somewhat of a straggling village, several houses at a considerable distance being included in it—The Panghooloo stated it to consist of one hundred houses.

Shortly after leaving the village, the traveller emerges from the gloomy forest with which it is swathed, and an extensive and varied prospect delights the eye as it rapidly glances over the Vale of Kondoor—In front, and melting into distance, a succession of undulating and grassy hills, gemmed here and there with ever verdant clumps, or sprinkled with brushwood, forcibly recalls the recollection of smiling, cultivated England. At his feet stretches an extensive valley, *riant* with the luxuriant and peculiar green of rice fields; this valley contracts, as he proceeds, until it terminates in the ravine which pours upon it the fertilizing element—on the gentle slope of a hill, are to be seen a few cottages whose peace has never been invaded—whilst, on the right, tower-

* Vide Journal of an Excursion to the Tin mines of Spongai Oojong by the Rev. J Tomlin.

ing a loft in savage grandeur, the dark and frowning ranges of the Rumbow hills give the finish to the picture.

The path from Kondoor to Jemampong runs generally along the foot, or the sides of the hills, but occasionally descends and crosses the *Sawas*, or some petty streams, over which occasionally the trunk of a tree is carelessly thrown, as a substitute for a bridge—The distance may be accomplished in a little more than three hours. At the latter end of the journey, the road is steep and rugged, climbing the sides of various hills, or leading over a dark ravine by means of a fallen tree. The tangled and matted brushwood, clasped together by numerous creepers, compels the travellers here and there to force a passage through on his hands and knees, and the difficulties of progress cause an hour to be consumed in this part of the journey.

The village of Jemampong, although lying in the midst of an extensive plain, is completely shrouded from view by the density of the foliage of the fruit trees, in which it is embosomed. The surrounding scenery is rich and picturesque in the extreme. Immediately in front of the village or large tank is a reservoir of water.

The road from Jemampong to Sala, where the tin mines commence, leads through a vast unbroken forest, termed *hutan besar*, or the great forest, previous to arriving at which the ground is broken up with pools and swamps, which render the journey fatiguing in the extreme; one stream, waist deep, is to be crossed. The tangled mass of brushwood, creepers, and ferns, hums

with the drone of the beetle, or rings with the chirp of the grasshopper, or the shrill note of the trumpeter, whilst ever and anon the mellow and delightful lays of the Malacca thrush, pouring from an overhanging spray, beguile the tediousness of the way. The soil is chiefly granite and clay, interspersed here and there with patches of loose, sharp, sand. The usual annoyance of thorns and bare roots of trees is to be met with abundantly in this dreary jungle. About two thirds of the way through, a clear, and delightful stream runs purling through a small valley. Immediately after emerging from the jungle the village of Sala bursts upon the view. Two hours walk thence through another jungle brings the traveller to the village of Chinangko, where a new mine was opened in 1828. At a short distance hence, situated in an open plain, and on the banks of a stream communicating with Linggy, lies the Malay Campong of Jebooi, the circumjacent country being well cleared of jungle. The country between Jebooi and Temeong has been brought into tolerable cultivation, and Sugar cane, plantains and appear to thrive well.

The mines at Temeong (or, *Sinice*, Chin chong) are situated at the distance of about an hour's walk from Jebooi, and are five in number, being all contiguous. There are probably about six hundred Chinese employed in working the mines, who, like those of Linggy, are divided into ten *Kong Sehs*, or Companies. The miners here have a more respectable appearance and greater capital at their command than their fellow laborers at Lookoot, the latter of whom are not allowed by

the Rajah to sell any tin on their own account, whilst at Temeong no such restriction exists.

The manner of working the mines is very similar in both places, but at Soongei Oojong there is the great advantage of the Chinese chain pump for the purpose of throwing off the water. This machine is thus described by Mr. Tomlin. "The apparatus is simple, consisting of a common water wheel, a circular wooden chain, about forty feet in circumference, and a long square box, or trough, through which it runs in ascending. The wheel and chain, I think, revolve on a common axis, so that the motion of the former necessarily puts the latter into action. The chain consists of square wooden floats, a foot distant from each other, and strung, as it were, upon a continuous flexible axis, having a moveable joint between each pair. As the float-boards of the chain successively enter the lower part of the box or trough, (immersed in water), a portion of water is constantly forced up by each, and discharged at the top. At one of the mines we were much struck with the simple, but efficient, mode of its application—There were three distinct planes, or terraces, rising above each other. On the middle one was the wheel; the lower was the pit of the mine; from the higher a stream of water fell and turned the wheel, which, putting the whole machine into motion, brought up another stream from the pit; these two streams, from above and below, uniting on the middle plane, ran off in a sluice by which the ore was washed."

Mr. Tomlin and his party returned by the riv-

er to Linggy, which took two days to accomplish on account of the sinuosities of the stream, and the obstacles presented by trees fallen across it. These the Malay never thinks of removing, as his habitual indolence whispers to him that, if the obstructions were removed today, in the course of a few weeks others would supply their place. But the most formidable impediment is that offered by the prickly rattan, or the *Oonah* of the Malays, which grows in profusion on the narrow banks of the river. It has an elegant and graceful appearance, shooting upwards to the height of forty or fifty feet, but is dreaded, and with reason, by all who approach its vicinity. The branch, for the last 15 or 16 inches at the extremity, is destitute of leaves, in lieu whereof it is armed with sharp and strong thorns, bending backwards, which firmly grasp any thing that comes in contact with them, tearing the clothes of the incautious traveller into shreds and lacerating his body in a most painful manner.

There is a small village, called Rantow, lying at a little distance from the bank of the river, and situated about midway between Soongei Oojong and Linggy.

I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the coast of Salangore* and of the tin mines of Lookoot.

Tanjong Agas, † which derives its name from the swarms of musquitos which infest the dense jungles on its banks, forms the inner extremity

* For the materials of the first I am indebted to a M. S. account by Ensign Newbold, and for those of the second to the Rev. Mr. Tomlin's Journal of an Excursion to Lookoot.

† Musquito promontory.

of the right bank of the river, and nearly faces Tanjong Melippahari. From Tanjong Agas the shore recedes considerably, and, at about three quarters of an hour's row from Quallo Linggy, about the centre of the bight, the Soongei Rhya, about twenty feet broad at the mouth, discharges its waters into the sea. The entrance is nearly concealed from view by the overhanging foliage of the *Bagow* and *Api-Api*-trees, which are very abundant on this coast.

On the right bank of the stream rises a hill, called Bukit Soongei Rhya, and on the left is another denominated Bukit Melintang. The Malays state that each of these is crowned with a stone redoubt similar to that of Quallo Linggy. About half an hour's row up the stream and situated on the left bank, is the village of Soongei Rhya, from which, to its mouth, the course of the river is nearly from north to south. The banks are low and miry, covered with a tangled forest, and deeply indented by elephant tracks, especially in the places where these animals had crossed the stream.

The river is much obstructed by rocks and fallen trees, rendering it difficult for even a one coyang boat to pass up it at flood tide, but *sampans* can proceed as high as Pangkallang Choompa, a village lying about an hour's pull, against the stream, from Pang-kallang Mangis. Beyond this latter village there are no houses, except the temporary huts (*Bugans*) of the people employed in procuring wood oil and *dammar* from the forest.

A Linggy Malay, who made his escape from

Kattas's stockade after the burning of his own house and property at Pemattang Passir, and arrived at Soongei Rhya, informed Mr. Newbold that the distance between the house of the Dattoo Moodah at Linggy and Soongei Rhya was half a day's journey—He crossed the stream of Soongei Ojong, about two hours after he had left Linggy, by means of a bridge formed of the trunk of a tree thrown across it. The path was a mere elephant track, along which he was guided by one of the Jacoon tribe. There are said to be several such paths leading from Passir Panjang, Pulo Menkuda, Soongei Bengalla, Serrooseh, and Lookoot, into the interior of Linggy, but, traversing, as they do, morass and jungle, they are seldom used except in case of necessity. There are more frequented paths from Soongei Rhya to Ayer Itam, Pangkallang Kompas, and thence to Pemattang Passir.

The village of Soongei Rhya, or Pangkallang Mangis, belongs to the Rajah of Salangore, and is under the immediate control of two *Tuah Campongs*, named Abu, and Ribut. It consisted formerly of thirty families, but fifteen of these, including their priests, have fled, in consequence of the fines and oppression of the Rajah, to the Company's territory, viz; ten to Quallo Linggy, and five to Soongei Barro.

The inhabitants of Soongei Rhya are wholly dependent on the *quallo* for rice, tobacco, and salt; whilst those of the *quallo* are partially so on Soongei Rhya for vegetables and fruits. This intercourse was partially interrupted by the late disturbances, but the suspension of it

was not productive of any distress to the *quallo*, as its population obtained supplies from other quarters, such as Ramoan China, Soongei Seepoot, &c., in the Company's territories.

From the mouth of Soongei Rhya to Tanjong Salamat may be considered as the outer extremity of the right bank of the Linggy river, as the opposite hill, on which the redoubt stands, is that of the left. There are no houses on the former except the wretched *bagah* of an individual named Khamis, near to which there is an ancient *Kramat*, whither the Salangore people resort for the purpose of offering up their vows and oblations.

After rounding Tanjong Salamat, there is a small bay, called Teloh Passir Panjang, bounded in part, as its name implies, by a strait of sandy coast, into which a rivulet disembogues: from this an old pathway leads to Linggy. Beyond this, and, stretching far to the westward, is Cape Rachado, called by the natives Tanjong Tuan. Its south eastern coast is studded with the islets of Pulo Tikus or Rat island, Pulo Menkuda or Horse island, Pulo Perjudian, Pulo Babi, or Hog island, and Pulo Mesjid, or Mosque island, and, off its extreme point, Pulo Intan, or Diamond island.

These islands were formerly much infested by pirates, but have of late become the resort of the Bugis and Salangore fishermen. The whole of them are, however, uninhabited, neither is there any population to be found along the whole line of coast comprized between Tanjong Salamat and Tanjong Tuan,

except, indeed, a few houses scattered on the Mengalla stream, which are occupied by a Malay of Salangore, named Inchi Soomar, and by about ten persons employed by him in procuring *dammar* and wood oil. These he used formerly to take to Malacca for sale, but now barter on the spot for rice, tobacco, salt, and cloths. This stream *debouches* in that portion of the coast which lies between Pulo Menkuda, and Pulo Perjudian.

The extremity of Cape Rachado is composed chiefly of a dark red iron stone, and rock resembling quartz. The ascent to the summit from the point is at first steep, but rendered easy by the nature of the rock. The trees are stunted in their growth, and the ground is thickly covered with a coarse species of fern, which, in some places, reaches nearly to the waist. Near the top there is a small clear space, called *Padang Chan-ti*, on which there are vestiges of a rude and ancient *Kramat*. The low coast of Sumatra, called by the natives Tanjong Saddye, fringed with trees, and bearing S. W. by W., is distinctly visible from the summit.

Two strong and opposing currents, meeting at the point of Cape Rachado, near Pulo Intan, cause a violent and dangerous eddy in which boats have been occasionally upset. The current to the eastward of the cape sets from the N. N. E. Few small boats, voyaging between Malacca and Lookoot, now venture on rounding the point, either standing out to sea, or running on shore at Guinting, which is a deserted place about a mile on the eastern side of the cape, where the land

becomes low, and forms a narrow isthmus. Here the boat is placed upon rollers, called *Kalang*, and pushed across in about half an hour to a small creek, called *Teloh Si Gueyno*, where it again puts to sea.

Near the extremity of the cape is a small bight, called *Teloh Rubiah*, which derives its name from a pious Mussulman lady having been there interred: on the right is a rocky island, the former scene of her devotions, and hence called *Pulo Mesjid*; whilst on the left springs a well of fresh water, which is collected between two or three large mossy stones, the place of her ablutions, and thence termed *Priggi Rubiah*.

The Malays believe that the spirit of the saint is not favorably inclined to vessels passing in the vicinity, and that, when it wishes to wreck some unfortunate mariner, it summons the genii of the elements to the work of death and destruction by a violent explosion from *Tanjong Tuan*, resembling the discharge of artillery.

The *Dattoo of Tanjong Tuan*, a saint of no mean celebrity amongst the maritime portion of the Malayan population, presides on the summit of the cape.

According to native information, the following places lie between *Cape Rachado* and *Lookoot*, viz; *Teloh Si Gueyno*, *Tanjong Praya*, *Soongei Nipah Kechil*, *Teloh Kummang*, *Labohan Balik*, *Passir Putih*, *Soongei Serooseh Besar*, *Soongei Serooseh Kechil*, *Pinto Gadang*, (from this a path leads to the tin mines at *Lookoot Kechil*), *Pulo Arrang-Arrang*, *Tanjong Kmoonin*, *Teloh*

Glám, Pulo Burong, Quallo Lookoot Kechil, and Quallo Lookoot Besar.

The whole of these, with the exception of the two last, are now merely places of resort to fishermen and people employed in procuring *dammar* and wood oil. Yet local tradition asserts that the whole of this now deserted coast between the Linggy river and Cape Rachado was once thickly populated, and the numerous and extensive ancient burial places, visible at this day, corroborate the assertion.

Lookoot, which lies a little to the westward of Cape Rachado, being situated about 40 miles to the westward and northward of Malacca, is celebrated for its tin mines. These afford employment for about two hundred Chinese miners, who are divided into three companies or gangs, each under the immediate control of a *Kung-seh*, or head-man; their labor being performed in different parts of the valley.

Lookoot lies inland about six or seven miles: a small river, navigable only by the light *sampan*, will convey the traveller to within a mile or two of the mines, but the remainder of the trip must be performed on foot, as the water becomes too shallow even for this small boat.—The road, like all Malayan roads, leads through a dense and dark jungle, whose gloom is abruptly terminated by the smiling valley, in which is situated the village of Lookoot.

This valley is nearly circular in form, and its diameter may be taken at about half a mile: the hills, which circumscribe it, are of moderate height, clothed with forest trees and jungle to the

summit, and forming a natural and sylvan amphitheatre. The hamlet of the miners, composed of about twenty houses, lies in the bosom of the valley and is surrounded by the mines, whose appearance affords a close resemblance to sand pits.

About one half of the lower part of the valley is as yet unbroken by the search after the metal, and is sprinkled here and there with gardens, in which the plantain, the *siri*, (*piper betel*), and *taro*, (Qu. *Taroom*, or indigo plant, the *Indigofera Tinctoria*), flourish remarkably well, and the soil appears to be well adapted for cultivation.

The mines, which were first wrought in 1815, are only to be met with in the valley, which is nearly level, and the vein of ore is generally found at the depth of from six to twelve feet below the surface in layers of dark grey sand. There are generally two or three superincumbent layers of different soil, the one immediately contiguous to the ore being a white glittering sand, whose appearance announces to the miners the presence of the metal in its neighborhood. Amidst the rubbish, thrown out from some old and exhausted mines, are several beautiful specimens of granite crystals, mica slate, hornstone, &c.

The miners are very early at their task, and work and rest for one hour alternately throughout the day. They pursue their work with great cheerfulness and alacrity, the average amount of labor being about six hours per diem. Their wages vary from two to ten dollars a month according to the work performed by the individual. The Chinese proprietors of the mines pay more-

over one tenth of the produce to the rajah of Salangore—Their method of working the mines is simple, but destitute of confusion, forty or fifty of them being employed at one time, one half of whom descend into the pit with their empty baskets, whilst the remainder emerge, laden with ore, by a different track. Two small baskets, slung at each end of a pole or bamboo, which rests upon the shoulder, serve for removing the ore.

Uncontrolled by any European government, and but nominally dependent on a distant and petty rajah, this little community has naturally assumed to itself the power of internal legislation. Five Ko Ko's or head-men, under whom are several subordinate authorities, administer justice, which is exercised in the most prompt and summary manner, "the law's delays" being here altogether unknown. Slight offences are punished with the rattan, but thefts and crimes of a darker hue with the utmost severity, often extending to the loss of life. This rigor, combined with there being no "glorious uncertainty of the law"—no escaping by a quibble, has produced an honesty amongst the miners which is by no means a prevailing characteristic of their nation.

With the exception of the second class of head-men, who appear to have more spare time, and are generally addicted to opium smoking, the laborers are further distinguished by a spirit of sobriety and industry.

The houses of Lookoot, with the exception of such as belong to the *Kung-sehs*, and are larger and better built, are occupied by small craftsmen, such as carpenters, tailors, barbers, &c. The

miners lodge in the houses of their respective *Kung-sehs*.

Little Lookoot, which is a miniature resemblance of the other, lies at the distance of about an hour and a half's walk hence through the jungle. It does not appear to have been wrought above seven or eight years, as ground had been broken in only two or three places in 1828, at which period there were a hundred miners under one *Kung-seh*. At the distance of half an hour's walk from Little Lookoot, (through the jungle), lies another mine, which was opened by the *Kung-seh* in 1828, or thereabouts. A small quantity of gold dust was found in the neighborhood of the ore, but not in sufficient quantities to repay the trouble of collecting it.

From Lookoot as far northward as Pangah there are eighty two rivers by means of which, where the banks are inhabited, tin, rattans, and occasionally wood oil and *dammar* are exported. They are thus distributed; in the Salangore territory, independent of Soongei Lookoot, and Linggy Kechil, eighteen; in the Perak territory, eight; in the Dindings, claimed by Salangore, fourteen; in the Hon. Company's territory, eight; in Kedah, twenty seven; in the dependencies of Salang, under the Siamese Government, seven.

Those, who wish for an account of the population, &c. on their banks, might consult Mr. Anderson's "Considerations relative to the Malay-an Peninsula, Part 2d.," where such information, as is obtainable, will be found. It is, however, meagre, and destitute of general interest.

CHAP. XI.

Island of Oojong Salang, or Junk Ceylon—Geographical description—Bantakion—Bandone—Tentally—Ambergris—Sago—Good soil—Ringain and Cockraine—Pookit—Tin mines—Depth of the strata—Method of working in the mines—Of smelting—Quantity of tin procurable—Assay of the metal—Comra—Turma—Jamboo—Straits of Popra—Opposite coast—Town of Popra—Cooctooi—Bancey—Natory—Tacoatany—Talai—Description of the coast—Water fall of Cra Poongha on Junk Ceylon—Curious valley—Excellent pasture—Well adapted for cattle—Different sorts of rice—Two annual harvests—Ladang cultivation—Method of sowing—Precautions against wild elephants—Method of reaping—Natural productions—Oysters—Pearl Oysters, King crabs, shells, &c—Biche de Mer—Edible Birds' nests—Valuable timber—Amber—Wax—Ivory—Cotton—Coffee—Indigo—Pepper—Sugar—National religion—Siamese administration of Justice—Ordeal by fire—by water—Punishment for robbery—for rebellion—mutiny—treason—and murder—Code very sanguinary—Dreadful executions in 1650—Of the Talapoins—Vow of celibacy—Infraction of it punished by death—The five moral precepts—Diet of the Talapoins—High esteem in which they are held—Superstition of “the glutinous serpent of the profound pit of the house of smoke.

WE now come to the island of Oojong Salang, or Junk Ceylon, as it is more commonly termed by the British. Perhaps, few countries have had their original appellation so much corrupted as this comparatively small spot of Oojong Salang. Mendez Pinto terms it Jonsala; by Fitch it is converted into Jonsalaon; Linschoten calls it Gunsalun, Gervase, Jonsalam; Choisy, Joncelang; Hamilton, Junkceloan; and the moderns, Junk Ceylon.

It is situated in the eighth degree of north latitude, its greatest length being about forty miles, running from NN. E. to SS. W., whilst its breadth is only fifteen. It forms the north * point of the straits of Malacca, the opposite point of Achin head, on the coast of Sumatra, constituting the southern. Captain Light states it to lie " 17 degrees east of Madras; 4 degrees east of the Nicobars; 80 leagues N. E. of Achin, and 50 leagues N. W. of Quedah."

The island, as may naturally be expected, is of a mountainous description, having here and there well watered and fruitful vallies. The hills are clothed with abundance of lofty and valuable timber, whilst the vallies and plains teem with abundance of rice, notwithstanding the drawbacks against agriculture to be found in the oppressiveness of the Siamese yoke. The north end of it lies within a mile of the continent, or peninsula, whilst the southern extremity is about ten miles distant. The strait itself, separating the island from the main, is about fifteen miles long, but the entrance from seaward is so thoroughly obstructed by sand banks that even boats require fair weather to enable them to cross the bar.

The largest village on the island is Bantakion, which is nearly centrally situated on a pleasant plain watered by a small stream. It is surrounded by a bamboo hedge, and contained, in Captain Light's time, about 400 inhabitants, which is probably not far from the number at present, as the tyranny, under which the inhabitants groan, must

* The larger proportion of this description of Junk Ceylon will be drawn from the papers of Captain Francis Light, Captain James Scott, and Colonel Kyd; as published in "Anderson's Considerations," &c. blended with each other and the ancient writers.

prevent a rapid increase of population. About 2 miles to the S. W. of Bantakion, and situated on a hill, lies Bandone, containing about 200 inhabitants, with a few Gentoos and Malabars. It is nearly surrounded with paddy fields, and possesses a river. It is considered healthy. At Tentally, six or seven miles to the westward of Bandone, which lies at the head of a fine sandy bay, a considerable quantity of ambergris is thrown up during the prevalence of the N. E. monsoon, a circumstance alluded to also by Choisy. The country in the vicinity of Tentally is low and flat, and the population may be stated at 300: there is very excellent fishing here.

To the N. W., again, of Bantakion, and distant from it about seven or eight miles, lies Sago, situated on the side of a mountain, and containing about 150 inhabitants. The mountain, which is high, juts into the sea, defending the village from strong sea gales. The soil is very rich and productive of the finest fruits. Hence to the straits of Popra, a deep sandy road leads across a low country, which is much intersected by lakes.

On the S. E. side are Ringain and Cockrain, two temporary villages, whither the inhabitants resort during the prevalence of the N. E. Monsoon, in order to work the tin mines. The metal is found in the greatest abundance on this side of the island. At Pookit, formerly the capital of the island, but now deserted and in ruins, the mines were sunk to the depth of from fifty to seventy feet; but, at Ringain and places near the coast, the metal only dips from ten to thirty, and

Pookit naturally fell into disrepute. Near the shore, however, they are occasionally obliged to wait until the spring tides are over, and these mines in the low grounds are more apt to be infested with noxious vapors than those sunk in higher situations. The strata of tin appear to be perfectly horizontal, and at an uniform depth below the level of the sea, throughout the island.

As the ore, however, in all cases, lies much deeper below the surface than it does at Linggy, Lookoot, &c., a more systematic method of excavation is requisite.

