a woman as a pawn, or in the condition of *menĕgĭring* shall commit fornication with her, he shall forfeit his claim to the debt, and the woman become free.

" OUTLAWRY.

" If the members of a family have suffered inconvenience from the ill conduct of any of their relations, by having been rendered answerable for their debts, &c. it shall be in their power to clear themselves from all future responsibility on his account by paying to the chiefs the sum of thirty dollars, a buffalo, and an hundred bamboos of rice. This is termed *buang surat.* Should the person so cast out be afterwards murdered, the relations have forfeited their right to the *bangun,* which devolves to the chiefs. Outlawry.

" Dated at *Manna,* July 1807.

" JOHN CRISP, Resident."

Remarks

Remarks on, and elucidation of, the various Laws and Customs—Modes of Pleading—Nature of Evidence—Oaths—Inheritance—Outlawry—Theft, Murder, and compensation for it—Account of a Feud—Debts—Slavery.

Remarks on the foregoing laws.

THE foregoing system of the *adat*, or customs of the country, being digested chiefly for the use of the natives, or of persons well acquainted with their manners in general, and being designed, not for an illustration of the customs, but simply as a standard of right, the fewest and concisest terms possible have been made use of, and many parts must necessarily be obscure to the bulk of readers. I shall, therefore, revert to those particulars that may require explanation, and endeavour to throw a light upon the spirit and operation of such of their laws especially, as seem most to clash with our ideas of distributive justice. This comment is the more requisite, as it appears that some of their regulations, which were judged to be inconsistent with the prosperity of the people, were altered and amended, through the more enlightened reason of the persons who acted as the representatives of the English company; and it may be proper to recal the idea of the original institutions.

Mode of pleading.

The plaintiff and defendant usually plead their own cause, but if circumstances render them unequal to it, they are allowed to *pinjam mulut*, (borrow a mouth). Their advocate may be a *proattīn*, or other person indifferently; nor is there any stated compensation for the assistance, though, if the cause be gained, a gratuity is generally given, and too apt to be rapaciously exacted by these chiefs from their clients, when their conduct is not attentively watched. The *proattīn* also, who is security for the damages, receives privately some consideration; but none is openly allowed of. A refusal on his part to become security for his dependant or client, is held to justify the latter in renouncing his civil dependance, and chusing another patron.

Evidence

Evidence is used among these people in a manner very different from the forms of our courts of justice. They rarely admit it on both sides of the question; nor does the witness first make a general oath to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. When a fact is to be established, either on the part of the plaintiff, or of the defendant, he is asked if he can produce any evidence to the truth of what he asserts. On answering in the affirmative, he is directed to mention the person. This witness must not be a relation, a party concerned, nor even belong to the same *dusun*. He must be a responsible man, having a family, and a determinate place of residence. Thus qualified, his evidence may be admitted. They have a settled rule in respect to the party that is to produce evidence. For instance; A. sues B. for a debt: B. denies the debt: A. is now to bring evidence to the debt, or, on failure thereof, it remains with B. to clear himself of the debt, by swearing himself not indebted. Had B. acknowledged that such a debt had formerly subsisted, but was since paid, it would be incumbent on B. to prove the payment by evidence, or on failure it would rest with A. to confirm the debt's being still due, by his oath. This is an invariable mode, observed in all cases of property. Evidence.

As their manner of giving evidence differs from ours, so also does the nature of an oath among them differ from our idea of it. In many cases it is requisite that they should swear to what it is not possible in the nature of things they should know to be true. A. sues B. for a debt due from the father or grandfather of B. to the father or grandfather of A. The original parties are dead, and no witness of the transaction survives. How is the matter to be decided? It remains with B. to make oath, that his father or grandfather never was indebted to those of A.; or that if he was indebted, the debt had been paid. This, among us, would be esteemed a very strange method of deciding causes; but among these people, something of the kind is absolutely necessary. As they have no sort of written accounts, nor any thing like records or registers among them, it would be utterly impossible for the plaintiff to establish the debt, by a positive proof, in a multitude of cases; and were the suit to be dismissed at once, as with us, for want of such proof, numbers of innocent persons would lose the debts really due to them, through the Oaths.

the knavery of the persons indebted, who would scarce ever fail to deny a debt. On the side of the defendant again; if he was not permitted to clear himself of the debt by oath, but that it rested with the plaintiff only, to establish the fact by a single oath, there would be a set of unprincipled fellows daily swearing debts against persons who never were indebted to any of their generation. In such suits, and there are many of them, it requires no small discernment to discover, by the attendant circumstances, where the truth lies; but this may be done, in most instances, by a person who is used to their manners, and has a personal knowledge of the parties concerned. But what they mean by their oath, in those cases, where it is impossible they should be acquainted with the facts they design to prove, is no more than this; that they are so convinced of the truth of the matter, as to be willing to subject themselves to the *paju sumpah* (destructive consequences of perjury) if what they assert is believed by them to be false. The form of words used is nearly as follows: "If what I now declare, namely" (here the fact is recited) "is truly and really so, may I be freed and clear from my oath: if what I assert is wittingly false, may my oath be the cause of my destruction." But it may be easily supposed, that where the punishment for a false oath rests altogether with the invisible powers, where no direct infamy, no corporal punishment is annexed to the perjury, there cannot fail to be many, who would *makan sumpah* (swallow an oath), and willingly incur the guilt, in order to acquire a little of their neighbour's property.

Although an oath, as being an appeal to the superior powers, is supposed to come within their cognizance alone, and that it is contrary to the spirit of the customs of these people, to punish a perjury by human means, even if it were clearly detected; yet, so far prevalent is the opinion of their interposition in human affairs, that it is very seldom any man of substance, or who has a family that he fears may suffer by it, will venture to forswear himself; nor are there wanting apparent examples to confirm them in this notion. Any accident that happens to a man, who has been known to take a false oath, or to his children or grandchildren, is carefully recorded in memory, and attributed to this sole cause. The *dupati* of *Gunong Selong* and his family have afforded an instance

instance that is often quoted among the Rejangs, and has evidently had great weight. It was notorious, that he had, about the year 1770, taken in the most solemn manner, a false oath. He had at that time five sons grown up to manhood. One of them, soon after, in a scuffle with some *bugis* (country soldiers) was wounded, and died. The *dupati*, the next year, lost his life in the issue of a disturbance he had raised in the district. Two of the sons died afterwards, within a week of each other. *Mas Kaddah*, the fourth, is blind; and *Treman*, the fifth, lame. All this is attributed to, and firmly believed to be the consequence of, the father's perjury.

Collateral oaths.

In administering an oath, if the matter litigated respects the property of the grandfather, all the collateral branches of the family descended from him, are understood to be included in its operation: if the father's effects only are concerned, or the transaction happened in his life time, his descendants are included: if the affair regards only the present parties, and originated with them, they and their immediate descendants only, are comprehended in the consequences of the oath; and if any single one of these descendants refuses to join in the oath, it vitiates the whole; that is, it has the same effect, as if the party himself refused to swear; a case that not unfrequently occurs. It may be observed that the spirit of this custom tends to the requiring a weight of evidence, and an increase of the importance of the oath, in proportion as the distance of time renders the fact to be established less capable of proof in the ordinary way.

Sometimes the difficulty of the case alone, will induce the court to insist on administering the oath to the relations of the parties, although they are nowise concerned in the transaction. I recollect an instance where three people were prosecuted for a theft. There was no positive proof against them, yet the circumstances were so strong, that it appeared proper to put them to the test of one of these collateral oaths. They were all willing, and two of them swore. When it came to the turn of the third, he could not persuade his relations to join with him, and he was accordingly brought in for the whole amount of the goods stolen, and penalties annexed.

These customs bear a strong resemblance to the rules of proof established among our ancestors, the Anglo-Saxons, who were likewise obliged, in the case of oaths taken for the purpose of exculpation, to produce a certain number of compurgators; but, as these might be any indifferent persons, who would take upon them to bear testimony to the truth of what their neighbour swore, from an opinion of his veracity, there seems to be more refinement, and more knowledge of human nature in the Sumatran practice. The idea of devoting to destruction, by a wilful perjury, not himself only, but all, even the remotest branches of a family which constitutes his greatest pride, and of which the deceased heads are regarded with the veneration that was paid to the *dii lares* of the antients, has doubtless restrained many a man from taking a false oath, who, without much compunction, would suffer thirty or an hundred compurgators of the former description to take their chance of that fate. Their strongest prejudices are here converted to the most beneficial purposes.

Ceremony of taking an oath.

The place of greatest solemnity for administering an oath, is the *krammat* or burying ground of their ancestors, and several superstitious ceremonies are observed on the occasion. The people near the sea-coast, in general, by long intercourse with the Malays, have an idea of the *Korān*, and usually employ this in swearing, which the priests do not fail to make them pay for; but the inland people keep, laid up in their houses, certain old reliques, called in the *Rejang* language *pesakko*, and in Malayan, *sactian*, which they produce when an oath is to be taken. The person who has lost his cause, and with whom it commonly rests to bind his adversary by an oath, often desires two or three days' time, to get ready these his swearing apparatus, called on such occasions *sumpahan*, of which some are looked upon as more sacred, and of greater efficacy than others. They consist of an old rusty *kris*, a broken gun barrel, or any antient trumpery, to which chance or caprice has annexed an idea of extraordinary virtue. These they generally dip in water, which the person who swears drinks off, after having pronounced the form of words before-mentioned.* The *panĝeran* of *Sunĝei-lamo* has by him certain

* The form of taking an oath among the people of *Madagascar* very nearly resembles the ceremonies used by the Sumatrans. There is a strong similarity in the articles they swear on, and in the circumstance of their drinking the consecrated water.

tain copper bullets, which had been steeped in water, drunk by the *Sungei-etam* chiefs, when they bound themselves never to molest his districts: which they have only done since, as often as they could venture it with safety, from the relaxation of our government. But these were political oaths. The most ordinary *sumpahan* is a *kris*, and on the blade of this they sometimes drop lime-juice, which occasions a stain on the lips of the person performing the ceremony; a circumstance that may not improbably be supposed to make an impression on a weak and guilty mind. Such would fancy that the external stain conveyed to the beholders an image of the internal. At *Manna* the *sumpahan* most respected is a gun barrel. When produced to be sworn on, it is carried to the spot in state, under an umbrella, and wrapt in silk. This parade has an advantageous effect, by influencing the mind of the party, with an high idea of the importance and solemnity of the business. In England, the familiarity of the object, and the summary method of administering oaths, are well known to diminish their weight, and to render them too often nugatory. They sometimes swear by the earth, laying their hands upon it, and wishing that it may never produce aught for their nourishment, if they speak falsely. In all these ceremonies, they burn on the spot a little gum benzoin—"*Et acerra thuris plena, positusque carbo in cespite vivo.*"

It is a striking circumstance, that practices which boast so little of reason in their foundation; which are in fact so whimsical and childish, should yet be common to nations, the most remote in situation, climate, language, complexion, character, and every thing that can distinguish one race of people from another. Formed of like materials, and furnished with like original sentiments, the uncivilized tribes of Europe and of India, trembled from the same apprehensions, excited by similar ideas, at a time when they were ignorant, or even denied the possibility of each other's existence. Mutual wrong and animosity, attended with disputes and accusations, are not by nature confined to either description of people. Each, in doubtful litigations, might seek to prove their innocence, by braving, on the justice of their cause, those objects which inspired amongst their countrymen, the greatest terrour. The Sumatran, impressed with an idea of invisible powers, but not of his own immor-

tality, regards with awe the supposed instruments of their agency, and swears on *krises*, bullets, and gun barrels; weapons of personal destruction. The German Christian of the seventh century, more indifferent to the perils of this life, but not less superstitious, swore on bits of rotten wood, and rusty nails, which he was taught to revere, as possessing efficacy to secure him from eternal perdition.

Inheritance. When a man dies, his effects, in common course, descend to his male children in equal shares; but if one among them is remarkable for his abilities above the rest, though not the eldest, he usually obtains the largest proportion, and becomes the head of the *tuñggūan* or house; the others voluntarily yielding him the superiority. A *pañgeran* of *Manna* left several children; none of them succeeded to the title, but a name of distinction was given to one of the younger, who was looked upon as chief of the family, after the father's decease. Upon asking the eldest how it happened that the name of distinction passed over him, and was conferred on his younger brother, he answered with great naiveté, "because I am accounted weak and silly." If no male children are left, and a daughter only remains, they contrive to get her married by the mode of *ambel anak*, and thus the *tuñggūan* of the father continues. An equal distribution of property among children is more natural, and conformable to justice, than vesting the whole in the eldest son, as prevails throughout most part of Europe; but where wealth consists in landed estate, the latter mode, beside favouring the pride of family, is attended with fewest inconveniences. The property of the Sumatrans being personal merely, this reason does not operate with them. Land is so abundant in proportion to the population, that they scarcely consider it as the subject of right, any more than the elements of air and water; excepting so far as in speculation the prince lays claim to the whole. The ground, however, on which a man plants or builds, with the consent of his neighbours, becomes a species of nominal property, and is transferable; but as it costs him nothing, beside his labour, it is only the produce which is esteemed of value, and the compensation he receives is for this alone. A temporary usufruct is accordingly all that they attend to, and the price, in case of sale, is generally ascertained by the coconut, *durian*, and other fruit trees, that have been planted on it; the buildings being

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for the most part but little durable. Whilst any of those subsist, the descendants of the planter may claim the ground, though it has been for years abandoned. If they are cut down, he may recover damages; but if they have disappeared in the course of nature, the land reverts to the public.

They have a custom of keeping by them a sum of money, as a resource against extremity of distress, and which common exigencies do not call forth. This is a refined antidote against despair, because, whilst it remains possible to avoid encroaching on that treasure, their affairs are not at the worst, and the idea of the little hoard serves to buoy up their spirits, and encourage them to struggle with wretchedness. It usually, therefore, continues inviolate, and descends to the heir, or is lost to him by the sudden exit of the parent. From their apprehension of dishonesty, and insecurity of their houses, their money is for the most part concealed in the ground, the cavity of an old beam, or other secret place; and a man, on his death-bed, has commonly some important discovery of this nature to make to his assembled relations.

Outlawry.

The practice of outlawing an individual of a family by the head of it (called *lepas* or *buang dañgan surat*, to let loose, or cast out with a writing) has its foundation in the custom which obliges all the branches to be responsible for the debts contracted by any one of the kindred. When an extravagant and unprincipled spendthrift is running a career that appears likely to involve his family in ruinous consequences, they have the right of dissolving the connexion, and clearing themselves of further responsibility, by this public act, which, as the writ expresses it, sends forth the outcast, as a deer into the woods, no longer to be considered as enjoying the privileges of society. This character is what they term *risau*, though it is sometimes applied to persons not absolutely outlawed, but of debauched and irregular manners.

In the Saxon law we find a strong resemblance to this custom; the kindred of a murderer being exempt from the feud, if they abandoned him to his fate. They bound themselves in this case neither to converse with him, nor to furnish him with meat or other necessaries. This is precisely

precisely the Sumatran outlawry, in which it is always particularly specified (beside what relates to common debts) that if the outlaw kills a person, the relations shall not pay the compensation, nor claim it if he is killed. But the writ must have been issued before the event, and they cannot free themselves by a subsequent process, as it would seem the Saxons might. If an outlaw commits murder, the friends of the deceased may take personal revenge on him, and are not liable to be called to an account for it; but if such be killed, otherwise than in satisfaction for murder, although his family have no claim, the prince of the country is entitled to a certain compensation, all outlaws being nominally his property, like other wild animals.

Compensation for murder.

It seems strange to those who are accustomed to the severity of penal laws, which in most instances inflict punishment exceeding by many degrees the measure of the offence, how a society can exist, in which the greatest of all crimes is, agreeably to established custom, expiated by the payment of a certain sum of money; a sum not proportioned to the rank and ability of the murderer, nor to the premeditation, or other aggravating circumstances of the fact, but regulated only by the quality of the person murdered. The practice had doubtless its source in the imbecility of government, which being unable to enforce the law of retaliation, the most obvious rule of punishment, had recourse to a milder scheme of retribution, as being preferable to absolute indemnity. The latter it was competent to carry into execution, because the guilty persons readily submit to a penalty which effectually relieves them from the burthen of anxiety for the consequences of their action. Instances occur in the history of all states, particularly those which suffer from internal weakness, of iniquities going unpunished, owing to the rigour of the pains denounced against them by the law, which defeats its own purpose. The original mode of avenging a murder, was probably by the arm of the person nearest in consanguinity, or friendship, to the deceased; but this was evidently destructive of the public tranquillity, because thereby the wrong became progressive, each act of satisfaction, or justice, as it was called, being the source of a new revenge, till the feud became general in the community; and some method would naturally be suggested to put a stop to such confusion. The most direct step is to vest in the magistrate

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or the law the rights of the injured party, and to arm them with a vindictive power; which principle, the policy of more civilized societies has refined to that of making examples *in terrorem*, with a view of preventing future, not of revenging past crimes. But this requires a firmness of authority to which the Sumatran governments are strangers. They are without coercive power, and the submission of the people is little other than voluntary; especially of the men of influence, who are held in subjection rather by the sense of general utility planted in the breast of mankind, attachment to their family and connexions, and veneration for the spot in which their ancestors were interred, than by the apprehension of any superior authority. These considerations, however, they would readily forego, renounce their fealty, and quit their country, if in any case they were in danger of paying with life, the forfeit of their crimes; to lesser punishments those ties induce them to submit; and to strengthen this hold, their customs wisely enjoin that every the remotest branch of the family shall be responsible for the payment of their adjudged and other debts; and in cases of murder, the *bañgun*, or compensation, may be levied on the inhabitants of the village the culprit belonged to, if it happens that neither he, nor any of his relations can be found.

The equality of punishment, which allows to the rich man the faculty of committing, with small inconvenience, crimes that bring utter destruction on the poor man and his family, and which is in fact the greatest inequality, originates certainly from the interested design of those through whose influence the regulation came to be adopted. Its view was to establish a subordination of persons. In Europe, the absolute distinction between rich and poor, though too sensibly felt, is not insisted upon in speculation, but rather denied or explained away in general reasoning. Among the Sumatrans it is coolly acknowledged, and a man without property, family, or connexions, never, in the partiality of self-love, considers his own life as being of equal value with that of a man of substance. A maxim, though not the practice, of their law, says, "that he who is able to pay the *bañgun* for murder, must satisfy the relations of the deceased; he who is unable, must suffer death." But the avarice of the relations prefers selling the body of the delinquent for what his slavery

slavery will fetch them (for such is the effect of imposing a penalty that cannot be paid) to the satisfaction of seeing the murder revenged by the public execution of a culprit of that mean description. Capital punishments are, therefore, almost totally out of use among them; and it is only *par la loi du plus fort*, that the Europeans take the liberty of hanging a notorious criminal, now and then; whom, however, their own chiefs always condemn, and formally sentence.

Corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment of any kind is rare. The chain, and a sort of stocks, made of the *pinang* tree, are adopted from us; the word "*pasong*," now commonly used to denote the latter, originally signifying, and being still frequently applied to confinement in general. A kind of cage made use of in the country, is probably their own invention. "How do you secure a prisoner, (a man was asked) without employing a chain or our stocks?" "We pen him up," said he, "aswe would a bear." The cage is made of bamboos laid horizontally, in a square, piled alternately, secured by timbers at the corners, and strongly covered in at top. To lead a runaway, they fasten a rattan round his neck, and passing it through a bamboo somewhat longer than his arms, they bring his hands together and make them fast to the bamboo, in a state rather of constraint than of pain, which, I believe, never is wantonly or unnecessarily inflicted. If the offender is of a desperate character, they bind him hands and feet, and sling him on a pole. When they would convey a person, from accident or otherwise unable to walk, they make a palanquin by splitting a large bamboo near the middle of its length, where they contrive to keep it open, so that the cavity forms a bed; the ends being preserved whole, to rest upon their shoulders.

The custom of exacting the *bañgun* for murder, seems only designed with a view of making a compensation to the injured family, and not of punishing the offender. The word signifies "awaking" or "raising up," and the deceased is supposed to be replaced, or raised again to his family, in the payment of a sum proportioned to his rank, or equivalent to his or her personal value. The price of a female slave is generally more than that of a male, and therefore, I heard a chief say, is the *bañgun* of a woman more than that of a man. It is upon this principle that

that their laws take no cognizance of the distinction between a wilful murder, and what we term manslaughter. The loss is the same to the family, and therefore the compensations are alike. A *dupati* of *Laye*, in an ill hour, stept unwarily across the mouth of a cannon, at the instant it was fired off for a salute, and was killed by the explosion; upon which his relations immediately sued the serjeant of the country-guard, who applied the match, for the recovery of the *bañgun*; but they were cast, and upon these grounds; that the *dupati* was instrumental in his own death, and that the Company's servants being amenable to other laws for their crimes, were not, by established custom, subject to the *bañgun* or other penalties inflicted by the native chiefs, for accidents resulting from the execution of their duty. The *tippong bumi*, expiation, or purification of the earth from the stain it has received, was, however, gratuitously paid. No plea was set up, that the action was unpremeditated, and the event chance-medley.

The introduction of this custom is beyond the extent of Sumatran tradition, and has no connexion with, or dependance on, Mahometanism, being established amongst the most inland people from time immemorial. In early ages it was by no means confined to that part of the world. The *bañgun* is perfectly the same as the compensation for murder in the rude mstitutions of our Saxon ancestors, and other northern nations. It is the *eric* of Ireland, and the ποινη of the Greeks. In the compartments of the shield of Achilles, Homer describes the adjudgment of a fine for homicide. It would seem then to be a natural step in the advances from anarchy to settled government, and that it can only take place in such societies as have already a strong idea of the value of personal property; who esteem its possession of the next importance to that of life, and place it in competition with the strongest passion that seizes the human soul.

The compensation is so regularly established among the Sumatrans, that any other satisfaction is seldom demanded. In the first heat of resentment retaliation is sometimes attempted, but the spirit soon evaporates, and application is usually made, upon the immediate discovery of the fact, to the chiefs of the country, for the exertion of their influ-

ence, to oblige the criminal to pay the *bañgun*. His death is then not thought of, unless he is unable, and his family unwilling, to raise the established sum. Instances, it is true, occur, in which the prosecutor knowing the European law in such case, will, from motives of revenge, urge to the Resident the propriety of executing the offender, rather than receive the money; but if the latter is ready to pay it, it is contrary to their laws to proceed further. The degree of satisfaction that attends the payment of the *bañgun*, is generally considered as absolute to the parties concerned; they receive it as full compensation, and pretend to no farther claim upon the murderer and his family. Slight provocations, however, have been sometimes known to renew the feud, and there are not wanting instances of a son's revenging his father's murder, and willingly refunding the *bañgun*. When, in an affray, there happen to be several persons killed on both sides, the business of justice is only to state the reciprocal losses, in the form of an account current, and order the balance to be discharged, if the numbers be unequal. The following is a relation of the circumstances of one of these bloody feuds, which happened whilst I was in the island; but which become every year more rare, where the influence of our government extends.

Account of a feud.

Raddin Siban was the head of a tribe in the district of *Manna*, of which *Pañgeran Raja-Kalippah* was the official chief; though by the customs of the country he had no right of sovereignty over him. The *pañgeran*'s not allowing him what he thought an adequate share of fines, and other advantages annexed to his rank, was the foundation of a jealousy and ill will between them, which an event that happened a few years since, raised to the highest pitch of family feud. *Lessut*, a younger brother of the *pañgeran*, had a wife who was very handsome, and whom *Raddin Siban* had endeavoured to procure, whilst a virgin, for *his* younger brother, who was in love with her: but the *pañgeran* had contrived to circumvent him, and obtained the girl for *Lessut*. However, it seems the lady herself had conceived a violent liking for the brother of *Raddin Siban*, who found means to enjoy her after she was married, or was violently suspected so to have done. The consequence was, that *Lessut* killed him, to revenge the dishonour of his bed. Upon this the families were

were presently up in arms, but the English Resident interfering, preserved the peace of the country, and settled the affair agreeably to the customs of the place, by *bañgun* and fine. But this did not prove sufficient to extinguish the fury which raged in the hearts of *Raddin Siban*'s family, whose relation was murdered. It only served to delay the revenge until a proper opportunity offered of gratifying it. The people of the country being called together on a particular occasion, the two inimical families were assembled, at the same time, in *Manna bazar*. Two younger brothers (they had been five in all) of *Raddin Siban*, going to the cockpit, saw *Raja Muda* the next brother of the *pañgeran*, and *Lessut* his younger brother, in the open part of a house which they passed. They quickly returned, drew their krises, and attacked the *pañgeran*'s brothers, calling to them, "if they were men, to defend themselves." The challenge was instantly accepted, *Lessut*, the unfortunate husband, fell; but the aggressors were both killed by *Raja Muda*, who was himself much wounded. The affair was almost over before the scuffle was perceived. The bodies were lying on the ground, and *Raja Muda* was supporting himself against a tree which stood near the spot, when *Raddin Siban*, who was in a house on the opposite side of the bazar at the time the affray happened, being made acquainted with the circumstances, came over the way, with his lance in his hand. He passed on the contrary side of the tree, and did not see *Raja Muda*, but began to stab with his weapon the dead body of *Lessut*, in excess of rage, on seeing the bloody remains of his two brothers. Just then, *Raja Muda*, who was half dead, but had his *kris* in his hand, still unseen by *Raddin Siban*, crawled a step or two, and thrust the weapon into his side, saying "*Matti kau*"—"die thou!" *Raddin Siban* spoke not a word, but put his hand on the wound, and walked across to the house from whence he came, at the door of which he dropped down and expired. Such was the catastrophe. *Raja Muda* survived his wounds, but being much deformed by them, lives a melancholy example of the effects of these barbarous feuds.

Proof of theft.

In cases of theft, the swearing a robbery against a person suspected is of no effect, and justly, for were it otherwise, nothing would be more common than the prosecution of innocent persons. The proper proofs

are either, seizure of the person in the fact, before witnesses, or discovery of the goods stolen, in possession of one who can give no satisfactory account how he came by them. As it frequently happens that a man finds part only of what he had lost, it remains with him, when the robbery is proved, to ascertain the whole amount, by oath, which in that point is held sufficient.

Law respecting debts.

The law which renders all the members of a family reciprocally bound for the security of each others debts, forms a strong connexion among them, and occasions the elder branches to be particularly watchful of the conduct of those, for whose imprudence they must be answerable.

When a debtor is unable to pay what he owes, and has no relation or friends capable of doing it for him; or when the children of a deceased person do not find property enough to discharge the debts of their parent, they are forced to the state which is called *meñgīring*, which simply means to follow or be dependant on, but here implies the becoming a species of bondslaves to the creditor, who allows them subsistance and clothing, but does not appropriate the produce of their labour to the diminution of their debt. Their condition is better than that of pure slavery, in this, that the creditor cannot strike them, and they can change their masters, by prevailing on another person to pay their debt, and accept of their labour on the same terms. Of course they may obtain their liberty, if they can by any means procure a sum equal to their debt; whereas a slave, though possessing ever so large property, has not the right of purchasing his liberty. If, however, the creditor shall demand formally the amount of his debt, from a person *meñgīring*, at three several times, allowing a certain number of days between each demand, and the latter is not able to persuade any one to redeem him, he becomes, by the custom of the country, a pure slave; upon the creditor's giving notice to the chief, of the transaction. This is the resource he has against the laziness or untoward behaviour of his debtor, who might otherwise, in the state of *meñgīring*, be only a burthen to him. If the children of a deceased debtor are too young to be of service, the charge of their maintenance

tenance is added to the debt. This opens a door for many iniquitous practices, and it is in the rigorous, and frequently perverted, exertion of these rights, which a creditor has over his debtor, that the chiefs are enabled to oppress the lower class of people, and from which abuses the English Residents find it necessary to be the most watchful to restrain them. In some cases, one half of the produce of the labour is applied to the reduction of the debt, and this situation of the insolvent debtor is termed *be-blah*. *Meraŋggau* is the condition of a married woman who remains as a pledge for a debt in the house of the creditor of her husband. If any attempt should be made upon her person, the proof of it annuls the debt; but should she bring an accusation of that nature, and be unable to prove it to the satisfaction of the court, and the man takes an oath in support of his innocence, the debt must be immediately paid by the family, or the woman be disposed of as a slave.

When a man of one district or country has a debt owing to him from the inhabitant of a neighbouring country, of which he cannot recover payment, an usual resource is to seize on one or more of his children, and carry them off; which they call *andak*. The daughter of a *Rejang dupati* was carried off in this manner by the *Labun* people. Not hearing for some time from her father, she sent him cuttings of her hair and nails, by which she intimated a resolution of destroying herself, if not soon released.

The right of slavery is established in Sumatra, as it is throughout the East, and has been all over the world; yet but few instances occur of the country people actually having slaves; though they are common enough in the Malayan, or sea-port towns. Their domestics and labourers are either dependant relations, or the *orang meŋgiring* above described, who are usually called debtors; but should be distinguished by the term of insolvent debtors. The simple manners of the people require that their servants should live, in a great measure, on a footing of equality with the rest of the family, which is inconsistent with the authority necessary to be maintained over slaves, who have no principle Slavery.

to

to restrain them but that of personal fear,[1] and know that their civil condition cannot be altered for the worse. There is this advantage, also, that when a debtor absconds, they have recourse to his relations for the amount of his debt, who, if unable to pay it, must *menĝīring* in his room; whereas, when a slave makes his escape, the law can give no redress, and his value is lost to the owner. These people, moreover, are from habit, backward to strike, and the state of slavery unhappily requires the frequent infliction of punishment in that mode. A slave cannot possess, independently, any property; yet it rarely happens that a master is found mean and sordid enough to despoil them of the fruits of their industry; and their liberty is generally granted them, when in a condition to purchase it, though they cannot demand it of right. It is nothing uncommon for those belonging to the Europeans, to possess slaves of their own, and to acquire considerable substance. Their condition is here, for the most part, less unhappy than that of persons in other situations of life. I am far from wishing to diminish the horrour that should ever accompany the general idea of a state, which, whilst it degrades the species, I am convinced is not necessary among mankind; but I cannot help remarking, as an extraordinary fact, that if there is one class of people eminently happy above all others upon earth, it is the body of *Caffres*, or negro slaves belonging to the India Company at *Bencoolen*. They are well clothed and fed, and supplied with a proper allowance of liquor; their work is by no means severe; the persons appointed as their immediate overseers, are chosen, for their merit, from amongst themselves; they have no occasion of care or anxiety for the past or future, and are naturally of a lively and open temper.

[1] I do not mean to assert, that all men in the condition of slaves are devoid of principle: I have experienced the contrary, and found in them affection and strict honesty: but that there does not result from their situation, as slaves, any principle of moral rectitude; whereas every other condition of society has annexed to it, ideas of duty and mutual obligation, arising from a sense of general utility. That sublime species of morality derived from the injunctions of religion, it is almost universally their fate to be likewise strangers to; because slavery is found inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, not merely as inculcating philanthropy, but inspiring a principle of equality amongst mankind.

temper. The contemplation of the effects which such advantages produce, must afford the highest gratification to a benevolent mind. They are usually seen laughing or singing whilst at work, and the intervals allowed them are mostly employed in dancing to their rude instrumental music, which frequently begins at sun-set, and ceases only with the day-light, that recals them to their labour. Since they were first carried thither, from different parts of *Africa* and *Madagascar*, to the present hour, not so much as the rumour of disturbance or discontent has ever been known to proceed from them. They hold the natives of the island in contempt, have a degree of antipathy towards them, and enjoy any mischief they can do them; and these in their turn regard the *Caffres* as devils half humanized.

The practice said to prevail elsewhere, of men selling themselves for slaves, is repugnant to the customs of the Sumatrans, as it seems to reason. It is an absurdity to barter any thing valuable, much more civil existence, for a sum which, by the very act of receiving, becomes again the property of the buyer. Yet, if a man runs in debt, without a prospect of paying, he does virtually the same thing, and this, in cases of distress, is not uncommon; in order to relieve, perhaps, a beloved wife, or favourite child, from similar bondage. A man has even been known to apply in confidence to a friend, to sell him to a third person, concealing from the purchaser the nature of the transaction till the money was appropriated.

Ignorant stragglers are often picked up in the country, by lawless knaves in power, and sold beyond the hills. These have sometimes procured their liberty again, and prosecuting their kidnappers, have recovered large damages. In the district of *Allas*, a custom prevails, by which, if a man has been sold to the hill people, however unfairly, he is restricted on his return from associating with his countrymen, as their equal, unless he brings with him a sum of money, and pays a fine for his re-enfranchisement, to his *kalippah* or chief. This regulation has taken its rise from an idea of contamination, among the people, and from art and avarice among the chiefs.

Modes

Modes of Marriage, and Customs relative thereto—Polygamy—Festivals—Games—Cock-fighting—Use and effects of Opium.

Motives for altering some of their marriage customs.

BY much the greater number of the legal disputes, among these people, have their source in the intricacy attending their marriage contracts. In most uncivilized countries these matters are very simple, the dictates of nature being obeyed, or the calls of appetite satisfied, with little ceremony, or form of convention; but with the Sumatrans, the difficulties, both precedent and subsequent, are increased to a degree unknown even in the most refined states. To remedy these inconveniences, which might be supposed to deter men from engaging in marriage, was the view of the Resident of *Laye*, beforementioned, who prevailed upon them to simplify their engagements, as the means of preventing litigation between families, and of increasing the population of the country. How far his liberal views will be answered, by having thus influenced the people to change their customs; whether they will not soon relapse into the ancient track; and whether, in fact, the cause that he supposed, did actually contribute to retard population, I shall not pretend to determine; but as the last is a point on which a difference of opinion prevails, I shall take the liberty of quoting here, the sentiments of another servant of the Company (the late Mr. John Crisp) who possessed an understanding highly enlightened.

Reasons against this alteration.

"This part of the island is in a low state of population, but it is an error to ascribe this to the mode of obtaining wives by purchase. The circumstance of children constituting part of the property of the parents, proves a most powerful incentive to matrimony, and there is not, perhaps, any country on the face of the earth, where marriage is more general than here, instances of persons of either sex passing their lives in a state of celibacy, being extremely rare. The necessity of purchasing does not prove such an obstacle to matrimony, as is supposed. Was it indeed true

true that every man was obliged to remain single, till he had accumulated, from the produce of his pepper-garden, a sum adequate to the purchase of a wife, married pairs would truly be scarce. But the people have other resources; there are few families who are not in possession of some small substance; they breed goats and buffaloes, and in general keep in reserve some small sum for particular purposes. The purchase-money of the daughter serves also to provide wives for the sons. Certain it is, that the fathers are rarely at a loss for money to procure them wives, so soon as they become marriageable. In the districts under my charge are about eight thousand inhabitants, among whom I do not conceive it would be possible to find ten instances of men of the age of thirty years unmarried. We must then seek for other causes of the paucity of inhabitants, and indeed they are sufficiently obvious; among these, we may reckon that the women are by nature unprolific, and cease gestation at an early age; that, almost totally unskilled in the medical art, numbers fall victims to the endemic diseases of a climate, nearly as fatal to its indigenous inhabitants, as to the strangers who settle among them: to which we may add, that the indolence and inactivity of the natives, tend to relax and enervate the bodily frame, and to abridge the natural period of their lives."

Modes of marriage.

The modes of marriage, according to the original institutions of these people, are by *jujur*, by *ambel anak*, or by *semando*. The *jujur* is a certain sum of money, given by one man to another, as a consideration for the person of his daughter, whose situation, in this case, differs not much from that of a slave to the man she marries, and to his family. His absolute property in her depends, however, upon some nice circumstances. Beside the *batang jujur* (or main sum), there are certain appendages or branches, one of which, the *tali kulo*, of five dollars, is usually, from motives of delicacy or friendship, left unpaid, and so long as that is the case, a relationship is understood to subsist between the two families, and the parents of the woman have a right to interfere on occasions of ill treatment: the husband is also liable to be fined for wounding her; with other limitations of absolute right. When that sum is finally paid, which seldom happens but in cases of violent quarrel, the *tali kulo* (tie of relationship) is said to be *putus* (broken), and the woman becomes

to all intents the slave of her lord.* She has then no title to claim a divorce in any predicament; and he may sell her, making only the first offer to her relations. The other appendages, as already mentioned, are the *tulis tanggil* (the meaning of which I cannot satisfactorily ascertain, this and many other of the legal terms being in the *Rejang* or the *Passummah* and not the Malayan language) and the *upah daun kodo*, which is a consideration for the expence of the marriage feast, paid to the girl's parent, who provides it. But sometimes it is deposited at the wedding, when a distribution is made of it amongst the old people present. The words allude to the *leaf* in which the rice is served up. These additional sums are seldom paid or claimed, before the principal is defrayed, of which a large proportion, as fifty, eighty, and sometimes an hundred and four dollars, is laid down at the time of marriage, or in the first visit (after the parties are determined in their regards) made by the father of the young man, or the *bujang* himself, to the father of the woman. Upon opening his design this money is tendered as a present, and the other's acceptance of it is a token that he is inclined to forward the match. It lies often in his hands three, six, or twelve months before the marriage is consummated. He sometimes sends for more, and is seldom refused. Until at least fifty dollars are thus deposited, the man cannot take his wife home; but so long as the matter continues *dalam rasa-an* (under consideration)

* I cannot omit to remark here, that however apposite the word *tali*, which in Malayan signifies a cord, may be to the subject of the marriage tie, there is very strong evidence of the term, as applied to this ceremony, having been adopted from the customs of the Hindu inhabitants of the peninsula of India, in whose language it has a different meaning. Among others who have described their rites is M. Sonnerat. In speaking of the mode of marriage called *pariam*, which, like the *jujur*, "n'est autre chose qu'un achat que le mari fait de sa femme," he says, "le mari doit aussi fournir le *tali*, petit joyau d'or, qu'il attache avec un cordon au col de la fille; c'est la dernière cérémonie; elle donne la sanction au marriage, qui ne peut plus être rompu dès que le *tali* est attaché." Voyage aux Indes, &c. tom. I. p. 70. The reader will also find the Sumatran mode of marriage by *ambel anak*, or adoption, exactly described at p. 72. An engraving of the *tali* is given by P. Paolino, Systema Brahmanicum, tab. xxii. This resemblance is not confined to the rites of marriage, for it is remarked by Sir W. Jones that, "among the laws of the Sumatrans two positive rules concerning sureties and interest appear to be taken word for word from the Indian legislators." As. Res. Vol. III. p. 9.

consideration) it would be deemed scandalous in the father to listen to any other proposals. When there is a difficulty in producing the necessary sum, it is not uncommon to resort to an expedient termed *meñgĭring jujur*, that is, to continue a debtor with the family until he can raise money sufficient to redeem himself; and after this, long credit is usually given for the remainder. Years often elapse, if the families continue on good terms, without the debt being demanded, particularly when an hundred and four dollars have been paid, unless distress obliges them to it. Sometimes it remains unadjusted to the second and third generation, and it is not uncommon to see a man suing for the *jujur* of the sister of his grandfather. These debts constitute, in fact, the chief part of their substance; and a person is esteemed rich who has several of them due to him, for his daughters, sisters, aunts, and great aunts. Debts of this nature are looked upon as sacred, and are scarcely ever lost. In *Passummah*, if the race of a man is extinct, and some of these remain unpaid, the dusun or village to which the family belonged, must make it good to the creditor; but this is not insisted upon amongst the *Rejangs*.

In lieu of paying the *jujur*, a barter transaction, called *dibei*, sometimes takes place, where one *gadis* (virgin) is given in exchange for another; and it is not unusual to borrow a girl for this purpose, from a friend or relation, the borrower binding himself to replace her, or pay her *jujur*, when required. A man who has a son and daughter, gives the latter in exchange for a wife to the former. The person who receives her, disposes of her as his own child, or marries her himself. A brother will give his sister in exchange for a wife, or, in default of such, procure a cousin for the purpose. If the girl given in exchange be under age, a certain allowance per annum is made, till she becomes marriageable. *Beguppok* is a mode of marriage differing a little from the common *jujur*, and, probably, only taking place where a parent wants to get off a child labouring under some infirmity or defect. A certain sum is in this case fixed, below the usual custom, which, when paid, is in full for her value, without any appendages. In other cases likewise, the *jujur* is sometimes lessened, and sometimes increased, by mutual agreement; but on trials it is always estimated at an hundred and twenty dollars. If

a wife dies soon after marriage, or at any time without children, the full *jujur* cannot be claimed; it is reduced to eighty dollars; but should more than that have been laid down in the interim, there is no refunding. The *jujur* of a widow, which is generally eighty dollars, without appendages, is again reduced upon a third marriage, allowances being made for dilapidation. A widow, being with child, cannot marry again till she is delivered, without incurring a penalty. In divorces it is the same. If there be no appearance of pregnancy, she must yet abstain from making another choice, during the period of three months and ten days.

When the relations and friends of the man go in form to the parents of the girl to settle the terms of the marriage, they pay at that time the *adat besasala*, or earnest, of six dollars generally; and these kill a goat or a few fowls to entertain them. It is usually some space of time (except in cases of *telari gadis* or elopement) after the payment of the *besasala*, before the wedding takes place; but, when the father has received that, he cannot give his daughter to any other person, without incurring a fine; which the young lady sometimes renders him liable to; for whilst the old folk are planning a match by *patutan*, or regular agreement between families, it frequently happens that *miss* disappears with a more favoured swain, and secures a match of her own choice. The practice styled *telari gadis*, is not the least common way of determining a marriage, and from a spirit of indulgence and humanity, which few codes can boast, has the sanction of the laws. The father has only the power left, of dictating the mode of marriage, but cannot take his daughter away, if the lover is willing to comply with the custom in such cases. The girl must be lodged, unviolated, in the house of some respectable family, till the relations are advised of the *enlévement*, and settle the terms. If, however, upon immediate pursuit, they are overtaken on the road, she may be forced back, but not after she has taken sanctuary.

By the Mosaic law, if a man left a widow, without children, his brother was to marry her. Among the Sumatrans, with or without children, the brother, or nearest male relation of the deceased, unmarried, (the

(the father excepted) takes the widow. This is practised both by Malays and country people. The brother, in taking the widow to himself, becomes answerable for what may remain due of her purchase money, and in every respect represents the deceased. This is phrased *ganti tikar bantal'nia*—supplying his place on his mat and pillow.

Chastity prevails more, perhaps, among these than any other people. It is so materially the interest of the parents to preserve the virtue of their daughters unsullied, as they constitute the chief of their substance, that they are particularly watchful in this respect. But as marriages in general do not take place so early as the forwardness of nature in that climate would admit, it will sometimes happen, notwithstanding their precaution, that a young woman, not chusing to wait her father's pleasure, tastes the fruit by stealth. When this is discovered, he can oblige the man to marry her, and pay the *jujur*; or, if he chuses to keep his daughter, the seducer must make good the difference he has occasioned in her value, and also pay the fine, called *tippong bumi*, for removing the stain from the earth. Prostitution for hire is, I think, unknown in the *country*, and confined to the more polite *bazars*, where there is usually a concourse of sailors and others, who have no honest settlement of their own, and whom, therefore, it is impossible to restrain from promiscuous concubinage. At these places, vice generally reigns in a degree proportioned to the number and variety of people of different nations who inhabit them, or occasionally resort thither. From the scenes which these sea-ports present, travellers too commonly form their judgment, and imprudently take upon them to draw, for the information of the world, a picture of the manners of a people. Chastity of the women.

The different species of horrid and disgustful crimes, which are emphatically denominated, against nature, are unknown on Sumatra; nor have any of their languages terms to express such ideas.

Incest, or the intermarriage of persons within a certain degree of consanguinity, which is, perhaps, (at least after the first degree) rather an offence against the institutions of human prudence, than a natural crime, is forbidden by their customs, and punishable by fine: yet the guilt is often Incest.

often expiated by a ceremony, and the marriages, in many instances, confirmed.

Adultery. Adultery is punishable by fine; but the crime is rare, and suits on the subject still less frequent. The husband, it is probable, either conceals his shame, or revenges it with his own hand.

Divorces. If a man would divorce a wife he has married by *jujur*, he may claim back what he has paid in part, less twenty-five dollars, the *adat charo*, for the damage he has done her; but if he has paid the *jujur* in full, the relations may chuse whether they will receive her or not; if not, he may sell her. If a man has paid part of a *jujur*, but cannot raise the remainder, though repeatedly dunned for it, the parents of the girl may obtain a divorce; but if it is not with the husband's concurrence, they lose the advantage of the *charo*, and must refund all they have received. A woman married by *jujur* must bring with her, effects to the amount of ten dollars, or, if not, it is deducted from the sum; if she brings more, the husband is accountable for the difference. The original ceremony of divorce consists in cutting a rattan-cane in two, in presence of the parties, their relations, and the chiefs of the country.

Second mode of marriage. In the mode of marriage by *ambel anak*, the father of a virgin makes choice of some young man for her husband, generally from an inferior family, which renounces all further right to, or interest in, him, and he is taken into the house of his father-in-law, who kills a buffalo on the occasion, and receives twenty dollars from the son's relations. After this, the *buruk baik'nia* (the good and bad of him) is vested in the wife's family. If he murders or robs, they pay the *banĝun*, or the fine. If he is murdered, they receive the *banĝun*. They are liable to any debts he may contract after marriage; those prior to it remaining with his parents. He lives in the family, in a state between that of a son and a debtor. He partakes as a son of what the house affords, but has no property in himself. His rice plantation, the produce of his pepper garden, with every thing that he can gain or earn, belong to the family. He is liable to be divorced at their pleasure, and though he has children, must

must leave all, and return naked as he came. The family sometimes indulge him with leave to remove to a house of his own, and take his wife with him; but he, his children, and effects, are still their property. If he has not daughters by the marriage, he may redeem himself and wife, by paying her *jujur;* but if there are daughters before they become emancipated, the difficulty is enhanced, because the family are likewise entitled to their value. It is common, however, when they are upon good terms, to release him, on the payment of one *jujur*, or at most with the addition of an *adat* of fifty dollars. With this addition, he may insist upon a release, whilst his daughters are not marriageable. If the family have paid any debts for him, he must also make them good. Should he contract more than they approve of, and they fear his adding to them, they procure a divorce, and send him back to his parents; but must pay his debts to that time. If he is a notorious spendthrift they outlaw him, by means of a writ presented to the magistrate. These are inscribed on slips of bamboo with a sharp instrument, and I have several of them in my possession. They must banish him from home, and if they receive him again, or assist him with the smallest sum, they are liable to all his debts. On the prodigal son's return, and assurance of amendment, this writ may be redeemed, on payment of five dollars to the *proattīns*, and satisfying the creditors. This kind of marriage is productive of much confusion, for till the time it takes place, the young man belongs to one *dusun* and family, and afterwards to another, and as they have no records to refer to, there is great uncertainty in settling the time when debts were contracted, and the like. Sometimes the redemption of the family, and their return to the former *dusun*, take place in the second or third generation; and in many cases it is doubtful whether they ever took place or not; the two parties contradicting each other, and, perhaps, no evidence to refer to. Hence arise various and intricate *bechars*.

Third, or Malayan mode of marriage.

Besides the modes of marriage above described, a third form, called *semando*, has been adopted from the Malays, and thence termed *semando malayo* or *mardika* (free). This marriage is a regular treaty between the parties, on the footing of equality. The *adat* paid to the girl's friends

friends has usually been twelve dollars. The agreement stipulates, that all effects, gains, or earnings, are to be equally the property of both, and, in case of divorce by mutual consent, the stock, debts, and credits, are to be equally divided. If the man only insists on the divorce, he gives the woman her half of the effects, and loses the twelve dollars he has paid. If the woman only claims the divorce, she forfeits her right to the proportion of the effects, but is entitled to keep her *tikar*, *bantal*, and *dandan* (paraphernalia), and her relations are liable to pay back the twelve dollars; but it is seldom demanded. This mode, doubtless the most conformable to our ideas of conjugal right and felicity, is that which the chiefs of the *Rejang* country have formally consented to establish throughout their jurisdiction, and to their orders the influence of the Malayan priests will contribute to give efficacy.

In the *ambel anak* marriage, according to the institutions of *Passummah*, when the father resolves to dismiss the husband of his daughter, and send him back to his *dusun*, the sum for which he can redeem his wife and family is an hundred dollars: and if he can raise that, and the woman is willing to go with him, the father cannot refuse them; and now the affair is changed into a *kulo* marriage; the man returns to his former *tunĭgguan* (settlement or family), and becomes of more consequence in society. These people are no strangers to that sentiment which we call a regard to family. There are some families among them more esteemed than others, though not graced with any title or employment in the state. The origin of this distinction it is difficult to trace; but it may have arisen from a succession of men of abilities, or from the reputation for wisdom or valour of some ancestor. Every one has a regard to his race; and the probability of its being extinct is esteemed a great unhappiness. This is what they call *tunĭgguan putus*, and the expression is used by the lowest member of the community. To have a wife, a family, collateral relations, and a settled place of residence, is to have a *tunĭgguan*, and this they are anxious to support and perpetuate. It is with this view, that when a single female only remains of a family, they marry her by *ambel anak*; in which mode the husband's consequence is lost in the wife's, and in her children the *tunĭgguan* of her father

father is continued. They find her a husband that will *menegga tuñg-guan*, or, as it is expressed amongst the Rejangs *menegga rumah*, set up the house again.

The *semando* marriage is little known in *Passummah*. I recollect that a *pañgeran* of *Manna* having lost a son by a marriage of this kind with a Malay woman, she refused, upon the father's death, to let the boy succeed to his dignities, and at the same time become answerable for his debts, and carried him with her from the country; which was productive of much confusion. The regulations there in respect to incontinence have much severity, and fall particularly hard on the girl's father, who not only has his daughter spoiled, but must also pay largely for her frailty. To the northward, the offence is not punished with so much rigour, yet the instances are there said to be rarer, and marriage is more usually the consequence. In other respects, the customs of *Passummah* and *Rejang* are the same in these matters.

Rites of marriage.

The rites of marriage, *nikah*, (from the Arabian) consist simply in joining the hands of the parties, and pronouncing them man and wife, without much ceremony, excepting the entertainment which is given on the occasion. This is performed by one of the fathers, or the chief of the *dusun*, according to the original customs of the country; but where Mahometanism has found its way, a priest or *imām* executes the business.

Courtship.

But little apparent courtship precedes their marriages. Their manners do not admit of it: the *bujang* and *gadis* (youth of each sex) being carefully kept asunder, and the latter seldom trusted from under the wing of their mothers. Besides, courtship, with us, includes the idea of humble entreaty on the man's side, and favour and condescension on the part of the woman, who bestows person and property for love. The Sumatran, on the contrary, when he fixes his choice, and pays all that he is worth, for the object of it, may naturally consider the obligation on his side. But still, they are not without gallantry. They preserve a degree of delicacy and respect towards the sex, which might justify their

retorting on many of the polished nations of antiquity, the epithet of barbarians. The opportunities which the young people have, of seeing and conversing with each other, are at the *bimbangs*, or public festivals, held at the *balei*, or town-hall of the *dusun*. On these occasions, the unmarried people meet together, and dance and sing in company. It may be supposed that the young ladies cannot be long without their particular admirers. The men, when determined in their regards, generally employ an old woman as their agent, by whom they make known their sentiments, and send presents to the female of their choice. The parents then interfere, and the preliminaries being settled, a *bimbang* takes place. At these festivals, a goat, a buffalo, or several, according to the rank of the parties, are killed, to entertain, not only the relations and invited guests, but all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country who chuse to repair to them. The greater the concourse, the more is the credit of the host, who is generally, on these occasions, the father of the girl; but the different branches of the family, and frequently all the people of the *dusun*, contribute a quota of rice.

Marriage festivals.

Order observed.

The young women proceed in a body to the upper end of the *balei*, where there is a part divided off for them, by a curtain. The floor is spread with their best mats, and the sides and ceiling of that extremity of the building are hung with pieces of chintz, palampores, and the like. They do not always make their appearance before dinner; that time, with part of the afternoon, previous to a second or third meal, being appropriated to cock-fighting, and other diversions peculiar to the men. Whilst the young are thus employed, the old men consult together upon any affair that may be at the time in agitation; such as repairing a public building, or making reprisals upon the cattle of a neighbouring people. The *bimbangs* are often given on occasions of business only, and as they are apt to be productive of cabals, the Europeans require that they shall not be held without their knowledge and approbation. To give authority to their contracts and other deeds, whether of a public or private nature, they always make one of these feasts. Writings, say they, may be altered or counterfeited, but the memory of what is transacted and concluded in the presence of a thousand witnesses, must

must remain sacred. Sometimes, in token of the final determination of an affair, they cut a notch in a post, before the chiefs; which they call *tako kayu*.

In the evening their softer amusements take place; of which the dances are the principal. These are performed either singly, or by two women, two men, or with both mixed. Their motions and attitudes are usually slow, and too much foreed to be graceful; approaching often to the lascivious, and not unfrequently the ludicrous. This is, I believe, the general opinion formed of them by Europeans, but it may be the effect of prejudice. Certain I am, that our usual dances are, in their judgment, to the full as ridiculous. The minuets they compare to the fighting of two game-cocks, alternately approaching and receding. Our country-dances they esteem too violent and confused, without shewing grace or agility. The stage dances, I have not a doubt, would please them. Part of the female dress, called the *salendang*, which is usually of silk, with a gold head, is tied round the waist, and the ends of this, they, at times, extend behind them with their hands. They bend forward as they dance, and usually carry a fan, which they close and strike smartly against their elbows, at particular cadences. They keep time well, and the partners preserve a consistency with each other, though the figure and steps are *ad libitum*. A brisker movement is sometimes adopted, which proves more conformable to the taste of the English spectators. Amusement of dancing.

Dancing is not the only amusement on these occasions. A *gadis* sometimes rises, and leaning her face on her arm, supporting herself against a pillar, or the shoulder of one of her companions, with her back to the audience, begins a tender song. She is soon taken up, and answered, by one of the *bujangs* in company, whose greatest pretensions to gallantry and fashion are founded on an adroitness at this polite accomplishment. The uniform subject, on such occasions, is love, and as the words are extempore, there are numberless degrees of merit in the composition, which is sometimes surprisingly well turned, quaint, and even witty. Professed story-tellers are sometimes introduced, who are raised on a little stage, and during several hours arrest the attention of their Singing.

audience, by the relation of wonderful and interesting adventures. There are also characters of humour amongst them, who, by buffoonery, mimicry, punning, repartee, and satire, (rather of the Sardonic kind) are able to keep the company in laughter, at intervals, during the course of a night's entertainment. The assembly seldom breaks up before daylight, and these *bimbangs* are often continued for several days and nights together, till their stock of provisions is exhausted. The young men frequent them in order to look out for wives, and the lasses of course set themselves off to the best advantage. They wear their best silken dresses, of their own weaving; as many ornaments of filigree as they possess; silver rings upon their arms and legs; and earrings of a particular construction. Their hair is variously adorned with flowers, and perfumed with oil of benzoin. Civet is also in repute, but more used by the men. To render their skin fine, smooth, and soft, they make use of a white cosmetic, called *pupur*. The mode of preparing it is as follows. The basis is fine rice, which is a long time steeped in water, and let to ferment, during which process the water becomes of a deep red colour, and highly putrid, when it is drained off, and fresh added successively until the water remains clear, and the rice subsides in the form of a fine, white paste. It is then exposed to the sun to dry, and being reduced to a powder, they mix with it ginger, the leaves of a plant called by them *dilam*, and by Europeans patch-leaf (melissa lotoria, R.), which gives to it a peculiar smell, and also, as is supposed, a cooling quality. They add likewise the flowers of the *jagong* (maiz); *kayu chendana* (sandal wood); and the seeds of a plant called there *kapas antu* (fairy-cotton), which is the *hibiscus abelmoschus*, or musk seed. All these ingredients, after being moistened and well mixed together, are made up into little balls, and when they would apply the cosmetic, these are diluted with a drop of water, rubbed between the hands, and then on the face, neck, and shoulders. They have an apprehension, probably well founded, that a too abundant or frequent application, will, by stopping the pores of the skin, bring on a fever. It is used, with good effect, to remove that troublesome complaint, so well known to Europeans in India, by the name of the prickly heat; but it is not always safe for strangers thus to check the operations of nature in a warm climate. The Sumatran girls, as well as our English maidens, entertain a favourable opinion of the

Dresses.

Cosmetic used, and mode of preparing it.

the virtues of morning dew, as a beautifier, and believe that by rubbing it to the roots of the hair, it will strengthen and thicken it. With this view they take pains to catch it before sun-rise, in vessels, as it falls.

If a wedding is the occasion of the *bimbang*, the couple are married, perhaps, the second or third day; but it may be two or three more, ere the husband can get possession of his bride; the old matrons making it a rule to prevent him, as long as possible, and the bride herself holding it a point of honour, to defend to extremity that jewel, which she would yet be disappointed in preserving.[a] They sit up in state, at night, on raised cushions, in their best clothes and trinkets. They are sometimes loaded on the occasion, with all the finery of their relations, or even the whole *dusun;* and carefully eased of it when the ceremony is over. But this is not the case with the children of persons of rank. I remember being present at the marriage of a young woman, whose beauty would not have disgraced any country, with a son of *Raddin,* prince of *Madura,* to whom the English gave protection from the power of the Dutch, after his father had fallen a sacrifice.[b] She was decked in unborrowed plumes. Her dress was eminently calculated to do justice to a fine person; her hair, in which consists their chief pride, was disposed with extreme grace; and an uncommon elegance and taste were displayed in the workmanship and adjustment of her ornaments. It must be

Consummation of marriages.

[a] It is recorded, that the jealousy between the English and Dutch at *Bantam,* arose from a preference shewn to the former by the king, at a festival which he gave upon obtaining a victory of this nature, which his bride had long disputed with him. For a description of a Malayan wedding, with an excellent plate representing the conclusion of the ceremony and the sleeping apartment, I beg to refer the reader to Captain Forrest's Voyage to New Guinea, p. 286, 4to. edit. The bed-place is described at p. 232, and the processional car (*perarakan*) at p. 241. His whole account of the domestic manners of the people of *Mindanau,* at the court of which he lived on terms of familiarity, will be found highly amusing.

[b] The circumstances of this disgraceful affair are preserved in a book, entitled "A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748." This *Raddin Tamanggung,* a most intelligent and respectable man, died at Bencoolen in the year 1790. His sons possess the good qualities of their father, and are employed in the Company's service.

be confessed, however, that this taste is by no means general, especially amongst the country people. Simplicity, so essential to the idea, is the characteristic of a rude and quite uncivilized people; and is again adopted by men in their highest state of refinement. The Sumatrans stand removed from both these extremes. Rich and splendid articles of dress and furniture, though not often procured, are the objects of their vanity and ambition.

The *bimbangs* are conducted with great decorum and regularity. The old women are very attentive to the conduct of the girls, and the male relations are highly jealous of any insults that may be shewn them. A lad, at one of these entertainments, asked another his opinion of a *gadis* who was then dancing. "If she was plated with gold," replied he, "I would not take her for my concubine, much less for my wife." A brother of the girl happened to be within hearing, and called him to account for the reflection thrown on his sister. Krises were drawn, but the by-standers prevented mischief. The brother appeared the next day, to take the law of the defamer, but the gentleman, being of the *risau* description, had absconded, and was not to be found.

Number of wives.

The customs of the Sumatrans permit their having as many wives by *jujur*, as they can compass the purchase of, or afford to maintain; but it is extremely rare that an instance occurs of their having more than one, and that only among a few of the chiefs. This continence they in some measure owe to their poverty. The dictates of frugality are more powerful with them, than the irregular calls of appetite, and make them decline an indulgence, that their law does not restrain them from. In talking of polygamy, they allow it to be the privilege of the rich, but regard it as a refinement which the poor *Rejangs* cannot pretend to. Some young *risaus* have been known to take wives in different places, but the father of the first, as soon as he hears of the second marriage, procures a divorce. A man married by *semando* cannot take a second wife, without repudiating the first, for this obvious reason, that two or more persons could not be equally entitled to the half of his effects.

Montesquieu infers, that the law which permits polygamy is physically conformable to the climate of Asia. The season of female beauty precedes that of their reason, and from its prematurity soon decays. The empire of their charms is short. It is therefore natural, the president observes, that a man should leave one wife to take another: that he should seek a renovation of those charms which had withered in his possession. But are these the real circumstances of polygamy? Surely not. It implies the cotemporary enjoyment of women in the same predicament; and I should consider it as a vice, that has its source in the influence of a warm atmosphere upon the passions of men, which, like the cravings of other disordered appetites, make them miscalculate their wants. It is, probably, the same influence, on less rigid nerves, that renders their thirst of revenge so much more violent, than among northern nations; but we are not, therefore, to pronounce murder to be physically conformable to a southern climate. Far be it from my intention, however, to put these passions on a level; I only mean to shew, that the president's reasoning proves too much. It must further be considered, that the genial warmth, which expands the desires of the men, and prompts a more unlimited exertion of their faculties, does not inspire their constitutions with proportionate vigour; but, on the contrary, renders them, in this respect, inferior to the inhabitants of the temperate zone; whilst it equally influences the desires of the opposite sex, without being found to diminish from their capacity of enjoyment. From which I would draw this conclusion, that if nature intended that one woman only should be the companion of one man, in the colder regions of the earth, it appears also intended, *à fortiori*, that the same law should be observed in the hotter; inferring nature's design, not from the desires, but from the abilities with which she has endowed mankind.

Question of polygamy.

Montesquieu has further suggested, that the inequality in the comparative numbers of each sex born in Asia, which is represented to be greatly superior on the female side, may have a relation to the law that allows polygamy. But there is strong reason to deny the reality of this supposed excess. The *Japanese* account, taken from Kæmpfer, which makes them to be in the proportion of twenty-two to eighteen, is very inconclusive,

inconclusive, as the numbering of the inhabitants of a great city can furnish no propertest; and the account of births at *Bantam*, which states the number of girls to be ten to one boy, is not only manifestly absurd, but positively false. I can take upon me to assert, that the proportion of the sexes, throughout Sumatra, does not sensibly differ from that ascertained in Europe; nor could I ever learn from the inhabitants of the many eastern islands whom I have conversed with, that they were conscious of any disproportion in this respect.

Connexion between polygamy and purchase of wives.

But from whatever source we derive polygamy, its prevalence seems to be universally attended with the practice of giving a valuable consideration for the woman, instead of receiving a dowry with her. This is a natural consequence. Where each man endeavours to engross several, the demand for the commodity, as a merchant would express it, is increased, and the price of course enhanced. In Europe, on the contrary, where the demand is small; whether owing to the paucity of males from continual diminution; their coldness of constitution, which suffers them rather to play with the sentimental, than act from the animal passion; their corruption of manners leading them to promiscuous concubinage; or, in fine, the extravagant luxury of the times, which too often renders a family an insupportable burthen;--whatever may be the cause, it becomes necessary, in order to counteract it, and produce an additional incitement to the marriage state, that a premium be given with the females. We find in the history of the earliest ages of the world, that where a plurality of women was allowed of, by law or custom, they were obtained by money or service. The form of marriage by *semando*, among the Malays, which admits but of one partner, requires no sum to be paid by the husband to the relations of the wife, except a trifle, by way of token, or to defray the expences of the wedding-feast. The circumstance of the *rejangs* confining themselves to one, and at the same time giving a price for their wives, would seem an exception to the general rule laid down; but this is an accidental, and perhaps temporary restraint, arising, it may be, from the European influence, which tends to make them regular and industrious, but keeps them poor: affords the means of subsistence to all, but the opportunity of acquiring riches to few or none. In their genuine state, war and plunder caused a rapid fluctuation of property; the little

little wealth now among them, derived mostly from the India Company's expenditure, circulates through the country in an equal stream, returning chiefly, like the water exhaled in vapours from the sea, to its original source. The custom of giving *jujurs* had most probably its foundation in polygamy; and the superstructure subsists, though its basis is partly mouldered away; but being scarcely tenantable, the inhabitants are inclined to quit, and suffer it to fall to the ground. Moderation in point of women destroying their principle, the *jujurs* appear to be devoid of policy. Open a new spring of luxury, and polygamy, now confined to a few individuals amongst the chiefs, will spread throughout the people. Beauty will be in high request; each fair one will be sought for by many competitors; and the payment of the *jujur* be again esteemed a reasonable equivalent for possession. Their acknowledging the custom under the present circumstances to be a prejudicial one, so contrary to the spirit of eastern manners, which is ever marked with a blind veneration for the establishments of antiquity, contributes to strengthen considerably the opinion I have advanced.

Through every rank of the people there prevails a strong spirit of *gaming*, which is a vice that readily insinuates itself into minds naturally indisposed to the avocations of industry; and being in general a sedentary occupation, is more adapted to a warm climate, where bodily exertion is in few instances considered as an amusement. Beside the common species of gambling with dice, which, from the term *dadu* applied to it, was evidently introduced by the Portuguese, they have several others; as the *judi*, a mode of playing with small shells, which are taken up by handfuls, and being counted out by a given number at a time (generally that of the party engaged), the success is determined by the fractional number remaining, the amount of which is previously guessed at by each of the party. They have also various games on chequered boards or other delineations, and persons of superior rank are in general versed in the game of chess, which they term *māin gājah*, or the game of the elephant, naming the pieces as follows: king, *raja*; queen or vizir, *mantri*; bishop or elephant, *gajah*; knight or horse, *kuda*; castle, rook, or chariot, *tĕr*; and pawn or foot-soldier, *bidak*. For check! they use the word *sah*; and for check-mate, *māt* or *mati*. Among these

Gaming. Dice. Other modes. Chess.

names, the only one that appears to require observation, as being peculiar, is that for the castle or rook, which they have borrowed from the *Tamul* language of the peninsula of India, wherein the word *tĕr* (answering to the Sanskrit *rat'ha*) signifies a chariot, (particularly such as are drawn in the processions of certain divinities), and not unaptly transferred to this military game, to complete the constituent parts of an army. Gambling, especially with dice, is rigorously forbidden throughout the pepper districts, because it is not only the child, but the parent of idleness, and by the events of play often throws whole villages into confusion. Debts contracted on this account are declared to be void.

Cock-fighting. To cock-fighting they are still more passionately addicted, and it is indulged to them under certain regulations. Where they are perfectly independent, their propensity to it is so great, that it resembles rather a serious occupation, than a sport. You seldom meet a man travelling in the country, without a cock under his arm, and sometimes fifty persons in a company, when there is a *bimbang* in one of the neighbouring villages. A country-man coming down, on any occasion, to the bazar, or settlement at the mouth of the river, if he boasts the least degree of spirit, must not be unprovided with this token of it. They often game high at their meetings; particularly when a superstitious faith in the invincibility of their bird has been strengthened by past success. An hundred Spanish dollars is no very uncommon risk, and instances have occurred of a father's staking his children or wife, and a son his mother or sisters, on the issue of a battle; when a run of ill luck has stripped them of property, and rendered them desperate. Quarrels, attended with dreadful consequences, have often arisen on these occasions.

Rules of cocking. By their customs, there are four umpires appointed to determine on all disputed points in the course of the battles; and from their decision there lies no appeal; except the Gothic appeal to the sword. A person who loses, and has not the ability to pay, is immediately proscribed, departs with disgrace, and is never again suffered to appear at the *galangang*. This cannot with propriety be translated, a *cock-pit*, as it is generally a spot on the level ground, or a stage erected, and covered in. It is inclosed with a railing, which keeps off the spectators; none but the handlers

handlers and heelers being admitted within side. A man who has an high opinion of, and regard for his cock, will not fight him under a certain number of dollars, which he places in order on the floor: his poorer adversary is perhaps unable to deposit above one half: the standers-by make up the sum, and receive their dividends in proportion, if successful. A father, at his death-bed, has been known to desire his son to take the first opportunity of matching a certain cock, for a sum equal to his whole property, under a blind conviction of its being *betuah*, or invulnerable.

Cocks of the same colour are never matched, but a grey against a pile, a yellow against a red, or the like. This might have been originally designed to prevent disputes, or knavish impositions. The Malay breed of cocks is much esteemed by connoisseurs who have had an opportunity of trying them. Great pains is taken in the rearing and feeding; they are frequently handled, and accustomed to spar in public, in order to prevent any shyness. Contrary to our laws, the owner is allowed to take up and handle his cock during the battle, to clear his eye of a feather, or his mouth of blood. When a cock is killed, or runs, the other must have sufficient spirit and vigour left to peck at him three times, on his being held to him for that purpose, or it becomes a drawn battle; and sometimes an experienced cocker will place the head of his vanquished bird, in such an uncouth posture, as to terrify the other, and render him unable to give this proof of victory. The cocks are never trimmed, but matched in full feather. The artificial spur used in Sumatra, resembles in shape the blade of a scimitar, and proves a more destructive weapon than the European spur. It has no socket, but is tied to the leg, and in the position of it, the nicety of the match is regulated. As in horse-racing, weight is proportioned to inches, so in cocking, a bird of superior weight and size is brought to an equality with his adversary, by fixing the steel spur so many scales of the leg above the natural spur, and thus obliging him to fight with a degree of disadvantage. It rarely happens that both cocks survive the combat. Matches.

In the northern parts of the island, where gold-dust is the common medium of gambling, as well as of trade, so much is accidentally dropt

in weighing and delivering, that at some cock-pits, where the resort of people is great, the sweepings are said, probably with exaggeration, to be worth upwards of a thousand dollars per annum to the owner of the ground; beside his profit of two fanams (five-pence) for each battle.

Quail-fighting. In some places they match quails, in the manner of cocks. These fight with great inveteracy, and endeavour to seize each other by the tongue. The Achinese bring also into combat the dial bird (*murei*) which resembles a small magpie, but has an agreeable, though imperfect note. They sometimes engage one another on the wing, and drop to the ground in the struggle.

Fencing. They have other diversions of a more innocent nature. Matches of fencing, or a species of tournament, are exhibited on particular days; as at the breaking up of their annual fast, or month of *ramadan*, called there the *puāsa*. On these occasions they practise strange attitudes, with violent contorsions of the body, and often work themselves up to a degree of frenzy; when the old men step in, and carry them off. These exercises, in some circumstances, resemble the idea which the ancients have given us of the *pyrrhic* or war dance; the combatants moving at a distance from each other, in cadence, and making many turns and springs, unnecessary in the representation of a real combat. This entertainment is more common among the Malays, than in the country. The chief weapons of offence used by these people, are the *kujur* or lance, and the *kris*. This last is properly Malayan, but in all parts of the island, they have a weapon equivalent, though in general less curious in its structure, wanting that waving in the blade, for which the *kris* is remarkable, and approaching nearer to daggers or knives.

Among their exercises we never observe jumping or running. They smile at the Europeans, who, in their excursions, take so many unnecessary leaps. The custom of going barefoot, may be a principal impediment to this practice, in a country overrun with thorny shrubs, and where no fences occur to render it a matter of expediency.

Diversion of tossing a ball. They have a diversion similar to that described by Homer, as practised

tised among the Phæacians, which consists in tossing an elastic wicker ball, or round basket of split rattans, into the air, and from one player to another, in a peculiar manner. This game is called by the Malays *sipak raga*, or in the dialect of Bencoolen, *chipak rago*, and is played by a large party standing in an extended circle, who endeavour to keep up the ball, by striking it either perpendicularly, in order to receive it again, or obliquely to some other person of the company, with the foot or the hand, the heel or the toe, the knee, the shoulder, the head, or with any other part of the body; the merit appearing to consist in producing the effect in the least obvious or most whimsical manner; and in this sport many of them attain an extraordinary degree of expertness. Among the plates of Lord Macartney's Embassy will be found the representation of a similar game, as practised by the natives of Cochinchina.

Smoking of opium.

The Sumatrans, and more particularly the Malays, are much attached, in common with many other eastern people, to the custom of smoking *opium*. The poppy which produces it not growing on the island, it is annually imported from Bengal in considerable quantities, in chests containing an hundred and forty pounds each. It is made up in cakes of five or six pounds weight, and packed with dried leaves; in which situation it will continue good and vendible for two years, but after that period grows hard, and diminishes considerably in value. It is of a darker colour, and is supposed to have less strength than the Turkey opium. About an hundred and fifty chests are consumed annually on the West coast of Sumatra; where it is purchased, on an average, at three hundred dollars the chest, and sold again, in smaller quantities, at five or six. But, on occasions of extraordinary scarcity, I have known it to sell for its weight in silver, and a single chest to fetch upwards of three thousand dollars.

Preparation.

The method of preparing it for use is as follows. The raw opium is first boiled or seethed in a copper vessel; then strained through a cloth, to free it from impurities; and then a second time boiled. The leaf of the *tambaku*, shred fine, is mixed with it, in a quantity sufficient to absorb the whole; and it is afterwards made up into small pills, about the size

of

of a pea, for smoking. One of these being put into the small tube that projects from the side of the opium pipe, that tube is applied to a lamp, and the pill being lighted, is consumed at one whiff or inflation of the lungs, attended with a whistling noise. The smoke is never emitted by the mouth; but usually receives vent through the nostrils, and sometimes, by adepts, through the passage of the ears and eyes. This preparation of the opium is called *maddat*, and is often adulterated in the process, by mixing *jaggri*, or pine sugar, with it; as is the raw opium, by incorporating with it the fruit of the *pisang* or plantain.

Effects of opium.

The use of opium among these people, as that of intoxicating liquors among other nations, is a species of luxury which all ranks adopt according to their ability, and which, when once become habitual, it is almost impossible to shake off. Being, however, like other luxuries, expensive, few only, among the lower or middling class of people, can compass the regular enjoyment of it, even where its use is not restrained; as it is among the pepper-planters, to the times of their festivals. That the practice of smoking opium must be in some degree prejudicial to the health, is highly probable; yet I am inclined to think that effects have been attributed to it, much more pernicious to the constitution than it in reality causes. The *bugis* soldiers, and others in the Malay bazars, whom we see most attached to it, and who use it to excess, commonly appear emaciated; but they are in other respects abandoned and debauched. The *Limun* and *Batang Assei* gold-traders, on the contrary, who are an active, laborious class of men, but yet indulge as freely in opium as any others whatever, are, notwithstanding, the most healthy and vigorous people to be met with on the island. It has been usual also to attribute to the practice, destructive consequences of another nature; from the frenzy it has been supposed to excite in those who take it in quantities. But this should probably rank with the many errours that mankind have been led into, by travellers addicted to the marvellous; and there is every reason to believe, that the furious quarrels, desperate assassinations, and sanguinary attacks, which the use of opium is said to give birth to, are idle notions, originally adopted through ignorance, and since maintained, from the mere want of investigation, without having any solid foundation. It is not to be controverted, that those desperate acts of indiscriminate

discriminate murder, called by us, *mucks*, and by the natives, *meñgamok*, do actually take place, and frequently too, in some parts of the East (in Java in particular) but it is not equally evident that they proceed from any intoxication, except that of their unruly passions. Too often they are occasioned by excess of cruelty and injustice in their oppressors. On the West coast of Sumatra about twenty thousand pounds weight of this drug are consumed annually, yet instances of this crime do not happen, (at least within the scope of our knowledge) above once in two or three years. During my residence there I had an opportunity of being an eye-witness but to one *muck*. The slave of a Portuguese woman, a man of the island of *Nias*, who in all probability had never handled an opium pipe in his life, being treated by his mistress with extreme severity, for a trifling offence, vowed he would have revenge if she attempted to strike him again; and ran down the steps of the house, with a knife in each hand, as it is said. She cried out, *meñgamok!* The civil guard was called, who having the power, in these cases, of exercising summary justice, fired half a dozen rounds into an outhouse where the unfortunate wretch had sheltered himself on their approach; and from whence he was at length dragged, covered with wounds. Many other *mucks* might perhaps be found, upon scrutiny, of the nature of the foregoing, where a man of strong feelings was driven, by excess of injury, to domestic rebellion.

It is true that the Malays, when in a state of war they are bent on any daring enterprize, fortify themselves with a few whiffs of opium, to render them insensible to danger; as the people of another nation are said to take a dram for the same purpose; but it must be observed, that the resolution for the act precedes, and is not the effect of the intoxication. They take the same precaution, previous to being led to public execution; but on these occasions shew greater signs of stupidity than frenzy. Upon the whole, it may be reasonably concluded, that the sanguinary achievements, for which the Malays have been famous, or infamous rather, in history, are more justly to be attributed to the natural ferocity of their disposition, or to the influence upon their manners of a particular state of society, than to the qualities of any drug whatever. The pretext of the soldiers of the country-guard for using opium is, that

that it may render them watchful on their nightly posts: we, on the contrary, administer it to procure sleep; and according to the quantity it has either effect. The delirium it produces is known to be so very pleasing, that Pope has supposed this to have been designed by Homer, when he describes the delicious draught prepared by Helen, called *nepenthe*, which exhilarated the spirits, and banished from the mind the recollection of woe.

It is remarkable that at *Batavia*, where the assassins just now described, when taken alive, are broken on the wheel, with every aggravation of punishment that the most rigorous justice can inflict, the mucks yet happen in great frequency; whilst at *Bencoolen*, where they are executed in the most simple and expeditious manner, the offence is extremely rare. Excesses of severity in punishment may deter men from deliberate and interested acts of villany, but they add fuel to the atrocious enthusiasm of desperadoes. A further proof of the influence that mild government has upon the manners of people, is, that the piratical adventures, so common on the eastern coast of the island, are unknown on the western. Far from our having apprehensions of the *Malays*, the guards at the smaller English settlements are almost entirely composed of them, with a mixture of *Bugis* or *Makasar* people. Europeans, attended by Malays only, are continually travelling through the country. They are the only persons employed in carrying treasure to distant places; in the capacity of secretaries for the country correspondence; as civil officers, in seizing delinquents, among the planters, and elsewhere; and as masters and supercargoes of the *tambangans*, *praws*, and other small coasting vessels. So great is the effect of moral causes and habit, upon a physical character esteemed the most treacherous and sanguinary.

Piratical adventures.

Custom of chewing Betel—Emblematic presents—Oratory—Children—Names—Circumcision—Funerals—Religion.

WHETHER to blunt the edge of painful reflection, or owing to an aversion our natures have to total inaction, most nations have been addicted to the practice of enjoying by mastication, or otherwise, the flavour of substances possessing an inebriating quality. The South Americans chew the *cocoa* and *mambee*, and the eastern people, the *betel* and *areca*, or, as they are called in the Malay language, *sirih* and *pinang*. This custom has been accurately described by various writers, and therefore it is almost superfluous to say more on the subject, than that the Sumatrans universally use it; carry the ingredients constantly about them; and serve it to their guests on all occasions; the prince in a gold stand, and the poor man in a brass box, or mat bag. The betel-stands of the better rank of people are usually of silver, embossed with rude figures. The Sultan of *Moco-moco* was presented with one by the India Company, with their arms on it; and he possesses beside, another of gold filagree. The form of the stand is the frustum of an hexagonal pyramid, reversed; about six or eight inches in diameter. It contains many smaller vessels, fitted to the angles, for holding the nut, leaf, and *chunam*, which is quick lime made from calcined shells; with places for the instruments (*kachip*) employed in cutting the first, and spatulas for spreading the last. Custom of chewing betel.

When the first salutation is over, which consists in bending the body, and the inferior's putting his joined hands between those of the superior, and then lifting them to his forehead, the betel is presented as a token of hospitality, and an act of politeness. To omit it on the one hand, or to reject it on the other, would be an affront; as it would be likewise, in a person of subordinate rank, to address a great man without the precaution of chewing it before he spoke. All the preparation consists in

spreading on the *sirih* leaf, a small quantity of the *chunam*, and folding it up with a slice of the *pinang* nut. Some mix with these, *gambir*, which is a substance prepared from the leaves of a tree of that name, by boiling their juices to a consistence, and made up into little balls or squares, as before spoken of: tobacco is likewise added, which is shred fine for the purpose, and carried between the lip and upper row of teeth. From the mastication of the first three, proceeds a juice which tinges the saliva of a bright red, and which the leaf and nut, without the *chunam*, will not yield. This hue being communicated to the mouth and lips is esteemed ornamental; and an agreeable flavour is imparted to the breath. The juice is usually, (after the first fermentation produced by the lime) though not always, swallowed by the chewers of betel. We might reasonably suppose that its active qualities would injure the coats of the stomach, but experience seems to disprove such a consequence. It is common to see the teeth of elderly persons stand loose in the gums, which is probably the effect of this custom, but I do not think that it affects the soundness of the teeth themselves. Children begin to chew betel very young, and yet their teeth are always beautifully white, till pains are taken to disfigure them, by filing, and staining them black. To persons who are not habituated to the composition, it causes a strong giddiness, astringes and excoriates the tongue and fauces, and deadens for a time the faculty of taste. During the *puasa*, or fast of *ramadan*, the Mahometans among them abstain from the use of betel, whilst the sun continues above the horizon; but excepting at this season, it is the constant luxury of both sexes, from an early period of childhood, till, becoming toothless, they are reduced to the necessity of having the ingredients previously reduced to a paste for them, that without further effort the betel may dissolve in the mouth. Along with the betel, and generally in the *chunam*, is the mode of conveying philtres, or love charms. How far they prove effectual I cannot take upon me to say, but suppose that they are of the nature of our stimulant medicines, and that the direction of the passion is of course indiscriminate. The practice of administering poison in this manner is not followed in latter times; but that the idea is not so far eradicated, as entirely to prevent suspicion, appears from this circumstance; that the guest, though taking a leaf from the betel-service of his entertainer, not unfrequently applies to it his own *chunam*, and never

never omits to pass the former between his thumb and fore finger, in order to wipe off any extraneous matter. This mistrustful procedure is so common as not to give offence.

Beside the mode beforementioned of enjoying the flavour of tobacco, it is also smoked by the natives and for this use, after shredding it fine, whilst green, and drying it well, it is rolled up in the thin leaves of a tree, and is in that form called *roko*, a word they appear to have borrowed from the Dutch. The *rokos* are carried in the betel-box, or more commonly under the *destar* or handkerchief which, in imitation of a turband, surrounds the head. Much tobacco is likewise imported from China, and sells at a high price. It seems to possess a greater pungency than the Sumatran plant, which the people cultivate for their own use, in the interior parts of the island. Tobacco.

The custom of sending emblematical presents, in order to make known, in a covert manner, the birth, progress, or change of certain affections of the mind, prevails here, as in some other parts of the East; and not only flowers of various kinds have their appropriate meaning, but also cayenne-pepper, betel-leaf, salt, and other articles, are understood by adepts to denote love, jealousy, resentment, hatred, and other strong feelings. Emblematic presents.

The Sumatrans in general are good speakers. The gift of oratory seems natural to them. I knew many among them, whose harangues I have listened to with pleasure and admiration. This may be accounted for, perhaps, from the constitution of their government, which being far removed from despotism, seems to admit, in some degree, every member of the society to a share in the public deliberations. Where personal endowments, as has been observed, will often raise a private man to a share of importance in the community, superior to that of a nominal chief, there is abundant inducement for the acquisition of these valuable talents. The forms of their judicial proceedings, likewise, where there are no established advocates, and each man depends upon his own, or his friend's abilities, for the management of his cause, must doubtless contribute to this habitual eloquence. We may add to these Oratory.

conjectures, the nature of their domestic manners, which introduce the sons, at an early period of life, into the business of the family, and the counsels of their elders. There is little to be perceived among them, of that passion for childish sports which marks the character of our boys, from the seventh to the fourteenth year. In Sumatra you may observe infants, not exceeding the former age, full dressed, and armed with a *kris*, seated in the circle of the old men of the *dusun*, and attending to their debates with a gravity of countenance not surpassed by their grandfathers. Thus initiated, they are qualified to deliver an opinion in public, at a time of life when an English schoolboy could scarcely return an answer to a question beyond the limits of his grammar or syntax, which he has learned by rote. It is not a little unaccountable, that this people, who hold the art of speaking in such high esteem, and evidently pique themselves on the attainment of it, should yet take so much pains to destroy the organs of speech, in filing down, and otherwise disfiguring their teeth; and likewise adopt the uncouth practice of filling their mouths with betel, whenever they prepare to hold forth. We must conclude, that it is not upon the graces of elocution they value an orator, but his artful and judicious management of the subject matter; together with a copiousness of phrase, a perspicuity of thought, an advantageous arrangement, and a readiness, especially, at unravelling the difficulties and intricacies of their suits.

Child-bearing. The curse entailed on women in the article of child-bearing does not fall so heavy in this as in the northern countries. Their pregnancy, scarcely at any period prevents their attendance on the ordinary domestic duties; and usually within a few hours after their delivery they walk to the bathing-place, at a small distance from the house. The presence of a *sage femme* is often esteemed superfluous. The facility of parturition may probably be owing to the relaxation of the frame, from the warmth of the climate; to which cause also, may be attributed the paucity of children borne by the Sumatran women, and the early decay of their beauty and strength. They have the tokens of old age, at a season of life when European women have not passed their prime. They are like the fruits of the country, soon ripe, and soon decayed. They bear children before fifteen, are generally past it at thirty, and grey-headed and

and shrivelled at forty. I do not recollect hearing of any woman who had six children, except the wife of *Raddin* of *Madura*, who had more; and she, contrary to the universal custom, did not give suck to hers.

Mothers carry the children, not on the arm, as our nurses do, but straddling on the hip, and usually supported by a cloth, which ties in a knot on the opposite shoulder. This practice, I have been told, is common in some parts of Wales. It is much safer than the other method, less tiresome to the nurse, and the child has the advantage of sitting in a less constrained posture: but the defensive armour of stays, and offensive weapons called pins, might be some objection to the general introduction of the fashion in England. The children are nursed but little; not confined by any swathing or bandages; and being suffered to roll about the floor, soon learn to walk and shift for themselves. When cradles are used, they are swung suspended from the ceiling of the rooms. Treatment of children.

The country people can very seldom give an account of their age, being entirely without any species of chronology. Among those country people who profess themselves Mahometans, to very few is the date of the *Hejra* known; and even of those who in their writings make use of it, not one in ten can pronounce in what year of it he was born. After a few *taun padi* (harvests) are elapsed, they are bewildered in regard to the date of an event, and only guess at it from some contemporary circumstance of notoriety; as the appointment of a particular *dupati;* the incursion of a certain enemy, or the like. As far as can be judged from observation, it would seem, that not a great proportion of the men attain to the age of fifty, and sixty years is accounted a long life. Age of the people.

The children among the *Rejangs* have generally a name given to them by their parents soon after their birth, which is called "*namo daging.*" The *galar* (cognomen), another species of name, or title, as we improperly translate it, is bestowed at a subsequent, but not at any determinate, period: sometimes, as the lads rise to manhood, at an entertainment given by Names.

by the parent, on some particular occasion; and often at their marriage. It is generally conferred by the old men of the neighbouring villages, when assembled; but instances occur of its being, irregularly, assumed by the persons themselves; and some never obtain any *galar*. It is also not unusual, at a convention held on business of importance, to change the *galar* of one or two of the principal personages, to others of superior estimation; though it is not easy to discover in what this pre-eminence consists, the appellations being entirely arbitrary, at the fancy of those who confer them: perhaps in the loftier sound, or more pompous allusion in the sense, which latter is sometimes carried to an extraordinary pitch of bombast, as in the instance of "*Peñgunchang bumi*," or "Shaker of the world," the title of a *pañgeran* of *Manna*. But a climax is not always perceptible in the change.

Father named from his child.

The father, in many parts of the country, particularly in *Passummah*, is distinguished by the name of his first child, as "*Pa-Ladin*," or "*Pa-Rindu*," (*Pa* for *bapa*, signifying "the father of") and loses in this acquired, his own proper name. This is a singular custom, and surely less conformable to the order of nature, than that which names the son from the father. There, it is not usual to give them a *galar* on their marriage, as with the *Rejangs*, among whom the *filionymic* is not so common, though sometimes adopted, and occasionally joined with the *galar*; as *Radin-pa-Chirano*. The women never change the name given them at the time of their birth; yet frequently they are called, through courtesy, from their eldest child, "*Ma si ano*," the mother of such an one; but rather as a polite description, than a name. The word or particle "*Si*" is prefixed to the birth-names of persons, which almost ever consist of but a single word, as *Si Bintang*, *Si Tolong*; and we find from Captain Forrest's voyage, that in the island of *Mindanau*, the infant son of the *Raja Muda* was named *Se Mama*.

Hesitate to pronounce their own name.

A Sumatran ever scrupulously abstains from pronouncing his own name; not, as I understand, from any motive of superstition, but merely as a punctilio in manners. It occasions him infinite embarrassment, when a stranger, unacquainted with their customs, requires it of him. As soon as he recovers from his confusion, he solicits the interposition of his

his neighbour. He is never addressed, except in the case of a superior dictating to his dependant, in the second person, but always in the third; using his name or title, instead of the pronoun; and when these are unknown, a general title of respect is substituted, and they say, for instance, "*apa orang kaya punia suka*," "what is his honour's pleasure" for "what is your, or your honour's pleasure?" When criminals, or other ignominious persons, are spoken to, use is made of the pronoun personal *kau* (a contraction of *angkau*) particularly expressive of contempt. The idea of disrespect annexed to the use of the second person, in discourse, though difficult to be accounted for, seems pretty general in the world. The Europeans, to avoid the supposed indecorum, exchange the singular number for the plural; but I think, with less propriety of effect than the Asiatic mode; if to take off from the bluntness of address be the object aimed at. Address in the third person.

The boys are circumcised, where Mahometanism prevails, between the sixth and tenth year. The ceremony is called *krat kulop* and *buang* or *lepas malu* (casting away their shame), and a *bimbang* is usually given on the occasion; as well as at the ceremony of boring the ears and filing the teeth of their daughters, (before described) which takes place at about the age of ten or twelve; and until this is performed, they cannot, with propriety, be married. Circumcision.

At their funerals, the corpse is carried to the place of interment on a broad plank, which is kept for the public service of the *dusun*, and lasts for many generations. It is constantly rubbed with lime, either to preserve it from decay, or to keep it pure. No coffin is made use of; the body being simply wrapped in white cloth, particularly of the sort called *hummums*. In forming the grave, (*kubur*), after digging to a convenient depth, they make a cavity in the side, at bottom, of sufficient dimensions to contain the body, which is there deposited on its right side. By this mode the earth literally lies light upon it; and the cavity, after strewing flowers in it, they stop up by two boards, fastened angularly to each other, so that the one is on the top of the corpse, whilst the other defends it on the open side; the edge resting on the bottom of the grave. The outer excavation is then filled up with earth; Funerals.

earth; and little white flags, or streamers, are stuck in order around. They likewise plant a shrub, bearing a white flower, called *kumbang-kamboja* (plumeria obtusa), and in some places, wild marjoram. The women who attend the funeral make a hideous noise, not much unlike the Irish howl. On the third and seventh day, the relations perform a ceremony at the grave, and at the end of twelve months, that of *tegga batu*, or setting up a few long, elliptical stones, at the head and foot; which, being scarce in some parts of the country, bear a considerable price. On this occasion, they kill and feast on a buffalo, and leave the head to decay on the spot, as a token of the honour they have done to the deceased, in eating to his memory.* The ancient burying-places are called *krammat*, and are supposed to have been those of the holy men by whom their ancestors were converted to the faith. They are held in extraordinary reverence, and the least disturbance or violation of the ground, though all traces of the graves be obliterated, is regarded as an unpardonable sacrilege.

Religion. In works descriptive of the manners of people little known to the world, the account of their *religion*, usually constitutes an article of the first importance. Mine will labour under the contrary disadvantage. The ancient and genuine religion of the *Rejangs*, if in fact they ever had any, is scarcely now to be traced; and what principally adds to its obscurity, and the difficulty of getting information on the subject, is, that even those among them who have not been initiated in the principles of Mahometanism, yet regard those who have, as persons advanced a step

* The above ceremonies (with the exception of the last) are briefly described in the following lines, extracted from a Malayan poem.

Setelah sudah de tañgisi, nia
Lalu de kubur de tanamkan 'nia
De ambel koran de ajikan 'nia
Sopaya lepas deri sangsara 'nia
Meñgaji de kubur tujuh ari
Setelah de khatam tiga kali
Sudah de tegga batu sakali
Membayer utang pada si-mati.

a step in knowledge beyond them, and therefore hesitate to own circumstantially, that they remain still unenlightened. Ceremonies are fascinating to mankind, and without comprehending with what views they were instituted, the *profanum vulgus* naturally give them credit for something mysterious and above their capacities; and accordingly pay them a tribute of respect. With Mahometanism, a more extensive field of knowledge (I speak in comparison) is open to its converts, and some additional notions of science are conveyed. These help to give it importance; though it must be confessed, they are not the most pure tenets of that religion, which have found their way to Sumatra; nor are even the ceremonial parts very scrupulously adhered to. Many who profess to follow it, give themselves not the least concern about its injunctions, or even know what they require. A *Malay* at *Manna* upbraided a *countryman*, with the total ignorance of religion his nation laboured under. "You pay a veneration to the tombs of your ancestors; what foundation have you for supposing that your dead ancestors can lend you assistance?" "It may be true; answered the other; but what foundation have *you* for expecting assistance from *Allah* and *Mahomet?*" "Are you not aware, replied the *Malay*, that it is written in a *Book?* Have you not heard of the *Korān?*" The native of *Passummah*, with conscious inferiority, submitted to the force of this argument.

If by *religion* is meant a public or private form of worship, of any kind; and if prayers, processions, meetings, offerings, images, or priests, are any of them necessary to constitute it, I can pronounce that the *Rejangs* are totally without religion, and cannot, with propriety, be even termed *pagans*, if that, as I apprehend, conveys the idea of mistaken worship. They neither worship God, devil, nor idol. They are not, however, without superstitious beliefs of many kinds, and have certainly a confused notion, though perhaps derived from their intercourse with other people, of some species of superior beings, who have the power of rendering themselves visible or invisible at pleasure. These they call "*orang alūs*" "fine, or impalpable beings," and regard them as possessing the faculty of doing them good or evil; deprecating their wrath, as the sense of present misfortunes, or apprehension of future, prevails in their minds. But when they speak particularly of them, they

call them by the appellations of "*maleikat*" and "*jin*," which are the angels and evil spirits of the *Arabians*, and the idea may probably have been borrowed at the same time with the names. These are the powers they also refer to in an oath. I have heard a *dupati* say, "My grandfather took an oath that he would not demand the *jujur* of that woman, and imprecated a curse on any of his descendants that should do it: I never have, nor could I without *salah kapada maleikat*—an offence against the angels." Thus they say also, "*de tolong nabi, maleikat*," "the prophet and angels assisting." This is pure Mahometanism.

No name for the deity.

The clearest proof that they never entertained an idea of Theism, or the belief of one supreme power, is, that they have no word in their language to express the person of God, except the "*Allah tala*" of the Malays, corrupted by them to "*Ulah tallo.*" Yet, when questioned on the subject, they assert their ancestors' knowledge of a deity, though their thoughts were never employed about him; but this evidently means no more than that their forefathers, as well as themselves, had heard of the *Allah* of the Mahometans (*Allah orang islām*).

Idea of invisible beings.

They use, both in *Rejang* and *Passummah*, the word "*dewa*," to express a superior, invisible class of beings; but each country acknowledges it to be of foreign derivation, and they suppose it *Javanese*. *Radin*, of *Madura*, an island close to *Java*, who was well conversant with the religious opinions of most nations, asserted to me, that "*dewa*" was an original word of that country for a superior being, which the *Javans* of the interior believed in; but with regard to whom they used no ceremonies or forms of worship:[a] that they had some idea of a future life, but not as a state of retribution; conceiving immortality to be the lot of rich, rather than of good men. I recollect, that an inhabitant of one of

[a] In the Transactions of the *Batavian* Society, Vols. I. and III. is to be found a History of these *Dewas* of the *Javans*, translated from an original MS. The mythology is childish and incoherent. The Dutch commentator supposes them to have been a race of men held sacred, forming a species of Hierarchy, like the government of the *Lamas* in *Tartary*.

of the islands farther eastward observed to me, with great simplicity, that only great men went to the skies; how should poor men find admittance there? The Sumatrans, where untinctured with Mahometanism, do not appear to have any notion of a future state. Their conception of virtue or vice extends no farther than to the immediate effect of actions, to the benefit or prejudice of society, and all such as tend not to either of these ends, are, in their estimation, perfectly indifferent.

Notwithstanding what is asserted of the originality of the word "*dewa*," I cannot help remarking its extreme affinity to the Persian word "*div* or *diw*," which signifies "an evil spirit" or "bad genius." Perhaps, long antecedent to the introduction of the faith of the *khalifs* among the eastern people, this word might have found its way, and been naturalized in the islands; or, perhaps, its progress was in a contrary direction. It has likewise a connexion in sound, with the names used to express a deity, or some degree of superior being, by many other people of this region of the earth. The *Battas*, inhabitants of the northern end of Sumatra, whom I shall describe hereafter, use the word *daibattah* or *daivattah*; the *Chingalese* of Ceylon, *dewiju*; the *Telingas* of India, *dai-wundu*; the *Biajus* of Borneo, *dewattah*; the *Papuas* of New Guinea, *'wat*; and the *Pampangos* of the Philippines, *diuata*. It bears likewise an affinity (perhaps accidental) to the *deus* and *deitas* of the Romans.*

Veneration for the manes and tombs of their ancestors.

The superstition which has the strongest influence on the minds of the Sumatrans, and which approaches the nearest to a species of religion, is that which leads them to venerate, almost to the point of worshipping,

* At the period when the above was written I was little aware of the intimate connexion, now well understood to have anciently subsisted between the *Hindus* and the various nations beyond the Ganges. The most evident proofs appear of the extensive dissemination both of their language and mythology throughout *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Balli*, (where at this day they are best preserved) and the other eastern islands. To the Sanskrit words *dewa* and *dewata*, signifying divinities in that great mother-tongue, we are therefore to look for the source of the terms, more or less corrupted, that have been mentioned in the text. See Asiat. Res. Vol. IV. p. 223.

the tombs and *manes* of their deceased ancestors (*nenek puyang*). These they are attached to as strongly as to life itself, and to oblige them to remove from the neighbourhood of their *krammat*, is like tearing up a tree by the roots; these, the more genuine country people regard chiefly, when they take a solemn oath, and to these they apostrophize in instances of sudden calamity. Had they the art of making images, or other representations of them, they would be perfect *larcs*, *penates*, or household gods. It has been asserted to me by the natives (conformably to what we are told by some of the early travellers) that in very ancient times, the Sumatrans made a practice of burning the bodies of their dead, but I could never find any traces of the custom, or any circumstances that corroborated it.

Metempsychosis.

They have an imperfect notion of a metempsychosis, but not in any degree systematic, nor considered as an article of religious faith. Popular stories prevail amongst them, of such a particular man being changed into a tiger, or other beast. They seem to think, indeed, that tigers in general are actuated with the spirits of departed men, and no consideration will prevail on a countryman to catch or to wound one, but in self-defence, or immediately after the act of destroying a friend or relation. They speak of them with a degree of awe, and hesitate to call them by their common name (*rimau* or *machang*) terming them respecfully *satwa* (the wild animals), or even *nenek* (ancestors); as really believing them such, or by way of soothing and coaxing them; as our ignorant country folk call the fairies "the good people." When an European procures traps to be set, by the means of persons less superstitious, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood have been known to go at night to the place, and practise some forms, in order to persuade the animal, when caught, or when he shall perceive the bait, that it was not laid by them, or with their consent. They talk of a place in the country where the tigers have a court, and maintain a regular form of government, in towns, the houses of which are thatched with women's hair. It happened that in one month seven or eight people were killed by these prowling beasts in Manna district; upon which a report became current, that fifteen hundred of them were come down from Passummah; of which number, four were without understanding (*gila*), and

and having separated from the rest, ran about the country occasioning all the mischief that was felt. The aligators also are highly destructive, owing to the constant practice of bathing in the rivers, and are regarded with nearly the same degree of religious terrour. Fear is the parent of superstition, by ignorance. Those two animals prove the Sumatran's greatest scourge. The mischief the former commit is incredible, whole villages being often depopulated by them, and the suffering people learn to reverence, as supernatural effects, the furious ravages of an enemy they have not resolution to oppose.

The Sumatrans are firmly persuaded that various particular persons are, what they term "*betuah*" (sacred, impassive, invulnerable, not liable to accident); and this quality they sometimes extend to things inanimate; as ships and boats. Such an opinion, which we should suppose every man might have an opportunity of bringing to the test of truth, affords a humiliating proof of the weakness and credulity of human nature, and the fallibility of testimony, when a film of prejudice obscures the light of the understanding. I have known two men, whose honesty, good faith, and reasonableness in the general concerns of life were well established, and whose assertions would have weight in transactions of consequence: these men I have heard maintain, with the most deliberate confidence, and an appearance of inward conviction of their own sincerity, that they had more than once, in the course of their wars, attempted to run their weapons into the naked body of their adversary, which they found impenetrable, their points being continually and miraculously turned, without any effort on the part of the *orang betuah*: and that hundreds of instances, of the like nature, where the invulnerable man did not possess the smallest natural means of opposition, had come within their observation. An English officer, with more courage and humour than discretion, exposed one imposture of this kind. A man having boasted in his presence, that he was endowed with this supernatural privilege, the officer took an opportunity of applying to his arm the point of a sword, and drew the blood; to the no little diversion of the spectators, and mortification of the pretender to superior gifts, who vowed revenge, and would have taken it, had not means been used to keep him at a distance. But a single detection of *charlatanerie*,

latanerie, is not effectual to destroy a prevalent superstition. These impostors are usually found among the Malays, and not the more simple country people.

No missionaries. No attempts, I have reason to think, have ever been made by missionaries, or others, to convert the inhabitants of the island to Christianity, and I have much doubt, whether the most zealous and able would meet with any permanent success in this pious work. Of the many thousands baptized in the eastern islands by the celebrated *Francis Xavier*, in the sixteenth century, not one of their descendants are now found to retain a ray of the light imparted to them; and probably, as it was novelty only, and not conviction, that induced the original converts to embrace a new faith, the impression lasted no longer than the sentiment which recommended it, and disappeared as rapidly as the itinerant apostle. Under the influence, however, of the Spanish government at Manilha, and of the Dutch at Batavia, there are many native Christians, educated as such from children. In the Malayan language Portuguese and Christians are confounded under the same general name; the former being called "*orang Serani*," by corruption for "*Nazerani*." This neglect of missions to Sumatra is one cause that the interior of the country has been so little known to the civilized world.

The Country of Lampong and its Inhabitants—Language—Government—Wars—Peculiar Customs—Religion.

HAVING thus far spoken of the manners and customs of the *Rejangs* more especially, and adverted, as occasion served, to those of the *Passummah* people, who nearly resemble them, I shall now present a cursory view of those circumstances in which their southern neighbours, the inhabitants of the *Lampong* country, differ from them, though this dissimilitude is not very considerable; and shall add such information as I have been enabled to obtain respecting the people of *Korinchi*, and other tribes dwelling beyond the ranges of hills which bound the pepper-districts.

Limits of the Lampong country.

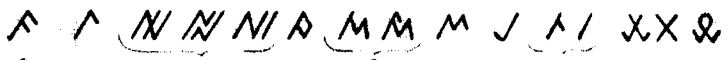
By the *Lampong* country is understood, a portion of the southern extreme of the island, beginning, on the west coast, at the river of *Padang-guchi*, which divides it from *Passummah*, and extending across as far as *Palembang*, on the north-east side, at which last place the settlers are mostly *Javans*. On the south and east sides, it is washed by the sea, having several ports in the Straits of *Sunda*, particularly *Keysers* and *Lampong* Bays; and the great river *Tulang-bawang* runs through the heart of it, rising from a considerable lake between the ranges of mountains. That division which is included by *Padang-guchi*, and a place called *Nassal*, is distinguished by the name of *Briuran*, and from thence southward to Flat-point, by that of *Laut-Kawur*; although *Kawur*, properly so called, lies in the northern division.

Tulang bawang River

Upon the *Tulang-bawang*, at a place called *Mangala*, thirty-six leagues from its mouth, the Dutch have a fortified post. There also the representative of the king of *Bantam*, who claims the dominion of the whole country of *Lampong*, has his residence; the River *Masusi*, which runs into the former, being the boundary of his territories, and those

Sumatran Alphabets.

Rejang.



ka ga nga ta da na pa ba ma

cha ja nia sa ra la ya wa ha mba nga nda nja a.

The terminating sounds of these letters are varied by the application of the following Signs;

Duo de-atas changes ka to kan		*Ka-tulang*	*to kang*
Ka-jina	*to kah*	*Ka-mitan*	*to ku*
Ka-junjung	*to kar*	*Ka-tiling*	*to kai, kĕ*
Ka-luwan	*to ki*	*Ka-tulung*	*to kau, kou*
Ka-micha	*to kă kŏ kĕ*	*Mati or bunuh-an*	*to k;*

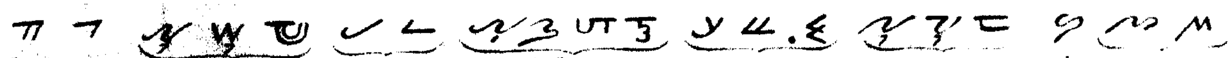
which last, like the jezma of the Arabians, serves to cut off or deaden the vocal utterance, as the term expresses. Of these Signs more than one may be applied to the same character: as lin, lun, nuh, gung, baun, pur. marks the Commencement of the writing, which proceeds horizontally, from the left hand to the right, the series of lines descending, most usually, from the top of the page; but not unfrequently the bottom line is the first written, and the others in succession towards the top. This practice (common to other tribes) appears to have given rise to the idea (noticed at p. 383) that the Battas are accustomed to write perpendicularly "from the bottom to the top of the line."

Batta.

a ha na ma ta da ba pa wa ya sa ga la ra nga ja nia i u

The Signs which govern the terminating sounds of these letters are, e, o, i, ang, and u or ung; as te, to, ti, tang, and tu or tung. The final ha takes the sound of k. With the exception of the first two letters it does not appear that any determinate order is observed in the arrangement of the Alphabet, which is found to vary more or less in every specimen.

Lampong.



ka ga nga pa ba ma ta da na

cha ja nia ya a la ra sa wa ha

To these letters the Signs are applied in the following manner: ki, kang, or kae, kan, kar, kei or kĕ, kau or kou, kă, kŏ, kah, kur, kaï, mati, as tumpat.

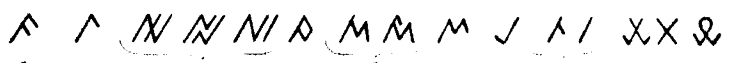
W. Marsden direx.

Swaine sc.

Published by W. Marsden, 1810.

SUMATRAN ALPHABETS.

Rejang.



ka ga nga te da na pa ba ma

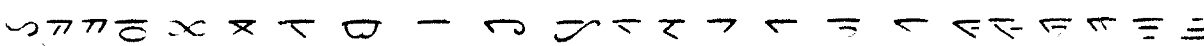
cha ja nia sa ra la ya wa ha mba nga nda nya a

The terminating sounds of these letters are varied by the application of the following Signs:

" Duo de atas changes	*ka to*	*kan*	*/ Ka tulang*	*to*	*kana*
„ Ka jina .	*to*	*kah*	*‚ Ka-mitan*	*to*	*ku*
Ka jungung	*to*	*kar*	*) Ka tiling*	*to*	*kai, kĕ*
^ Ka-luwan	*to*	*ki*	*(Ka tulung*	*to*	*kau, kou*
× Ka micha	*to*	*kă kŏ kĕ*	*o Mati or bunuh-an*	*to*	*k;*

which last, like the jezma of the Arabians, serves to cut off or deaden the vocal utterance, as the term expresses. Of these Signs more than one may be applied to the same character as lin. lun. nuh. gung. baun. pur. marks the Commencement of the writing, which proceeds horizontally from the left hand to the right, the series of lines descending, most usually, from the top of the page; but not unfrequently the bottom line is the first written, and the others in succession towards the top. This practice (common to other tribes) appears to have given rise to the idea (noticed at p. 383) that the Battas are accustomed to write perpendicularly "from the bottom to the top of the line."

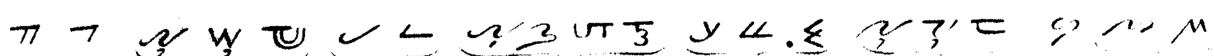
Batta.



a ha na ma ta da ba pa wa ya sa ga la re nga ja nia i u

The Signs which govern the terminating sounds of these letters are, e, e, o i, ang, and u or ung; as te. to. ti. tang and tu or tung. The final ha takes the sound of k. With the exception of the first two letters it does not appear that any determinate order is observed in the arrangement of the Alphabet, which is found to vary more or less in every specimen.

Lampong.



ka ga nga pa ba ma ta da na

cha ja nia ya a la ra sa wa ha

To these letters the Signs are applied in the following manner: ke. kang. or ku. kan. kar. kei or kĕ. kau or kou. kă, kĕ. kah. kaur. kai. mati. as tampat.

W. Marsden direx.

five magistrates, called *Panggau-limo*, and a sixth, superior, called by way of eminence, *Panggau*; but their authority is said to be usurped, and is often disputed. The word, in common, signifies a gladiator or prize-fighter. The *pangeran* of *Suko*, in the hills, is computed to have four or five thousand dependants, and sometimes, on going a journey, he levies a *tali*, or eighth part of a dollar, on each family; which shews his authority to be more arbitrary, and probably more strictly feudal, than among the *Rejangs*, where the government is rather patriarchal. This difference has doubtless its source in the wars and invasions to which the former people are exposed.

The *Javanese* banditti, as has been observed, often advance into the country, and commit depredations on the inhabitants, who are not, in general, a match for them. They do not make use of fire-arms. Beside the common weapons of the island, they fight with a long lance, which is carried by three men; the foremost guiding the point, and covering himself and his companions with a large shield. A compact body, thus armed, would have been a counterpart of the *Macedonian* phalanx; but can prove, I should apprehend, of but little use among a people, with whom war is carried on in a desultory manner, and more in the way of ambuscade, than of general engagement, in which alone troops so armed could act with effect. Wars.

Inland of *Samangka*, in the Straits of *Sunda*, there is a district, say the *Lampongs*, inhabited by a ferocious people, called *orang Abung*, who were a terrour to the neighbouring country, until their villages were destroyed some years ago by an expedition from the former place. Their mode of atoning for offences against their own community, or, according to a Malayan narrative in my possession, of entitling themselves to wives, was, by bringing to their *dusuns* the heads of strangers. The account may be true, but, without further authentication, such stories are not to be too implicitly credited, on the faith of a people who are fond of the marvellous, and addicted to exaggeration. Thus they believed the inhabitants of the island *Engano* to be all females, who were impregnated by the wind; like the mares in Virgil's Georgics.

Manners. The manners of the *Lampongs* are more free, or rather licentious, than those of any other native Sumatrans. An extraordinary liberty of intercourse is allowed between the young people of different sexes, and the loss of female chastity is not a very uncommon consequence. The offence is there, however, thought more lightly of, and instead of punishing the parties, as in *Passummah* and elsewhere, they prudently endeavour to conclude a legal match between them. But if this is not effected, the lady still continues to wear the *insignia* of virginity, the fillet and arm-rings, and takes her place as such at festivals. It is not only on these public occasions, that the young men and women have opportunities of forming arrangements, as in most other parts of the island. They frequently associate together at other times; and the former are seen gallantly reclining in the maiden's lap, whispering soft nonsense, whilst she adjusts and perfumes his hair, or does a friendly office of less delicacy to an European apprehension. At *bimbangs*, the women often put on their dancing dress in the public hall, letting that garment which they mean to lay aside, dexterously drop from under, as the other passes over the head; but sometimes, with an air of coquetry, displaying, as if by chance, enough to warm youthful imaginations. Both men and women anoint themselves before company, when they prepare to dance; the women, their necks and arms, and the men their breasts. They also paint each others faces; not, seemingly, with a view of heightening, or imitating the natural charms, but merely as matter of fashion; making fantastic spots with the finger on the forehead, temples, and cheeks, of white, red, yellow, and other hues. A brass salver (*tallam*) covered with little china cups, containing a variety of paints, is served up for this purpose.

Instances have happened here, though rarely, of very disagreeable conclusions to their feasts. A party of *risaus* among the young fellows, have been known suddenly to extinguish the lights, for the purpose of robbing the girls, not of their chastity, as might be apprehended, but of the gold and silver ornaments of their persons. An outrage of this nature I imagine could only happen in *Lampong*, where their vicinity to *Java* affords the culprits easier and surer means of escape, than in the central parts of the island; and here too their companies appear to be

be more mixed, collected from greater distances, and not composed, as with the *Rejang* people, of a neighbourly assemblage of the old men and women of a few contiguous villages, with their sons and daughters, for the sake of convivial mirth, of celebrating a particular domestic event, and promoting attachments and courtship amongst the young people.