The mouths of each pit are only four feet square, and each employs but four men, two of whom are engaged in deepening the pit, whilst the other two are occupied in collecting bamboos, leaves, &c., for a frame work. The construction of this is extremely simple; four pieces of wood, each about eight or nine inches in diameter, are notched and let into each other, forming a square frame corresponding to the size of the pit. These frames are placed at intervals of five or six feet, behind which are thrust perpendicularly long and thin bamboos, and the space between these and the sides of the pit is filled up with the leaves, in order to prevent both the earth and the water from entering into the mine.

A *Pahola*, or *Pacottah** is erected at one end of the pit, a bucket being suspended from the extremity of the arm which overhangs the excavation, and a weight being attached to the other. A small dam, filled with water, and having a mat

* A rude machine used in various parts of India for raising water, consisting simply of a lengthy lever playing in the fork of a high and perpendicular post.

spread over the bottom, is made at the side of the pit. One of the miners remains inside the pit, whose office it is to fill the baskets with the ore, and work the *Pahola*. The ore, as it comes up, is thrown to the women who sit around the pit, and whose office it is to separate it from the stone and clay with which it is intermingled. This they dexterously effect by breaking the lumps between their fingers, and twirling them rapidly round on wooden platters, by which method the separation of the different particles is speedily ensured.

The ore, collected during the day, is carried every evening to a running stream in the vicinity, in order that the force of the current may disengage any of the finer particles of sand still adhering to it. After having been dried it is carried to the smelting house, where 100lb of ore yields from 75 to 70lb of metal. If the miner be a poor man, he receives a ticket for every forty pounds of tin delivered; if an officer, he gets one only for every fifty. "These tickets are afterwards exchanged by the king's overseer, at the rate of five tickals of silver for one Coping, weighing 62½lb, English. The surplus 30, or 35 *lb, goes to the smelter, who is a Chinese that rents this privilege from the King."

In no part of the peninsula does the stratum of tin present any great thickness, the vein being exhausted in two or three days, when the pit is abandoned and a fresh one opened. It appears, however, probable that there are layers of the ore at a greater depth, strata of clay and stone

* What is the surplus here alluded to by Captain Light is not very clear:

intervening between each. Nevertheless, so long as there is abundance of metal lying nearer the surface, and the mining system continues so rude and imperfect, these lower veins will remain undisturbed. At present, the quantity of tin obtained from each pit is trifling, varying from 250 to 1,000lb. Captain Light thus † describes the method of smelting; "the ore is smelted in a furnace, 3 feet deep, and 22 inches broad, hooped with iron; the bellows is of wood, shaped like a pump, 7 feet long; the diameter of the cylinder 4 inches; the piston is very small, and covered at the end with feathers; at each end of the cylinder is a valve, which gives a constant supply of air. The tube for conveying the air into the furnace is of bamboo, and fixed in the middle of the cylinder to a small channel about 12 inches square on the outside, which conveys the air to the tube, as the piston goes up and down. The furnace is first loaded with charcoal; when well-fired, about 200lb of ore is placed on the top, and coal over it. * To make the metal separate more easily, they put a little pounded scoria among the ore and moisten it; the first time it passes through the furnace, it parts with some of its arsenical qualities; but is yet only black shining scoria with a few white specks of metal; the second time they get tin. The ore is five times run through the furnace before the tin is properly extracted; after this, the scoria is laid by, and, when the season for digging is over, they smelt it once or twice more. The tin is cast in slabs of

† Vide description of the Island of Junk Ceylon by Captain F. Light, "Anderson's Considerations" &c. Appendix pp. 56 57.

30lb weight, called Poke; in small pieces of 20 to a slab called Poot; 40 to a slab, called Tuong; 80, called Pinchay. With these divisions, they went to the market, and the present King of Siam engaged the whole. The quantity of tin dug by the present inhabitants during the months of February, March, and April, amounts to 4,000 China Piculs, in value 68,000 Spanish Dollars."

Captain James Scott, writing in A. D. 1783 to the Supreme Government, states the exports of tin to be about 5,000 piculs annually, being the produce of the labor of seven hundred people, or thereabouts, of both sexes, for a period of four months in the year, but an indefinitely large supply could be procured, as the resources of the mines only require population sufficient to develope them.

Colonel Kyd, in addressing the Supreme Government on the 24th May 1788, states that, notwithstanding the depopulation and the devastations incident upon the repeated incursions of the Siamese and Burmese, whilst these nations were struggling for supremacy, Junk Ceylon was even then capable of furnishing annually 500 tons of tin, the rate of delivery being fifty dollars for every 500lb.

The tin of Oojong Salang was assayed by Mr. Blake of Omeedpore, whose chemical abilities were unquestionable, and he found that in every hundred lb of ore there were $64\frac{1}{2}$ parts tin, whilst that of Pinang yielded only $53\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of ore.

The small village of Comra, romantically situated on the declivity of a high mountain facing the sea, lies on the S. W. extremity of the island.

The principal sea port town is Tarma, which lies inland about two miles, nearly in the centre of the eastern side of the island, and about six or seven miles from Bantakion. The river, which runs past it, was formerly navigable for sloops, but is now so much choked with sand banks as to be impassable even by boats, except at high water. The harbor of Tarma is well sheltered from the prevalent winds, viz. by the Cocos and Salangs from southerly and south easterly winds, and by Panjang from north-easterly ones. A mud flat, which extends from Jamboo to Cocoa, is however a serious impediment to its becoming a harbor of importance.

Jamboo is a high point of land, widening out at the extremity, but so contracted in the centre that it is not more than 200 yards across. It juts out in an easterly direction towards the main land, leaving a passage of about one mile in breadth between the two. Notwithstanding the boldness of Jamboo point, the water on either side of it is very shallow, especially on the northern one, where there is so little depth that no ship can approach within gun shot, whilst on the opposite, or southern, side, there is a narrow channel of two fathoms water. The strait, running between the island and the main, is five leagues in length, and offers an excellent and secure harbor for shipping; but a bar of sand, which can be crossed only by boats, and even by them but in fine weather, blocks up the entrance from seaward, and the tides are very strong. This portion of the channel is called the straits of Popra, and the vessels from the Coromandel coast fre-

quently embark elephants here, planks being laid for the transit of these animals, from the deck of the vessel to the shore. The intricacy of the channel—the necessity of a leading wind, which, granting that they obtain it, ships of the line can only take advantage of at the last quarter flood—the rapidity of the current round the bluff head lands, and the flatness of the shores in the vicinity of the harbor—are all so many great and serious obstacles in the way of the eastern coast of Oojong Salang becoming a great mart for trade, even under a milder and more enlightened government than it at present possesses.

The opposite coast of the Peninsula, from Popra to Tacopa, embracing an extent of about thirty miles, has a very thin population scattered over it, there not being more than five or six villages, and these situated three or four miles inland, having a belt of thick jungle intervening between them and the coast, as a protection against the incursions of the pirates, who occasionally make a descent for the purpose of plunder, carrying off such of the inhabitants as have the misfortune to fall into their hands, and selling them for slaves.

The first of these villages is a small one, called Cooctoi, containing but eight or nine houses, and situated a mile and a half from Popra, and half-way between that village and Bancey. This latter place was established many years ago by a Gentoo merchant from Madras, who employed himself in building vessels at Popra, and drove a considerable trade with the Coromandel coast. Although some of his descendants are still there, the place has declined much both in trade and

population. Natory, the seat of government, is a large village containing upwards of a hundred houses. It lies eight miles to the northward of Bancey, and is situated on a gentle eminence, surrounded with paddy fields and water, a rapid river running through it to the sea. A mile and a half hence is Tacoatang, which was formerly a populous village inhabited by native christians, but which has fallen greatly into decay. The small village of Patai lies three or four miles to the N.W. of Tacoatang, and is the last of these hamlets.

The strip of plain, enclosed between the chain of hills and the belt of jungle between Bancey and Tacoatang, is extremely narrow, being in no place more than 2 miles wide, but its confined dimensions are amply compensated for by its exceeding fertility, producing grain and sustaining cattle in abundance. A high mountain, which is more than a day's journey across, divides Tacopa from Natory. The high chain of mountains, running down this portion of the Peninsula, and clothed with stupendous forests, opposes an effectual barrier to any land attack from Ligore. In these forests are to be found numerous herds of wild elephants. Tin is produced in great quantities at Tacopa, and the mines are wrought with facility; but the insecurity of property, and the hazard which the miners incur of being carried into slavery, are powerful impediments to any extensive scale of operations.

Reverting to the island, after this digression, we must notice a waterfall, whose deliciously cool waters precipitate themselves in a sheet of foam down the face of a steep and rugged rock.

In the vicinity of Cra Poongha, for such is the designation given to the fall, there are a few settlers who dig for tin. The whole of the circumjacent country is finely picturesque, being diversified with lofty mountains—precipitous rocks, and dark and gloomy caves. Not far from this, too, is said to be a circular valley, which almost realizes the description of the “happy valley” of Rasselas. A formidable barrier of mountains encloses it on every side, the only entrance being under a massive rock at half flood, the roof of the passage being below high water mark, whilst at low water the rapidity of the current, and the numerous rocks and shelves, render it utterly impossible for even the smallest boat to pass. In this secure retreat five hundred people had, in Captain Light’s time, sought and found a refuge from the oppressive tyranny of the Siamese government.

The whole of the coast from Poongha to Trang, including an extent of sixteen or eighteen leagues, and studded with several islands, is uninhabited, except by a few of the Orang Laut, who wander from island to island.

Oojong Salang is celebrated for the richness of its pasture, and is consequently well adapted for the production of cattle. The buffaloe, fed upon its plains, grows to an enormous size, but the meat is nevertheless more sweet and juicy than the flesh of that animal is found to be in any part of India. Sheep, cows, and goats, could be reared here in any number, but the inhabitants are effectually debarred from availing themselves of the gifts of Providence by that system of wholesale spoliation which marks out an individual as a legiti-

mate object of government plunder directly that by his industrious exertions he has amassed a little property. Nay, so far has the terror of this rapacity extended that the inhabitants durst not rear even a little poultry for fear of being pillaged by the organs of government.

The staple produce of Salang is rice, of which there are no less than four kinds, viz. first, the common rice; secondly, the scented rice; thirdly, the red and purple colored rice; and fourthly, a white and glutinous species, which I have met with also repeatedly in Burmah, and which is supposed to be very nourishing and wholesome for convalescents.

There are two harvests *per annum* on the island, viz. the first, from the *Sawahs*, or plains, in January, and the second, from the *Ladangs*, or rising grounds, in January. The last is both more laborious and less productive, yet, nevertheless, it is the one most generally pursued. It is carried on in that slovenly manner which is so characteristic of Peninsular natives, and to which I have already alluded. The brushwood of the spot, whereon the inhabitants purpose commencing a *ladang*, is first cut down, then the smaller trees, whilst those, whose girth deters the laborer from the task of felling, are merely lopped of their branches. Two or three months afterwards, when the fallen forest has become dry and sapless, fire is applied to the mass which is thus consumed, with the exception of the larger stocks and stumps, which suffer only partially from the process. The ground is then cleared of the loose rubbish, and the sowing

season, which always occurs in May, then commences. In this operation both sexes perform their part, the men preceding in lines with a stick in either hand, with which they make holes of two inches in depth and at the distance of nine or ten inches apart, whilst the women follow in their footsteps with a bamboo measure containing the paddy and, drop three or four grains into each hole, closing them directly by a sharp tap of the bamboo.

Vegetation being so luxuriant here, the field requires weeding a fortnight after the seed is sown, in order that the infant crop may not be choked, and much care is also requisite in order to guard against the depredations of the numerous small birds, and the more sweeping devastation occasioned by the incursions of the wild elephants. As a barrier to the ravages of these huge and powerful animals, trees are felled all round the plantation, care being taken that they shall fall with their branches pointing outwards; and, inside of these, a more regular fence of pickets covered with thorns is erected. The sagacity and the strength of the elephant are, however, sometimes an overmatch for these obstacles; in which case, a ruined field and blighted hopes are the portion of the unfortunate peasant on the following morning.

Should the crop escape its numerous enemies, it is reaped in the manner peculiar to many parts of the East. The task is performed by women, who go into the fields with a small knife which they hold between the middle and fore fingers, the edge of the blade being turned inwards. By

grasping an ear or two at a time and closing the fist, the ears are cut off and transferred to a basket, which is generally carried on the left hip. This method is so sure that no ears are left behind for the gleaner, and, although not so rapid as the wholesale work of the sickle, is yet by no means so tedious as might be expected, long habit having imparted considerable dexterity.

This mode of reaping appears to be the most ancient one that has ever been practiced, for we find it distinctly mentioned in the book of Job, where that holy man, alluding to the sure and speedy destruction of the ungodly, however numerous, says, "They are exalted for a little while, but are gone and brought low, ; they are taken out of the way as all other and cut off as the tops of the ears of corn." Job. 24. 24.

The stubble is left standing, and, should the proprietor of the field have buffaloes, these are turned into it with the double purpose of finding them with provender, and causing the refuse to be trodden down into manure. If the owner be too poor to have cattle, the stubble is generally fired in order to effect the latter object, and to clear the ground for another crop. The natural productions of Oojong Salang are as follows ; amongst quadrupeds are to be found the Tiger, the Elephant, the Rhinoceros, the Elk, the Deer, the Bear, and the wild Hog, or the *Babirusa* * of the Malays, and the *Babyrousa* of Buffon. The birds are numerous, and will be found under the head of the Ornithology of the Peninsula, although

* Babi, a pig, and rusa, wild, or belonging to the forests.

I am not prepared to state what species are to be found in Oojong Salang. As I have traced different species of birds up nearly to the latitude of the island, the result of my researches has led me to the conclusion that very little variety in the animal creation obtains within the limits assigned to this work, and the whole of the Natural History of the Peninsula, as far as it may be in my power to detail it, will be represented in one chapter exclusively devoted to the purpose.

I may, however, mention that the shores of Oojong Salang yield abundance of shell-fish, amongst which may be enumerated the pearl oyster, the common oyster, the hammer oyster, the common crab, the king crab, muscles, painted shells, and, though last both in order and appearance, yet holding a high rank not only in commerce but also in the estimation of the epicure, the sea slug, or *Biche de mer*. There are three varieties of this slug, the white, red, and black, unless, as appears by no means improbable, the three are the same animal, the color varying according to the age and condition of the slug, the quality of the food, season of the year, and other adventitious circumstances. Of these varieties, the black is in most esteem, fetching from 20 to 30 dollars per picul in the China market, whilst the red obtains but from seven to sixteen, according to the depth of its color, and the white only five.

The edible birds' nests, or *Mera de Pastro*, form another important article of commerce. These are found in the caves on the different is-

lands lying between Oojong Salang and Mergui, Of these there are also three kinds, the white, red, and black, but the order of excellence is inverted, the white, or transparent, sort being the purest, and bringing as much as 24 dollars per *catty** in China; the second sort fetches from 7 to 16 per *catty*, according to its freedom from impurities and feathers; and the dark, or inferior, kind sells as low as thirty dollars per picul.

The collection of these two articles employs annually about a thousand *prahus*, and 4,500 people. Formerly, the king of Kedah claimed the sovereignty of these seas, and rented out the privilege of collecting the *Biche de mer*, and Birds nests, to some of his nobles, receiving in return from 12 to 15,000 dollars *per annum*. Since the subjugation of his kingdom by Siam, this source of revenue has passed into other hands.

Louberé † asserts that there is a mountain of loadstone in Oojong Salang, but that the magnetic power is lost in three or four months. I doubt whether this can be the genuine loadstone.

In the vegetable kingdom, Oojong Salang produces amongst others, the oil, and *dammar*, trees; the red, and white, *poon*, used for masts; the *tokien*, the *tong*, and *tookun*, employed in ship and house building; the *toomasack* for piles, and the *mytack* for oars; there is also an abundance of *black*, and *red*, wood for furniture. The whole of these trees are lofty and large in girth; the white oak, on the contrary, which is also to be found on the island, is crooked and stunted.

* A catty is a pound and a quarter avoirdupois.

† Louberé, p 13.

Besides the foregoing, the *sassafras* tree is to be met with in abundance, and there are also a few *sago* palms scattered here and there: *bamboos rattans*, and *canes*, are very plentiful. Of fruit-bearing trees there are the *durian*, the *mangus-teen*, the *mango*, the *jack*, the *champadak*, the *loomala*, *marian*, *pumleemos*, *orange lime*, &c.

Some amber, wax, and ivory, are produced, but, being a royal monopoly, are neglected by the inhabitants. Cotton, coffee, pepper, indigo, and sugar are indigenous to the island, and could be raised to almost any extent upon it.

Although all religions are tolerated, yet both the laws and national religion are Siamese. It will therefore be necessary in this place to give an account of the Siamese manners and customs. It is not my intention to enter upon a description of the government of Siam, as I have not embraced that kingdom in the plan of my work, but I shall simply content myself with detailing the administration of justice and the various punishments inflicted.

One peculiar feature of Siamese justice is that, when there is a cause pending between two parties, the one, who loses his suit, whether he be plaintiff or defendant, is subjected to punishment; this regulation having been adopted with the view of checking litigation. No suit ought, properly speaking, to extend beyond three days, although instances are not wanting where they have lasted as many years.

In those cases where the evidence is either insufficient, or unsatisfactory, recourse is had to several kinds of torture, but the chief ordeals are

those by fire and water. In the trial by fire, a trench, thirty feet long and six broad, is filled with billets of wood; along this trench, after the wood has been reduced to a glowing charcoal, the two parties are compelled to walk barefoot, an attendant generally pressing on each shoulder, in order to prevent the too rapid and light passage of the individual thus undergoing the trial.* This, however, appears to act in precisely the reverse manner to which it is intended, as the firm pressure of the foot thus ensured tends to smother the fire beneath it, the sole of the feet of the Siamese and other oriental nations being rendered nearly as hard and callous, by the practice of walking barefoot, as shoe leather. Immersing the hand in boiling oil is another species of trial by fire.

The ordeal by water is simply a contest as to which party can keep their head longest below it, and similar to this is also the practice of administering strong emetic pills, the retention of which on the stomach is considered an infallible proof of innocence. The most unpleasant trial is undoubtedly the exposure of both litigants to a tiger. Whosoever is spared, is supposed to have justice on his side, but, should the tiger attack neither, they are either subjected to some other ordeal, or left until the tiger's appetite becomes keener, and the fate of either one or both is sealed.

With respect to robbery, Captain Hamilton states that beheading follows on conviction, whilst M. Loubere asserts that the general pun-

* Loubere p. 86 et seq.

ishment is a double, and occasionally a treble restitution. The former appears to be the original Siamese law—the latter is evidently adopted from the Malayan code. Loubere* mentions it as an instance of the singularity of Siamese notions of justice that every one, who wrongfully withholds the possession of an estate from the right owner, is considered in the light of a robber, so that, upon conviction he is compelled not only to restore the property, but is besides mulcted in its full value, half the fine thus imposed going to the aggrieved party; and half to the judge. In cases wherein sentence of death has been passed for robbery, the judge has power, if he pleases, to commute the extreme penalty into a pecuniary mulct.

The most sanguinary portion of the Siamese code relates to the punishments inflicted for rebellion, mutiny, treason, and murder. In the case of the two former crimes, the bodies of the criminals are ripped up alive, and, their bowels having been taken out, the carcasses are enclosed in an open work of twigs, and left to be devoured by birds of prey. Traitors and murderers are executed by an elephant: the convict having been bound fast to a stake, the elephant is brought up, and, on the signal being given, the animal twines his trunk round the body and stake, and, pulling the latter up, throws them both with violence into the air. He receives the man on his tushes as he falls, and then, shaking off the writhing body, puts one of his feet upon it, and crushes it to a mummy.

* Loubere p. 87.

Captain Hamilton informs us of a species of *blanketting*, practiced in Siam, yet rougher than that experienced by Sancho Paoza in the inn yard. The Siamese method of frightening offenders, without inflicting material bodily injury, is to cause the unhappy criminal, to be tossed from one elephant to another who dexterously either receives the body on his tushes, (not the points), or catches it with his trunk, and passes it on to another, to the great diversion of the court and every individual except the *figurant*.

Punishments in Siam generally are symbolical of the offences which have called down the visitation. Thus, a defaulter in the public money is put to death by having either molten gold or silver poured down his throat—Lying, or a breach of confidence, is punished and guarded against for the future by sewing up the mouth, whilst the withholding information, on detection, leads to the mouth being slit from ear to ear, as an intimation to speak out. A misconception in the execution of orders entails upon the offender a sword-cut over the head, which practice is jocosely called "pricking the memory."

On one occasion where the daughter of the king of Siam died suddenly, and her father suspected that she had been poisoned, the whole of the ferocity of Siamese despotism was called into play. This occurred in A. D. 1650, and the following facts are vouched for by an eye witness, * who states that the cause, which gave rise to the suspicion, was that, on the burning of the corpse, a portion of the flesh, about the size of a young

* Struys, voy. Chap. 9th. p. 41 et seq.

child's head, remained unconsumed, which circumstance the king regarded as a supernatural intimation that the princess had come unfairly by her end. He therefore directed that all her female attendants, without exception, should be put to the torture in order to extort confession, and their denial of the charge availed them nothing until they accused some of the principal nobility of the alleged crime; for it is asserted by Struys that Shah Pasathong, being an usurper, dreaded a revolution, and wanted only a plausible pretext to cut short the nobility, of whose numbers and influence he stood in awe. Several pits, twenty feet square, were dug all round the city and large fires kindled in them. The nobles and their wives, having first been compelled to stand in hot water and to have the soles of their feet scraped with sharp irons in order to render them more tender, were forced to walk over these burning pits as an ordeal. Many, overcome by the pain and heat, fainted and perished in the fire; whilst such, as had their feet either burnt or blistered, were deemed guilty and reserved for execution.

These unfortunate wretches were put to death in a variety of ways; some being tied to stakes, and executed by elephants; others, buried alive up to the chin by the road side, and there left to perish, and others, if* Glanius may be credited, underwent a more extraordinary and cruel death.

The waist was so tightly compressed with a bandage as to be easily grasped with the hand;

* Glanius voy. p. 140. This traveller left Europe in 1608, eighteen years after these executions had taken place, and therefore gives his relation from hearsay.

the sufferer was then pricked with very sharp instruments to cause him to hold in his breath, and the executioner, seizing a favorable opportunity, severed the body at the waist at one blow, when, a hot plate of brass being applied to the upper part of the body, the blood vessels were seared, and the miserable wretch remained for some time alive in inexpressible torment. These bloody and cruel executions lasted for four months, during which period about 3,000 persons lost their lives.

I have merely quoted the foregoing cases, as illustrative of the sanguinary and despotic character of the Siamese laws, which are essentially the same at the present day. Oojong Salang being oppressed by such a code, her population is robbed of its energy, and her resources are prevented from developement, and when Kedah shall be more fully at the foot of Siam, the same effects will inevitably follow, and, as surely, hasten the ruin of the declining trade of Prince of Wales's Island.

The religion of the inhabitants of Oojong Salang, although essentially Siamese, is much mingled with Mahomedanism, pork being prohibited food. The Siamese religion is virtually Buddhistic, and appears to be of the same form as that existing in Burmah, Cochin China, &c. All their sacred books are written in the Bali language, and their priests, or Talapoins, are habited in the usual yellow vestments: they shave their heads, and vow celibacy. Should they infringe this vow, they are condemned to be burnt

to death, a punishment which is never remitted.* As, however, they can, at any time abandon their profession, and return to the world, the abstinence enjoined does not fall so heavily upon them as it does on the monastic orders of Europe.

The whole time of the priests is occupied either in instructing youth, reading the sacred books, preaching, or meditation. They preach always after new and full moon, and the congregation presents the officiating Talapoin with alms at the conclusion of his discourse.

The five precepts of the Moral Law, the due observance of which the Talapoins believe entitles them to Heaven, are as follows.† First, Do not kill; Second, Do not steal; Third, Commit no impurity; Fourth, Tell no untruth; and Fifth, Drink no intoxicating liquor.

The first of these extends to vegetable, as well as animal, life, thus compelling the Talapoin to subsist wholly upon fruit, the seeds of which, as being endued with vegetative powers, must be carefully preserved. But this strictness of diet is evaded by the priests, who, whilst they declare the destruction of life to be a sin, scruple not to eat of that which is already dead, and therefore partake unhesitatingly of the rice, &c. prepared for them by their servants, or received in alms. They also eat the cattle, brought as offerings to the temple, if they be already dead, Should they be alive, they allow them to graze about the enclosure until they die, when they are converted into food. The sin, committed by

* La Croze, *Chret, des Indes*, p. 115.

† Loubere, p. 126.

their servants in cooking the victuals of the Talapoin, is expiated by fresh alms and oblations to the temple, by which means a constant supply of provisions is ensured.

The third moral precept embraces not only fornication, and adultery, but also matrimony, and the most secret emotions of the heart, and the fifth forbids the slightest taste of any strong drink. We see in these precepts no acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, and indeed the Buddhist, whilst he allows a God who governs the world, maintains that there is no Creator, or First Great Cause, but that the heaven and earth with all things contained in them, are self-existent. The Talapoin are therefore held in the greatest reverence by the Siamese, no one being permitted to be seated in their presence, and the king himself* must bow down and perform the usual act of adoration to a *talapoin*.

The Siamese believe that there are twenty four heavens filled with *tewada*, or angels of different grades, and that the soul undergoes a variety of transmigrations, until that of a really good man is absorbed in the Divine essence, which is reckoned by Buddhists to be the consummation of felicity. They also believe in a variety of hells, the last of which consists of ceaseless transmigrations, thereby preventing the soul ever enjoying this absorption.

Amongst the superstitions of the Siamese may be mentioned that of "the gluttonous serpent of the profound pit of the house of smoke," which

* Rev. J Tomlin's Journal at Siam, p. 53.

is recorded by Mendez Pinto, whose talent for the marvellous has procured for him unenviable fame, and I do not therefore vouch for the truth of his narration. The occasion, on which the author states* that he saw this exhibition, was the funeral of the king of Siam in 1546. According to him, the royal ashes were enclosed in a silver shrine, and embarked upon a richly decorated vessel, followed by forty smaller ones, containing the Talapoins, and others carrying such of the people as were attracted by curiosity.

After these again there were a hundred *prahus*, laden with images representing lions, elephants, deer, vultures, geese, adders, toads, &c., all of the natural size, and all forming objects of religious worship. One large *prahu* was reserved for the exclusive transport of the head idol, the serpent already alluded to, and which, Pinto asserts, measured as much in circumference as a hog's-head, and was coiled in nine circles, with the head and neck erect; the whole length, when extended, being about a hundred spans.

From its mouth, eyes, and breast, issued flames of artificial fire, which struck terror into the superstitious crowd. All these idols represented evil spirits, who were on the alert to intercept the soul of the deceased monarch, on its passage to the mansions of bliss. To guard against such a catastrophe, a chubby boy, four or five years of age, covered with pearls, and adorned with bracelets of precious gems, stood upon a richly gilt platform, eighteen feet high, with a sword

* Pinto, page 273 to 276.

in his hand, artificial wings upon his shoulders, and hair made of fine gold thread. This boy represented an angel sent from God commissioned to confine the evil spirits until such time as the king's soul should have reached the celestial abode prepared for it.

The pageant stopped opposite a temple called Quiay Poutor, and the silver shrine having been deposited in it, the vessels containing the idols, and laden with pitch and other combustibles, were fired, and consumed in the course of an hour, during which period the usual accompaniments of cannon and small arms—of drums, horns, bells' yelling, and shouting, rent the air, after which several other ceremonies were performed, and the inhabitants retired to their houses, in which they remained immured for ten days. At the expiration of this period commenced the rejoicings for the new sovereign.

It is not within the scope of this work to enter upon the manners and customs of the Siamese, on which head any one, requiring information, can easily consult those authors, whose labors have been more immediately directed to that country. Indeed, I should not have touched upon the religion and laws of this people at all, had it not been that, whilst the island of Oojong Salang, from its Siamese population, inevitably led me to touch on the subject, the proximity of that people to our possession of Pulo Pinang superadded another motive. Province Wellesley, especially since the subjugation of Kedah, swarms with *talapoins*, and several of this class of peo-

ple are now daily to be seen in the public roads of Pinang. The Siamese have therefore, as it were, become a part and parcel of the population of that portion of the Peninsula which I intended to treat upon.

CHAP. XII.

Preliminary Remarks—Malayan Account of the Creation—of the fall of man—death of Abel—Demonology—The Polong—The Penangalean—Different descriptions of evil Spirits—The Hantu—The Pontianak—Different species of Magic—State of education amongst the Malays—Chinese ceremonies at births—Marriages—Divorces—Causes of deaths—Curious and superstitious ceremonies connected with—Chinese entertainments—Morals—Perjury—Anecdotes of—Revenge—Education—The Portuguese—Degraded condition of—Fisheries—Vices of the Portuguese—Singular method of interring infants—The Dutch.

IN treating of the customs and superstitions of the different classes of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, I shall select Malacca, not only as being the place with which I have the greatest acquaintance, but also as containing more numerous and distinct classes than the other settlements. The Malays, as being the earliest colonists, deserve first to be noticed.

The following account of the idea, entertained by Malays of Malacca, relative to the creation of the world, is extracted from the *Indo Chinese Gleaner** and is, I believe, from the pen of the late Dr. Milne. This work having only been printed in numbers, which originally were confined nearly altogether to the Archipelago, and which are now very scarce, very few of my readers can have met with it. The account is translated from a Malay Tale, called the *Hikayat Indra-jia*, or the History of (prince) *Indra-jia*.

* *Indo Chinese Gleaner*, Vol. 1st. No. 2, p. 14.

“ The princess asked (Indra-jia) saying—
 “ Pray inform thine handmaid, concerning the
 manner in which the earth was at first created.”
 (The prince) replied, “ The mighty Jehovah
 shed forth a light toward the (yet unformed)
 earth. The light melted, and became the watery
 abyss—the sea, vast and unlimited.”

“ He next glanced on the watery expanse, and
 foam and smoke ascended. The sea was formed
 with seven stories—each one of which is removed
 from another, the distance of a journey of five
 hundred years. In like manner, was the earth
 also formed with seven stories. He then spread
 out the earth upon the ocean, from the place
 where the sun rises, to the place where he goes
 down. But the centre of the earth was yet tre-
 mulous, being agitated by the divine billows of
 the deep and wide sea. The mighty Jehovah
 created the mountain Koff,* to consolidate the
 earth, to encircle it, and to ward off from it the
 divine billows of the vast abyss. From the
 rough veins of Koff sprang up multitudes of other
 mountains, high and large, which render the
 earth immoveable.

“ Beyond the boundaries of Koff is a vast
 space, seventy times as large as the world; the
 sand and dust thereof are musk; the grass and
 herbs, saffron; the stones, rubies and emeralds.”
 ‘ Yea, it is thus, my sister.’ †

كف Koff, an Arabic word, the name of a vast range of mountains,
 which are supposed to surround the habitable world, and to form its boun-
 daries. Beyond this range of mountains all the eighteen classes of Genii,
 good and bad, are said to reside.

آرند Adinda, “ Sister”—an epithet expressive of friendship and
 affection. Here used after the manner of most of the eastern nations, as
 a substitute for the personal pronoun. “ Brother” is also used in the same
 manner.

"The princess replied, 'Thine handmaid receives thine instruction, and places it on the stone of her forehead (i. e. the temples). Yes, my brother—Thine handmaid again begs to know the manner in which the empyrean and crystalline spheres, the angels, and friends, (of the Prophet) were formed.—Of what did the mighty Jehovah create them?'

Indra-jia answered, 'The creation of the (Prophet's) four friends, &c., was as follows:—(In the beginning) the mighty Jehovah shed forth a glorious light, a living figure of Mahomed.

This illumined figure struck by a glance of the sovereign Lord of all the worlds, * was agitated like water in the boiling caldron. From the sweat of its (the illumined figure's) head, he formed all the angels; from the sweat of its face, he formed the empyrean and crystalline spheres, the tablet of record † the self moving pen, the sun, the moon, the stars, and all that are in the sea, from the sweat of its breast, he formed all the inspired prophets, and all true teachers of religion; from the sweat of its ears, he formed all Jews and Christians; and, from the sweat of its feet, he formed the earth, from east to west, with all that it contains. Then the mighty Jehovah commanded the living illumined figure of the prophet, saying, 'look behind thee—before thee—to thy right—and to thy left.'—Looking round on all sides, the illumined figure beheld

* "All the worlds." There are, they say, in all, eighteen thousand worlds, which have followed each other in succession. The present is the last of all, at the end of which the great judgement takes place.

† "The tablet of Record"—i. e. The book of God's remembrance,—
"The self moving pen" is that which spontaneously records the fates and deeds of mortals.

another splendid light, which proved to be Aboobacker, Omar, Oothman, and Alli, the divine friends of the prophet. Thus it was, my sister.' The Princess replied, 'A new light has shed its rays on the heart of thine handmaid.'

In this mutilated version of the Koranic account of the creation we observe a marked imitation of the order of formation as detailed by the inspired historian. The light shot forth toward the unformed earth, whereby it was melted into water, is a clumsy forgery of the commencement of the Mosaic account, as contained in the three first verses of Genesis, and that of the gathering together of the waters is equally so of the subsequent verses. The illumined living figure of the prophet is, as Dr. Milne justly observes, a gross attempt to impose upon the credulous Malays a belief of his pre-existence in another world before he appeared in the present, and deluged it with his lies.

The Malays, in common with other Mahommedans, have an account of the fall of man, although the facts are not only dreadfully distorted, but overwhelmed with a mass of fable. The heaven of the Mahommedans is, like their earth, and sea, divided into seven stories. The number seven appears to be a favorite one amongst the Malays, and has also extended to the Siamese, although I am unable to state the cause of the preference. Loubere* tells us that the Vinak, or principal book of the Siamese, relates that "a certain elephant had thirty three heads, each head seven teeth; each tooth, seven pools; each pool, seven flowers; every flower, seven leaves;

* Loubere, p. 135.

every leaf, seven towers; every tower, seven other things," and so on, almost *ad infinitum*.

The seventh heaven of the Mahommedans, or Ferdaus, corresponds with our Paradise, but they are not agreed as to which of the seven was the one in which Adam was originally placed by his Maker. The account of his fall corresponds in the leading particulars with that contained in the Scriptures, although much disfigured by fable. Adam is said to have been thrown down on the island of Ceylon, where he wandered about for two hundred years, and subsequently repented. The floods of tears which he shed, swelled into a small river, full of precious stones. God, perceiving his repentance, forgave him his sins, and he took a pilgrimage to Mount Orfa, where he again found Eve, who had been cast into the city of Judah, which lies in Mecca in Arabia, and commenced peopling the world. As from Adam's tears all the precious stones were formed, so from those of Eve sprung all fragrant spices.

The death of Abel, or, as the Mahommedans call him, Kabil, is also evidently borrowed from the Mosaic relation. The cause that induced Cain, or Habil, to slay his brother, is however, stated to be a desire to obtain possession of his wife, instead of the non-acceptance of his sacrifice.

It would be tedious to follow the Mahommedans through the rest of scripture history, such as Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, &c. and I shall therefore proceed to notice some of the Malayan superstitions. A very great belief in demonology and witchcraft characterizes the Malays of

every country. Indeed, the character of all their Hikayats, or histories, partakes almost exclusively of the marvellous. Their heroes walk upon the water or arrest the elements in their course—they communicate the power of speech to dumb, and even to inanimate, things—or convert a demon into a faithful follower of the Prophet—they remove a city from its place by word of mouth, or ascend into the heavens, and gaze upon the delights of Paradise—&c. When such childish fables characterize their literature, their belief in magic and evil spirits ceases to create surprize. Two of their most dreaded enemies of the latter class are respectively denominated Polong, and Penangalan; the former of which is an evil spirit, and the latter is a witch. The only account that I have seen of these is to be found in the 2d vol. of the Indo Chinese Gleaner, at pages 73 and 139, in two papers, signed Siānu.* The following is an abridged account of them.

The shape of the Polong resembles nothing in the animal world, the head being formed very much like the handle of a *kris*. the eyes being situated at either end of the cross guard; the upper part of the blade represents the neck, from the extremity of which branch out two spinous leg-like processes, running nearly parallel with spiral filiform body, widening out at the insertion, and gradually approximating at the extremities; at least such is the form which a Malay physician, and dealer in the black art, will rude-

* *Sianu* Aliquis, Any one. The *nom de guerre* under which, I believe, the Rev'd. C. Thomson, Missionary at Singapore, wrote his communications to the Indo-Chinese Gleaner.

This account was given to Thomson by *hamshe* ab-ballah, as mentioned by him in his Hikayat.

ly sketch of a Polong when requested so to do. My readers will hardly believe that the demon, with whose figure they are so well acquainted, is *always invisible*. It is death by the Malayan code to keep one, however, it is asserted that several females are in the habits of so doing, as the possession of a Polong imparts exquisite beauty to its owner, even though she be naturally ugly. The men seldom keep one of these spirits unless they have some revenge to gratify, although occasionally they have them for hire to others who are similarly situated. The Polong is kept in a small earthen bottle, whose neck is sufficiently wide to permit the introduction of a finger.

As it feeds upon human blood, the keeper cuts his finger once or twice a week, either on Friday, or Monday night, and inserts it in the bottle, for the Polong to suck. Should this be neglected, the demon issues from his confinement, and sucks the whole body until it becomes black and blue.

Directly that any one is attacked by a Polong he either screams out, and falls down in a swoon, or he becomes deathlike and speechless. Sometimes, possession is shewn by incoherent raving, and, in other cases, by acts of violence on the bystanders. Occasionally even death itself ensues. The Polong is under strict management, being obliged to inflict the punishment in that kind and degree which his master directs. The Malays say that the possession is infectious, at least in some cases, as people, who have been so incautious as to ask the sufferer the simple question of "what is the matter? Have you got a

Polong?," are instantly affected in a similar manner. Mr. Thomson saw a man, who positively assured him (to such extremities will superstition go) that he had seen no less than twenty individuals thus seized at the same time.

The soothsayer, or physician, is called in to the patient in order to exorcise the spirit. He draws a representation of it in a white bason, and, pouring water upon it, desires him to drink the same. He then, holding the end of the possessed person's thumb, in order to prevent the escape of the Polong, (that being the door by which he makes his exits and his entrances), questions him as to his motives for tormenting the individual. Having received his replies, through the mouth of the possessed, he proceeds to search all over the body for the lurking place of the spirit, which, notwithstanding its invisibility, is supposed to be perfectly tangible, and to be lodged between the skin and the flesh. As soon as the priest has discovered the spot in which the Polong is concealed, he exacts an oath of him that his previous replies were dictated solely by truth, and that he will never re-enter the body of the person from whom he is about to expel him. The sorcerer sometimes exerts so great a power over the Polong, as to compel him to enter into and torment his own master.

The Penangalan, again, is a species of evil spirit, which takes up its abode in the human body, and, so far as can be ascertained, in women only. The Penangalan is a servant of Satan, and practises sorcery. When it wishes to go abroad, the head and neck with the intestines are detached

from the body, and the Penangalan flies forth in pursuit of its object, with the hair loose and streaming in the wind, whilst the unsightly intestines swing to and fro in its course. The food of this creature is as disgusting as its appearance, consisting of the blood either of dead men, or living enemies, and other substances too gross to be named to "ears polite."

The Malays state that a man had two wives, the one black and the other white, who were both Penangalans. He was informed of the circumstance, but scarcely credited it. In order to ascertain the fact, he feigned a journey of some days, and the women, believing him to have left the house, departed on a Penangalan trip, leaving their bodies behind. These the husband changed, putting the body of the black one in the place of the white one, and *vice versa*. On the return of the women, with their entrails amazingly swollen from their foul banquet, each entered a jar of vinegar in order to diminish their size, and then re-animated the bodies, but, unknown to themselves, effected an exchange, the white one entering the black body, and the black one the other, as they had not remarked the substitution. The husband, coming in, said, 'Ha! what is this? The head and neck are black, and the body white. and the other is black with a white head and neck?' He reported the circumstance to the king who ordered them both to be put to death.

Sianu thus enumerates * the evil spirits of the Malays, viz; " *Iblis*, or the prince of devils.

* Indo Chinese Gleaner, Vol. 2d. p. 312.

Shuetan, Jin, Fari, Dwa, Mambang, Raksasa, Gargagi, Polong, Hantu, Penangalan, and Pontianak." Of these, *Shuetan* is the devil of the Orientals, the *Jin, Fari, &c.* are Genii, or Spirits, the *Hantu*, and *Pontianak* are a sort of spectres, and the *Penangalan* and *Polong* have been already described.

At the 320th page of this work I have already mentioned a champion at Singapura of the name of *Badang*, who was remarkable for feats of strength. The *Annals** record that he obtained this power from a *Hantu*, who was in the habit of destroying his master's property, and whom he caught one evening on his emersion from the sea, and overcame. The *Hantu*, in order to obtain his release, promised to communicate to *Badang* any power which he might demand. The latter, after some deliberation, required supernatural strength, whereon the spectre told him that he should receive it, but that it was necessary for him, in order to its obtention, to lick up whatsoever he should vomit. *Badang* agreed to the terms, and, according to the *Annals*, the *Hantu* gave him no cause to accuse him of leniency. Notwithstanding the Herculean quantity, the aspirant for bodily strength was nothing daunted; but, having taken the previous precaution of holding the spectre firmly by the beard, performed his nauseous task, and released his prisoner on finding the virtue implanted in him.

The writer of the article on "Magic among the Malays," states that the *Pontianak* "are the children born of people after death." This

* Leyden's Malay Annals, p. 61.

is not very clearly expressed, but I conceive the meaning of it not to imply that the *Pontianak* are posthumous children, but that the Malays suppose the work of propagation to extend to the other world. The usual shape of the *Pontianak* is that of a bird, sometimes white, occasionally speckled, and in Java thoroughly black; its size being somewhat less than that of a magpie. It is not, however, confined to this form, being capable of assuming at pleasure the appearance of other animals, and even that of the human being. It is more dreaded than a tyger, when met by a Malay in the gloom of the jungle. Women it never attacks, its prey being men and young children, the latter of whom it kills and sucks the blood. It is stated that a *Pontianak*, having assumed the human form, fell into company with a man returning from the market with some fish, and, being invited home by his new acquaintance, assisted him by his long nails, or talons, in dividing the supper. His host, however, falling asleep, the treacherous animal watched his opportunity and slew him. The *Pontianak*, although a bird, is covered with hair instead of feathers, and is very difficult to be caught. A man, however, once obtained a hair of one, and the animal brought him as much gold as he wished, until it contrived to get back the hair, when all the gold disappeared. An owl and a species of caterpillar are employed by the *Pontianak*, as scouts for the purpose of bringing it intelligence.

The same author gives three other examples of

what he terms profane magic, and four of what he denominates religious magic. The three instances of the former, are respectively called *Tuju*, *Tuju Jantong*, and *Tuju Jindang*. The first of these is thus performed. When an individual has any animosity against another, he constructs a dagger upon the principles of "the mystery," and recites a prayer over it. If his adversary live at a distance, the sorcerer, seizing the dagger by the handle, strikes with the point in the direction in which he is, and his enemy immediately becomes sick. Blood gathers on the point, which the man sucks, exclaiming, "Now I am satisfied," and the other becomes speechless and expires. This species of incantation derives its name from the word *Tuju*, which signifies "to point." The *Tuju Jantong* is compounded of *Tuju*, and *Jantong*, which is the cordiform top of a newly opened bunch of plantains. The person, employing this species of witchcraft, searches for a *Jantong*, or newly opened plantain top, and performs "the mystery" under it. He then ties the plantain top, and, having recited a prayer over it, burns the point, which communicates with the heart of his adversary, inflicting excruciating agony. When he is tired of tormenting him, he cuts the *Jantong*, and the heart simultaneously drops from its situation, blood issuing from the mouth of the expiring sufferer.

The *Tuju Jindang*, again, is an evil spirit, which is carefully reared in a new vessel and fed upon roasted paddy. It is of the insect form; and partakes of the appearance of the silk worm.

Its keeper directs it to attack his enemy in some such terms as "Go and devour the heart and entrails of so and so," and the insect flies against the fated individual, entering generally either at the back of the hand, or between the shoulders. At the moment of contact it produces a sensation as if a bird had flown against the body, but it is invisible, and the only sign of its presence is a livid hue on the spot where it has entered. It forthwith commences its mission, inflicting intolerable torment, the body gradually becomes blue, and the victim expires.

The "religious magic" of the Malays consists, for the most part, of scripture narratives grossly distorted by ridiculous fables. Thus, the translation of Enoch is attributed to jugglery. The Malays assert that he requested and obtained permission to view the glories of Heaven, and, after having satisfied his desire, was directed to depart. He shortly returned, and knocked at the gate; and, upon being asked by Gabriel what he wanted, said that he had come back for his slippers, which he had forgotten. Having by this trick obtained re-admittance, he refused to depart, and the Lord rebuked Gabriel for attempting his expulsion.

Without attempting to follow the Malays any further in their absurd legends, I will now advert to the state of education amongst them.