In every *dusun* there is appointed a youth, well fitted by nature and education for the office, who acts as master of the ceremonies at their public meetings, arranges the young men and women in their proper places, makes choice of their partners, and regulates all other circumstances of the assembly, except the important œconomy of the festival part or cheer, which comes under the cognizance of one of the elders. Both parts of the entertainment are preceded by long, complimentary speeches, delivered by the respective stewards, who, in return, are answered and complimented on their skill, liberality, and other qualities, by some of the best bred amongst the guests. Though the manner of conducting, and the appendages of these feasts, are superior in style to the rustic hospitality of some of the northern countries, yet they are esteemed to be much behind those, in the goodness and mode of dressing their food. The *Lampongs* eat almost all kinds of flesh, indiscriminately, and their *guleis* (curries or made dishes) are said, by connoisseurs, to have no flavour. They serve up the rice, divided into portions for each person, contrary to the practice in the other countries; the *tallam* being covered with a handsome crimson napkin, manufactured for that use. They are wont to entertain strangers with much more profusion, than is met with in the rest of the island. If the guest is of any consequence, they do not hesitate to kill, beside goats and fowls, a buffalo, or several, according to the period of his stay, and the number of his attendants. One man has been known to entertain a person of rank and his suite for sixteen days, during which time there were not less than an hundred dishes of rice spread each day, containing, some one, some two bamboos. They have dishes here, of a species of china or earthen ware, called "*batu benauang*," brought from the eastward; remarkably heavy, and very dear; some of them being valued at

Particular customs.

forty dollars a piece. The breaking one of them is a family loss of no small importance.

Reception of strangers.

Abundantly more ceremony is used among these people, at interviews with strangers, than takes place in the countries adjacent to them. Not only the chief person of a party travelling, but every one of his attendants, is obliged, upon arriving at a town, to give a formal account of their business, or occasion of coming that way. When the principal man of the dusun is acquainted by the stranger with the motives of his journey, he repeats his speech at full length, before he gives an answer; and if it is a person of great consequence, the words must pass through two or three mouths, before they are supposed to come with sufficient ceremony to his ears. This, in fact, has more the air of adding to his own importance and dignity, than to that of the guest; but it is not in Sumatra alone, that respect is manifested by this seeming contradiction.

Marriages.

The terms of the *jujur*, or equivalent for wives, is the same here, nearly, as with the *Rejangs*. The kris-head is not essential to the bargain, as among the people of *Passummah*. The father of the girl never admits of the *putus tali kulo*, or whole sum being paid, and thereby withholds from the husband, in any case, the right of selling his wife, who, in the event of a divorce, returns to her relations. Where the *putus tali* is allowed to take place, he has a property in her, little differing from that of a slave, as formerly observed. The particular sums which constitute the *jujur* are less complex here than at other places. The value of the maiden's golden trinkets is nicely estimated, and her *jujur* regulated according to that, and the rank of her parents. The *semando* marriage scarcely ever takes place but among poor people, where there is no property on either side, or, in the case of a slip in the conduct of the female, when the friends are glad to make up a match in this way, instead of demanding a price for her. Instances have occurred, however, of countrymen of rank affecting a *semando* marriage, in order to imitate the Malayan manners; but it has been looked upon as improper; and liable to create confusion.

The

The fines and compensation for murder are in every respect the same, as in the countries already described.

The Mahometan religion has made considerable progress amongst the *Lampongs*, and most of their villages have mosques in them: yet an attachment to the original superstitions of the country, induces them to regard with particular veneration the ancient burying-places of their fathers, which they piously adorn, and cover in from the weather. Religion.

In some parts, likewise, they superstitiously believe that certain trees, particularly those of a venerable appearance (as an old *jawi-jawi* or banian tree) are the residence, or rather the material frame of spirits of the woods; an opinion which exactly answers to the idea entertained by the ancients, of the *dryades* and *hama-dryades*. At *Benkunat*, in the *Lampong* country, there is a long stone, standing on a flat one, supposed by the people to possess extraordinary power or virtue. It is reported to have been once thrown down into the water, and to have raised itself again to its original position; agitating the elements at the same time with a prodigious storm. To approach it without respect, they believe to be the source of misfortune to the offender. Superstitious opinions.

The inland people of that country are said to pay a kind of adoration to the sea, and to make to it an offering of cakes and sweatmeats on their beholding it for the first time, deprecating its power of doing them mischief. This is by no means surprising, when we consider the natural proneness of unenlightened mankind, to regard with superstitious awe, whatever has the power of injuring them without controul, and particularly when it is attended with any circumstances mysterious and inexplicable to their understandings. The sea possesses all these qualities. Its destructive and irresistible power is often felt, and especially on the coasts of India, where tremendous surfs are constantly breaking on the shore, rising often to their greatest degree of violence, without any apparent external cause. Add to this, the flux and reflux, and perpetual ordinary motion of that element; wonderful even to philosophers who are acquainted with the cause; unaccountable to ignorant men, though long accustomed to the effects; but to those who only once

once or twice in their lives have been eye witnesses to the phænomena, supernatural and divine. It must not, however, be understood, that any thing like a regular worship is paid to the sea by these people, any more than we should conclude, that people in England worship witches, when they nail a horse-shoe on the threshold, to prevent their approach, or break the bottoms of egg-shells, to hinder them from sailing in them. It is with the inhabitants of *Lampong* no more than a temporary sentiment of fear and respect, which a little familiarity soon effaces. Many of them, indeed, imagine it endowed with a principle of voluntary motion. They tell a story of an ignorant fellow, who observing with astonishment its continual agitation, carried a vessel of sea water with him, on his return to the country, and poured it into a lake, in full expectation of seeing it perform the same fanciful motions he had admired it for in its native bed.[a]

[a] The manners of the natives of the Philippine or Luzon Islands correspond in so many striking particulars with those of the inland Sumatrans, and especially where they differ most from the Malays, that I think no doubt can be entertained, if not of a sameness of origin, at least of an intercourse and connection in former times, which now no longer exists. The following instances are taken from an essay preserved by *Thevenot*, entitled *Relation des Philippines par un religieux; traduite d'un manuscrit Espagnol du cabinet de Mons. Dom. Carlo del Pezzo* (without date), and from a manuscript communicated to me by *Alex. Dalrymple*, Esq. "The chief Deity of the *Tagalas* is called *Bathala mei Capal*, and also *Diuata*; and their principal idolatry consists in adoring those of their ancestors, who signalized themselves for courage or abilities; calling them *Humatagar*, i. e. *manes:* They make slaves of the people who do not keep silence at the tombs of their ancestors. They have great veneration for the crocodile, which they call *nono*, signifying grandfather, and make offerings to it. Every old tree they look upon as a superior being, and think it a crime to cut it down. They worship also stones, rocks, and points of land, shooting arrows at these last as they pass them. They have priests, who, at their sacrifices, make many contorsions and grimaces, as if possessed with a devil. The first man and woman, they say, were produced from a *bamboo*, which burst in the island of *Sumatra*; and they quarrelled about their marriage. The people mark their bodies in various figures, and render them of the colour of ashes: have large holes in their ears: blacken and file their teeth, and make an opening which they fill up with gold: they used to write from top to bottom, till the Spaniards taught them to write from left to right: bamboos and palm leaves serve them for paper. They cover their houses with straw, leaves of trees, or bamboos split in two, which serve for tiles. They hire people to sing and weep at their funerals; burn benzoin; bury their dead on the third day in strong coffins; and sometimes kill slaves to accompany their deceased masters."

The

The latter account is more particular, and appears of modern date.

"They held the *caiman*, or alligator, in great reverence, and when they saw him they called him *nono*, or grandfather, praying with great tenderness that he would do them no harm, and to this end, offered him of whatever they had in their boats, throwing it into the water. There was not an old tree to which they did not offer divine worship, especially that called *balete;* and even at this time they have some respect for them. Beside these they had certain idols inherited from their ancestors, which the *Tagalas* called *Anito*, and the *Bisayans*, *Divata*. Some of these were for the mountains and plains, and they asked their leave when they would pass them: others for the corn fields, and to these they recommend them, that they might be fertile, placing meat and drink in the fields for the use of the *Anitos*. There was one, of the sea, who had care of their fishing and navigation; another of the house, whose favour they implored at the birth of a child, and under whose protection they placed it. They made *Anitos* also of their deceased ancestors, and to these were their first invocations in all difficulties and dangers. They reckoned amongst these beings, all those who were killed by lightning or alligators, or had any disastrous death, and believed that they were carried up to the happy state, by the rainbow, which they call *Balan-guo*. In general they endeavoured to attribute this kind of divinity to their fathers, when they died in years, and the old men, vain with this barbarous notion, affected in their sickness a gravity and composure of mind, as they conceived, more than human, because they thought themselves commencing *Anitos*. They were to be interred at places marked out by themselves, that they might be discovered at a distance and worshipped. The missionaries have had great trouble in demolishing their tombs and idols; but the Indians, inland, still continue the custom of *pasing tabi sa nono*, or asking permission of their dead ancestors, when they enter any wood, mountain, or corn field, for hunting or sowing; and if they omit this ceremony imagine their *nonos* will punish them with bad fortune.

"Their notions of the creation of the world, and formation of mankind, had something ridiculously extravagant. They believed that the world at first consisted only of sky and water, and between these two, a *glede;* which, weary with flying about, and finding no place to rest, set the water at variance with the sky, which, in order to keep it in bounds, and that it should not get uppermost, loaded the water with a number of islands, in which the *glede* might settle and leave them at peace. Mankind, they said, sprang out of a large cane with two joints, that, floating about in the water, was at length thrown by the waves against the feet of the *glede*, as it stood on shore, which opened it with its bill, and the man came out of one joint, and the woman out of the other. These were soon after married by consent of their God, *Bathala Meycapal*, which caused the first trembling of the earth; and from thence are descended the different nations of the world."

Account

Account of the inland Country of Korinchi—Expedition to the Serampei and Sungei-tenang Countries.

Country of Korinchi.

AT the back of the range of high mountains by which the countries of *Indrapura* and *Anak-sunĝei* are bounded, lies the district or valley of *Korinchi*, which, from its secluded situation, has hitherto been little known to Europeans. In the year 1800, Mr. Charles Campbell, whose name I have had frequent occasion to mention, was led to visit this spot, in the laudable pursuit of objects for the improvement of natural history, and from his correspondence I shall extract such parts as I have reason to hope will be gratifying to the reader.

Mr. Campbell's journey.

"The country of *Korinchi*," says this indefatigable traveller, "first occupied my attention. From the sea-coast, at *Moco-moco*, to the foot of the mountains, cost us three days' weary journey, and although our path was devious, I cannot estimate the distance at less than thirty miles, for it was late on the fourth day when we began to ascend. Your conjecture, that the ridge is broader betwixt the plains of *Anak-sunĝei* and valley of *Korinchi*, than that which we see from Bencoolen, is just. Our route in general lay north-east, until we attained the summit of the first high range; from which elevated situation, through an opening in the wood, the *Pagi* or Nassau Islands were clearly visible. During the next day our course along the ridge of hills was a little to the northward of north-west, and for the two following days almost due north, through as noble a forest as was ever penetrated by man. On the evening of the last, we descended by a steep and seemingly short path from the summit of the second range (for there are obviously two) into the *Korinchi* country. This descent did not occupy us more than twenty minutes, so that the valley must lie at a great height above the level of the sea; but it was yet a few days march to the inhabited and cultivated land on the border of the great lake, which I conjecture to be situated directly behind *Indrapura*,

Situation of lake.

Indrapura, or north-east from the mouth of that river. There are two lakes, but one of them is inconsiderable. I sailed for some time on the former, which may be nearly as broad as the strait between Bencoolen and Rat Island. My companions estimated it at seven miles; but the eye is liable to much deception, and having seen nothing for many days but rivulets, the grandeur of the sheet of water, when it first burst upon our sight, perhaps induced us to form too high a notion of its extent. Its banks were studded with villages; it abounds with fish, particularly the *summah*, a species of cyprinus; its waters are clear and beautiful, from the reflection of the black and shining sand which covers the bottom in many places to the depth of eight or ten inches.

" The inhabitants are below the common stature of the Malays, with harder visages and higher cheek-bones, well knit in their limbs, and active; not deficient in hospitality, but jealous of strangers. The women, excepting a few of the daughters of the chiefs, were in general ill-favoured, and even savage in their aspect. At the village of *In-juan* on the borders of the lake I saw some of them with rings of copper and shells among their hair; they wore *destars* round their heads like the men, and almost all of them had *siwars* or small daggers at their sides. They were not shut up or concealed from us, but mixed with our party, on the contrary, with much frankness. The people dwell in hordes, many families being crowded together in one long building. That in which I lived gave shelter to twenty-five families. The front was one long, undivided virandah, where the unmarried men slept; the back part was partitioned into small cabins, each of which had a round hole, with a door to fit it, and through this the female inmates crept backwards and forwards, in the most awkward manner and ridiculous posture. This house was in length two hundred and thirty feet, and elevated from the ground. Those belonging to the chiefs were smaller, well constructed of timber and plank, and covered with shingles or thin plates of board bound on with rattans, about the size, and having much the appearance, of our slates. The dresses of the young women of rank were pretty enough. A large blue turband, woven with silver chains, which, meeting behind and crossing, were fastened to the ear-rings in festoons, decorated their heads. In this was placed a large plume of cock's feathers,

Inhabitants.

Buildings.

Dresses.

 bending

bending forward over the face. The jacket was blue, of a silky texture, their own work, and bordered with small gold chain. The body-dress, likewise of their own weaving, was of cotton mingled with silk, richly striped and mixed with gold thread; but they wear it no lower than the knees. The youths of fashion were in a kind of harlequin habit, the fore-part of the trowsers white, the back-part blue; their jacket after the same fashion. They delighted much in an instrument made from some part of the *iju* palm tree, which resembled and produced a sound like the jews-harp. Their domestic œconomy (I speak of the houses of the chiefs) seemed better regulated than it generally is in these countries;

Cookery. they seemed tolerably advanced in the art of cookery, and had much variety of food; such as the flesh of deer, which they take in rattan snares, wild ducks, abounding on the lake; green pigeons, quails innumerable; and a variety of fish beside the *summah* already mentioned, and the *ikan gadis*, a species of carp, which attains to a greater size here

Esculent vegetables. than in the rivers. The potatoe, which was introduced there many years ago, is now a common article of food, and cultivated with some attention. Their plantations supply many esculent herbs, fruits, and roots; but the coconut, although reared as a curiosity, is abortive in these inland regions, and its place is supplied by the *buah kras* (juglans camirium), of which they also make their torches. Excellent tobacco is grown there, also cotton and indigo, the small leafed kind. They get some silk from *Palembang*, and rear a little themselves. The communication is more frequent with the north-west shore than with the eastern, and of late, since the English have been settled at *Pulo Chinco*, they prefer going there for opium, to the more tedious (though less distant) journey

Gold. by which they formerly sought it at *Moco-moco*. In their cock-pits the gold-scales are frequent, and I have seen considerable quantities weighed out by the losers. This metal, I am informed, they get in their own country, although they studiously evaded all inquiries on the subject.

Gunpowder. They make gunpowder, and it is a common sport among the young boys to fire it out of bamboos. In order to increase its strength, in their opinion, they mingle it with pepper-dust.

Lepers. "In a small recess on the margin of the lake, overhung with very rugged cliffs, and accessible only by water, I saw one of those receptacles of

of misery to which the leprous, and others afflicted with diseases supposed to be contagious, are banished. I landed much against the remonstrances of my conductors, who would not quit the boat. There were in all seven of these unfortunate people basking on the beach, and warming the wretched remains of their bodies in the sun. They were fed at stated periods, by the joint contribution of the neighbouring villages, and I was given to understand, that any attempt to quit this horrid exile was punished with death.

" I had little time for botanizing; but I found there many plants unknown to the low lands. Among them were a species of prune, the water-hemlock, and the strawberry. This last was like that species which grows in our woods; but it was insipid. I brought the roots with me to Fort Marlborough, where it lingered a year or two after fruiting, and gradually died.* I found there also a beautiful kind of the hedychium coronarium, now ranked among the kæmpferias. It was of a pale orange, and had a most grateful odour. The girls wear it in their hair, and its beautiful head of lily flowers is used in the silent language of love; to the practice of which, during your stay here, I suppose you were no stranger, and which indicates a delicacy of sentiment one would scarcely expect to find in the character of so rude a people. Peculiar plants.

" Although the chiefs received us with hospitality, yet the mass of people considered our intentions as hostile, and seemed jealous of our intrusion. Of their women, however, they were not at all jealous, and the familiarity of these was unrestrained. They entertained us with dances after their fashion, and made some rude attempts at performing a sort of pantomime. I may now close this detail with observing, that the natives of this mountainous region have stronger animal spirits than those of the plains, and pass their lives with more variety than the torpid inhabitants of the coast; that they breathe a spirit of independence, and being frequently engaged in warfare, village against village, they would be better Character of people.

* This plant has fruited also in England, but doubts are entertained of its being really a *fragaria*. By Dr. Smith it is termed a *potentella*.

Suspicions.

prepared to resist any invasion of their liberties. They took great offence at a large package carried by six men, which contained our necessaries, insisting that within it we had concealed a *priuk api*, for so they call a mortar or howitzer, one of which had been used with success against a village on the borders of their country, during the rebellion of the son of the sultan of *Moco-moco*; and even when satisfied respecting this, they manifested so much suspicion, that we found it necessary to be constantly on our guard, and were once nearly provoked by their petulance and treachery to proceed to violence. When they found our determination, they seemed humble, but were not even then to be trusted; and when we were on our return, a friendly chief sent us intelligence that an ambuscade had been laid for us in one of the narrow passes of the mountains. We pursued our journey, however, without meeting any obstruction." On the subject of gold I have only to add to Mr. Campbell's information, that in the enumeration by the natives of places where there are gold-mines, *Korinchi* is always included.

Expedition to interior country.

Opportunities of visiting the interior parts of the island have so seldom occurred, or are likely to occur, that I do not hesitate to present to the reader an abstract of the Journal kept by Lieutenant Hastings Dare (now a captain on the Bengal establishment) whilst commanding an expedition to the countries of *Ipu*, *Serampei*, and *Sungei-tenang*, which border, to the south-east, on that of *Korinchi* above described; making at the same time my acknowledgments to that gentleman for his obliging communication of the original, and my apologies for the brevity to which my subject renders it necessary to confine the narrative.

Origin of disturbances.

"Sultan *Asing*, brother to the present sultan of *Moco-moco*, in conjunction with *Pa Muncha* and Sultan *Sidi*, two hill-chiefs his relations, residing at *Pakalang-jambu* and *Jambi*, raised a small force, with which, in the latter part of the year 1804, they made a descent on *Ipu*, one of the Company's districts, burnt several villages, and carried off a number of the inhabitants. The guard of native Malay troops not being sufficiently strong to check these depredations, a party was ordered from Fort Marlborough, under the command of Lieut. Hastings Dare, consisting of eighty-three sepoy officers and men, with five lascars, twenty-

two

two Bengal convicts, and eighteen of the *Bugis*-guard; in the whole one hundred and twenty-eight.

"Nov. 22, 1804. Marched from Fort Marlborough, and Dec. 3, arrived at *Ipu*. The roads extremely bad from the torrents of rain that fell. 4th. Mr. Hawthorne, the Resident, informed us that the enemy had fortified themselves at a place called *Tabé-si-kuddi*, but on hearing of the approach of the detachment, had gone off to the hills in the *Sungei-tenang* country and fortified themselves at *Kota Tuggoh*, a village that had been a receptacle for all the vagabonds from the districts near the coast. 13th. Having procured coolies and provisions, for which we have been hitherto detained, quitted *Ipu* in an ENE. direction, and passed through several pepper and rice plantations. At *dusun Baru* one of our people caught a fine large fish, called *ikan gadis*. 14th. Marched in a SE. direction; crossed several rivulets, and reached again the banks of *Ipu* river, which we crossed. It was about four feet deep, and very rapid. Passed the night at *dusun Arah*. The country rather hilly; thermometer 88° at noon. 15th. Reached *dusun Tanjong*, the last place in the *Ipu* district where rice or any other provision is to be found, and these were sent on from *Talang Puttei*, this place being deserted by its inhabitants, several of whom the enemy had carried off with them as slaves. The country very hilly, and roads, in consequence of the heavy rains, bad and slippery. 16th. Marched in a N. and E. direction. After crossing the *Ayer Ikan* stream twice, we arrived at some hot springs, about three or four miles, in the winding course we were obliged to take, from *dusun Tanjong*, situated in a low, swampy spot, about sixty yards in circumference. This is very hot in every part of it, excepting (which is very extraordinary) one place on its eastern side, where, although a hot spring is bubbling up within one yard of it, the water running from it is as cold as common spring water. In consequence of the excessive heat of the place, and softness of the ground, none of us could get close to the springs; but upon putting the thermometer within three yards of them, it immediately rose to 120° of Fahrenheit. We could not bear our fingers any time in the water. It tasted copperish and bitter; there was a strong sulphureous smell at the place, and a green sediment at the bottom and sides of the spring, with a reddish or copper-coloured scum

Hot springs.

scum floating on the surface. After again crossing the *Ikan* stream we arrived at *dusun Simpang*. The enemy had been here, and had burned nearly half of the village, and carried off the inhabitants. The road from *Tanjong* to *Simpang* was entirely through a succession of pepper-gardens and rice plantations. We are now among the hills. Country in a higher state of cultivation than near the coast, but nearly deserted, and must soon become a waste. Could not get intelligence of the enemy. Built huts on *Ayer Ikan*, at *Napah Kapah*. 17th. Marched in a S. direction, and crossed *Ayer Tubbu*, passing a number of *durian* trees on its bank. Again crossed the stream several times. Arrived early at *Tabé-si-kuddi*, a small *talang*, where the enemy had built three batteries or entrenchments, and left behind them a quantity of grain, but vegetating and unfit for use. Previously to our reaching these entrenchments some of the detachment got wounded in the feet with *ranjaus*, set very thickly in the ground in every direction, and which obliged us to be very cautious in our steps, until we arrived at the banks of a small rivulet, called the *Nibong*, two or three miles beyond them. *Ranjaus* are slips of bamboo, sharpened at each end; the part that is stuck in the ground being thicker than the opposite end, which decreases to a fine, thin point, and is hardened by dipping it in oil and applying it to the smoke of a lamp near the flame. They are planted in the foot-paths, sometimes erect, sometimes sloping, in small holes, or in muddy and miry places, and when trodden upon (for they are so well concealed as not to be easily seen) they pierce through the foot and make a most disagreeable wound, the bamboo leaving in it a rough, hairy stuff it has on its outside, which irritates, inflames, and prevents it from healing. The whole of the road this day lay over a succession of steep hills, and in the latter part covered with deep forests. The whole of the detachment did not reach our huts on the bank of the *Nibong* stream till evening, much time being consumed in bringing on the mortar and magazine. Picked up pouches, musket stocks, &c. and saw new huts, near one of which was a quantity of clotted blood and a fresh grave. 18th. Proceeded ENE. and passed several rivulets. Regained the banks of the *Ipu* river, running NE. to SW. here tolerably broad and shallow, being a succession of rapids over a rough, stony bed. Encamped both this night and the last where the enemy had built huts. 19th. Marched in a N. direction.

Ranjaus.

More

More of the detachment wounded by *ranjaus* planted in the path-ways. Roads slippery and bad from rains, and the hills so steep, it is with difficulty we get the mortar and heavy baggage forward. Killed a green snake with black spots along its back; about four feet long, four to five inches in girt, and with a thick, stumpy tail. The natives say its bite is venomous. Our course to-day has been N. along the banks of the *Ipu* river; the noise of the rapids so great, that when near it we can with difficulty hear each other speak. 20th. Continued along the river, crossing it several times. Came to a hot spring, in the water of which the thermometer rose to 100°, at a considerable distance from its source. The road to-day tolerably level and good. We were much plagued by a small kind of leech, which dropped on us from the leaves of the trees, and got withinside our clothes. We were, in consequence, on our halting every day, obliged to strip and bathe ourselves, in order to detach them from our bodies, filled with the blood they had sucked from us. They were not above an inch in length, and before they fixed themselves, as thin as a needle, so that they could penetrate our dress in any part. We encamped this evening at the conflux of the *Simpang* stream and *Ipu* river. Our huts were generally thatched with the *paar* or wild cardamum leaf, which grows in great abundance on the banks of the rivers in this part of the country. It bears a pleasant acid fruit, growing much in the same way as the maiz. In long journeys through the woods, when other provisions fail, the natives live principally on this. The leaf is something like that of the plantain, but not nearly so large. 21st. Arrived at a spot called *Dingau-benar*, from whence we were obliged to return on account of the coolies not being able to descend a hill which was at least an hundred and fifty yards high, and nearly perpendicular. In effecting it we were obliged to cling to the trees and roots, without which assistance it would have been impracticable. It was nearly evening before one half of the detachment had reached the bottom; and it rained so excessively hard, that we were obliged to remain divided for the night; the rear party on the top of the steep hill, and the advanced on the brow of another hill. One of the guides and a Malay cooley were drowned in attempting to find a ford across the *Ipu* river. I was a long time before we could get any fire, every thing being completely soaked through, and the greater part of the poor fellows had not time to build

Leeches.

build huts for themselves. Military disposition for guarding baggage, preventing surprise, &c. 22d. We had much difficulty in getting the mortar and its bed down, being obliged to make use of long, thick rattans, tied to them, and successively to several trees. It was realy admirable to observe the patience of the sepoys and Bengal convicts on this occasion. On mustering the coolies, found that nearly one half had run during the night, which obliged us to fling away twenty bags of rice, besides salt and other articles. Our course lay N. crossing the river several times. My poor faithful dog Gruff was carried away by the violence of the stream and lost. We were obliged to make bridges, by cutting down tall trees, laying them across the stream, and interlacing them with rattans.

" We were now between two ranges of very high hills; on our right hand *Bukit Pandang*, seen from a great distance at sea; the road shockingly bad. Encamped on the western bank. 23d. Marched in a N. direction; the roads almost impassable. The river suddenly swelled so much, that the rear party could not join the advanced, which was so fortunate as to occupy huts built by the enemy. There were fires in two of them. We were informed, however, that the *Serampei* and *Sungei-tenang* people often come this distance to catch fish, which they dry and carry back to their country. At certain times of the year great quantities of the *ringkis* and *ikan-gadis* are taken, besides a kind of large conger-eel. We frequently had fish, when time would admit of the people catching them. It is impossible to describe the difficulties we had to encounter in consequence of the heavy rains, badness of the roads, and rapidity of the river. The sepoy officer and many men ill of fluxes and fevers, and lame with swelled and sore feet. 24th. Military precautions. Powder damaged. Thunder and lightning, with torrents of rain. Almost the whole of the rice rotten or sour. 25th. Continued to march up the banks of the river. No inhabitants in this part of the country.

Irregularity of compass.

The compass for these several days has been very irregular. We have two with us, and they do not at all agree. The road less bad. At one place we saw bamboos of the thickness of a man's thigh. There were myriads of very small flies this evening, which teazed us much. Occupied some huts we found on the eastern bank. This is Christmas evening;

ing; to us, God knows, a dull one. Our wines and liquors nearly expended, and we have but one miserable half-starved chicken left, although we have been on short allowance the whole way. 26th. Roads tolerable. Passed a spot called *Kappah*, and soon after a waterfall, named *Ipu-machang*, about sixty feet high. Picked up a sick man belonging to the enemy. He informed us that there were between two and three hundred men collected at *Koto Tuggoh*, under the command of *Sutan Sidi*, *Sutan Asing*, and *Pa Muncha*. These three chiefs made a festival, killing buffaloes, as is usual with the natives of Sumatra on such occasions, at this place, and received every assistance from the principal *Dupati*, who is also father-in-law to *Pa Muncha*. They possess sixty stand of muskets, beside blunderbusses and wall-pieces. They had quitted the Company's districts about twenty-three days ago, and are gone, some to *Koto Tuggoh*, and others to *Pakalang-jamba*. 27th. Marched in a NNE. direction; passed over a steep hill which took us three hours hard walking. The river is now very narrow and rapid, not above twelve feet across; it is a succession of waterfalls every three or four yards. After this our road was intricate, winding, and bad. We had to ascend a high chasm formed in the rock, which was effected by ladders from one shelf to another. Arrived at the foot of *Bukit Pandang*, where we found huts, and occupied them for the night. We have been ascending the whole of this day. Very cold and rainy. At night we were glad to make large fires, and use our blankets and woollen clothes. Having now but little rice left, we were obliged to put ourselves to an allowance of one bamboo or gallon measure among ten men; and the greater part of that rotten. 28th. Ascended *Bukit Pandang* in an ENE. direction. Reached a small spring of water called *Pondo Kubang*, the only one to be met with till the hill is descended. About two miles from the top, and from thence all the way up, the trees and ground were covered very thick with moss; the trees much stunted, and altogether the appearance was barren and gloomy; to us particularly so, for we could find little or nothing wherewith to build our huts, nor procure a bit of dry wood to light a fire. In order to make one for dressing the victuals, Lieut. Dare was compelled to break up one of his boxes, otherwise he and Mr. Alexander, the surgeon, must have eaten them raw. It rained hard all night, and the coolies and most of the party were obliged to lie

Ascend a high mountain.

down on the wet ground in the midst of it. It was exceedingly cold to our feelings; in the evening the thermometer was down to 50°, and in the night to 45°. In consequence of the cold, inclemency, and fatigue, to which the coolies were exposed, seven of them died that night. The lieutenant and surgeon made themselves a kind of shelter with four tarpaulins that were fortunately provided to cover the medicine chest and surgical instruments, but the place was so small, that it scarcely held them both. In the evening when the former was sitting on his camp-stool, whilst the people were putting up the tarpaulins, a very small bird, perfectly black, came hopping about the stool, picking up the worms from the moss. It was so tame and fearless, that it frequently perched itself on his foot, and on different parts of the stool; which shews that these parts of the country must be very little frequented by human beings. 29th. Descended *Bukit Pandang*. Another cooley died this morning. We are obliged to fling away shells. After walking some time many of the people recovered, as it was principally from cold and damps they suffered. Crossed a stream called *Inum*, where we saw several huts. In half an hour more arrived at the banks of the greater *Ayer Dikit* river, which is here shallow, rapid, and about eighty yards broad. We marched westerly along its banks, and reached a hut opposite to a spot called *Rantau Kramas*, where we remained for the night, being prevented from crossing by a flood. 30th. Cut down a large tree and threw it across the river; it reached about half way over. With this, and the assistance of rattans tied to the opposite side, we effected our passage and arrived at *Rantau Kramas*. Sent off people to *Ranna Alli*, one of the *Serampei* villages, about a day's march from hence, for provisions. Therm. 59°.

Men die from severity of weather.

The greater *Ayer Dikit* river, on the N. side of which this place lies, runs nearly from E. to W. There are four or five bamboo huts at it, for the temporary habitation of travellers passing and repassing this way, being in the direction from the *Serampei* to the *Sungei-tenang* country. These huts are covered with bamboos (in plenty here) split and placed like pantiles, transversely over each other, forming, when the bamboos are well-grown, a capital and lasting roof (see p. 58). 31st. A Malay man and woman taken by our people report, that the enemy, thirteen days

days ago, had proceeded two days march beyond *Koto Tuggoh*. Received some provisions from *Ranna Alli*. The enemy, we are informed, have dug holes, and put long stakes into them, set spring-spears, and planted the road very thickly with *ranjaus*, and were collecting their force at *Koto Tuggoh* (signifying the strong fortress) to receive us. 1805. Jan. 1st and 2d. Received some small supplies of provisions.

" On the 3d we were saluted by shouting and firing of the enemy from the heights around us. Parties were immediately sent off in different directions, as the nature of the ground allowed. The advanced party had only time to fire two rounds, when the enemy retired to a strong position on the top of a steep hill where they had thrown up a breast-work, which they disputed for a short time. On our getting possession of it, they divided into three parties and fled. We had one sepoy killed, and several of the detachment wounded by the *ranjaus*. Many of the enemy were killed and wounded, and the paths they had taken covered with blood; but it is impossible to tell their numbers, as they always carry them off the moment they drop, considering it a disgrace to leave them on the field of battle. If they get any of the bodies of their enemies, they immediately strike off the head, and fix it on a long pole, carrying it to their village as a trophy, and addressing to it every sort of abusive language. Those taken alive in battle are made slaves. After completely destroying every thing in the battery, we marched, and arrived at the top of a very high hill, where we built our huts for the evening. The road was thickly planted with *ranjaus*, which, with the heavy rains, impeded our progress, and prevented us from reaching a place called *Danau-pau*. Our course to-day has been NE. and easterly; the roads shockingly bad, and we were obliged to leave behind several coolies and two sepoys, who were unable to accompany us. 4th. Obliged to fling away the bullets of the cartridges, three-fourths of which were damaged, and other articles. Most of the detachment sick with fluxes and fevers, or wounded in the feet. Marched in an eastern direction. Reached a spot very difficult to pass, being knee-deep in mud for a considerable way, with *ranjaus* concealed in the mud, and spring-spears set in many places. We were obliged to creep through a thicket of canes and bamboos. About noon the advanced party arrived

Come up with the enemy.

Attack.

at a lake, and discovered that the enemy were on the opposite side of a small stream that ran from the lake, where they had entrenched themselves behind four small batteries, in a most advantageous position, being on the top of a steep hill, of difficult access, with the stream on one side, the lake on the other, and the other parts surrounded by a swamp. We immediately commenced the attack, but were unable, from the number of *ranjaus* in the only accessible part, to make a push on to the enemy. However, about one o'clock, we effected our purpose, and completely got possession of the entrenchments, which, had they been properly defended, must have cost us more than the half of our detachment. We had four sepoys severely wounded, and almost the whole of our feet dreadfully cut. Numbers of the enemy were killed and wounded. They defended each of the batteries with some obstinacy against our fire, but when once we came near them, they could not stand our arms, and ran in every direction. At this place there are no houses nor inhabitants, but only temporary huts, built by the *Sungei-tenang* people, who come here occasionally to fish. The lake, which is named *Danau-pau*, has a most beautiful appearance, being like a great amphitheatre; surrounded by high and steep mountains covered with forests. It is about two miles in diameter. We occupied some huts built by the enemy. The place is thickly surrounded with bamboos.

Entrenchments attacked and carried.

Motives for returning to the coast.

" In consequence of the number of our sick and wounded, the small strength of coolies to carry their baggage, and the want of medicines and ammunition, as well as of provisions, we thought it advisable to return to *Rantau Kramas*; and to effect this, we were obliged to fling away the mortar-bed, shells, and a number of other things. We marched at noon, and arrived in the evening at the top of the hill where we had before encamped, and remained for the night. 6th. Reached *Rantau Kramas*. 7th. Marching in torrents of rain. People exceedingly harassed, reduced, and emaciated. Relieved by the arrival of *Serampei* people with some provisions from *Ranna Alli*. 8th. After a most fatiguing march, arrived at that place half-dead with damps and cold. The bearers of the litters for the sick were absolutely knocked up, and we were obliged to the sepoys for getting on as we did. Our route was NW. with little variation. 9th. Remained at *Ranna Alli*. This *serampei* village

village consists of about fifteen houses, and may contain an hundred and fifty or two hundred inhabitants. It is thickly planted all round with a tall hedge of live bamboos, on the outside of which *ranjaus* are planted to the distance of thirty or forty feet. Within side of the hedge there is a bamboo *pagar* or paling. It is situated on a steep hill surrounded by others, which in many places are cleared to their tops, where the inhabitants have their *ladangs* or rice plantations. They appeared to be a quiet, inoffensive set of people; their language different from the Malayan, which most of them spoke, but very imperfectly and hardly to be understood by us. On our approach, the women and children ran to their *ladangs*, being, as their husbands informed us, afraid of the sepoys. Of the women whom we saw, almost every one had the *goitres* or swellings under the throat; and it seemed to be more prevalent with these than with the men. One woman in particular had two protuberances dangling at her neck as big as quart bottles. Goitres.

"There are three *dupatis* and four *mantris* to this village, to whom we made presents, and afterwards to the wives and families of the inhabitants. 10th and 11th. Preparing for our march to *Moco-moco*, where we can recruit our force, and procure supplies of stores and ammunition. 12th. Marched in a N. and NW. direction. Passed over a bridge of curious construction across the *Ayer Abu* river. It was formed of bamboos tied together with *iju* ropes, and suspended to the trees, whose branches stretched nearly over the stream. Hanging bridge.

"The *Serampei* women are the worst favoured creatures we ever saw, and uncouth in their manners. Arrived at *Tanjong Kasiri*, another fortified village, more populous than *Ranna Alli*. 13th. The sick and heavy baggage were ordered to *Tanjong Agung*, another *Serampei* village. 14th. Arrived at *Ayer Grau* or *Abu*, a small river, within a yard or two of which we saw columns of smoke issuing from the earth, where there were hot springs of water bubbling up in a number of places. The stream was quite warm for several yards, and the ground and stones were so hot, that there was no standing on them for any length of time. The large pieces of quartz, pumice, and other stones apparently burnt, induce us to suppose there must have formerly been a volcano at this spot, Hot springs.

spot, which is a deep vale, surrounded by high hills. Arrived much fatigued at *Tanjong Agung*, where the head *dupati* received us in his best style. He seemed to know more of European customs and manners than those whom we have hitherto met with, and here, for the first time since quitting the *Ipu* district, we got coconuts, which he presented to us. We saw numbers of cassia-trees in our march to-day. The bark, which the natives brought us in quantities, is sweet, but thick and coarse, and much inferior to cinnamon. This is the last and best fortified village in the *Serampei* country, bordering on the forests between that and *Anak-Sungei*. They have a custom here of never allowing any animal to be killed in any part of the village but the *balei* or town-hall; unless the person wishing to do otherwise consents to pay a fine of one fathom of cotton-cloth to the priest for his permission. The old *dupati* told us there had been formerly a great deal of sickness and bloodshed in the village, and it had been predicted, that unless this custom were complied with, the like would happen again. We paid the fine, had the prayers of the priest, and killed our goats where and as we pleased. 16th. Marched in a south-westerly direction, and, after passing many steep hills, reached the lesser *Ayer Dikit* river, which we crossed, and built our huts on its western bank. 17th. Marched in a west, and afterwards a south, direction; the roads, in consequence of the rain ceasing to-day, tolerably dry and good, but over high hills. Arrived at *Ayer Prikan*, and encamped on its western bank; its course N. and S. over a rough, stony bed; very rapid, and about thirty yards across, at the foot of *Bukit Lintang*. Saw to-day abundance of cassia-trees. 18th. Proceeded to ascend *Bukit Lintang*, which in the first part was excessively steep and fatiguing; our route N. and NW. when descending, SSW. Arrived at one of the sources of the *Sungei-ipu*. Descending still farther we reached a small spring, where we built our huts. 19th. On our march this day we were gratified by the receipt of letters from our friends at Bencoolen, by the way of *Moco-moco*, from whence the Resident, Mr. Russell, sent us a supply of wine and other refreshments, which we had not tasted for fourteen days. Our course lay along the banks of the *Sungei-ipu*, and we arrived at huts prepared for us by Mr. Russell. 20th. At one time our guide lost the proper path, by mistaking for it the track of a rhinoceros (which are in great numbers

Coconuts.

Cassia.

Peculiar regulation.

numbers in these parts), and we got into a place where we were teazed with myriads of leeches. Our road, excepting two or three small hills, was level and good. Reached the confluence of the *Ipu* and *Si Luggan* rivers, the latter of which rises in the *Korinchi* country. Passed *Gunong Payong*, the last hill, as we approached *Moco-moco*, near to which had been a village formerly burnt and the inhabitants made slaves by *Pa Muncha* and the then *tuanku mudo* (son of the sultan). 21st. Arrived at *talang Rantau Riang*, the first *Moco-moco* or *Anak-Sungei* village, where we found provisions dressed for us. At *dusun Si Ballowé*, to which our road lay south-easterly, through pepper and rice plantations, *sampans* were in readiness to convey us down the river. This place is remarkable for an *arau* tree (casuarina), the only one met with at such a distance from the sea. The country is here level in comparison with what we have passed through, and the soil rather sandy, with a mixture of red clay. 22d. The course of the river is SW. and W. with many windings. Arrived at *Moco-moco*.

Description of Moco-moco.

" Fort Ann lies on the southern and the settlement on the northern side of the *Si Luggan* river, which name belongs properly to the place also, and that of *Moco-moco* to a small village higher up. The bazar consists of about one hundred houses, all full of children. At the northern end is the sultan's, which has nothing particular to distinguish it, but only its being larger than other Malay houses. Great quantities of fish are procured at this place, and sold cheap. The trade is principally with the hill-people, in salt, piece-goods, iron, steel, and opium; for which the returns are provisions, timber, and a little gold-dust. Formerly there was a trade carried on with the *Padang* and other *até angin* people, but it is now dropped. The soil is sandy, low, and flat.

Expedition resumed.

" It being still necessary to make an example of the *Sungei-tenang* people for assisting the three hostile chiefs in their depredations, in order thereby to deter others from doing the same in future; and the men being now recovered from their fatigue, and furnished with the requisite supplies, the detachment began to march, on the 9th of February, for *Ayer Dikit*. It now consists of Lieut. Dare, Mr. Alexander, surgeon, seventy sepoys, including officers, twenty-seven lascars and Bengal convicts,

victs, and eleven of the *bugis*-guard. Left the old mortar, and took with us one of smaller calibre. From the 10th to the 22d occupied in our march to the *Serampei* village of *Ranna Alli*. The people of this country acknowledge themselves the subjects of the sultan of *Jambi*, who sometimes, but rarely, exacts a tribute from them of a buffalo, a *tāil* of gold, and an hundred bamboos of rice from each village. They are accustomed to carry burthens of from sixty to ninety pounds weight, on journeys that take them twenty or thirty days; and it astonishes a low-lander to see with what ease they walk over these hills, generally going a shuffling or ambling pace. Their loads are placed in a long, triangular basket, supported by a fillet across the forehead, resting upon the back and back part of the head, the broadest end of the triangle being uppermost, considerably above the head, and the small end coming down as low as the loins. The *Serampei* country, comprehending fifteen fortified and independent *dusuns*, beside *talangs* or small open villages, is bounded on the north and north-west by *Korinchi*, on the east, south-east, and south, by *Pakalang-jambu* and *Sungei-tenang*, and on the west and south-west by the greater *Ayer Dikit* river and chain of high mountains bordering on the *Sungei-ipu* country. 23d. Reached *Rantau Kramas*. Took possession of the batteries, which the enemy had considerably improved in our absence, collecting large quantities of stones; but they were not manned, probably from not expecting our return so soon. 24th. Arrived at those of *Danau-pau*, which had also been strengthened. The roads being dry and weather fine, we are enabled to make tolerably long marches. Our advanced party nearly caught one of the enemy planting *ranjaus*, and in retreating he wounded himself with them. 25th. Passed many small rivulets discharging themselves into the lake at this place. 26th. The officer commanding the advanced party sent word that the enemy were at a short distance a-head; that they had felled a number of trees to obstruct the road, and had thrown an entrenchment across it, extending from one swamp and precipice to another; where they waited to receive us. When the whole of the detachment had come up, we marched on to the attack, scrambled over the trees, and with great difficulty got the mortar over. The first onset was not attended with success, and our men were dropping fast, not being able to advance on account of the *ranjaus*, which almost

Account of Serampei country and people.

Come up with the enemy.

First attack fails.

almost pinned their feet to the ground. Seeing that the entrenchments were not to be carried in front, a *subedar*, with thirty sepoys, and the *bugis*-guard, were ordered to endeavour to pass the swamp on the right, find out a path-way, and attack the enemy on the flank and rear, while the remainder should, on a preconcerted signal, make an attack on the front at the same time. To prevent the enemy from discovering our intentions, the drums were kept beating, and a few random shots fired. Upon the signal being given, a general attack commenced, and our success was complete. The enemy, of whom there were, as we reckon, three or four hundred within the entrenchments, were soon put to the rout, and, after losing great numbers, among whom was the head *dupati*, a principal instigator of the disturbances, fled in all directions. We lost two sepoys killed and seven wounded, beside several much hurt by the *ranjaus*. The mortar played during the time, but is not supposed to have done much execution, on account of the surrounding trees. The entrenchments were constructed of large trees laid horizontally between stakes driven into the ground, about seven feet high, with loop-holes for firing. Being laid about six feet thick, a cannon-ball could not have penetrated. They extended eighty or ninety yards. The head-man's quarters were a large tree hollowed at the root.

Entrenchments carried.

Their construction.

"As soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the killed were buried, we continued our march in an eastern direction, and in about an hour arrived at another battery, which, however, was not defended. In front of this the enemy had tied a number of long, sharp stakes to a stone, which was suspended to the bough of a tree, and by swinging it, their plan was to wound us. Crossed the *Tambesi* rivulet, flowing from south to north, and one of the contributary streams to the *Jambi* river, which discharges itself into the sea on the eastern side of the island. Built our huts near a field of maiz and padi. 27th. Marched to *Koto Tuggoh*, from whence the inhabitants fled on our throwing one shell and firing a few muskets, and we took possession of the place. It is situated on a high hill, nearly perpendicular on three sides, the easiest entrance being on the west, but it is there defended by a ditch seven fathoms deep and five wide. The place contains the *ballei* and about twenty houses, built in general of plank very neatly put together, and carved;

Arrive at a stream running into Jambi river.

Koto Tuggoh.

and some of them were also roofed with planks or shingles, about two feet long and one broad. The others, with the leaves of the *puar* or cardamum, which are again very thinly covered with *iju*. This is said to last long, but harbours vermin, as we experienced. When we entered the village we met with only one person, who was deformed, dumb, and had more the appearance of a monkey than a human creature. March 1st. After completely destroying *Koto Tuggoh*, we marched in a N. and afterwards an E. direction, and arrived at *Koto Bharu*. The head *dupati* requesting a parley, it was granted, and, on our promising not to injure his village, he allowed us to take possession of it. We found in the place a number of *Batang Asei* and other people, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, and spears. At our desire, he sent off people to the other *Sungeitenang* villages, to summon their chiefs to meet us, if they chose to shew themselves friends, or otherwise we should proceed against them as we had done against *Koto Tuggoh*. This *dupati* was a respectable looking old man, and tears trickled down his cheeks when matters were amicably settled between us: indeed, for some time, he could hardly be convinced of it, and repeatedly asked, "Are we friends?" 2d. The chiefs met as desired, and after a short conversation agreed to all that we proposed. Papers were thereupon drawn up, and signed and sworn to under the British colours. After this, a shell was thrown into the air, at the request of the chiefs, who were desirous of witnessing the sight.

Destroyed.

Enter Koto Bharu.

Peace concluded.

Mode of taking an oath.

"Their method of swearing was as follows: The young shoots of the *anau*-tree were made into a kind of rope, with the leaves hanging, and this was attached to four stakes stuck in the ground, forming an area of five or six feet square, within which a mat was spread, where those about to take the oath seated themselves. A small branch of the prickly bamboo was planted in the area also, and benzoin was kept burning during the ceremony. The chiefs then laid their hands on the *korān*, held to them by a priest, and one of them repeated to the rest the substance of the oath, who, at the pauses he made, gave a nod of assent; after which they severally said, "may the earth become barren, the air and water poisonous, and may dreadful calamities fall on us and our posterity, if we do not fulfil what we now agree to and promise."

"We

"We met here with little or no fruit, excepting plantains and pine-apples, and these of an indifferent sort. The general produce of the country was maiz, padi, potatoes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and sugar-canes. The principal part of their clothing was procured from the eastern side of the island. They appear to have no regular season for sowing the grain, and we saw plantations where in one part they had taken in the crop, in another part it was nearly ripe, in a third not above five inches high, and in a fourth they had but just prepared the ground for sowing. Upon the whole, there appeared more cultivation than near the coast. It is a practice with many individuals among these people (as with mountaineers in some parts of Europe) to leave their country in order to seek employment where they can find it, and at the end of three or four years revisit their native soil, bringing with them the produce of their labours. If they happen to be successful, they become itinerant merchants, and travel to almost all parts of the island, particularly where fairs are held, or else purchase a match-lock-gun, and become soldiers of fortune, hiring themselves to whoever will pay them, but always ready to come forward in defence of their country and families. They are a thick, stout, dark race of people, something resembling the Achinese; and in general they are addicted to smoking opium. We had no opportunity of seeing the *Sungei-tenang* women. The men are very fantastical in their dress. Their *bajus* have the sleeves blue, perhaps, whilst the body is white, with stripes of red or any other colour over the shoulders, and their short breeches are generally one half blue and the other white, just as fancy leads them. Others again are dressed entirely in blue cotton cloth, the same as the inhabitants of the west coast. The bag containing their *sirih* or betel hangs over the shoulder by a string, if it may be so termed, of brass-wire. Many of them have also twisted brass-wire round the waist, in which they stick their *krises*. They commonly carry charms about their persons to preserve them from accidents; one of which was shewn to us, printed (at Batavia or Samarang in Java) in Dutch, Portuguese, and French. It purported that the writer was acquainted with the occult sciences, and that whoever possessed one of the papers impressed with his mark (which was the figure of a hand with the thumb and fingers extended) was invulnerable and free from all kinds of harm. It desired the people to be very cautious of taking any such, printed

Account of Sungei-tenang country.

Manners of people.

Charms.

in London (where, certainly, none were ever printed), as the English would endeavour to counterfeit them and to impose on the purchasers, being all cheats. (Whether we consider this as a political or a mercantile speculation, it is not a little extraordinary and ridiculous). The houses here, as well as in the *Serampei* country, are all built on posts of what they call *paku gajah* (elephant-fern, chamærops palma, Lour). a tree something resembling a fern, and when full-grown, a palm-tree. It is of a fibrous nature, black, and lasts for a great length of time. Every *dusun* has a *ballei* or town-hall, about an hundred and twenty feet long and proportionably broad, the wood-work of which is neatly carved. The dwelling-houses contain five, six, or seven families each, and the country is populous. The inhabitants both of *Sungei-tenang* and *Serampei* are Mahometans, and acknowledge themselves subjects of *Jambi*. The former country, so well as we were able to ascertain, is bounded on the N. and NW. by *Korinchi* and *Serampei*, on the W. and SW. by the *Anak-sungei* or *Moco-moco* and *Ipu* districts, on the S. by *Labun*, and on the E. by *Batang Asei* and *Pakalang-jambu*. 3d. Marched on our return to the coast, many of the principal people attending us as far as the last of their plantations. It rained hard almost the whole of this day. On the 14th arrived at *Moco-moco*; on the 22d proceeded for Bencoolen, and arrived there on the 30th March, 1805, after one of the most fatiguing and harassing expeditions any detachment of troops ever served upon; attended with the sickness of the whole of the party, and the death of many, particularly of Mr. Alexander, the surgeon." It is almost unnecessary to observe, that these were the consequences of the extreme impolicy of sending an expedition up the country in the heart of the rainy season. The public orders issued on the occasion were highly creditable to Lieutenant Dare.

Return to the coast.

Malayan States—Ancient Empire of Menangkabau—Origin of the Malays and general acceptation of Name—Evidences of their Migration from Sumatra—Succession of Malayan Princes—Present State of the Empire—Titles of the Sultan—Ceremonies—Conversion to Mahometan Religion—Literature—Arts—Warfare—Government.

I SHALL now take a more particular view of the Malayan states, as distinguished from those of the people termed *orang ulu* or countrymen, and *orang dusun* or villagers, who, not being generally converted to the Mahometan religion, have thereby preserved a more original character. Malayan states.

The principal government, and whose jurisdiction in ancient times is understood to have comprehended the whole of Sumatra, is *Menañgkabau*,[a] situated under the equinoctial line, beyond the western range of high mountains, and nearly in the centre of the island; in which respect it differs from Malayan establishments in other parts, which are almost universally near the mouths of large rivers. The appellations, however, of *orang menañgkabau* and *orang malayo* are so much identified, that previously to entering upon an account of the former, it will be useful to throw as much light as possible upon the latter, and to ascertain to what description of people the name of Malays, bestowed by Europeans upon all who resemble them in features and complexion, properly belongs. Empire of Menangkabau.

It has hitherto been considered as an obvious truth, and admitted without Origin of Malays.

[a] The name is said to be derived from the words *menang*, signifying "to win," and *karbau*, a buffalo; from a story, carrying a very fabulous air, of a famous engagement on that spot between the buffaloes and tigers, in which the former are stated to have acquired a complete victory. Such is the account the natives give; but they are fond of dealing in fiction, and the etymology has probably no better foundat on than a fanciful resemblance of sound.

without examination, that wherever they are found upon the numerous islands forming this archipelago, they, or their ancestors, must have migrated from the country named by Europeans (and by them alone) the Malayan peninsula or peninsula of Malacca, of which the indigenous and proper inhabitants were understood to be Malays; and accordingly in the former editions of this work I spoke of the natives of *Menangkabau* as having acquired their religion, language, manners, and other national characteristics, from the settling among them of genuine Malays from the neighbouring continent. It will, however, appear from the authorities I shall produce, amounting as nearly to positive evidence as the nature of the subject will admit, that the present possessors of the coasts of the peninsula were, on the contrary, in the first instance adventurers from Sumatra, who, in the twelfth century, formed an establishment there, and that the indigenous inhabitants, gradually driven by them to the woods and mountains, so far from being the stock from whence the Malays were propagated, are an entirely different race of men, nearly approaching in their physical character to the negroes of Africa.

Migration from Sumatra.

The evidences of this migration from Sumatra are chiefly found in two Malayan books well known, by character at least, to those who are conversant with the written language, the one named *Taju assalatin* or *Makuta segala raja-raja*, The Crown of all Kings, and the other, more immediately to the purpose, *Sulalat assalatin* or *Penurun-an segala raja-raja*, The Descent of all (Malayan) Kings. Of these it has not been my good fortune to obtain copies, but the contents, so far as they apply to the present subject, have been fully detailed by two eminent Dutch writers, to whom the literature of this part of the East was familiar. Petrus van der Worm first communicated the knowledge of these historical treatises in his learned Introduction to the Malayan Vocabulary of Gueynier, printed at Batavia in the year 1677; and extracts to the same effect were afterwards given by Valentyn in Vol. V. p. 316-20 of his elaborate work, published at Amsterdam in 1726. The books are likewise mentioned in a list of Malayan Authors, by G. H. Werndly, at the end of his *Maleische Spraak-kunst*, and by the ingenious Dr. Leyden in his Paper on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations, recently published in Vol. X. of the Asiatic Researches. The substance

substance of the information conveyed by them is as follows; and I trust it will not be thought that the mixture of a portion of mythological fable in accounts of this nature, invalidates what might otherwise have credit as historical fact. The utmost, indeed, we can pretend to ascertain is, what the natives themselves believe to have been their ancient history; and it is proper to remark, that in the present question there can be no suspicion of bias from national vanity, as we have reason to presume that the authors of these books were not Sumatrans.

The original country inhabited by the Malayan race (according to these authorities) was the kingdom of *Palembang* in the island of *Indalus*, now Sumatra, on the river *Malayo*, which flows by the mountain named *Maha-meru*, and discharges itself into the river *Tatang* (on which *Palembang* stands) before it joins the sea. Having chosen for their king or leader a prince named *Sri Turi Buwana*, who boasted his descent from *Iskander* the Great, and to whom, on that account, their natural chief *Demang Lebar Daun* submitted his authority, they emigrated, under his command, (about the year 1160), to the south-eastern extremity of the opposite peninsula, named *Ujong Tanah*, where they were at first distinguished by the appellation of *orang de-bawah añgin* or the Leeward people, but in time the coast became generally known by that of *Tanah malayo* or the Malayan land.

In this situation they built their first city, which they called *Siñga-pura* (vulgarly Sincapore), and their rising consequence excited the jealousy of the kings of *Maja-pahit*, a powerful state in the island of Java. To *Sri Turi Buwana*, who died in 1208, succeeded *Paduka Pikaram Wira*, who reigned fifteen years; to him *Sri Rama Vikaram*, who reigned thirteen, and to him *Sri Maharaja*, who reigned twelve. His successor, *Sri Iskander Shah*, was the last king of *Siñga-pura*. During three years he withstood the forces of the king of *Maja-pahit*, but in 1252, being hard pressed, he retired first to the northward, and afterwards to the western, coast of the peninsula, where, in the following year, he founded a new city, which under his wise government became of considerable importance. To this he gave the name of *Malaka*, from a fruit-bearing tree so called (myrabolanum) found in abundance on the hill

Singapura built.