There has been within the last few years a marked amelioration in various points connected with the education of the Malays. In 1819 at Malacca the number of scholars had decreased from between 160 and 170 to about fifty children,

who were educated in two schools: at present there are six schools, four of which are supported by the London Missionary Society, and two by a private fund. Five of these contain twenty each on an average, whilst the sixth, under the care of an intelligent Malay of Arabic descent, is very flourishing, and contains double the number. In 1819 the whole of the instruction, imparted to the scholars, consisted in teaching them to recite the Koran in Arabic, and occasionally, tho' rarely, teaching them to write. The Malays at that period had a rooted aversion to admitting within their schools any printed works touching upon the doctrines of christianity, whereas, at present, the Scriptures have superseded entirely the Koran as a class book in all the schools.

The means by which this great change has been effected have been simply as follows. The method of writing in the Malay schools is by a hollow reed, (*resam*), or a *Kulum*, (*fansor*), made of the Sago, or *Kabong*, tree, upon a thin board of a very fine grained wood called *pulay*, whose surface is whitened with pipe clay. The ink is made of rice burnt to charcoal, mingled with pure water, and then strained. As the Malay teachers said that their principal objection lay against the use of printed books, they were directed to write the copy at the top of each boy's board, and the sentence was usually a Scripture phrase, or else bore a reference to it. The teachers soon discovered that this was no slight task imposed upon them, and, of their own accord, requested the introduction of the books. The prejudice against print

has now wholly disappeared, and it is a pleasing sight to witness the children of both sexes engaged in learning their lessons, or reading, as some of the more advanced do, with ease and fluency from any page of the Gospels selected at random. The master of the flourishing school, mentioned above, appears more than half-convinced of the reality of Christianity, and, when in the course of his reading, he arrives at a passage whose meaning is obscure to him, does not hesitate to apply for the solution of his doubts.

With this hasty and imperfect notice of the state of education amongst the Malays, I shall dismiss the branch of the subject, and proceed to a review of the Chinese ceremonies, commencing with those which are connected with births, marriages, and deaths*.

There is no particular ceremony observed on the birth of a child, beyond casting, and noting down, its horoscope. When it attains the age of a month, it is bathed and dressed in entirely new clothes, and, in most cases, a feast is provided for the friends of the family. This is considered an important ceremony.

When a Chinaman is desirous of being married, he, in accordance with that filial piety so strictly enjoined upon his nation, communicates his wishes to his father, who either proceeds himself, or, more generally, dispatches a friend, to the house

* The ceremonies here detailed differ in several particulars from those observed in China. The Chinese at Malacca, aware of the absurd light in which they must be viewed by Europeans, will not communicate them to the direct enquirer. The information was therefore first obtained with great difficulty from other sources, and several intelligent Chinese were subsequently closely interrogated as to its correctness.

of the lady's father, to whom at once the negotiation is opened. If the latter accept the proposal, he gives his daughter's horoscope in exchange for that of his intended son-in-law, and the day for the ceremony is then fixed. The three days preceding that of the marriage are respectively termed. "The day for peeling the onions," "the day for pounding the rice flour," and "the day for making the *sambal*, or *chctny*." On the fourth day, the bridegroom, whose duty it is to provide an entertainment commensurate with his means, walks in procession, with music and banners, round the town, his Tartar tail interwoven with *red silk, and his two most intimate friends supporting him on either hand, whilst the rest of his companions follow in the rear.

On his arrival at the bride's house, he is received at the threshold either by his father-in-law, or, more commonly, by a friend, who officiates as Master of the Ceremonies, and who steps forward, and, taking him by the hand, leads him into the house, where he is introduced to the father of the bride. On all occasions the household gods—the *Lares* and *Penates*—of the Chinese, and the ashes† of the deceased relatives, are placed upon a table in the receiving room, and to these the bridegroom must bow in adoration previous to saluting any of the company. The bride receives her affianced lord at the door of an inner apartment, into which no other individual is permitted

* The emblem of joy, as white is of mourning.

† The Chinese do not burn, but bury their dead. The reason for my using the term "ashes" will be seen when I come to treat of the Chinese ceremonies observed at the death of a relative.

to enter. Here the bridegroom first obtains a view of his betrothed, being permitted to remove the heavy veil which had hitherto concealed her features, whilst at the same time he unclasps the zone, which her parents had bound round her waist in token of her virginity. After this, the two eat together, which circumstance is considered a ratification of the contract. On the morning succeeding consummation of the marriage, the friends of the young couple contribute, according to their respective abilities, from one to four or five dollars each towards defraying the expences of the ceremony, and the names of the donors with the amount of their gifts are entered into a book by a writer entertained for the purpose. The object of this entry is that the same present may be returned to each contributor on a similar occasion. A feast is provided in the evening, at which no one, who has failed in bestowing his quota, would venture to appear.

It is also customary on the morning of that day for the bride and bridegroom to present themselves before the father and mother of the former in order to receive the benediction, after which the bridegroom returns to his own house, whence he is summoned for the first three days to his meals and repose by a messenger from the bride, to whom he is obliged to make a present of either a dollar or a rupee on each occasion. On the third day, or, as it often happens, on the same day, the pair proceed, attended with music and banners, to the house of the bridegroom's father, where the same ceremony of worshipping the ashes and household

Gods is repeated, and the bride makes her obeisance to her father and mother-in-law. The former makes her a present, after which she returns with her husband to her father's house, where it is customary, amongst the higher orders, for her to remain until after the birth of her first child, when she removes permanently to her husband's house, and a grand entertainment is given on the occasion. A piece of meat is suspended over the door, as a bribe to the tigers, tradition recording that one of these animals carried off a bride, whilst on her way to her husband's house. A sieve with chopsticks is placed at the threshold, over which the bride leaps, this being supposed to promote parturition. A looking glass is suspended within the bed, to drive away evil spirits which are supposed to be incapable of enduring the sight of their own forms, and flower pots are placed around it in order to promote a numerous family.

Divorces amongst the Chinese are very easily obtained, no less than seven causes being assigned for which a man can put away his wife, although the latter can only claim a separation, the power of divorce not being extended to the female, however just may be her cause of complaint. These seven grounds are as follows* : " First, for barrenness; secondly, for adultery; thirdly, for refusing to serve her father-in-law, and mother-in-law; Fourthly, for much speaking; fifthly, for theft; sixthly, for jealousy; and seventhly, for disease; e. g. some inveterate kind of leprosy.

* Indo Chinese gleaner, Vol. 2d. p. 308.

There are, however, three exceptions in favor of the wife, admitting even that several of the above can be clearly proved.

“ These are, first, if she have mourned three years for her father-in-law, or mother-in-law; secondly, if, when the parties were married, the husband was poor, but has since become rich; and thirdly, if, at the time of their marriage, the woman's parents, or relatives, were alive, but have since died, so that she has no home left her—if any one of these three things can be proved, she cannot be legally put away. In case of a wife's deserting her husband, the law enjoins that she be beaten one hundred blows with a rod, and leaves it at the husband's option, either to give her away to another man, or to sell her. If a wife elope from her husband, and marry another man, she is to be put to death by strangling.”

The above extract is sufficient to shew the degraded condition in which the female sex is held by the Chinese, and it appears almost a natural consequence of marriages so fortuitously contracted, and has ever been the distinguishing characteristic of heathenism. As, however, my object is rather to present a faithful picture of the manners of the inhabitants than to moralise thereon, I will now pass on to a detail of the superstitious ceremonies observed at the death of a Chinaman.

When a wealthy Chinese is at the point of death, whatever clothing he may have on at the time is exchanged for silken garments, generally of a red colour. The notion which induces this

substitution is that, the lighter the apparel may be, the more unincumbered will be the soul's flight to heaven, and, as red is the emblem of joy, the brighter the color, the higher is the state of beatitude supposed to be obtained.

When the spirit has departed, the body of the deceased is washed, the time of high water being generally selected, as the wells are then generally fuller. Two pice* are then thrown into the well as an offering to Tai-soo-kwee, the god of the sea, of devils, and disembodied spirits—The body is then clothed in silken garments and stockings (all red, of course), and the number of suits, thus put upon the corpse, varies from seven to fourteen, a corresponding number of prayers being offered up, with an interval of three days between each, so that the prayers for a person enveloped in seven suits would occupy a space of three weeks, and those for one clad in fourteen, of double that period.

The coffin, in which the body is to be placed, is of a very solid and massive construction, and has in general been built for many years previous to the occurrence of the event which demands its use. With the Chinese, the body is by far the most important constituent portion of humanity, and, as to pamper it during life is the *summum bonum* of a Chinaman, so is there no one so solicitous as to its disposal after death, their ideas on the subject of a future state of existence being vague and obscure, and chiefly centering in anticipation of sensual gratifications. A Chinese, therefore, not only often selects his place of se-

* Pice or doits, a copper coin introduced by the Dutch, a hundred and seventy of which are equal to one sicca rupee.

pulture, but invariably superintends the construction of the coffin destined to receive his remains. This is carefully wrapped up in matting and placed on one side of the entrance door, under the cover of the verandah.

When the body is placed in the coffin, two or three pearls are put into the mouth of the deceased, which are intended as a fee to the angel of the gate of Heaven. Pepper, camphor, the leaves of the tea tree, &c, are deposited in the coffin as antiseptics, and every description of article, which the deceased was accustomed to use during his life time, is stowed in this roomy receptacle. Accordingly, on inspecting the coffin of a Chinese, we find alongside of the body a little rice, a change of linen, a cooking *chatty*, or pot, firewood, charcoal, a fan, &c. Two images, somewhat similar to those that are to be seen in a grocer's shop at home, are placed on either side of the coffin as servitors to the deceased in the world of spirits. The family then assemble round the coffin, and with loud weeping and wailing enjoin these images to be attentive to the wants of their master, and see that his meals, the water for him to bathe in every morning, &c, be punctually prepared, after which, the images are burned. The lid of the coffin is now nailed down, and every seam carefully payed with quick lime and *dammar*. The body is thus kept for different periods, varying from three days to twenty years, but in Malacca the authorities generally require that the interment shall not be deferred beyond the seventh day. If a father die in China, and his eldest son be in a foreign country, the

body is invariably kept until his return to enable him to take the leading part in the obsequies.

The customary plea, on which, for a tropical climate, this ceremony is so long delayed, is the necessity of selecting a good site for the tomb; because, although this is often chosen, as I have stated, by the deceased during his lifetime, the difficulties, which repeatedly arise in the selection, are the means of this point remaining unadjusted until after death. It is indispensable, for instance that no corpse should be buried nearer either the summit or the base of the hill in which other members of his family have been interred, and, when an unoccupied spot of the requisite level is found, it may happen that the soil, instead of being red and consequently fortunate, is white and typical of misery. No individual can be inhumed in the same grave with a relative unless in the instance of a wife, who has followed her husband to the tomb, whose bones are permitted to repose alongside those of her partner. It is supposed by the Chinese, that, should the surviving relatives select an unlucky spot for the remains of the deceased, his spirit will haunt them in revenge, and they are therefore particularly careful to leave no cause for so unwelcome a visitation. A *Sing-seh*, or learned man, is summoned to select a proper spot for the interment, and receives from one to ten dollars per hour, besides his food, whilst engaged in this quest, and as soon as he has fixed upon the site the relatives are summoned to inspect it.

It is equally indispensable for the repose of the spirit of the deceased that none of the following,

ceremonies be omitted. The coffin is placed upon a couple of tressels in the middle of the room, and two white candles are kept constantly burning both night and day before it. The letters of salutation*, pictures, pier glasses, &c., are covered with white cloth; and in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, of each day the relatives assemble round the coffin, and pray and burn incense. These stated periods for the demonstration of grief convey to the European, who has witnessed the apathy and levity prevailing in the intervals, a thorough disgust at such mockery of woe. The friends and acquaintances of the deceased send presents of red and quicksilvered paper†, and receive in return a red string called a *wishit*, or blessing, the names of the donors being entered in a book kept for the same purpose as that described under the head of marriages. It is the duty of the friends to sit up in large parties, day and night, with the corpse; and, in order to prevent their falling asleep, which would be peculiarly unlucky, betel nut, opium, provisions, and the means of gambling, are provided in great abundance by the master of the house.

Despite of the extreme care, with which the seams of the coffin are closed, it occasionally happens that a portion of the moisture of the body in the progress of dissolution exudes through a fissure, and distils upon the ground. The intolerably loathsome office of licking up this fluid per-

* Sentences of a complimentary nature from friends, which are hung against the wall.

† This paper is supposed to be converted by the subsequent operation of burning, the red into gold, and the quicksilvered into silver, coin, for the use of the deceased in the next world.

tains to the son; or, in the event of the nonexistence of such a relation, to the daughter, the wife, &c. whose soever duty it may be, that person is the only medium for removing it, and, should he be casually absent, his return must be awaited. The task is supposed to involve a considerable degree of humiliation, and the son, or person thus employed, beseeches the corpse with many a bitter outcry, not to subject him to such disgrace.

On the day of interment notice is sent to the friends of the deceased by a present of betel, a signal which is well understood to convey a summons to the house. At noon the coffin is placed upon the tressels in the middle of the street opposite the house, and the lamentations are renewed. The younger branches of the family are made to run round, and underneath, the coffin, in order that the solemn event may be the more deeply impressed upon their memories, whilst a table spread with viands is placed adjacent. Two poles are fastened by rattan binding, one on either side of the coffin, in a manner similar to those of a sedan chair, and three bars run across them at each end, where they project beyond the coffin, for the convenience of the bearers.

When the procession moves off, the whole of the sons are enveloped from head to foot in coarse white *gunny* dresses and, crawling on all fours, move in advance of the coffin each bearing in his hand a long bamboo with a flag attached. If, however, the deceased be the mother, instead of the father, of the family, a branch of the Dedap tree, (the *Banhinia Bidentata** of Jack), a tree

* Malayan Miscellanies. Vol. 2d. Description of Malayan Plants, by Dr. W. Jack.

producing red flowers, whose boughs are armed with strong and sharp thorns, is substituted for the bamboo, as emblematical of the greater sufferings of the sex, especially in the hour of parturition.

The females of the family in the mournful train remove their fillets, and their long black hair streams down their backs and glances in the sunbeam, contrasting forcibly with their snow white garments. The nearer relatives are clothed in the same coarse garments the sons. To the friends and acquaintances of the deceased a cubit of white cloth, which is thrown indifferently over either shoulder. A red string is usually worn by these parties; but, as many of the personal friends may be of a different religious persuasion, marks of attention corresponding with their creed and habits are bestowed. A Mussulman, for instance, is presented with the red string—a Hindoo, with a Brahminical cord—a Portuguese, with a cheroot—and an Englishman, or Dutchman, with the cubit of white cloth—Some common wood ashes, taken from the house, and placed in an earthen vessel, accompany the procession. At the corner of each street, the sons prostrate themselves on the ground, conjuring the inhabitants to speed the departed spirit to its rest by their prayers.

If the deceased had been, during his life time, a person of opulence, his remains are followed by three priests, with large umbrellas; if he had belonged to the lower orders, by but one. The dress of these priests closely approximates that of the European clergy, consisting of a black cas-

sock and white bands, with a square black cap, somewhat similar to that of a collegian. Whilst the procession is moving towards the *Bukit China*, or Chinese burial hills, a person precedes the coffin, scattering the red and quicksilvered paper profusely right and left as money for the use of the spirit in eternity. The grave has been previously dug, the *Singsch* having carefully ascertained beforehand by means of a pocket compass the precise position of the sun in the heavens: there appears to be no particular reason for this mummerly beyond the desire to impose upon the credulity of the people, as the very priests, when pressed upon the subject take refuge in dogged taciturnity, contenting themselves with briefly replying that this is a sacred mystery revealed only to the *Singsch*.

The coffin is now enveloped in several folds of coarse paper, in order to defend it from injury by the clay, and it is then carefully deposited in the grave. Two images, to which the same names have been given as to their predecessors, but veiled from head to foot and considerably superior in size, are placed on each side of the tomb, the one provided with a vessel for holding water, and the other with a napkin or towel. After having received similar injunctions with the others to attend to the wants of the deceased, they are removed, and the chief mourner approaches with the ashes, into which he conjures the priest to cause the spirit to enter. The latter accordingly enters the tomb, bearing several bells, which he jingles, and prays with a loud and dismal voice, in which exercise he is joined by the whole

assembly, until such time as he declares that their prayers are answered. The ashes, after having been worshipped, are removed in order to be placed in the house upon the return of the procession, which takes place about three or four o'clock in the afternoon.

During the foregoing ceremony, meats and sweetmeats are placed before the ashes. After the spiritual portion has been, as they suppose, consumed by the deceased the relatives devour these viands, whilst crackers* are let off, and red and quick silvered paper burnt in profusion. The grave is then filled up, and the party adjourns for the purpose of refreshment to an *attap* shed erected in the neighborhood until the time fixed for returning home arrives.

Meanwhile, the people, who have remained in the house of the deceased, have been busily employed in constructing a model of a Chinese house, the framework of which is, in general, composed of split bamboo, covered with various coloured paper. This is placed in the principal room of the house, with a white curtain hung before it, which is drawn on each side on the return of the procession with the ashes. These last are deposited inside the paper house, and immediately over them in the interior is introduced a representation of the deceased clothed in white, and in a reclining posture. The two images, which have accompanied the ashes from the tomb, are placed in front of the house, in which, of course, the spirit is now supposed to be.

* The Chinese crackers are composed of several cylindrical tubes, about two inches in length which are all strung upon quick match, affording rapid communication on ignition.

The mourning is continued by the near relatives for thirty five, or forty days, during which period all the ordinary duties of life are neglected. They do not shave themselves, go out of the house, nor wear any thing but white. They must sleep every night upon the bare floor in front of the ashes, whilst the lamentations three times a day are continued during the same period.

On the third day, inclusive of that of interment, a prodigal feast, ostensibly given as a token of gratitude to those who have honoured the obsequies with their presence, is prepared at the tomb. Wine, opium, arrack, and other stimulants, are freely circulated, and debauchery and gambling mark the hours, it not being an uncommon occurrence for blood to be shed during the frantic excitement of the evening. On the return of the party to the house, the whole assemble round the model containing the ashes, and thus address the latter—"We have been to-day to see you in your new house (the tomb)—we looked in, but it was empty—we knew not that you had come hither."

On this day also the *Tookang Battoo*, or bricklayer, is summoned to build the tomb, the price of which varies from three, to four, hundred dollars. It is built horizontally, or rather following the slope of the hill, in the shape of a horse-shoe; the round part, or toe, being intended to represent the shoulders of a man, (the head being sunk between them), and the heel widening out into a rude resemblance of a chair, in order to depict a human figure in an attitude of repose.

On the return of the procession, the eulogy of the deceased, which is generally written in golden characters, and which was carried before the coffin, is placed on one side of the room, whilst the priests drive a nail into the opposite wall in order to prevent the spirits of the deceased from secretly departing to Hades. The son, or grandson, who obtains possession of this, is supposed to secure great happiness. At this time too recourse is had in the temples to enquiring the will of the deceased, or of the gods, by means of the *keoon-pei*, or throwing up two oval pieces of wood, with a hole cut in the centre. This is done three times, and should the smooth side fall uppermost the oftenest in the trial, the circumstance is supposed to denote a propitious answer. Should the contrary happen, the process is generally repeated, until successful.*

Amongst the Chinese handicrafts, there is a class of persons who are very ingenious modellers. The heir sends for one of these, and instructs him to make a faithful model of the house of the deceased, in which every thing, such as the number of male and female relatives and domestics—pigs—poultry—furniture—pictures &c; must be curiously exact, as otherwise the spirit, not being able to recognise it, would be disquieted in its grave.

Handbills are pasted up in different parts of the town towards the conclusion of the mourning, announcing that on such a day the family design to finish the ceremony, or, as it is expressed in Malayese, *balli*, which literally means to turn.

* Indo Chinese Gleaner, Vol. III, p. 136.

The friends accordingly send comical shaped red, or quick-silvered paper, to be converted into mountains of gold or silver for the use of the deceased in the invisible world. The names of the donors are taken down by a writer for the same object as formerly related.

A large paper model of a hill is constructed, a valley in the centre of which represents hell, and on which the various tortures of the damned are depicted. Over this valley passes a narrow bridge, which is to be crossed by an emblematical figure of the deceased on his way from earth to heaven, represented by the opposite sides of the valley. But the tenuity of the bridge is not the only obstacle to the transit, as two devils are stationed at the hither end, who are empowered, should the deceased have been a notorious delinquent, or what is more probable, remiss in seeing the priests, to hurl him into hell.

Should the contrary be the case, two guardian spirits advance from the further end of the bridge to his rescue, and he is thus enabled, after rewarding them* for their services, to cross the bridge, at the end of which a seven headed dog opposes his passage, but is compelled to retire by another dog, who comes forward to assist him on account of his acts of piety performed on earth.

Amongst the numerous gods which constitute the Chinese mythology the two most conspicuous are Tai-pai-Kong, or the deity of the land being the Governor, but not the Creator, of all things, for the Chinese are in darkness as to a First Great Cause, and Tai-Soo-Kwee, the god of the

* The burnt red and quicksilvered paper is supposed to have placed this and other requisite sums at his disposal.

sea, whose sway is more circumscribed, comprising solely the control of devils and disembodied spirits. The former of these gods is generally represented as riding on an animal with the head of a lion, and the body of a dragon, having four feet, each of which are of a different nature from the rest, one being the claw of a bird, another, the fin of a fish, &c. He sits in judgment on the departed spirit, but is not so much worshipped as Tai-Soo-Kwee, who, as god of evil, is much dreaded by the blinded Chinese.

These ceremonies having been concluded, the parties return to the house of the deceased, in front of which a large table, spread with sweetmeats and fruits, is placed, and the poor are summoned to partake of the same. This act of alms-doing is not performed for charity's sake, but is intended as a propitiatory offering to Tai-Soo-Kwee and the evil spirits. A house in the neighborhood has been previously fitted up with idols and flowers, the walls being also covered with flowered paper, as a place for the priests to pray in. These continue their devotions from the evening until the dawn of the following morning.

A figure of a man on horseback is also constructed, and a letter, describing at length the various rites and ceremonies which the survivors have performed in honor and on behalf of the deceased, is placed in the hands of the rider, who is worshipped by the relatives and friends. After this act of adoration, he is charged not to fail in speedily delivering the missive to Tai-Soo-Kwee, who is the medium of transmitting it to the departed spirit. This figure is moreover informed that the

money and provisions will be despatched the following morning, and a table of sweetmeats for himself and a little grass for his horse are produced in order to strengthen them for their journey. At midnight fire is applied to the figure, the horse being dragged along the ground, directly that the fire has seized it in order to give it assistance in starting, and the rider is supposed to arrive in heaven by sun rise the next morning.