Malaka built.

hill which gives natural strength to the situation.* Having reigned here twenty-two years, beloved by his subjects and feared by his neighbours, *Iskander Shah* died in 1274, and was succeeded by Sultan *Magat*, who reigned only two years. Up to this period the Malayan princes were pagans. *Sultan Muhammed Shah*, who ascended the throne in 1276, was the first Mahometan prince, and by the propagation of this faith acquired great celebrity during a long reign of fifty-seven years. His influence appears to have extended over the neighbouring islands of *Liñgga* and *Bintan*, together with *Johor*, *Patani*, *Kedah*, and *Perak*, on the coasts of the peninsula, and *Campar* and *Aru* in Sumatra; all of which acquired the appellative of *Malayo*, although it was now more especially

* The account given by John de Barros of the abandonment of the Malayan city of *Siñgapūra* and foundation of Malacca, differs materially from the above; and although the authority of a writer, who collected his materials in Lisbon, cannot be put in competition with that of Valentyn, who passed a long and laborious life amongst the people, and quotes the native historians, I shall give an abstract of his relation, from the sixth book of the second Decade. "At the period when *Cingapura* flourished, its king was named *Sangesinga*; and in the neighbouring island of *Java* reigned *Parárisá*, upon whose death the latter country became subject to the tyranny of his brother, who put one of his nephews to death, and forced many of the nobles, who took part against him, to seek refuge abroad. Among these was one named *Paramisóra*, whom *Sangesinga* received with hospitality that was badly requited, for the stranger soon found means to put him to death, and by the assistance of the Javans who accompanied him in his flight, to take possession of the city. The king of *Siam*, whose son-in-law and vassal the deceased was, assembled a large force by sea and land, and compelled the usurper to evacuate *Cingapura* with two thousand followers, a part of whom were Cellates (*orang sellat* men of the Straits) accustomed to live by fishing and piracy, who had assisted him in seizing and keeping the throne during five years. They disembarked at a place called *Muar*, an hundred and fifty leagues from thence, where *Pæramisora* and his own people fortified themselves. The Cellates, whom he did not chuse to trust, proceeded five leagues farther, and occupied a bank of the river where the fortress of Malacca now stands. Here they united with the half-savage natives, who, like themselves, spoke the Malayan language, and the spot they had chosen becoming too confined for their increasing numbers, they moved a league higher up, to one more convenient, and were at length joined by their former chief and his companions. During the government of his son, named *Xaquen Darxa* (a strange Portuguese corruption of *Iskander* or *Sekander Shah*) they again descended the river, in order to enjoy the advantages of a sea-port, and built a town, which, from the fortunes of his father, was named *Malacca*, signifying an exile." Every person conversant with the language must know that the word does not bear that nor any similar meaning, and an error so palpable throws discredit on the whole narrative.

especially applied to the people of *Malaka*, or, as it is commonly written, Malacca. He left the peaceful possession of his dominions to his son *Sultan Abu Shahid*, who had reigned only one year and five months, when he was murdered in 1334 by the king of *Arrakan*, with whose family his father had contracted a marriage. His successor was *Sultan Modafar* or *M zafar Shah*, who was distinguished for the wisdom of his government, of which he left a memorial in a Book of Institutes or Laws of *Malaka*, held to this day in high estimation. This city was now regarded as the third in rank (after *Maja-pahit* on Java, and *Pasē* on Sumatra) in that part of the East.

About the year 1340 the king of Siam being jealous of the growing power of *Malaka*, invaded the country, and in a second expedition laid siege to the capital; but his armies were defeated by the general of *Modafar*, named *Sri Nara Dirija*. After these events *Modafar* reigned some years with much reputation, and died in 1374. His son, originally named *Sultan Abdul*, took the title of *Sultan Mansur Shah* upon his accession. At the time that the king of *Maja-pahit* drove the Malays from *Siñga-pura*, as above related, he likewise subdued the country of *Indragiri* in Sumatra; but upon the occasion of *Mansur Shah*'s marriage (about the year 1380) with the daughter of the then reigning king, a princess of great celebrity, named *Radin Gala Chendra Kiran*, it was assigned to him as her portion, and has since continued (according to Valentyn) under the dominion of the princes of *Malaka*. *Mansur* appears to have been engaged in continual wars, and to have obtained successes against *Pahang*, *Pasē*, and *Makasar*. His reign extended to the almost incredible period of seventy-three years, being succeeded in 1447 by his son *Sultan Ala-wa-eddīn*. During his reign of thirty years nothing particular is recorded; but there is reason to believe that his country during some part of that time was under the power of the Siamese. *Sultan Mahmud Shah*, who succeeded him, was the twelfth Malayan king, and the seventh and last king of *Malaka*. In 1509 he repelled the aggression of the king of Siam; but in 1511 was conquered by the Portuguese under Alfonso d' Albuquerque, and forced, with the principal inhabitants, to fly to the neighbourhood of the first Malayan establishment at the extremity of the peninsula, where he founded the city of *Johor*, which still

Johor founded.

still subsists, but has never attained to any considerable importance, owing, as it may be presumed, to the European influence that has ever since, under the Portuguese, Hollanders, and English, predominated in that quarter.[a]

Ancient religion.

With respect to the religion professed by the Malayan princes at the time of their migration from Sumatra, and for about 116 years after, little can be known, because the writers, whose works have reached us, lived since the period of conversion, and as good Mahometans would have thought it profane to enter into the detail of superstitions, which they regard with abhorrence; but, from the internal evidence we can entertain little doubt of its having been the religion of *Brahma*, much corrupted, however, and blended with the antecedent rude idolatry of the country, such as we now find it amongst the *Battas*. Their proper names or titles are obviously *Hindu*, with occasional mixture of Persian, and their mountain of *Maha-meru*, elsewhere so well known as the seat of *Indra* and the *dewas*, sufficiently points out the mythology adopted in the country. I am not aware that at the present day there is any mountain in Sumatra called by that name; but it is reasonable to presume that appellations decidedly connected with Paganism may have been changed by the zealous propagators of the new faith, and I am much inclined to believe, that by the *Maha-meru* of the Malays is to be understood the mountain of *Suñgei-pagu* in the *Menañgkabau* country, from whence issue rivers that flow to both sides of the island. In the neighbourhood of this reside the chiefs of the four great tribes, called *ampat suku* or four quarters,

[a] It was subdued by the Portuguese in 1608. In 1641 Malacca was taken from them by the Hollanders, who held it till the present war, which has thrown it into the possession of the English. The interior boundaries of its territory, according to the Transactions of the Batavian Society, are the mountains of *Rombou*, inhabited by a Malayan people named *Maning Cabou*, and Mount Ophir, called by the natives *Gunong-Ledang*. These limits, say they, it is impracticable for an European to pass, the whole coast, for some leagues from the sea, being either a morass or impenetrable forest; and these natural difficulties are aggravated by the treacherous and blood-thirsty character of the natives. The description, which will be found in Vol. IV. p. 333-4, is evidently overcharged. In speaking of *Johor*, the original emigration of a Malayan colony from Sumatra to the mouth of that river, which gave its name to the whole coast, is briefly mentioned.

quarters, one of which is named *Malayo*, (the others, *Kampi*, *Pani*, and *Tiga-lara*); and it is probable, that to it belonged the adventurers who undertook the expedition to *Ujong Tanah*, and perpetuated the name of their particular race in the rising fortunes of the new colony. From what circumstances they were led to collect their vessels for embarkation at *Palembang* rather than at *Indra-giri* or *Siak*, so much more convenient in point of local position, cannot now be ascertained.

Having proposed some queries upon this subject to the late Mr. Francis Light, who first settled the island of *Pinang* or Prince of Wales island, in the Straits of Malacca, granted to him by the king of *Kedah* as the marriage portion of his daughter, he furnished me, in answer, with the following notices. "The origin of the Malays, like that of other people, is involved in fable; every *raja* is descended from some demi-god, and the people sprung from the ocean. According to their traditions, however, their first city of *Siñga-pura*, near the present *Johor*, was peopled from *Palembang*, from whence they proceeded to settle at Malacca (naming their city from the fruit so called), and spread along the coast. The peninsula is at present inhabited by distinct races of people. The Siamese possess the northern part to latitude 7°, extending from the east to the west side. The Malays possess the whole of the sea-coast on both sides, from that latitude to Point Romania; being mixed in some places with the *Bugis* from Celebes, who have still a small settlement at *Salañgor*. The inland parts to the northward are inhabited by the *Patāni* people, who appear to be a mixture of Siamese and Malays, and occupy independent *dusuns* or villages. Among the forests and in the mountains are a race of Caffres, in every respect resembling those of Africa, excepting in stature, which does not exceed four feet eight inches. The *Menañgkabau* people of the peninsula are so named from an inland country in *Pulo Percha* (Sumatra). A distinction is made between them and the Malays of *Johor*, but none is perceptible."

To these authorities I shall add that of Mr. Thomas Raffles, at this time Secretary to the government of *Pulo Pinang*, a gentleman whose intelligence, and zeal in the pursuit of knowledge, give the strongest hope of his becoming an ornament to oriental literature. To his correspondence

pondence I am indebted for much useful information in the line of my researches, and the following passages corroborate the opinions I had formed. "With respect to the *Menañgkabaus*, after a good deal of inquiry, I have not yet been able decidedly to ascertain the relation between those of that name in the peninsula, and the *Menañgkabaus* of *Pulo Percha*. The Malays affirm without hesitation, that they all came originally from the latter island." In a recent communication he adds, "I am more confident than ever that the *Menañgkabaus* of the peninsula derive their origin from the country of that name in Sumatra. Inland of Malacca about sixty miles is situated the Malay kingdom of *Rumbo*, whose *sultan* and all the principal officers of state hold their authority immediately from *Menañgkabau*, and have written commissions for their respective offices. This shews the extent of that ancient power even now, reduced as it must be, in common with that of the Malay people in general. I had many opportunities of communicating with the natives of *Rumbo*, and they have clearly a peculiar dialect, resembling exactly what you mention of substituting the final *o* for *a*, as in the word *ambo* for *amba*. In fact, the dialect is called by the Malacca people the language of *Menañgkabau*."

History of Menangkabau imperfectly known.

Returning from this discussion, I shall resume the consideration of what is termed the Sumatran empire of *Menañgkabau*, believed by the natives of all descriptions to have subsisted from the remotest times. With its annals, either ancient or modern, we are little acquainted, and the existence of any historical records in the country has generally been doubted; yet, as those of *Malacca* and of *Achin* have been preserved, it is not hastily to be concluded, that these people, who are the equals of the former, and much superior to the latter, in point of literature, are destitute of theirs, although they have not reached our hands. It is known, that they deduce their origin from two brothers, named *Perapati-si-batang* and *Kei Tamañgguñgan*, who are described as being among the forty companions of *Noah* in the ark, and whose landing at *Palembang*, or at a small island near it, named *Lañgka-pura*, is attended with the circumstance of the dry land being first discovered by the resting upon it of a bird that flew from the vessel. From thence they proceeded to the mountain named *Siguntang-guntang*, and afterwards to *Priañgan* in

in the neighbourhood of the great volcano, which at this day is spoken of as the ancient capital of *Menañgkabau*. Unfortunately, I possess only an imperfect abstract of this narrative, obviously intended for an introduction to the genealogy of its kings, but, even as a fable, extremely confused and unsatisfactory; and when the writer brings it down to what may be considered as the historical period, he abruptly leaves off, with a declaration, that the offer of a sum of money (which was unquestionably his object) should not tempt him to proceed.

Limits.

At a period not very remote its limits were included between the river of *Palembang* and that of *Siak*, on the eastern side of the island, and on the western side between those of *Manjuta* (near *Indra-pura*) and *Siñgkel*, where (as well as at *Siak*) it borders on the independent country of the *Battas*. The present seat, or more properly seats of the divided government, lie at the back of a mountainous district named the *Tiga-blas koto* (signifying the thirteen fortified and confederated towns) inland of the settlement of *Padang*. The country is described as a large plain surrounded by hills producing much gold, clear of woods, and comparatively well cultivated. Although nearer to the western coast, its communications with the eastern side are much facilitated by water-carriage.

Lake.

Advantage is taken in the first place of a large lake, called *Laut-danau*, situated at the foot of the range of high mountains named *gunong Besi*, inland of the country of *Priaman*, the length of which is described by some as being equal to a day's sailing, and by others as no more than twenty-five or thirty miles, abounding with fish (especially of two species, known by the names of *sasau* and *bili*), and free from alligators.

Rivers.

From this, according to the authority of a map drawn by a native, issues a river called *Ayer Ambelan*, which afterwards takes the name of *Indragiri*, along which, as well as the two other great rivers of *Siak* to the northward, and *Jambi* to the southward, the navigation is frequent, the banks of all of them being peopled with Malayan colonies. Between *Menañgkabau* and *Palembang* the intercourse must, on account of the distance, be very rare, and the assertion, that in the intermediate country there exists another great lake, which sends its streams to both sides of the island, appears not only to be without foundation in fact, but also at variance with the usual operations of nature; as I believe it may

may be safely maintained, that however numerous the streams which furnish the water of a lake, it can have only one outlet; excepting, perhaps, in flat countries, where the course of the waters has scarcely any determination, or under such a nice balance of physical circumstances as is not likely to occur.

Political decline.

When the island was first visited by European navigators, this state must have been in its decline, as appears from the political importance, at that period, of the kings of *Achin*, *Pedīr*, and *Pasē*, who, whilst they acknowledged their authority to be derived from him as their lord paramount, and some of them paid him a trifling complimentary tribute, acted as independent sovereigns. Subsequently to this an Achinese monarch, under the sanction of a real or pretended grant, obtained from one of the sultans, who, having married his daughter, treated her with nuptial slight, and occasioned her to implore her father's interference, extended his dominion along the western coast, and established his *panglimas* or governors in many places within the territory of *Menangkabau*, particularly at *Priāman*, near the great volcano-mountain. This grant is said to have been extorted, not by the force of arms, but by an appeal to the decision of some high court of justice, similar to that of the imperial chamber in Germany, and to have included all the low or strand-countries (*pasisir barat*) as far southward as *Bengkaulu* or *Silebar*. About the year 1613, however, he claimed no farther than *Padang*, and his actual possessions reached only to *Barus*.[a]

In

[a] The following instances occur of mention made by writers, at different periods, of the kingdom of *Menangkabau*. Qdoardus Barbosa, 1519. "Sumatra, a most large and beautiful island; *Pedir*, the principal city on the northern side, where are also *Pacem* and *Achem*. *Campar* is opposite to Malacca. *Monancabo*, to the southward, is the principal source of gold, as well from mines as collected in the banks of the rivers." De Barros, 1553. "Malacca had the epithet of aurea given to it on account of the abundance of gold brought from *Monancabo* and *Barros*, countries in the island of Camatra, where it is procured." Diogo de Couto, 1600. "He gives an account of a Portuguese ship wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, near to the country of *Manancabo*, in 1560. Six hundred persons got on shore, among whom were some women, one of them, *Dona Francisca Sardinha*, was of such remarkable beauty, that the people of the country resolved to carry her off for their king; and they effected it,

after

In consequence of disturbances that ensued upon the death of a sultan *Alif* in the year 1680, without direct heirs, the government became divided amongst three chiefs, presumed to have been of the royal family and at the same time great officers of state, who resided at places named *Suruwasa*, *Pagar-ruyong*, and *Sungei-trap*; and in that state it continues to the present time. Upon the capture of *Padang* by the English in 1781, deputations arrived from two of these chiefs with congratulations upon the success of our arms; which will be repeated with equal sincerity to those who may chance to succeed us. The influence of the Dutch (and it would have been the same with any other European power) has certainly contributed to undermine the political consequence of *Menangkabau*, by giving countenance and support to its disobedient vassals; who in their turn have often experienced the dangerous effects of receiving favours from too powerful an ally. *Pasaman*, a populous country, and rich in gold, cassia, and camphor, one of its nearest provinces, and governed by a *panglima* from thence, now disclaims all manner of dependance. Its sovereignty

Division of the government.

after a struggle in which sixty of the Europeans lost their lives. At this period there was a great intercourse between *Manancabo* and *Malacca*, many vessels going yearly with gold, to purchase cotton goods and other merchandise. In ancient times the country was so rich in this metal, that several hundred weight (*seis, sete, e mais candil, de que trez fazem hum moyo*) were exported in one season. Vol. III. p. 178. Linschoten, 1601. "At *Menancabo* excellent poniards made, called *creeses*; best weapons of all the orient. Islands along the coast of Sumatra, called islands of *Menancabo*." Argensola, 1609. "A vessel loaded with creeses manufactured at *Menancabo* and a great quantity of artillery; a species of warlike machine known and fabricated in Sumatra many years before they were introduced by Europeans." Lancaster, 1602. "*Menangcabo* lies eight or ten leagues inland of *Priaman*." Best, 1613. "A man arrived from *Menangcaboo* at *Ticoo*, and brought news from *Jambee*." Beaulieu, 1622. "Du coté du ponant après *Padang* suit le royaume de *Manimcabo*; puis celuy d'*Andripoura*——Il y a (à *Jambi*) grand trafic d'or, qu'ils ont avec ceux de *Manimcabo*." Vies des Gouverneurs Gen. Hollandois, 1763. Il est bon de remarquer ici que presque toute la côte occidentale avoit été reduite par la flotte du Sieur *Pierre de Bitter* en 1664. L'année suivante, les habitans de *Pauw* massacrèrent le Commissaire *Gruis*, &c.; mais après avoir vengé ce meurtre, & dissipé les revoltés en 1666, les Hollandois étoient restés les maîtres de toute cette étenduë de côtes entre *Sillebar* & *Baros*, où ils établirent divers comptoirs, dont celui de *Padang* est le principal depuis 1667. Le commandant, qui y réside, est en même tems *Stadhouder* (Lieutenant) de l'Empereur de *Maningcabo*, à qui la Compagnie a cédé, sous diverses restrictions & limitations, la souveraineté sur tous les peuples qui habitent le long du rivage." &c.

vereignty is divided between the two *rajas* of *Sabluan* and *Kanali*, who, in imitation of their former masters, boast an origin of high antiquity. One of them preserves as his sacred relic, the bark of a tree in which his ancestor was nursed in the woods, before the *Pasaman* people had reached their present polished state. The other, to be on a level with him, possesses the beard of a reverend predecessor (perhaps an anchorite), which was so bushy, that a large bird had built its nest in it. *Raja Kanali* supported a long war with the Hollanders, attended with many reverses of fortune.

Whether the three sultans maintain a struggle of hostile rivalship, or act with an appearance of concert, as holding the nominal sovereignty under a species of joint-regency, I am not informed, but each of them in the preamble of his letters assumes all the royal titles, without any allusion to competitors; and although their power and resources are not much beyond those of a common *raja*, they do not fail to assert all the ancient rights and prerogatives of the empire, which are not disputed so long as they are not attempted to be carried into force. Pompous dictatorial edicts are issued, and received by the neighbouring states (including the European chiefs of *Padang*), with demonstration of profound respect, but no farther obeyed than may happen to consist with the political interests of the parties to whom they are addressed. Their authority, in short, resembles not a little that of the sovereign pontiffs of Rome during the latter centuries, founded as it is in the superstition of remote ages; holding terrours over the weak, and contemned by the stronger powers. The district of *Suruwasa*, containing the site of the old capital, or *Menañgkabau* proper, seems to have been considered by the Dutch as entitled to a degree of pre-eminence; but I have not been able to discover any marks of superiority or inferiority amongst them. In distant parts the schism is either unknown, or the three who exercise the royal functions are regarded as co-existing members of the same family, and their government, in the abstract, however insignificant in itself, is there an object of veneration. Indeed, to such an unaccountable excess is this carried, that every relative of the sacred family, and many who have no pretensions to it assume that character, are treated wherever they appear, not only with the most profound respect by the chiefs

chiefs who go out to meet them, fire salutes on their entering the *dusuns*, and allow them to level contributions for their maintenance; but by the country people with such a degree of superstitious awe, that they submit to be insulted, plundered, and even wounded by them, without making resistance, which they would esteem a dangerous profanation. Their appropriate title (not uncommon in other Malayan countries) is *Iäng de per-tūan*, literally signifying "he who ruleth."

A person of this description, who called himself *Sri Ahmed Shah*, heir to the empire of *Menañgkabau*, in consequence of some differences with the Dutch, came and settled amongst the English at Bencoolen in the year 1687, on his return from a journey to the southward as far as *Lampong*, and being much respected by the people of the country, gained the entire confidence of Mr. Bloom, the governor. He subdued some of the neighbouring chiefs who were disaffected to the English, particularly *Raja mudo* of *Sunĝei-lamo*, and also a *Jennang* or deputy from the king of *Bantam*; he coined money, established a market, and wrote a letter to the East India Company promising to put them in possession of the trade of the whole island. But shortly afterwards a discovery was made of his having formed a design to cut off the settlement, and he was in consequence driven from the place. The records mention at a subsequent period, that the sultan of *Indrapura* was raising troops to oppose him.*

His titles.

The titles and epithets assumed by the sultans are the most extravagantly absurd that it is possible to imagine. Many of them descend to

* The following anecdote of one of these personages was communicated to me by my friend, the late Mr. Crisp. "Some years ago, when I was resident of *Manna*, there was a man who had long worked in the place as a *cooley*, when some one arrived from the northward, who happened to discover that he was an *Iäng de per-tuan* or relation of the imperial family. Immediately all the *bazar* united to raise him to honour and independence; he was never suffered to walk without a high umbrella carried over him, was followed by numerous attendants, and addressed by the title of *tuanku*, equivalent to your highness. After this he became an intriguing, troublesome fellow in the Residency, and occasioned much annoyance. The prejudice in favour of these people is said to extend over all the islands to the eastward where the Malay tongue is spoken."

mere childishness; and it is difficult to conceive how any people, so far advanced in civilization as to be able to write, could display such evidences of barbarism. A specimen of a warrant of recent date, addressed to *Tuanku Suñgei-Pagu*, a high-priest residing near Bencoolen, is as follows:

Three circular Seals with inscriptions in Arabic characters.

(Eldest brother)
Sultan of Rum
Key Dummul Alum.
Maharaja Alif.

(Second brother)
Sultan of China
Nour Alum
Maharaja Dempang
or *Dipang*

(Youngest brother)
Sultan of *Menangkabau*
Aour Alum
Maharaja Dirja or *Durja*

Translation of a warrant.

The sultan of *Menañgkabau* whose residence is at *Pagar-ruyong*, who is king of kings; a descendant of raja *Iskander zu'lkarnaini*; possessed of the crown brought from heaven by the prophet Adam; of a third part of the wood *kamat*, one extremity of which is in the kingdom of *Rūm* and another in that of China; of the lance named *lambing lambura* ornamented with the beard of *jañggi*; of the palace in the city of *Rūm*, whose entertainments and diversions are exhibited in the month of *zul'hijah*, and where all *alims*, *fakiahs*, and *mulanakaris* praise and supplicate *Allah*; possessor of the gold-mine named *kudarat-kudarati*, which yields pure gold of twelve carats, and of the gold named *jati-jati* which snaps the *dalik* wood; of the sword named *churak-simandang-giri*, which received one hundred and ninety gaps in conflict with the fiend *Si Katimuno*, whom it slew; of the *kris* formed of the soul of steel, which expresses an unwillingness at being sheathed and shews itself pleased when drawn; of a date coëval with the creation; master of fresh water in the ocean, to the extent of a day's sailing; of a lance formed of a twig of *iju*; the sultan who receives his taxes in gold by the *lessong* measure; whose

betel-stand

betel-stand is of gold set with diamonds; who is possessor of the web named *sañgsista kala*, which weaves itself and adds one thread yearly, adorned with pearls, and when that web shall be completed the world will be no more; of horses of the race of *sorimborani*, superior to all others; of the mountain *Si guntang-guntang*, which divides *Palembang* and *Jambi*, and of the burning mountain; of the elephant named *Hasti Dewah*; who is vicegerent of heaven; sultan of the golden river; lord of the air and clouds; master of a *ballei* whose pillars are of the shrub *jalatang*; of *gandarangs* (drums) made of the hollow stems of the diminutive plants *pulut* and *silosuri*; of the anchor named *paduka jati* employed to recover the crown which fell into the deep sea of *Kulzum*; of the *gong* that resounds to the skies; of the buffalo named *Si Binuwang Sati*, whose horns are ten feet asunder; of the unconquered cock, *Sengunani*; of the coconut-tree which from its amazing height and being infested with serpents and other noxious reptiles, it is impossible to climb; of the blue *champaka* flower, not to be found in any other country than his (being yellow elsewhere); of the flowering shrub named *Srimenjeri*, of ambrosial scent; of the mountain on which the celestial spirits dwell; who when he goes to rest wakes not until the *gandarang nobat* sounds; He the sultan *Sri Maharaja Durja* furthermore declares, &c.[a]

 Probably

[a] The following Letter from the sultan of *Menañgkabau* to the father of the present sultan of *Moco-moco*, and apparently written about fifty years ago, was communicated to me by Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, and though it is in part a repetition, I esteem it too curious to hesitate about inserting it. The style is much more rational than that of the foregoing.

"Praised be Almighty God! Sultan *Gagar Alum* the great and noble King, whose extensive power reacheth unto the limits of the wide ocean; unto whom God grants whatever he desires, and over whom no evil spirit, nor even Satan himself has any influence; who is invested with an authority to punish evil-doers; and has the most tender heart in the support of the innocent; has no malice in his mind, but preserveth the righteous with the greatest reverence, and nourisheth the poor and needy, feeding them daily from his own table. His authority reacheth over the whole universe, and his candour and goodness is known to all men. (Mention made of the three brothers.) The ambassador of God and his prophet Mahomet; the beloved of mankind; and ruler of the island called *Percho*. At the time

Probably no records upon earth can furnish an example of more unintelligible jargon; yet these attributes are believed to be indisputably true, by the Malays and others residing at a distance from his immediate dominions,

time God made the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, and even before evil spirits were created, this sultan *Gagar Alum* had his residence in the clouds; but when the world was habitable, God gave him a bird called *Hocinet*, that had the gift of speech; this he sent down on earth, to look out for a spot where he might establish an inheritance, and the first place he alighted upon was the fertile island of *Lankapura*, situated between *Palembang* and *Jambi*, and from thence sprang the famous kingdom of *Manancabow*, which will be renowned and mighty until the Judgment Day.

"This *Maha Raja Durja* is blessed with a long life, and an uninterrupted course of prosperity, which he will maintain in the name, and through the grace of the holy prophet, to the end that God's divine Will may be fulfilled upon earth. He is endowed with the highest abilities, and the most profound wisdom and circumspection in governing the many tributary kings and subjects. He is righteous and charitable, and preserveth the honour and glory of his ancestors. His justice and clemency are felt in distant regions, and his name will be revered until the last day. When he openeth his mouth he is full of goodness, and his words are as grateful as rose water to the thirsty. His breath is like the soft winds of the heavens, and his lips are the instruments of truth; sending forth perfumes more delightful than benjamin or myrrh. His nostrils breathe ambergrease and musk; and his countenance has the lustre of diamonds. He is dreadful in battle, and not to be conquered, his courage and valour being matchless. He, the sultan *Maha Raja Durja*, was crowned with a sacred crown from God; and possesses the wood called *Kamat*, in conjunction with the emperors of *Rome* and *China*. (Here follows an account of his possessions nearly corresponding to those above recited.)

"After this salutation, and the information I have given of my greatness and power, which I attribute to the good and holy prophet Mahomet, I am to acquaint you with the commands of the sultan whose presence bringeth death to all who attempt to approach him without permission; and also those of the sultan of *Indrapura* who has four breasts. This friendly sheet of paper is brought from the two sultans above named, by their bird *anggas*, unto their son, sultan *Gandam Shah*, to acquaint him with their intention, under this great seal, which is, that they order their son sultan *Gandam Shah* to oblige the English Company to settle in the district called *Biangnur*, at a place called the "field of sheep," that they may not have occasion to be ashamed at their frequent refusal of our goodness, in permitting them to trade with us and with our subjects; and that in case he cannot succeed in this affair, we hereby advise him, that the ties of friendship subsisting between us and our son is broken; and we direct that he send us an answer immediately, that we may know the result—for all this island is our own." It is difficult to determine whether the preamble, or the purport of the letter be the more extraordinary.

dominions, who possess a greater degree of faith than wit; and with this addition, that he dwells in a palace without covering, free from inconvenience. It is at the same time but justice to these people to observe that, in the ordinary concerns of life, their writings are as sober, consistent, and rational as those of their neighbours.

Remarks on warrant.

The seals prefixed to the warrant are, beside his own and that of the emperor of China, whose consequence is well known to the inhabitants of the eastern islands, that of the sultan of *Rūm*, by which is understood in modern times, Constantinople, the seat of the emperor of the Turks, who is looked up to by Mahometans, since the ruin of the *khalifat*, as the head of their religion; but I have reason to think that the appellation of *Rūmi*, was at an earlier period given by oriental writers to the subjects of the great Turkoman empire of the *Seljuks*, whose capital was Iconium or *Kuniyah* in Asia minor, of which the Ottoman was a branch. This personage he honours with the title of his eldest brother, the descendant of *Iskander* the *two-horned*, by which epithet the Macedonian hero is always distinguished in eastern story, in consequence, as may be presumed, of the horned figure on his coins,* which must long have circulated in Persia and Arabia. Upon the obscure history of these supposed brothers some light is thrown by the following legend communicated to me as the belief of the people of *Johor*. "It is related that *Iskander* dived into the sea, and there married a daughter of the king of the ocean, by whom he had three sons, who, when they arrived at manhood, were sent by their mother to the residence of their father. He gave them a *makuta* or crown, and ordered them to find kingdoms where they should establish themselves. Arriving in the straits of *Siñga-pura* they determined to try whose head the crown fitted. The eldest trying first could not lift it to his head. The second the same. The third had nearly effected it, when it fell from his hand into the sea. After this the eldest turned to the west and became king of Rome, the second to the east and became king of China. The third remained at *Johor*.

* See a beautiful engraving of one of these coins preserved in the Bodleian collection, Oxford, prefixed to Dr. Vincent's Translation of the Voyage of Nearchus, printed in 1809.

Johor. At this time *Pulo Percha* (Sumatra) had not risen from the waters. When it began to appear, this king of *Johor*, being on a fishing party, and observing it oppressed by a huge snake named *Si Kati-muno*, attacked the monster with his sword called *Simandang-giri*, and killed it, but not till the sword had received one hundred and ninety notches in the encounter. The island being thus allowed to rise, he went and settled by the burning mountain, and his descendants became kings of *Menangkabau*." This has much the air of a tale invented by the people of the peninsula to exalt the idea of their own antiquity at the expence of their Sumatran neighbours. The blue *champaka*-flower of which the sultan boasts possession, I conceive to be an imaginary and not an existent plant. The late respected Sir W. Jones, in his Botanical Observations printed in the Asiat. Res. Vol. IV. suspects that by it must be meant the Kæmpferia *Bhuchampac*, a plant entirely different from the michelia; but as this supposition is built on a mere resemblance of sounds, it is necessary to state that the Malayan term is *champaka biru*, and that nothing can be inferred from the accidental coincidence of the Sanskrit word *bhu*, signifying "ground," with the English term for the blue colour.

Ceremonies. With the ceremonies of the court we are very imperfectly acquainted. The royal salute is one gun; which may be considered as a refinement in ceremony; for as no additional number could be supposed to convey an adequate idea of respect, but must, on the contrary, establish a definite proportion between his dignity and that of his nobles, or of other princes, the sultan chuses to leave the measure of his importance indefinite by this policy and save his gunpowder. It must be observed, that the Malays are in general extremely fond of the parade of firing guns, which they never neglect on high days, and on the appearance of the new moon, particularly that which marks the commencement and the conclusion of their *puāsa* or annual fast. Yellow being esteemed, as in China, the royal colour, is said to be constantly, and exclusively worn by the sultan and his household. His usual present on sending an embassy, (for no Sumatran, or other oriental, has an idea of making a formal address, on any occasion, without a present in hand, be it never

so trifling) is a pair of white horses; being emblematic of the purity of his character and intentions.

The immediate subjects of this empire, properly denominated Malays, are all of the Mahometan religion, and in that respect distinguished from the generality of inland inhabitants. How it has happened that the most central people of the island should have become the most perfectly converted, is difficult to account for; unless we suppose that its political importance, and the richness of its gold trade, might have drawn thither its pious instructors, from temporal as well as spiritual motives. Be this as it may, the country of *Menañgkabau* is regarded as the supreme seat of civil and religious authority in this part of the East, and next to a voyage to Mecca, to have visited its metropolis, stamps a man learned, and confers the character of superior sanctity. Accordingly the most eminent of those who bear the titles of *imam*, *mulana*, *khatib*, and *pandita*, either proceed from thence, or repair thither for their degree, and bring away with them a certificate or diploma from the sultan or his minister. Conversion to Mahometan religion.

In attempting to ascertain the period of this conversion, much accuracy is not to be expected; the natives are either ignorant on the subject, or have not communicated their knowledge, and we can only approximate the truth, by comparing the authorities of different old writers. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who visited Sumatra under the name of *Java* minor (see p. 6.) says that the inhabitants of the sea-shore were addicted to the Mahometan law, which they had learned from Saracon merchants. This must have been about the year 1290, when, in his voyage from China, he was detained for several months at a port in the Straits, waiting the change of the monsoon; and though I am scrupulous of insisting upon his authority (questioned as it is), yet in a fact of this nature he could scarcely be mistaken, and the assertion corresponds with the annals of the princes of Malacca, which state, as we have seen above, that sultan *Muhammed Shah*, who reigned from 1276 to 1333, was the first royal convert. John De Barros, a Portuguese historian of great industry, says, that according to the tradition of the inhabitants, the city of Malacca was founded about the year 1260, and that about

about 1400 the Mahometan faith had spread considerably there, and extended itself to the neighbouring islands. Diego do Couto, another celebrated historian, who prosecuted his inquiries in India, mentions the arrival at Malacca of an Arabian priest, who converted its monarch to the faith of the khalifs, and gave him the name of *Shah Muhammed*, in the year 1384. This date, however, is evidently incorrect, as that king's reign was earlier by fifty years. Corneille le Brun was informed by the king of *Bantam*, in 1706, that the people of *Java* were made converts to that sect about three hundred years before. Valentyn states, that *Sheik Mulana*, by whom this conversion was effected in 1406, had already disseminated his doctrine at *Achē*, *Pasē* (places in Sumatra) and *Johor*. From these several sources of information, which are sufficiently distinct from each other, we may draw this conclusion, that the religion, which sprang up in Arabia in the seventh century, had not made any considerable progress in the interior of Sumatra earlier than the fourteenth, and that the period of its introduction, considering the vicinity to Malacca, could not be much later. I have been told, indeed, but cannot vouch for its authenticity, that in 1782 these people counted 670 years from the first preaching of their religion, which would carry the period back to 1112. It may be added, that in the island of Ternate, the first Mahometan prince reigned from 1466 to 1486; that Francis Xavier, a celebrated Jesuit missionary, when he was at Amboina in 1546, observed the people then beginning to learn to write from the Arabians; that the Malays were allowed to build a mosque at *Goak* in *Makasar* subsequently to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1512; and that in 1603 the whole kingdom had become Mahometan. These islands lying far to the eastward, and being of less considerable account in that age than subsequent transactions have rendered them, the zeal of religious adventurers did not happen to be directed thither so soon as to the countries bordering on the sea of India.

By some it has been asserted, that the first sultan of *Menañgkabau* was a *Xerif* from *Mecca*, or descendant of the khalifs, named *Paduka Sri Sultan Ibrahim*, who, settling in Sumatra, was received with honour by the princes of the country, *Perapati-si-batang* and his brother, and acquired sovereign authority. They add, that the sultans who now reside at

at *Pagar-ruyong* and at *Suruwasa* are lineally descended from that *Xerif*, whilst he who resides at *Sungei Trap*, styled *Datu Bandhara putih*, derives his origin from *Perapati*. But to this supposition there are strong objections. The idea so generally entertained by the natives, and strengthened by the glimmering lights that the old writers afford us, bespeaks an antiquity to this empire that stretches far beyond the probable era of the establishment of the Mahometan religion in the island. *Radin Tamanggung*, son of a king of *Madura*, a very intelligent person, and who as a prince himself was conversant with these topics, positively asserted to me, that it was an original *Sumatran* empire, antecedent to the introduction of the Arabian faith; instructed, but by no means conquered, as some had imagined, by people from the peninsula. So memorable an event as the elevation of a *Xerif* to the throne would have been long preserved by annals or tradition, and the sultan in the list of his titles would not fail to boast of this sacred extraction from the prophet, to which, however, he does not at all allude; and to this we may add, that the superstitious veneration attached to the family extends itself not only where Mahometanism has made a progress, but also among the *Battas* and other people still unconverted to that faith; with whom it would not be the case, if the claim to such respect was grounded on the introduction of a foreign religion which they have refused to accept.

Perhaps it is less surprising, that this one kingdom should have been completely converted, than that so many districts of the island should remain to this day without any religion whatever. It is observable, that a person of this latter description, coming to reside among the Malays, soon assimilates to them in manners, and conforms to their religious practices. The love of novelty, the vanity of learning, the fascination of ceremony, the contagion of example, veneration for what appears above his immediate comprehension, and the innate activity of man's intellectual faculties, which, spurred by curiosity, prompts him to the acquisition of knowledge, whether true or false—all conspire to make him embrace a system of belief, and scheme of instruction, in which there is nothing that militates against prejudices already imbibed. He

relinquishes no favourite ancient worship to adopt a new; and is manifestly a gainer by the exchange, when he barters, for a paradise and eternal pleasures, so small a consideration as the flesh of his foreskin.

Tolerant principles.

The Malays, as far as my observation went, did not appear to possess much of the bigotry so commonly found amongst the western Mahometans, or to shew antipathy to or contempt for unbelievers. To this indifference is to be attributed my not having positively ascertained whether they are followers of the *sunni* or the *shiah* sect, although from their tolerant principles and frequent passages in their writings in praise of *Ali*, I conclude them to be the latter. Even in regard to the practice of ceremonies, they do not imitate the punctuality of the Arabs and others of the mussulman faith. Excepting such as were in the orders of the priesthood, I rarely noticed persons in the act of making their prostrations. Men of rank, I am told, have their religious periods, during which they scrupulously attend to their duties, and refrain from gratifications of the appetite, together with gambling and cockfighting; but these are not long nor very frequent. Even their great Fast or *puāsa* (the *ramaḍan* of the Turks) is only partially observed. All those who have a regard for character fast more or less, according to the degree of their zeal or strength of their constitutions; some for a week, others for a fortnight; but to abstain from food and betel, whilst the sun is above the horizon, during the whole of a lunar month, is a very rare instance of devotion.

Literature.

Malayan literature consists chiefly of transcripts and versions of the koran, commentaries on the mussulman law, and historic tales both in prose and verse, resembling in some respect our old romances. Many of these are original compositions, and others are translations of the popular tales current in Arabia, Persia, India, and the neighbouring island of Java, where the Hindu languages and mythology appear to have made, at a remote period, considerable progress. Among several works of this description I possess their translation (but much compressed) of the *Ramayan*, a celebrated Sanskrit poem, and also of some of the Arabian stories lately published in France as a Continuation of the "Thousand

"Thousand and one Nights," first made known to the European world by M. Galland. If doubts have been entertained of the authenticity of these additions to his immortal collection, the circumstance of their being (however partially) discovered in the Malayan language, will serve to remove them. Beside these they have a variety of poetic works, abounding rather with moral reflections and complaints of the frowns of fortune or of ill-requited love, than with flights of fancy. The *pantun* or short proverbial stanza has been already described. They are composed in all parts of the island, and often extempore; but such as proceed from *Menañgkabau*, the most favoured seat of the Muses, are held in the first esteem. Their writing is entirely in the modified Arabic character, and upon paper previously ruled by means of threads drawn tight and arranged in a peculiar manner.

Arts. The arts in general are carried, among these people, to a greater degree of perfection, than by the other natives of Sumatra. The Malays are the sole fabricators of the exquisite gold and silver filagree, the manufacture of which has been particularly described: in the country of *Menañgkabau* they have, from the earliest times, manufactured arms for Fire arms. their own use and to supply the northern inhabitants of the island, who are the most warlike; and which trade they continue to this day, smelting, forging, and preparing, by a process of their own, the iron and steel for this purpose; although much is at the same time purchased from Europeans.[a] The use of cannon in this and other parts of India is Cannon. mentioned by the oldest Portuguese historians, and it must consequently have been known there before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Their guns are those pieces called match-locks, the improvement of springs and flints not being yet adopted by them; the barrels are well tempered, and of the justest bore, as is evident from the excellence of their aim, which they always take by lowering, instead of raising the muzzle of the piece to the object. They are wrought by rolling

[a] The principal iron mines are at a place called *Padang Luar*, where the ore is sold at the rate of half a fanam or forty eighth part of a dollar for a man's load, and carried to another place in the *Menañgkabau* country called *Selimpuwong*, where it is smelted and manufactured.

ling a flatted bar of iron, of proportionate dimensions, spirally round a circular rod, and beating it till the parts of the former unite; which method seems preferable, in point of strength, to that of folding and soldering the bar longitudinally. The art of boring may well be supposed unknown to these people. Firelocks are called by them *snapang*, from the Duch name. Gunpowder they make in great quantities, but either from the injudicious proportion of the ingredients in the composition, or the imperfect granulation, it is very defective in strength.

Side-arms. The *tombak*, *lambing*, and *kujur* or *kunjur* are names for weapons of the lance or spear kind; the *pedang*, *rudus*, *pamandap*, and *kalewang* are of the sword kind, and slung at the side; the *siwar* is a small instrument of the nature of a stiletto, chiefly used for assassination; and the *kris* is a species of dagger of a particular construction, very generally worn, being stuck in front through the folds of a belt that goes several times

Kris-blade. round the body. The blade is about fourteen inches in length, not straight, nor uniformly curved, but waving in and out, as we see depicted the flaming swords that guarded the gates of paradise; which probably may render a wound given with it the more fatal. It is not smooth or polished like those of our weapons, but by a peculiar process made to resemble a composition, in which veins of a different metal are apparent. This damasking (as I was informed by the late Mr. Boulton) is produced by beating together steel and iron wire whilst in a state of half fusion, and eating them with acids, by which the softest part is the most corroded; the edges being of pure steel. Their temper is uncommonly hard. The head or haft is either of ivory, the tooth of the *duyong* (sea cow), that of the hippopotamus, the snout of the *ikan layer* (voilier), of black coral, or of fine grained wood. This is ornamented with gold or a mixture of that and copper, which they call *swasa*, highly polished and carved into curious figures, some of which have the beak of a bird, with the arms of a human creature, and bear a resemblance to the Egyptian Isis. The sheath also is formed of some beautiful species of wood, hollowed out, with a neat lacing of split rattan, stained red round the lower parts; or sometimes it is plated with gold. The value of a *kris*, is supposed to be enhanced in proportion to the number of persons it has slain. One that has been the instrument of much blood-

shed

shed is regarded with a degree of veneration as something sacred. The horrour or enthusiasm inspired by the contemplation of such actions, is transferred to the weapon, which accordingly acquires sanctity from the principle that leads ignorant men to reverence whatever possesses the power of effecting mischief. Other circumstances also contribute to give them celebrity, and they are distinguished by pompous names. Some have a cushion by their bedside on which is placed their favourite weapon. I have a manuscript treatise on *krises*, accompanied with drawings, describing their imaginary properties and value, estimated at the price of one or more slaves. The abominable custom of poisoning them, though much talked of, is rarely practised, I believe, in modern times. They are frequently seen rubbing the blades with lime-juice, which has been considered as a precaution against danger of this kind, but it is rather for the purpose of removing common stains, or of improving the damasked appearance.

Modes of warfare.

Although much parade attends their preparations for war and their marches, displaying colours of scarlet cloth, and beating drums, gongs, and *chennangs*, yet their operations are carried on rather in the way of ambuscade, and surprise of straggling parties, than open combat; firing irregularly from behind entrenchments, which the enemy takes care not to approach too near. They are said to go frequently to war on horse-back, but I shall not venture to give their force the name of cavalry. The chiefs may probably avail themselves of the service of this useful animal, from motives of personal indulgence or state, but on account of the *ranjaus* or sharp-pointed stakes, so commonly planted in the passes, (see the preceding journal of Lieut. Dare's march, where they are particularly described), it is scarcely possible that horse could be employed as an effective part of an army. It is also to be observed that neither the natives, nor even Europeans ever shoe them, the nature of the roads in general not rendering it necessary. The breed of them is small, but well made, hardy, and vigorous. The soldiers serve without pay, but the plunder they obtain is thrown into a common stock, and divided amongst them. Whatever might formerly have been the degree of their prowess, they are not now much celebrated for it; yet the Dutch at *Pa-*

Horses.

dang

dang have often found them troublesome enemies, from their numbers, and been obliged to secure themselves within their walls. Between the *Menañgkabau* people, those of *Rau* or *Aru*, and the Achinese, settled at *Natal*, wars used to be incessant until they were checked by the influence of our authority at that place. The factory itself was raised upon one of the breast-works thrown up by them for defence, of which several are to be met with in walking a few miles into the country, and some of them very substantial. Their campaigns, in this petty warfare, were carried on very deliberately. They made a regular practice of commencing a truce at sunset, when they remained in mutual security, and sometimes agreed that hostilities should take place only between certain hours of the day. The English resident, Mr. Carter, was frequently chosen their umpire, and upon these occasions used to fix in the ground his golden headed cane, on the spot where the deputies should meet and concert terms of accommodation; until at length the parties, grown weary of their fruitless contests, resolved to place themselves respectively under the dependance and protection of the company. The fortified villages, in some parts of the country named *dusun*, and in others *kampong*, are here, as on the continent of India, denominated *kota* or forts, and the districts are distinguished from each other by the number of confederated villages they contain.

Government. The government, like that of all Malayan states, is founded on principles entirely feudal. The prince is styled *raja*, *maha-raja*, *iang de pertuan*, or sultan; the nobles, have the appellation of *orang kaya* or *datu*, which properly belongs to the chiefs of tribes, and implies their being at the head of a numerous train of immediate dependants or vassals, whose service they command. The heir-apparent has the title of *raja muda*. From amongst the *orang kayas* the sultan appoints the officers of state, who as members of his council are called *mantri*, and differ in number and authority, according to the situation and importance of the kingdom. Of these the first in rank, or prime minister, has the appellation of *pĕrdana mantri*, *mañgko bumi*, and not seldom, however anomalously, *maharaja*. Next to him, generally, is the *bandhara*, treasurer or high steward; then the *laksamana* and *tamañggung*, commanders in chief

Officers of state.

by

by sea and land, and lastly the *shahbandara*, whose office it is to superintend the business of the customs (in sea-port towns) and to manage the trade for the king. The governors of provinces are named *panglima*, the heads of departments *pangulu*. The *ulubalang* are military officers, forming the body-guard of the sovereign, and prepared on all occasions to execute his orders. From their fighting singly, when required, in the cause of the prince or noble who maintains them, the name is commonly translated "champion"; but when employed by a weak, but arbitrary and cruel prince, to remove by stealth, obnoxious persons whom he dares not to attack openly, they may be compared more properly to the *Ismaelians* or *Assassins*, so celebrated in the history of the Crusades, as the devoted subjects of the *Sheikh al-jabal* or "Old man of the mountain," as this chief of Persian *Irak* is vulgarly termed. I have not reason, however, to believe that such assassinations are by any means frequent. The immediate vassals of the king are called *amba raja*; and for the subjects in general the word *rayet* has been adopted. Beside those above-named, there is a great variety of officers of government of an inferior class; and even among the superior there is not, at every period, nor in every Malayan state, a consistent uniformity of rank and title. The smaller Malayan establishments are governed by their *datus* or heads of tribes, of whom there are generally four; as at Bencoolen (properly *Bengkaulu*) near to which the English settlement of Fort Marlborough is situated, and where Fort York formerly stood. These are under the protection or dominion of two native chiefs or princes, the *pangerans* of *Sungei-lamo* and *Sungei-etam*, the origin of whose authority has been already explained (p. 212). Each of these has possessions on different parts of the river, the principal sway being in the hands of him of the two who has most personal ability. They are constant rivals, though living upon familiar terms, and are only restrained from open war by the authority of the English. *Limun* likewise, and the neighbouring places of *Batang-asei* and *Pakalang-jambu*, near the sources of *Jambi* river, where gold is collected, and carried chiefly to Bencoolen and the settlement of *Laye*, where I had opportunities of seeing the traders, are each governed by four *datus*, who, though not immediately nominated by the sultan, are confirmed by, and pay tribute to, him. The first of these, whose situation is most southerly, receive also an investiture (*baju*, garment,

Government by four datus.

ment, and *destar*, turband), from the sultan of *Palembang*; being a politic measure adopted by these merchants, for the convenience attending it in their occasional trading concerns with that place.

Hot springs. At *Priañgan*, near *Gunong-berapi*, are several hot mineral springs, called in the Malayan map already mentioned, *panchuran tujuh* or the seven conduits, where the natives, from time immemorial, have been in the practice of bathing; some being appropriated to the men, and others to the women; with two of cold water, styled the king's. It will be recollected, that in ancient times this place was the seat of government.

Ancient sculpture. Near to these springs is a large stone or rock of very hard substance, one part of which is smoothed to a perpendicular face of about ten or twelve feet long and four high, on which are engraved characters supposed to be European, the space being entirely filled with them and certain *chaps* or marks at the corners. The natives presume them to be Dutch, but say that the latter do not resemble the present mark of the Company. There is some appearance of the date 1100. The informant (named *Raja Intan*), who had repeatedly seen and examined it, added, that M. Palm, governor of *Padang*, once sent Malays, with paper and paint, to endeavour to take off the inscription, but they did not succeed; and the Dutch, whose arms never penetrated to that part of the country, are ignorant of its meaning. It is noticed in the Malayan map. Should it prove to be a Hindu monument, it will be thought curious.

Kingdoms of Indrapura, Anak-Sungei, Passamman, Siak.

AMONG the earliest dismemberments of the *Menañgkabau* empire, was the establishment of *Indrapura* as an independent kingdom. Though now, in its turn, reduced to a state of little importance, it was formerly powerful, in comparison with its neighbours, and of considerable magnitude, including *Anak-Suñgei*, and extending as far as *Kattaun*. Some idea of its antiquity may be formed from an historical account given by the Sultan of *Bantam* to the intelligent traveller Corneille le Brun, in which it is related, that the son of the Arabian prince who first converted the Javans to the religion of the Prophet, about the year 1400, having obtained for himself the sovereignty of *Bantam*, under the title of *pañgeran*, married the daughter of the *raja* of *Indrapura*, and received as her portion the country of the *Sillabares*, a people of *Banca-houlou*. Upon this cession appears to be grounded the modern claim of the sultan to this part of the coast, which, previously to the treaty of Paris in 1763, was often urged by *his* sovereigns, the Dutch East India Company. His dominion is said, indeed, to have extended from the southward as far as *Urei* river, and at an early period, to *Retta* or *Ayer Etam*, between *Ipu* and *Moco-moco*, but that the intermediate space was ceded by him to the *raja* of *Indrapura*, in satisfaction for the murder of a prince, and that a small annual tax was laid by the latter on the *Anak-suñgei* people, on account of the same murder (being the fourth part of a dollar, a bamboo of rice, and a fowl, from each village), which is now paid to the sultan of *Moco-moco*. In the year 1682 the district of *Ayer Aji* threw off its dependance on *Indrapura*. In 1696 *Raja Pasisir Barat*, under the influence of the Dutch, was placed on the throne, at the age of six years, and his grandfather appointed guardian; but in 1701, in consequence of a quarrel with his protectors, the European settlers were massacred. This was the occasion of a destructive war, in the event of which the *raja* and his *mantris* were obliged to fly, and the country was nearly depopulated. In 1705 he was reinstated, and reigned till about

Indrapura.

Claims of the sultan of Bantam.

War with the Dutch.

Decline of the kingdom.

1732; but the kingdom never recovered the shock it had received, and dwindled into obscurity. Its river, which descends from the mountains of *Korinchi*, is considered as one of the largest in the southern part of the west-coast, and is capable of admitting sloops. The country formerly produced a large quantity of pepper, and some gold was brought down from the interior, which now finds another channel. An English factory was established there about the year 1684, but never became of any importance.

Kingdom of Anak-sungei.

From the ruins of *Indrapura* has sprung the kingdom of *Anak-sungei*, extending, along the sea-coast, from *Manjuta* river to that of *Urei*. Its chief bears the title of sultan, and his capital, if such places deserve the appellation, is *Moco-moco*. A description of it will be found at p. 319. Although the government is Malayan, and the ministers of the sultan are termed *mantri* (a title borrowed from the *Hindus*) the greatest part of the country dependant on it is inhabited by the original *dusun* people, and accordingly their proper chiefs are styled *proattin*, who are obliged to attend their prince at stated periods, and to carry to him their contribution or tax. His power over them, however, is very limited.

The first monarch of this new kingdom was named sultan *Gulemat*, who, in 1695, established himself at *Manjuta*, by the assistance of the English, in consequence of a revolution at Indrapura, by which the prince who had afforded them protection on their first settling, was driven out through the intrigues, as they are termed, of the Dutch. It was a struggle, in short, between the rival Companies, whose assistance was courted by the different factions, as it happened to suit their purpose, or who, becoming strong enough to consider themselves as principals, made the native chiefs the tools of their commercial ambition. In the year 1717 *Gulemat* was removed from the throne by an assembly of the chiefs styling themselves the *mantris* of *Lima-kota* and *proattins* of *Anak-sungei*, who set up a person named *Raja Kechil-besár* in his room, appointing, at the same time, as his minister and successor, *Raja Gandam Shah*, by whom, upon his accession in 1728, the seat of government was removed from *Manjuta* to *Moco-moco*. He was father of sultan *Pasisir Barat shah mualim shah*, still reigning in the year 1780, but harassed

harassed by the frequent rebellions of his eldest son. The space of time occupied by the reigns of these two sovereigns is extraordinary, when we consider that the former must have been at man's estate when he became minister or assessor in 1717. Nor is it less remarkable, that the son of the deposed sultan *Gulemat*, called sultan *Awal ed-dīn*, was also living, at *Tappanuli*, about the year 1780, being then supposed ninety years of age. He was confined as a state prisoner at Madras during the government of Mr. Morse, and is mentioned by Capt. Forrest (Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago, p. 57) as uncle to the king of Achin, who reigned in 1784. The first English settlement at *Moco-moco* was formed in 1717.

Passamman was the most northern of the provinces immediately dependant on *Menañgkabau*, and afterwards, together with *Priaman* and many other places on the coast, fell under the dominion of the kings of *Achin*. It is now divided into two petty kingdoms, each of which is governed by a *raja* and fourteen *pañgulus*. Formerly it was a place of considerable trade, and beside a great export of pepper, received much fine gold, from the mountains of the *Rau* country, lying about three days' journey inland. The inhabitants of these are said to be *Battas* converted to Mahometanism, and mixed with Malays. They are governed by *datus*. The peculiarity of dress remarked of the *Korinchi* people is also observable here, the men wearing drawers, that reach just below the calf, having one leg of red and the other of white or blue cloth, and the *baju* or garment also party-coloured. The greater part of the gold they collect finds its way to *Patapahan* on the river of *Siak*, and from thence to the eastern side of the island and straits of Malacca. The *Agam* tribe adjoining to the *Rau*, and connecting to the southward with *Menañgkabau*, differs little from Malays, and is likewise governed by *datus*. Passamman.

The great river of *Siak* has its source in the mountains of the *Menañgkabau* country, and empties itself nearly opposite to Malacca, with which place it formerly carried on a considerable trade. From the Dutch charts we had a general knowledge of its course as far as a place called *Maudau* or *Mandol*, as they write the name, and where they had Siak.

a small establishment, on account of its abounding with valuable ship-timber. A recent survey executed by Mr. Francis Lynch, under the orders of the government of *Pulo Pinang*, has made us more particularly acquainted with its size, its advantages, and defects. From the place where it discharges itself into the straits of *Kampar* or *Bencalis*, to the town of *Siak*, is, according to the scale of his chart, about sixty-five geographical miles, and from thence to a place called *Pakan bharu* or New-market, where the survey discontinues, is about one hundred more. The width of the river is in general from about three quarters to half a mile, and its depth from fifteen to seven fathoms; but on the bar, at low water, spring-tides, there are only fifteen feet, and several shoals near its mouth. The tides rise about eleven feet at the town, where, at full and change, it is high water at nine A.M. Not far within the river is a small island on which the Dutch had formerly a factory. The shores are flat on both sides to a considerable distance up the country, and the whole of the soil is probably alluvial; but about an hundred and twenty-five or thirty miles up, Mr. Lynch marks the appearance of high land, giving it the name of Princess Augusta Sophia hill, and points it out as a commanding situation for a settlement. He speaks in favourable terms of the facility with which ship timber of any dimensions or shape may be procured and loaded. Respecting the size or population of the town, no information is given. The government of it was (in October, 1808) in the hands of the *Tuanku Panĝeran*, brother to the *Raja*, who, in consequence of some civil disturbance, had withdrawn to the entrance of the river. His name is not mentioned; but from the Transactions of the Batavian Society we learn that the prince who reigned about the year 1780, was *Raja Ismaël*, "one of the greatest pirates in those seas." The maritime power of the kingdom of Siak has always been considerable, and in the history of the Malayan states we repeatedly read of expeditions fitted out from thence making attacks upon *Johor*, *Malacca*, and various other places on the two coasts of the peninsula. Most of the neighbouring states (or rivers) on the eastern coast of Sumatra, from *Langat* to *Jambi*, are said to have been brought, in modern times, under its subjection.