A cubical paper and bamboo box is also made, having no front, and divided into compartments, containing altogether twenty-four images to represent palanquin bearers: round the neck of each twenty four dollars (of the *paper* currency) are suspended. Two sedan chairs, and an almirah, containing the requisite changes of linen, are constructed of the same materials, and the whole are placed inside the model of the house formerly described.

The contributions of red and silvered paper are piled in six respective heaps in order to be burned the same night, and the longest bamboo that can be procured is hoisted with a flag at the end of it, under the idea that the higher the pole the more readily will the attention of the deceased be attracted. A masqued combat now takes place on the top of a table, some of the guests representing monkies, who are supposed to keep the keys of heaven, and others enacting the part of pigs, who are believed to be empowered to drag a soul to hell.* The combatants wrestle till four o'clock the next morning, after which the

* This is a singular idea to be entertained by a people so passionately fond of pork, unless we are to suppose that they feed on this animal out of a bloodthirsty desire of revenge, and with a view to the ultimate extermination of the breed!

model of the house with its contents is burnt. The pictures, and every thing which has been covered with white cloth, share the same fate, while one or two hundred lighted paper lanthorns are at the same time thrown into the sea as an offering to Tai-Soo-Kwee.

The following morning the whole of the family go to the temple to worship, and announce the conclusion of the ceremonies, in token whereof the women wear sprigs of red flower in their hair.

Mourning is worn for a parent for three years, and for a wife for a twelvemonth. The tombs are visited annually at the Tsing-ming festival, which occurs in the third moon, March. Each family at this season repairs the tombs of its ancestors, and bring offerings of fish, flesh, fruit, &c. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence to see a pig and goat roasted whole on the occasion. The offerers of these oblations bow thrice before the tomb, and pour out their libations of wine and tea, the spirits being supposed to come and feast on these sacrifices. Paper is burnt on the tombs to supply the annual expences of the deceased, after which the relations carry their offerings back to their houses, and the evening is spent in feasting and gambling. Should a man pass by the tombs of his ancestors on the most ordinary occasion, it is requisite for him to worship them, and deposit on them an offering of betel.

In their manners the Chinese are hospitable and courteous. When a Chinese wishes to see his friends and acquaintances at dinner, he sends out invitations written upon red paper, but this is not considered sufficient, it being requisite that he should meet each individual so invited no less

than three separate times, and repeat his invitation in person at each meeting as a proof of his sincerity, a tolerably severe task when the guests amount, as they often do, to 70 or 80 people. Their dinners usually take place about seven in the evening, and consist of a great variety of made dishes. They have no objection to the use of wine or malt liquors, though few indulge in them on account of the expence. Several little teapots are placed on the tables for the convenience of the guests, although they frequently contain a stronger beverage than tea. One evening I took particular notice of a Chinaman whose incessant pledges to his neighbors induced me to conceive that his tea must be greatly to his liking, and, on pouring a little of it out into a tea cup, discovered that the fine straw colored tea was nothing less than arrack, without one drop of "allaying Tiber" in it.

The guests however, never get quarrelsome, their time and attention being too exclusively directed to the repast to enable them to notice any thing else, the master of the house being the only one who does not eat, as it is his office to go from table to table to see that his guests want for nothing. All the upper garments of the latter are taken off and suspended on pegs round the wall in order that they may not incumber them in the act of feasting, whilst in an outer room the Malacca band, as it is termed, consisting of five Portuguese performers on European instruments, blends its harmony with the more plaintive notes of Malayan music, both being ever and anon overpowered by the deafening crashes of the Chi-

nese gong. This to a Chinese ear is the perfection of music, as they delight in a combination of noises that would have driven Hogarth's "enraged musician" to distraction.

The morality of the Chinese settlers cannot be placed in a very favorable light if we regard the lower orders, which constitute the greater proportion of the body. The upper classes are, however, distinguished by probity in their dealings, and this censure does not apply to them. Gambling and opium smoking are the favorite recreations of the idlers, and even the industrious craftsmen, who work from dawn till dusk, are particularly partial to their pipe. Perjury is fearfully common amongst them, although their method of swearing is solemn enough to impress their minds with a dread of the consequences of this crime. The oath is taken in the temple, a cock's head being cut off, and the witness imprecates the heaviest curses of Divine vengeance on his head, if he violate the truth. It is said by the Chinese that a few years since, a man who had taken the oath and perjured himself by his evidence immediately afterwards, had no sooner returned home than he was seized with a violent vomiting of blood and died. This has infused a terror amongst them with regard to perjury after this ceremony, although they do not scruple to commit it after having taken the oath in the common manner. Not many months since, a civil suit, of great importance to the parties concerned, pending between two wealthy merchants, was about to be brought forward in the British Court of

Malacca, and each of the suitors provided himself with a host of unscrupulous witnesses. In order to guard against the consequent confliction of evidence, it was proposed that all the witnesses should take the oath in the temple; but, on their arrival there, they were withstood by some of the leading men of their nation, who declared that the multitude of false oaths would pollute the temple, and that the perjurers would perish as the other miserable wretch had done. The parties, who were anxious to elicit the truth, endeavoured to effect a compromise by proposing that only one of each side should swear on behalf of their respective witnesses, but without success as a repetition of the judgment of God was expected by the more influential members of the society.

Revenge is repeatedly a great incentive to perjury. If one Chinaman either has been, or conceives himself to have been, injured by another upon whom he cannot otherwise wreak his vengeance, recourse is had to false swearing against him. Some years ago, two Chinese, desperately, and, as it was supposed, mortally, wounded, were brought into the Government Civil hospital at Malacca. Their depositions were taken, after they had been solemnly warned that the surgeon did not entertain hopes of their recovery, and that it therefore behoved them to speak the truth. They both persisted in positively affixing the crime to another Chinese, who was accordingly thrown into jail to await the result of their wounds. After lingering for some time in a hopeless condition, they both unexpectedly recovered, and

then, to the surprize of every one, retracted the charge which they had advanced. They stated that they had no idea as to the person by whom they had been assaulted, but alledged in excuse for having accused an innocent man that they had an unsatisfied grudge against this individual, and that they could not bear the thoughts of leaving the world with their revenge unsatiated.

These few and hasty traits of the most civilized heathen nation on the globe are not very flattering to the theory of those infidels, who point to China as an example of the high moral perfection attainable by a people without the gospel, which they maintain to be unnecessary to the production and growth of virtue. But let us turn from the dark picture and look upon the reformation which is being effected amongst this people by the means of the Anglo Chinese college. Although that institution has been established only about eighteen years,* two, if I mistake not, Chinese youths, who have been converted, by its instrumentality and the labors of the missionaries connected with it, to Christianity, are now preaching the gospel in China, whilst seven or eight more are convinced if not converted. Multitudes of Chinese children are under instruction,--in one school alone I saw seventy of both sexes, and all ages; and a generation is thus springing up, whose superior light is fast paving the way for the abolition of idolatry. Even the grown up Chinese confess the folly of their superstitious rites, and the only thing to overcome is their apathy. It is far easier to convince their

* The first Chinese convert at Malacca was baptized Nov. 3d 1816.

head than their heart, and, whilst they acknowledge the absurdity of their practices, they plead custom and antiquity in their behalf.

The next class of inhabitants which passes under our review is that of the descendants of the ancient conquerors of Malacca, the Portuguese, and here we are tempted to exclaim, "How are the mighty fallen!" Perhaps there never was a more striking instance of the vicissitudes of nations exhibited to the world than is to be found in the contrast between the present degraded condition of the Portuguese inhabitants of Malacca and the glory of their ancestors. With few---very few---exceptions their occupations are of the most servile and laborious nature. The most respectable of them are engaged as menials by the English and Dutch families, or employed in the inferior departments of the different Government offices; but by far the greater proportion obtain a precarious livelihood by means of fishing.

An extensive mud bank, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, belts the coast in the vicinity of Malacca, and the fishing stakes are erected in various parts of it, at a great distance from the shore. These are made of bamboos driven into the flat; the shape of the *jeroomats*, or enclosures, depending in some measure on the taste of its owner, although they are generally made either square or cordiform. The latter are usually double, a row of wattled stakes intersecting the *jeroomat* from the point, which looks to seaward, to the angle, and being produced in a straight line nearly to the shore. On either side of these stakes is an intricate entrance into the enclosure. The fish, passing along

the straits with the monsoon, or rather with the current induced by its long continuance, come in contact with the row of stakes which impedes their progress. They consequently swim alongside of it, until they arrive at the treacherous in which admits them within the enclosure, and from the top of which a large net has been sunk into the water. When the fishermen conceive that a sufficient number of fish have been decoyed inside, the *blât*, or net, is drawn, and encloses within its meshes every thing within its sweep. This is done two or three times during the night, and the boats generally pull in for shore about six o'clock in the morning. A few continue the fishing by day in order to furnish the tables of the Europeans, (for they themselves can no longer be classed as such), with fish. It is a singular circumstance that the stakes which open to the westward, or towards the head of the Bay of Bengal, are the most productive.

A great many curious specimens of the funny tribe are said to be repeatedly brought up in these indiscriminate hauls, but the people can never be persuaded to bring these to land. I have repeatedly offered to pay them a higher price for this description of fish than they could obtain for others for a more marketable quality; but, as I never succeeded, I am inclined to be either sceptical on this head, or to attribute my disappointment to a superstitious feeling on their parts.

The Portuguese, who have been thus toiling all night, divide their day between gambling, drinking, smoking, and sleeping, in the three first of

which their earnings are generally consumed. Altogether there is more vice and consequent wretchedness amongst this class of people than any other. They are of course nearly all Roman Catholics, although some of them are so far sunk in the depths of darkness as never to have heard the name of that Saviour in whom their religion teaches them to believe. Great exertions have been made of late years by the European portion of the community for the amelioration of their condition, and five schools, supported by private contributions, are the means of diffusing religious and general knowledge amongst the young. One of the missionaries superintends their progress and labors amongst them, whilst a few of the ladies have formed themselves into a visiting society to seek out proper objects of charity.

There is also a Portuguese Roman Catholic chapel and priest, but whether the people derive any benefit from either is a matter of doubt.

There is one peculiarity attached to the Portuguese sepulture of infants. When a young child dies, instead of being enclosed in a coffin, it is dressed up in its best suit of white clothes with a cap on its head adorned with flowers, and a nosegay put into each hand. The body, with the face uncovered, is placed on its back on a tray strewed plentifully with posies, and is thus carried forth for burial. Although this method of disposing of the uncoffined dead is extremely repugnant to the English ideas of decency due to mortal remains, yet the sight of the still and marble countenance contrasting with the gay and

joyous flowers has ever excited more interestingly painful emotions in my mind than is in the power of shroud and coffin to produce.

The Dutch are so Anglicised in their manners and customs that it is difficult to point out any striking dissimilarity. One custom which they observe is, however, so peculiar that I cannot pass it by without a remark. It is this: when a person is at the point of death, it is considered a point of etiquette that all the friends and acquaintances should assemble in the sick chamber bedizened in their best apparel. The room is crowded therefore somewhat like a ball room, except that the visitors are seated in a circle instead of dancing, and thus the dying individual, instead of being left to the quiet so befitting a dying hour, has his senses externally occupied and distracted to the last.

CHAP. XIII.

The Natural History, embracing the different classes, interspersed with anecdotes and remarks—Botany.

IN entering upon the Natural History of the Malayan Peninsula, I do not mean to present the following list of the animal and vegetable kingdoms as being by any means complete, but I trust that the catalogue, here exhibited, will not be found destitute of interest. Where specimens have appeared to me to be new, I have ventured, although with extreme diffidence, to nomenclate them. Should others, more acquainted with the subject than I profess to be, point out any error, I shall receive the correction with thankfulness, my object being to disseminate knowledge—not to perpetuate error. The new species will be found principally in the department of Ornithology, and that branch of Herpetology, which naturalists have denominated Ophidian, from its treating upon snakes. I do not propose to confine myself to the systematic arrangement, which is indispensably requisite in a work of reference, but intend simply to give the names of various animals together with the synonymes of the most celebrated authors, and a general description of the habits, &c, of each. This plan will divest this portion of the work of the dryness of details so tedious to the general reader. Those who wish for the latter can consult the authors referred to in the foot notes.

The first species of the ape tribe, which is to be found in the Peninsula, is the *Troglodytes Niger* of M. Desmarest,* and the *Simia Troglodytes* of Linnæus†, better known to English readers as the Chimpanzé.

This animal presents a striking similarity, in external conformation, to the human figure. It stands about three feet high, and is covered profusely with long black hair, that on the hind head and shoulders being considerably longer than the rest. The head rounded, and skin of the face dark. The facial angle, or that formed by a line drawn from the forehead to the muzzle, and another from the muzzle to the bottom of the ear, is 50°. The Chimpanzé is destitute of a tail, cheek pouches, and intermaxillary bones. The haunches are naked, but not callous. The arms reach nearly to the knees, so as to be nearly proportioned to the legs when the animal goes on all fours. The hair on the fore arm is reversed, pointing to the elbows instead of to the wrist. The hands and legs from the wrists and ankles are covered with light brown hair, the terminal line of the black hair being well defined so as to give an appearance of white gloves and stockings. The face is encircled with a white beard.

The Chimpanzé is capable of receiving a considerable degree of education, and can make use of a stick to assist its steps. It is met with in troops of about a hundred each in various parts of the Malayan Archipelago: those in the Peninsula generally delight in the deep woods which clothe

* Stark's Elements of Natural History. Vol. 1. p. 41.

† Turton's System of Nature, Vol. 1. p. 10.

the sides of the various ranges of hills, and are extremely shy and difficult of access. It is very rarely that they are taken alive, a circumstance perhaps to be attributed to the timidity of the natives, who prefer the certainty of the gun to the hazard of a struggle in which they might be overcome by strength and number.

P. Satyrus, Desm. (*Synonimes. Simia satyrus*, Lin. *Pongo Wornbii*, Desm.), generally known as the great Orang-Outang.*

The canine teeth in this species project somewhat more than they do in mankind and the tubercles on the molars are considerably more developed. The head is rounded, but more inclining to the oval than in the Chimpansé; the facial angle is about 65° . Like the last, it has no tail, cheek pouches, nor callosities on the buttocks. The ears, except in being destitute of the lower lobe, resemble those of man. The arms are disproportionately long, so much so that, when the animal is erect, it can touch the ground with its hands.

Mr. Stark†, in treating of this animal, has the following passage. "The history of this animal, confounded with relations of other species, has hitherto been involved in much obscurity. The animal described by naturalists under the name of *S. Satyrus*, specimens of which have occasionally been seen in Europe, and the *Pongo* of Wurnb, seem only, as Cuvier conjectured, to be the young of the gigantic animal described and partly figured by Dr. Clarke Abel. From the measurement of the shrivelled and dried skin, that gentleman makes its height to exceed seven

* Corrupted from the Malayese. Orang, a man, and Utan, wild, from the resemblance to a human being.

† Stark's Elements of Natural History. Vol. 1. p. 42.

feet and a half, though the youth of the animal was ascertained by the state of its teeth, and by the apophysis of the bones of its hands and feet being incompletely ossified."

After this opinion of two eminent naturalists it may appear to savor somewhat of presumption to come to a different conclusion, but I offer with diffidence, the following grounds on which I conceive the Pongo of Wurmb, or the third variety of the *Simia Satyrus* of Linnæus, to be, as there classed, distinct from the Great Orang Utan.

The fur of the Great Orang Utan is brownish red—that of the Pongo of the Malayan Peninsula is a very pale nankeen. The beard of the former is chesnut—that of the latter nearly white. The hair of the head of the Orang Utan is reddish brown—that of the Pongo is of the same pale color as the body. But the principal fact on which I rest is the height. It is supposed by these authors that the Pongo of three feet high is but the young Orang Utan. Now the Pongo in my possession was killed with a young one in her arms, which she was suckling,—a decisive proof of maturity, and yet she is barely three feet high. I have seen several others, some smaller, but none taller than this.

Further, the Malays assert, although I am not prepared to state with what truth, that there is seldom more than one Pongo to be found amongst a troop of Chimpanzés, over whom it rules with despotic authority, and that consequently it is very difficult to get near enough to shoot one, as the alarm is generally given by some of its subjects on the approach of the sportsman.

If this exercise of authority have any foundation in fact, it tends to confirm the opinion of the animal being in full vigor.

I would therefore subdivide this tribe into the two following. viz.

1st. *Pithecus satyrus*, Desm. (Synonime, *Simia satyrus*, 2. Lin.) The Great orang utan.

2d. *Pongo Wombü*, Desm. (Synonime *Simia satyrus* 3. Lin.) The Lesser orang utan, or Pongo.

Pithecus lar, Desm. (Synonime, *Simia lar*, Lin.) the Gibbon, or Long armed ape. The fur of this species is black, and the face surrounded with a ruff of grey hairs, causing the countenance to assume the appearance of extreme age and decrepitude. When the animal is erect, the arms nearly touch the ground. Height about sixteen inches. Callosities on the buttocks.

This animal is extremely common in the forests of the Malayan Peninsula, which re-echo with their plaintive whooping, as the boughs bend under the successive springs of the retreating troops scared by the unwonted sound of the traveller's footsteps. In confinement it is mild and melancholy, deprecating ill treatment in a most beseeching manner, but never attempting to revenge it.

A smaller variety of the Gibbon is also to be met with in Malacca, termed by Desmarest *Pithecus variegatus*, corresponding with the *Simia lar*, Var. of Linnæus. This is a third less than the one just described, and its fur is variegated with grey brown and dark grey.

P. syndactylus; Desm. (Synonimes, *Simia syndactyla*, Raffles—*Siamang*, Malayese). The Sia-

mang. The fur is very woolly, and of a deep black colour—Throat naked. the thumb and fore finger of the posterior hand united at the second joint, whence its name.

This species of Gibbon is found in large troops, which are each governed by a chief. In the cool of the morning and evening, they utter hideous outcries, but are perfectly silent during the heat of the day. They drink by immersing the hand in water, and then sucking the moisture from their fingers. They are easily tamed, but their timidity can never be wholly overcome, even by the most continued kind treatment.

P. agilis, Desm. (Synonime, *Hylobates agilis*, F. Cuvier). The Active gibbon. Fur brown, back yellow, and forehead extremely low. Face of the male bluish black; of the female, brown.

These differ from the preceding in their habits, being found in couples, instead of in troops. They are remarkably active in their movements, but not distinguished by much intelligence.

I pass over the three next *genera*, as, although I have no doubt that several species in these families, which are common in Sumatra and Java, are to be found in the peninsula, they have not passed under my own observation.

Macacus, properly so called.—Tail more or less long.

M. Sinicus, Desm. (Synonime, *Simia Sinica*, Lin.) Chinese monkey. Tailed, beardless. Fore top horizontal, and diverging from the centre of the head to the circumference, giving it the appearance of a Mandarin's cap.

This monkey is about the size of a cat, the tail

considerably longer than the body. The fur reddish brown, mixed with pale yellow on the back. Is extremely active, and appears to delight in frequenting the banks of rivers.

M. nemestrinus, Synonime, *Simia nemestrina* (Lin.)

The Brown baboon. Beard thin---Eyes hazel, Haunches naked---Tail short and slender, reaching only to the middle of the thigh.

The color of the fur is grey, deepening into brown on the back, dorsal line and middle of the head black. The face naked and tawny, nose flat and lips thin. About two feet high. The Brown baboon is extremely ugly, but intelligent, lively, and tractable, and susceptible of a considerable degree of instruction, easily learning to perform a variety of tricks. It is very abundant in the Peninsula.

The Lemurs in their form approach to that of the quadrupeds, but the shape of the hands and head is somewhat similar to that of the preceding family of the *Quadrumana*, between whom and the quadrupeds, nature appears to have designed them to be, as it were, a connecting link. Most of them are nocturnal in their habits, from which circumstance and their disgusting appearance Linnæus designated them *Lemures*, or ghosts.

There are seven tribes of them, but only one, that I am aware of, is to be found in the Malayan Peninsula, viz; The *Nycticebus*, Geoff.—(Synonimes, *Lemur*, Lin.—*Loris*, Cuv.

N. Javanicus, Geoff. Desm. Javanese lory. The animals of this *genus* have a long body with

a very short tail; the eyes are very large, prominent, bright, and directed forward. The limbs appear weak, and the animal "drags its slow length along," as if it were pain to move. The species under description is about a foot long, the fur red, with a deeper colored dorsal line. It utters a low melancholy cry when teased, and has a mournful expression of countenance.

Galeopithecus, Geoff. Pall. Desm.—(Synonyme, *Lemur*, Gme'in.)

The *Galeopithecus* belong to the Cheiropteros order and are distinguished in common with the other families by having their form adapted for flight, a strong expansile membrane running from the throat to the forefeet, thence to the hindfeet, and from them to the tail.

Mr. Stark * says that "the *Galeopithecus* are but imperfectly known," and again "that the largest species known is not bigger than a young cat." He enumerates but three species viz. *G. rufus*, which he classes with the *Lemur volans*, or Flying macauco of Linnæus, the *G. variegatus*, supposed by some naturalists to be but a variety of the preceding, and the *G. Ternatensis*. I am inclined to think that either the *Lemur volans* of Linnæus is a distinct species, or else that the specimen from the Pelew islands, which this author states to be about a foot long, must have been a young one, as the animals of this nature in the Malayan Peninsula are fully three feet long, and thus agree with the Linnæan *Lemur volans*, and measure the same across when the membrane is expanded.

The *Galeopithecus rufus* is of a dusky red, but

* Elements of Natural History, Vol. 1. p. 65.

the fur of the species now under consideration consists chiefly of brown, interspersed with soft and hoary, or grevish colored, hairs, which are also sprinkled on the upper surface of the membrane. The inside of the latter is fibrous and nearly naked. The tail long, slender, and hairy. Toes five on each foot, armed with acute, crooked, and slender claws. Head long, fox shaped—Mouth and teeth small—ears rounded, small, and membranaceous—Mammæ two, pectoral.

Nocturnal in its habits, it is seldom seen before sunset, when it springs from tree to tree, in search of its food which consists of insects and small birds. When the animal makes these leaps, it expands the membrane in order to support the body by the resistance of the air: it always alights, however, lower than the place it started from, owing to the insufficiency of this resistance to thoroughly buoy up the weight of its body, and it would, at the termination of a few successive leaps, find itself on the ground, were it not every now and then to run up the trunk on which it alights. The one which fell into my possession in 1832, had a young one clinging to the breast, and, owing to this incumbrance, and the closeness of the pursuit which deprived her of the opportunity of climbing, was speedily a prisoner. Both she and her young one, however, made a vigorous resistance, emitting sharp and unpleasant cries at the same time, and were not easily secured even with the assistance of two or three Europeans.