Survey.

Ship-timber.

Government.

Trade. The trade is chiefly carried on by *Kling* vessels, as they are called, from

from the coast of Coromandel, which supply cargoes of piece-goods, and also raw silk, opium, and other articles, which they provide at *Pinang* or Malacca; in return for which they receive gold, wax, sago, salted fish, and fish-roes, elephants' teeth, *gambir*, camphor, rattans, and other canes. According to the information of the natives, the river is navigable for sloops to a place called *Panti Chermin*, being eight days' sail, with the assistance of the tide, and within half a day's journey, by land, of another named *Patapahan*, which boats also, of ten to twenty tons, reach in two days. This is a great mart of trade with the *Menañgkabau* country, whither its merchants resort with their gold. *Pakan-bharu*, the limit of Mr. Lynch's voyage, is much lower down, and the above-mentioned places are consequently not noticed by him. The Dutch Company procured annually from Siak, for the use of Batavia, several rafts of spars for masts, and if the plan of building ships at *Pinang* should be encouraged, large supplies of frame-timber for the purpose may be obtained from this river, provided a sense of interest shall be found sufficiently strong to correct or restrain the habits of treachery and desperate enterprise for which these people have in all ages been notorious.

The river *Rakan*, to the northward of *Siak*, by much the largest in the island, if it should not rather be considered as an inlet of the sea, takes its rise in the *Rau* country, and is navigable for sloops to a great distance from the sea; but vessels are deterred from entering it by the rapidity of the current, or more probably the reflux of the tide, and that peculiar swell known in the Ganges and elsewhere by the appellation of the *bore*. That of *Kampar*, to the southward, is said by the natives to labour under the same inconvenience, and Mr. Lynch was informed that the tides there rise from eighteen to twenty-four feet. If these circumstances render the navigation dangerous, it appears difficult to account for its having been a place of considerable note at the period of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca, and repeatedly the scene of naval actions with the fleets of *Achin*, whilst *Siak*, which possesses many natural advantages, is rarely mentioned. In modern times it has been scarcely at all known to Europeans, and even its situation is doubtful.

Rakan. Kampar.

The

Indragiri. The river of *Indragiri* is said by the natives to have its source in a lake of the *Menañgkabau* country, from whence it issues by the name of *Ayer Ambelan*. Sloops tide it up for five or six weeks (as they assert) anchoring as the ebb begins to make. From a place called *Lubok ramo-ramo* they use boats of from five to twenty tons, and the smaller sort can proceed until they are stopped by a fall or cascade at *Seluka*, on the borders of *Menañgkabau*. This extraordinary distance to which the influence of the tides extend, is a proof of the absolute flatness of the country through which these rivers take the greater part of their course.

Jambi. *Jambi* river has its principal source in the *Limun* country. Although of considerable size, it is inferior to *Siak* and *Indragiri*. At an early stage of European commerce in these parts it was of some importance, and both the English and Dutch had factories there; the former on a small island near the mouth, and the latter at some distance up the river. The town of *Jambi* is situated at the distance of about sixty miles from the sea, and we find in the work of the historian, Faria y Sousa, that in the year 1629, a Portuguese squadron was employed twenty-two days in ascending the river, in order to destroy some Dutch ships which had taken shelter near the town. Lionel Wafer, who was there in 1678 (at which time the river was blockaded by a fleet of *praws* from *Johor*) makes the distance an hundred miles. The trade consists chiefly in gold-dust, pepper, and canes, but the most of what is collected of the first article proceeds across the country to the western coast, and the quality of the second is not held in esteem. The port is therefore but little frequented by any other than native merchants. Sometimes, but rarely, a private trading ship from Bengal endeavours to dispose of a few chests of opium in this, or one of the other rivers; but the masters scarcely ever venture on shore, and deal with such of the Malays as come off to them, at the sword point; so strong is the idea of their treacherous character.

Palembang. The kingdom of *Palembang* is one of considerable importance, and its river ranks amongst the largest in the island. It takes its rise in the district of *Musi*, immediately at the back of the range of hills visible from Bencoolen, and on that account has the name of *Ayer Musi* in the early part of its course, but in the lower, is more properly named the *Tatong*.

Opposite

Opposite to the city of *Palembang* and the Dutch Company's factory it is upwards of a mile in breadth, and is conveniently navigated by vessels whose draft of water does not exceed fourteen feet. Those of a larger description have been carried thither for military purposes (as in 1660, when the place was attacked and destroyed by the Hollanders) but the operation is attended with difficulty on account of numerous shoals. The port is much frequented by trading vessels, chiefly from Java, Madura, Balli, and Celebes, which bring rice, salt, and cloths the manufacture of those islands. With opium, the piece-goods of the west of India, and European commodities, it is supplied by the Dutch from Batavia, or by those who are termed interlopers. These in return receive pepper and tin, which, by an old agreement made with the sultan, and formally renewed in 1777, are to be exclusively delivered to the Company at stipulated prices, and no other Europeans are to be allowed to trade or navigate within his jurisdiction. In order to enforce these conditions, the Dutch are permitted to maintain a fort on the river with a garrison of fifty or sixty men (which cannot be exceeded without giving umbrage), and to keep its own cruizers to prevent smuggling. The quantity of pepper thus furnished was from one to two millions of pounds per annum. Of tin the quantity was about two millions of pounds, one third of which was shipped (at Batavia) for Holland, and the remainder sent to China. It has already been stated, that this tin is the produce of the island of *Bañgka*, situated near the mouth of the river, which may be considered as an entire hill of tin-sand. The works, of which a particular account is given in Vol. III. of the Batav. Trans. are entirely in the hands of Chinese settlers. In the year 1778 the Company likewise received thirty-seven thousand bundles of rattans.

Size of river.

Foreign trade.

Dutch factory.

The lower parts of the country of *Palembang* towards the sea-coast are described as being flat marshy land, and, with the exception of some few tracts, entirely unfit for the purposes of cultivation. It is generally understood to have been all covered by the sea in former ages; not only from its being observed that the strand yearly gains an accession, but also that upon digging the earth at some distance inland, sea-shells, and even pieces of boat-timber, are discovered. The interior or upland districts, on the contrary, are very productive, and there the pepper is cultivated,

Low country.

Interior country.

cultivated, which the king's agent (for trade in these parts is usually monopolized by the sovereign power) purchases at a cheap rate. In return he supplies the country people with opium, salt, and piece-goods, forming the cargoes of large boats (some of them sixty-six feet in length, and seven in breadth, from a single tree) which are towed against the stream. The goods intended for *Passummah* are conveyed to a place called *Muara Mulang*, which is performed in fourteen days, and from thence, by land, to the borders of that country, is only one day's journey. This being situated beyond the district where the pepper flourishes, their returns are chiefly made in *pulas* twine, raw silk in its roughest state, and elephants' teeth. From *Musi* they send likewise sulphur, alum, arsenic, and tobacco. Dragons'-blood and *gambir* are also the produce of the country.

Its trade.

Its government.

These interior parts are divided into provinces, each of which is assigned as a fief or government to one of the royal family or of the nobles, who commit the management to deputies, and give themselves little concern about the treatment of their subjects. The *pañgerans*, who are the descendants of the ancient princes of the country, experience much oppression, and when compelled to make their appearance at court, are denied every mark of ceremonious distinction. The present rulers of the kingdom of *Palembang*, and a great portion of the inhabitants of the city, originally came from the island of *Java*, in consequence, as some suppose, of an early conquest by the sovereigns of *Majapahit*; or, according to others, by those of *Bantam*, in more modern times; and in proof of its subjection, either real or nominal, to the latter, we find in the account of the first Dutch voyages, that "in 1596 a king of *Bantam* fell before *Palembang*, a rebel town of Sumatra, which he was besieging." The Dutch claim the honour of having placed on the throne the family of the reigning sultan (1780), named *Ratu Akhmet Bahar ed-din*, whose eldest son bears the title of *Pañgeran Ratu*, answering to the *Raja muda* of the Malays. The power of the monarch is unlimited by any legal restriction; but not keeping a regular body of troops in pay, his orders are often disregarded by the nobles. Although without any established revenue from taxes or contributions, the profit arising from the trade of pepper and tin (especially the latter) is so great, and the consequent

Settlers from Java.

Royal family.

sequent influx of silver, without any apparent outlet, so considerable, that he must necessarily be possessed of treasure to a large amount. The customs on merchandize imported remain in the hands of the *shabhandaras*, who are required to furnish the king's household with provisions and other necessaries. The domestic attendants on the prince are for the most part females.

The currency of the country and the only money allowed to be received at the king's treasury is Spanish dollars; but there is also in general circulation a species of small base coin, issued by royal authority, and named *pitis*. These are cut out of plates composed of lead and tin, and having a square hole in the middle (like the Chinese *cash*), are strung in parcels of five hundred each, sixteen of which (according to the Batav. Trans.) are equivalent to the dollar. In weighing gold the *tāil* is considered as the tenth part of the *katti* (of a pound and a third), or equal to the weight of two Spanish dollars and a quarter. Currency.

The city is situated in a flat marshy tract, a few miles above the *delta* of the river, about sixty miles from the sea, and yet so far from the mountains of the interior that they are not visible. It extends about eight miles along both banks, and is mostly confined to them and to the creeks which open into the river. The buildings, with the exception of the king's palace and mosque, being all of wood or bamboos, standing on posts, and mostly covered with thatch of palm-leaves, the appearance of the place has nothing to recommend it. There are also a great number of floating habitations, mostly shops, upon bamboo-rafts moored to piles, and when the owners of these are no longer pleased with their situation, they remove upwards or downwards, with the tide, to one more convenient. Indeed, as the nature of the surrounding country, being overflowed in high tides, scarcely admits of roads, almost all communication is carried on by means of boats, which accordingly are seen moving by hundreds in every direction, without intermission. The *dalam* or palace being surrounded by a high wall, nothing is known to Europeans of the interior, but it appears to be large, lofty, and much ornamented on the outside. Immediately adjoining to this wall, on the lower side, is a strong, square, roofed battery, commanding the river, City.

and below it another; on both of which many heavy cannon are mounted, and fired on particular occasions. In the interval between the two batteries is seen the *meidan* or plain, at the extremity of which appears the *balērong* or hall where the sultan gives audience in public. This is an ordinary building, and serving occasionally for a warehouse, but ornamented with weapons arranged along the walls. The royal mosque stands behind the palace, and from the style of architecture seems to have been constructed by an European. It is an oblong building, with glazed windows, pilasters, and a cupola. The burial-place of these sovereigns is at old *Palembang*, about a league lower down the river, where the ground appears to be somewhat raised, from having long been the site of habitations.

Encouragement to foreigners.

The policy of these princes, who were themselves strangers, having always been to encourage foreign settlers, the city and lower parts of the river are in a great measure peopled with natives of China, Cochinchina, Camboja, Siam, Patani on the coast of the peninsula, Java, Celebes, and other eastern places. In addition to these, the Arabian priests are described by the Dutch as constituting a very numerous and pernicious tribe, who, although in the constant practice of imposing upon and plundering the credulous inhabitants, are held by them in the utmost reverence. The Mahometan religion prevails throughout all the dominions of the sultan, with the exception of a district near the sea-coast, called *Salang*, where the natives, termed *orang kubu*, live in the woods like wild animals. The literature of the country is said to be confined to the study of the *koran*, but opinions of this kind I have found in other instances to be too hastily formed, or by persons not competent to obtain the necessary information. The language of the king and his court is the high dialect of the Javan, mixed with some foreign idioms. In the general intercourse with strangers the conversation is always in Malayan, with the pronunciation (already noticed) of the final *o* for *a*. Amongst the people of *Palembang* themselves this language (the character of which they employ) is mixed with the common Javan. The Dutch, on whom we must rely for an account of the manners and disposition of these people, and which will be found in Vol. III. p. 122. of the Batav. Trans. describe those of the low country as devoid of every good

Religion.

Language.

Character of inhabitants.

good quality, and imbued with every bad one; whilst those of the interior are spoken of as a dull, simple people, who shew much forbearance under oppression;* but it is acknowledged that of these last they have little knowledge, owing to the extreme suspicion and jealousy of the government, which takes alarm at any attempt to penetrate into the country.

Interior country visited by English.

This inland district having been visited only by two servants of the English East India Company who have left any record of their journies, I shall extract from their narratives such parts as serve to throw a light upon its geography. The first of these was Mr. Charles Miller, who, on the 19th of September, 1770, proceeded from Fort Marlborough to *Bentiring* on the Bencoolen river, thence to *Pagar-raddin*, *Kadras*, *Gunong Raja*, *Gunong Ayu*, *Kalindang*, and *Jambu*, where he ascended the hills forming the boundary of the Company's district, which he found covered with lofty trees. The first *dusun* on the other side is named *Kalubar*, and situated on the banks of the river *Musi*. From thence his route lay to places called *Kapiyong* and *Parahmu*, from all of which the natives carry the produce of their country to *Palembang* by water. The setting in of the rains and difficulties raised by the guides prevented him from proceeding to the country where the Cassia is cut, and occasioned his return towards the hills, on the 10th of October, stopping at *Tabat Bubut*. The land in the neighbourhood of the *Musi*, he describes as being level, the soil black and good, and the air temperate. It was his intention to have crossed the hills to *Ranne-lebar*, on the 11th, but missing the road in the woods, reached next day, *Beyol Bagus*, a *dusun* in the Company's district, and thence proceeded to *Gunong Raja*, his way lying partly down a branch of the Bencoolen river, called *Ayer Bagus*, whose bed is formed of large pebble-stones, and partly through a level

* A ridiculous story is told of a custom amongst the inhabitants of a province named *Blida*, which I should not repeat but for its whimsical coincidence with a *jeu d'esprit* of our celebrated Swift. When a child is born there (say the Palembangers), and the father has any doubts about the honesty of his wife, he puts it to the proof by tossing the infant into the air, and catching it on the point of a spear. If no wound is thereby inflicted, he is satisfied of its legitimacy, but if otherwise, he considers it as spurious.

country, entirely covered with lofty bamboos. From *Gunong Raja* he returned down Bencoolen river, on a bamboo-raft, to *Bentiring*, and reached Fort Marlborough on the 18th of October. The other traveller, Mr. Charles Campbell, in a private letter, dated March, 1802, (referring me, for more detailed information, to journals which have not reached my hand) says,—" We crossed the hills nearly behind the Sugar-loaf, and entered the valley of *Musi*. Words cannot do justice to the picturesque scenery of that romantic and delightful country, locked in on all sides by lofty mountains, and watered by the noble river here navigable for very large canoes, which, after receiving the *Lamatang* and several other streams, forms the *Palembang*. Directing our course behind the great hill of *Sungei-lamo*, we in three days discovered *Labun*, and crossed some considerable streams discharging themselves into the river of *Kattaun*. Our object there being completed, we returned along the banks of the *Musi* nearly to the *dusun* of *Kalubat*, at which place we struck into the woods, and, ascending the mountain, reached towards evening a village high up on the Bencoolen river. There is but a single range, and it is a fact, that from the navigable part of the *Musi* river to a place on that of Bencoolen where rafts and *sampans* may be used, is to the natives a walk of no more than eight hours. *Musi* is populous, well cultivated, and the soil exceedingly rich. The people are stout, healthy-looking, and independent in their carriage and manners, and were to us courteous and hospitable. They acknowledge no superior authority, but are often insulted by predatory parties from *Palembang*." These freebooters would perhaps call themselves collectors of tribute. It is much to be regretted, that little political jealousies and animosities between the European powers whose influence prevails on each side of the island, prevent further discoveries of the course of this considerable river.

The

The Country of the Battas—Tappanuli-bay—Journey into the Interior—Cassia-trees—Governments—Arms—Warfare—Trade—Fairs—Food—Manners—Language—Writing—Religion—Funerals—Crimes—Extraordinary Custom.

ONE of the most considerable distinctions of people in the island, and by many regarded as having the strongest claims to originality, is the nation of the *Battas* (properly *Batak*), whose remarkable dissimilitude to the other inhabitants, in the genius of their customs and manners, and especially in some extraordinary usages, renders it necessary that a particular degree of attention should be paid to their description. Battas.

This country is bounded on the north by that of *Achin*, from which it is separated by the mountains of *Papa* and *Deira*, and on the south by the independent district of *Rau* or *Rawa*; extending along the sea-coast on the western side, from the river of *Siñgkel* to that of *Tubuyong*, but inland, to the back of *Ayer Bañgis*, and generally across the island, which is narrow in that part, to the eastern coast; but more or less encroached upon by the Malayan and Achinese establishments in the most convenient maritime situations, for the purposes of their commerce. It is very populous, and chiefly in the central parts, where are extensive, open or naked plains, on the borders (as it is said) of a great lake; the soil fertile, and cultivation so much more prevalent than in the southern countries, which are mostly covered with woods; that there is scarcely a tree to be seen excepting those planted by the natives about their villages, which are not, as elsewhere, on the banks of rivers, but wherever a strong situation presents itself. Water, indeed, is not so abundant as to the southward, which may be attributed to the comparatively level surface, the chain of high mountains which extends northwards from the straits of Sunda through the interior of the island, in a great measure terminating with *gunong Passummah* or Mount Ophir. About the bay of *Tappanuli*, however, the land is high and wooded near the coast. Situation of the country.

The

Its divisions. The *Batta* territory is divided (according to the information obtained by the English Residents) into the following principal districts; *Ankola*, *Padambola*, *Mandiling*, *Toba*, *Selindong*, and *Siñgkel*, of which the first has five, the third three, and the fourth five subordinate tribes. According to the Dutch account published in the Transactions of the Batav. Society, which is very circumstantial, it is divided into three small kingdoms. One of these named *Simamora* is situated far inland, and contains a number of villages, and among others those named *Batong*, *Ria*, *Allas*, *Batadera*, *Kapkap* (where the district producing benzoin commences), *Batahol*, *Kotta-tiñggi* (the place of the king's residence), with two places lying on the eastern coast called *Suitara-male* and *Jambu-ayer*. This kingdom is said to yield much fine gold, from the mines of *Batong* and *Sunayang*. *Bata-salindong* also contains many districts, in some of which benzoin, and in others fine gold, is collected. The residence of the king is at *Salindong*. *Bata-gopit* lies at the foot of a volcano-mountain of that name, from whence, at the time of an eruption, the natives procure sulphur, to be afterwards employed in the manufacture of gunpowder. The little kingdom of *Butar* lies north-eastward of the preceding, and reaches to the eastern coast, where are the places named *Pulo Serony* and *Batu Bara*; the latter enjoying a considerable trade; also *Longtong* and *Sirigar*, at the mouth of a great river named *Assahan*. *Butar* yields neither camphor, benzoin, nor gold, and the inhabitants support themselves by cultivation. The residence of the king is at a town of the same name. High up on the river of *Batu Bara*, which empties itself into the straits of Malacca, is found a large brick building, concerning the erection of which no tradition is preserved amongst the people. It is described as a square, or several squares, and at one corner is an extremely high pillar, supposed by them to have been designed for carrying a flag. Images, or reliefs, of human figures are carved in the walls, which they conceive to be Chinese (perhaps Hindu) idols. The bricks, of which some were brought to *Tappanuli*, are of a smaller size than those used by the English.

Ancient building.

Singkel. *Siñgkel* river, by much the largest on the western coast of the island, has its rise in the distant mountains of *Daholi*, in the territory of *Achin*, and at the distance of about thirty miles from the sea, receives the waters of

of the *Sikere*, at a place called *Pomoko*, running through a great extent of the Batta country. After this junction it is very broad, and deep enough for vessels of considerable burden, but the bar is shallow and dangerous, having no more than six feet at low water spring-tides, and the rise is also six feet. The breadth here is about three quarters of a mile. Much of the lower parts of the country through which it has its course is overflowed during the rainy season, but not at two places, called by Capt. Forrest *Rambong* and *Jambong*, near the mouth. The principal town lies forty miles up the river, on the northern branch. On the southern is a town named *Kiking*, where more trade is carried on by the Malays and Achinese, than at the former, the *Samponan* or *Papa* mountains producing more benzoin than those of *Daholi*. It is said in a Dutch manuscript, that in three days' navigation above the town of *Siñgkel* you come to a great lake, the extent of which is not known.

Barus, the next place of any consequence to the southward, is chiefly remarkable for having given name throughout the East to the *Kapur-barus* or native camphor, as it is often termed, to distinguish it from that which is imported from Japan and China, as already explained. This was the situation of the most remote of the Dutch factories, long since withdrawn. It is properly a Malayan establishment, governed by a *raja*, a *bandhara*, and eight *pañgulus*, and with this peculiarity, that the *rajas* and *bandharas* must be alternately and reciprocally of two great families, named *Dulu* and *D'ilhir*. The assumed jurisdiction is said to have extended formerly to Natal. The town is situated about a league from the coast, and two leagues farther inland are eight small villages inhabited by *Battas*, the inhabitants of which purchase the camphor and benzoin from the people of the *Djri* mountains, extending from the southward of *Siñgkel* to the hill of *Lasa*, behind *Barus*, where the *Tobat* district commences

Tappanuli.

The celebrated bay of *Tappanuli* stretches into the heart of the *Batta* country, and its shores are every-where inhabited by that people, who barter the produce of their land for the articles they stand in need of from abroad, but do not themselves make voyages by sea. Navigators assert, that the natural advantages of this bay are scarcely surpassed in any other

other part of the globe; that all the navies of the world might ride there with perfect security in every weather; and that such is the complication of anchoring-places within each other, that a large ship could be so hid in them, as not to be found without a tedious search. At the island of *Punchong kech il*, on which our settlement stands, it is a common practice to moor the vessels by a hawser to a tree on shore. Timber for masts and yards is to be procured in the various creeks with great facility. Not being favourably situated with respect to the general track of outward and homeward-bound shipping, and its distance from the principal seat of our important Indian concerns being considerable, it has not hitherto been much used for any great naval purposes; but at the same time our government should be aware of the danger that might arise from suffering any other maritime power to get footing in a place of this description. The natives are in general inoffensive, and have given little disturbance to our establishments; but parties of *Achinese* traders (without the concurrence or knowledge, as there is reason to believe, of their own government), jealous of our commercial influence, long strove to drive us from the bay, by force of arms, and we were under the necessity of carrying on a petty warfare for many years, in order to secure our tranquillity. In the year 1760 *Tappanuli* was taken by a squadron of French ships under the command of the Comte d' Estaing; and in October, 1809, being nearly defenceless, it was again taken by the Créole French frigate, Capt. Ripaud, joined afterwards by the Venus and La Manche, under the orders of Commodore Hamelin. By the terms of the surrender private property was to be secured, but in a few days, after the most friendly assurances had been given to the acting resident, with whom the French officers were living, this engagement was violated, under the ill-founded pretence that some gold had been secreted, and every thing belonging to the English gentlemen and ladies, as well as to the native settlers, was plundered or destroyed by fire, with circumstances of atrocity and brutality that would have disgraced savages. The garden-house of the chief (Mr. Prince, who happened to be then absent from *Tappanuli*) at *Batu-buru* on the main was likewise burned, together with his horses, and his cattle were shot at and maimed. Even the books of accounts, containing the statement of outstanding debts due to the trading-concern of the place were, in spite of every entreaty, maliciously

maliciously destroyed or carried off, by which an irreparable loss, from which the enemy could not derive a benefit, is sustained by the unfortunate sufferers. It cannot be supposed that the government of a great and proud empire can give its sanction to this disgraceful mode of carrying on war.

In the Phil. Transact. for the year 1778, is a brief account of the *Batta* country and the manners of its inhabitants, extracted from the private letters of Mr. Charles Miller, the Company's botanist, whose observations I have had repeated occasion to quote. I shall now communicate to the reader the substance of a report made by him of a journey performed in company with Mr. Giles Holloway, then resident of *Tappanuli*, through the interior of the country of which we are now speaking, with a view to explore its productions, particularly the Cassia, which at that time was thought likely to prove an object of commerce worthy of attention.

Mr. Miller's journey into the country.

" Previously," says Mr. Miller, " to our setting out on this journey, we consulted people who had formerly been engaged in the cassia-trade, with regard to the most proper places to visit. They informed us that the trees were to be found in two different districts; viz. in the inland parts to the northward of the old settlement at *Tappanuli*; and also in the country of *Padambola*, which lies between fifty and sixty miles more to the southward. They advised us to prefer going into the *Padambola* country, although the more distant, on account of the inhabitants of the *Tappanuli* country (as they represented) being frequently troublesome to strangers. They also told me there were two kinds of the *kulit manis*, the one of which, from their account of it, I was in hopes might prove to be the true cinnamon-tree.

" June 21st, 1772. We set out from *Pulo Punchong*, and went in boats to the quallo (mouth or entrance) of *Pinang Suyi* river, which is in the bay, about ten or twelve miles south-east of *Punchong*. Next morning we went up the river in sampans, and in about six hours arrived at a place called quallo *Lumut*. The whole of the land on both sides of the river is low, covered with wood, and uninhabited. In these

woods I observed camphor trees, two species of oak, *maranti*, *rañgi*, and several other timber-trees. About a quarter of a mile from that place, on the opposite side of the river, is a *Batta kampong*, situated on the summit of a regular and very beautiful little hill, which rises in a pyramidical form, in the middle of a small meadow. The *raja* of this *kampong* being informed by the Malays that we were at their houses, came over to see us, and invited us to his house, where we were received with great ceremony, and saluted with about thirty guns. This *kampong* consists of about eight or ten houses, with their respective *padi*-houses. It is strongly fortified with a double fence of strong, rough camphor planks, driven deep into the earth, and about eight or nine feet high, so placed, that their points project considerably outward. These fences are about twelve feet asunder, and in the space between them the buffaloes are kept at night. Without-side these fences they plant a row of a prickly kind of *bamboo*, which forms an almost impenetrable hedge, from twelve to twenty feet thick. In the *sapiyau* or building in which the *raja* receives strangers, we saw a man's skull hanging up, which he told us was hung there as a trophy, it being the skull of an enemy they had taken prisoner, whose body (according to the custom of the *Battas*) they had eaten about two months before. June 23d. We walked through a level woody country to the *kampong* of *Lumut*, and next day to *Satarong*, where I observed several plantations of benzoin trees, some cotton, indigo, turmeric, tobacco, and a few pepper-vines. We next proceeded to *Tappolen*, to *Sikia*, and to *Sa-pisang*. This last is situated on the banks of *Batang-tara* river, three or four days' journey from the sea; so that our course had hitherto been nearly parallel to the coast.

"July 1st. We left *Sa-pisang* and took a direction towards the hills, following nearly the course of the *Batang-tara*. We travelled all this day through a low, woody, and entirely uncultivated country, which afforded nothing worthy of observation. Our guide had proposed to reach a *kampong*, called *Lumbu*, but missing the road, we were obliged to wade up the river between four and five miles, and at length arrived at a *ladang* extremely fatigued; where the badness of the weather obliged us to stop, and take up our quarters in an open *padi*-shed. The next

next day the river was so swelled by the heavy rain which had fallen the preceding day, that we could not prosecute our journey, and were obliged to pass it and the remaining night in the same uncomfortable situation. (This is the middle of the dry season in the southern parts of the island.) July 3d. We left the *ladang*, and walked through a very irregular and uninhabited tract, full of rocks and covered with woods. We this day crossed a ridge of very steep and high hills, and in the afternoon came to an inhabited and well cultivated country, on the edge of the plains of *Ancola*. We slept this night in a small open shed, and next day proceeded to a *kampong*, called *Koto Lambong*. July 5th. Went through a more open and very pleasant country to *Terimbaru*, a large *kampong* on the southern edge of the plains of *Ancola*. The land hereabout is entirely clear of wood, and either ploughed and sown with *padi* or *jagong* (maiz), or used as pasture for their numerous herds of buffaloes, kine, and horses. The *raja* being informed of our intentions to come there, sent his son, and between thirty and forty men, armed with lances and match-lock guns, to meet us, who escorted us to their *kampong*, beating gongs and firing their guns all the way. The *raja* received us in great form, and with civility ordered a buffalo to be killed, detained us a day, and when we proceeded on our journey, sent his son with a party to escort us. I observed that all the unmarried women wore a great number of tin rings in their ears (some having fifty in each ear;) which circumstance, together with the appearance of the country, seemed to indicate its abounding with minerals; but on making inquiry, I found that the tin was brought from the straits of Malacca. Having made the accustomed presents to the *raja*, we left *Terimbaru*, July 7th, and proceeded to *Sa-masam*, the *raja* of which place, attended by sixty or seventy men, well armed, met us and conducted us to his *kampong*, where he had prepared a house for our reception, treating us with much hospitality and respect. The country round *Sa-masam* is full of small hills, but clear of wood, and mostly pasture ground for their cattle, of which they have great abundance. I met with nothing remarkable here excepting a prickly shrub, called by the natives *Andalimon*, the seed-vessels and leaves of which have a very agreeable spicy taste, and are used by them in their curries.

" July 10th. Proceeded on our journey to *Batang Onan*, the *kampong* where the Malays used to purchase the cassia from the *Battas*. After about three hours walk over an open hilly country, we again came into thick woods, in which we were obliged to pass the night. The next morning we crossed another ridge of very high hills, covered entirely with woods. In these we saw the wild benzoin-tree. It grows to a much larger size than the cultivated kind, and yields a different sort of resin, called *kaminian dulong* or sweet-scented benzoin. It differs in being commonly in more detached pieces, and having a smell resembling that of almonds when bruised. Arrived at *Batang Onan* in the afternoon. This *kampong* is situated in a very extensive plain, on the banks of a large river which empties itself into the straits of Malacca, and is said to be navigable for sloops to within a day's journey of *Batang Onan*. July 11th. Went to *Panka-dulut*, the *raja* of which place claims the property of the cassia-trees, and his people used to cut and cure the bark, and transport it to the former place. The nearest trees are about two hours walk from *Panka-dulut*, on a high ridge of mountains. They grow from forty to sixty feet high, and have large spreading heads. They are not cultivated, but grow in the woods. The bark is commonly taken from the bodies of the trees of a foot or foot and half diameter; the bark being so thin, when the trees are younger, as to lose all its qualities very soon. I here inquired for the different sorts of cassia-tree of which I had been told, but was now informed that there was only one sort, and that the difference they mentioned was occasioned entirely by the soil and situation in which the trees grow; that those which grow in a rocky, dry soil, have red shoots, and their bark is of superior quality to that of trees which grow in moist clay, whose shoots are green. I also endeavoured to get some information with regard to their method of curing and quilling the cassia, and told them my intentions of trying some experiments towards improving its quality and rendering it more valuable. They told me that none had been cut for two years past, on account of a stop being put to the purchases at *Tappanuli*; and that if I was come with authority to open the trade, I should call together the people of the neighbouring *kampongs*, kill a buffalo for them, and assure them publicly that the cassia would be again received; in which case they

Cassia-trees.

they would immediately begin to cut and cure it, and would willingly follow any instructions I should give them; but that otherwise they would take no trouble about it. I must observe, that I was prevented from getting so satisfactory an account of the cassia as I could have wished, by the ill-behaviour of the person who accompanied us as guide, from whom, by his thorough knowledge of the country, and of the cassia-trade, of which he had formerly been the chief manager, we thought we had reason to expect all requisite assistance and information, but who not only refused to give it, but prevented as much as possible our receiving any from the country people. July 14th. We left *Batang Onan* in order to return, stopped that night at a *kampong* called *Koto Moran*, and the next evening reached *Sa-masam*; from whence we proceeded, by a different road from what we had travelled before, to *Sapisang*, where we procured *sampans*, and went down the *Batang-tara* river to the sea. July 22d we returned to *Pulo Punchong*."

It has since been understood that they were intentionally misled, and taken by a circuitous route, to prevent their seeing a particular *kampong* of some consideration, at the back of *Tappanuli*, or for some other interested object. Near the latter place, on the main, Mr. John Marsden, who went thither to be present at the funeral of one of their chiefs, observed two old monuments in stone, one the figure of a man, the other of a man on an elephant; tolerably well executed, but they know not by whom, nor is there any among them who could do the same work now. The features were strongly *Batta*.

Our settlement at Natal (properly *Natar*), some miles to the south of the large river of *Tabuyong*, and on the confines of the *Batta* country, which extends at the back of it, is a place of much commerce, but not from its natural or political circumstances of importance in other respects. It is inhabited by settlers there, for the convenience of trade, from the countries of *Achin*, *Rau*, and *Menangkabau*, who render it populous and rich. Gold, of very fine quality, is procured from the country (some of the mines being said to lie within ten miles of the factory), and there is a considerable vent for imported goods, the returns for which are chiefly made in that article and camphor. Like other Malayan

Natal.

Malayan towns it is governed by *datus*, the chief of whom, styled *datu besár* or chief magistrate, has considerable sway; and although the influence of the Company is here predominant, its authority is by no means so firmly established as in the pepper-districts to the southward; owing to the number of people, their wealth, and enterprising, independent spirit.* It may be said, that they are rather managed and conciliated than ruled. They find the English useful as moderators between their own contending factions, which often have recourse to arms, even upon points of ceremonious precedence, and are reasoned into accommodation by our resident going among them unattended. At an earlier period our protection was convenient to them against the usurpation, as they termed it, of the Dutch, of whose attempts and claims they were particularly jealous. By an article of the treaty of Paris, in 1763, these pretensions were ascertained as they respected the two European powers, and the settlements of Natal and Tappanuli were expressly restored to the English. They had, however, already been re-occupied. Neither, in fact, have any *right* but what proceeds from the will and consent of the native princes.

Batta governments.

The government of the *Batta* country, although nominally in the hands of three or more sovereign *rajas*, is effectively (so far as our intercourse with the people enables us to ascertain) divided into numberless petty chiefships, the heads of which, also styled *rajas*, have no appearance

* Upon the re-establishment of the factory in 1762, the resident pointed out to the *Datu besár*, with a degree of indignation, the number of dead bodies which were frequently seen floating down the river, and proposed his co-operating to prevent assassinations in the country; occasioned by the anarchy the place fell into, during the temporary interruption of the Company's influence. "I cannot assent to any measures for that purpose," replied the *datu*: "I reap from these murders an advantage of twenty dollars a head, when the families prosecute." A compensation of thirty dollars per month was offered him, and to this he scarcely submitted, observing that he should be a considerable loser, as there fell in this manner at least three men in the month. At another time, when the resident attempted to carry some regulation into execution, he said, "*kami tradah suka begito, orang kaya!*" "We do not chuse to allow it, sir;" and bared his right arm, as a signal of attack to his dependants, in case the point had been insisted on. Of late years, habit and a sense of mutual interest have rendered them more accommodating.

ance of being dependant upon any superior power, but enter into associations with each other, particularly with those belonging to the same tribe, for mutual defence and security against any distant enemy. They are at the same time extremely jealous of any increase of their relative power, and on the slightest pretext a war breaks out between them. The force of different *kampongs* is, notwithstanding this, very unequal, and some *rajas* possess a much more extensive sway than others; and it must needs be so, where every man who can get a dozen followers, and two or three muskets, sets up for independence. Inland of a place called *Sokum*, great respect was paid to a female chief or *uti* (which word I conceive to be a liquid pronunciation of *putri*, a princess), whose jurisdiction comprehended many tribes. Her grandson, who was the reigning prince, had lately been murdered by an invader, and she had assembled an army of two or three thousand men, to take revenge. An agent of the Company went up the river about fifteen miles, in hopes of being able to accommodate a matter that threatened materially the peace of the country; but he was told by the *uti*, that unless he would land his men, and take a decided part in her favour, he had no business there, and he was obliged to reimbark without effecting any thing. The aggressor followed him the same night, and made his escape. It does not appear likely, from the manners and dispositions of the people, that the whole of the country was ever united under one supreme head.

Authority of rajas.

The more powerful *rajas* assume authority over the lives of their subjects. The dependants are bound to attend their chief in his journies and in his wars, and when an individual refuses, he is expelled from the society, without permission to take his property along with him. They are supplied with food for their expeditions, and allowed a reward for each person they kill. The revenues of the chief arise principally from fines of cattle adjudged in criminal proceedings, which he always appropriates to himself; and from the produce of the camphor and benzoin trees throughout his district; but this is not rigorously insisted upon. When he pays his gaming debts, he imposes what arbitrary value he thinks proper on the horses and buffaloes (no coin being used

in

in the country), which he delivers, and his subjects are obliged to accept them at that rate. They are forced to work in their turns, for a certain number of days, in his rice plantations. There is, in like manner, a lesser kind of service for land held of any other person; the tenant being bound to pay his landlord respect wherever he meets him, and to provide him with entertainment whenever he comes to his house. The people seem to have a permanent property in their possessions, selling them to each other as they think fit. If a man plants trees, and leaves them, no future occupier can sell them, though he may eat the fruit. Disputes and litigations of any kind that happen between people belonging to the same *kampong* are settled by a magistrate appointed for that purpose, and from him, it is said, there is no appeal to the *raja:* when they arise between persons of different *kampongs*, they are adjusted at a meeting of the respective *rajas*. When a party is sent down to the Bay, to purchase salt, or on other business, it is accompanied by an officer, who takes cognizance of their behaviour, and sometimes punishes on the spot such as are criminal or refractory. This is productive of much order and decency.

Succession. It is asserted, that the succession to the chiefships does not go, in the first instance, to the son of the deceased, but to the nephew by a sister; and that the same extraordinary rule, with respect to property in general, prevails also amongst the Malays of that part of the island, and even in the neighbourhood of *Padang*. The authorities for this are various and unconnected with each other, but not sufficiently circumstantial to induce me to admit it as a generally established practice.

Respect for the sultan of Menangkabau. Notwithstanding the independent spirit of the *Battas*, and their contempt of all power that would affect a superiority over their little societies, they have a superstitious veneration for the sultan of *Menangkabau*, and shew blind submission to his relations and emissaries, real or pretended, when such appear among them for the purpose of levying contributions: even when insulted and put in fear of their lives, they make no attempt at resistance: they think that their affairs would never prosper;

prosper; that their *padi* would be blighted, and their buffaloes die; that they would remain under a kind of spell, for offending those sacred messengers.

The *Battas* are in their persons rather below the stature of the Malays, and their complexions are fairer; which may, perhaps, be owing to their distance, for the most part, from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent. Their dress is commonly of a sort of cotton cloth manufactured by themselves, thick, harsh, and wiry, about four *astas* or cubits long, and two in breadth, worn round the middle, with a scarf over the shoulder. These are of mixed colours, the prevalent being a brownish red, and a blue approaching to black. They are fond of adorning them, particularly the scarf, with strings and tassels of beads. The covering of the head is usually the bark of a tree, but the superior class wear a strip of foreign blue cloth, in imitation of the Malayan *destars*, and a few have *bajus* (outer garments) of chintz. The young women, beside the cloth round the middle, have one over the breasts, and (as noticed in Mr. Miller's journal) wear in their ears numerous rings of tin, as well as several large rings of thick brass wire round their necks. On festival days, however, they ornament themselves with ear-rings of gold, hair-pins, of which the heads are fashioned like birds or dragons, a kind of three-cornered breast-plate, and hollow rings upon the upper arm, all, in like manner, of gold. The *kima* shell, which abounds in the bay, is likewise worked into arm-rings, whiter, and taking a better polish than ivory.

Persons. Dress.

Their arms are match-lock guns, with which they are expert marksmen, bamboo lances or spears with long iron heads, and a side-weapon called *jono*, which resembles and is worn as a sword rather than a *kris*. The cartridge-boxes are provided with a number of little wooden cases, each containing a charge for the piece. In these are carried likewise the match, and the smaller *ranjaus*, the longer being in a joint of bamboo, slung like a quiver over the shoulder. They have machines curiously carved and formed like the beak of a large bird, for holding bullets, and others of peculiar construction, for a reserve of powder. These hang in front. On the right side hang the flint and steel, and

Arms.

also the tobacco-pipe. Their guns, the locks of which (for holding the match) are of copper, they are supplied with by traders from *Menangkabau*; the swords are of their own workmanship, and they also manufacture their own gunpowder, extracting the saltpetre, as it is said, from the soil taken from under houses that have been long inhabited, (which, in consequence of an uncleanly practice, is strongly impregnated with animal salts), together with that collected in places where goats are kept. Through this earth water is filtered, and being afterwards suffered to evaporate, the saltpetre is found at the bottom of the vessel. Their proper standard in war is a horse's head, from whence flows a long mane or tail; beside which they have colours of red or white cloth. For drums they use gongs, and in action set up a kind of war-hoop.

Warfare. The spirit of war is excited among these people by small provocation, and their resolutions for carrying it into effect are soon taken. Their life appears, in fact, to be a perpetual state of hostility, and they are always prepared for attack and defence. When they proceed to put their designs into execution, the first act of defiance is firing, without ball, into the *kampong* of their enemies. Three days are then allowed for the party fired upon to propose terms of accommodation, and if this is not done, or the terms are such as cannot be agreed to, war is then fully declared. This ceremony of firing with powder only, is styled, "carrying smoke to the adversary." During the course of their wars, which sometimes last for two or three years, they seldom meet openly in the field, or attempt to decide their contest by a general engagement; as the mutual loss of a dozen men might go near to ruin both parties, nor do they ever engage hand to hand, but keep at a pretty safe distance, seldom nearer than random-shot, excepting in case of sudden surprise. They march in single files, and usually fire kneeling. It is not often that they venture a direct attack upon each others works, but watch opportunities of picking off stragglers passing through the woods. A party of three or four will conceal themselves near the footways, and if they see any of their foes, they fire and run away immediately; planting *ranjaus* after them, to prevent pursuit. On these occasions a man will subsist upon a potatoe a day, in which they have much

much the advantage of the Malays, (against whom they are often engaged in warfare) who require to be better fed.

Fortifications.

They fortify their *kampongs* with large ramparts of earth, half way up which they plant brush-wood. There is a ditch without the rampart, and on each side of that a tall palisade of camphor timber. Beyond this is an impenetrable hedge of prickly bamboo, which, when of sufficient growth, acquires an extraordinary density, and perfectly conceals all appearance of a town. *Ranjaus,* of a length both for the body and the feet, are disposed without all these, and render the approaches hazardous to assailants who are almost naked. At each corner of the fortress, instead of a tower or watch-house, they contrive to have a tall tree, which they ascend to reconnoitre or fire from. But they are not fond of remaining on the defensive in these fortified villages, and therefore, leaving a few to guard them, usually advance into the plains, and throw up temporary breastworks and entrenchments.

Trade.

The natives of the sea-coast exchange their benzoin, camphor, and cassia (the quantity of gold-dust is very inconsiderable) for iron, steel, brass-wire, and salt, of which last article an hundred thousand bamboo measures are annually taken off in the bay of *Tappanuli.* These they barter again with the more inland inhabitants, in the mode that shall presently be described, for the products and manufactures of the country, particularly the home-made cloth; a very small quantity of cotton piece-goods being imported from the coast, and disposed of to the natives. What they do take off is chiefly blue-cloth for the head, and chintz.

Fairs held.

For the convenience of carrying on the inland-trade, there are established at the back of *Tappanuli,* which is their great mart, four stages, at which successively they hold public fairs or markets on every fourth day throughout the year; each fair, of course, lasting one day. The people in the district of the fourth stage assemble with their goods at the appointed place, to which those of the third resort in order to purchase them. The people of the third, in like manner, supply the wants of the second, and the second of the first, who dispose, on the day the

market is held, of the merchandise for which they have trafficked with the Europeans and Malays. On these occasions all hostilities are suspended. Each man who possesses a musket carries it with a green bough in the muzzle, as a token of peace, and afterwards, when he comes to the spot, following the example of the director or manager of the party, discharges the loading into a mound of earth; in which, before his departure, he searches for his ball. There is but one house at the place where the market is held, and that is for the purpose of gaming. The want of booths is supplied by the shade of regular rows of fruit-trees, mostly *durian*, of which one avenue is reserved for the women. The dealings are conducted with order and fairness; the chief remaining at a little distance, to be referred to in case of dispute, and a guard is at hand, armed with lances, to keep the peace; yet with all this police, which bespeaks civilization, I have been assured by those who have had an opportunity of attending their meetings, that in the whole of their appearance and deportment there is more of savage life than is observed in the manners of the *Rejangs*, or inhabitants of *Lampong*. Traders from the remoter *Batta* districts, lying north and south, assemble at these periodical markets, where all their traffic is carried on, and commodities bartered. They are not, however, peculiar to this country, being held, among other places, at *Batang-kapas* and *Ipu*. By the Malays they are termed *onan*.

Estimate by commodities instead of coin.

Having no coin, all value is estimated among them by certain commodities. In trade, they calculate by *tampangs* (cakes) of benzoin; in transactions among themselves, more commonly by buffaloes: sometimes brass wire, and sometimes beads, are used as a medium. A *galang*, or ring of brass wire, represents about the value of a dollar. But for small payments, salt is the most in use. A measure called a *salup*, weighing about two pounds, is equal to a *fanam* or twopence-halfpenny: a *balli*, another small measure, goes for four *keppeng*, or three-fifths of a penny.

Food.

The ordinary food of the lower class of people is maiz and sweet potatoes; the *rajas* and great men alone indulging themselves with rice. Some mix them together. It is only on public occasions that they kill cattle

cattle for food; but not being delicate in their appetites, they do not scruple to eat part of a dead buffalo, hog, rat, alligator, or any wild animal with which they happen to meet. Their rivers are said not to abound with fish. Horse-flesh they esteem their most exquisite meat, and for this purpose feed them upon grain, and pay great attention to their keep. They are numerous in the country, and the Europeans at Bencoolen are supplied with many good ones from thence, but not with the finest, as these are reserved for their festivals. They have also, says Mr. Miller, great quantities of small black dogs, with erect pointed ears, which they fatten and eat. Toddy or palm-wine they drink copiously at their feasts.

Buildings.

The houses are built with frames of wood, with the sides of boards, and roof covered with *iju*. They usually consist of a single large room, which is entered by a trap-door in the middle. The number seldom exceeds twenty in one *kampong*; but opposite to each is a kind of open building, that serves for sitting in during the day, and as a sleeping-place for the unmarried men at night. These together form a sort of street. To each *kampong* there is also a *balei*, where the inhabitants assemble for transacting public business, celebrating feasts, and the reception of strangers, whom they entertain with frankness and hospitality. At the end of this building is a place divided off, from whence the women see the spectacles of fencing and dancing; and below that is a kind of orchestra for music.

Domestic manners.

The men are allowed to marry as many wives as they please, or can afford, and to have half a dozen is not uncommon. Each of these sits in a different part of the large room, and sleeps exposed to the others; not being separated by any partition or distinction of apartments. Yet the husband finds it necessary to allot to each of them their several fire-places, and cooking utensils, where they dress their own victuals separately, and prepare his in turns. How is this domestic state, and the flimsiness of such an imaginary barrier, to be reconciled with our ideas of the furious, ungovernable passions of love and jealousy, supposed to prevail in an eastern *haram*? or must custom be allowed to supersede all other influence, both moral and physical? In other respects

spects they differ little in their customs relating to marriage from the rest of the island. The parents of the girl always receive a valuable consideration (in buffaloes or horses) from the person to whom she is given in marriage; which is returned when a divorce takes place against the man's inclination. The daughters, as elsewhere, are looked upon as the riches of the fathers.

Condition of women.

The condition of the women appears to be no other than that of slaves, the husbands having the power of selling their wives and children. They alone, beside the domestic duties, work in the rice plantations. These are prepared in the same mode as in the rest of the island; except that in the central parts, the country being clearer, the plough and harrow, drawn by buffaloes, are more used. The men, when not engaged in war, their favourite occupation, commonly lead an idle, inactive life, passing the day in playing on a kind of flute, crowned with garlands of flowers; among which the *globe-amaranthus*, a native of the country, mostly prevails. They are said, however, to hunt deer on horseback, and to be attached to the diversion of horse-racing. They ride boldly without a saddle or stirrups, frequently throwing their hands upwards whilst pushing their horse to full speed. The bit of the bridle is of iron, and has several joints; the head-stall and reins of rattan: in some parts the reins, or halter rather, is of *iju*, and the bit of wood. They are, like the rest of the Sumatrans, much addicted to gaming, and the practice is under no kind of restraint, until it destroys itself by the ruin of one of the parties. When a man loses more money than he is able to pay, he is confined and sold as a slave; being the most usual mode by which they become such. A generous winner will sometimes release his unfortunate adversary upon condition of his killing a horse, and making a public entertainment.

Horse-racing.

Language.

They have, as was before observed, a language and written character peculiar to themselves, and which may be considered, in point of originality, as equal at least to any other in the island; and although, like the languages of Java, Celebes, and the Philippines, it has many terms in common with the Malayan (being all, in my judgment, from one common stock), yet, in the way of encroachment, from the influence, both

both political and religious, acquired by its immediate neighbours, the *Batta* tongue appears to have experienced less change than any other. For a specimen of its words, its alphabet, and the rules by which the sound of its letters is modified and governed, the reader is referred to the Table and Plate at p. 203. It is remarkable, that the proportion of the people who are able to read and write is much greater than of those who do not; a qualification seldom observed in such uncivilized parts of the world, and not always found in the more polished. Their writing, for common purposes, is, like that already described in speaking of the *Rejangs*, upon pieces of *bamboo*. Their books (and such they may with propriety be termed) are composed of the inner bark of a certain tree, cut into long slips, and folded in squares, leaving part of the wood at each extremity, to serve for the outer covering. The bark, for this purpose, is shaved smooth and thin, and afterwards rubbed over with rice-water. The pen they use is a twig or the fibre of a leaf, and their ink is made of the soot of *dammar*, mixed with the juice of the sugar-cane. The contents of their books are little known to us. The writing of most of those in my possession is mixed with uncouth representations of scolopendra and other noxious animals, and frequent diagrams, which imply their being works of astrology and divination. These they are known to consult in all the transactions of life, and the event is predicted by the application of certain characters marked on a slip of bamboo, to the lines of the sacred book, with which a comparison is made. But this is not their only mode of divining. Before going to war they kill a buffalo or a fowl that is perfectly white, and by observing the motion of the intestines, judge of the good or ill fortune likely to attend them; and the priest who performs this ceremony had need to be infallible, for if he predicts contrary to the event, it is said that he is sometimes punished with death for his want of skill. Exclusively, however, of these books of necromancy, there are others containing legendary and mythological tales, of which latter a sample will be given under the article of religion.

Writing.

Books.

Dr. Leyden, in his Dissertation on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese nations, says, that the *Batta* character is written neither

Remark by Dr. Leyden.

ther from right to left, nor from left to right, nor from top to bottom, but in a manner directly opposite to that of the Chinese, from the bottom to the top of the line, and that I have conveyed an erroneous idea of their natural form, by arranging the characters horizontally, instead of placing them in a perpendicular line. Not having now the opportunity of verifying, by ocular proof, what I understood to be the practical order of their writing, namely, from left to right (in the manner of the *Hindus*, who, there is reason to believe, were the original instructors of all these people), I shall only observe, that I have among my papers three distinct specimens of the Batta alphabet, written by different natives, at different periods, and all of them are horizontal. But I am at the same time aware that as this was performed in the presence of Europeans, and upon our paper, they might have deviated from their ordinary practice, and that the evidence is therefore not conclusive. It might be presumed, indeed, that the books themselves would be sufficient criterion; but, according to the position in which they are held, they may be made to sanction either mode, although it is easy to determine by simple inspection, the commencement of the lines. In the Batav. Trans. (Vol. III. p. 23.) already so often quoted, it is expressly said, that these people write like Europeans from the left hand towards the right: and, in truth, it is not easy to conceive how persons making use of ink can conduct the hand from the bottom to the top of a page without marring their own performance. But still a matter of fact, if such it be, cannot give way to argument, and I have no object but to ascertain the truth.

Religion. Their religion, like that of all other inhabitants of the island who are not Mahometans, is so obscure in its principles, as scarcely to afford room to say that any exists among them. Yet they have rather more of ceremony and observance than those of *Rejang* or *Passummah*, and there is an order of persons by them called *guru* (a well-known *Hindu* term), who may be denominated priests, as they are employed in administering oaths, foretelling lucky and unlucky days, making sacrifices, and the performance of funeral rites. For a knowledge of their theogony we are indebted to M. Siberg, governor of the Dutch settlements on the coast

of

of Sumatra, by whom the following account was communicated to the late M. Radermacher, a distinguished member of the Batavian Society, and by him published in its Transactions.

" The inhabitants of this country have many fabulous stories, which shall be briefly mentioned. They acknowledge three deities as rulers of the world, who are respectively named *Batara-guru*, *Sori-pada*, and *Mangalla-bulang*. The first, say they, bears rule in heaven, is the father of all mankind, and partly, under the following circumstances, creator of the earth, which from the beginning of time had been supported on the head of *Naga-padoha*, but growing weary at length, he shook his head, which occasioned the earth to sink, and nothing remained in the world excepting water. They do not pretend to a knowledge of the creation of this original earth and water, but say that at the period when the latter covered every thing, the chief deity, *Batara-guru*, had a daughter named *Puti-orla-bulan*, who requested permission to descend to these lower regions, and accordingly came down on a white owl, accompanied by a dog; but not being able, by reason of the waters, to continue there, her father let fall from heaven a lofty mountain, named *Bakarra*, now situated in the *Batta* country, as a dwelling for his child; and from this mountain all other land gradually proceeded. The earth was once more supported on the three horns of *Naga-padoha*, and that he might never again suffer it to fall off, *Batara-guru* sent his son, named *Layang-layang-mandi* (literally the dipping swallow) to bind him hand and foot. But to his occasionally shaking his head they ascribe the effect of earthquakes. *Puti-orla-bulan* had afterwards, during her residence on earth, three sons and three daughters, from whom sprang the whole human race. Mythology.

" The second of their deities has the rule of the air, betwixt earth and heaven, and the third that of the earth; but these two are considered as subordinate to the first. Besides these, they have as many inferior deities as there are sensible objects on earth, or circumstances in human society; of which some preside over the sea, others over rivers, over woods, over war, and the like. They believe, likewise, in four evil spirits, dwelling in four separate mountains, and whatever ill befals them,

they attribute to the agency of one of these demons. On such occasions, they apply to one of their cunning men, who has recourse to his art, and by cutting a lemon ascertains which of these has been the author of the mischief, and by what means the evil spirit may be propitiated; which always proves to be the sacrificing a buffalo, hog, goat, or whatever animal the wizard happens on that day to be most inclined to eat. When the address is made to any of the superior and beneficent deities for assistance, and the priest directs an offering of a horse, cow, dog, hog, or fowl, care must be taken that the animal to be sacrificed is entirely white.

"They have also a vague and confused idea of the immortality of the human soul, and of a future state of happiness or misery. They say, that the soul of a dying person makes its escape through the nostrils, and is borne away by the wind; to heaven, if of a person who has led a good life; but if of an evil-doer, to a great cauldron, where it shall be exposed to fire, until such time as *Batara-guru* shall judge it to have suffered punishment proportioned to its sins, and feeling compassion, shall take it to himself in heaven: that finally the time shall come when the chains and bands of *Naga-padoha* shall be worn away, and he shall once more allow the earth to sink; that the sun will be then no more than a cubit's distance from it; and that the souls of those who, having lived well, shall remain alive at the last day, shall in like manner go to heaven, and those of the wicked, be consigned to the before-mentioned cauldron, intensely heated by the near approach of the sun's rays, to be there tormented by a minister of *Batara-guru*, named *Suraya-guru*, until, having expiated their offences, they shall be thought worthy of reception into the heavenly regions." To the Sanskrit scholar who shall make allowances for corrupt orthography, many of these names will be familiar. For *Batara* he will read *avatara*; and in *Naga-padoha* he will recognise the serpent on whom *Vishnu* reposes.

Oaths. Their ceremonies that wear most the appearance of religion are those practised on taking an oath, and at their funeral obsequies. A person accused of a crime, and who asserts his innocence, is in some cases acquitted upon solemnly swearing to it, but in others, is obliged to undergo

dergo a kind of ordeal. A cock's throat is usually cut on the occasion by the *guru*. The accused then puts a little rice into his mouth (probably dry), and wishes it may become a stone if he be guilty of the crime with which he stands charged; or holding up a musket bullet, prays it may be his fate, in that case, to fall in battle. In more important instances they put a small leaden or tin image into the middle of a dish of rice, garnished with those bullets; when the man, kneeling down, prays that his crop of rice may fail, his cattle die, and that he himself may never take *salt* (a luxury as well as necessary of life), if he does not declare the truth. These tin images may be looked upon as objects of idolatrous worship; but I could not learn that any species of adoration was paid to them on other occasions, any more than to certain stone images which have been mentioned. Like the relics of saints, they are merely employed to render the form of the oath more mysterious, and thereby increase the awe with which it should be regarded.

Funeral ceremonies.

When a *raja* or person of consequence dies, the funeral usually occupies several months; that is, the corpse is kept unburied until the neighbouring and distant chiefs, or, in common cases, the relations and creditors of the deceased, can be convened, in order to celebrate the rites with becoming dignity and respect. Perhaps the season of planting or of harvest intervenes, and these necessary avocations must be attended to, before the funeral ceremonies can be concluded. The body, however, is in the mean time deposited in a kind of coffin. To provide this, they fell a large tree (the *anau* in preference, because of the softness of the central part, whilst the outer coat is hard), and having cut a portion of the stem of sufficient length, they split it in two parts, hollow each part so as to form a receptacle for the body, and then fit them exactly together. The workmen take care to sprinkle the wood with the blood of a young hog, whose flesh is given to them as a treat. The coffin being thus prepared and brought into the house, the body is placed in it, with a mat beneath, and a cloth laid over it. Where the family can afford the expence, it is strewed over with camphor. Having now placed the two parts in close contact, they bind them together with rattans, and cover the whole with a thick coating of *dammar* or resin. In some instances, they take the precaution of inserting a bamboo-tube

into the lower part, which, passing thence through the raised floor into the ground, serves to carry off the offensive matter; so that in fact little more than the bones remain.

When the relations and friends are assembled, each of whom brings with him a buffalo, hog, goat, dog, fowl, or other article of provision, according to his ability, and the women, baskets of rice, which are presented and placed in order, the feasting begins and continues for nine days and nights, or so long as the provisions hold out. On the last of these days the coffin is carried out and set in an open space, where it is surrounded by the female mourners, on their knees, with their heads covered, and howling (ululantes) in dismal concert, whilst the younger persons of the family are dancing near it, in solemn movement, to the sound of gongs, *kalintangs*, and a kind of flageolet; at night it is returned to the house, where the dancing and music continues, with frequent firing of guns, and on the tenth day the body is carried to the grave, preceded by the *guru* or priest, whose limbs are *tattowed* in the shape of birds and beasts, and painted of different colours,[a] with a large wooden mask on his face. He takes a piece of buffalo-flesh, swings it about, throwing himself into violent attitudes and strange contorsions, and then eats the morsel in a voracious manner. He then kills a fowl over the corpse, letting the blood run down upon the coffin, and just before it is moved, both he and the female mourners, having each a broom in their hands, sweep violently about it, as if to chase away the evil spirits and prevent their joining in the procession; when suddenly four men, stationed for the purpose, lift up the coffin, and march quickly off with it, as if escaping from the fiend; the priest continuing to sweep after it for some distance. It is then deposited in the ground, without any peculiar ceremony, at the depth of three or four feet; the earth about the grave is raised, a shed built over it, further feasting takes place on the spot, for an indefinite time, and the horns and jaw-bones of the buffaloes

[a] It is remarkable, that in the Bisayan language of the Philippines, the term for people so marked, whom the Spaniards call *pintados*, is *batuc*. This practice is common in the islands near the coast of Sumatra, as will hereafter be noticed. It seems to have prevailed in many parts of the farther East, as Siam, Laos, and several of the islands.

buffaloes and other cattle devoured on the occasion, are fastened to the posts. Mr. John and Mr. Frederick Marsden were spectators of the funeral of a *raja* at *Tuppanuli* on the main. Mr. Charles Miller mentions his having been present at killing the hundred and sixth buffalo at the grave of a *raja*, in a part of the country where the ceremony was sometimes continued even a year after the interment; and that they seem to regard their ancestors as a kind of superior beings, attendant always upon them.

Crimes.

The crimes committed here against the order and peace of society are said not to be numerous. Theft amongst themselves is almost unknown, being strictly honest in their dealings with each other; but when discovered, the offender is made answerable for double the value of the goods stolen. Pilfering, indeed, from strangers, when not restrained by the laws of hospitality, they are expert at, and think no moral offence; because they do not perceive that any ill results from it. Open robbery and murder are punishable with death, if the parties are unable to redeem their lives by a sum of money. A person guilty of manslaughter is obliged to bear the expence attending the interment of the deceased and the funeral-feast given to his friends, or, if too poor to accomplish this, it is required of his nearest relation, who is empowered to reimburse himself by selling the offender as a slave. In cases of double adultery, the man, upon detection, is punished with death, in the manner that shall presently be described; but the woman is only disgraced, by having her head shaven, and being sold for a slave; which in fact she was before. This distribution of justice must proceed upon the supposition of the females being merely passive subjects, and of the men alone possessing the faculties of free agents. A single man concerned in adultery with a married woman is banished or outlawed by his own family. The lives of culprits are in almost all cases redeemable, if they or their connections possess property sufficient; the quantum being in some measure at the discretion of the injured party. At the same time it must be observed that Europeans not being settled amongst these people upon the same footing as in the pepper-districts, we are not so well acquainted either with the principle or the practice of their laws.

The

Extraordinary custom.

The most extraordinary of the *Batta* customs, though certainly not peculiar to these people, remains now to be described. Many of the old travellers had furnished the world with accounts of *anthropophagi* or man-eaters, whom they met with in all parts of the old and new world, and their relations, true or false, were in those days, when people were addicted to the marvellous, universally credited. In the succeeding ages, when a more sceptical and scrutinizing spirit prevailed, several of these asserted facts were found upon examination to be false; and men, from a bias inherent in our nature, ran into the opposite extreme. It then became established as a philosophical truth, capable almost of demonstration, that no such race of people ever did or could exist. But the varieties, inconsistencies, and contradictions of human manners, are so numerous and glaring, that it is scarcely possible to fix any general principle that will apply to all the incongruous races of mankind, or even to conceive an irregularity to which some or other of them have not been accustomed. The voyages of our late famous circumnavigators, the veracity of whose assertions is unimpeachable, have already proved to the world that human flesh is eaten by the savages of *New Zealand;* and I can, with equal confidence, from conviction of the truth, though not with equal weight of authority, assert, that it is also, in these days, eaten in the island of Sumatra by the *Batta* people, and by them only. Whether or not the horrible custom prevailed more extensively in ancient times, I cannot take upon me to ascertain; but the same historians who mention it as practised in this island, and whose accounts were undeservedly looked upon as fabulous, relate it also of many others of the eastern people, and those of the island of *Java* in particular, who, since that period, may have become more humanized.*

Eat human flesh.

They

* Mention is made of the Battas and their peculiar customs by the following early writers: Nicolo di Conti, 1449. "In a certain part of this island (Sumatra) called *Batech*, the people eat human flesh. They are continually at war with their neighbours, preserve the skulls of their enemies as treasure, dispose of them as money, and he is accounted the richest man who has most of them in his house." Odoardus Barbosa, 1516. "There is another kingdom to the southward, which is the principal source of gold; and another inland, called *Aaru* (contiguous to the *Batta* country) where the inhabitants are pagans,

They do not eat human flesh as the means of satisfying the cravings of nature, for there can be no want of sustenance to the inhabitants of such a country and climate, who reject no animal food of any kind; nor is it sought after as a gluttonous delicacy. The *Battas* eat it as a species of ceremony; as a mode of shewing their detestation of certain crimes by an ignominious punishment; and as a savage display of revenge and insult to their unfortunate enemies. The objects of this barbarous repast are prisoners taken in war, especially if badly wounded, the bodies of the slain, and offenders condemned for certain capital crimes, especially for adultery. Prisoners unwounded (but they are not much disposed to give quarter) may be ransomed or sold as slaves, where the quarrel is not too inveterate; and the convicts, there is reason to believe, rarely suffer when their friends are in circumstances to redeem them by the customary equivalent of twenty *binchangs* or eighty dollars. These are tried by the people of the tribe where the offence was committed, but cannot be executed until their own particular *raja* has been made acquainted with the sentence, who, when he acknowledges the justice of the intended punishment, sends a cloth to cover the head of the delinquent, together with a large dish of salt and lemons. The unhappy victim is then delivered into the hands of the injured party (if it be a private wrong, or in the case of a prisoner, to the warriors) by whom he is tied to a stake; lances are thrown at him from a certain distance by this person, his relations, and friends; and when mortally wounded, they run up to him, as if in a transport of passion, cut pieces from the body with their knives, dip them in the dish of salt, lemon-juice, and red pepper, slightly broil them over a fire prepared for the purpose, and swallow the morsels with a degree of savage enthusiasm. Sometimes (I presume, according to the degree of their animosity

Motives for this custom.

who eat human flesh, and chiefly of those they have slain in war." De Barros, 1563. "The natives of that part of the island which is opposite to Malacca, who are called *Bátas*, eat human flesh, and are the most savage and warlike of all the land." Beaulieu, 1622. "The inland people are independent, and speak a language different from the Malayan. Are idolaters, and eat human flesh; never ransom prisoners, but eat them with pepper and salt. Have no religion, but some polity." Ludovico Barthema, in 1505, asserts that the people of *Java* were cannibals previously to their traffic with the Chinese.

animosity and resentment) the whole is devoured by the by-standers; and instances have been known where, with barbarity still aggravated, they tear the flesh from the carcase with their teeth. To such a depth of depravity may man be plunged, when neither religion nor philosophy enlighten his steps! All that can be said in extenuation of the horrour of this diabolical ceremony, is, that no view appears to be entertained, of torturing the sufferers, of increasing or lengthening out the pangs of death; the whole fury is directed against the corpse, warm, indeed, with the remains of life, but past the sensation of pain. A difference of opinion has existed with respect to the practice of eating the bodies of their enemies actually slain in war; but subsequent inquiry has satisfied me of its being done, especially in the case of distinguished persons, or those who have been accessaries to the quarrel. It should be observed, that their campaigns (which may be aptly compared to the predatory excursions of our Borderers) often terminate with the loss of not more than half a dozen men on both sides. The skulls of the victims are hung up as trophies in the open buildings in front of their houses, and are occasionally ransomed by their surviving relations for a sum of money.

Doubts obviated.

I have found that some persons (and among them my friend, the late Mr. Alexander Dalrymple) have entertained doubts of the reality of the fact, that human flesh is any where eaten by mankind, as a national practice, and considered the proofs hitherto adduced as insufficient to establish a point of so much moment in the history of the species. It is objected to me, that I never was an eye-witness of a *Batta*-feast of this nature, and that my authority for it is considerably weakened by coming through a second, or perhaps a third hand. I am sensible of the weight of this reasoning, and am not anxious to force any man's belief, much less to deceive him by pretences to the highest degree of certainty, when my relation can only lay claim to the next degree; but I must at the same time observe, that, according to my apprehension, the refusing assent to fair, circumstantial evidence, because it clashes with a systematic opinion, is equally injurious to the cause of truth, with asserting that as positive, which is only doubtful. My conviction of the truth of what I have not personally seen (and we must all be

be convinced of facts to which neither ourselves nor those with whom we are immediately connected could ever have been witnesses) has arisen from the following circumstances, some of less and some of greater authority. It is, in the first place, a matter of general and uncontroverted notoriety throughout the island, and I have conversed with many natives of the *Batta* country (some of them in my own service), who acknowledged the practice, and became ashamed of it after residing amongst more humanized people. It has been my chance to have had no fewer than three brothers and brothers-in-law, beside several intimate friends (of whom some are now in England), chiefs of our settlements of *Natal* and *Tappanuli*, of whose information I availed myself, and all their accounts I have found to agree in every material point. The testimony of Mr. Charles Miller, whose name, as well as that of his father, is advantageously known to the literary world, should alone be sufficient for my purpose. In addition to what he has related in his journal, he has told me, that at one village where he halted, the suspended head of a man, whose body had been eaten a few days before, was extremely offensive; and that in conversation with some people of the *Ankola* district, speaking of their neighbours and occasional enemies of the *Padambola* district, they described them as an unprincipled race, saying, "We, indeed, eat men as a punishment for their crimes and injuries to us; but they way-lay and seize travellers, in order to *ber-bantei* or cut them up like cattle." It is here, obviously, the admission and not the scandal that should have weight. When Mr. Giles Holloway was leaving *Tappanuli* and settling his accounts with the natives, he expostulated with a *Batta* man who had been dilatory in his payment. "I would," says the man, "have been here sooner, but my *panĝulu* (superior officer) was detected in familiarity with my wife. He was condemned, and I staid to eat share of him; the ceremony took us up three days, and it was only last night that we finished him." Mr. Miller was present at this conversation, and the man spoke with perfect seriousness. A native of the island of *Nias* who had stabbed a *Batta* man, in a fit of frenzy, at *Batang-tara* river, near *Tappanuli* bay, and endeavoured to make his escape, was, upon the alarm being given, seized at six in the morning, and before eleven, without any judicial process, was tied to a stake, cut in pieces with the utmost eagerness, while yet alive, and eaten upon the

spot, partly broiled, but mostly raw. His head was buried under that of the man whom he had murdered. This happened in December, 1780, when Mr. William Smith had charge of the settlement. A *raja* was fined by Mr. Bradley for having caused a prisoner to be eaten at a place too close to the Company's settlement, and it should have been remarked, that these feasts are never suffered to take place withinside their own *kampongs*. Mr. Alexander Hall made a charge in his public accounts of a sum paid to a *raja* as an inducement to him to spare a man whom he had seen preparing for a victim: and it is in fact this commendable discouragement of the practice by our government that occasions its being so rare a sight to Europeans, in a country where there are no travellers from curiosity, and where the servants of the Company having appearances to maintain, cannot by their presence, as idle spectators, give a sanction to proceedings, which it is their duty to discourage, although their influence is not sufficient to prevent them.

A *Batta* chief, named *raja Niabin*, in the year 1775, surprised a neighbouring *kampong* with which he was at enmity, killed the *raja* by stealth, carried off the body, and eat it. The injured family complained to Mr. Nairne, the English chief of *Natal*, and prayed for redress. He sent a message on the subject to *Niabin*, who returned an insolent and threatening answer. Mr. Nairne, influenced by his feelings rather than his judgment (for these people were quite removed from the Company's controul, and our interference in their quarrels was not necessary) marched with a party of fifty or sixty men, of whom twelve were Europeans, to chastise him; but on approaching the village, they found it so perfectly enclosed with growing bamboos, within which was a strong paling, that they could not even see the place or an enemy. As they advanced, however, to examine the defences, a shot from an unseen person struck Mr. Nairne in the breast, and he expired immediately. In him was lost a respectable gentleman, of great scientific acquirements, and a valuable servant of the Company. It was with much difficulty that the party was enabled to save the body. A caffree and a Malay who fell in the struggle, were afterwards eaten. Thus the experience of later days is found to agree with the uniform testimony of old writers; and although I am aware that each and every of these proofs, taken singly,

Death of Mr. Nairne.

singly, may admit of some cavil, yet in the aggregate they will be thought to amount to satisfactory evidence, that human flesh is habitually eaten by a certain class of the inhabitants of Sumatra.

That this extraordinary nation has preserved the rude genuineness of its character and manners, may be attributed to various causes; as the want of the precious metals in its country, to excite the rapacity of invaders or avarice of colonists, the vegetable riches of the soil being more advantageously obtained in trade, from the unmolested labours of the natives; their total unacquaintance with navigation; the divided nature of their government, and independence of the petty chieftains, which are circumstances unfavourable to the propagation of new opinions and customs, as the contrary state of society may account for the complete conversion of the subjects of *Menañgkabau* to the faith of Mahomet; and lastly, the ideas entertained of the ferociousness of the people, from the practices above described, which may well be supposed to have damped the ardour and restrained the zealous attempts of religious innovators.

Kingdom of Achin—Its Capital—Air—Inhabitants—Commerce—Manufactures—Navigation—Coin—Government—Revenues—Punishments.

ACHIN (properly *Acheh*) is the only kingdom of Sumatra that ever arrived to such a degree of political consequence in the eyes of the western people, as to occasion its transactions becoming the subject of general history. But its present condition is widely different from what it was, when by its power the Portuguese were prevented from gaining a footing in the island, and its princes received embassies from all the great potentates of Europe.

Situation. Its situation occupies the north-western extreme of the island, bordering generally on the country of the *Battas*; but, strictly speaking, its extent, inland, reaches no farther than about fifty miles to the south-east. Along the north and eastern coast its territory was considered, in 1778, as reaching to a place called *Karti*, not far distant from *Batubara* river, including *Pidir*, *Samerlonga*, and *Pasē*. On the western coast, where it formerly boasted a dominion as far down as *Indrapura*, and possessed complete jurisdiction at *Tiku*, it now extends no farther than *Barus*; and even there, or at the intermediate ports, although the Achinese influence is predominant, and its merchants enjoy the trade, the royal power seems to be little more than nominal. The interior inhabitants from *Achin* to *Singkel* are distinguished into those of *Allas*, *Riah*, and *Karrau*. The Achinese manners prevail among the two former; but the last resemble the *Battas*, from whom they are divided by a range of mountains.

Capital. The capital stands on a river which empties itself, by several channels, near the north-west point of the island, or Achin-head, about a league from the sea, where the shipping lies in a road rendered secure by the shelter of several islands. The depth of water on the bar being no more than four feet, at low water spring-tides, only the vessels of the country

country can venture to pass it; and in the dry monsoon, not even those of the larger class. The town is situated on a plain, in a wide valley formed like an amphitheatre by lofty ranges of hills. It is said to be extremely populous, containing eight thousand houses, built of bamboos and rough timbers, standing distinct from each other, and mostly raised on piles some feet above the ground, in order to guard against.the effects of inundation. The appearance of the place and nature of the buildings differ little from those of the generality of Malayan bazars, excepting that its superior wealth has occasioned the erection of a greater number of public edifices, chiefly mosques, but without the smallest pretension to magnificence. The country above the town is highly cultivated, and abounds with small villages, and groups of three or four houses, with white mosques interspersed.* The king's palace, if it deserves the appellation, is a very rude and uncouth piece of architecture, designed to resist the attacks of internal enemies, and surrounded for that purpose with

* The following description of the appearance of Achin, by a jesuit missionary who touched there in his way to China in 1698, is so picturesque, and at the same time so just, that I shall make no apology for introducing it. "Imaginez vous une forêt de cocotiers, de bambous, d'ananas, de bagnaniers, au milieu de laquelle passe une assez belle rivière toute couverte de bateaux; mettez dans cette forêt une nombre incroyable de maisons faites avec de cannes, de roseaux, des ecorces, et disposez les de telle maniere qu' elles forment tantôt des rues, et tantôt des quartiers separés: coupez ces divers quartiers de prairies & de bois: repandez par tout dans cette grande forêt, autant d'hommes qu'on en voit dans nos villes, lorsqu'elles sont bien peuplées; vous vous formerez une idée assez juste d'*Achen*; et vous conviendrez qu'une ville de ce goût nouveau peut faire plaisir à des étrangers qui passent. Elle me parût d'abord comme ces paysages sortis de l'imagination d'un peintre ou d'un poëte, qui rassemble sous un coup d'œil, tout ce que la campagne a de plus riant. Tout est negligé et naturel, champêtre et même un peu sauvage. Quand on est dans la rade, on n'apperçoit aucun vestige, ni aucune apparence de ville, parceque des grands arbres qui bordent le rivage en cachent toutes les maisons; mais outre le paysage qui est très-beau, rien n'est plus agréable que de voir de matin un infinité de petits bateaux de pêcheurs qui sortent de la rivière avec le jour, et qui ne rentrent que le soir, lorsque le soleil se couche. Vous diriez un essaim d'abeilles qui reviennent à la cruche chargées du fruit de leur travail." *Lettres Edifiantes, Tom.* I. For a more modern account of this city I beg leave to refer the reader to Capt. Thomas Forrest's Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago, p. 38 to 60, where he will find a lively and natural description of every thing worthy of observation in the place, with a detail of the circumstances attending his own reception at the court, illustrated with an excellent plate.

with a moat and strong walls, but without any regular plan, or view to the modern system of military defence.*

Air. The air is esteemed comparatively healthy, the country being more free from woods and stagnant water than most other parts; and fevers and dysenteries, to which these local circumstances are supposed to give occasion, are there said to be uncommon. But this must not be too readily credited; for the degree of insalubrity attending situations in that climate is known so frequently to alter, from inscrutable causes, that a person who has resided only two or three years on a spot, cannot pretend to form a judgment; and the natives, from a natural partiality, are always ready to extol the healthiness, as well as other imputed advantages, of their native places.

Inhabitants. The Achinese differ much in their persons from the other Sumatrans, being in general taller, stouter, and of darker complexions. They are by no means, in their present state, a genuine people, but thought, with great appearance of reason, to be a mixture of *Battas* and Malays, with *chulias*, as they term the natives of the west of India, by whom their ports have in all ages been frequented. In their dispositions they are more active and industrious than some of their neighbours; they possess more sagacity, have more knowledge of other countries, and as merchants they deal upon a more extensive and liberal footing. But this last observation applies rather to the traders at a distance from the capital and to their transactions, than to the conduct observed at *Achin*, which, according to the temper and example of the reigning monarch, is often narrow, extortionary, and oppressive. Their language is one of the general dialects of the eastern islands, and its affinity to the *Batta* may

* Near the gate of the palace are several pieces of brass ordnance of an extraordinary size; of which some are Portuguese; but two in particular, of English make, attract curiosity. They were sent by king James the first to the reigning monarch of Acheen, and have still the founder's name, and the date, legible upon them. The diameter of the bore of one is eighteen inches; of the other twenty-two or twenty-four. Their strength, however, does not appear to be in proportion to the calibre, nor do they seem in other respects to be of adequate dimensions. James, who abhorred bloodshed himself, was resolved that his present should not be the instrument of it to others.

may be observed in the comparative table; but they make use of the Malayan character. In religion they are Mahometans, and having many priests, and much intercourse with foreigners of the same faith, its forms and ceremonies are observed with some strictness.

Commerce.

Although no longer the great mart of eastern commodities, *Achin* still carries on a considerable trade, as well with private European merchants, as with the natives of that part of the coast of India called *Telinga*, which is properly the country lying between the *Kistna* and *Godavery* rivers; but the name, corrupted by the Malays to *Kling*, is commonly applied to the whole coast of Coromandel. These supply it with salt, cotton piece-goods, principally those called long-cloth white and blue, and chintz with dark grounds; receiving in return gold-dust, raw-silk of inferior quality, betel-nut, patch-leaf (melissa lotoria, called *dilam* by the Malays) pepper, sulphur, camphor, and benzoin. The two latter are carried thither from the river of *Siñgkel*, where they are procured from the country of the *Battas*, and the pepper from *Pidir*; but this article is also exported from *Susu*, to the amount of about two thousand tons annually, where it sells at the rate of twelve dollars the *pikul*, chiefly for gold and silver. The quality is not esteemed good, being gathered before it is sufficiently ripe, and it is not cleaned like the Company's pepper. The Americans have been of late years the chief purchasers. The gold collected at *Achin* comes partly from the mountains in the neighbourhood, but chiefly from *Nalabu* and *Susu*. Its commerce, independently of that of the out-ports, gives employment to from eight to ten *Kling* vessels, of an hundred and fifty or two hundred tons burthen, which arrive annually from Porto Novo and Coringa about the month of August, and sail again in February and March. These are not permitted to touch at any places under the king's jurisdiction, on the eastern or western coast, as it would be injurious to the profits of his trade, as well as to his revenue from the customs and from the presents exacted on the arrival of vessels, and for which his officers at those distant places would not account with him. It must be understood that the king of *Achin*, as is usual with the princes of this part of the world, is the chief merchant of his capital, and endeavours to be, to the utmost of his power, the monopolizer of its trade; but this he cannot

at

at all times effect, and the attempt has been the cause of frequent rebellions. There is likewise a ship or two from Surat every year, the property of native merchants there. The country is supplied with opium, taffetas, and muslins from Bengal, and also with iron, and many other articles of merchandise, by the European traders.

Productions of the soil.

The soil being light and fertile produces abundance of rice, esculent vegetables, much cotton, and the finest tropical fruits. Both the mango and mangustin are said to be of excellent quality. Cattle and other articles of provision are in plenty, and reasonable in price. The plough is there drawn by oxen, and the general style of cultivation shews a skill in agriculture superior to what is seen in other parts of the island.

Manufactures.

Those few arts and manufactures which are known in other parts of the island prevail likewise here, and some of them are carried to more perfection. A considerable fabric of a thick species of cotton cloth, and of striped or chequered stuff for the short drawers worn both by Malays and Achinese, is established here, and supplies an extensive foreign demand, particularly in the *Rau* country, where they form part of the dress of the women as well as men. They weave also very handsome and rich silk pieces, of a particular form, for that part of the body-dress which the Malays call *kāin sarong*; but this manufacture had much decreased at the period when my inquiries were made, owing, as the people said, to an unavoidable failure in the breed of silk-worms, but more probably to the decay of industry amongst themselves, proceeding from their continual civil disturbances.

Navigation.

They are expert and bold navigators, and employ a variety of vessels, according to the voyages they have occasion to undertake, and the purposes either of commerce or war for which they design them. The river is covered with a number of small fishing vessels, which go to sea with the morning breeze, and return in the afternoon, with the sea-wind, full laden. These are named *koleh*, are raised about two streaks on a *sampan* bottom, have one mast, and an upright or square sail, but long in proportion to its breadth, which rolls up. These sometimes make their appearance

appearance so far to the southward as Bencoolen. The *banting* is a trading vessel, of a larger class, having two masts, with upright sails like the former, rising at the stem and stern, and somewhat resembling a Chinese junk, excepting in its size. They have also very long narrow boats, with two masts, and double or single out-riggers, called *balābang* and *jalōr*. These are chiefly used as war-boats, mount guns of the size of swivels, and carry a number of men. For representations of various kinds of vessels employed by these eastern people, the reader is referred to the plates in Capt. Forrest's two voyages.

They have a small, thin, adulterated gold coin, rudely stamped with Arabic characters, called *mas* or *massiah*. Its current value is said to be about fifteen, and its intrinsic, about twelve-pence, or five Madras fanams. Eighty of these are equal to the *bañgkal*, of which twenty make a *katti*. The *tāil*, here an imaginary valuation, is one-fifth of the *bañgkal*, and equal to sixteen *mas*. The small leaden money, called *pitis* or cash, is likewise struck here for the service of the bazar; but neither these nor the former afford any convenience to the foreign trader. Dollars and rupihs pass current, and most other species of coin are taken at a valuation; but payments are commonly made in gold dust, and for that purpose every one is provided with small scales or steelyards, called *daching*. They carry their gold about them, wrapped in small pieces of bladder (or rather the integument of the heart), and often make purchases to so small an amount, as to employ grains of *padi* or other seeds for weights. Coin.

The monarchy is hereditary, and is more or less absolute, in proportion to the talents of the reigning prince; no other bounds being set to his authority, than the counterbalance or check it meets with, from the power of the great vassals, and disaffection of the commonalty. But this resistance is exerted in so irregular a manner, and with so little view to the public good, that nothing like liberty results from it. They experience only an alternative of tyranny and anarchy, or the former under different shapes. Many of the other Sumatran people are in the possession of a very high degree of freedom, founded upon a rigid attachment to their old established customs and laws. The king usually Government.

maintains a guard of an hundred sepoys (from the *Coromandel* coast) about his palace, but pays them indifferently.

The grand council of the nation consists of the king or *Sultan*, the *maharaja*, *laksamana*, *paduka tuan*, and *bandhara*. Inferior in rank to these, are the *ulubalangs* or military champions, among whom are several gradations of rank, who sit on the king's right hand, and other officers named *kajuran*, who sit on his left. At his feet sits a woman, to whom he makes known his pleasure: by her it is communicated to an eunuch, who sits next to her, and by him to an officer, named *Kajuran Gondang*, who then proclaims it aloud to the assembly. There are also present two other officers, one of whom has the government of the *Bazar* or market, and the other, the superintending and carrying into execution the punishment of criminals. All matters relative to commerce and the customs of the port come under the jurisdiction of the *Shabandar*, who performs the ceremony of giving the *chap* or licence for trade; which is done by lifting a golden-hafted *kris* over the head of the merchant who arrives, and without which he dares not to land his goods. Presents, the value of which are become pretty regularly ascertained, are then sent to the king and his officers. If the stranger be in the style of an ambassador, the royal elephants are sent down to carry him and his letters to the monarch's presence; these being first delivered into the hands of an eunuch, who places them in a silver dish, covered with rich silk, on the back of the largest elephant, which is provided with a machine (*houdar*) for that purpose. Within about an hundred yards of an open hall where the king sits, the cavalcade stops, and the ambassador dismounts, and makes his obeisance by bending his body and lifting his joined hands to his head. When he enters the palace, if an European, he is obliged to take off his shoes, and having made a second obeisance, is seated upon a carpet on the floor, where *betel* is brought to him. The throne was some years ago of ivory and tortoise-shell; and when the place was governed by queens, a curtain of gauze was hung before it, which did not obstruct the audience, but prevented any perfect view. The stranger, after some general discourse, is then conducted to a separate building, where he is entertained with the delicacies of the country, by the officers of state, and in the evening returns in the manner he came, surrounded

surrounded by a prodigious number of lights. On high days (*ari raya*) the king goes in great state, mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, to the great mosque, preceded by his *ulubalangs*; who are armed nearly in the European manner.

Division of the country.

The whole kingdom is divided into certain small districts or communities, called *mukim*, which seem to be equivalent to our parishes, and their number is reckoned at one hundred and ninety, of which seventy-three are situated in the valley of *Achin*. Of these last are formed three larger districts, named *Duo-puluh duo* (twenty-two), *Duo-puluh-limo* (twenty-five), and *Duo-puluh-anam* (twenty-six), from the number of *mukims* they respectively contain; each of which is governed by a *panglima* or provincial governor, with an *imām* and four *panǧichis* for the service of each mosque. The country is extremely populous; but the computations with which I have been furnished exceed so far all probability, that I do not venture to insert them.

Revenues.

The regular tax or imposition to which the country is subject, for the use of the crown, is one *koyan* (about eight hundred gallons) of *padi* from each *mukim*, with a bag of rice, and about the value of one Spanish dollar and an half in money, from each proprietor of a house, to be delivered at the king's store in person; in return for which homage, he never fails to receive nearly an equivalent in tobacco or some other article. On certain great festivals presents of cattle are made to the king by the *orang-kayas* or nobles; but it is from the import and export customs on merchandise, that the revenue of the crown properly arises, and which of course fluctuates considerably. What Europeans pay is between five and six per cent.; but the *Kling* merchants are understood to be charged with much higher duties; in the whole not less than fifteen, of which twelve in the hundred are taken out of the bales in the first instance; a disparity they are enabled to support by the provident and frugal manner in which they purchase their investments, the cheap rate at which they navigate their vessels, and the manner of retailing their goods to the natives. These sources of wealth are independent of the profit derived from the trade, which is managed for his master by a

person who is stiyed the king's merchant. The revenues of the nobles accrue from taxes which they lay, as feudal lords, upon the produce of the land cultivated by their vassals. At *Pidir* a measure of rice is paid for every measure of *padi* sown, which amounts to about a twentieth part. At *Nalabu* there is a capitation tax of a dollar a year; and at various places on the inland roads there are tolls collected upon provisions and goods which pass to the capital.

Administration of justice.

The kings of *Achin* possess a grant of territory along the sea-coast, as far down as *Bencoolen*, from the sultan of *Menañgkabau*, whose superiority has always been admitted by them, and will be, perhaps, so long as he claims no authority over them, and exacts neither tribute nor homage.

Punishments.

Achin has ever been remarkable for the severity with which crimes are punished by their laws; the same rigour still subsists, and there is no commutation admitted, as is regularly established in the southern countries. There is great reason, however, to conclude, that the poor alone experience the rod of justice; the nobles being secure from retribution in the number of their dependants. Petty theft is punished by suspending the criminal from a tree, with a gun or heavy weight tied to his feet; or by cutting off a finger, a hand, or leg, according to the nature of the theft. Many of these mutilated, and wretched objects, are daily to be seen in the streets. Robbery, on the highway and housebreaking, are punished by drowning, and afterwards exposing the body on a stake for a few days. If the robbery is committed upon an *imām* or priest, the sacrilege is expiated by burning the criminal alive. A man who is convicted of adultery or rape, is seldom attempted to be screened by his friends, but is delivered up to the friends and relations of the injured husband or father. These take him to some large plain, and forming themselves in a circle, place him in the middle. A large weapon, called a *gadubong*, is then delivered to him by one of his family, and if he can force his way through those who surround him, and make his escape, he is not liable to further prosecution; but it commonly happens that he is instantly cut to pieces. In this case his relations bury him as they would a dead buffalo, refusing to admit the corpse into their house, or

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to perform any funeral rites. Would it not be reasonable to conclude, that the Achinese, with so much discouragement to vice, both from law and prejudice, must prove a moral and virtuous people? yet all travellers agree in representing them as one of the most dishonest and flagitious nations of the East; which the history of their government will tend to corroborate.

History of the Kingdom of Achin, from the period of its being visited by Europeans.

Proceedings of the Portuguese.

THE Portuguese, under the conduct of Vasco de Gama, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, and arrived on the coast of Malabar in the following year. These people, whom the spirit of glory, commerce, and plunder, led to the most magnanimous undertakings, were not so entirely engaged by their conquests on the continent of India as to prevent them from extending their views to the discovery of regions yet more distant. They learned from the merchants of Guzerat some account of the riches and importance of Malacca, a great trading city in the farther peninsula of India, supposed by them the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy. Intelligence of this was transmitted to their enterprising sovereign, Emanuel, who became impressed with a strong desire to avail himself of the flattering advantages which this celebrated country held out to his ambition. He equipped a fleet of four ships under the command of Diogo Lopez Sequeira, which sailed from Lisbon on the eighth
1508. day of April, 1508, with orders to explore, and establish connexions in those eastern parts of Asia. After touching at Madagascar, Sequeira proceeded to Cochin, where a ship was added to his fleet, and departing
1509. from thence on the eighth of September, 1509, he made sail towards Malacca; but having doubled the extreme promontory of Sumatra (then supposed to be the Taprobane of the ancients) he anchored at *Pidir*, a principal port of that island, in which he found vessels from Pegu, Bengal, and other countries. The king of the place, who, like other Mahometan princes, was styled sultan, sent off a deputation to him, accompanied with refreshments, excusing himself, on account of illness, from paying his compliments in person, but assuring him at the same time that he should derive much pleasure from the friendship and alliance of the Portuguese, whose fame had reached his ears. Sequeira answered this message in such terms, that, by consent of the sultan, a monument of

of their amity was erected on the shore; or more properly, as the token of discovery and possession usually employed by the European nations. He was received in the same manner at a place called *Pasē*, lying about twenty leagues farther to the eastward on the same coast, and there also erected a monument or cross. Having procured at each of these ports as much pepper as could be collected in a short time, he hastened to Malacca, where the news of his appearance in these seas had anticipated his arrival. Here he was near falling a sacrifice to the insidious policy of *Mahmud*, the reigning king, to whom the Portuguese had been represented by the Arabian and Persian merchants, (and not very unjustly) as lawless pirates, who, under the pretext of establishing commercial treaties, had, at first by encroachments, and afterwards with insolent rapacity, ruined and enslaved the princes who were weak enough to put a confidence in them, or to allow them a footing in their dominions. He escaped the snares that were laid for him, but lost many of his people, and leaving others in captivity, he returned to Europe, and gave an account of his proceedings to the king.

A fleet was sent out, in the year 1510, under Diogo Mendez, to esta- 1510.
blish the Portuguese interests at Malacca; but Affonso d'Alboquerque, the governor of their affairs in India, thought proper to detain this squadron on the coast of Malabar, until he could proceed thither himself with a greater force; and accordingly on the second of May, 1511, 1511.
he set sail from Cochin with nineteen ships and fourteen hundred men. He touched at *Pidir*, where he found some of his countrymen, who had made their escape from Malacca in a boat, and sought protection on the Sumatran shore. They represented, that, arriving off *Pasē*, they had been ill-treated by the natives, who killed one of their party, and obliged them to fly to *Pidir*, where they met with hospitality and kindness from the prince, who seemed desirous to conciliate the regard of their nation. Alboquerque expressed himself sensible of this instance of friendship, and renewed with the sultan the alliance that had been formed by Sequeira. He then proceeded to *Pasē*, whose monarch endeavoured to exculpate himself from the outrage committed against the Portuguese fugitives, and as he could not tarry to take redress, he concealed his resentment. In crossing over to Malacca, he fell in with a large

a large junk, or country vessel, which he engaged, and attempted to board; but the enemy setting fire to a quantity of inflammable, oleaginous matter, he was deterred from his design, with a narrow escape of the destruction of his own ship. The junk was then battered from a distance, until forty of her men were killed, when Alboquerque, admiring the bravery of the crew, proposed to them, that if they would strike, and acknowledge themselves vassals of Portugal, he would treat them as friends, and take them under his protection. This offer was accepted, and the valiant defender of the vessel informed the governor, that his name was *Jeinal*, the lawful heir of the kingdom of *Pasē*; he by whom it was then ruled being an usurper, who, taking advantage of his minority, and his own situation as regent, had seized the crown: that he had made attempts to assert his rights, but had been defeated in two battles, and was now proceeding with his adherents to Java, some of the princes of which were his relations, and would, he hoped, enable him to obtain possession of his throne. Alboquerque promised to effect it for him, and desired the prince to accompany him to Malacca, where they
1511. arrived the first of July, 1511. In order to save the lives of the Portuguese prisoners, and if possible to effect their recovery, he nogotiated with the king of Malacca before he proceeded to an attack on the place; which conduct of his, *Jeinal* construed into fear, and, forsaking his new friend, passed over in the night to the Malayan monarch, whose protection he thought of more consequence to him. When Alboquerque had subdued the place, which made a vigorous resistance, the prince of *Pasē*, seeing the errour of his policy, returned, and threw himself at the governor's feet, acknowledged his injurious mistrust, and implored his pardon; which was not denied him. He doubted, however, it seems, of a sincere reconciliation and forgiveness, and perceiving that no measures were taking for restoring him to his kingdom, but, on the contrary, that Alboquerque was preparing to leave Malacca with a small force, and talked of performing his promise when he should return from Goa, he took the resolution of again attaching himself to the fortunes of the conquered monarch, and secretly collecting his dependants, fled once more from the protection of the Portuguese. He probably was not insensible that the reigning king of *Pasē*, his adversary, had for some time taken abundant pains to procure the favour of Alboquerque, and found

found an occasion of demonstrating his zeal. The governor, on his return from Malacca, met with a violent storm on the coast of Sumatra, near the point of *Timiang*, where his ship was wrecked. Part of the crew making a raft were driven to *Pasē*, where the king treated them with kindness, and sent them to the coast of Coromandel by a merchant ship. Some years after these events, *Jeinal* was enabled by his friends to carry a force to *Pasē*, and obtained the ascendency there,* but did not long enjoy his power.

Upon the reduction of Malacca, the governor received messages from several of the Sumatran princes, and amongst the rest from the king of a place called *Kampar*, on the eastern coast, who had married a daughter of the king of Malacca, but was on ill terms with his father-in-law. He desired to become a vassal of the Portuguese crown, and to have leave to reside under their jurisdiction. His view was to obtain the important office of *bandhara*, or chief magistrate of the Malays, lately vacant by the execution of him who possessed it. He sent before him a present of lignum-aloes and gum-lac, the produce of his country; but Alboquerque suspecting the honesty of his intentions, and fearing that he either aspired to the crown of Malacca, or designed to entice the merchants to resort to his own kingdom, refused to permit his coming, and gave the superintendance of the natives to a person named *Nina Chetuan*. 1514.
After some years had elapsed, at the time when Jorge Alboquerque was governor of Malacca, this king (*Abdallah* by name) persisting in his views, paid him a visit, and was honourably received. At his departure, he had assurances given him of liberty to establish himself at Malacca, if he should think proper, and *Ninq Chetuan* was shortly afterwards removed from his office, though no fault was alledged against him. He took the disgrace so much to heart, that causing a pile to be erected before his door, and setting fire to it, he threw himself into the flames.* The intention of appointing *Abdallah* to the office of *bandhara* was quickly rumoured abroad, and coming to the knowledge of

* This man was not a Mahometan, but one of the unconverted natives of the peninsula, who are always distinguished from the Moors by the Portuguese writers.

the king of *Bintang*, who was driven from Malacca, and now carried on a vigorous war against the Portuguese, under the command of the famous *Laksamana*, he resolved to prevent his arrival there. For this purpose he leagued himself with the king of *Linggā*, a neighbouring island, and sent out a fleet of seventy armed boats to block up the port of *Kampar*. By the valour of a small Portuguese armament, this force was overcome in the river of that name, and the king conducted in triumph to Malacca, where he was invested in form with the important post he aspired to. But this sacrifice of his independance proved an unfortunate measure to him; for although he conducted himself in such a manner as should have given the amplest satisfaction, and appears to have been irreproachable in the execution of his trust, yet in the following year the king of *Bintang* found means to inspire the governor with diffi-
1515. dence of his fidelity, and jealousy of his power. He was cruelly sentenced to death, without the simplest forms of justice, and perished in the presence of an indignant multitude, whilst he called heaven to witness his innocence, and direct its vengeance against his interested accusers. This iniquitous and impolitic proceeding had such an effect upon the minds of the people, that all of any property or repute forsook the place, execrating the government of the Portuguese. The consequences of this general odium reduced them to extreme difficulties for provisions, which the neighbouring countries refused to supply them with, and but for some grain at length procured from *Siak*, with much trouble, the event had proved fatal to the garrison.

1516. Fernando Perez d'Andrade, in his way to China, touched at *Pasē*, in order to take in pepper. He found the people of the place, as well as the merchants from Bengal, Cambay, and other parts of India, much discontented with the measures then pursuing by the government of Malacca, which had stationed an armed force to oblige all vessels to resort thither with their merchandise, and take in at that place, as an emporium, the cargoes they were used to collect in the straits. The king, notwithstanding, received Andrade well, and consented that the Portuguese should have liberty to erect a fortress in his kingdom.

1520. Extraordinary accounts having been related of certain islands abound-

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ing in gold, which were reported by the general fame of India, to lie off the southern coast of Sumatra, a ship and small brigantine, under the command of Diogo Pacheco, an experienced seaman, were sent in order to make the discovery of them. Having proceeded as far as *Daya*, the brigantine was lost in a gale of wind. Pacheco stood on to *Barus*, a place renowned for its gold trade, and for gum benzoin of a peculiar scent, which the country produced. It was much frequented by vessels, both from the neighbouring ports in the island, and from those in the West of India, whence it was supplied with cotton cloths. The merchants, terrified at the approach of the Portuguese, forsook their ships, and fled precipitately to the shore. The chiefs of the country sent to inquire the motives of his visit, which he informed them were to establish friendly connexions, and to give them assurances of unmolested freedom of trade at the city of Malacca. Refreshments were then ordered for his fleet, and upon landing he was treated with respect by the inhabitants, who brought the articles of their country to exchange with him for merchandise. His chief view was to obtain information respecting the situation and other circumstances of the *ilhas d'Ouro;* but they seemed jealous of imparting any. At length, after giving him a laboured detail of the dangers attending the navigation of the seas where they were said to lie, they represented their situation to be distant an hundred leagues, to the south-east of *Barus*, amidst labyrinths of shoals and reefs, through which it was impossible to steer with any but the smallest boats. If these islands, so celebrated about this time, existed any where but in the regions of fancy,[a] they were probably those of *Tiku*, to which it is possible that much gold might be brought from the neighbouring country of *Menâñgkabau*. Pacheco leaving *Barus*, proceeded to the southward, but did not make the wished for discovery. He reached the channel that divides Sumatra from Java, which he called the strait of *Polimban*, from a city he erroneously supposed to lie on the Javan shore, and passing through this, returned to Malacca by the east; being the first European who sailed round the

[a] Linschoten makes particular mention of having seen them, and gives practical directions for the navigation, but the golden dreams of the Portuguese were never realized in them.

island of Sumatra. In the following year he sailed once more in search of these islands, which were afterwards the object of many fruitless voyages; but touching again at *Barus*, he met with resistance there, and perished with all his companions.

A little before this time, a ship under the command of Gaspar d'Acosta was lost on the island of Gamispola (*pulo Gomez*) near Achin head, when the people from Achin attacked and plundered the crew, killing many, and taking the rest prisoners. A ship also which belonged to Joano de Lima, was plundered in the road, and the Portuguese which belonged to her put to death. These insults, and others committed at *Pasē*, induced the governor of Malacca, Garcia de Sa, to dispatch a vessel under Manuel Pacheco, to take satisfaction; which he endeavoured to effect by blocking up the ports, and depriving the towns of all sources of provision, particularly their fisheries. As he cruised between Achin and *Pasē*, a boat with five men going to take in fresh water at a river nigh to the latter, would have been cut off, had not the people, by wonderful efforts of valour, overcome the numerous party which attacked them. The sultan, alarmed for the consequences of this affray, sent immediately to sue for reconciliation, offering to make atonement for the loss of property the merchants had sustained by the licentiousness of his people, from a participation in whose crimes he sought to vindicate himself. The advantage derived from the connexion with this place, induced the government of Malacca to be satisfied with his apology, and cargoes of pepper and raw-silk were shortly after procured there; the former being much wanted for the ships bound to China.

Jeinal, who had fled to the king of Malacca, as before mentioned, followed that monarch to the island of *Bintang*, and received one of his daughters in marriage. Six or seven years elapsed before the situation of affairs enabled the king to lend him any effectual assistance, but at length some advantages gained over the Portuguese afforded a proper opportunity, and accordingly a fleet was fitted out, with which *Jeinal* sailed for *Pasē*. In order to form a judgment of the transactions of this kingdom, it must be understood, that the people having an idea of predestination, always conceived present possession to constitute right, however

however that possession might have been acquired; but yet they made no scruple of deposing and murdering their sovereigns, and justified their acts by this argument; that the fate of concerns so important as the lives of kings, was in the hands of God, whose vicegerents they were, and that if it was not agreeable to him, and the consequence of his will, that they should perish by the daggers of their subjects, it could not so happen. Thus it appears, that their religious ideas were just strong enough to banish from their minds every moral sentiment. The natural consequence of these maxims was, that their kings were merely the tyrants of the day; and it is said, that whilst a certain ship remained in the port, no less than two were murdered, and a third set up: but allowance should, perhaps, be made for the medium through which these accounts have been transmitted to us.

The maternal uncle of *Jeinal*, who, on account of his father's infirmities, had been some time regent, and had deprived him of the succession to the throne, was also king of *Aru* or *Rou*, a country not far distant, and thus became monarch of both places. The caprices of the *Pasē* people, who submitted quietly to his usurpation, rendered them ere long discontented with his government, and being a stranger, they had the less compunction in putting him to death. Another king was set up in his room, who soon fell by the hands of some natives of *Aru* who resided at *Pasē*, in revenge for the assassination of their countryman. A fresh monarch was elected by the people, and in his reign it was that 1519.
Jeinal appeared with a force from *Bintang*, who, carrying every thing before him, put his rival to death, and took possession of the throne. The son of the deceased, a youth of about twelve years of age, made his escape, accompanied by the *Mulana* or chief priest of the city, and procured a conveyance to the west of India. There they threw themselves at the feet of the Portuguese governor, Lopez Sequeira, then engaged in an expedition to the Red Sea, imploring his aid to drive the invader from their country, and to establish the young prince in his rights, who would thenceforth consider himself as a vassal of the crown of Portugal. It was urged that *Jeinal*, as being nearly allied to the king of *Bintang*, was an avowed enemy to that nation, which he had manifested in some recent outrages committed against the merchants from Malacca

Malacca who traded at *Pasē*. Sequeira, partly from compassion, and partly from political motives, resolved to succour this prince, and by placing him on the throne, establish a firm interest in the affairs of his kingdom. He accordingly gave orders to Jorge Alboquerque, who was then proceeding with a strong fleet towards Malacca, to take the youth with him, whose name was *Orfacam*,[a] and after having expelled *Jeinal*, to put him in possession of the sovereignty.

When *Jeinal* entered upon the administration of the political concerns of the kingdom, although he had promised his father-in-law to carry on the war in concert with him, yet, being apprehensive of the effects of the Portuguese power, he judged it more for his interest to seek a reconciliation with them, than to provoke their resentment, and in pursuance of that system, had so far recommended himself to Garcia de Sa, the governor of Malacca, that he formed a treaty of alliance with him. This was, however, soon interrupted, and chiefly by the imprudence of a man named Diogo Vaz, who made use of such insulting language to the king, because he delayed payment of a sum of money he owed him, that the courtiers, seized with indignation, immediately stabbed him with their krises, and the alarm running through the city, others of the Portuguese were likewise murdered. The news of this affair reaching Goa, was an additional motive for the resolution taken of dethroning him.

1521. Jorge d'Alboquerque arrived at *Pasē* in 1521, with prince *Orfacam* and the inhabitants, came off in great numbers to welcome his return. The king of *Aru* had brought thither a considerable force the preceding day, designing to take satisfaction for the murder of his relation, the uncle of *Jeinal*, and now proposed to Alboquerque that they should make the attack in conjunction, who thought proper to decline it. *Jeinal*, although he well knew the intention of the enemy, yet sent a friendly message to Alboquerque, who in answer required him to relinquish his

[a] Evidently corrupted, as are most of the country names and titles; which shews that the Portuguese were not at this period much conversant in the Malayan language.

his crown in favour of him whom he styled the lawful prince. He then represented to him the injustice of attempting to force him from the possession of what was his, not only by right of conquest, but of hereditary descent, as was well known to the governor himself; that he was willing to consider himself as the vassal of the king of Portugal, and to grant every advantage in point of trade, that they could expect from the administration of his rival; and that since his obtaining the crown he had manifested the utmost friendship to the Portuguese, for which he appealed to the treaty formed with him by the government of Malacca, which was not disturbed by any fault that could in justice be imputed to himself. These arguments, like all others that pass between states which harbour inimical designs, had no effect upon Alboquerque, who, after reconnoitring the ground, gave orders for the attack. The king was now sensible that there was nothing left for him but to conquer or die, and resolved to defend himself to extremity, in an entrenchment he had formed at some distance from the town of *Pasē*, where he had never yet ventured to reside, as the people were in general incensed against him on account of the destruction of the late king of their choice; for though they were ever ready to demolish those whom they disliked, yet were they equally zealous to sacrifice their own lives, in the cause of those to whom they were attached. The Portuguese force consisted but of three hundred men, yet such was the superiority they possessed in war over the inhabitants of these countries, that they entirely routed *Jeinal's* army, which amounted to three thousand, with many elephants, although they fought bravely. When he fell, they became dispirited, and the people of *Aru* joining in the pursuit, a dreadful slaughter succeeded, and upwards of two thousand Sumatrans lay dead, with the loss of only five or six Europeans; but several were wounded, among whom was Alboquerque himself.

The next measure was to place the young prince upon the throne, which was performed with much ceremony. The *mulana* was appointed his governor, and *Nina Cunapan*, who in several instances had shewn a friendship for the Portuguese, was continued in the office of *Shabandar*. It was stipulated, that the prince should do homage to the crown of Portugal; give a grant of the whole produce of pepper of his

his country at a certain price; and defray the charges of a fortress which they then prepared to erect in his kingdom, and of which Miranda d'Azeuedo was appointed captain, with a garrison of an hundred soldiers. The materials were mostly timber, with which the ruins of *Jeinal*'s entrenchment supplied them. After Alboquerque's departure, the works had nearly fallen into the hands of an enemy, named *Melek-el-adil*, who called himself sultan of *Pasē*, and made several desultory attacks upon them; but he was at length totally routed, and the fortifications were completed without further molestation.

1521. A fleet which sailed from the west of India a short time after that of Alboquerque, under the command of Jorge de Brito, anchored in the road of *Achin*, in their way to the Molucca islands. There was at this time at that place a man of the name of Joano Borba, who spoke the language of the country, having formerly fled thither from *Pasē*, when Diogo Vaz was assassinated. Being afterwards intrusted with the command of a trading vessel from Goa, which foundered at sea, he again reached *Achin*, with nine men in a small boat, and was hospitably received by the king, when he learned that the ship had been destined to his port. Borba came off to the fleet along with a messenger sent by the king to welcome the commander, and offer him refreshments for his fleet, and being a man of extraordinary loquacity, he gave a pompous description to Brito of a temple in the country in which was deposited a large quantity of gold: he mentioned likewise that the king was in possession of the artillery and merchandise of Gaspar d'Acosta's vessel, some time since wrecked there; and also of the goods saved from a brigantine driven on shore at *Daya*, in Pacheco's expedition; as well as of Joano de Lima's ship, which he had caused to be cut off. Brito being tempted by the golden prize, which he conceived already in his power, and inflamed by Borba's representation of the king's iniquities, sent a message in return, to demand the restitution of the artillery, ship, and goods, which had been unlawfully seized. The king replied, that if he wanted those articles to be refunded, he must make his demand to the sea which had swallowed them up. Brito and his captains now resolved to proceed to an attack upon the place, and so secure did they make themselves of their prey, that they refused permission

permission to a ship lately arrived, and which did not belong to their squadron, to join them or participate in the profits of their adventure. They prepared to land two hundred men in small boats; a larger, with a more considerable detachment and their artillery, being ordered to follow. About day break they had proceeded half way up the river, and came near to a little fort designed to defend the passage, where Brito thought it advisable to stop till the remainder of their force should join them; but being importuned by his people, he advanced to make himself master of the fort, which was readily effected. Here he again resolved to make his stand, but by the imprudence of his ensign, who had drawn some of the party into a skirmish with the Achinese, he was forced to quit that post in order to save his colours, which were in danger. At this juncture the king appeared at the head of eight hundred or a thousand men, and six elephants. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese received considerable injury. Brito sent orders for the party he had left to come up, and endeavoured to retreat to the fort, but he found himself so situated, that it could not be executed without much loss, and presently after he received a wound from an arrow through the cheeks. No assistance arriving, it was proposed that they should retire in the best manner they could to their boats; but this Brito would not consent to, preferring death to flight, and immediately a lance pierced his thighs, and he fell to the ground. The Portuguese, rendered desperate, renewed the combat with redoubled vigour, all crowding to the spot where their commander lay, but their exertions availed them nothing against such unequal force, and they only rushed on to sacrifice. Almost every man was killed, and among these were near fifty persons of family, who had embarked as volunteers. Those who escaped belonged chiefly to the corps-de-reserve, who did not, or could not, come up in time to succour their unfortunate companions. Upon this merited defeat, the squadron immediately weighed anchor, and after falling in with two vessels bound on the discovery of the *ilhas d'Ouro*, arrived at *Pasē*, where they found Alboquerque employed in the construction of his fortress, and went with him to make an attack on *Bintang*.

State of Achin in 1511.

At the period when Malacca fell into the hands of the Portuguese, *Achin* and *Daya* are said by the historians of that nation to have been

provinces subject to *Pidir*, and governed by two slaves belonging to the sultan of that place, to each of whom he had given a niece in marriage. Slaves, it must be understood, are in that country on a different footing from those in most other parts of the world, and usually treated as children of the family. Some of them are natives of the continent of India, whom their masters employ to trade for them; allowing them a certain proportion of the profits, and permission to reside in a separate quarter of the city. It frequently happened also, that men of good birth, finding it necessary to obtain the protection of some person in power, became voluntary slaves for this purpose, and the nobles, being proud of such dependants, encouraged the practice by treating them with a degree of respect, and in many instances they made them their heirs. The slave of this description who held the government of *Achin*, had two sons, the elder of whom was named *Raja Ibrahim*, and the younger *Raja Lella*, and were brought up in the house of their master. The father being old was recalled from his post; but on account of his faithful services, the sultan gave the succession to his eldest son, who appears to have been a youth of an ambitious and very sanguinary temper. A jealousy had taken place between him and the chief of *Daya*, whilst they were together at *Pidir*, and as soon as he came into power he resolved to seek revenge, and with that view entered in a hostile manner the district of his rival. When the sultan interposed, it not only added fuel to his resentment, but inspired him with hatred towards his master, and he shewed his disrespect by refusing to deliver up, on the requisition of the sultan, certain Portuguese prisoners taken from a vessel lost at *Pulo Gomez*, and which he afterwards complied with, at the intercession of the Shabandar of *Pasē*. This conduct manifesting an intention of entirely throwing off his allegiance, his father endeavoured to recal him to a sense of his duty, by representing the obligations in which the family were indebted to the sultan, and the relationship which so nearly connected them. But so far was this admonition from producing any good effect, that he took offence at his father's presumption, and ordered him to be confined in a cage, where he died. Irritated by these acts, the sultan resolved to proceed to extremities against
1521. him; but by means of the plunder of some Portuguese vessels, as before related, and the recent defeat of Brito's party, he became so strong in artillery

artillery and ammunition, and so much elated with success, that he set his master at defiance, and prepared to defend himself. His force proved superior to that of *Pidir*, and in the end he obliged the sultan to fly for refuge and assistance to the European fortress at *Pasē*, accompanied by his nephew, the chief of *Daya*, who was also forced from his possessions. 1521.