Pteropus Javanicus, Desm. Leschenault. (Synonyme, *Vespertilio vampyrus*, Var. 3 Lin). The Javanese bat, *Kulowang*, in Malayese. This is the lar-

gest of the bat *genus*, the body measuring from 9 inches to a foot in length, and the spread of the wings being fully five feet. It is destitute of a tail. The upper part of the neck is of a dusky red hue, and the remainder of the fur black, intermingled with a few white hairs. It is gregarious, and may be seen hanging in clusters from the extremities of the boughs of a tree in most parts of the Peninsula. They fly very high and evenly, quitting their retreats about an hour before sunset, and winging their way in an easterly direction, far above the tops of the loftiest trees. About an hour after sunrise they return in the same manner to their nocturnal retreat, and apparently accomplish at least four or five miles each trip without halting, a flock of them migrating thus regularly every evening from Sebang to Taboo, whence they returned the following morning. From the extreme height at which they soar, they are inaccessible by small shot, and the only one that I ever saw killed was shot at Bell's Stockade in December 1832 by an officer of the 23d Madras light infantry with a single ball. As it was shot through the heart, it fell perpendicularly, but the distance between the sportsman and the spot where it impinged was a hundred measured yards, so that, taking its extreme height into consideration, it could have been little less than double that range from the sportsman.

P. rostratus. Horsfield, Desm. The Dog-bat of Java. Fur pale brown. Body three inches—spread of the wings eleven inches.

Cephalotes pallassii, Geoff. Desm. (Syn. *Vespertilio cephalotes*, Lin.) The Malacca Bat. Three inches and a half long; spread of the wings fourteen inches. Fur above cinereous, beneath, whitish.

Besides the foregoing, there are several species of bats, but, as their habits present nothing peculiar, I pass on to the consideration of the *Eri-naceus Malaccensis*, Lin. Desm. (Synonyme, *Hystrix brachyura*, Lin), The Malacca hedgehog.

This animal is about eight inches long, and is armed with very long spines pointing parallel to each other. From it is procured the bezoar, known by the name of *Piedra del porco*.

Ursus. Malayanus, Raffles. The Malay bear. This species is covered with smooth black fur, having a heart shaped patch of yellowish white on the throat. It is very abundant amongst the low ranges of wooded hills in the Peninsula, a great number of which have been called by the Malays *Bukit Bruan*, or Bear's Hill, in consequence of their resorting thither—It is singular that the *Bruan* of the Malays should so closely assimilate in sound with our term Bruin. They are savage, and not to be trusted.

Mustela nudipes, the Java ferret. This animal is about eleven inches long, and its fur is a brilliant golden yellow, with the exception of the forehead and tip of the tail which are yellowish white. The soles of the feet are naked, whence its name,

Mephitis Javanensis, Desm. (Syn. *Tetagon*, F. Cuv.) The Javan mephitic weasel. The whole of this tribe derive their defence from the power of ejecting an intolerably fetid liquid from their body.

Body about 16 inches long. Fur deep brown; forehead with a white spot, extended into a dorsal line. Tail very short, and covered with long hair. The *Lutra leptonyx* of Dr. Horsfield is also an inhabitant of the Peninsula, and appears to be either the *Viverra zibetha* of Linnæus, or closely allied to it.

Viverra musanga, Raffles. The Musang. Fur variegated with ash-color and black: faint black stripes on the back. Head, feet, and tail, black, point of the muzzle white. Stands about the height of a cat, but the body is considerably longer. Fierce and untameable. Emits a strong and sickening smell of musk, especially when irritated, and is very destructive to poultry.

Felis tigris. The Tiger. This animal is too well known to require any description—It is abundant in the Peninsula, but appears to be somewhat less bold than it is in the more arid climate of India.

Felis melas, Peron and Lesueur. (Synonyme *Melias*, Cuv.) Spotted black tiger—Fur dusky black, spotted with deeper black—Eyes silvery grey, nearly white—About two feet and a half high. This is one of the most ferocious of the species, and very much dreaded by the Malays. Providentially it is comparatively rare, only one, a cub, having been brought into Malacca in the course of three years. Although not much larger than a common cat, he was so exceedingly savage that, after having had him in my possession for a few days, I was obliged to have him strangled.

Felis Javanensis. Cuv. Desm. Javan tiger cat. Fur silvery grey, or grey brown above—beneath white. Four rows of elongated spots along the

sides—Head streaked longitudinally with brown and white—white lunule at the base of each ear. Tail and legs darker than the body—The former shortish, straight, obtuse—Size of the common cat, and resembles in most particulars the *felis Bengalensis*. Fierce.

Sciurus bicolor. Desm. Gmelin. The Java squirrel—Fur above deep brown or blackish; below, clear fawn color, with a white longitudinal stripe dividing the two colors—Eyes encircled with black—Ears not pencilled—About a foot long—Tail the same, distichous. This is a beautiful species of squirrel, but the one which I had in my possession resisted every attempt to tame it.

Sciurus badjing, Gmel. (Synonime, *Sciurus flavus*, Pennant), the Plantain squirrel. Color throughout pale yellow—Size the same as the last; gentle and easy tamed—This species is considered by Mr. Stark not to be well established, and he therefore merely mentions the name without including it in his classification. As, however, I procured a live specimen in the interior of the Peninsula, and kept it for some weeks, I have restored it to its proper place in the catalogue.

Besides the above, there are three or four varieties of flying squirrels, viz. the *Pteromys petaurista* of Desmarest, or *Sciurus petaurista* of Gmelin and Pallas, about seventeen inches long; the *P. nitidus* of Desmarest, which is a slight variety of the preceding; the *P. sagitta* of the same author, or *Sciurus sagitta* of Gmelin, the Javan flying squirrel, six inches long; &c.

Mus Javanus, Desm. (Synonime, *Mus pilor-*

ides, Lin.), The Musk cavy. Body above tawny, beneath white—Tail long, scaly, truncate—nine inches long—tail four inches. The cavy grunts something like a hog, and, from the looseness and toughness of its skin, and the length of its foreteeth, which are cuneiform, makes a vigorous resistance when attacked by even three or four dogs—These teeth are about an inch long, and fully as much is imbedded in the jaw. When removed from the socket, the shape of the tooth is about a third of a circle. They are harmless and inoffensive, living principally upon the bamboo, which they cut down with great rapidity, and are known to the Malays by a name signifying Bamboo Rat.

Manis crassicaudata, Geoff. (Synonimes, *M. macroura*, Desm—*M. pentadactyla*, Lin.)—Short tailed manis—This animal is about two feet long, and has the body covered with imbricate triangular scales; those on the back form eleven longitudinal and parallel rows. The tail shorter than the body—The manis erects its scales when irritated, and defends itself, when attacked, by rolling up its body into the form of a ball, presenting a defence on every side by means of its pointed scales.

The *Manis Javanicus* of Desmarest differs principally from the foregoing in being only two thirds of the size, and having *seventeen* rows of longitudinal scales on the back.

Elephas Indicus (Synonime, *Elephas maximus*, Lin)—The Asiatic elephant. This animal inhabits the forests of the Malayan Peninsula in considerable numbers.

Sus babyrussia, Lin. The Wild hog: The name of this species is derived from two Malay words, viz. *babi*, hog, and *rusa*, ^{deer} wild. It is very abundant throughout the Peninsula, but its tusks are smaller, and its disposition less ferocious, than those of the wild hog of Continental India. It can be shot on foot with little or no danger, hunting being totally impracticable from the nature of the country, and its flesh is remarkably tender and delicious.

The *Rhinoceros Sumatrensis*, or Sumatran rhinoceros, is also an inhabitant of the Peninsula.

Tapirus Malayanus, Raffles. The Malayan tapir is to be found in the interior, but it is a very scarce animal. The nose of this singular quadruped is elongated into a moveable proboscis which, unlike that of the elephant, is unfurnished with a digital process. The fur is black, with a broad white patch on the posterior part. The Tapir is gentle and easily tamed. Sleeps during the day, and feeds at night on water melons, gourds, pasture, &c.

Neither the horse nor the ass are indigenious to the Peninsula, and those of the former to be met with are either Java or Achin ponies imported annually for the use of the wealthier class of inhabitants.

Of the deer species there is the *Moschus Javanicus* of M. Desmarest, or the *Kantchil*, which is a beautiful little animal, not larger than a rabbit, and having legs about the thickness of a tobacco pipe. The fur is a deep red brown on the back, and white on the belly. Three white streaks under the throat—It is very abundant, and the flesh strongly resembles that of a rabbit.

The *Cervus muntjac* of M. Desmarest is also an inhabitant of the Peninsula.

Neither goats nor sheep, although both have been introduced, can be said to be indigenous to the soil, nor do the latter thrive as well in this part of the world as they do in Continental India.

Bos Arnee, Shaw, The Buffaloe, *Karbau* in Malayese. Great numbers of buffaloes are domesticated in the Peninsula, but I have never met with any wild ones. They are not nearly so savage as those of the Burman empire.

This is the most useful animal possessed by the Malays, and is employed by them for every purpose of draught and agriculture. The young afford them a very good substitute for beef, and the flock is maintained at very little expense. From the extreme harshness and dryness of the skin, the buffaloe suffers much during the heat of the day; and is consequently hardly ever worked at that time, but allowed to luxuriate, immersed all but the head, in a stagnant pool. It is extremely sluggish, not moving much above a mile an hour.

The domestic ox is unknown as an original inhabitant of the Malayan Peninsula. A few bullocks and cows have been introduced, but they do not thrive very well on the main. Those on the island of Pinang appear to fatten better. Having in the few foregoing pages, given a summary of the Mammalia of the Straits, as far as they have passed under my own observation, I now come to the consideration of the Ornithological department.

It would swell these pages to an extent greater than it is contemplated, were I to detail at length

the whole of the varied Ornithology of the Peninsula; I shall therefore content myself with a simple enumeration of this department, dwelling only on the more remarkable specimens.

Amongst the eagle tribe, we find the *Falco Severus*, Horsfield, Javan falcon. This bird is about twelve inches long. The body is ash brown, spotted and waved with darker and black. Greater wing coverts varied with black, brown, and pale brown. Arrow spot on the throat white, outer quill feathers barred, and outer tail feathers tipped with white. Middle claw serrate.

Falco Malayensis, Tem. Malayan eagle. Plumage sooty brown. Irregular whitish bands at the base of the wing feathers, and white lunules on the inside of the tail feathers.

The Hornbill tribe, to which we now come, is one of the most curious of nature's wonders, and no less than five species are procurable in the Peninsula. The first of these is,

The *Buceros rhinoceros* of Linnæus, or the Rhinoceros hornbill. It is about the size of a hen turkey, but slenderer in the body, and the plumage is totally black, with the exception of the tail, which is tipped with white. The bill is ten inches long, surmounted with a hollow protuberance, eight inches long, and curved backwards.

What the precise use of this appendage is I am unable to say, but I think it not improbable that a communication exists between it and the *larynx*, producing the shrill and grating cry uttered by the bird, which is heard when it is soaring even at a great height. The Hornbills build on the tops of the loftiest trees, and are extremely

shy, seldom permitting the sportsman to approach within range. When taken alive, they make a strenuous resistance with their long and powerful wings. The other species are, the *Buceros monoceros*, Shaw, (Synonyme, *B. Malabaricus*, Latham), the Unicorn hornbill; the *B. galeatus*, Lath. the Galeated, or Helmeted, hornbill, and the other two I conceive to be new species, and shall therefore describe them.

The first of these I shall term *Buceros rugosus* or the Wrinkled hornbill. This species is two feet and a half long. Body, wings, and tail, black, with the exception of the cheeks, shoulders, & throat, which are dirty white mixed with cinereous. One third of the tail from the tip smoky white, helmet and pouch-like protuberance under the throat crimson, the former furrowed with three deep indentations. Upper mandible yellowish brown inclining to white at the tip, and chipped at the edges; the base half of the lower mandible ochraceous, and transversely caniculate; remainder of the mandible dirty white.

The second new species which I have ventured to nomenclate is the *Buceros lugubris*, or Melancholy hornbill. This species is two feet long, having the bill very much hooked, destitute of a helmet, and of a reddish yellow. Head, neck, throat, belly, and vent, white, slightly sprinkled with black. Body, wings, and tail, black, the latter tipped with white. This bird is melancholy in its disposition but, withal, voracious in its habits. I had one in confinement for some time, feeding it principally on plantains, which it devoured

greedily, and never attempted to escape from its perch. I destroyed it on account of the filth and stench which it generated.

Amongst the pheasant tribe, Malacca boasts of the *Argus giganticus* of Temminck, or the *Phasianus argus* of Linnæus, the Argus pheasant, so justly celebrated for its superb plumage. Including the two long tail feathers, the male measures five feet three inches in length. The secondary quill feathers are brilliant with ocellate spots, (whence the name of Argus is given to the bird,) and are manufactured into fans by the Chinese. Like the rest of the pheasant tribe, it is a remarkably shy bird.

There are also the *Phasianus ignitus*, or Fire-backed pheasant, which is a very handsome bird, about the size of a barn door fowl, and the *Phasianus nyctemerus*, or Pencilled pheasant. This last is, however, a very rare bird. The *Cryptonix coronatus* of Temminck, or the Malacca partridge, is a very handsome bird, having a chesnut crest on the occiput, the body being generally of a dark violet colour, and the back and rump of a dark shining green. Its flesh resembles that of the European partridge in flavor, and the bird can be kept in confinement. The *Coturnix texilis*, or common Indian quail—the Chinese quail, *Tetrao Sinensis*, Lin.—the *Tetrao viridis*, or Green quail—the *Charadrius pluvialis*, Lin. or Golden plover—the *Charadrius hiaticula*, Lin. or Ringed plover—the *Arenaria vulgaris*, or Common sand lark—the *Gallinago media*, or Common snipe—the *Gallinago media*, or *Scolopax gallinula* Lin. the Jack snipe—the *Scolopax Sinensis*, or Chinese, or painted,

snipe—*Anas boschas*, the Wild duck—the Common, and the Whistling, teal, and a species of the *Phaeopus*, or Whimbrel, complete the game of the Peninsula.

There are two species of bittern to be met with, viz; the *Ardea stellaris*, or *Botaneus stellaris*, the Common bittern, and the *Botaneus lentiginosa*, or Freckled bittern: they are, however, both rare birds. There is also the *Ardea flavicollis*, or Yellow necked heron.

A large and very elegantly plumaged bird is the *Porphyrio viridis*, the *Ayam ayer** of the Malays, or the Malacca Water hen, (Synonimes, *Porphyrio hyacinthinus*, Tem.—*Gallinula porphyrio*, Lath—*Fulica porphyrio*, Lin). Body above green with a purple gloss, beneath violet—Bill, legs, and front, red.

Rallus Philippensis, the Philippine rail—the *Rallus phœnicurus*, or the Red tailed rail, the *Rallus striatus*, or Streaked rail, and the *Plotus melanogaster*, or Javan darter, are also numbered amongst the birds of the Peninsula—This last is to be met with in great numbers between Ching and Malim, five miles from Malacca, in the swampy ground which for the greatest portion of the year is overflowed by the river—It is 3 feet, 3 inches long, and obtains its name from the celerity with which it darts its long serpentine neck forward, in the act of seizing any of the finny tribe, on whom it preys. Its plumage is by no means destitute of elegance.

Mergus, the Merganser, a plain and dusky plumaged bird—*Coracias Orientalis*, the Oriental roller.—the *Nectarinea longirostra*, or Long billed

* From, *Ayama* fowl, and *Ayer*, water.

creeper—the *Certhia viridis*, or Green creeper—The *Picus martius* or Greater black woodpecker—*Picus flavicans*, or Yellow woodpecker—*Picus Malaccensis*, or Malacca woodpecker—the *Picus galeatus*, or crested woodpecker, and *Picus minor*, or the lesser spotted woodpecker, may also be enumerated.

There are numerous varieties of Kingfishers; the *Alcedo collaris*, or Collared kingfisher—the *Alcedo atricapilla*, or Blackcapped kingfisher—the *Alcedo Smyrnensis*, var. 2, or Smyrna kingfisher—the *Alcedo tridactyla*, or Three toed kingfisher—a variety of the *Alcedo leucocephala*, or Blue headed kingfisher, differing in being blue barred with black above—cheeks, nape, and orbits of the eyes chesnut; beneath, pale rufous—a variety of the *Alcedo maculata*, or Spotted kingfisher, differing in being brown barred with black, above—and the *Alcedo cristata*, or Crested kingfisher.

There are three splendid species of the Barbet tribe, viz, the *Bucco Javensis* of Horsfield, or the Javan barbet—the *Bucco versicolor* of Temminck, or Many colored barbet and the *Bucco gularis* of Reinwardt, or Blue throated barbet. They are all three remarkable for splendor and brilliancy of plumage.

The *Ploceus Philippinus*, Tem. or (*Loxia Major Lin*) The Philippine weaver, and the *Ploceus pensilis* Tem, (*Loxia prasina Lin*) or Pensile weaver, are both common in the Peninsula, and the latter is remarkable for the elegance of its plumage. The nest of the former is composed of the fibres of leaves, and grass, and is curiously con-

structed in the shape of a long cylinder, swelling out globosely in the centre, which portion forms the apartment wherein the eggs are laid—One end of the cylinder is attached to the end of a branch, which generally either impends over water, or is nearly inaccessible from some other cause, and the other, or lower, extremity is furnished with a small aperture, which forms the only entrance, and effectually secures the young from the depredations of the numerous snakes, who would otherwise prey upon them.

There are several species of flycatcher amongst which may be enumerated the *Muscicapa atricapilla*, or Pied flycatcher; the *Edolius Malabarius* of Temminck, the *Lanius* of Shaw, or the Malabar shrike; and a new and beautiful species, as it appears to me, which I have ventured to term *Muscicapa cyanea*, or Ultramarine flycatcher—Its body, head, wings, and tail are velvet glossy black—front, crest, scapulars, back, and tail coverts, are of a most beautiful and brilliant ultra-marine blue—Tail shortish, cuneated. Legs and bill black—Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Female greenish ash, head, scapulars, and tail coverts, sprinkled with ultra marine blue. Wings and tail brown with a slight steel blue gloss. These birds abound in the woods of Sebang and the whole tribe enliven the solitude by their restless movements and noisy cries.

A variety of the *Coccyzus navius*, of Temminck or the Brown cuckoo, is a denizen of the woods. It differs only in the tail having a black bar near the extremity, and being tipped with white.

Few countries boast such a variety of the pige-

on tribe; the following species may be enumerated: *Columba indica*, or Green winged pigeon—*Columba viridis*, or Green turtle—*Columba Malaccensis*, or Malacca turtle—*Columba turtur*, or turtle dove—*Columba vernans*, or Green pigeon—*Columba aenea*, or Nutmeg pigeon—*Columba cristata*, or Lesser crowned pigeon—*Columba migratoria*, or Passenger pigeon—*Columba lacernulata*—*Columba striata*, Barred turtle, and *Columba jambu*, or *Jambu* pigeon, which is a remarkably handsome bird with a blossom colored head of the hue of the *jambu* fruit, whence its name.

There are several species of parrots indigenous to the Peninsula, but the most beautiful varieties of Lories and Cockatoos are imported from Java and the Moluccas. The native ones are the *Psittacus Malaccensis*, or Malacca parrot—the *Psittacus galgulus*, or Sapphire parrot, which suspends itself by one foot when it sleeps—the *Psittacus purpuratus*, or Purple tailed parrot, and the *Psittacus erythrocephalus*, or Blossom headed parrot.

The *Rupicola viridis*, of Temminck, or the *Calypotomena* of Raffles, is distinguished by the vivid and glossy green of its plumage, heightened as it is by the contrast of three broad black bands.—The *Trogon fasciatus*, or Fasciated curucui—the *Paradisea regia*, or King bird of Paradise—the *Nectarinea Javanica*, or Javan humming bird, and a very minute species, which I shall distinguish by the name of *Nectarinea ignita*, or Firebacked humming bird—This beautiful little thing is only two inches long—cheeks black—chin and beneath white—crest, back, and tail coverts,

bright red—wings, and tail black—lesser wing coverts with a purplish gloss. The *Oriolus galbula*, or Golden oriole—The *Trogon sulphureus*, or Sulphur curucui—differs only from the *Trogon Sulphureus* of Spix in having the back glossy copper coloured instead of glossy green—the *Samprotorius gularis* of Temminck, or *Paradisea gularis* of Latham, or Golden throated bird of Paradise—the *Hirundo Panayana* or Panayan swallow,—these, and several other species of the feathered creation, flash their splendid plumage in the sun, or make the deeply shaded woods re-echo with their song.

Of Chelonian reptiles those found in the Peninsula are the *Cistuda Amboinensis*, or Amboina freshwater turtle—the *Chelonia Mydas*, or Green turtle, which is very abundant and esteemed a great delicacy, and the *Chelonia imbricata*, or Hawk's bill turtle, which is not so common.

Of the Saurian order there is the *Alligator sclerops* of Cuvier, the *Alligator lacerta* of Linnæus, or the Common alligator, which infests the rivers and sea shores in great numbers, and may be seen occasionally swimming up and down the Straits at the distance of half a mile, or more, from the shore—the *Monitor elegans*, or Elegant monitor lizard—the *Laerta viridis*, or green lizard—the *Draco lineatus*, (*D. volans*, Lin.) or flying dragon—the *Gecko guttatus*, or Spotted gecko, and the *Gecko tuberculatus*, or the Tokay, so called from the sound which it emits, and which must be familiar to the ears of every one who has sojourned in the Burman empire.

Of snakes the following may be enumerated—

the *Coluber lebetinus*, which is exceedingly poisonous, and causes death by inducing an unconquerable sleep—the *Platurus laticaudatus* of Cuvier, or *Hydrus colubrimus*, a poisonous water snake which is met with in the seas—these are the only poisonous ones which have passed under my observation. The *Coluber tigrinus*, or Tiger snake, is one of the most brilliant of the species, being striped like a tiger as its name imports, and the head being beautifully variegated with yellow marks resembling Persian characters; and along the belly runs a chain of bright scarlet spots, every four being disposed in diamond squares—the *Coluber porphyriacus*—the *Coluber purpurascens*—the *Coluber Maderensis*—the *Coluber schokari*;—the *Coluber ahetula*, or Whip snake---the *Pseudoboa lineata* of Cuvier, or *Boa lineata* of Shaw, and the following three, which I could not class by means of "Gmelin's System", and which, from my not having "Stark's Elements" at hand at the time of examination, and not having the specimens by me now, I am equally at a loss to arrange, viz. *Coluber*-----; this snake is six feet long---plates of the belly 161, scales under the tail 59---pale yellowish brown---sides marked with equilateral triangular white spots placed equidistant from each other---inhabits the jungles of the Peninsula;---*Coluber*-----; plates of the belly 184---scales under the tail 34---length 3 feet eight inches---body thick---above, bluish black, beneath white---scales of the back hexangular with paler edges;---*Coluber*-----; plates of the belly 172, scales under the tail 125---two feet long, slender---tail $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole length, tapering---above,

brown ash, with a black stripe leading from the eye to the shoulder—a few minute bluish green specks intermingled with the stripe—a white stripe along each side growing yellowish towards the head—beneath white, terminated on each side by a black filiform line. The *Augnis hepaticus* is also found in the woods.