Ibrahim had for some time infested the Portuguese by sending out parties against them, both by sea and land; but these being always baffled in their attempts with much loss, he began to conceive a violent antipathy against that nation, which he ever after indulged to excess. He got possession of the city of *Pidir* by bribing the principal officers; a mode of warfare that he often found successful, and seldom neglected to attempt. These he prevailed upon to write a letter to their master, couched in artful terms, in which they besought him to come to their assistance with a body of Portuguese, as the only chance of repelling the enemy by whom they pretended to be invested. The sultan shewed this letter to André Henriquez, then governor of the fort, who thinking it a good opportunity to chastise the Achinese, sent by sea a detachment of eighty Europeans and two hundred Malays, under the command of his brother Manuel, whilst the sultan marched over land with a thousand men, and fifteen elephants, to the relief of the place. They arrived at *Pidir* in the night, but being secretly informed that the king of Achin was master of the city, and that the demand for succour was a stratagem, they endeavoured to make their retreat; which the land troops effected, but before the tide could enable the Portuguese to get their boats afloat, they were attacked by the Achinese, who killed Manuel and thirty-five of his men. 1521.

Henriquez perceiving his situation at *Pasē* was becoming critical, not only from the force of the enemy, but the sickly state of his garrison, and the want of provisions, which the country people now withheld from him, discontinuing the fairs that they were used to keep three times in the week, dispatches advices to the governor of India, demanding immediate succours, and also sent to request assistance of the king of *Aru*, who had always proved the stedfast friend of Malacca, and who, though

not wealthy, because his country was not a place of trade, was yet one of the most powerful princes in those parts. The king expressed his joy in having an opportunity of serving his allies, and promised his utmost aid; not only from friendship to them, but indignation against Ibrahim, whom he regarded as a rebellious slave. A supply of stores
1523. at length arrived from India, under the charge of Lopo d'Azuedo, who had orders to relieve Henriquez in the command; but disputes having arisen between them, and chiefly on the subject of certain works which the shabandar of *Pasē* had been permitted to erect adjoining to the fortress, d'Azuedo, to avoid coming to an open rupture, departed for Malacca. Ibrahim having found means to corrupt the honesty of this shabandar, who had received his office from Alboquerque, gained intelligence through him of all that passed. This treason, it is supposed, he would not have yielded to, but for the desperate situation of affairs. The country of *Pasē* was now entirely in subjection to the Achinese, and nothing remained unconquered but the capital; whilst the garrison was distracted with internal divisions.

After the acquisition of *Pidir*, the king thought it necessary to remain there some time, in order to confirm his authority, and sent his brother *Raja Lella* with a large army to reduce the territories of *Pasē*, which he effected in the course of three months, and with the more facility, because that all the principal nobility had fallen in the action with *Jeinal*. He fixed his camp within half a league of the city, and gave notice to Ibrahim of the state in which matters were, who speedily joined him, being anxious to render himself master of the place, before the promised succours from the king of *Aru* could arrive. His first step was to issue a proclamation, giving notice to the people of the town, that whoever should submit to his authority within six days, should have their lives, families, and properties secured to them, but that all others must expect to feel the punishment due to their obstinacy. This had the effect he looked for, the greater part of the inhabitants coming over to his camp. He then commenced his military operations, and in the third attack got possession of the town, after much slaughter; those who escaped his fury taking shelter in the neighbouring mountains and thick

thick woods. He sent a message to the commander of the fortress, requiring him to abandon it, and to deliver into his hands the kings of *Pidir* and *Daya*, to whom he had given protection. Henriquez returned a spirited answer to this summons, but being sickly at the time, at best of an unsteady disposition, and too much attached to his trading concerns, for a soldier, he resolved to relinquish the command to his relation Aires Coelho, and take passage for the West of India.

He had not advanced farther on his voyage than the point of *Pidir*, 1523.
when he fell in with two Portuguese ships bound to the Moluccas, the captains of which he made acquainted with the situation of the garrison, and they immediately proceeded to its relief. Arriving in the night they heard great firing of cannon, and learned next morning that the Achinese had made a furious assault, in hopes of carrying the fortress, before the ships, which were descried at a distance, could throw succours into it. They had mastered some of the outworks, and the garrison represented that it was impossible for them to support such another shock, without aid from the vessels. The captains with as much force as could be spared, entered the fort, and a sally was shortly afterwards resolved on and executed, in which the besiegers sustained considerable damage. Every effort was likewise employed to repair the breaches, and stop up the mines that had been made by the enemy in order to effect a passage into the place. Ibrahim now attempted to draw them into a snare, by removing his camp to a distance, and making a feint of abandoning his enterprise; but this stratagem proved ineffectual. Reflecting then with indignation, that his own force consisted of fifteen thousand men, whilst that of the Europeans did not exceed three hundred and fifty, many of whom were sick and wounded, and others worn out with the fatigue of continual duty, (intelligence whereof was conveyed to him) he resolved once more to return to the siege, and make a general assault upon all parts of the fortification at once. Two hours before day-break he caused the place to be surrounded with eight thousand men, who approached in perfect silence. The night time was preferred by these people for making their attacks, as being then most secure from the effect of fire-arms, and they also generally chose a time of rain, when the powder would not burn. As soon as they found themselves perceived,

perceived, they set up a hideous shout, and fixing their scaling ladders, made of bamboo, and wonderfully light, to the number of six hundred, they attempted to force their way through the embrasures for the guns; but after a strenuous contest they were at length repulsed. Seven elephants were driven with violence against the paling of one of the bastions, which gave way before them like a hedge, and overset all the men who were on it. Javelins and pikes these enormous beasts made no account of, but upon setting fire to powder under their trunks, they drew back with precipitation, in spite of all the efforts of their drivers; overthrew their own people; and flying to the distance of several miles, could not again be brought into the lines. The Achinese upon receiving this check, thought to take revenge by setting fire to some vessels that were in the dock yard; but this proved an unfortunate measure to them, for by the light which it occasioned, the garrison were enabled to point their guns, and did abundant execution.

1524. Henriquez, after beating sometime against a contrary wind, put back to *Pasē*, and coming on shore the day after this conflict, resumed his command. A council was soon after held, to determine what measures were fittest to be pursued in the present situation of affairs, and taking into their consideration that no further assistance could be expected from the west of India in less than six months; that the garrison was sickly, and provisions short, it was resolved, by a majority of votes, to abandon the place, and measures were taken accordingly. In order to conceal their intentions from the enemy, they ordered such of the artillery and stores as could be removed conveniently, to be packed up in the form of merchandise, and then shipped off. A party was left to set fire to the buildings, and trains of powder were so disposed as to lead to the larger cannon, which they over-charged, that they might burst as soon as heated. But this was not effectually executed, and the pieces mostly fell into the hands of the Achinese, who upon the first alarm of the evacuation rushed in, extinguished the flames, and turned upon the Portuguese their own artillery, many of whom were killed in the water, as they hurried to get into their boats. They now lost as much credit by this ill conducted retreat, as they had acquired by their gallant defence, and were insulted by the reproachful shouts of the enemy; whose power

power was greatly increased by this acquisition of military stores, and of which they often severely experienced the effects. To render their disgrace more striking, it happened that as they sailed out of the habour, they met thirty boats laden with provisions for their use from the king of *Aru*, who was himself on his march over-land with four thousand men: and when they arrived at Malacca they found troops and stores embarked there for their relief. The unfortunate princes who had sought an asylum with them, now joined in their flight; the sultan of *Pasē* proceeded to Malacca, and the sultan of *Pidir* and chief of *Daya* took refuge with the king of *Aru*.

Raja Nara, king of *Indragiri*, in conjunction with a force from *Bintang*, attacked the king of a neighbouring island, called *Liñgga*, who was in friendship with the Portuguese. A message which passed on this occasion gives a just idea of the style and manners of this people. Upon their acquainting the king of *Liñgga*, in their summons of surrender, that they had lately overcome the fleet of Malacca, he replied, that his intelligence informed him of the contrary; that he had just made a festival and killed fifty goats to celebrate one defeat which they had received, and hoped soon to kill an hundred, in order to celebrate a second. His expectations were fulfilled, or rather anticipated, for the Portuguese having a knowledge of the king of *Indragiri*'s design, sent out a small fleet, which routed the combined force before the king of *Liñgga* was acquainted with their arrival; his capital being situated high up on the river. In the next year, at the conquest of *Bintang*, this king, unsolicited, sent assistance to his European allies. 1515. 1526.

However well founded the accounts may have been which the Portuguese have given us of the cruelties committed against their people by the king of Achin, the barbarity does not appear to have been only on one side. Francisco de Mello being sent in an armed vessel with dispatches to Goa, met, near Achin-head, with a ship of that nation just arrived from Mecca, and supposed to be richly laden. As she had on board three hundred Achinese and forty Arabs, he dared not venture to board her, but battered her at a distance; when suddenly she filled and sunk, to the extreme disappointment of the Portuguese, who thereby 1527.

lost

lost their prize; but they wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate crew, as they endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, and boast that they did not suffer a man to escape. Opportunities of retaliation soon offered.

1529. Simano de Sousa going with a reinforcement to the Moluccas from Cochin, was overtaken in the bay by a violent storm, which forced him to stow many of his guns in the hold; and having lost several of his men through fatigue, he made for the nearest port he could take shelter in, which proved to be Achin. The king having the destruction of the Portuguese at heart, and resolving, if possible, to seize their vessel, sent off a message to De Sousa, recommending his standing in closer to the shore, where he would have more shelter from the gale which still continued, and lie more conveniently for getting off water and provisions; at the same time inviting him to land. This artifice not succeeding, he ordered out the next morning a thousand men in twenty boats, who at first pretended they were come to assist in mooring the ship; but the captain, aware of their hostile design, fired amongst them; when a fierce engagement took place, in which the Achinese were repulsed with great slaughter, but not until they had destroyed forty of the Portuguese. The king, enraged at this disappointment, ordered a second attack, threatening to have his admiral trampled to death by elephants if he failed of success. A boat was sent a-head of this fleet with a signal of peace, and assurances to De Sousa, that the king, as soon as he was made acquainted with the injury that had been committed, had caused the perpetrators of it to be punished, and now once more requested him to come on shore and trust to his honour. This proposal some of the crew were inclined that he should accept, but, being animated by a speech that he made to them, it was resolved, that they should die with arms in their hands, in preference to a disgraceful and hazardous submission. The combat was therefore renewed, with extreme fury on the one side, and uncommon efforts of courage on the other, and the assailants were a second time repulsed; but one of those who had boarded the vessel and afterwards made his escape, represented to the Achinese the reduced and helpless situation of their enemy, and fresh supplies coming off, they were encouraged to return to the attack. De Sousa and his people were at length almost

almost all cut to pieces, and those who survived, being desperately wounded, were overpowered, and led prisoners to the king, who unexpectedly treated them with extraordinary kindness, in order to cover the designs he harboured, and pretended to lament the fate of their brave commander. He directed them to fix upon one of their companions, who should go in his name to the governor of Malacca, to desire he would immediately send to take possession of the ship, which he meant to restore, as well as to liberate them. He hoped by this artifice to draw more of the Portuguese into his power, and at the same time to effect a purpose of a political nature. A war had recently broke out between him and the king of *Aru*, the latter of whom had deputed ambassadors to Malacca, to solicit assistance, in return for his former services; and which was readily promised to him. It was highly the interest of the king of Achin to prevent this junction, and therefore, though determined to relax nothing in his plans of revenge, he hastened to dispatch Antonio Caldeira, one of the captives, with proposals of accommodation and alliance, offering to restore not only this vessel, but also the artillery which he had taken at *Pasē*. These terms appeared to the governor too advantageous to be rejected. Conceiving a favourable idea of the king's intentions, from the confidence which Caldeira, who was deceived by the humanity shewn to the wounded captives, appeared to place in his sincerity, he became deaf to the representations that were made to him by more experienced persons, of his insidious character. A message was sent back, agreeing to accept his friendship on the proposed conditions, and engaging to withhold the promised succours from the king of *Aru*. Caldeira, in his way to Achin, touched at an island, where he was cut off with those who accompanied him. The ambassadors from *Aru* being acquainted with this breach of faith, retired in great disgust, and the king, incensed at the ingratitude shewn him, concluded a peace with Achin; but not till after an engagement between their fleets had taken place, in which the victory remained undecided.

In order that he might learn the causes of the obscurity in which his negotiations with Malacca rested, Ibrahim dispatched a secret messenger to *Senaia Raja, bandhara* of that city, with whom he held a correspondence;

pondence; desiring also to be informed of the strength of the garrison. Hearing in answer, that the governor newly arrived was inclined to think favourably of him, he immediately sent an ambassador to wait on him, with assurances of his pacific and friendly disposition; who returned in company with persons empowered, on the governor's part, to negotiate a treaty of commerce. These, upon their arrival at Achin, were loaded with favours and costly presents; the news of which quickly flew to Malacca; and the business they came on being adjusted, they were suffered to depart; but they had not sailed far before they were overtaken by boats sent after them, and were stript and murdered. The governor, who had heard of their setting out, concluded they were lost by accident. Intelligence of this mistaken opinion was transmitted to the king, who thereupon had the audacity to request that he might be honoured with the presence of some Portuguese of rank and consequence in his capital, to ratify in a becoming manner the articles that had been drawn up; as he ardently wished to see that nation trafficking freely in his dominions.

1529. The deluded governor, in compliance with this request, adopted the resolution of sending thither a large ship, under the command of Manuel Pacheco, with a rich cargo, the property of himself and several merchants of Malacca, who themselves embarked, with the idea of making extraordinary profits. *Senaia* conveyed notice of this preparation to Achin, informing the king at the same time, that if he could make himself master of this vessel, Malacca must fall an easy prey to him, as the place was weakened of half its force for the equipment. When Pacheco approached the harbour he was surrounded by a great number of boats, and some of the people began to suspect treachery, but so strongly did the spirit of delusion prevail in this business, that they could not persuade the captain to put himself on his guard. He soon had reason to repent his credulity. Perceiving an arrow pass close by him, he hastened to put on his coat of mail, when a second pierced his neck, and he soon expired. The vessel then became an easy prey, and the people being made prisoners, were shortly afterwards massacred by the king's order, along with the unfortunate remnant of De Sousa's crew, so long flattered with the hopes of release. By this capture the king was supposed to have remained in possession of more artillery than was left in Malacca, and he immediately fitted out a fleet to take advantage of its exposed

exposed state. The pride of success causing him to imagine it already in his power, he sent a taunting message to the governor, in which he thanked him for the late instances of his liberality, and let him know he should trouble him for the remainder of his naval force.

Senaia had promised to put the citadel into his hands, and this had certainly been executed but for an accident that discovered his treasonable designs. The crews of some vessels of the Achinese fleet landed on a part of the coast not far from the city, where they were well entertained by the natives, and in the openness of conviviality, related the transactions which had lately passed at Achin, the correspondence of *Senaia*, and the scheme that was laid for rising on the Portuguese when they should be at church, murdering them, and seizing the fortress. Intelligence of this was reported with speed to the governor, who had *Senaia* instantly apprehended and executed. This punishment served to intimidate those among the inhabitants who were engaged in the conspiracy, and disconcerted the plans of the king of Achin.

This appears to be the last transaction of *Ibrahim*'s reign recorded by the Portuguese historians. His death is stated by De Barros to have taken place in the year 1528, in consequence of poison administered to him by one of his wives, to revenge the injuries her brother, the chief of *Daya*, had suffered at his hand. In a Malayan work (lately come into my possession) containing the annals of the kingdom of Achin, it is said that a king, whose title was sultan *Saleh-eddin-shah*, obtained the sovereignty in a year answering to 1511 of our era, and who, after reigning about eighteen years, was dethroned by a brother in 1529. Notwithstanding some apparent discordance between the two accounts, there can be little doubt of the circumstances applying to the same individual, as it may well be presumed that, according to the usual practice in the East, he adopted, upon ascending the throne, a title different from the name which he had originally borne, although that might continue to be his more familiar appellation, especially in the mouths of his enemies. The want of precise coincidence in the dates cannot be thought an objection, as the event not falling under the immediate observation of the Portuguese, they cannot pretend to accuracy within a

few months, and even their account of the subsequent transactions renders it more probable that it happened in 1529; nor are the facts of his being dethroned by the brother, or put to death by the sister, materially at variance with each other; and the latter circumstance, whether true or false, might naturally enough be reported at Malacca.

1529. His successor took the name of *Ala-eddin-shah*, and afterwards, from his great enterprises, acquired the additional epithet of *keher* or the powerful. By the Portuguese he is said to have styled himself king of *Achin*, *Barus*, *Pidir*, *Pasé*, *Daya*, and *Batta*, prince of the land of the two seas, and of the mines of *Menañgkabau*. Nothing is recorded of his
1537. reign until the year 1537, in which he twice attacked Malacca. The first time he sent an army of three thousand men, who landed near the city by night, unperceived by the garrison, and having committed some ravages in the suburbs, were advancing to the bridge, when the governor, Estavano de Gama, sallied out with a party, and obliged them to retreat for shelter to the woods. Here they defended themselves during the next day, but on the following night they re-embarked, with the loss of five hundred men. A few months afterwards the king had the place invested with a larger force; but in the interval the works had been repaired and strengthened, and after three days ineffectual attempt
1547. the Achinese were again constrained to retire. In the year 1547 he once more fitted out a fleet against Malacca, where a descent was made; but contented with some trifling plunder, the army re-embarked, and the vessels proceeded to the river of Parles on the Malayan coast. Hither they were followed by a Portuguese squadron, which attacked and defeated a division of the fleet, at the mouth of the river. This victory was rendered famous, not so much by the valour of the combatants, as by a revelation opportunely made from heaven to the celebrated missionary Francisco Xavier, of the time and circumstances of it, and which he announced to the garrison, at a moment when the approach of a powerful invader from another quarter, had caused much alarm and apprehension among them.

Many transactions of the reign of this prince, particularly with the neighbouring states of *Batta* and *Aru* (about the years 1539 and 1541) are

are mentioned by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto; but his writings are too apocryphal to allow of the facts being recorded upon his authority. Yet there is the strongest internal evidence of his having been more intimately acquainted with the countries of which we are now speaking, the character of the inhabitants, and the political transactions of the period, than any of his cotemporaries; and it appears highly probable, that what he has related is substantially true: but there is also reason to believe, that he composed his work from recollection, after his return to Europe, and he may not have been scrupulous in supplying from a fertile imagination the unavoidable failures of memory, however richly stored.

The death of *Ala-eddin* took place, according to the Annals, in 1556, after a reign of twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by sultan *Hussein-shah*, who reigned about eight, and dying in 1565, was succeeded by his son, an infant. This child survived only seven months; and in the same year the throne was occupied by *Raja Firman-shah*, who was murdered soon after. His successor, *Raja Janil*, experienced a similar fate, when he had reigned ten months. This event is placed in 1567. Sultan *Mansur-shah*, from the kingdom of *Perak* in the peninsula, was the next who ascended the throne. 1556. 1565. 1567.

The western powers of India having formed a league for the purpose of extirpating the Portuguese, the king of Achin was invited to accede to it, and in conformity with the engagements by which the respective parties were bound, he prepared to attack them in Malacca, and carried thither a numerous fleet, in which were fifteen thousand people of his own subjects, and four hundred Turks, with two hundred pieces of artillery of different sizes. In order to amuse the enemy, he gave out that his force was destined against Java, and sent a letter, accompanied with a present of a *kris*, to the governor, professing strong sentiments of friendship. A person whom he turned on shore with marks of ignominy, being suspected for a spy, was taken up, and being put to the torture, confessed that he was employed by the Ottoman emperor and king of Achin, to poison the principal officers of the place, and to set 1567.

fire

fire to their magazine. He was put to death, and his mutilated carcase was sent off to the king. This was the signal for hostilities. He immediately landed with all his men, and commenced a regular siege. Sallies were made with various success, and very unequal numbers. In one of these, the chief of *Aru*, the king's eldest son, was killed. In another the Portuguese were defeated and lost many officers. A variety of stratagems were employed to work upon the fears, and shake the fidelity of the inhabitants of the town. A general assault was given, in which, after prodigious efforts of courage, and imminent risk of destruction, the besieged remained victorious. The king seeing all his attempts fruitless, at length departed, having lost three thousand men before the walls, beside about five hundred who were said to have died of their wounds on the passage. The king of *Ujong-tanah* or *Johor*, who arrived with a fleet to the assistance of the place, found the sea for a long distance covered with dead bodies. This was esteemed one of the most desperate and honourable sieges the Portuguese experienced in India, their whole force consisting of but fifteen hundred men, of whom no more than two hundred were Europeans.

1568. In the following year a vessel from Achin bound to *Java*, with ambassadors on board to the queen of *Japara*, in whom the king wished to raise up a new enemy against the Portuguese, was met in the straits by a vessel from Malacca, who took her, and put all the people to the sword. It appears to have been a maxim in these wars, never to give
1569. quarter to an enemy, whether resisting or submitting. In 1569 a single ship, commanded by Lopez Carrasco, passing near Achin, fell in with a fleet coming out of that port, consisting of twenty large gallies, and an hundred and eighty other vessels, commanded by the king in person, and supposed to be designed against Malacca. The situation of the Portuguese was desperate. 'They could not expect to escape, and therefore resolved to die like men. During three days they sustained a continual attack, when, after having by incredible exertions destroyed forty of the enemy's vessels, and being themselves reduced to the state of a wreck, a second ship appeared in sight. The king perceiving this, retired into the harbour with his shattered forces.

It

It is difficult to determine which of the two is the more astonishing; the vigorous stand made by such a handful of men as the whole strength of Malacca consisted of; or the prodigious resources and perseverance of the Achinese monarch. In 1573, after forming an alliance with 1573.
the queen of *Japara*, the object of which was the destruction of the European power, he appeared again before Malacca with ninety vessels, twenty-five of them large gallies, with seven thousand men, and great store of artillery. He began his operations by sending a party to set fire to the suburbs of the town, but a timely shower of rain prevented its taking effect. He then resolved on a different mode of warfare, and tried to starve the place to a surrender, by blocking up the harbour, and cutting off all supplies of provisions. The Portuguese to prevent the fatal consequences of this measure, collected those few vessels which they were masters of, and a merchant ship of some force arriving opportunely, they put to sea, attacked the enemies fleet, killed the principal captain, and obtained a complete victory. In the year following, Malacca was 1574.
invested by an armada from the queen of *Japara*, of three hundred sail, eighty of which were junks of four hundred tons burthen. After besieging the place for three months, till the very air became corrupted by their stay, the fleet retired with little more than five thousand men, of fifteen that embarked on the expedition.

Scarcely was the Javanese force departed, when the king of Achin once 1575.
more appeared with a fleet that is described as covering the straits. He ordered an attack upon three Portuguese frigates that were in the road protecting some provision vessels; which was executed with such a furious discharge of artillery, that they were presently destroyed with all their crews. This was a dreadful blow to Malacca, and lamented, as the historian relates, with tears of blood by the little garrison, who were not now above an hundred and fifty men, and of those a great part non-effective. The king, elated with his success, landed his troops, and laid siege to the fort, which he battered at intervals during seventeen days. The fire of the Portuguese became very slack, and after some time totally ceased, as the governor judged it prudent to reserve his small stock of ammunition for an effort at the last extremity. The king, alarmed at this

this silence, which he construed into a preparation for some dangerous stratagem, was seized with a panic, and suddenly raising the siege, embarked with the utmost precipitation; unexpectedly relieving the garrison from the ruin that hung over it, and which seemed inevitable in the ordinary course of events.

1582. In 1582 we find the king appearing again before Malacca with an hundred and fifty sail of vessels. After some skirmishes with the Portuguese ships, in which the success was nearly equal on both sides, the Achinese proceeded to attack *Johor*, the king of which was then in alliance with Malacca. Twelve ships followed them thither, and having burned some of their gallies, defeated the rest, and obliged them to fly to Achin. The operations of these campaigns, and particularly the valour of the commander, named *Raja Mukuta*, are alluded to in Queen Elizabeth's letter to the king, delivered in 1602 by Sir James Lancaster.

About three or four years after this misfortune *Mansur-shah* prepared a fleet of no less than three hundred sail of vessels, and was ready to embark once more upon his favourite enterprise, when he was murdered, together with his queen and many of the principal nobility, by the general of the forces, who had long formed designs upon the crown. This
1585. was perpetrated in May, 1585, when he had reigned nearly eighteen years. In his time the consequence of the kingdom of Achin is represented to have arrived at a considerable height, and its friendship to have been courted by the most powerful states. No city in India possessed a more flourishing trade, the port being crowded with merchant vessels, which were encouraged to resort thither by the moderate rates of the customs levied; and although the Portuguese and their ships were continually plundered, those belonging to every Asiatic power, from *Mecca* in the West to Japan in the East, appear to have enjoyed protection and security. The despotic authority of the monarch was counterpoised by the influence of the *orang-kayas* or nobility, who are described as being possessed of great wealth, living in fortified houses, surrounded by numerous dependants, and feeling themselves above controul, often giving a licentious range to their proud and impatient tempers.

The

The late monarch's daughter and only child was married to the king of *Johor*,[a] by whom she had a son, who being regarded as heir to the crown of Achin, had been brought to the latter place to be educated under the eye of his grandfather. When the general (whose name is corruptly written *Moratiza*) assumed the powers of government, he declared himself the protector of this child, and we find him mentioned in the Annals by the title of Sultan *Buyong* (or the Boy), but before he had completed the third year of his nominal reign, he also was dispatched, and the usurper took formal possession of the throne in the year 1588, 1588
by the name of *Ala-eddin Rayet-shah*,[b] being then at an advanced period of life.

The Annals say he was the grandson of Sultan *Firman-shah*; but the Europeans who visited Achin during his reign report him to have been originally a fisherman, who, having afterwards served in the wars against Malacca, shewed so much courage, prudence, and skill in maritime affairs, that the late king made him at length the chief commander of his forces, and gave him one of his nearest kinswomen to wife, in right of whom he is said to have laid claim to the throne.

The French Commodore Beaulieu relates the circumstances of this revolution in a very different manner.[c] He says, that upon the extinc-

[a] The king of Acheen sent on this occasion, to Johor, a piece of ordnance, such as for greatness, length, and workmanship (says Linschoten), could hardly be matched in all Christendom. It was afterwards taken by the Portuguese, who shipped it for Europe, but the vessel was lost in her passage.

[b] Valentyn, by an obvious corruption, names him Sulthan *Alcider Ryetza*, and this coincidence is strongly in favour of the authenticity and correctness of the Annals. John Davis, who will be hereafter mentioned, calls him, with sufficient accuracy, Sultan *Aladin*.

[c] The commodore had great opportunity of information, was a man of very superior ability, and indefatigable in his inquiries upon all subjects, as appears by the excellent account of his voyage, and of Achin in particular, written by himself, and published in Thevenot's collection, of which there is an English translation in Harris; but it is possible he may, in this instance, have been amused by a plausible tale from the grandson of this monarch,

tion of the ancient royal line, which happened about forty years before the period at which he wrote, the *orang-kayas* met in order to chuse a king, but every one affecting the dignity for himself, they could not agree, and resolved to decide it by force. In this ferment the *cadi* or chief judge, by his authority and remonstrances persuaded them to offer the crown to a certain noble, who in all these divisions had taken no part, but had lived in the reputation of a wise, experienced man, being then seventy years of age, and descended from one of the most respectable families of the country. After several excuses on his side, and entreaties and even threats on theirs, he at length consented to accept the dignity thus imposed upon him, provided they should regard him as a father, and receive correction from him as his children; but no sooner was he in possession of the sovereign power than (like Pope Sixtus the Fifth) he shewed a different face, and the first step after his accession was to invite the *orang-kayas* to a feast, where, as they were separately introduced, he caused them to be seized and murdered in a court behind the palace. He then proceeded to demolish their fortified houses, and lodged their cannon, arms, and goods, in the castle, taking measures to prevent in future the erection of any buildings of substantial materials that could afford him grounds of jealousy. He raised his own adherents, from the lower class of people, to the first dignities of the state, and of those who presumed to express any disapprobation of his conduct, he made great slaughter, being supposed to have executed not less than twenty thousand persons in the first year of his reign.

From the silence of the Portuguese writers with respect to the actions of this king, we have reason to conclude, that he did not make any attempts to disturb their settlement of Malacca; and it even appears that some persons in the character of ambassadors or agents from that power resided at Achin, the principal object of whose policy appears to have been

monarch, with whom he had much intercourse. John Davis, an intelligent English navigator, whose account I have followed, might have been more likely to hear the truth, as he was at Achin (though not a frequenter of the court) during *Ala-eddin's* reign, whereas Beaulieu did not arrive till twenty years after; and the report of his having been originally a fisherman, is also mentioned by the Dutch writers.

been that of inspiring him with jealousy and hatred of the Hollanders, who in their turn were actively exerting themselves to supplant the conquerors of India.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century they began to navigate these seas; and in June, 1600, visited Achin with two ships, but had no cause to boast of the hospitality of their reception. An attempt was made to cut them off, and evidently by the orders or connivance of the king, who had prevailed upon the Dutch admiral to take on board troops and military stores for an expedition meditated, or pretended, against the city of *Johor*, which these ships were to bombard. Several of the crews were murdered, but after a desperate conflict in both ships, the treacherous assailants were overcome and driven into the water, "and it was some pleasure (says John Davis, an Englishman, who was the principal pilot of the squadron) to see how the base Indians did fly, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned."* This barbarous and apparently unprovoked attack was attributed, but perhaps without any just grounds, to the instigation of the Portuguese. 1600.

In November, 1600, Paulus van Caarden having also the command of two Dutch ships, was received upon his landing with much ceremony; but at his first audience the king refused to read a letter from the Prince of Orange, upon its being suggested to him that (instead of paper) it was written on the skin of an unclean animal; and the subsequent treatment experienced by this officer was uniformly bad. It appears, however, that in December, 1601, the king was so far reconciled to this new power as to send two ambassadors to Holland, one of whom died there in August, 1602, and the other returned to Achin subsequently to the death of his master. 1600.

* All the Dutchmen on shore at the time were made prisoners, and many of them continued in that state for several years. Among these was Captain Frederick Houtman, whose Vocabulary of the Malayan language was printed at Amsterdam in 1604; being the first that was published in Europe. My copy has the writer's autograph.

The first English fleet that made its appearance in this part of the world, and laid the foundation of a commerce which was in time to eclipse that
1602. of every other European state, arrived at Achin in June, 1602. Sir James Lancaster, who commanded it, was received by the king with abundant ceremony and respect, which seem with these monarchs to have been usually proportioned to the number of vessels and apparent strength of their foreign guests. The queen of England's letter was conveyed to court with great pomp, and the general, after delivering a rich present, the most admired article of which was a fan of feathers, declared the purpose of his coming was to establish peace and amity between his royal mistress, and her loving brother, the great and mighty king of Achin. He was invited to a banquet prepared for his entertainment, in which the service was of gold, and the king's damsels, who were richly attired and adorned with bracelets and jewels, were ordered to divert him with dancing and music. Before he retired he was arrayed by the king in a magnificent habit of the country, and armedh wit two *krises*. In the present sent as a return for the queen's, there was, among other matters, a valuable ruby set in a ring. Two of the nobles, one of whom was the chief priest, were appointed to settle with Lancaster the terms of a commercial treaty, which was accordingly drawn up and executed in an explicit and regular manner. The Portuguese ambassador, or more properly the Spanish, as those kingdoms were now united, kept a watchful and jealous eye upon his proceedings; but by bribing the spies who surrounded him, he foiled them at their own arts, and acquired intelligence that enabled him to take a rich prize in the straits of Malacca, with which he returned to Achin; and having loaded what pepper he could procure there, took his departure in November of the same year. On this occasion it was requested by the king, that he and his officers would favour him by singing one of the psalms of David, which was performed with much solemnity.

Very little is known of the military transactions of this reign, and no conquest but that of *Pasē* is recorded. He had two sons, the younger of whom he made king of *Pidir*, and the elder, styled Sultan *Muda*, he kept at Achin, in order to succeed him in the throne. In the year 1603,

1603, he resolved to divide the charge of government with his intended heir, as he found his extraordinary age began to render him unequal to the task, and accordingly invested him with royal dignity; but the effect which might have been foreseen quickly followed this measure. The son, who was already advanced in years, became impatient to enjoy more complete power, and thinking his father had possessed the crown sufficiently long, he confined him in a prison, where his days were soon ended. The exact period at which this event took place is not known, but calculating from the duration of his reign as stated in the Annals, it must have been early in the year 1604.[a] He was then ninety- 1604.
five years of age,[b] and described to be a hale man, but extremely gross and fat. His constitution must have been uncommonly vigorous, and his muscular strength is indicated by this ludicrous circumstance, that when he once condescended to embrace a Dutch admiral, contrary to the usual manners of his country, the pressure of his arms was so violent as to cause excessive pain to the person so honoured. He was passionately addicted to women, gaming, and drink, his favourite beverage being arrack. By the severity of his punishments he kept his subjects in extreme awe of him; and the merchants were obliged to submit to more exactions and oppressions than were felt under the government of his predecessors. The seizure of certain vessels belonging to the people of Bantam, and other arbitrary proceedings of that nature, are said to have deterred the traders of India from entering into his ports.

The new king, who took the name of *Ali Maghayat-shah*, proved himself, from indolence or want of capacity, unfit to reign. He was always surrounded by his women, who were not only his attendants but his guards, and carried arms for that purpose. His occupations were the bath and the chase, and the affairs of state were neglected; insomuch that murders, robberies, oppression, and an infinity of disorders took place in the

[a] The Dutch commander Joris van Spilbergen, took leave of him in April, 1603, and his ambassador to Holland, who returned in December, 1604, found his son on the throne, according to Valentyn. Commodore Beaulieu says he died in 1603.

[b] According to Beaulieu. Davis says he was about an hundred; and the Dutch voyages mention that his great age prevented his ever appearing out of his palace.

the kingdom for want of a regular and strict administration of justice. A son of the daughter of *Ala-eddin* had been a favourite of his grandfather, at the time of whose death he was twenty-three years of age, and continued, with his mother, to reside at the court after that event. His uncle, the king of Achin, having given him a rebuke on some occasion, he left his palace abruptly, and fled to the king of *Pidir*, who received him with affection, and refused to send him back at the desire of the elder brother, or to offer any violence to a young prince whom their father loved. This was the occasion of an inveterate war, which cost the lives of many thousand people. The nephew commanded the forces of *Pidir*, and for some time maintained the advantage, but these at length, seeing themselves much inferior in numbers to the army of *Ali-Maghayat*, refused to march, and the king was obliged to give him up, when he was conveyed to Achin, and put in close confinement.

1606. Not long afterwards a Portuguese squadron, under Martin Alfonso, going to the relief of Malacca, then besieged by the Dutch, anchored in Achin road, with the resolution of taking revenge on the king, for receiving these their rivals into his ports, contrary to the stipulations of a treaty that had been entered into between them. The viceroy landed his men, who were opposed by a strong force on the part of the Achinese; but after a stout resistance, they gained the first turf fort with two pieces of cannon, and commenced an attack upon the second, of masonry. In this critical juncture, the young prince sent a message to his uncle, requesting he might be permitted to join the army and expose himself in the ranks; declaring himself more willing to die in battle against the *Kafers* (so they always affected to call the Portuguese) than to languish like a slave in chains. The fears which operated upon the king's mind, induced him to consent to his release. The prince shewed so much bravery on this occasion, and conducted two or three attacks with such success, that Alfonso was obliged to order a retreat, after wasting two days, and losing three hundred men in this fruitless attempt. The reputation of the prince was raised by this affair to a high pitch amongst the people of Achin. His mother, who was an active, ambitious woman, formed the design of placing him on the throne, and furnished him with large sums of money, to be distributed in

in gratuities amongst the principal *orang cayas*. At the same time he endeavoured to ingratiate himself by his manners, with all classes of people. To the rich he was courteous; to the poor he was affable; and he was the constant companion of those who were in the profession of arms. When the king had reigned between three and four years he died suddenly, and at the hour of his death the prince got access to the castle. He bribed the guards; made liberal promises to the officers; advanced a large sum of money to the governor; and sending for the chief priest, obliged him by threats to crown him. In fine, he managed the revolution so happily, that he was proclaimed king before night, to the great joy of the people, who conceived vast hopes from his liberality, courtesy, and valour. The king of *Pidir* was speedily acquainted with the news of his brother's death, but not of the subsequent transactions, and came the next day to take possession of his inheritance. As he approached the castle with a small retinue, he was seized by orders from the reigning prince, who, forgetting the favours he had received, kept him prisoner for a month, and then sending him into the country, under the pretence of a commodious retreat, had him murdered on the way. Those who put the crown on his head were not better requited; particularly the *Maharaja*, or governor of the castle. In a short time his disappointed subjects found, that instead of being humane, he was cruel; instead of being liberal, he displayed extreme avarice; and instead of being affable, he manifested a temper austere and inexorable.

This king, whom the Annals name *Iskander Muda*, was known to our travellers by the title of sultan *Paduka Sri* (words equivalent to "most gracious") sovereign of Achin and of the countries of *Aru*, *Dilli*, *Johor*, *Pahang*, *Kedah*, and *Perak*, on the one side, and of *Barus*, *Pasaman*, *Tiku*, *Siieda*, and *Priaman* on the other. Some of these places were conquered by him, and others he inherited. He shewed much friendship to the Hollanders in the early part of his reign; and in the year 1613 gave 1613.
permission to the English to settle a factory, granting them many indulgences, in consequence of a letter and present from king James the first. He bestowed on Captain Best, who was the bearer of them, the title of *orang kaya putih*, and entertained him with the fighting of elephants, buffaloes,

faloes, rams, and tigers. His answer to king James (a translation of which is to be found in Purchas) is couched in the most friendly terms, and he there styles himself king of all Sumatra. He expressed a strong desire that the king of England should send him one of his countrywomen to wife, and promised to make her eldest son king of all the pepper countries, that so the English might be supplied with that commodity by a monarch of their own nation. But notwithstanding his strong professions of attachment to us, and his natural connexion with the Hollanders, arising from their joint enmity to the Portuguese, it was not many years before he began to oppress both nations, and use his endeavours to ruin their trade. He became jealous of their growing power, and particularly in consequence of intelligence that reached him, concerning the encroachments made by the latter in the island of Java.

The conquest of *Aru* seems never to have been thoroughly effected by the kings of Achin. *Paduka Sri* carried his arms thither, and boasted
1613. of having obtained some victories. In 1613 he subdued *Siak* in its neighbourhood. Early in the same year he sent an expedition against the kingdom of *Johor* (which had always maintained a political connexion with *Aru*) and reducing the city after a siege of twenty-nine days, plundered it of every thing moveable, and made slaves of the miserable inhabitants. The king fled to the island of *Bintang*; but his youngest brother and coadjutor was taken prisoner and carried to Achin. The old king of *Johor*, who had so often engaged the Portuguese, left three sons, the eldest of whom succeeded him by the title of *Jäng de per-tuan*,* the second was made king of *Siak*, and the third called *Raja Bongsu*, reigned jointly with the first. He it was who assisted the Hollanders in the first siege of Malacca, and corresponded with Prince Maurice. The king of Achin was married to their sister; but this did not prevent a long and cruel war between them. A Dutch factory at *Johor* was involved in the consequences of this war, and several of that nation were among the prisoners.

* This is not an individ u atitle or proper name, but signifies the sovereign or reigning monarch. In like manner *Raja Bongsu* signifies the king's youngest brother, as *Raja Muda* does the heir apparent.

prisoners. In the course of the same year, however, the king of Achin thought proper to establish *Raja Boñgsu* on the throne of *Johor*, sending him back for that purpose with great honours, assisting him to rebuild the fort and city, and giving him one of his own sisters in marriage.

In 1615 the king of Achin sailed to the attack of Malacca in a fleet which he had been four years employed in preparing. It consisted of above five hundred sail, of which an hundred were large gallies, greater than any at that time built in Europe, carrying each from six to eight hundred men, with three large cannon, and several smaller pieces. These gallies the *orang kayas* were obliged to furnish, repair, and man, at the peril of their lives. The soldiers served without pay, and carried three months provision at their own charge. In this great fleet there were computed to be sixty thousand men, whom the king commanded in person. His wives and household were taken to sea with him. Coming in sight of the Portuguese ships in the afternoon, they received many shot from them, but avoided returning any, as if from contempt. The next day they got ready for battle, and drew up in form of a half moon. A desperate engagement took place, and lasted without intermission till midnight, during which the Portuguese admiral was three times boarded, and repeatedly on fire. Many vessels on both sides were also in flames, and afforded light to continue the combat. At length the Achinese gave way, after losing fifty sail of different sizes, and twenty thousand men. They retired to *Bancalis*, on the eastern coast of Sumatra, and shortly afterwards sailed for Achin, the Portuguese not daring to pursue their victory, both on account of the damage they had sustained, and their apprehension of the Hollanders, who were expected at Malacca. The king proposed that the prisoners taken should be mutually given up, which was agreed to, and was the first instance of that act of humanity and civilisation between the two powers. 1615.

Three years afterwards the king made a conquest of the cities of *Kedah* and *Perak*, on the Malayan coast, and also of a place called *Dilli* in Sumatra. This last had been strongly fortified by the assistance of the Portuguese, and gave an opportunity of displaying much skill in the attack. Trenches were regularly opened before it, and a siege carried 1619.

on for six weeks, ere it fell. In the same year the king of *Jorcan* (a place unknown at present by that name) fled for refuge to Malacca, with eighty sail of boats, having been expelled his dominions by the king of Achin. The Portuguese were not in a condition to afford him relief, being themselves surrounded with enemies, and fearful of an attack from the Achinese more especially; but the king was then making preparations against an invasion he heard was meditated by the viceroy of Goa. Reciprocal apprehensions kept each party on the defensive.

The French being desirous of participating in the commerce of Achin, of which all the European nations had formed great ideas, and all found themselves disappointed in, sent out a squadron commanded by General
1621. Beaulieu, which arrived in January, 1621, and finally left it in December of the same year. He brought magnificent presents to the king, but these did not content his insatiable avarice, and he employed a variety of mean arts to draw from him further gifts. Beaulieu met also with many difficulties, and was forced to submit to much extortion, in his endeavours to procure a loading of pepper, of which Achin itself, as has been observed, produced but little. The king informed him that he had some time since ordered all the plants to be destroyed, not only because the cultivation of them proved an injury to more useful agriculture, but also least their produce might tempt the Europeans to serve him, as they had served the kings of *Jakatra* and *Bantam*. From this apprehension, he had lately been induced to expel the English and Dutch from their settlements at *Priaman* and *Tiku*, where the principal quantity of pepper was procured, and of which places he changed the governor every third year, to prevent any connexions dangerous to his authority, from being formed. He had likewise driven the Dutch from a factory they were attempting to settle at *Padang*; which place appears to be the most remote on the western coast of the island, to which the Achinese conquests at any time extended.

1628. Still retaining a strong desire to possess himself of Malacca, so many years the grand object of Achinese ambition, he imprisoned the ambassador then at his court, and made extraordinary preparations for the siege, which he designed

designed to undertake in person. The *laksamana* or commander in chief (who had effected all the king's late conquests) attempted to oppose this resolution; but the *maharaja*, willing to flatter his master's propensity, undertook to put him in possession of the city, and had the command of the fleet given to him, as the other had of the land forces. The king set out on the expedition with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, (forty-seven of them not less than an hundred feet in the keel) in which were twenty thousand men well appointed, and a great train of artillery. After being some time on board, with his family and retinue as usual, he determined, on account of an ill omen that was observed, to return to the shore. The generals, proceeding without him, soon arrived before Malacca. Having landed their men, they made a judicious disposition, and began the attack with much courage and military skill. The Portuguese were obliged to abandon several of their posts, one of which, after a defence of fifty days, was levelled with the ground, and from its ruins strong works were raised by the *laksamana*. The *maharaja* had seized another post advantageously situated. From their several camps they had lines of communication, and the boats on the river were stationed in such a manner, that the place was completely invested. Matters were in this posture, when a force of two thousand men came to the assistapce of the besieged, from the king of *Pahang*, and likewise five sail of Portuguese vessels from the coast of Coromandel; but all was insufficient to remove so powerful an enemy, although by that time they had lost four thousand of their troops in the different attacks and skirmishes. In the latter end of the year a fleet of thirty sail of ships, large and small, under the command of Nunno Alvarez Botello, having on board nine hundred European soldiers, appeared off Malacca, and blocked up the fleet of Achin in a river about three miles from the town. This entirely altered the complexion of affairs. The besiegers retired from their advanced works, and hastened to the defence of their gallies; erecting batteries by the side of the river. The *maharaja* being summoned to surrender, returned a civil, but resolute answer. In the night, endeavouring to make his escape with the smaller vessels, through the midst of the Portuguese, he was repulsed and wounded. Next day the whole force of the Achinese dropped down the stream, with a design to fight their way, but after an engagement of two hours, their principal galley,

named the "Terrour of the world" was boarded and taken, after losing five hundred men of seven which she carried. Many other vessels were afterwards captured or sunk. The *laksamana* hung out a white flag, and sent to treat with Nunno, but some difficulty arising about the terms, the engagement was renewed with great warmth. News was brought to the Portuguese that the *maharaja* was killed, and that the king of *Pahang* was approaching with an hundred sail of vessels to reinforce them. Still the Achinese kept up a dreadful fire, which seemed to render the final success doubtful; but at length they sent proposals, desiring only to be allowed three gallies of all their fleet to carry away four thousand men who remained of twenty that came before the town. It was answered, that they must surrender at discretion; which the *laksamana* hesitating to do, a furious assault took place both by water and land upon his gallies and works, which were all effectually destroyed or captured; not a ship, and scarcely a man escaping. He himself in the last extremity fled to the woods, but was seized ere long by the king of *Pahang*'s scouts. Being brought before the governor, he said to him, with an undaunted countenance, "Behold here the *laksamana* for the first time overcome!" He was treated with respect, but kept a prisoner, and sent on his own famous ship, to Goa, in order to be from thence conveyed to Portugal: but death deprived his enemies of that distinguished ornament of their triumph.

This signal defeat proved so important a blow to the power of Achin, that we read of no further attempts to renew the war, until the year
1635. 1635, when the king, encouraged by the feuds which at this time prevailed in Malacca, again violated the law of nations, to him little known, by imprisoning their ambassador, and caused all the Portuguese about his court to be murdered. No military operations, however, immediately took place, in consequence of this barbarous proceeding. In the year
1640. 1640, the Dutch, with twelve men of war, and the king of Achin with twenty-five gallies, appeared before that harassed and devoted city;
1641. which at length, in the following year, was wrested from the hands of the Portuguese, who had so long, through such difficulties, maintained possession of it. This year was also marked by the death of the sultan, whom the Dutch writers name *Paduka Sri*, at the age of sixty, after a reign of

of thirty-five years; having just lived to see his hereditary foe subdued; and as if the opposition of the Portuguese power, which seems first to have occasioned the rise of that of Achin, was also necessary to its existence, the splendour and consequence of the kingdom from that period rapidly declined.

The prodigious wealth and resources of the monarchy during his reign, are best evinced by the expeditions he was enabled to fit out; but being no less covetous than ambitious, he contrived to make the expences fall upon his subjects, and at the same time filled his treasury with gold, by pressing the merchants, and plundering the neighbouring states. An intelligent person (Gen. Beaulieu) who was for some time at his court, and had opportunities of information on the subject, uses this strong expression—that he was infinitely rich. He constantly employed in his castle three hundred goldsmiths. This would seem an exaggeration, but that it is well known the Malayan princes have them always about them in great numbers, at this day, working in the manufacture of filagree, for which the country is so famous. His naval strength has been already sufficiently described. He was possessed of two thousand brass guns, and small arms in proportion. His trained elephants amounted to some hundreds. His armies were probably raised only upon the occasion which called for their acting, and that in a mode similar to what was established under the feudal system in Europe. The valley of Achin alone was said to be able to furnish forty thousand men upon an emergency. A certain number of warriors, however, were always kept on foot, for the protection of the king and his capital. Of these the superior class were called *ulubalang*, and the inferior *amba-raja*, who were entirely devoted to his service, and resembled the janizaries of Constantinople. Two hundred horsemen nightly patrolled the grounds about the castle, the inner courts and apartments of which were guarded by three thousand women. The king's eunuchs amounted to five hundred.

The disposition of this monarch was cruel and sanguinary. A multitude of instances are recorded of the horrible barbarity of his punishments,

ments, and for the most trivial offences. He imprisoned his own mother, and put her to the torture, suspecting her to have been engaged in a conspiracy against him, with some of the principal nobles, whom he caused to be executed. He murdered his nephew, the king of *Johor*'s son, of whose favour with his mother he was jealous. He also put to death a son of the king of *Bantam*, and another of the king of *Pahang*, who were both his near relations. None of the royal family survived in 1622 but his own son, a youth of eighteen, who had been thrice banished the court, and was thought to owe his continuance in life, only to his surpassing his father, if possible, in cruelty, and being hated by all ranks of people. He was at one time made king of *Pidir*, but recalled on account of his excesses, confined in prison, and put to strange tortures by his father, whom he did not outlive. The whole territory of Achin was almost depopulated by wars, executions, and oppression. The king endeavoured to re-people the country by his conquests. Having ravaged the kingdoms of *Johor*, *Pahang*, *Kedah*, *Perak*, and *Dilli*, he transported the inhabitants from those places to Achin, to the number of twenty-two thousand persons. But this barbarous policy did not produce the effect he hoped; for the unhappy people being brought naked to his dominions, and not allowed any kind of maintenance on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets. In the planning his military enterprises, he was generally guided by the distresses of his neighbours, for whom, as for his prey, he unceasingly lay in wait; and his preparatory measures were taken with such secrecy, that the execution alone unravelled them. Insidious political craft, and wanton delight in blood, united in him to complete the character of a tyrant.

It must here be observed, that with respect to the period of this remarkable reign, the European and Malayan authorities are considerably at variance, the latter assigning to it something less than thirty solar years, and placing the death of *Iskander Muda* in December, 1636. The Annals further state, that he was succeeded by sultan *Ala-eddin-Mahayat-shah*, who reigned only about four years, and died in February, 1641. That this is the more accurate account I have no hesitation in believing, although Valentyn, who gives a detail of the king's magnificent funeral,

funeral, was persuaded that the reign which ended in 1641, was the same that began in 1607. But he collected his information eighty years after the event, and as it does not appear that any European whose journal has been given to the world, was on the spot at that period, the death of an obscure monarch who died after a short reign, may well have been confounded, by persons at a distance, with that of his more celebrated predecessor. Both authorities, however, are agreed in the important fact, that the successor to the throne, in 1641, was a female. This person is described by Valentyn as being the wife of the old king, and not his daughter, as by some had been asserted; but from the Annals it appears that she was his daughter, named *Taju al-alum;* and as it was in her right that *Maghayat-shah* (certainly her husband), obtained the crown, so, upon his decease, there being no male heir, she peaceably succeeded him in the government, and became the first queen regent of Achin. The succession having thenceforward continued nearly sixty years in the female line, this may be regarded as a new era in the history of the country. The nobles finding their power less restrained, and their individual consequence more felt under an administration of this kind, than when ruled by kings (as sometimes they were with a rod of iron) supported these pageants, whom they governed as they thought fit, and thereby virtually changed the constitution into an aristocracy or oligarchy. The business of the state was managed by twelve *orang-kayas*, four of whom were superior to the rest, and among these the *maharaja*, or governor of the kingdom, was considered as the chief. It does not appear, nor is it probable, that the queen had the power of appointing or removing any of these great officers. No applications were made to the throne but in their presence, nor any public resolution taken, but as they determined in council. The great object of their political jealousy seems to have been the pretensions of the king of *Johor* to the crown, in virtue of repeated intermarriages between the royal families of the two countries, and it may be presumed, that the alarms excited from that quarter materially contributed to reconcile them to the female domination. They are accordingly said to have formed an engagement amongst themselves never to pay obedience to a foreign prince, nor to allow their royal mistress to contract any marriage that might

might eventually lead to such a consequence.* At the same time, by a new treaty with *Johor*, its king was indirectly excused from the homage to the crown of Achin which had been insisted upon by her predecessors, and was the occasion of frequent wars.

In proportion as the political consequence of the kingdom declined, its history, as noticed by foreigners, becomes obscure. Little is recorded of the transactions of her reign, and it is likely that Achin took no active part in the concerns of neighbouring powers, but suffered the Hollanders, who maintained in general a friendly intercourse with her, to remain in
1643. quiet possession of Malacca. In 1643 they sent an ambassador to compliment her upon her accession, and at the same time to solicit payment for a quantity of valuable jewels ordered by the deceased king, but for the amount of which she declined so make herself responsible. It is said
1660. (but the fact will admit of much doubt) that in 1660 she was inclined to marry one of their countrymen, and would have carried her design into execution, had not the East India Company prevented by their authority a connexion that might, as they prudently judged, be productive of embarrassment to their affairs. The Dutch, however, complain that she
1664. gave assistance to their enemies the people of *Perak*, and in 1664 it was found necessary to send a squadron under the command of Pieter de Bitter, to bring her to reason. As it happened that she was at this time at war with some of her own dependants, he made himself master of several places on the western coast, that were nominally at least belong-
1666. ing to Achin. About 1666 the English establishments at Achin and some ports to the southward, appear to have given considerable umbrage
1669. to their rivals. In 1669 the people of *Dilli* on the north-eastern coast threw off their allegiance, and the power of the kingdom became gradually

* However fanciful it may be thought, I cannot doubt that the example of our Queen Elizabeth, whose character and government were highly popular with the Achinese on account of her triumphant contest with the united powers of Spain and Portugal, had a strong influence in the establishment of this new species of monarchy, and that the example of her sister's marriage with Philip may have contributed to the resolution taken by the nobles. The actions of our illustrious queen were a common topic of conversation between the old tyrant and Sir James Lancaster.

dually more and more circumscribed. This queen died in 1675, after reigning, with a degree of tranquillity little known in these countries, upwards of thirty-four years. 1675.

The people being now accustomed and reconciled to female rule, which they found more lenient than that of their kings, acquiesced in general in the established mode of government, and she was immediately succeeded by another female monarch, named *Nur al-alum*, who reigned little more than two years, and died in 1677. 1677.

The queen who succeeded her was named *Anayet-shah*. In the year 1684 she received an embassy from the English government of Madras, and appeared at that time to be about forty years. The persons who were on this occasion presented to her express their suspicious, which were suggested to them by a doubt prevailing amongst the inhabitants, that this sovereign was not a real queen, but an eunuch dressed up in female apparel, and imposed on the public by the artifices of the *orang kayas*. But as such a cheat, though managed with every semblance of reality (which they observe was the case) could not be carried on for any number of years without detection, and as the same idea does not appear to have been entertained at any other period, it is probable they were mistaken in their surmise. Her person they describe to have been large, and her voice surprisingly strong, but not manly.[a] 1684.

The purport of the embassy was to obtain liberty to erect a fortification in her territory, which she peremptorily refused, being contrary to

[a] The following curious passage is extracted from the journal of these gentlemen's proceedings. "We went to give our attendance at the palace this day as customary. Being arrived at the place of audience with the orang cayos, the queen was pleased to order us to come nearer, when her majesty was very inquisitive into the use of our wearing periwigs, and what was the convenience of them; to all which we returned satisfactory answers. After this, her majesty desired of Mr. Ord, if it were no affront to him, that he would take off his periwig, that she might see how he appeared without it; which, according to her majesty's request, he did. She then told us she had heard of our business, and would give her answer by the orang cayos; and so we retired." I venture, with submission, to observe, that this anecdote seems to put the question of the sex beyond controversy.

the established rules of the kingdom; adding, that if the governor of Madras would fill her palace with gold, she could not permit him to build with brick, either fort or house. To have a factory of timber and plank, was the utmost indulgence that could be allowed; and on that footing, the return of the English, who had not traded there for many years, should be welcomed with great friendship. The queen herself, the *orang kayas* represented, was not allowed to fortify, lest some foreign power might avail themselves of it, to enslave the country. In the course of these negotiations it was mentioned, that the agriculture of Achin had suffered considerably of late years, by reason of a general licence given to all the inhabitants to search for gold, in the mountains and rivers which afforded that article; whereas the business had formerly been restricted to certain authorized persons, and the rest obliged to till
1684. the ground. The court feared to give a public sanction for the settlement of the English on any part of the southern coast, lest it should embroil them with the other European powers.[a]

A few

[a] The design of settling a factory at this period, in the dominions of *Achin*, was occasioned by the recent loss of our establishment at *Bantam*, which had been originally fixed by Sir James Lancaster in 1603. The circumstances of this event were as follows. The old sultan had thought proper to share the regal power with his son, in the year 1677, and this measure was attended with the obvious effect, of a jealousy between the parent and child, which soon broke forth into open hostilities. The policy of the Dutch led them to take an active part in favour of the young sultan, who had inclined most to their interests, and now solicited their aid. The English, on the other hand, discouraged what appeared to them an unnatural rebellion, but without interfering, as they said, in any other character than that of mediators, or affording military assistance to either party; and which their extreme weakness, rather than their assertions, renders probable. On the twenty-eighth of March, 1682, the Dutch landed a considerable force from Batavia, and soon terminated the war. They placed the young sultan on the throne, delivering the father into his custody, and obtained from him in return for these favours an exclusive privilege of trade in his territories; which was evidently the sole object they had in view. On the first day of April possession was taken of the English factory by a party of Dutch and country soldiers, and on the twelfth the agent and council were obliged to embark with their property on vessels provided for the purpose, which carried them to Batavia. From thence they proceeded to Surat, on the twenty-second of August in the following year.

In order to retain a share in the pepper-trade, the English turned their thoughts towards Achin, and a deputation, consisting of two gentlemen, of the names of Ord and Cawley, was

A few years before these transactions she had invited the king of *Siam* to renew the antient connexion between their respective states, and to

was sent thither in 1684; the success of which is above related. It happened that at this time, certain *Rajas* or chiefs of the country of *Priaman*, and other places on the west coast of Sumatra were at Achin also, to solicit aid of that court against the Dutch, who had made war upon, and otherwise molested them. These immediately applied to Mr. Ord, expressing a strong desire that the English should settle in their respective districts, offering ground for a fort, and the exclusive purchase of their pepper. They consented to embark for Madras, where an agreement was formed with them by the governor, in the beginning of the year 1685, on the terms they had proposed. In consequence of this, an expedition was fitted out, with the design of establishing a settlement at *Priaman;* but a day or two before the ships sailed, an invitation, to the like purport, was received from the chiefs of *Bengkaulu* (since corruptly called Bencoolen); and as it was known that a considerable proportion of the pepper that used to be exported from Bantam, had been collected from the neighbourhood of Bencoolen, (at a place called *Silebar*), it was judged advisable that Mr. Ord, who was the person entrusted with the management of this business, should first proceed thither; particularly as at that season of the year it was the windward port. He arrived there on the twenty-fifth day of June, 1685, and after taking possession of the country assigned to the English Company, and leaving Mr. Broome in charge of the place, he sailed for the porpose of establishing the other settlements. He stopped first at *Indrapura*, where he found three Englishmen who were left of a small factory, that had been some time before settled there, by a man of the name of Du Jardin. Here he learned that the Dutch, having obtained a knowledge of the original intention of our fixing at *Priaman*, had anticipated us therein, and sent a party to occupy the situation. In the mean time it was understood in Europe that this place was the chief of our establishments on the coast, and ships were accordingly consigned thither. The same was supposed at Madras, and troops and stores were sent to reinforce it, which were afterwards landed at *Indrapura*. A settlement was then formed at *Manjuta*, and another attempted at *Batang-kapas*, in 1686; but here the Dutch, assisted by a party amongst the natives, assaulted and drove out our people. Every possible opposition, as it was natural to expect, was given by these our rivals to the success of our factories. They fixed themselves in the neighbourhood of them, and endeavoured to obstruct the country people from carrying pepper to them, or supplying them with provisions either by sea or land. Our interests, however, in the end prevailed, and Bencoolen in particular, to which the other places were rendered subordinate in 1686, began to acquire some degree of vigour and respectability. In 1689 encouragement was given to Chinese colonists to settle there, whose number has been continually increasing from that time. In 1691 the Dutch felt the loss of their influence at Silebar and other of the southern countries, where they attempted to exert authority in the name of the sultan of Bantam, and the produce of these places was delivered to the English. This revolution proceeded from the works with which about this time our factory was strengthened. In 1695 a settlement was

made

unite in a league against the Dutch, by whose encroachments the commerce of her subjects and the extent of her dominions were much circumscribed.

made at *Triumang*, and two years after at *Kattaun* and *Sablat*. The first, in the year 1700, was removed to *Bantal*. Various applications were made by the natives in different parts of the island for the establishment of factories, particularly from *Ayer-Bangis* to the northward, *Palembang* on the eastern side, and the people from the countries south of *Tallo*, near *Manna*. A person was sent to survey these last, as far as *Pulo Pisang* and *Kroï*, in 1715. In consequence of the inconvenience attending the shipping of goods from Bencoolen river, which is often impracticable from the surfs, a warehouse was built, in 1701, at a place then called the *cove*; which gave the first idea of removing the settlement to the point of land which forms the bay of Bencoolen. The unhealthiness of the old situation was thought to render this an expedient step; and accordingly, about 1714, it was in great measure relinquished, and the foundations of Fort Marlborough were laid on a spot two or three miles distant. Being a high plain it was judged to possess considerable advantages; many of which, however, are counterbalanced by its want of the vicinity of a river, so necessary for the ready and plentiful supply of provisions. Some progress had been made in the erection of this fort, when an accident happened, that had nearly destroyed the Company's views. The natives incensed at ill treatment received from the Europeans, who were then but little versed in the knowledge of their dispositions, or the art of managing them by conciliating methods, rose in a body in the year 1719, and forced the garrison, whose ignorant fears rendered them precipitate, to seek refuge on board their ships. These people began now to feel alarms lest the Dutch, taking advantage of the absence of the English, should attempt an establishment, and soon permitted some persons from the northern factories to resettle the place; and supplies arriving from Madras, things returned to their former course, and the fort was completed. The Company's affairs on this coast remained in tranquillity for a number of years. The important settlement of *Natal* was established in 1752, and that of *Tappanuli* a short time afterwards; which involved the English in fresh disputes with the Dutch, who set up a claim to the country in which they are situated. In the year 1760 the French, under Comte d'Estaing, destroyed all the English settlements on the coast of Sumatra; but they were soon re-established, and our possession secured by the treaty of Paris in 1763. Fort Marlborough, which had been hitherto a peculiar subordinate of Fort St. George, was now formed into an independent presidency, and was furnished with a charter for erecting a mayor's court, but which has never been enforced. In 1781 a detachment of military from thence embarked upon five East India ships, and took possession of Padang and all other Dutch factories, in consequence of the war with that nation. In 1782 the magazine of Fort Marlborough, in which were four hundred barrels of powder, was fired by lightning, and blew up; but providentially few lives were lost. In 1802 an act of parliament was passed "to authorize the East India Company to make their settlement at Fort Marlborough in the East Indies, a factory subordinate to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and to transfer the servants who on the reduction of that establishment shall be supernumerary, to the presidency of Fort St. George." In 1798, plants of the nutmeg and clove had, for the first

cumscribed. It does not appear, however, that this overture was attended with any effect, nor have the limits of the Achinese jurisdiction since that period extended beyond *Pidir* on the northern, and *Barus* on the western coast. She died in 1688, having reigned something less than 1668. eleven years, and was succeeded by a young queen named *Kumalat-shah*; but this did not take place without a strong opposition from a faction amongst the *orang kayas* which wanted to set up a king, and a civil war actually commenced. The two parties drew up their forces on opposite sides of the river, and for two or three nights continued to fire at each other, but in the day time followed their ordinary occupations. These opportunities of intercourse made them sensible of their mutual folly. They agreed to throw aside their arms; and the crown remained in possession of the newly elected queen. It was said to have been esteemed essential, that she should be a maiden, advanced in years, and connected by blood with the ancient royal line. In this reign, an English factory, which had been long discontinued, was re-established at Achin: but in the interval some private traders of this nation had always resided on the spot. These usually endeavoured to persuade the state, that they represented the India Company, and sometimes acquired great influence, which they are accused of having employed in a manner not only detrimental to that body, but to the interests of the merchants of India in general, by monopolizing the trade of the port, throwing impediments in the way of all shipping not consigned to their management, and embezzling the cargoes of such as were. An asylum was also afforded, beyond the reach of law, for all persons whose crimes or debts induced them to fly from the several European settlements. These considerations chiefly made the Company resolve to reclaim their ancient privileges in that kingdom, and a deputation was sent from the presidency of Madras, in the year 1695, for that purpose, with letters addressed to her illustrious majesty the queen of Achin, desiring permission to settle, on the terms her predecessors had granted to them; which was readily complied with,

first time, been procured from the Moluccas; and in 1803 a large importation of these valuable articles of cultivation took place. As the plantations were, by the last accounts from thence, in the most flourishing state, very important commercial advantages were expected to be derived from the culture.

with, and a factory, but on a very limited scale, was established accordingly, but soon declined and disappeared. In 1704, when Charles Lockyer (whose account of his voyage, containing a particular description of this place, was published in 1711) visited Achin, one of these independent factors, named Francis Delton, carried on a flourishing trade. In 1695 the Achinese were alarmed by the arrival of six sail of Dutch ships of force, with a number of troops on board, in their road; not having been visited by any of that nation for fifteen years; but they departed without offering any molestation.

This queen was deposed by her subjects (whose grounds of complaint
1699. are not stated) about the latter part of the year 1699, after reigning also eleven years; and with her terminated the female dynasty, which, during its continuance of about fifty-nine years, had attracted much notice in Europe.

Her successor was named *Beder al-alum sherīf Hasham*, the nature of whose pretensions to the crown does not positively appear, but there is reason to believe that he was her brother. When he had reigned a little more than two years, it pleased God (as the Annals express it) to afflict him with a distemper which caused his feet and hands to contract (probably the gout) and disqualified him for the performance of his religious duties. Under these circumstances he was induced to resign the govern-
1702. ment in 1702, and died about a month after his abdication.

Perkasa-alum, a priest, found means, by his intrigues, to acquire the sovereignty, and one of his first acts was to attempt imposing certain duties on the merchandise imported by English traders, who had been indulged with an exemption from all port-charges, excepting the established complimentary presents upon their arrival and receiving the *chap* or licence. This had been stipulated in the treaty made by Sir James Lancaster, and renewed by Mr. Grey when chief of the Company's factory. The innovation excited an alarm and determined opposition on the part of the masters of ships then at the place, and they proceeded (under the conduct of Capt. Alexander Hamilton, who published an account of his voyage in 1727) to the very unwarrantable step of commencing hostilities,

hostilities, by firing upon the villages situated near the mouth of the river, and cutting off from the city all supplies of provisions by sea. The inhabitants feeling severely the effects of these violent measures, grew clamorous against the government, which was soon obliged to restore to these insolent traders the privileges for which they contended. Advantage was taken of the public discontents to raise an insurrection in favour of the nephew of the late queen, or, according to the Annals, the son of *Beder al-alum* (who was probably her brother), in the event of which *Perkasa-alum* was deposed about the commencement of the year 1704, and after an interregnum or anarchy of three months continuance, the young prince obtained possession of the throne, by the name of *Jemal al-alum*. From this period the native writers furnish very ample details of the transactions of the Achinese government, as well as of the general state of the country, whose prosperous circumstances during the early part of this king's reign, are strongly contrasted with the misery and insignificance to which it was reduced by subsequent events. The causes and progress of this political decline cannot be more satisfactorily set forth than in a faithful translation of the Malayan narrative which was drawn up, or extracted from a larger work, for my use, and is distinct from the Annals already mentioned. 1704.

"When *raja Jemal al-alum* reigned in Achin, the country was exceedingly populous, the nobles had large possessions, the merchants were numerous and opulent, the judgments of the king were just, and no man could experience the severity of punishment but through his own fault. In those days the king could not trade on his own account, the nobles having combined to prevent it; but the accustomed duties of the port were considered as his revenue, and ten per cent. was levied for this purpose upon all merchandise coming into the country. The city was then of great extent, the houses were of brick and stone. The most considerable merchant was a man named Daniel, a Hollander; but many of different nations were also settled there, some from *Surat*, some from *Kutch*, others from *China*. When ships arrived in the port, if the merchants could not take off all the cargoes, the king advanced the funds for purchasing what remained, and divided the goods among them, taking no profit to himself. After the departure of the vessel, the king was paid in gold the amount of his principal, without interest. "His

" His daily amusements were in the grounds allotted for the royal sports. He was attended by an hundred young men, who were obliged to be constantly near his person, day and night, and who were clothed in a sumptuous manner at a monthly expense of an hundred dollars for each man. The government of the different parts of the country was divided, under his authority, amongst the nobles. When a district appeared to be disturbed, he took measures for quelling the insurrection; those who resisted his orders he caused to be apprehended; when the roads were bad, he gave directions for their repair. Such was his conduct in the government. His subjects all feared him, and none dared to condemn his actions. At that time the country was in peace.

" When he had been a few years on the throne, a country lying to the eastward, named *Bat uBara*, attempted to throw off its subjection to Achin. The chiefs were ordered to repair to court, to answer for their conduct, but they refused to obey. These proceedings raised the king's indignation. He assembled the nobles, and required of them that each should furnish a vessel of war, to be employed on an expedition against that place, and within two months, thirty large gallies, without counting vessels of a smaller size, were built and equipped for sea. When the fleet arrived off *Batu Bara* (by which must be understood the Malayan district at the mouth of the river, and not the *Batta* territory through which it takes its course), a letter was sent on shore addressed to the refractory chiefs, summoning them to give proof of their allegiance by appearing in the king's presence, or threatening the alternative of an immediate attack. After much division in their councils, it was at length agreed to feign submission, and a deputation was sent off to the royal fleet, carrying presents of fruit and provisions of all kinds. One of the chiefs carried, as his complimentary offering, some fresh coconuts, of the delicate species called *kalapa-gading*, into which a drug had been secretly introduced. The king observing these, directed that one should be cut open for him, and having drunk of the juice, became affected with a giddiness in his head. (This symptom shews the poison to have been the *upas*, but too much diluted in the liquor of the nut, to produce death). Being inclined to repose, the strangers were ordered to return on shore, and finding his indisposition augment, he gave directions for being

being conveyed back to Achin, whither his ship sailed next day. The remainder of the fleet continued off the coast during five or six days longer, and then returned likewise without effecting the reduction of the place, which the chiefs had lost no time in fortifying.

" About two years after this transaction, the king, under pretence of amusement, made an excursion to the country lying near the source of the river Achin, then under the jurisdiction of a *panglima* or governor, named *Muda Seti*; for it must be understood that this part of the kingdom is divided into three districts, known by the appellations of the Twenty-two, Twenty-six, and Twenty-five *Mukims* (see p.403), which were governed respectively by *Muda Seti*, *Imam Muda*, and *Perbawang-Shah* (or *Purba-wangsa*). These three chiefs had the entire controul of the country, and when their views were united, they had the power of deposing and setting up kings. Such was the nature of the government. The king's expedition was undertaken with the design of making himself master of the person of *Muda Seti*, who had given him umbrage, and on this occasion his followers, of all ranks, were so numerous, that wherever they halted for the night, the fruits of the earth were all devoured, as well as great multitudes of cattle. *Muda Seti*, however, being aware of the designs against him, had withdrawn himself from the place of his usual residence, and was not to be found when the king arrived there; but a report being brought that he had collected five or six hundred followers and was preparing to make resistance, orders were immediately given for burning his house. This being effected, the king returned immediately to Achin, leaving the forces that had accompanied him at a place called *Pakan Badar*, distant about half a day's journey from the capital, where they were directed to entrench themselves. From this post they were driven by the country chief, who advanced rapidly upon them with several thousand men, and forced them to fall back to *Padang Siring*, where the king was collecting an army, and where a battle was fought soon after, that terminated in the defeat of the royal party with great slaughter. Those who escaped took refuge in the castle along with the king.

"Under these disastrous circumstances he called upon the chiefs who adhered to him to advise what was best to be done, surrounded as they were by the country-people, on whom he invoked the curse of God; when one of them, named *Panglima Maharaja*, gave it as his opinion, that the only effectual measure by which the country could be saved from ruin, would be the king's withdrawing himself from the capital so long as the enemy should continue in its vicinity, appointing a regent from among the nobles, to govern the country in his absence; and when subordination should be restored, he might then return and take again possession of his throne. To this proposition he signified his assent, on the condition that *Panglima Maharaja* should assure him by an oath that no treachery was intended; which oath was accordingly taken, and the king having nominated as his substitute *Maharaja Lela*, one of the least considerable of the *ulubalangs*, retired, with his wives and children, to the country of the Four *mukims*, situated about three hours journey to the westward of the city. (The Annals say he fled to *Pidir* in November,
1723. 1723.) Great ravages was committed by the insurgents, but they did not attack the palace, and after some days of popular confusion, the chiefs of the Three districts, who (says the writer) must not be confounded with the officers about the person of the king, held a consultation amongst themselves, and exercising an authority of which there had been frequent examples, set up *Panglima Maharaja* in the room of the abdicated king, (by the title, say the Annals, of *Juhar al-alum*, in December, 1723.) About seven days after his elevation he was seized with a convulsive disorder in his neck and died. A nephew of *Jemal al-alum*, named *Undei Tebang*, was then placed upon the throne, but notwithstanding his having bribed the chiefs of the Three districts with thirty *katties* of gold, they permitted him to enjoy his dignity only a few days, and then deposed him. (The same authority states, that he was set up by the chiefs of the Four *mukims*, and removed through the influence of *Muda Seti*.)

"The person whom they next combined to raise to the throne was *Maharaja Lela* (before-mentioned as the king's substitute.) It was his good fortune to govern the country in tranquillity for the space of nearly twelve

twelve years, during which period the city of Achin recovered its population. (According to the Annals, he began to reign in February, 1724, by the title of *Ala ed-din Ahmed shah Juhan*, and died in June, 1735.) It happened that the same day on which the event of his death took place, *Jemal al-alum* again made his appearance, and advanced to a mosque near the city. His friends advised him to lose no time in possessing himself of the castle, but for trifling reasons that mark the weakness of his character, he resolved to defer the measure till the succeeding day; and the opportunity, as might be expected, was lost. The deceased king left five sons, the eldest of whom, named *Po-chat-au* (or *Po-wak*, according to another manuscript) exhorted his brothers to unite with him in the determination of resisting a person whose pretensions were entirely inconsistent with their security. They accordingly sent to demand assistance of *Perbawang-shah*, chief of the district of the Twenty-five *mukims*, which lies the nearest to that quarter. He arrived before morning, embraced the five princes, confirmed them in their resolution, and authorised the eldest to assume the government; (which he did, say the Annals, by the title of *Ala ed-din Juhan-shah*, in September, 1735.) But to this measure the concurrence of the other chiefs was wanting. At day-break the guns of the castle began to play upon the mosque, and some of the shot penetrating its walls, the pusillanimous *Jemal al-alum* being alarmed at the danger, judged it advisable to retreat from thence, and to set up his standard in another quarter, called *kampong Jawa*; his people at the same time retaining possession of the mosque. A regular warfare now ensued between the two parties, and continued for no less than ten years (the great chiefs taking different sides); when at length some kind of compromise was effected, that left *Po-chat-au* (*Juhan-shah*) in the possession of the throne, which he afterwards enjoyed peaceably for eight years, and no further mention is made of *Jemal al-alum*. About this period the chiefs took umbrage at his interfering in matters of trade, contrary to what they asserted to be the established custom of the realm, and assembled their forces in order to intimidate him. (The history of Achin presents a continual struggle between the monarch and the aristocracy of the country, which generally made the royal monopoly of trade the ground of crimination and pretext for their rebellions). *Panglima Muda Seti* being considered as the head of the league, came

1724. 1735.

down with twenty thousand followers, and upon the king's refusing to admit into the castle his complimentary present (considering it only as the prelude to humiliating negotiation) another war commenced that
1755. lasted for two years, and was at length terminated by *Muda Seti*'s withdrawing from the contest, and returning to his province. About five years after this event *Juhan shah* died, and his son, *Pochat-bangta*, succeeded him, but not (says this writer, who here concludes his abstract) with the general concurrence of the chiefs, and the country long continued in a disturbed state."

The death of *Juhan shah* is stated in the Annals to have taken place in
1760. August, 1760, and the accession of the son, who took the name of *Ala ed-din Muhammed shah*, not until November of the same year. Other authorities place these events in 1761. Before he had completed the third year of his reign, an insurrection of his subjects obliged him to save
1763. himself by flight on board a ship in the road. This happened in 1763 or 1764. The throne was seized by the *maharaja* (first officer of state) named *Sinara*, who assumed the title of *Beder ed-din Juhan shah*, and about the end of 1765, was put to death by the adherents of the fugitive monarch, *Muhammed shah*, who thereupon returned to the throne.[a] He was exposed, however, to further revolutions. About six years after his restoration, the palace was attacked in the night by a desperate band of two hundred men, headed by a man called *Raja Udah*, and he was once more obliged to make a precipitate retreat. This usurper took the title of sultan *Suliman shah*, but after a short reign of three months, was driven out in his turn, and forced to fly for refuge to one of the islands in the eastern sea. The nature of his pretensions, if he had any, have not been stated, but he never gave any further trouble. From this period *Muhammed* maintained possession of his capital, although it was
1772. generally in a state of confusion. "In the year 1772," says Captain Forrest,

[a] Captain Forrest acquaints us that he visited the court of *Mahomed Selim* (the latter name is not given to this prince by any other writer) in the year 1764, at which time he appeared to be about forty years of age. It is difficult to reconcile this date with the recorded events of this unfortunate reign, and I have doubts whether it was not the usurper whom the Captain saw.

Forrest, "Mr. Giles Holloway, resident of Tappanooly, was sent to Achin by the Bencoolen government, with a letter and present, to ask leave from the king to make a settlement there. I carried him from his residency. Not being very well on my arrival, I did not accompany Mr. Holloway (a very sensible and discreet gentleman, and who spoke the Malay tongue very fluently) on shore at his first audience; and finding his commission likely to prove abortive, I did not go to the palace at all. There was great anarchy and confusion at this time; and the malecontents came often, as I was informed, near the king's palace at night." The Captain further remarks, that when again there in 1775, he could not obtain an audience. The Annals report his death to have happened on the 2d of June, 1781, and observe, that from the commencement to the close of his reign the country never enjoyed repose. His brother, named *Ala ed-din* (or *Uleddin*, as commonly pronounced, and which seems to have been a favourite title with the Achinese princes), was in exile at Madras during a considerable period, and resided also for some time at Bencoolen. 1775. 1781.

The eldest son of the deceased king, then about eighteen years of age, succeeded him on the 16th of the same month, by the title of *Ala ed-din Mahmud shah Juhan*, in spite of an opposition attempted to be raised by the partisans of another son by a favourite wife. Weapons had been drawn in the court before the palace, when the *tuanku agung* or high-priest, a person of great respectability and influence, by whom the former had been educated, came amidst the crowd, barcheaded, and without attendance, leading his pupil by the hand. Having placed himself between the contending factions, he addressed them to the following effect:—that the prince who stood before them had a natural right and legal claim to the throne of his father; that he had been educated with a view to it, and was qualified to adorn it by his disposition and talents; that he wished, however, to found his pretensions neither upon his birthright nor the strength of the party attached to him, but upon the general voice of his subjects calling him to the sovereignty; that if such was their sentiment, he was ready to undertake the arduous duties of the station, in which, he himself, would assist him with the fruits of his experience; that if, on the contrary, they felt a predilection for his rival,

no

no blood should be shed on his account, the prince and his tutor being resolved in that case to yield the point without a struggle, and retire to some distant island. This impressive appeal had the desired effect, and the young prince was invited by unanimous acclamation to assume the reins of government.*

Little is known of the transactions of his reign, but that little is in favour of his personal character. The Annals (not always unexceptionable evidence when speaking of the living monarch) describe him as being endowed with every princely virtue, exercising the functions of government with vigour and rectitude, of undaunted courage, attentive to the protection of the ministers of religion, munificent to the descendants of the prophet (*seiyid*, but commonly pronounced *sidi*) and to men of learning, prompt at all times to administer justice, and consequently revered

* Mr. Philip Braham, late chief of the East India Company's settlement of Fort Marlborough, by whom the circumstances of this event were related to me, arrived at Achin in July, 1781, about a fortnight after the transaction. He thus described his audience. The king was seated in a gallery (to which there were no visible steps), at the extremity of a spacious hall or court, and a curtain which hung before him was drawn aside when it was his pleasure to appear. In this court were great numbers of female attendants, but not armed, as they have been described. Mr. Braham was introduced through a long file of guards armed with blunderbusses, and then seated on a carpet in front of the gallery. When a conversation had been carried on for some time through the Shahbandar, who communicated his answers to an interpreter, by whom they were reported to the king, the latter perceiving that he spoke the Malayan language, addressed him directly, and asked several questions respecting England; what number of wives and children our sovereign had; how many ships of war the English kept in India; what was the French force, and others of that nature. He expressed himself in friendly terms with regard to our nation, and said he should always be happy to countenance our traders in his ports. Even at this early period of his reign he had abolished some vexatious imposts. Mr. Braham had an opportunity of learning the great degree of power and controul possessed by certain of the *orang kayas*, who held their respective districts in actual sovereignty, and kept the city in awe by stopping, when it suited their purpose, the supplies of provisions. Captain Forrest, who once more visited Achin, in 1784, and was treated with much distinction (see his Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago, p. 51), says, he appeared to be twenty-five years of age; but this was a misconception. Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, who saw him in 1782, judged him to have been at that time no more than nineteen or twenty, which corresponds with Mr. Braham's statement.

revered and beloved by his people. I have not been enabled to ascertain the year in which he died. It appears by a Malayan letter from Achin, that in 1791 the peace of the capital was much disturbed, and the state 1791. of the government, as well as of private property (which induced the writer to reship his goods) precarious. In 1805 his son, then aged 1805. twenty-one, was on the throne, and had a contention with his paternal uncle, and at the same time his father-in-law, named *Tuanku Raja*, by whom he had been compelled to fly (but only for a short time) to *Pidir*, the usual asylum of the Achinese monarchs. Their quarrel appears to have been rather of a family than of a political nature, and to have proceeded from the irregular conduct of the queen-mother. The low state of this young king's finances, impoverished by a fruitless struggle to enforce, by means of an expensive marine establishment, his right to an exclusive trade, had induced him to make proposals, for mutual accommodation, to the English government of *Pulo Pinang*.[a]

[a] Since the foregoing was printed, the following information respecting the manners of the *Batta* people, obtained by Mr. Charles Holloway from Mr. W. H. Hayes, has reached my hands. "In the month of July 1805, an expedition consisting of Sepoys, Malays, and Battas, was sent from *Tapanuli* against a chief named *Punei Manungum*, residing at *Negatimbul*, about thirty miles inland from Old *Tapanuli*, in consequence of his having attacked a *kampong* under the protection of the company, murdered several of the inhabitants, and carried others into captivity. After a siege of three days, terms of accommodation being proposed, a cessation of hostilities took place, when the people of each party having laid aside their arms, intermixed with the utmost confidence, and conversed together as if in a state of perfect amity. The terms, however, not proving satisfactory, each again retired to his arms, and renewed the contest with their former inveteracy. On the second day the place was evacuated, and upon our people entering it, Mr. Hayes found the bodies of one man and two women, whom the enemy had put to death before their departure, (being the last remaining of sixteen prisoners whom they had originally carried off,) and from whose legs large pieces had been cut out, evidently for the purpose of being eaten. During the progress of this expedition a small party had been sent to hold in check the chiefs of *Labusukum* and *Singapollum*, (inland of *Sibogah*) who were confederates of *Punei Manungum*. These, however, proved stronger than was expected, and making a sally from their *kampongs*, attacked the serjeant's party, and killed a sepoy, whom he was obliged to abandon. Mr. Hayes, on his way from *Negatimbul*, was ordered to march to the support of the retreating party; but these having taken a different route, he remained ignorant of the particulars of their loss. The village of *Singapollam* being immediately carried by storm, and the enemy retreating by one gate, as our people entered at the opposite, the accoutrements of the sepoy, who had been killed the day before, were seen hanging as trophies in the front of the houses, and in the town-hall, Mr. Hayes saw the head entirely scalped, and one of the fingers fixed upon a fork or scewer, still warm from the fire. On proceeding to the village of *Labusucom*, situated little more than two hundred yards from the former, he found a large plantain leaf full of human flesh, mixed with lime-juice and chili pepper, from which he inferred that they had been surprised in the very act of feasting on the sepoy, whose body had been divided between the two *kampongs*. Upon differences being settled with the chiefs, they acknowledged with perfect *sang-froid* that such had been the case, saying at the same time, "you know it is our custom; why should we conceal it?"

Brief Account of the Islands lying off the Western Coast of Sumatra.

Islands adjacent to Sumatra.

THE chain of islands which extends itself in a line nearly parallel to the western coast, at the distance from it of little more than a degree, being immediately connected with the principal subject of this work, and being themselves inhabited by a race or races of people apparently from the same original stock as those of the interior of Sumatra, whose genuineness of character has been preserved to a remarkable degree, (whilst the islands on the eastern side are uniformly peopled with Malays), I have thought it expedient to add such authentic information respecting them as I have been enabled to obtain; and this I feel to be the more necessary from observing, in the maps to which I have had recourse, so much error and confusion in applying the names, that the identity, and even the existence of some of them have been considered as doubtful.

Engano.

Of these islands the most southern is *Engano*, which is still but very imperfectly known, all attempts to open a friendly communication with the natives having hitherto proved fruitless; and in truth they have had but too much reason to consider strangers attempting to land on their coast, as piratical enemies. In the voyage of J. J. Saar, published in 1662, we have an account of an expedition fitted out from Batavia in 1645, for the purpose of examining this island; which terminated in entrapping and carrying off with them sixty or seventy of the inhabitants, male and female. The former died soon after their arrival, refusing to eat any other food than coconuts, but the women, who were distributed amongst the principal families of Batavia, proved extremely tractable and docile, and acquired the language of the place. It is not stated, nor does it appear from any subsequent publication, that the opportunity was taken of forming a collection of their words.

From

From that period Engano had only been incidentally noticed, until in March, 1771, Mr. Richard Wyatt, then governor, and the council of Fort Marlborough, sent Mr. Charles Miller, in a vessel belonging to the Company, to explore the productions of this island. On approaching it he observed large plantations of coconut trees, with several spots of ground cleared for cultivation on the hills, and at night many fires on the beach. Landing was found to be in most parts extremely difficult on account of the surf. Many of the natives were seen, armed with lances, and squatting down amongst the coral rocks, as if to conceal their numbers. Upon rowing into a bay with the ship's boat, it was pursued by ten canoes full of men, and obliged to return. Mr. Whalfeldt, the surveyor, and the second mate, proceeded to make a survey of the bay, and endeavour to speak with the natives. They were furnished with articles for presents, and upon seeing a canoe on the beach of a small island, and several people fishing on the rocks, they rowed to the island, and sent two caffrees on shore, with some cloth, but the natives would not come near them. The mate then landed and advanced towards them, when they immediately came to him. He distributed some presents among them, and they in return gave him some fish. Several canoes came off to the ship with coconuts, sugar-cane; toddy, and a species of yam. The crew of one of them took an opportunity of unshipping and carrying away the boat's rudder, and upon a musket being fired over their heads, many of them leaped into the sea.

Mr. Miller describes these people as being taller and fairer than the Malays; their hair black, which the men cut short, and the women wear long, and neatly turned up. The former go entirely naked, except that they sometimes throw a piece of bark of tree, or plantain leaf, over their shoulders, to protect them from the heat of the sun. The latter also are naked, except a small slip of plantain leaf round the waist; and some had on their heads fresh leaves made up nearly in the shape of a bonnet; with necklaces of small pieces of shell, and a shell hanging by a string, to be used as a comb. The ears of both men and women have large holes made in them, an inch or two in diameter, into which they put a ring made of coconut shell, or a roll of leaves. They do not chew betel. Their language was not understood by any person on board, although

there were people from most parts adjacent to the coast. Their canoes are very neat, formed of two thin planks sewn together, sharp-pointed at each end, and provided with outriggers. In general they contain six or seven men. They always carry lances, not only as offensive weapons, but for striking fish. These are about seven feet in length, formed of *nibong* and other hard woods; some of them tipped with pieces of bamboo made very sharp, and the concave part filled with fish-bones (and shark's teeth), others armed with pieces of bone made sharp and notched, and others pointed with bits of iron and copper sharpened. They seemed not to be unaccustomed to the sight of vessels. (Ships bound from the ports of India to the straits of Sunda, as well as those from Europe, when late in the season, frequently make the land of Engano, and many must doubtless be wrecked on its coast).

Attempts were made to find a river or fresh water, but without success, nor even a good place to land. Two of the people from the ship having pushed in among the rocks and landed, the natives soon came to them, snatched their handkerchiefs off their heads, and ran away with them, but dropt them on being pursued. Soon afterwards they sounded a conch-shell, which brought numbers of them down to the beach. The bay appeared to be well sheltered, and to afford good anchorage ground. The soil of the country, for the most part a red clay. The productions Mr. Miller thought the same as are commonly found on the coast of Sumatra; but circumstances did not admit of his penetrating into the country, which, contrary to expectation, was found to be so full of inhabitants. In consequence of the loss of anchors and cables, it was judged necessary that the vessel should return to Fort Marlborough. Having taken in the necessary supplies, the island was revisited. Finding no landing-place, the boat was run upon the coral rocks. Signs were made to the natives, who had collected in considerable numbers, and upon seeing our people land had retreated towards some houses, to stop, but to no purpose, until Mr. Miller proceeded towards them unaccompanied, when they approached in great numbers, and accepted of knives, pieces of cloth, &c. Observing a spot of cultivated ground surrounded by a sort of fence, he went to it, followed by several of the natives who made signs to deter him, and as soon as he was out of sight of

of his own people, began to handle his clothes and attempt to pull them off, when he returned to the beach.

Their houses stand singly in their plantations, are circular, about eight feet in diameter, raised about six from the ground on slender iron-wood sticks, floored with planks, and the roof, which is thatched with long grass, rises from the floor in a conical shape. No rice was seen among them, nor did they appear to know the use of it when shewn to them; nor were cattle nor fowls of any kind observed about their houses.

Having anchored off a low point of marshy land in the northern part of the bay, where the natives seemed to be more accustomed to intercourse with strangers, the party landed, in hopes of finding a path to some houses about two miles inland. Upon observing signs made to them by some people on the coral-reef, Mr. Miller and Mr. Whalfeldt went towards them in the *sampan*, when some among them took an opportunity of stealing the latter's hanger, and running away with it; upon which they were immediately fired at by some of the party, and notwithstanding Mr. Miller's endeavours to prevent them, both the officer and men continued to fire upon and pursue the natives through the morass, but without being able to overtake them. Meeting, however, with some houses, they set fire to them, and brought off two women and a boy, whom the caffrees had seized. The officers on board the vessel, alarmed at the firing, and seeing Mr. Miller alone in the *sampan*, whilst several canoes full of people were rowing towards him, sent the pinnace with some sepoys to his assistance. During the night, conch-shells were heard to sound almost all over the bay, and in the morning several large parties were observed on different parts of the beach. All further communication with the inhabitants being interrupted by this imprudent quarrel, and the purposes of the expedition thereby frustrated, it was not thought advisable to remain any longer at Engano, and Mr. Miller, after visiting some parts of the southern coast of Sumatra, returned to Fort Marlborough.

Po. Mega. The next island to the north-west of Engano, but at a considerable distance, is called by the Malays *Pulo Mega* (cloud-island), and by Europeans Triste, or isle de Recif. It is small and uninhabited, and, like many others in these seas, is nearly surrounded by a coral-reef, with a lagune in the centre. Coconut trees grow in vast numbers in the sand near the sea-shore, whose fruit serves for food to rats and squirrels, the only quadrupeds found there. On the borders of the lagune is a little vegetable mould, just above the level of high water, where grow some species of timber-trees.

Po. Sanding. The name of *Pulo Sanding* or *Sandiang*, belongs to two small islands situated near the south-eastern extremity of the Nassau or *Pagi* islands, in which group they are sometimes included. Of these the southernmost is distinguished in the Dutch charts by the term of *Laeg* or low, and the other by that of *Bergen* or hilly. They are both uninhabited, and the only productions worth notice is the long nutmeg, which grows wild on them, and some good timber, particularly of the kind known by the name of *marbau* (metrosideros amboinensis.) An idea was entertained of making a settlement on one of them, and in 1769 an officer with a few men were stationed there for some months, during which period the rains were incessant. The scheme was afterwards abandoned as unlikely to answer any useful purpose.

Nassaus or Po. Pagi. The two islands separated by a narrow strait, to which the Dutch navigators have given the name of the Nassaus, are called by the Malays *Pº. Pagi* or *Pagei*, and by us commonly the *Poggies*. The race of people by whom these as well as some other islands to the northward of them are inhabited, having the appellation of *orang mantawei*, this has been confounded with the proper names of the islands, and being applied sometimes to one and sometimes to another, has occasioned much confusion and uncertainty. The earliest accounts we have of them are the reports of Mr. Randolph Marriot in 1749, and of Mr. John Saul in 1750 and 1751, with Capt. Thomas Forrest's observations in 1757, preserved in Mr. Dalrymple's "Historical Relation of the several Expeditions from Fort Marlborough to the Islands adjacent to the West-coast of Sumatra;" but

but by much the most satisfactory information is contained in a paper communicated by Mr. John Crisp to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the sixth volume of whose Transactions it is published, and from these documents I shall extract such particulars as may best serve to convey a knowledge of the country and the people.

Mr. Crisp sailed from Fort Marlborough on the 12th of August, 1792, in a vessel navigated at his own expence, and with no other view than that of gratifying a liberal curiosity. On the 14th he anchored in the straits of *See Cockup* (*Si Kakap*), which divide the Northern from the Southern *Pagi*. These straits are about two miles in length and a quarter of a mile over, and make safe riding for ships of any size, which lie perfectly secure from every wind, the water being literally as smooth as in a pond. The high land of Sumatra (inland of *Moco-moco* and *Ipu*) was plainly to be distinguished from thence. In the passage are scattered several small islands, each of which consists of one immense rock, and which may have been originally connected with the main island. The face of the country is rough and irregular, consisting of high hills of sudden and steep ascent, and covered with trees to their summits, among which the species called *bintangur* or *puhn*, fit for the largest masts, abounds. The sago tree grows in plenty, and constitutes the chief article of food to the inhabitants, who do not cultivate rice. The use of betel is unknown to them. Coconut trees, bamboos, and the common fruits of Sumatra, are found here. The woods are impervious to man: the species of wild animals that inhabit them, but few; the large red deer, hogs, and several kinds of monkey, but neither buffaloes nor goats; nor are they infested with tigers or other beasts of prey. They have the common domestic fowl; but pork and fish are the favourite animal food of the natives.

When the vessel had been two days at anchor, they began to come down from their villages in their canoes, bringing fruit of various kinds, and on invitation they readily came on board, without shewing signs of apprehension or embarrassment. On presenting to them plates of boiled rice, they would not touch it until it had been previously tasted by one of

of the ship's company. They behaved whilst on board with much decorum, shewed a strong degree of curiosity, but not the least disposition for pilfering. They appeared to live in great friendship and harmony with each other, and voluntarily divided amongst their companions what was given to them. Their stature seldom exceeds five feet and a half. Their colour is like that of the Malays, a light brown or copper-colour. Some canoes came alongside the vessel with only women in them, and upon being encouraged by the men, several ventured on board. When on the water they use a temporary dress to shield them from the heat of the sun, made of the leaves of the plantain, of which they form a sort of conical cap (the same was observed of the women of Engano), and there is also a broad piece of the leaf fastened round the body over their breasts, and another round their waist. This leaf readily splits, and has the appearance of a coarse fringe. When in their villages, the women, like the men, wear only a small piece of coarse cloth, made of the bark of a tree, round their middle. Beads and other ornaments are worn about the neck. Although coconuts are in such plenty, they have not the use of oil, and their hair, which is black, and naturally long, is, for want of it and the use of combs, in general matted and full of vermin. They have a method of filing or grinding their teeth to a point, like the people of Sumatra.

The number of inhabitants of the two islands is supposed not to exceed 1400 persons. They are divided into small tribes, each occupying a small river, and living in one village. On the southern island are five of these villages, and on the northern seven, of which *Kakap* is accounted the chief, although *Labu-labu* is supposed to contain the greater number of people. Their houses are built of bamboos and raised on posts; the under part is occupied by poultry and hogs, and, as may be supposed, much filth is collected there. Their arms consist of a bow and arrows. The former is made of the *niboñg* tree, and the string of the entrails of some animal. The arrows are of small bamboo, headed with brass or with a piece of hard wood cut to a point. With these they kill deer, which are roused by dogs of a mongrel breed, and also monkeys, whose flesh they eat. Some among them wear *krises*. It was said, that the different

different tribes of *orang mantawei* who inhabit these islands, never make war upon each other, but with people of islands to the northward they are occasionally in a state of hostility. The measurement of one of their war-canoes, preserved with great care under a shed, was twenty-five feet in the length of the floor, the prow projecting twenty-two, and the stern eighteen, making the whole length sixty-five feet. The greatest breadth was five feet, and the depth three feet eight inches. For navigating in their rivers and the straits of *Si Kakap*, where the sea is as smooth as glass, they employ canoes, formed, with great neatness, of a single tree, and the women and young children are extremely expert in the management of the paddle. They are strangers to the use of coin of any kind, and have little knowledge of metals. The iron *bill* or chopping-knife, called *paráng*, is in much esteem among them, it serves as a standard for the value of other commodities, such as articles of provision.

The religion of these people, if it deserves the name, resembles much what has been described of the *Battas*; but their mode of disposing of their dead is different, and analogous rather to the practice of the South-sea islanders; the corpse being deposited on a sort of stage, in a place appropriated for the purpose, and with a few leaves strewed over it, is left to decay. Inheritance is by male descent; the house or plantation, the weapons and tools of the father, become the property of the sons. Their chiefs are but little distinguished from the rest of the community by authority or possessions, their pre-eminence being chiefly displayed at public entertainments, of which they do the honours. They have not even judicial powers, all disputes being settled, and crimes adjudged, by a meeting of the whole village. Murder is punishable by retaliation, for which purpose the offender is delivered over to the relations of the deceased, who may put him to death; but the crime is rare. Theft, when to a considerable amount, is also capital. In cases of adultery the injured husband has a right to seize the effects of the paramour, and sometimes punishes his wife by cutting off her hair. When the husband offends, the wife has a right to quit him and to return to her parents' house. Simple fornication between unmarried persons, is neither considered

sidered as a crime nor a disgrace. The state of slavery is unknown among these people; and they do not practise circumcision.

The custom of *tattooing*, or imprinting figures on the skin, is general among the inhabitants of this group of islands. They call it in their language *teetee* or *titi*. They begin to form these marks on boys at seven years of age, and fill them up as they advance in years. Mr. Crisp thinks they were originally intended as marks of military distinction. The women have a star imprinted on each shoulder, and generally some small marks on the backs of their hands. These punctures are made with an instrument consisting of a brass-wire fixed perpendicularly into a piece of stick about eight inches in length. The pigment made use of is the smoke collected from *dammar*, mixed with water (or, according to another account, with the juice of the sugar-cane). The operator takes a stalk of dried grass, or a fine piece of stick, and dipping the end in the pigment, traces on the skin the outline of the figure, and then dipping the brass point in the same preparation, with very quick and light strokes of a long, small stick, drives it into the skin, whereby an indelible mark is produced. The pattern, when completed, is in all the individuals nearly the same.

In the year 1783 the son of a *raja* of one of the *Pagi* islands came over to Sumatra, on a visit of curiosity, and being an intelligent man, much information was obtained from him. He could give some account of almost every island that lies off the coast, and when a doubt arose about their position, he ascertained it by taking the rind of a pumplenose or shaddock, and breaking it into bits of different sizes, disposing them on the floor in such a manner as to convey a clear idea of the relative situation. He spoke of Engano (by what name is not mentioned) and said that their boats were sometimes driven to that island, on which occasions they generally lost a part, if not the whole, of their crews, from the savage disposition of the natives. He appeared to be acquainted with several of the constellations, and gave names for the pleiades, scorpion, great bear, and Orion's belt. He understood the distinction between the fixed and wandering stars, and particularly noticed Venus, which

which he named *usutat-si-geb-geb* or planet of the evening. To Sumatra he gave the appellation of *Seraihu*. As to religion, he said the *rajas* alone prayed and sacrificed hogs and fowls. They addressed themselves in the first place to the Power above the sky; next, to those in the moon, who are male and female; and lastly, to that evil being, whose residence is beneath the earth, and is the cause of earthquakes. A drawing of this man, representing accurately the figures in which his body and limbs were tattooed, was made by Colonel Trapaud, and obligingly given to me. He not only stood patiently during the performance; but seemed much pleased with the execution, and proposed that the Colonel should accompany him to his country to have an opportunity of making a likeness of his father. To our collectors of rare prints it is well known that there exists an engraving of a man of this description by the title of the "painted prince," brought to England by Capt. Dampier, from one of the islands of the eastern sea, in the year 1691, and of whom a particular account is given in his Voyage. He said that the inhabitants of the *Pagi* islands derived their origin from the *orang mantawei* of the island called *Si Biru*.

North-westward of the *Pagi* islands, and at no great distance, lies that of *Si Porah*, commonly denominated Good Fortune island, inhabited by the same race as the former, and with the same manners and language. The principal towns or villages are named *Si Porah*, containing, when visited by Mr. John Saul in 1750, three hundred inhabitants, *Si Labah* three hundred, (several of whom were originally from the neighbouring island of *Nias*) *Si Bagau* two hundred, and *Si Uban* a smaller number; and when Capt. Forrest made his inquiries in 1757, there was not any material variation. Since that period, though the island has been occasionally visited, it does not appear that any report has been preserved of the state of the population. The country is described as being entirely covered with wood. The highest land is in the vicinity of *Si Labah*. Si Porah or Good Fortune.

The next island in the same direction is named *Si Biru*, which although of considerable size, being larger than *Si Porah*, has commonly Si Biru

been omitted in our charts, or denoted to be uncertain. It is inhabited by the *mantawei* race, and the natives both of *Si Porah* and the *Pagi* islands consider it as their parent-country, but notwithstanding this connexion, they are generally in a state of hostility, and in 1783 no intercourse subsisted between them. The inhabitants are distinguished only by some small variety of the patterns in which their skins are tattooed, those of *Si Biru* having them narrower on the breast and broader on the shoulders. The island itself is rendered conspicuous by a volcano-mountain.

Po. Batu. Next to this is *Pulo Batu*, situated immediately to the southward of the equinoctial line, and, in consequence of an original mistake in Valentyn's erroneous chart, published in 1726, usually called by navigators, *Mintaon*, being a corruption of the word *mantawei*, which, as already explained, is appropriated to a race inhabiting the islands of *Si Biru*, *Si Porah*, and *Pagi*. *Batu*, on the contrary, is chiefly peopled by a colony from *Nias*. These pay a yearly tax to the *raja* of *Buluaro*, a small *kampong* in the interior part of the island, belonging to a race different from both, and whose number, it is said, amounts only to one hundred, which it is not allowed to exceed, so many children being reared as may replace the deaths. They are reported to bear a resemblance to the people of *Makasar* or *Bugis*, and may have been adventurers from that quarter. The influence of their *raja* over the *Nias* inhabitants, who exceed his immediate subjects in the proportion of twenty to one, is founded on the superstitious belief, that the water of the island will become salt when they neglect to pay the tax. He in his turn, being in danger from the power of the Malay traders who resort thither from *Padang*, and are not affected by the same superstition, is constrained to pay them to the amount of sixteen ounces of gold as an annual tribute.

The food of the people, as in the other islands, is chiefly sago, and their exports coconuts, oil in considerable quantities, and *swala* or sea-slugs. No rice is planted there, nor, if we may trust to the Malayan accounts, suffered to be imported. Upon the same authority also we are told, that the island derives its name of *Batu* from a large *rock* resembling

sembling the hull of a vessel, which tradition states to be a petrifaction of that in which the *Bulüaro* people arrived. The same fanciful story of a petrified boat is prevalent in the *Serampei* country of Sumatra. From Natal hill *Pº. Batu* is visible. Like the islands already described, it is entirely covered with wood.

Between *Pulo Batu* and the coast of Sumatra, but much nearer to the latter, is a small uninhabited island, called *Pulo Kapini* (iron-wood island), but to which our charts (copying from Valentyn) commonly give the name of *Batu*, whilst to *Batu* itself, as above described, is assigned the name of *Mintaon*. In confirmation of the distinctions here laid down, it will be thought sufficient to observe, that when the Company's packet, the Greyhound, lay at what was called Lant's bay in *Mintaon*, an officer came to our settlement of Natal (of which Mr. John Marsden at that time was chief) in a *Batu* oil-boat; and that a large trade for oil is carried on from *Padang* and other places with the island of *Batu*, whilst that of *Kapini* is known to be without inhabitants, and could not supply the article. Po. Kapini.

The most productive and important, if not the largest of this chain of islands, is *Pulo Nias*. Its inhabitants are very numerous, and of a race distinct not only from those on the main (for such we must relatively consider Sumatra), but also from the people of all the islands to the southward, with the exception of the last-mentioned. Their complexions, especially the women, are lighter than those of the Malays; they are smaller in their persons and shorter in stature; their mouths are broad, noses very flat, and their ears are pierced and distended in so extraordinary a manner as nearly, in many instances, to touch the shoulders, particularly when the flap has, by excessive distension or by accident, been rent asunder; but these pendulous excrescences are commonly trimmed and reduced to the ordinary size, when they are brought away from their own country. Preposterous, however, as this custom may appear, it is not confined to the *Nias* people. Some of the women of the inland parts of Sumatra, in the vicinity of the equinoctial line (especially those of the *Rau* tribes) increase the perforation of their ears, until they admit ornaments of two or three inches diameter. There is no circumstance Po. Nias.

by which the natives of this island are more obviously distinguished than the prevalence of a leprous scurf, with which the skins of a great proportion of both sexes are affected; in some cases covering the whole of the body and limbs, and in others resembling rather the effect of the tetter or ring-worm, running like that partial complaint in waving lines and concentric curves. It is seldom, if ever, radically cured, although by external applications (especially in the slighter cases) its symptoms are moderated, and a temporary smoothness given to the skin; but it does not seem in any stage of the disease to have a tendency to shorten life, or to be inconsistent with perfect health in other respects, nor is there reason to suppose it infectious; and it is remarkable, that the inhabitants of *Po. Batu*, who are evidently of the same race, are exempt from this cutaneous malady. The principal food of the common people is the sweet potatoe, but much pork is also eaten by those who can afford it, and the chiefs make a practice of ornamenting their houses with the jaws of the hogs, as well as the skulls of the enemies whom they slay. The cultivation of rice has become extensive in modern times, but rather as an article of traffic than of home consumption.

These people are remarkable for their docility and expertness in handy-craft work, and become excellent house-carpenters and joiners, and as an instance of their skill in the arts, they practise that of letting blood by cupping, in a mode nearly similar to ours. Among the Sumatrans blood is never drawn with so salutary an intent. They are industrious and frugal, temperate and regular in their habits, but at the same time avaricious, sullen, obstinate, vindictive, and sanguinary. Although much employed as domestic slaves (particularly by the Dutch) they are always esteemed dangerous in that capacity; a defect in their character which philosophers will not hesitate to excuse in an independent people torn by violence from their country and connexions. They frequently kill themselves when disgusted with their situation or unhappy in their families, and often their wives at the same time, who appeared, from the circumstances under which they were found, to have been consenting to the desperate act. They were both dressed in their best apparel (the remainder being previously destroyed), and the female, in more than one instance that came under notice, had struggled so little,

little, as not to discompose her hair, or remove her head from the pillow. It is said, that in their own country they expose their children, by suspending them, in a bag, from a tree, when they despair of being able to bring them up. The mode seems to be adopted with the view of preserving them from animals of prey, and giving them a chance of being saved by persons in more easy circumstances.

The island is divided into about fifty small districts, under chiefs or *rajas*, who are independent of, and at perpetual variance with, each other; the ultimate object of their wars being to make prisoners, whom they sell for slaves, as well as all others not immediately connected with them, whom they can seize by stratagem. These violences are doubtless encouraged by the resort of native traders from *Padang*, *Natal*, and *Achin*, to purchase cargoes of slaves, who are also accused of augmenting the profits of their voyage, by occasionally surprising and carrying off whole families. The number annually exported is reckoned at four hundred and fifty to *Natal*, and one hundred and fifty to the northern ports (where they are said to be employed by the Achinese in the gold-mines), exclusive of those which go to *Padang*, for the supply of Batavia, where the females are highly valued, and taught music and various accomplishments. In catching these unfortunate victims of avarice, it is supposed that not fewer than two hundred are killed; and if the aggregate be computed at one thousand, it is a prodigious number to be supplied from the population of so small an island.

Beside the article of slaves, there is a considerable export of *padi* and rice, the cultivation of which is chiefly carried on at a distance from the sea-coasts, whither the natives retire, to be secure from piratical depredations, bringing down the produce to the harbours (of which there are several good ones), to barter with the traders for iron, steel, beads, tobacco, and the coarser kinds of Madras and Surat piece-goods. Numbers of hogs are reared, and some parts of the main, especially *Barus*, are supplied from hence with yams, beans, and poultry. Some of the *rajas* are supposed to have amassed a sum equal to ten or twenty thousand dollars, which is kept in ingots of gold and silver, much of the latter,

latter, consisting of small Dutch money (not the purest coin) melted down; and of these they make an ostentatious display at weddings and other festivals.

The language scarcely differs more from the *Batta* and the *Lampong* than these do from each other, and all evidently belong to the same stock. The pronunciation is very guttural, and either from habit or peculiar conformation of organs, these people cannot articulate the letter *p*, but in Malayan words, where the sound occurs, pronounce it as *f*, (saying, for example, *fulo finang*, instead of *Pulo Pinang*); whilst, on the contrary, the Malays never make use of the *f*, and pronounce as *pikir* the Arabic word *fikir*. Indeed, the Arabians themselves appear to have the same organic defect as the people of *Nias*, and it may likewise be observed in the languages of some of the South-sea islands.

Po. Nako-nako. On the western side of *Nias*, and very near to it, is a cluster of small islands, called *P°. Nako-nako*, whose inhabitants (as well as others who shall presently be noticed) are of a race termed *Maros* or *orang maruwi*, distinct from those of the former, but equally fair-complexioned. Large quantities of cocoanut-oil are prepared here, and exported chiefly to *Padang*, the natives having had a quarrel with the *Natal* traders. The islands are governed by a single *raja*, who monopolizes the produce, his subjects dealing only with him, and he with the praws or country vessels, who are regularly furnished with cargoes in the order of their arrival, and never dispatched out of turn.

Po. Babi. *Pulo Babi* or Hog island, called by the natives *Si Malu*, lies north-westward from *Nias*, and, like *Nako-Nako*, is inhabited by the *Maruwi* race. Buffaloes (and hogs, we may presume) are met with here in great plenty, and sold cheap.

Po. Baniak. The name of *Pulo Baniak* belongs to a cluster of islands (as the terms imply) situated to the eastward, or in-shore of *P°. Babi*, and not far from the entrance of *Singkel* river. It is, however, most commonly applied to one of them which is considerably larger than the others. It does not appear to furnish any vegetable produce as an article of

of trade, and the returns from thence are chiefly sea-slug and the edible bird's-nest. The inhabitants of these islands also are *Maruwis*, and, as well as the others of the same race, are now Mahometans. Their language, although considered by the natives of these parts as distinct and peculiar, (which will naturally be the case where people do not understand each other's conversation), has much radical affinity to the *Batta* and *Nias*, and less to the *Pagi*; but all belong to the same class, and may be regarded as dialects of a general language prevailing amongst the original inhabitants of this eastern archipelago, as far at least as the Moluccas and Philippines.

THE END.

INDEX.

INDEX.

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