The *Zygæna vulgaris*, or Hammer headed shark, is caught in great abundance, and exposed in the markets, constituting the food of a large proportion of the lower orders—the *Pristis cirratus* or Cirrated saw fish—several species of the Sclerodermi family, which are eaten by the natives, although their flesh is not in great esteem—the *Clupea Chinensis*, or Indian sprat, and a great variety of others: those, however, most in esteem for European tables are the *Pleuronectes bilineatus* or Indian sole—the Black and White pomfret---the *Polyne-mus paradiseus*, or *Ikan kuru*,---the seer fish, &c. all of which are remarkably fine.

Of shell fish there are but few varieties, and of those the only edible ones are oysters,* crabs, the common, and the land, or violet---the cockle, and the muscle. The *Monoculos cyclops*, which is a singular sea insect, having a bivalve shell about a foot in diameter, is eaten by the lower orders. Prawns are in abundance.

The *Cancer bernhardus* or Hermit crab, is remarkable for its habits. This little animal takes up its abode in any empty univalve shell, which continues to form its habitation, until its encreasing size renders it necessary for it to abandon it

* Crabs, of course, belong to the Crustaceous class of Invertebral animals, as oysters do to the Conchiferous class, but I introduce them here by the term shell fish as they are designated in common parlance.

for a larger. It often happens that it fixes upon one already tenanted by another of its species, and a desperate struggle ensues, which is rarely discontinued until either one or both be disabled.

The few shells that are to be found on the beach in the Straits are small and common, such as the *Solen truncatus*, or Truncated razor sheath---the *Mya nicobarica*, or Nicobar trough shell, or gaper---the *Venus decussata*, or Decussated Venus---the *Murex tribulus*, or Thorny woodcock---the *Murex rana*, or Frog murex---the *Mytilus plicatus*, or Plaited muscle,---the *Trochus indicus*, or Indian top, and *Auris midae voluta*, Midas's ear volute.

The Entomology of the Straits presents a wide field for the naturalist, but several circumstances prevented my turning my attention to it. The few specimens that I had an opportunity of noticing are, as follows, the Atlas moth---the *Papilio memnon*, or Memnon butterfly---the *Papilio pamnon*, or Pamnon butterfly---the *Locusta citrofolia*, or Lemonleaved locust---the *Phyllium siccifolia*, or Walking leaf---the *Scarabæus rhinoceros*, or Rhinoceros beetle---the *Libellula clavata*, or Clubshaped dragon fly, and the *Libellula tricolora*, or Tricolored dragon fly.

The botany of the Straits embraces a vast variety of fruit and timber trees. Amongst the former may be enumerated the *Mangusteen*---the *Dookoo*---the *Rambutan*---the *Lansch*---the *Tampoocie*---the *Tampoonie*---the *Mango*, the *Durian*, and a vast variety of other fruits, embracing upwards of a hundred species. Sugar cane is a favorite plant of the Malays, which they cultivate and eat raw in great quantities: there are eleven varieties of bamboos and seventeen of rattans. Of

flowering shrubs and trees there are the *Anggrek*, or *Epidendrium*, generally known to Europeans as the Scorpion flower, and termed by the Malays *Bunga kasturi* from its musky odor---the *Sangklaapa*, (*Gardenia flore simplice*)---the *Angsaka* (*Flamma sylvarum peregrina*)---the *Angsanna* (*Pterocarpus draco*)---the *Champak*---the *Gandasuli*---the *Malor*---the *Malor susun*---the *Malor utan*---the *Sandal*, &c. &c. Timber trees are abundant, of which the principal are the *Jati bunga*, or Teak, the *Chingal*---the *Sanei*---the *Meranti*---the *Medang lili*---the *Medang lebar daun*---the *Medang kaladi*---the *Medang ramangi*---the *Medang payong*---the *Medang tetur*---the *Medang tijar*---the *Medang gatal*---the *Temusu mas*---the *Temama batu*---the *Aibam tandok*---the *Bungor*---the *Rangas*, or red-wood---the *Mirbow*, a very hard and heavy wood, the tree being easily recognized by the viridity of its stem---the *Bintangor batu* or Red poon---the *Bintangor bunga*, or White poon---the *Arang*, or Black wood, and the *Temusutak karbau*.

Finis.

Appendix A. p. 94.

TREATY of the commercial alliance between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, settled by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracroft, in virtue of powers delegated to him by the Honorable John Alexander Bannerman, Governor of Prince of Wales's Island and its Dependencies.—Done on the 27th Ramadhan 1233, (answering to the evening of 30th July 1818.)

Article 1st. The peace and friendship now subsisting between the Honorable English East India Company, and His Majesty the Rajah of Perak shall be perpetual.

Article 2d. The vessels and merchandize belonging to British subjects, or persons being under the protection of the Honorable East India Company, shall always enjoy in the ports and dominions subject to His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, all the privileges and advantages which are now, or may at any time hereafter be, granted to the subjects of the most favored nations.

Article 2d. The vessels and merchandize belonging to subjects of His Majesty the Rajah of Perak shall always receive similar advantages and privileges with those in the preceding article, as long as they are in the harbour of Fort Cornwallis; and in all other places dependent on the British Government of Prince of Wales's Island.

Article 4th. His Majesty of Perak agrees that he will not renew any obsolete and interrupted Treaties with other nations, public bodies or individuals, the provisions of which may in any degree tend to exclude or obstruct the trade of British subjects, who further shall not be burthened with any impositions or duties not levied on the subjects of other states.

Article 5th. His Majesty the Rajah of Perak further engages that he will, upon no pretence whatever, grant a monopoly of any articles of trade or commodities, the pro-

duce of his territories to any person or persons, European, American, or Natives of any other country, but that he will allow British subjects to come and buy all sorts of merchandize, the same as other people.

Article 6th. The Honorable East India Company engage that they will not form any Treaties or Engagements which may exclude or obstruct the merchandize of the subjects of the Rajah of Perak, who come to trade at Pinang, nor will they grant a monopoly of any sort of merchandize to any description of persons, only as is specified in the 5th Article, but will allow the natives of Perak to come and buy all sorts of merchandize the same as other people.

Article 7th. His Majesty the Rajah of Perak engages that if any persons bring subjects of the Company from Pinang and its dependencies for sale, he will not allow of their sale in the country of Perak, and the Honorable Company will be bound by a similar agreement with respect to the subjects of Perak, for the subjects of England on no account allow of such proceedings in any of the countries subject to British Authorities.

Article 8th. This Treaty according to the foregoing articles is made for the purpose of promoting the peace and friendship of the two states, and securing the liberty of commerce and navigation between their respective subjects to the mutual advantage of both, and of it one draft is retained by His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, and one by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracroft, agent of the Honorable the Governor of Pinang. To this is affixed the seal of His Majesty the Rajah of Perak, to ratify it to the Honorable English East India Company, so that no disputes may hereafter arise concerning it, but that it may be permanent and last for ever.

(Signed)

W. S. CRACROFT,
Commissioner.

(A true Copy.)

JOHN ANDERSON,
Malay Translator to Government.

Appendix B. p. 96.

TRANSLATION of a Treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance entered into between Sir George Leith, Baronet, Lieutenant Governor of Prince of Wales Island, on the part of the British Government and the King of Queda, Tleaoodeen.

Seal of
TLEAOODEEN,
SULTAN MOODA,
 Son of MA-ALUM SHAH,
 King of Quedah.

In the year of the Hejirat of the prophet, (the peace of the most high God be upon him,) One thousand two hundred and fifteen, the year Ha, on the twelfth day of the month Maharrum Wednesday. Whereas this day this writing sheweth that Sir George Leith Baronet, Lieutenant Governor of Pulo Pinang, (on the part of the English Company,) has agreed on and concluded a Treaty with His Majesty the Rajah Mooda of Purlis and Queda, and all the officers of state and chiefs of the two countries, to be on friendly terms by sea and land as long as the sun and moon retain their motion and splendour, the articles of which Treaty are as follow.

Article 1st. The English Company are to pay annually to His Majesty of Purlis and Queda, Ten Thousand Dollars as long as the English shall continue in possession of Pulo Pinang and the country on the opposite coast hereafter mentioned.

Article 2d. His Majesty agrees to give to the English Company for ever all that part of the sea coast that is between Kwala Krian and the river side of Kwala Mooda, and measuring inland from the sea side *sixty orlongs*, the whole length above mentioned to be measured by people appointed by His Majesty and the Company's people. The English Company are to protect this coast from all enemies, robbers, and pirates, that may attack it by sea from North or South.

Article 3d. His Majesty agrees that all kinds of provisions wanted for Pulo Pinang, the ships of war, and Company's ships, may be bought at Purlis and Queda without impediment, or being subject to any duty or custom: and all boats going from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Queda for the purpose of purchasing provisions are to be furnished with proper passports for that purpose to prevent impositions.

Article 4th. All slaves running away from Purlis and Queda to Pulo Pinang or from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Queda shall be returned to their owners.

Article 5th. All debtors running from their creditors from Purlis and Queda, to Pulo Pinang or from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Queda, if they do not pay their debts, their persons shall be delivered up to their creditors.

Article 6th. His Majesty shall not permit Europeans of any other nation to settle in any part of his dominions.

Article 7th. The Company are not to receive any such people as may be proved to have committed rebellion or High Treason against His Majesty.

Article 8th. All persons guilty of murder, running from Purlis and Queda to Pulo Pinang, or from Pulo Pinang to Purlis and Queda, shall be apprehended and returned in bonds.

Article 9th. All persons stealing *chops*, (forgery,) to be given up likewise.

Article 10th. All those, who are or may become enemies to the Company, His Majesty shall not assist with provisions.

Article 11th. All persons belonging to His Majesty bringing the produce of the countries down the rivers, are not to be molested or impeded by the Company's people.

Article 12th. Such articles as His Majesty may stand in need of from Pulo Pinang are to be procured by the Company's Agents and the amount to be deducted from the gratuity.

Article 13th. As soon as possible after the ratification of this Treaty, the arrears of gratuity now due, agreeable to the former Treaty and Agreement to his Majesty of Purlis and Queda, are to be paid off.

Article 14th. On the ratification of this Treaty, all former Treaties and agreements between the two Governments to be null and void.

These fourteen articles being settled and concluded, between His Majesty and the English Company, the countries of Perlis and Queda and Pulo Pinang shall be as one country, and whoever shall depart or deviate from any part of this agreement the Almighty punish and destroy him, he shall not prosper.

This done and completed, and two Treaties of the same tenor and date interchangeably given between His Majesty and the Governor of Pulo Pinang, and sealed with the seals of the state officers, immediately officiating under His Majesty in order to prevent disputes hereafter.

Written by Hakim Ibrahim, son of Sri Rajah Moods, by order of His Majesty of exalted dignity.

Seal of

HAKIM IBRAHIM,

Originally translated by

J. SWAINE,

Malay Translator.

Revised from the Original by

JOHN ANDERSON,

Malay Translator to Government.

Appendix C. p. 114.

TREATY between the Honorable East India Company and the King of Siam.

The powerful Lord who is in possession of every good and every dignity, the god Boodh, who dwells over every head in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya, (titles of the kingdom of Siam) incomprehensible to the head and brain. The sacred beauty of the Royal Palace, serene and infallible there, (titles of Wangna or second King of Siam,) have bestowed their commands upon the heads of their Excellencies, the Ministers of

high rank, belonging to the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya to assemble and frame a Treaty with Captain Henry Burney, the English Envoy, on the part of the English Government, the Honorable East India Company, who govern the countries in India belonging to the English, under the authority of the King and Parliament of England: and the Right Honorable Lord Amherst Governor of Bengal, and other English officers of high rank, have deputed Captain Burney, as an Envoy to represent them, and to frame a Treaty with their Excellencies, the Ministers of high rank, belonging to the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya, in view, that the Siamese and English nation may become great and true friends, connected in love and affection with genuine candour, and sincerity on both sides. The Siamese and English frame two uniform copies of the Treaty, in order that one copy may be placed in the Kingdom of Siam, and that it may become known throughout every great and small province, subject to Siam, and in order that one copy may be placed in Bengal, and that it may become known throughout every great and small province, subject to the English Government. Both copies of the Treaty will be attested by the Royal seal, by the seals of their Excellencies, the Ministers of high rank in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya, and by the seals of the Right Honorable Lord Amherst, Governor of Bengal, and of the other English officers of high rank.

Article 1st. The English and Siamese engage in friendship, love and affection, with mutual truth, sincerity, and candour. The Siamese must not meditate or commit evil, so as to molest the English in any manner. The English must not meditate or commit evil so as to molest the Siamese in any manner. The Siamese must not go and molest, attack, disturb, seize or take any place, territory, or boundary, belonging to the English, in any country, subject to the English. The English must not go and molest, attack, disturb, seize or take any place, territory, or boundary belonging to the Siamese, in any country, subject to the Siamese.

The Siamese shall settle every matter within the Siamese boundaries, according to their own will and customs.

Article 2d. Should any place or country, subject to the English, do any thing that may offend the Siamese, the Siamese shall not go and injure such place or country, but first report the matter to the English, who will examine into it with truth and sincerity, and if the fault lie with the English, the English shall punish according to the fault. Should any place or country, subject to the Siamese, do any thing that may offend the English, the English shall not go and injure such place or country but first report the matter to the Siamese who will examine into it with truth and sincerity, and if the fault lie with the Siamese, the Siamese shall punish according to the fault. Should any Siamese place or country, that is near an English country, collect at any time an army, or a fleet of boats, if the Chief of the English country enquire the object of such force, the chief of the Siamese country must declare it. Should any English place or country, that is near a Siamese country, collect at any time an army, or a fleet of boats, if the chief of the Siamese country enquire the object of such force, the chief of the English country must declare it.

Article 3d. In places and countries belonging to the Siamese and English, lying near their mutual borders, whether to the East, West, North, or South, if the English entertain a doubt as to any boundary that has not been ascertained, the Chief, on the side of the English, must send a letter with some men, and people from his frontier posts, to go and enquire from the nearest Siamese Chief; who shall depute some of his officers and people from his frontier posts, to go with the men belonging to the English Chief, and point out and settle the mutual boundaries, so that they may be ascertained on both sides in a friendly manner. If a Siamese Chief entertain a doubt as to any boundary that has not been ascertained, the Chief, on the side of the Siamese, must send a letter with some men, and people from his frontier posts, to go and enquire from the nearest English Chief,

who shall depute some of his officers and people, from his frontier posts, to go with the men, belonging to the Siamese Chief, and point out and settle the mutual boundaries, so that they may be ascertained on both sides in a friendly manner.

Article 4th. Should any Siamese subject go and live within the boundaries of the English, the Siamese must not intrude, enter, seize or take such person within the English boundaries, but must report and ask for him in a proper manner, and the English shall be at liberty to deliver the party or not. Should any English subject remove and go and live within the boundaries of the Siamese, the English must not intrude, enter, seize or take such persons within the Siamese boundaries, but must report and ask for him in a proper manner, and the Siamese shall be at liberty to deliver the party or not.

Article 5th. The English and Siamese having concluded a Treaty, establishing a sincere friendship between them, merchants, subjects to the English, and their ships, junks, and boats, may have intercourse and trade with any Siamese country, which has much merchandize, and the Siamese will aid and protect them, and permit them to buy and sell with facility. Merchants, subject to the Siamese and their boats, junks, and ships, may have intercourse and trade, with any English country, and the English will aid and protect them, and permit them to buy and sell with facility. The Siamese desiring to go to an English country, or the English desiring to go to a Siamese country, must conform to the customs of the place or country on either side: should they be ignorant of the customs, the Siamese or English officers must explain them. Siamese subjects, who visit an English country, must conduct themselves according to the established laws of the English country in every particular. English subjects, who visit a Siamese country, must conduct themselves according to the established laws of the Siamese country in every particular.

Article 6th. Merchants, subject to the Siamese or English, going to trade either in Bengal, or any country

subject to the English, or at Bangkok, or in any country subject to the Siamese, must pay the duties upon commerce, according to the customs of the place or country on either side, and such merchants, and the inhabitants of the country, shall be allowed to buy and sell without the intervention of other persons in such countries. Should a Siamese or English merchant have any complaint or suit, he must complain to the Officers and Governors on either side and they will examine and settle the same, according to the established laws of the place or country on either side. If a Siamese or English merchant buy or sell without enquiring and ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of a bad or good character, and if he meet with a bad man, who takes the property and absconds, the rulers and Officers must make search and produce the person of the absconder, and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property, he can be made to pay; but if they do not possess any, or if they cannot be apprehended, it will be the merchant's own fault.

Article 7th. A merchant, subject to the Siamese or English, going to trade in any English or Siamese country, and applying to build godowns or houses, or to buy or hire shops or houses, in which to place his merchandize, the Siamese or English Officers and Rulers shall be at liberty to deny him permission to stay. If they permit him to stay, he shall land and take up his residence according to such terms as may be mutually agreed on: and the Siamese or English Officers and Rulers will assist and take proper care of him, preventing the inhabitants of the country from oppressing him, and preventing him from oppressing the inhabitants of the country. Whenever a Siamese or English merchant or subject, who has nothing to detain him, requests permission to leave the country, and to embark with his property on board of any vessel, he shall be allowed to do so with facility.

Article 8th. If a merchant desire to go and trade in any place or country, belonging to the English or Siamese, and his ship, boat, or junk, meet with any injury

whatever, the English or Siamese Officers shall afford adequate assistance and protection, should any vessel, belonging to the Siamese or English, be wrecked in any place or country where the English or Siamese may collect any of the property belonging to such vessel, the English or Siamese Officers shall make proper enquiry, and cause the property to be restored to its owner, or, in case of his death, to his heirs, &c., the owner or heir will give a proper recommendation to persons, who may have collected the property. If any Siamese or English subject die in an English or Siamese country, whatever property he may leave, shall be delivered to his heir, if the heir be not living in the same country, and unable to come, he may appoint a person by letter to receive the property, and the whole of it shall be delivered to such person.

Article 9th. Merchants subject to the English, desiring to come and trade in any Siamese country, with which it has not been the custom to have trade and intercourse, must first go and enquire of the Governor of the country: should any country have no merchandize the Governor shall inform the ship that has come to trade, that there is none. Should any country have merchandize sufficient for a ship, the Governor shall allow her to come and trade.

Article 10th. The English and Siamese mutually agree, that there shall be an unrestricted trade between them, in the English countries of Prince of Wales Island, Malacca, and Singapore, and the Siamese countries of Ligor, Merdilous, Singora Patani, Junkceylon, Queda, and other Siamese provinces. Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Burmese Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, shall be allowed to trade freely, over land, and by means of rivers. Asiatic merchants not being Burmese Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into, and trade with the Siamese dominions, from the countries of Mergui Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English will be allowed to do so freely, over land, and by water upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates. But merchants are

forbidden to bring opium, which is positively a contraband article in the territories of Siam; and should a merchant introduce any, the Governors shall seize, burn and destroy the whole of it.

Article 11th. If any Englishman desire to transmit a letter to any person in a Siamese or other country, such person only and no other shall open and look into the letter.

Article 12th. Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the state of Tringanu and Calantan; English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom, as they have heretofore had, and the English shall not go and molest, attack or disturb those states upon any pretence whatever.

Article 13th. The Siamese engage to the English, that the Siamese shall remain in Queda, and take proper care of that country and of its people; the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island and of Queda shall have trade and intercourse as heretofore; the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions, such as cattle buffaloes, poultry, fish, paddy, and rice, which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island, or ships there, may have occasion to purchase in Queda, and the Siamese shall not farm the mouths of rivers, or any streams in Queda but shall levy fair and proper import and export duties. The Siamese further engage, that when Chou Phya, of Ligore, returns from Bangkok, he shall release the slaves, personal servants, family and kindred belonging to the former Governor of Queda, and permit them to go and live wherever they please. The English engage to the Siamese that the English do not desire to take possession of Queda, that they will not attack, or disturb it, nor permit the former Governor of Queda, or any of his followers to attack, disturb or injure, in any manner the territory of Queda or any other territory subject to Siam. The English engage that they will make arrangements for the former Governor of Queda to go and live in some other country, and not at Prince of Wales's Island or Prye, or in Perak, Salangore, or any Burmese

country. If the English do not let the former Governor of Queda go and live in some other country as here engaged, the Siamese may continue to levy an Export duty upon paddy and rice in Queda. The English will not prevent any Siamese, Chinese, or other Asiatics at Prince of Wales's Island, from going to reside in Queda, if they desire it.

Article 14th. The Siamese and English mutually engage, that the Rajah of Perak shall govern his country according to his own will, should he desire to send the gold and silver flowers to Siam as heretofore, the English will not prevent his doing as he may desire. If Chou Phya, of Ligore, desire to send down to Perak, with friendly intentions, forty or fifty men, whether Siamese, Chinese or other Asiatic subjects of Siam, or if the Rajah of Perak desire to send any of his Ministers or Officers to seek Chou Phya, of Ligore, the English shall not forbid them. The Siamese or English shall not send any Force, to go and molest, attack, or disturb Perak. The English will not allow the state of Salangore to attack or disturb Perak, and the Siamese shall not go and attack or disturb Salangore. The arrangements stipulated in these two last articles respecting Perak and Queda, Chou Phya, of Ligore, shall execute as soon as he returns home from Bangkok. The fourteen articles of this Treaty, let the great and subordinate Siamese and English Officers, together with every great and small province, hear, receive, and obey without fail. Their Excellencies the Ministers of high rank at Bangkok, and Captain Burney, whom the Right Honorable Lord Amherst, Governor of Bengal, deputed as an envoy to represent His Lordship, framed this treaty together, in the presence of Prince Krom Menn Loom Therakas, in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya. The treaty, written in the Siamese, Malayan, and English, language was concluded on Tuesday, on the first day of the seventh decreasing moon, 1188 year. Dog 8. according to the Siamese Æra; corresponding with the twentieth day of June, 1826, of the European Æra. Both copies of the treaty are sealed

and attested by their Excellencies the Ministers, and by Captain Burney. One copy Captain Burney will take for the ratification of the Governor of Bengal and one copy, bearing the Royal seal, Chou Phya, of Ligore, will take and place at Queda. Captain Burney appoints to return to Prince of Wales Island, in seven months, in the second moon of the year Dog 8. and to exchange the ratification of this treaty with Phra Phrakdi bori-rak at Queda. The Siamese and English will form a friendship that shall be perpetuated, that shall know no end or interruption, as long as heaven and earth endure.

Their Excellencies the Ministers and Captain Burney, having settled a treaty of friendship consisting of fourteen articles, now frame the following agreement, with respect to English vessels, desiring to come and trade in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-tha-ya. (Bangkok).

Article 1st. Vessels, belonging to the subjects of the English Government, whether Europeans or Asiatics, desiring to come and trade at Bangkok, must conform to the established laws of Siam in every particular. Merchants, coming to Bangkok, are prohibited from purchasing paddy or rice, for the purpose of exporting the same as merchandize, and, if they import fire arms, shot, or gun-powder, they are prohibited from selling them to any party, but to the Government. Should the Government not require such fire arms, shot, or gun-powder, the merchants must re-export the whole of them. With exception of such warlike stores, and paddy and rice, merchants, subjects of the English and merchants at Bangkok, may buy and sell without the intervention of any other person, and with freedom and facility. Merchants, coming to trade, shall pay at once the whole of the duties and charges, consolidated according to the breadth of the vessel.

If the vessel bring an import cargo, she shall be charged seventeen hundred, (1700) Ticals for each Siamese fathom in breadth.

If the vessel bring no import cargo, she shall be charg-

ed fifteen hundred (1500) Ticals for each Siamese fathom in breadth.

No import, export or other duty shall be levied upon the buyers or sellers, from or to English subjects.

Article 2d. Merchant vessels, the property of English subjects, arriving off the bar, must first anchor and stop there, and the commander of the vessel must dispatch a person, with an account of the cargo, and a return of the people, guns, shot and powder, on board the vessel, for the information of the Governor, at the mouth of the river; who will send a Pilot and Interpreter, to convey the established regulations to the commander of the vessel. Upon the Pilot bringing the vessel over the bar, she must anchor and stop below the chokey, which the Interpreter will point out.

Article 3d. The proper officer will go on board the vessel, and examine her thoroughly, and after the guns, shot and powder, have been removed and deposited at Paknam, (Post at the mouth of the Meenam) the Governor of Paknam will permit the vessel to pass up to Bangkok.

Article 4th. Upon the vessels arriving at Bangkok, the Officers of the customs will go on board and examine her, open the hold, and take an account of whatever cargo may be on board, and after the breadth of the vessel has been measured and ascertained, the merchants will be allowed to buy and sell according to the first article of this agreement. Should a vessel, upon receiving an export cargo, find that she cannot cross the bar with the whole, and that she must hire cargo boats to take down a portion of the cargo, the Officers of the customs and Chokeys, shall not charge any further duty upon such cargo boats.

Article 5th. Whenever a vessel or cargo-boat completes her lading the commander of the vessel must go and ask Chou Phya Phra Khläng for a Port clearance, and if there be no cause for detention Chou Phya Phra Khläng shall deliver the Port clearance without delay. When

the vessel, upon her departure, arrives at Paknam, she must anchor and stop at the usual Chokey, and after the proper Officers have gone on board, and examined her, the vessel may receive her guns, shot and powder, and take her departure.

Article 6th. Merchants being subjects of the English Government, whether Europeans or Asiatics, the Commanders, Officers, Lascars, and the whole of the crew of vessels, must conform to the established laws of Siam, and to the stipulations of this treaty in every particular. If Merchants of every class, do not observe the articles of this treaty, and oppress the inhabitants of this country, become thieves or bad men, kill men, speak offensively of or treat disrespectfully, any great or subordinate Officers of the country, and the case become important in any way whatever, the proper Officers shall take jurisdiction of it, and punish the offender. If the offence be homicide, and the officers, upon investigation, see that it proceeded from evil intention, they shall punish with death. If it be any other offence and the party be Commander or Officer of a vessel, or a merchant he shall be fined; if he be of a lower rank, he shall be whipped or imprisoned, according to the established laws of Siam. The Governor of Bengal will prohibit English subjects, desiring to come and trade at Bangkok speaking disrespectfully or offensively to or of the Great Officers of Siam. If any person at Bangkok oppress any English subjects, he shall be punished according to his offence in the same manner.

The six articles of this agreement, let the Officers at Bangkok, and merchants, subject to the English, fulfil and obey in every particular.

Appendix D. p. 162.

(A copy of the Proclamation.)

"PROCLAMATION."

"WHEREAS the Panghooloo of Nanning, by his refractory and rebellious conduct in refusing to obey the orders

of Government of which he is a servant, having forfeited all claim to future countenance and favor, this is to give Public Notice to the Inhabitants of that district, that a force is now entering it, solely to effect his apprehension and punishment."

"The Inhabitants of Nanning are enjoined, as they value their own happiness and comfort, to remain quiet in the peaceable Occupation of their several callings, in which case no evils will befall them. They have as yet committed no harm, and greater freedom will be their reward; they will in future be relieved from all vassalage and feudal services, and the free employment of their own labour will be theirs. In all respects, except the collection of the tenth, they will be placed upon the same footing as the rest of the Inhabitants of Malacca; but the tenth will not be taken, until the country is improved, and the inhabitants better able to afford it."

"New Panghooloos will in the meantime be appointed, and selected from the Inhabitants of Nanning, and the same Police law and freedom will in future be observed there as at the other districts of Malacca."

"All the inhabitants must know that Nanning has ever belonged to the Honorable Company and that only the bad conduct of its Chief in attempting to make himself independent of such authority, and for presuming to oppress the subjects of the British Government near Bookit Poonchoor, has brought this infliction on him."

(Signed) R. IBBETSON,
Resident Singapore.

MALACCA, }
this 15th July, 1831. }

Appendix E. p. 312.

"The *Nauclea Gambir*, producing the *Gambir*, *Catechu*,
or *Terra Japonica of Commerce*.

BY DR. BENNETT.

"The *Nauclea Gambir* is placed by JUSSIEU under the natural order *Rubiaceæ*: it is a shrub attaining the height

of six to eight feet, branchy; the leaves are ovate, pointed, smooth, waving, distinctly veined transversely underneath, of a dark green colour, and, when chewed, they have a bitter astringent taste, leaving, however, afterwards a sweetish taste in the mouth, not unlike liquorice; the flowers are aggregate, globular, composed of numerous florets, crowded on a globular, naked receptacle; tubes of the corolla of a pinkish colour; the upper part of the corolla fine, cleft, and of a greenish yellow colour; the stamina are five in number, and short; the pistil is longer than the corolla; the flowers are destitute of fragrance; the capsules (as correctly stated by Mr. HUNTER,) are stalked oblong, incrustated and crowned with a calyx; tapering to a point below; two celled, two valved, the valves adhering at the apex, splitting at the sides; seeds very numerous, oblong, very small, compressed, furnished at both ends with a membranous pappus."

From observations made at Singapore, I am induced to consider the tree as diœcious, from observing numerous trees, among which some were in full flower, of which the corolla falls off, leaving the calyx, which withers without any appearance of the ovarium becoming perfect; others were covered with immature and mature capsules; but the fertile appearance of the stigma in the specimens I collected would cause me in some degree, to doubt the fact of its being diœcious: I, however, mention the circumstance for future investigation. The shrubs also I observed at Singapore were not climbing.

This shrub yields the Gambir, Terra Japonica, or Catechu* of commerce, and is an extract prepared from the leaves; a catechu is also prepared in India from a species of acacia (A catechu,) which is found growing plentifully in Hindoostan, on the mountain of Kalnana; and there are also two kinds said to be produced from the nut of the Areka palm, named in India Cattacambo and Cashcutti, and both are used by the Indian practitioners.†

* *Kate* signifies a tree, and *Chu* juice, in the Oriental language.

† Thomson's Dispensatory, p. 129.

Its medicinal properties are astringent, and it is considered useful in diarrhœa and dysentery, in gleet, catarrhal affections, &c. Alkaline salts destroy its astringent powers, and metallic salts and solution of isinglass are incompatible. The dose is usually from twelve grains to one drachm.

The Gambir shrub is propagated either by seeds or cuttings, but the latter are preferred. It was formerly cultivated to some extent at Singapore, (where I had an opportunity of observing it in November 1830,) but the cultivation of the shrub and preparation of the extract is now neglected; the reason assigned for which was, that the Gambir can be imported cheaper from the islands in the vicinity, more especially at the Dutch settlement at Rhuio: a smaller quantity, however, is grown by some of the Chinese settlers for their own immediate consumption, but not so extensively as to form an article of commerce.

The extract is used extensively by the natives of India, Eastern Archipelago, Cochin China, and Cambodia, as a masticatory, wrapped up with the betel. There are different qualities of extract: the first and best is white, brittle, and has an earthy appearance when rubbed between the fingers, (which earthy appearance gave it the name of Terra Japonica, being supposed at first also to come from Japan,) and is formed into very small round cakes. This is the dearest kind, and most refined, but it is not unfrequently adulterated with sago: this kind is brought in the greatest quantity from the island of Sumatra.

The second quality is of a brownish yellow colour, is formed into oblong cakes, and, when broken has a light brown, earthy appearance; it is also made into a solid cube form: it is sold in the bazars in small packets, each containing five or six.

The third quality contains more impurities than the preceding, is formed in small circular cakes, and is sold in packages of five or six in the bazar.

The method employed in preparing the extract is thus correctly related by FINLAYSON: "the leaves are collected three or four times a year; they are thrown into a

large cauldron, the bottom of which is formed of iron, the upper part of bark, and boiled for five or six hours, until a strong decoction is obtained; the leaves are then withdrawn, and allowed to strain over the vessel, which is kept boiling for as many hours more, until the decoction is inspissated; it is then allowed to cool when the catechu subsides. The water is drawn off; a soft soapy substance remains, which is cut into large masses; these are further divided by a knife into small cubes, about an inch square, or into still smaller pieces, which are laid in frames to dry. This catechu has more of a granular, uniform appearance than that of Bengal: it is, perhaps, also less pure."

A Gambir shrub is usually observed near a pepper plantation, as the pepper vine does not thrive in the soil of Singapore unless well manured: the refuse of the leaves, &c. used in the manufacture of the extract is found excellent for the purpose of manuring the vines.

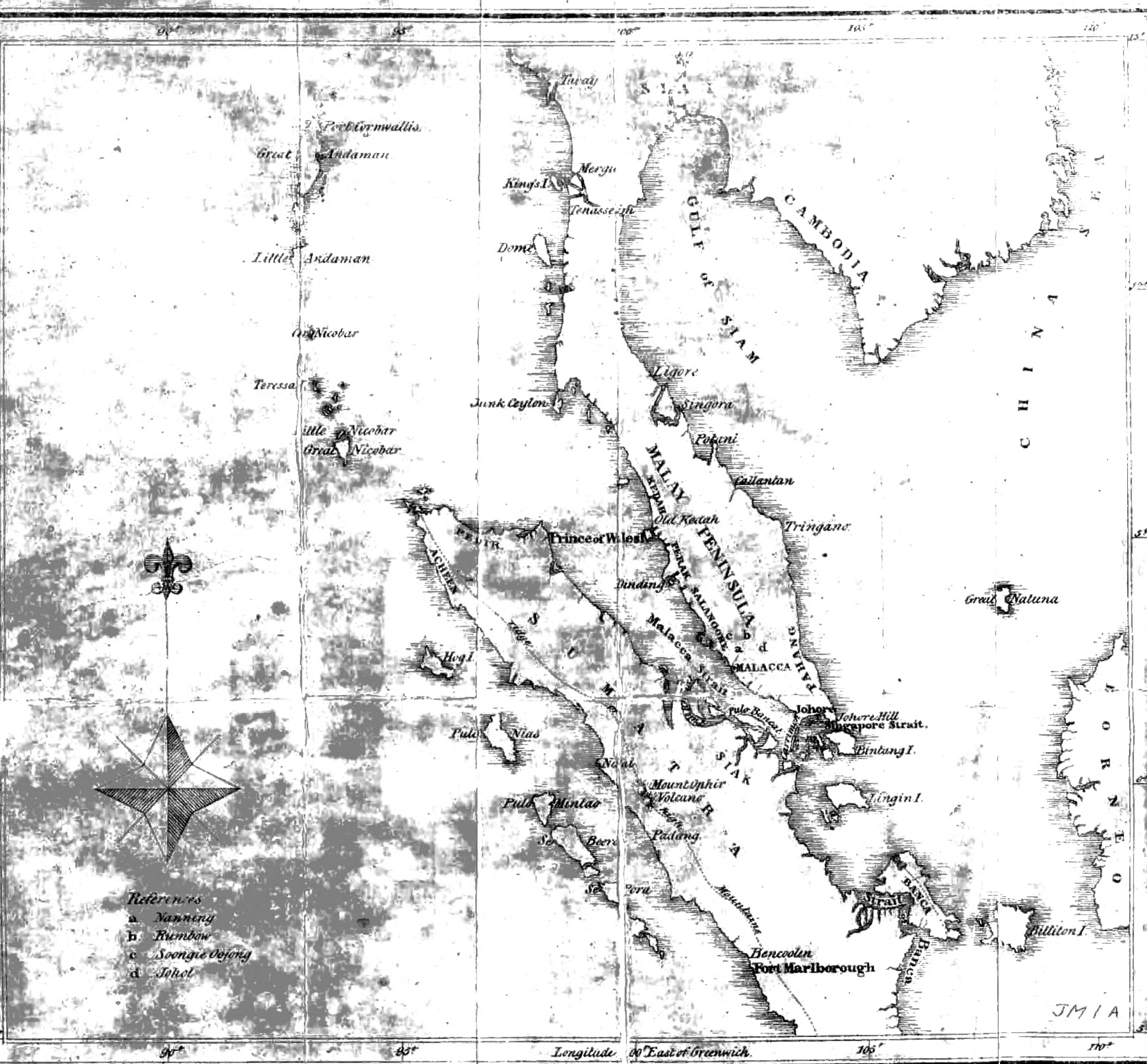
The younger leaves of the shrub are said to produce the whitest and best Gambir: the older, a brown and inferior sort. There are other species of *Nauclea* indigenous to Singapore, but they do not produce any extract."

Singapore Chronicle Nov. 14, 1834.

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References

- a Nanneng
- b Rumbow
- c Soongie Oejong
- d Jolol

Longitude 90° East of Greenwich 105° 110°

JMIA

May 25th





A
Rough Sketch
of the
Defences and Lines
at

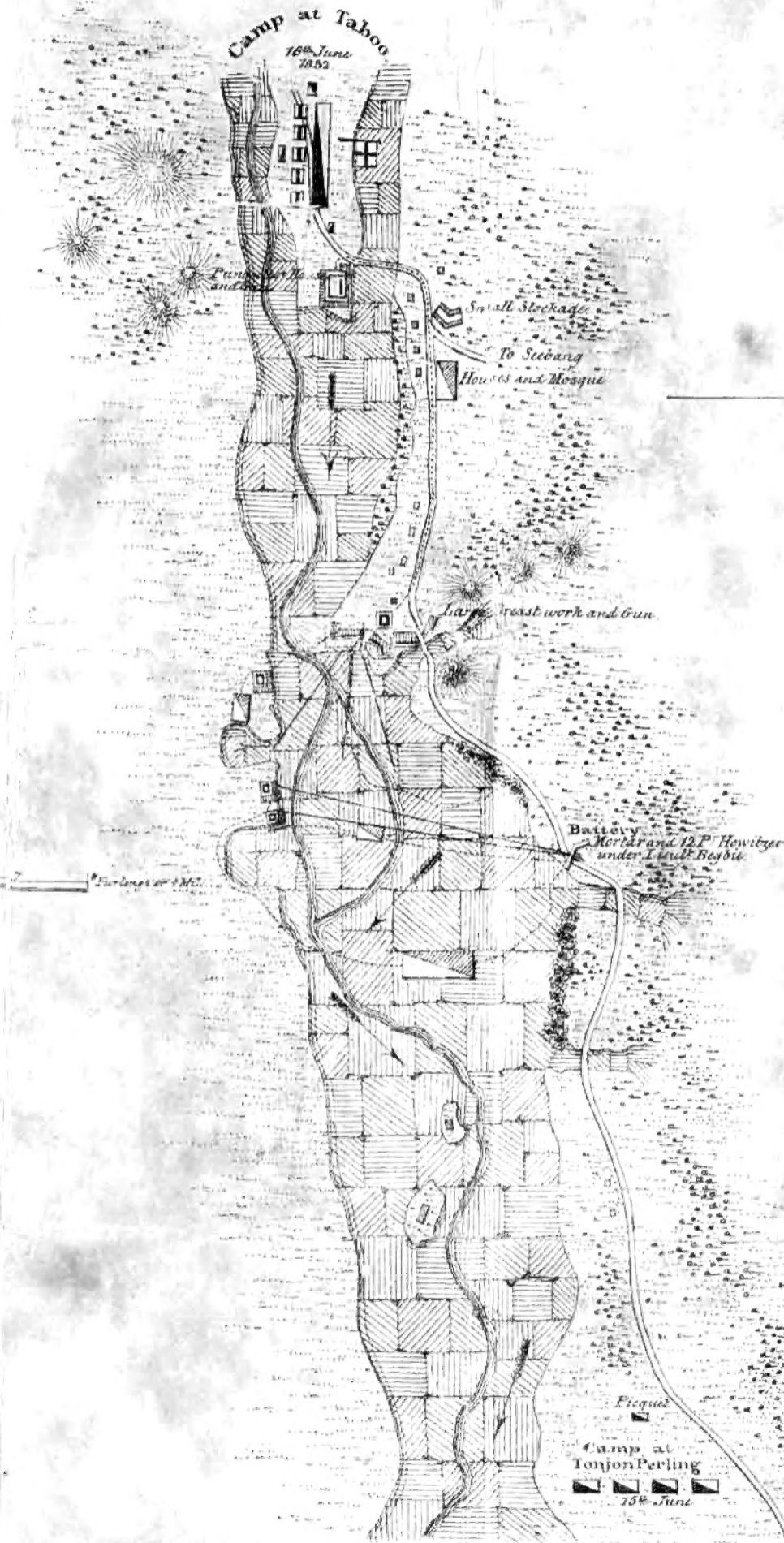
TABOO,

which were attacked and captured on
the 15th June, by a Detachment
of the Force under the
command of Capt^o Sinnerock, 5th Reg^t M.N.I.

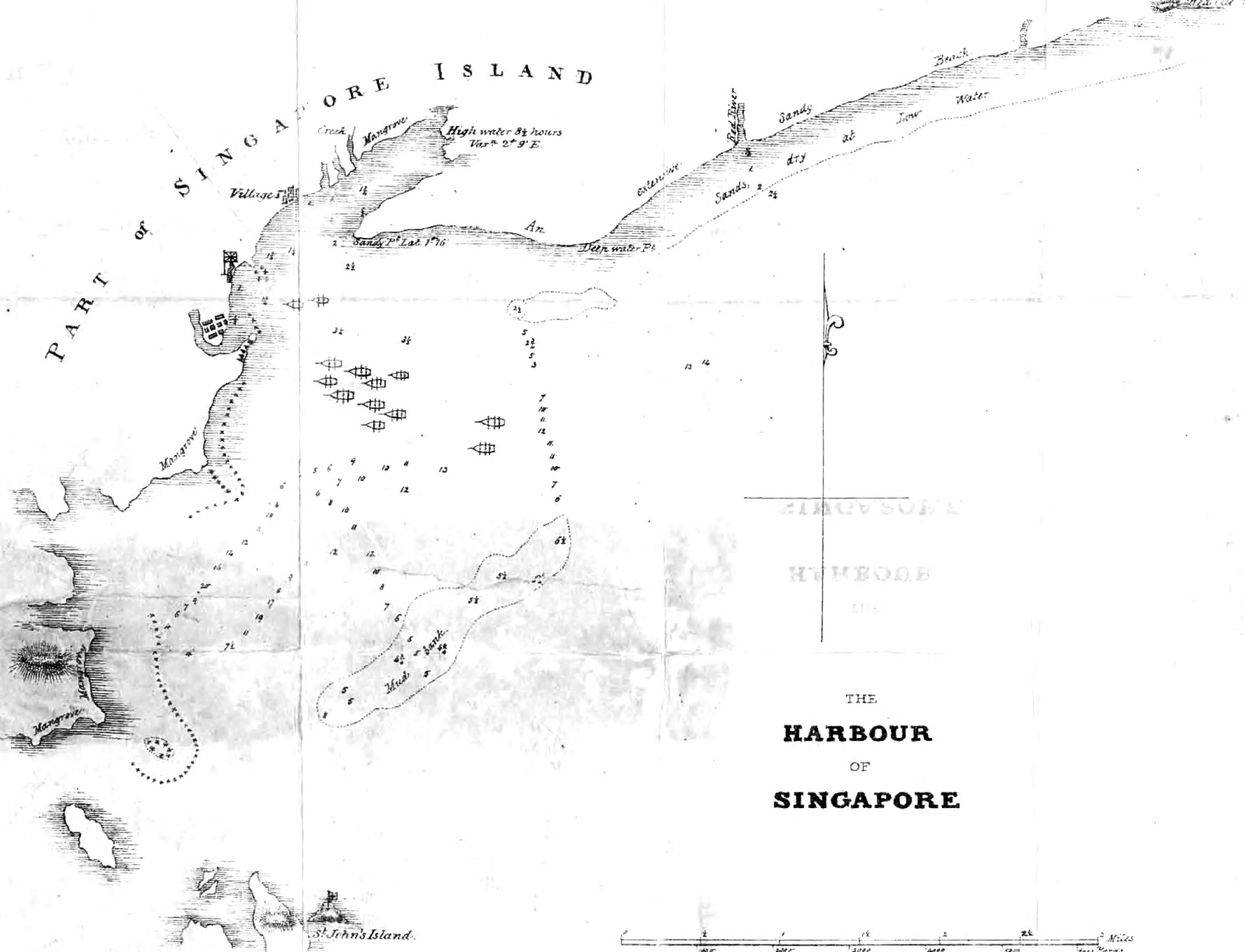
Scale of 4 inches to one Mile

References

- British Position* 
- Column of Attack* 
- Enemy's Stockades* 
- Two Guns retained from the Enemy* 



PART OF SINGAPORE ISLAND



THE HARBOUR OF SINGAPORE



1870. Great Brit. Office, Fort St. George

JM 172